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Athletic retirement as role loss: A construct validity study of self as process and role behavior

Gordon, Robert Leslie, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1988

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ATHLETIC RETIREMENT AS ROLE LOSS
A CONSTRUCT VALIDITY STUDY
OF SELF AS PROCESS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

Robert L. Gordon, B.S., M.S.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1988

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Copyright by

Robert Leslie Gordon

1988
To Jane
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Completing a dissertation is a cooperative effort. I am indebted to a number of individuals who helped in the completion of this project.

For some career athletes, the termination of the athlete role can be quite distressful. Therefore, I want to extend my admiration and appreciation to those former professional athletes who participated in this study. My hope is that they have gained personal insight through their participation.

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Lastly, I would like to thank my wife, Jane. Her trust, support and continued encouragement made the completion of this project possible.
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CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM

Introduction

In the consideration of athletic retirement, the importance of retirement as a life event and as part of the social processes, is juxtaposed against the importance to an individual, his personal identity as an athlete and the manifestations of that identity in the athlete role. This chapter addresses the issues relating to role loss, crisis and adjustment as it relates to retirement and to self identity---those conceptualizations developed in the self process.

The life event: A process. In the course of normal development, there are an unlimited number of life events which influence a person's life. Each life event contains a multitude of psychological and social dimensions (Reese & Smyer, 1983). Researchers have used events interchangeably as both independent and dependent variables, that is, as causes and effects of development. Social scientists also have varied the grammatical meanings of life events. Holmes and Rahe (1967), for example, use nouns or noun phrases to
represent life events (e.g., divorce), whereas, Havighurst (1959) uses gerunds (e.g., learning to walk) which suggest action. Given this complexity, Reese and Smyer (1983) attempt to clarify the meaning of a life event. On the one hand, a life event is considered a product of development. As a product, life events are conceptualized as markers or signs that change has occurred or impending; accordingly this interpretation implies a cause of "being" or product of development. On the other hand, life events are considered processes with identifiable antecedents, durations, contexts and consequences. As processes, life events are viewed as causes for change, or becoming.

The differences between life event as product and life event as process is derived from deeply rooted scientific models. However, since scientific models are not subject to verification, establishing whether a life event is a product or process is unlikely (Overton & Reese, 1973). Reese and Smyer (1983) suggest that a mechanistic model tends to "blur" the concept of process into a concept of product, that is, process is considered discrete, material and static. In contrast, a dialectical model considers process as an "ongoing activity in a context that includes a spread of time" (Reese & Smyer, 1983, p.3). Process is viewed as holistic, unpredictable and dynamic. For the purposes of this investigation, a life event is defined as a process in which role loss (predictably or unpredictably)
occurs, and as such, personal meaning of possible crisis and adjustment is derived from a continuous self process. In this investigation, the life event or role loss under examination is retirement.

Unlike the retirement normally associated with the socially acknowledged advent of old age, this investigation is about athletic retirement. As a role loss, athletic retirement is not experienced by the general population in that it marks the end of a career, at the time in adult development when a person is expected to establish a stable life style (Levinson, Darrow, Klein & Levinson 1978). Athletic retirement also is different from simply dropping out of sport. In contrast to casual sportsmen who discontinue participation, retired athletes experience discontinuity in self perceptions due to their forced career termination. Since most investigations related to athletic retirement reflect the contributions of gerontologists, the theoretical conceptualizations and studies associated with the older worker who retires in late adulthood are presented. This provides a basis for the hypotheses under investigation, that is, referring to the athlete who experiences career role changes and self process involvement in the period of early adulthood.

The retirement event as a social process. Like many life events, retirement has both product and process
interpretations. Kimmel (1974) proposes that retirement can be viewed as both an event which marks a transition or a change in one's status to the state of being a "nonworker." Kimmel proposes that retirement also is a process and offers the following description of it.

"...retirement may be considered a process: the process of anticipating the new status as one approaches retirement and the conscious and unconscious working through of the conflicts and resocializations involved in the change in status" (p. 256).

Kimmel's description of retirement as a social process includes crisis and adjustment. Crisis is the ensuing conflict and resocializations associated with retirement and is consistent with earlier gerontological views which considered retirement as a legitimate life crisis (Beck, 1982). In spite of evidence supporting this view, there is evidence suggesting that retirement is not a crisis. For example, Crowley (1985) and Strieb and Schneider (1971) concluded that for most older people, the retirement experience is relatively smooth and without negative effects on well-being. Strieb and Schneider reported,

"A summary overview of the data shows that retirement does not have the broad negative consequences for the older person that we had expected. The cessation of the work role results in a sharp reduction in income, but there is no significant increase in worry about money in the impact year of retirement. There is no sharp decline in health, feelings of usefulness, or satisfaction in life after retirement" (1971, p.163).
This conclusion is not at all surprising considering it is based on one's social status as derived from sociological role theory which proposes that clarity of social role definition facilitates positive adjustment; that a cessation of one's work role decreases role definition and therefore promotes negative well-being. Sociological role theory proposes that role determines self and ensuing psychological well-being. When role loss occurs as it does in aging, social participation declines and social identity is threatened. This position lends support for the gerontological view that retirement is a legitimate life crisis due to role loss. Roscow (1973) provides a poignant view of this relationship.

"These roles identify and describe him as a social being and are central to his very self conceptions. The process of role loss steadily eats away at these crucial elements of social personality and converts what is to what was or transforms the present into the past. In psychological terms, this is a direct sustained attack on the ego. If the social self consists of roles, then role loss erodes self-conceptions and sacrifices social identity" (p. 83).

Current theoretical perspectives of the retirement process do not satisfy the conditions of late life retirement and have conceptualized the retiree's adjustment to be reactive and static. As a social process, adjustment to retirement is contingent on clusters of demographic variables (e.g., income) (Palmore, Fillenbaum & George,
1982), preservation of midlife activity (Havighurst & Albrecht, 1953), mutual disengagement between society and individual (Cumming & Henry, 1961), adaptive styles to aging (Neugarten, Havighurst & Tobin, 1968), a sequence of qualitative and time related phases (Atchley, 1976) or totality of a person's roles (Roscow, 1973). According to these views, persons are passive and not actively involved in their self adjustment to the changes in social roles. In essence, the locus of adjustment is a function of role demands and not the individual's assumption of a role. Adjustment is based on the requisite that there is continuity of self which is achieved through the restoration of a number of socially defined roles.

Breytspraak (1984) writes that static and passive conceptualizations of the adjustment process stem primarily from how self concept is construed. Breytspraak contends that role theory on aging and adjustment theories have failed to articulate the function of self concept in crisis and adjustment to role loss. It is critical that theoretical statements view self as the locus of the retirement process and adjustment. As the locus, self is viewed as an active, dynamic and idiosyncratic process which is characterized by affective displacement or stress, a restructuring of self concepts and a striving for self continuity.
Self as Process and Role Behavior: An Active and Dynamic Process Model for Adjustment to Athletic Retirement

Jackson (1970) contends the study of self and adjustment is the study of a psychological process, and as such, self is inferential.

"Self is not an entity ---it cannot exist apart from its neurological and physiological substrate: only the organism is an entity. But, man refers to self and cognitively-affectively interprets his interactions in terms of himself" (p., 5).

Self is always the reference against which a person makes comparisons and inferences. Therefore, the locus of adjustment lies in the individual's self assumptions in roles. Jackson (1970) stressed that adjustment becomes contingent not on the role per se, but rather it is the individual's interpretation and meaning of who he/she is or derives in that specific role. Therefore, to consider retirement a legitimate life crisis, one must take into account the individual's own self meaning as derived in the work role.

Contrary to role theory, proposing an active self process suggests that the individual is actively involved in his/her adjustment to events in the lifespan. Crisis through role loss does not have to result in deterioration of personal identity. Instead, it can provide the impetus
for a person to restructure self conceptions which can lead to personal growth. Role loss, therefore, does not necessarily lead to loss in self conception, rather it means that an individual can no longer enact the social role's behavioral requirements.

This study is based on the premise of Jackson (1970), that self is a dynamic process. Self conceptions are subject to change. They change in terms of their personal value and can be modified or discarded entirely. On the other hand, aging-retirement theories have perpetuated the static role of self concept. Extant activity theory suggests that self mirrors role. But, by doing so, activity theory negates the possibility that individuals are capable of exemplifying "not me's," that is, from the standpoint of performing the requirements of the role in a way they do not readily self-identify. It is unreasonable to think that individuals always place themselves in roles and activities. This might explain why differences in activity preferences exist among the elderly (Lemon, Bengston & Peterson, 1972; McClelland, 1982), or that individuals withdraw or disengage from activity (Cumming & Henry, 1961). One needs to consider at what point and under what conditions do persons stop or start investing themselves in roles.

Second, a dynamic self process considers changes as threats to self continuity to be part of a normative
process. In activity theory, life satisfaction is associated with self continuity. That is, threats to self continuity from role loss result in maladjustment. A dynamic self process assumes that changes in self-perception may induce conflict and even affects self esteem, but self change does not necessarily lead to maladjustment. Furthermore, self continuities can exist in spite of actual role loss. However, self continuities, described as self conceptions (Jackson, 1970), can at times result in maladjustment when they persist in psychological defenses and non-reality contexts by which the individual persistently denies the reality of societal disconfirmation and resists restructuring (i.e., changing) self definitions to give new meaning to self.

There are few conceptual models which consider self as an active, dynamic and idiosyncratic process. This investigation is based on a model that views self as the locus of crisis/change and adjustment to role losses. Jackson's (1970) and Horrocks and Jackson's (1972) conceptualize self as a developmental process which is operational at any an point along the life span, limited only by the individual's present cognitive-affective development, differentiation and integration of prior experiences and cognitively constructed role opportunities. In her dissertation, Jackson proposed the model of self as
process and implications of role behavior: the foundation for the statements contained herein, in which she attempted to confirm concepts related to self as a dynamic, active and idiosyncratic process.

In present study, self is the crucial component for adjusting to role loss. It is the individual's meaning of self in role which determines the nature of adjustment to loss. Jackson (1970) proposed and confirmed a theoretical model which took into account self as process without deemphasizing the importance of role. In the model, the nature of the self process is explained as,

"the self process is construed as a personal reference construct which involves a cognitive-affective or perceiving-interpreting actions system operating on the formulation of hypotheses and expectancies derived from results of learning (actual and vicarious) and processing of experiences" (1970, p.,13).

This process is amenable to scientific inquiry by focusing on the individual's cognitive-affective assemblage of identities. In accordance with Self as Process theory, an assemblage is a system of cognitive-affective self focused meanings or self hypotheses capable of being tested by the individual in roles.

Jackson critically examined the concept of role which has implications for adjustment and role loss under study. Role is a social condition and is viewed as a means for social participation. She claims roles are social
constructs which are instituted by society, but as such, a role can be constructed cognitively as a social opportunity which allows individuals to try out and validate self hypotheses. Accordingly, roles are not only social constructs having "specific ascribed and prescribed behaviors emitted during a social act" (1970, p. 145), but they are also behaviors manifested through that role as a function of the psychological basis of role behavior.

Jackson proposes that role behaviors are the manifest behavior used by the individual, emerging from cognitive-affective activity for enhancing the development of self. It is the role behavior and its relative psychological conditions which determine self expression or self inhibition in and across social situations. One form of role behavior in the self process, she postulated as role taking: a role behavior employed by individuals to exemplify, test (i.e., try out) and confirm self conceptualizations (i.e., identities) in the social milieu.

When role loss occurs, personal crisis becomes a function of denying or disconfirming the identities in role taking. This loss is especially burdensome when the role had provided the individual with the social opportunity to validate emotionally charged and valued self hypotheses. Accordingly, adjustment to role loss can manifest itself in different ways. First, one can adjust by seeking other
role taking opportunities to maintain self continuity. In responding to an identity crisis "he attempts to organize, stabilize and assess previous cognitive constructions through reality testing identities in new roles" (Jackson, 1970, p., 37). Second, "an individual successfully resolving a crisis (of restructuring) will reassess his earlier concepts of self, developing new identity clusters or sets and gains new interpretations or meanings of self" (1970, p., 37). Therefore, persons adjust by successfully restructuring their identity assemblage. In some cases, the individual may experience psychological distress depending on the emotional displacement of a given identity (or aggregate of identities). The emotional displacement, due to the saliency of a given identity complex, is contingent upon the value the individual places on it. If an individual restructures his identity assemblage, psychological change, often defined as "growth" may occur. Third, Jackson contends that persons engage defense mechanisms to avoid restructuring their identity assemblage even though the behavior in the role is no longer permissible in the social milieu. For most persons, this defense pattern of adjustment tends to be shortlived, manifests itself in fantasy and eventually requires a self reevaluation. In short, whatever pattern of adjustment taken, it is the individual's self perceptions and not the role loss itself which determines the meaning of crisis and
adjustment. Jackson's interpretations of self, role behavior and adjustment answer why some individuals do suffer from athletic retirement and others do not.

Self as Process and Role Behavior theory is a viable theoretical and empirical approach to understanding the athletic role loss. This investigation focuses on a variation of the retirement event which is associated with intensive shortlived careers (Bookbinder, 1955). The role loss is athletic retirement. Like retirement in the later years, this loss of an athletic career role has been construed in the literature as a crisis (Coakley, 1983). Unlike retirement of the elderly, athletic retirement is somewhat paradoxical: It is involuntary or unexpected and socially off-time, occuring at a productive time in the adult's work life. Furthermore, in contrast to later life retirement, there is public fascination for the retired athlete in terms of his postretirement experience (Kiersh, 1983, Kramer, 1985).

The majority of research on athletic retirement has been produced by sport sociologists. These investigations have employed social process models to test theoretical statements associated with athletic retirement. Generally, the attitudes existing in society regarding the role of athletes have been promulgated by the the popular literature and media. In doing so, they have perpetuated
an image of the former athlete as one having adjustment problems (Beer, 1987). There seems to be a certain vulnerability attached to those who engage in professional sport, or for that matter, anyone held in the public eye, and it becomes more evident when professional athletes eventually leave their sport. These attitudes stem from the perception of reduced economic benefits, loss of team camaraderie, change in careers and leaving the public eye.

The empirical data for athletic retirement are not extensive. Researchers have attempted to describe the circumstances associated with the athletic retirement experience including the retirement decision, vocational opportunities, substance abuse, etc. (Lide, 1981; Mihovilovic, 1968). Studies have sought to predict life satisfaction or comparable measure from demographic variables such as education, economic status, etc. (Haerle, 1975; Lerch, 1979; Reynolds, 1981). Other studies have applied theories of aging and (adjustment) to athletic retirement (Lerch, 1979; Rosenberg, 1981; Washington, 1981). Whereas, some investigators have considered athletic retirement as a form of social death (Lerch, 1981). Social death is defined as a type of social isolation by which the individual is ostracized by a larger group (Rosenberg, 1981). The cliche of an athlete dying twice, (first his name, then himself), has been examined in connection to Kubler-Ross' (1969) stages of dying and
Glaser and Strauss' (1965) death awareness contexts. According to this view, former athletes are considered victims of ostracism by former teammates, management and the public.

Some investigators have cautioned against overgeneralizing the adversity which faces the former athlete after his career. In an extensive review of the literature, Coakley (1983) concluded that the lifestyle of former athletes should not be held in a negative light. Coakley proposes that the athletic retirement process is grounded in the social structural context in which it occurs. He states that to understand the transitions of former athletes, there must be a greater consideration of demographic and other social variables, and this suggests, therefore, a concentration of effect due to social role structures.

However, Greendorfer and Blinde (1985) suggest that current approaches investigating athletic retirement should be expanded to account for individual differences, as emphasis should be placed on the qualitative nature of the athlete's perceptions, thoughts, feelings of leaving sport. In their survey, Greendorfer and Blinde reported that the majority of their sample of former intercollegiate athletes were satisfied with their new status. But, within their findings, though some subjects initially reported feelings
of loneliness, they later experienced feelings of well-being. This pattern suggests that some athletes were forced to restructure self assumptions or self hypotheses or found ways to maintain continuity of self; an interpretation consistent with Jackson's view on self, role behavior and adjustment.

Need for Study

There is need for the present investigation. This need stems from examination of theoretical statements concerning Self as Process of persons formerly in the role as professional football player. There is a need to add further verification of the theoretical statements related to Self as Process and Role Behavior (Jackson, 1970). This investigation replicates and adds to Jackson's research, in that, it is an empirical test of its postulates by focusing on a specific social role. Subjects are required to impose their own athletic role expectations and generate important self hypotheses as a means to validate the tenets of her theoretical position. The present investigation is based on subjects who had a common social role which is presently not available. These subjects are a select population of former professional football players, and are asked to assume the role "athlete" and "former athlete" for the intent of generating identity concepts and role behavior manifestations. By having subjects assume the role of
"former athlete," an understanding of the dynamics associated with role loss, in terms of the effects on the self process (i.e., rearrangement of the self assemblage) in role loss can be achieved.

Role loss is conceptualized in two ways. Using the Self as Process theory's postulates, role loss is defined as the loss of a means of social participation, whereby individuals can no longer behave in accordance to specific role requirements nor fulfill the societal demands placed upon them in that role (i.e., Jackson's role playing). The individual can no longer perform the requirements of the role. Role loss is described as a case of identity denial when one is denied social validation of salient or important self meanings (i.e., what Jackson refers to as role taking). Individuals become especially vulnerable to maladjustment when assumption and validation of salient identities were limited to a specific role which is no longer available which provides disconfirmation of previously held self perceptions. Jackson (1970) proposed the theoretical foundation for relating identity denial to non-permissable social roles and maladjustment. She explains,

"If roles are forms of social responsibility and individual responsibility in society, what is the effect on an individual's adjustment when the major salient identity concepts are exemplified through a specific social role? Does that individual run the greater risk of potential
self disorientation when the social role is no longer permitted than the individual who has compartmentalized or differently clustered concepts into a variety of social roles?" (1970, p.,150).

Role loss is seen as a stimulus event which may induce, what Jackson termed cognitive-affective restructuring of salient self assumptions because of identity denial. Jackson assumes adjustment to role loss is idiosyncratic to self, and as such, is a digression from traditional role theory. In short, the self as process and role behavior perspective theoretically provides an explanation as to why some individuals encountering role loss remain satisfied with self, whereas others need to restructure their self perceptions to derive new meanings of self.

This investigation employs in the analysis former athlete's perceptions, thoughts and feelings. By using Jackson's (1970) semi-structured interview, subjects respond to lead questions related to identity salience and role behavior manifestations. Subjects are able to gauge their own cognitive restructuring because self conceptualizations are amenable to reinterpretation as the saliency of identities are altered, maintained, or discarded. With the emergence of psychological services directly associated with athletic retirement, this investigation therefore may have implications for helping former athletes understand that personal distress results
from one's inability to role-take or role figment salient self assumptions.

The Research Problem

This investigation tests Self as Process and Role Behavior theory by validating postulated conceptual categories associated with self as process and role behavior. The investigation does not attempt to assess the adjustment of participants nor does it define an adjustment outcome. Instead, adjustment to athletic retirement or any role loss is defined by one's restructuring and reinterpretation of salient conceptualizations, and their validation through role taking. By having subjects take the role of "former athlete," the identity denial construct can be tested. This investigation can also intends to provide evidence of the role playing and role figmentizing behaviors as postulated in the theory.

The dissertation is organized in the following chapters. Chapter II is a review of the literature and is organized into three major sections. In the first section, current research on athletic retirement and adjustment is discussed. Review of literature is organized around variables studied, relating to the retirement process, and the crisis and adjustment associated with leaving a professional sports career. The second section discusses theoretical derivations related to self as a developmental
process and behavioral manifestation. The third section discusses shortcomings of current explanations related to crisis, adjustment and athletic retirement with an emphasis on the self and role behavior as a plausible empirical explanation. Chapter III discusses subordinate and higher order conceptual categories related to self and role behavior theory and states the hypothetical relationships between them. Chapter IV explains the methodological procedures employed and outlines steps used in content analysis and determining construct validity. Chapter V presents results of steps taken to achieve construct validity. Chapter VI presents qualitative results of conceptual categories based on responses from Jackson's (1970) semi-structured interview. Chapter VII examines conceptual categories in terms of identity denial and adjustment, as postulated by Jackson. Chapter VIII offers conclusions and recommendations for further research regarding identity denial and adjustment to role loss.
CHAPTER II
A REVIEW OF LITERATURE
THE ATHLETIC RETIREMENT PROCESS:
SELF AS PROCESS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR APPLICATION

This chapter consists of three sections: (1) the athletic retirement process; a literature review pertaining to crisis and adjustment, (2) a discussion of theoretical derivations of self as a developmental process and its relationship with behavior and 3) identity denial; theory based explanation for crisis and adjustment to athletic retirement.

Crisis and Adjustment to Athletic Retirement: An Overview

The public's fascination for the retired athlete has intensified in recent years. The last two decades show increased coverage on the topic by scholars, journalists and former athletes. Regardless of its source, this coverage has generally perceived the athletic retirement experience negatively. In Fitzgerald's (1925) Great Gatsby, the character of Tom Buchanan is depicted as a forgotten football hero turned murderer. Likewise, in The Championship Season, Miller (1972) clearly writes about the
moral decay of a coach and his former players, reunited after years of living in their past glory. Sport journalists and former athletes have also addressed the difficulties of retirement. To a great extent, these difficulties are connected to missed camaraderie (Kahn, 1973; Kramer, 1985), problems associated with leaving the public eye (Kiersh, 1983), and perceptions of failure (Bouton, 1985). Kiersh quotes a former major leaguer's feelings about missing the camaraderie of his former teammates.

"They were such a big part of my life. I'm very content now; I have very few problems. But the guys you play with, they're irreplaceable. You blow a ground ball in the last inning lose a game, and someone in the dugout says, 'Forget it, you'll drive in the winning run tomorrow.' That's what the game is all about. It's a brotherhood you'll never forget" (1983, p., 332).

Though lacking scientific rigor, these writings have largely contributed to our present level of understanding of athletic retirement. Writing on the topic of retirement, Bouton (1985), a former athlete, captures the frightening reality of ending a professional sports career. His personal accounts suggest that being released by a professional sports team marks the beginning of the end of the career. He compared his experience of being released with his own personal death. Because of this comparison, Bouton's work has recently caught the attention of sport

The present status of athletic retirement research in terms of crisis and adjustment is not conclusive. One reason might stem from an inability to separate the effects of athletic retirement from other developmentally timed events (Coakley, 1983). Coakley suggests that there is a tendency to evaluate the former athlete's crisis and adjustment in accordance to culturally established role criteria (e.g., material possession, status, etc.). Former athletes are perceived as being free of personal crisis as evidenced by material gain and fame. Conversely, a negative image persists suggesting that former athletes struggle with maladjustment as personal crises emanate from unemployment, lack of preparation for a second career, etc.. Consequently, researchers have not been able to account for the variation in self perceptions existing among former athletes' adjustment to retirement. This is due in part by the heavy reliance on demographic and gerontological models to explain the athletic retirement process as a sociological event.

Athletic retirement as a personal crisis. According to Reese and Smyer (1983), a life crisis is defined as a turning point, a decisive moment or crucial time in one's life. For the most part, athletic retirement has been
regarded as a major turning point in the former athlete's life. It is not unusual for the popular literature to write about the star athlete gone bad, battered, and over the hill (Bouton, 1985; Kahn, 1973). The purpose of this section is to show that the athletic retirement process is generally perceived as a former athlete "in crisis" and is revealed in a number of ways.

One crisis based interpretation suggests that athletic retirement is a cold and impersonal event. As a result of being released from his professional team, the athlete becomes isolated and ostricized by his former teammates. In contrast, for the older person, retirement has been described as a celebrated event. Fellow workers acknowledge the event by attending to some recognition of the retiree's service to the workplace. For the majority of career athletes, the retirement event has different meanings. Some sport sociologists have interpreted the event as a form social death, where the former athlete is avoided and ostricized by sport management, teammates and the public (Lerch, 1981). In Bouton's (1985) Ball Four, the lack of celebration is clearly documented in the following passage which depicts the social isolation of Bouton's demotion to the minor leagues.

"I went back to my locker and there was a coke sitting there that I'd opened. I gave it to Mike
Marshall and opened a beer. This was not a night for cokes. I threw my half-eaten corned-beef sandwich in the wastebasket and went over and told Gary Bell what had happened. He was kind of shocked, but as I started throwing stuff into my bag I could feel a wall, invisible but real, forming around me. I was suddenly an outsider, a different person, someone to be shunned, a leper" (Bouton, 1985, p. 112).

The impersonal side of the retirement event is evident in the actions of former teammates. Lerch (1981) notes there is often a feeling of ambivalence among former teammates when observing athletes cut or released from a team (Bouton, 1985). They feel a degree sympathy for the terminated teammate but at the same time, there is a feeling of gratitude that they themselves were not released.

Glaser and Strauss' (1965) describes the insensitivity of the athletic retirement event. Although derived from hospital settings, Glaser and Strauss propose that a person's knowledge of impending death occurs in an interpersonal context. They propose four interpersonal awareness contexts which include closed, suspicious, mutual pretense and open contexts. Lerch (1981) applied Bouton's (1985) own personal accounts of his exit from baseball with Glaser and Strauss' death awareness contexts. According to Lerch, the retirement event is unlikely to be an open context, where both athlete and management openly acknowledge the impending retirement decision or player's
release. Instead, the context is more likely to be closed, suspicious or pretentious. In the closed context, the athlete is unaware of his release even though management provides him subtle cues that his release is forthcoming. Unaware of these cues, the athlete is shocked to hear of his release. In the suspicious context, management denies the player's impending release, though the athlete is sensitive to cues which would suggest the possibility. A mutual pretense situation occurs when both management and athlete know the end is near but pretend otherwise.

Neugarten and Datan (1973) propose that individuals internalize the timing of life events like social clocks. They argue that perceptions of "off time" events can induce stress. Since athletic retirement typically occurs between the twentieth and thirtieth year of a player's life, it is considered premature in its timing and therefore could be regarded as stressful. However, there is little evidence that the athletic retirement event is more stressful than for other occupational fields or shortlived careers (Bookbinder, 1955). There also is little empirical evidence to suggest that athletic retirement, directly leads to later personality problems or other forms of maladjustments.

Personal crisis could result from a combination of unexpected changes in the former athlete's life. For
example, Rosenberg (1981) describes a new status of non-athlete from the standpoint of an economic imperative, "the act of retirement severs the athlete's connection with sport insofar as his/her active participation for pay is concerned" (p. 118). But, with the presence of complex pension plans, wise investments, and endorsements, economic adjustments may be minimal (Lerch, 1979). Lide (1981) reported that the annual earnings of most of his subjects were higher when they were playing professional football. However, he notes that despite his subjects' premature retirements (subjects played no more than four years), the longer their playing career, the lower their annual income was following retirement. Lerch (1979) examined the change in economic status of former major leaguers and found that post-retirement income as opposed to pre-post retirement income difference was a stronger predictor of life satisfaction. Furthermore, Lerch reported that most retirees made the necessary adjustments to a reduced income. This economic adjustment is comparable to Strieb and Schneider's (1971) sample of older retirees.

The former athlete faces other related changes. Changes can occur in an interpersonal domain and mandate changes in the athlete's perceived social position with respect to former teammates and public at large. Kramer (1973) analyzes his own retirement in terms of leaving the
"Giving up football is giving up the hero's role. I worry about that. I wonder how much I'll miss being recognized, being congratulated, being idolized...But then I thought of all the guys who've tried to hang on, who've tried to regain their peaks after their skills have left them" (p., 358).

In his most recent book entitled *Distant Replay*, Kramer (1985) writes about the lives of his former teammates who are reunited after years of separation. In the following passage, Kramer details the effects of leaving the public eye on a former teammate.

"Nobody wants to be Fuzzy anymore... It cut right through me. It captured in six words the sadness of being an ex-athlete, the loss, the void. You grew accustomed to being fussed over. All of us missed it. Some of us missed it more than others. Fuzzy missed it more because Fuzzy needed it more. Fuzzy always needed people, a crowd, an audience. He liked people...Fuzzy never tired of it. He loved it. Then, one day, or one night, not in his own saloon, but in a strange bar, in a strange town, the people didn't know who Fuzzy was, didn't know he was an ex-Green Bay Packer great, or didn't care" (1985, p., 7).

This passage has implications for the athletic retirement decision as a forced career change. It is forced from the standpoint that most athletes retire involuntarily. In fact, Mihovilovic (1968) reported that nearly 95 percent of his sample of former soccer players retired for external reasons beyond their control (e.g.,
injury, management, family, etc.). Lide (1981) used involuntary retirement as a criteria for selecting his sample of former professional football players. The former athlete forced to retire has skills which are, for the most part, obsolete in other work settings, and find that employment in athletic related fields, other than playing, are limited (Haerle, 1975; McPherson, 1980; Mihovilovic, 1968). Therefore, the crisis is manifested in the abrupt realization that his limited skills and competence are unacceptable and do not apply in other work settings. For this reason, the former athlete may become a vocational liability.

The vocational crisis has been documented by a number of sport researchers. For example, McPherson (1980) noted the dangers of perpetuating an athletic role. The longer an athlete stays in professional sport, the more difficult it becomes to acquire other job-related skills. Haerle (1975) found a similar career pattern among former major league baseball players. He discovered that former major leaguers without college educations were more likely to play longer than those college educated. Moreover, the noncollege player tended to seek career opportunities in baseball even after his active playing days (e.g., manager, scout, etc.).
These findings address a career pattern not uncommon to this population. McPherson (1980) cited one reason for former athletes seeking sport related roles. He argued that some athletes become ambivalent toward leaving the temporary security of sport because they realize the need to develop themselves elsewhere but fear the uncertainty. McPherson provides an example of this ambivalence.

"I couldn't wait to get out of it on the one hand, I just walked away from it as fast as I could. There was the pain thing...But the game—the game does not prepare you for anything else. And although I knew that mentally, you could say I never absorbed it emotionally. All it leaves you with, when you reduce it, is this memory of an incredible emotional high, an extraordinary alertness. Either you try to re-create that focus or you give it up....At my age (46) I'm casting about for something to do..." (p.,131).

Career persistence may be related to realizing a youthful dream. As noted by Levinson et al. (1978) an important task for the young adult is to formulate a dream. For the athlete, however, this dream might be formulated quite early in his life and persist over time. This is evident in quotation below which demonstrates the determination of a minor leaguer to realize his dream of playing in the major leagues.

"I will never resign myself to not ever playing in the major leagues again. I will
never ever do that because you just never
know I might get my stroke back again to the
point where no one can get me out" (Graeff,

More so than just realizing a dream, Ball (1976)
contends that career persistence, despite deterioration of
skill and performance, continues to subject the athlete's
marginality to the public. For example, Graeff (1985)
quotes a former major league star rationalizing his failure
to get back in the major leagues and reasons for staying in
the minor leagues. "We may be old, but we are the best
looking, the best in shape...and the ones the women come
and look at the most" (p.,15). Ego defenses entitle the
struggling athlete temporary security, but in some cases,
continual denial of marginal abilities may lead to serious
physical and psychological distress.

Bradley (1987) discusses a type of psychological
distress. According to Bradley, "Behind all the years of
practice and all the glory waits that inexorable terror of
living without the game" (p.,204). This short passage is
the popular view of the former athlete facing psychological
death. Kahn (1973) dramatically captures this crisis in
his novel, Boys of Summer.

"Unlike most, a ball player must
confront two deaths. First, between the
ages of thirty and forty he perishes as an
athlete. Although he looks trim and feels
vigorou
the superlative reflexes, the major league reflexes, pass on...At thirty five he is experiencing the truth of finality. As his major league career is ending, all things will end. However he sprang, he was always earthbound. Mortality embraces him. The golden age has passed as in a moment. So will all things. So will all moments (p., xvi).

This perspective suggests the athlete dies twice, first his name and passion for the game and later his own biological death. The Glaser and Strauss' (1965) social death perspective has been discussed earlier and used to explain the athletic retirement event. Another applicable perspective is Kubler-Ross' (1969) stages of death and dying. This perspective is especially insightful in discussing the psychological distress associated with accepting one's own biological demise. Kubler-Ross proposes that persons learning of their terminal illness, initially deny the prognosis. Later, the patient shows anger, bargains with God, becomes depressed and finally accepts the inevitable. Likewise, in hearing about their demotion or release, Lerch (1981) suggests that former athletes experience a parallel psychological dynamic. That is, the athlete first denies his demotion, becomes angry as result, bargains with management to keep him around, later experiences depression and eventually accepts his demise. The application of this scenario to the former athlete should be interpreted with caution. First, other theorists
have taken issue with Kubler-Ross' dynamic stages and the methods to draw its conclusions. Furthermore, this application, although descriptive, has not been empirically tested with a sample of former athletes.

The personal crisis associated with the athletic retirement process has been interpreted in a variety of ways. These interpretations have included the psychological distress associated with the retirement event itself, the abrupt changes in social position, persistence of marginal abilities and one's psychological death. Most of these interpretations are based on popular literature and speculation. However, one cannot ignore the realities of role loss, the stresses and adjustments which follow it. For some athletes, the role loss can be a major crisis, and how they attempt to restructure their lives is the subject for the next section.

The athletic retirement adjustment process. This section contains the current conceptualizations related to how former athletes adjust to retirement. Sport sociologists have primarily attended to and applied gerontologist approaches. In these investigations, life satisfaction is synonymous to adjustment. Like gerontological approaches, life satisfaction or comparable measure (e.g., job satisfaction) is predicted from a host of demographic variables (Arviko, 1976; Haerle, 1975;
Lerch, 1979; Reynolds, 1981) or couched in adjustment and aging theory (Lerch, 1979; Washington, 1981). The writer contends that with these approaches, the former athlete is viewed as a passive participant in adjustment to role loss.

What are the variables which predict life satisfaction among retired people? Generally speaking, it has been established that income, education, the retirement decision and health seem to be strong predictors of life satisfaction among the gerontological populations (Robinson, et al., 1986; Strieb & Schneider, 1971). In terms of the retired athlete, some of these variables are strong predictors of life satisfaction (Lerch, 1979). For example, Lerch (1979) and Arviko (1976) found that education was a strong predictor of life satisfaction and is a covariant with age. Lerch noted that education was more important among younger retirees involved in second careers. In contrast, education was not a predictor of life satisfaction among older former major leaguers. Lerch speculated that education is more pertinent to the younger retiree because of current emphasis on professional credibility and advancement. Likewise, Arviko surveyed retired major leaguers and discovered that education was highly correlated with both life satisfaction and job satisfaction, although the correlation variables was greatly reduced when the father's education was employed as
a control variable. Nevertheless, unlike Lerch's sample, Arviko's youngest and oldest cohorts did not differ in terms of education as a predictor variable.

Investigations reported that income, retirement decision, and health were correlated with life satisfaction measures. Arviko (1976) and Lerch (1979) reported significant positive relations between income and life satisfaction. Like the older retiree, the former athlete is more satisfied with life if adequate levels of income are present. Interestingly, Arviko proposed that the former athlete faces serious adjustments when reduced income is not congruent with his previous lifestyle (e.g., dress, grooming, material gain, etc.). Lerch's findings suggested that income was more important to recent retirees because of family obligations.

In one of the few studies examining the relationship between retirement decisions and life satisfaction, Arviko reported a weak relationship between volition and life satisfaction. A greater nonsignificant relationship existed between volition and job satisfaction. These findings contradict the findings of Strieb and Schneider (1971). These researchers reported higher life satisfaction among retirees willing to retire. As part of their findings, Strieb and Schneider stressed the effects of prior attitudes toward retirement as an intervening
variable between volition and satisfaction. Similarly, Lerch (1979) found a significant correlation between prior attitudes and life satisfaction. However, significance was limited to the older major leaguers. According to Lerch, this finding contradicted expectations that recent retirees needed favorable attitudes toward retirement to be satisfied. Lerch conjectured that increased responsibilities among recent retirees decreased the importance of pre-retirement attitudes.

Health status has been found to be an important predictor of life satisfaction among older retirees (Robinson, et al., 1986; Strieb & Schneider, 1971). In one of the few investigations examining health among former athletes, Lerch (1979) reported a significant relationship between health and life satisfaction. However, a stronger relationship existed among the older and not recent retirees. Though health related, Kleiber, Greendorfer, Blinde and Samdahl (1987) examined the quality of exit and life satisfaction among intercollegiate basketball and football players. According to these investigators, when the quality of exit was related to a career ending injury, subjects reported lower life satisfaction levels. The reasons for this relationship remain unclear. Regarding the "quality of exit thesis," Kleiber et al's., reported mixed support, suggesting that "good" exits do not
influence life satisfaction but "bad" ones might. Both Lerch (1979) and Kleiber et al.'s., (1987) findings demonstrate that an association between health related phenomenon and life satisfaction are not limited to older career athletes.

To date, only two investigations have tested theoretical applications of aging and adjustment to athletic retirement. Washington (1981) specifically examined applicability of activity, disengagement and identity crisis theories to a sample of former professional football players. Employing a biographical approach, Washington found the strongest support for activity theory, even though slight evidence for the other positions was indicated. She concluded that, "in some instances, the adjustment pattern of an individual appeared to support or partially support more than one theory" (1981, p.,183). This suggests that adjustment to athletic retirement cannot be attributed to only one theory of aging and adjustment. These findings lend support that adjustment to role loss is a dynamic psychological process, which cannot be explained by a single theory of aging and adjustment nor solely predicted from a cluster of social variables.

Lerch's (1981) investigation which applied a theory of aging and adjustment to athletic retirement. Utilizing a sample of former major leaguers, Lerch tested the validity
of continuity theory. As a construct of this theory, the individual strives to maintain continuity in lifestyle following retirement. Therefore, the most adjusted individuals are the ones having minimal lifestyle changes or experiencing few discontinuities. Specifically, Lerch selected three continuity variables to predict life satisfaction which included careers connected to sport, minimal income reduction and commitment to sport. Results indicated a lack of support for the continuity perspective. Continuity variables accounted for only 20 percent of the variance. Further comparisons of cohorts indicated that continuity was more applicable to the recent retiree facing immediate career changes.

Recent reaction toward these gerontological applications to athletes has not been favorable. In a conceptual paper, Rosenberg (1981) critiqued aging and adjustment applications by citing a number of pitfalls with respect to these theories. For example, despite Washington's (1981) support for disengagement theory, he argues that it contradicts the achievement based philosophy of athletics (i.e., the notion that the younger workers replace the older ones does not always apply to athletics). As noted earlier, some of the older subjects in Mihovilovic's (1968) investigation employed strategies to undermine younger players for the purposes of maintaining
their place in the athletic organization. Furthermore, in
sport biographies, it has been written that athletes "hang
on" to a sports career regardless of skill deterioration
(Kramer, 1973, 1985; Kahn, 1973). In contrast to
disengagement concepts, retiring involuntarily does not
suggest a mutual withdrawal of athlete and society at
large. Disengagement also contradicts Levinson et al.'s
(1978) contention that young and middle adulthood marks a
time of "becoming one's own man." It represents a stable
period in the life span, characterized by individuals
establishing their place in career and contributing to
community affairs.

Rosenberg (1981) suggests that activity and continuity
theories are reasonable explanations for the former
athlete's adjustment because their major tenets are
incorporated in social breakdown/reconstruction and
exchange theories. In social breakdown theory, the retiree
is subjected to external labeling because of role loss.
According to this view, retirees allow tasks and activities
associated with the work role to atrophy. As a result of
continual breakdown, retirees feel they do not serve a
viable role in the society. In a theoretical revision,
Kuypers and Bengston (1973), propose retirees can
reconstruct a new image and prevent further social
breakdown, increasing their own self reliance and seeking
alternatives to the traditional work ethic. Similarly, Dowd (1975) proposes an exchange theory of aging and adjustment, in which the retiree attempts to realign diminishing power resources by rearranging social networks and activities to maximize returns.

Rosenberg (1981) contends both views are applicable to the former athlete's situation. First, social breakdown/reconstruction theory views the retired athlete as being vulnerable to redefinition. Through retirement, skills obtained through an athletic career become obsolete. Painfully aware of being unskilled for the "real world," former athletes develop a negative image of themselves. To counteract, former athletes begin to reconstruct their social identities by learning new ways to resocialize themselves into the mainstream of life. Strengths of this theory lie in its optimism and acknowledgment of counseling interventions to help the athlete cope and regain a positive self image.

Exchange theory recognizes that the athletes must "exchange" their physical skill for other available power sources. This position parallels Peck's (1968) observations of middle-aged males who must rely on wisdom and experience instead of once physical powers. Below, Peck describes the shift from physical power to wisdom.
"Some people cling to physical powers, both as their chief "tool" for coping with life, and as the most important element in their value-hierarchy, especially in their self definition. Since physical powers inevitably decline, such people tend to grow increasingly depressed, bitter, or otherwise unhappy as they grow older. Moreover, they may become increasingly ineffective in their work roles and social roles, if they try to rely on physical powers which they no longer possess" (Breytspraak, 1984, p., 109).

According to Rosenberg, interventions are needed to help athletes understand "what is happening, or will, to their relationship with their sport over time" (1981, p., 123). Through this anticipation, former athletes are receptive to understanding the consequences of declining power bases and management's role in this process. In terms of the latter, exchange theory adopts an adversary relationship between athlete and management. That is, management is more concerned with cost-effectiveness and not compensating the athlete's declining power base.

Summary. The issue addressed in this section is whether theories of aging and adjustment apply to athletic retirement or whether it is fruitful to predict adjustment from social variable clusters? The literature indicates that the bias for understanding the former athlete's crisis and adjustment is a social one, emanating from the thinking of social gerontologists. Rosenberg's (1981) proposed that exchange and social breakdown/reconstruction theories are applicable, but both theories have yet to be tested with
respect to athletic retirement. Aging related approaches are suspect in explaining the adjustment of former athletes. As noted in Chapter I, aging and adjustment theories are rooted in role theory in which adjustment is viewed as a function of status loss of role rather than the meaning derived by the individual from the role.

In the following sections, an alternative explanation to athletic role loss is derived from Self as Process and Role Behavior theory (Jackson, 1970). The first of two sections discusses this theoretical perspective in relation to pertinent self concept issues. The last section represents a direct application of this theory to the athlete's crisis and adjustment. A Self as Process and Role Behavior perspective views crisis and adjustment as being contingent on reconceptualization of salient identities through available role taking opportunities. In other words, the athlete's crisis and adjustment are manifested in a psychological and not a social process. The crisis herein is called "identity denial," in that salient identities are unable to be tried in a role taking experience. To adjust, the former athlete must seek new role taking opportunities to maintain identity salience or has to cognitively-affectively rearrange his perceptions of self (identity hierarchy), a rearrangement which displaces affect.
Self as Process and Role Behavior: Conceptual Alignment

The problems and issues surrounding self concept have been well documented (Gordon & Gergen, 1968; Rosenberg, 1979; Wylie, 1961). As noted by Allport (1955), self concept begs for questions.

"It is temptingly easy to assign functions that are not fully understood to a mysterious central agency, and then to declare that it performs in such a way as to unify the personality and maintain its integrity" (p. 36).

Since it is of the unobservable variety, from a historical standpoint, self concept has not been appealing to behavioral positivists. Nevertheless, regardless of Allport contributions the fact remains that few empirical gains in self concept research have occurred. Rosenberg (1979) claims that the lack of progress in self concept research is due to social scientists' inability to define and operationalize it. Furthermore, Rosenberg contends that substitution of related terms such as proprium (Allport, 1955), and ego identity (Erikson, 1959) have not "dispersed the clouds, mists and vapors" (1979, p. 5).

Moreover, considering all the hyphenated versions of self, such as self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1979), self-efficacy, (Bandura, 1986), and self-actualization (Maslow, 1954) just to name a few; it is no wonder that construct validity is a major problem in self concept research.
Jackson contends that self concept has become an enigma because social scientists have ignored "inferential subjective cognitive processes" (1970, p.6). This investigator concurs that self is the study of cognitive-affective interpretations of the individual of himself by himself. In other words, self is a dynamic and idiosyncratic reference process. Jackson (1970) and Horrocks and Jackson (1972) claim this process is amenable to scientific inquiry. This section presents theoretical derivations of self as a developmental process and its relationship with behavior.

**Self: A developmental process.** Harris (1957) defines development as change or movement over time toward greater differentiation and hierarchical integration. In addition, the focus of change typically varies across domains (e.g., social, cognitive, physical, etc). The pattern of change, however, may vary depending on the particular domain and the theorist's convictions. For example, some theorists claim developmental changes progress spirally or on an uneven front, that is, the organism retreats to levels of maturity already attained before progressing to the next level (Langer, 1970). Similarly, Erikson (1959) proposes that psychosocial development adheres to an epigenetic principle, meaning that certain developments exist in more primitive forms but
ascend at predetermined times. Some theorists argue that development moves through invariant qualitative stages (Erikson, 1959; Piaget, 1970; Selman, 1980). Stage theories are usually based on teleological notions that development progresses toward some ultimate endstate. More recently, developmental progression has been viewed as a flexible pattern (Baltes, Reese, & Lipsett, 1980). Some developments can be universal, but others are influenced by historical events and the culture at large. Therefore, developmental changes move in predictable and/or unpredictable directions at any point along the life span, though some theorists argue that adulthood is far less predictable than other developmental periods (Flavell, 1970).

As a developmental model of self, Jackson (1970) claims that entry for studying self as process and role behavior can occur at any point in the life span. She does not propose a predictable stage pattern of self development; nor does she see the individual's contents (i.e., identities) and products (i.e., role behaviors) progressing in a discernable pattern. The contents and products of the self process are learned; what the organism claims to be, at least for the moment, is determined by the numerous environmental inputs which are selectively processed. Nevertheless, the self process itself and the
operations thereof, are predictable from the standpoint of the organism's cognitive and other biological developments. For example, one can only expect an infant to grasp meaning of itself from sensory-motor inputs and not hypothetico-deductive knowledge. However, an adolescent can predictably gain self meaning through both cognitive-affective operations.

How persons come to know and conceptualize themselves has been addressed by a number of developmental theorists. Some theorists claim that self development is a product of phylogensis which is unique to man's evolution. This is not to say that other organisms cannot achieve a primitive sense of self recognition. For example, Gallup (1977) reported that highly evolved apes such as chimpanzees can achieve self recognition under certain experimental manipulations. Furthermore, other theorists have acknowledged the evolutionary uniqueness of self concept, pointing to man's ability to symbolize and abstract his own being (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972; Jackson, 1970; Kegan, 1983; Meade, 1934; Sarbin, 1962).

An understanding of self development cannot be achieved without a consideration of the subject and object dialectic. This dialectic has come a long way since James (1890) originally proposed the I-me duality in which the self becomes an object of its own subjective experience.
Baldwin's (1902) origins of self knowledge are defined in terms of a "self-other" dialectic. A number of theoretical viewpoints have recognized the impact of the "other" in self development. For example, the importance of the other in self development is fundamental to the symbolic interactionist position. To the symbolic interactionist, "the person and society are inextricably bound so that selves and society have no reality apart from each other." (Breytspraak, 1984, p.,30). It is perhaps Cooley's (1902) "looking glass self," which best exemplifies the symbolic interactionist contention that self conception is the product of the individual-society dialectic. This suggests that knowledge of self is a product of one's knowledge of the other in symbolic interaction. In other words, self knowledge is achieved through self-reflection by interpreting and symbolizing the responses of others toward self.

Psychoanalytical theory acknowledged the impact of others on self development. For example, Freud (1953) acknowledged implicitly self-other dialectic by proposing that ego moderates the tension between societal demands (i.e., super-ego) and individual impulses (i.e., id). Though Freud has been criticized for his overemphasis on the unconscious instincts and sexual drives, each of his psychosexual stages suggests a self-other tension. A
number of Neo-Freudians have captured this tension. In his theory of psychosocial development, Erikson (1959) posits eight self-other tensions or crises. According to Erikson, early self-other crises are preconditions for a stable ego-identity formation. In contrast, later self-other crises provide the testing grounds for maintaining a stable identity. By definition, ego-identity is one's ability to maintain an inner sameness and continuity which is congruent to the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others.

While these theories connect self development with social significant others, emotional conflict and need satisfaction; other views are derived from tenets of cognitive epistemology (Kegan, 1983). Cognitive epistemologists have disconfirmed Baldwin's (1902) notion that there is a similarity between the process by which the self and other are known (Damon, 1983). Damon argues that one's achievement of individuality is not identical to one's learning about relations with others. Whether it be knowledge of self or other a developmental progression mirrors cognitive development as originally proposed by Piaget (1970). According to this view, self development emerges from the inability to differentiate self and other. Once self and other boundaries are defined, that is, knowing an object exists independently, self knowledge progresses
from purely physicalistic to abstract conceptions.

Jackson (1970) proposes an eclectic view of self development, interfacing the evolutionary uniqueness of self concept with cognitive epistemology, self-other tensions and learning theory. In a later collaboration with Horrocks (1972), self was defined as a developmental process "by means of which the organism derives and constructs self-products which, taken together, represent the organism's interpretation and meaning of itself" (p.,7). This conceptualization has its roots in a number of perspectives. First, Jackson (1970) views the self process as an evolutionary development which concurs with Mead's contention that man's ability to symbolize himself and his social interactions makes self development an aspect of his phylogenesis. Another evolutionary uniqueness associated with man's self development pertains to synthesis-integration drive (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972).

According to Horrocks and Jackson (1972), underlying an organism's developmental complexity is the presence of basic drives. With the exception of synthesis-integration, drives common to all organisms include organization, equilibrium, completion and motility-unrest. These work together to ignite the organism's drive to maintain intactness, stability, order and movement over time. Unlike the other drives, synthesis-integration emerges from
a neurological substrate found in cognate beings. This drive is especially critical in self development because it requires a complex cognitive structure, whereby man can "retain cognitive products and to create new meaning relationships" (1972, p., 17). Therefore, they propose synthesis-integration as man's drive to make meaning of himself in a complex social world. Through this capacity, man is able to interpret and integrate past, present and future expectations and experiences. This cognitive-affective activity provides for a dynamic reference construct, as one achieves self definition, exemplification and continuity within a complex social and physical environment.

Jackson (1970) views cognition as a process requiring motivational components where one anticipates and imparts meaning to stimulus objects. This activity is a dynamic relational or meaning making process; in which the capacity for the acquisition and production of meaning is limited only by the organism's cognitive development and other motivational mechanisms (e.g., preferential orientation or perceptual styles). The interpretation and integration of past and present experiences in relation to self progresses from sensory-motor and formal operating loci. More recently, Kegan (1983) has taken a somewhat similar stance. He proposes "meaning making" mirrors the
same cognitive progression, but emphasizes that meaning is couched in a subject-object balance or evolutionary truce. Meaning making is a product of subject-object embeddedness, as different ways of knowing about self evolve from an old to new center. What Kegan refers to as the "new center," Jackson (1970) earlier termed reference loci. Reference loci allow one to evaluate and relate incoming physical and social stimuli to the meaning of one's own being. Self meaning is achieved through a relational process, whereby similarities and differences (with self and other) are processed and incorporated into a dynamic reference loci. The products of this process are the self referents manifested in social role behaviors.

In accordance to this model, there is an active "pulling together" of meaning loci to form aggregates of integrated referent meanings called self concepts. In theory, there are no boundaries to the number of self concepts an individual can cognitively construct, but qualitative differences exist in the contents of self because of the individual variations in cognitive abilities, deficits and development. The multiplicity of self concepts existing in cognitive-affective structure, are "pulled together" into dynamic structures called identities. In this respect, Jackson (1970) differentiated between self concept and identity. That is, identities are
dynamic self hypotheses emerging from combinations of self related concepts, pulled together for purposes of testing them in situations through available social roles. In other words, identities are dialectical; possible selves in situations, so to speak, and the contents of a developing self process. In early development, individuals are unable to postulate the "if's" and "then's" associated with themselves in their environment. Not until formal operations, as Piaget (1970) proposes, can one come to know the world and themselves in conditional, hypothetical terms of "if's" and "then's." In short, an identity is an "if me-then me in this situation" which exists in cognitive-affective structure; acquired, differentiated, and integrated through experiences in social roles. For this reason, Jackson (1970) calls an identity a self hypothesis, amenable to confirmation or disconfirmation in a multitude of situations associated with role participation and enactment. Moreover, it is possible to test a number of identities in a given situation depending on one's self-exemplary needs and demands conditions surrounding the role behavior opportunity.

The multiple contents of the self process are hypothetically organized in a complex "identity assemblage or hierarchy." The structure of which is determined by its identity salience. Like the person placing worth on an
external object, one can also place worth or salience on aspects of his/her own self as object, especially if the identity is confirmed consistently over time by persons considered important or significant to self (Jackson, 1970). Although the multiplicity of self contents is boundless, only self representations with considerable salience are of any consequence to the individual's social interaction and reality testing. This is achieved by developing a system of values, or what really matters to the individual. Values are acquired from the culture and represent the standards for existing cognitive-affective structures. In this regard, values provide evaluative criteria which the individual ascribes to objects, actions of others, and oneself. In terms of the latter, Jackson claims that values are a frames of reference integrated in cognitive-affective structure which dictate the direction and purpose of one's own behavior, selection of roles and validation of salient identities.

In Self as Process and Role Behavior theory, the integration of one's values manifested in cognitive-affective structures can represent the person's ideal of himself/herself. A value is a conceptualization and elaboration of a rule which guides the organism; an affective anchor manifested in one's attitudes which establishes modes of behavioral conduct and purpose. Like
the development of self concepts, values are also cognitions and have their origins in affective feedback emanating originally from the infant's somatic demands. It is here that the developing individual begins to discriminate between what is good or bad (i.e., attended or avoided) in terms of stimulus inputs, thus establishing early expectations and standards for behavior. These standards are later elaborated in self exemplary needs. Values are perceived as "sculptors" which shape and define the identity assemblage into a more stable and flexible conceptualization. As such, "those identities or concepts of highest significance in the self-process are most representative of values held tending to take precedence in an individual's actions" (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972, p. 76).

The relationship between self and behavior. A last issue to consider is the relationship between self and behavior. In keeping with the positivist tradition, psychological constructs must be tied to reliable observation. This raises the question of whether or not self is synonymous with overt behavior. According to Gordon and Gergen (1968), this creates problems because it allows theorists to conveniently replace an unobservable construct with behavior. Therefore, the question becomes one of searching for possible internal processes which differentiates behaviors which are and are not a
manifestation of self. For example, Turner and Gordon (1983) have recently distinguished "true" and "spurious" self enactments. True or spurious behavioral manifestations are based on the dimensions of impulse versus institution and individual versus society respectively. As an example, along the impulse dimension, (i.e., sheer unpremeditated, undisciplined desire), they reported a greater frequency of "true" self expressions. In contrast, a greater frequency of spurious self expressions are associated with the institutional dimension (i.e., socially appropriate behaviors such as altruism, ambition, rationally calculated behavior, etc.). Furthermore, Turner and Gordon propose that both true and spurious self expressions are trans-situational, determined by perceptions of self control and early socialization experiences.

Likewise, Jackson (1970) proposes that self is not always manifested in behavior. Moreover, a nonself representation is not spurious, instead, it is the performance of an expected behavior which is cognitively construed to be the requirements of a specific role. The performance of the role is evaluated not in terms of self criteria. In addition, behavior also is a representation of self. Instead of calling this an aspect of one's "true" self, Jackson labels it a self hypothesis or "identity." A
"true" self is not dynamic because it implies a permanent self conception over time.

Jackson (1970) recognizes internal psychological processes guide and modify self and nonself behavior. Both self and nonself related behaviors are performed in roles. Discussed earlier, roles are simply a means of social participation. The meaning of the behavioral enactment is derived from self needs or in performance of the role (i.e., meeting societal demands): a decision resting only in the individual's perceptions and interpretations of situational cues associated with the role opportunity. Jackson states that self and/or nonself behavioral manifestations are two forms of role behaviors. Role taking and role figmentizing are self behaviors. The former is an overt manifestation of self and the latter is covert. Role playing, a third form, is a "not me" overtly performed in accordance to societal expectations and demands in which the "not me" is not evaluated in terms of self criteria, but is evaluated by performance criteria.

Jackson (1970) proposes a dynamic model. The dynamic origins are derived in internal psychological conditions. In theory, role behaviors are in continual flux (i.e., interchangeable) depending on situational cues. Persons engaging role playing behaviors are preoccupied with role performance criteria and in doing so, behave in accordance
to demands and requirements of a given situation. As
Jackson contends, role playing behaviors are like acting
out of habit. The person is engrossed in his motor act and
not the meaning of the motor act in terms of himself.
In role taking behaviors, role enactments can emerge as
criteria for one's own self standards and thus become
intrinsically motivated; the goal being self reinforcement.
In role figmentizing behaviors, these same self standards
can be reinforced, but manifested covertly, as the
individual actively seeks confirmation of himself in a
fantasy world. For the most part, self standards
manifested in fantasy are often idealistic deviations of a base
in reality. The determination of these behaviors is
contingent on psychological conditions. These conditions
involve reality or nonreality context, identity or anti-
identity manifestation, reflexiveness (self-other feedback)
and motivation. These conditions are discussed in depth as
they apply to athletic role loss in the following chapter.

Summary. The self and role behavior perspective, as
originally proposed by Jackson (1970), has been discussed
with respect to the major issues related to self concept
research. Self is viewed as a dialectical and
developmental process operationalized at any point in the
life span. The developmental contents of the self process
are cognitive-affective structures called identities or
self hypotheses. Identities vary from individual to individual and have no predetermined pattern of emergence. Identities are self expressions learned through social participation in roles. Identities are self constructions, they derive unity by cognition and are reinforced in their meaning through role behavior. In addition, identities can reflect self standards or values, aspirations and as such, represent the person's ideal. A person's ideal self constructions can remain so because they are not engaged in reality testing. Jackson proposes that ideals can be secured in role figmentizing. Performance through role playing are not sources of cognitive dissonance, but represent learned behaviors meeting situational demands and role expectations. Such performance, termed a "not me," is an externally imposed behavior which has not been self evaluated. However, self evaluations of role performances represent a shift from role playing to role taking.

Self, Role Behavior and Athletic Retirement

Earlier in this chapter, the crisis and adjustment associated with athletic retirement was discussed from a social process view. The former athlete "in crisis" was linked to the athlete retirement event itself, suggesting a cold impersonal interaction with teammates and management (Bouton, 1985) or public humiliation through demotion to
less competitive teams (Ball, 1976). The crisis reflected stressors associated with career changes or even changes in social status and manifested itself in various maladjustments such as alcoholism (Beer, 1987; Hill & Lowe, 1974). The former athlete's adjustment was conceptualized as a complex pattern of social variables or satisfaction with life. In terms of the latter, adjustment depended on the athlete's zest for life, his future optimism outside the athletic world, satisfaction of meeting his athletic career goals, taking responsibility for his own life, and his level of self esteem. It is the investigator's contention that a sociological orientation views the former athlete's crisis as being influenced by external factors while adjustment is nested in a complex pattern of social variables defined by the culture.

A sociological view structures the former athlete's crisis and adjustment around external factors he has no control or personal attributes defined by the culture (e.g., educational level). In doing so, this view excludes the former athlete from assessing his crisis and adjustment with respect to his own self concepts and values. For this reason, as noted earlier, "...scientists who deny inferential, subjective cognitive processes, the study of self becomes an enigma, because the process is the study of cognitive-affective interpretations by the individual of
himself" (ibid, 1970, p.,6). In this respect, understanding athletic retirement is derived from the former athlete's constructions of himself and dynamics thereof (i.e., restructuring the identity hierarchy).

Discussed in Chapter I, the investigator reviewed Jackson's (1970) position on self as process and adjustment to "crisis." An extrapolation of Jackson's position (1970, p.,37) suggests that the former athlete's locus of crisis and adjustment is his identity assemblage. Adjustment is contingent on restructuring, reorganizing and retaining its saliency; by obtaining social validation of its contents through other role participations or resisting change altogether by employing self defenses (e.g., rationalization). Whatever means actively taken, at the heart of the matter: the former athlete experiences "identity denial," an intrinsic psychological state whereby his salient identities are less amenable to social feedback and validation (e.g., fans, media, teammates, etc...).

In role loss, there is a stronger possibility of identity denial because viable social opportunities attached to a specific role are not available. It is possible that role opportunities peripheral to the specific role lost become lost as well, or if available, are ineffective for role taking salient identities. When
this occurs, identity denial becomes more pervasive. For example, the athlete suddenly retired, realizes other roles such as public speaker, promoter, etc., become unavailable or are ineffective for validating important self meanings. As a result, the athlete must seek other ways to reduce the emotional distress attached to the reality demands of restructuring his identity salience (i.e., affective displacement through organismic activity).

By focusing on self as process and role behavior, a reinterpretation of current views on athletic retirement, as an event process, can be revealed. First, the death metaphor, so clearly described by Bouton (1985), Bradley (1987) and Kahn (1973); or what Kramer (1985) calls the void and sadness of being an "ex" athlete, infers a need to restructure salient self meanings and/or a deficiency of opportunity to satisfy self exemplary needs. For example, Kramer recalls a former teammate, "Fuzzy missed it more because Fuzzy needed it more... Fuzzy never tired of it... Then..., the people didn't know he was an ex-Green Bay Packer great..." (1985, p.,43). Although Kramer describes it in third person, the void is manifested in the lack of social validation of "Green Bay Packer great," and the painful restructuring of a self need not satisfied is implied.
Jackson's (1970) perspective has implications for the social death experience associated with the athletic retirement event (Lerch, 1981). On the one hand, a sociological view emphasizes the social death context; what happens in the social interaction between the victimized athlete and his former teammates (e.g., mutual pretense). On the other hand, she stresses the subjective interpretation, that is, social death as a cognitive-affective inference, a psychological state whereby one assesses social feedback gained in self-other interaction and evaluates it in terms of his concepts of self. An extrapolation of Jackson's tenets suggests that social death is reflexiveness which leads to disconfirmation and reorganization of the identity hierarchy. Therefore, Bouton's (1985) perception of his minor league demotion, "I could feel a wall, invisible but real, forming around me. I was suddenly an outsider, a different person, someone to be shunned, a leper" (p.,112), is a reflexive state because Bouton’s self inferences (e.g., a different person, a leper) are reorganizations based on self-other feedback.

The painful process of restructuring identity salience is applicable to Kubler-Ross' (1969) stages of death and dying. The psychological dynamics of denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance are; according to Jackson, the painstaking process of reinterpreting,
stabilizing and restructuring the identity hierarchy. For example, athletes denying their demotions and/or finding ways to bargain themselves back on the team are employing self defenses to maintain the salience of their identity assemblage. Failures to do so, leaves the athlete angry and depressed (i.e., affective displacement), until eventually self acceptance is achieved (i.e., successful restructuring). However, unlike Kubler-Ross, Jackson finds it unnecessary to delineate the process of restructuring salience into psychological stages. This stems from the unpredictable nature of role behaviors and the social opportunities thereof. Furthermore, Jackson does not attach psychological endstates (e.g., Kubler-Ross' acceptance) because testing self hypotheses is situational and often unpredictable.

Jackson, as did Lecky (1945), believes that individuals resist self changes. Restructuring the identity hierarchy is change, and for the most part, change is stressful, especially when it involves salient aspects of self. With respect to the athletic retirement, resisting self change is inferred in the following sociological findings: athletes prolonging their playing careers despite skill and physical deterioration (Hill & Lowe, 1974), subjecting themselves to less competitive levels by accepting demotions (Ball, 1976), pursuing a
secondary career in their sport such as coaching, scouting, etc. (Haerle, 1975) or sabotaging the hopes of younger athletes in order to maintain their position on team rosters (Mihovilovic, 1968). The relationships between self consistency, cognitive-affective mechanisms and role persistence have implications for the patterns described above. Jackson acknowledges social contraints in pursuing alternative role opportunities, such as sanctions of society (e.g., educational level). However, she further contends that the ineffective role taking is attributed to cognitive-affective mechanisms. Most notably, values or standards of self worth play a major role in restricting hypothesis testing in alternative roles (i.e., prolonging an athletic career needlessly). "Values help to maintain self consistency despite change in social contexts and their role demands" (Horrocks and Jackson, 1972, p.,98).

Furthermore,

"Their cognitive styles preclude the ability to seek multiple means and objectives. They can only envision or hypothesize one solution or path or perhaps a very few, for the performance of a role, even though the available role prove to be inadequate or unsatisfying to their self-needs. Their inability to seek an alternative role has been obviated by constricted orientation to seek other social opportunities. They can see no other way because they cannot conceptualize another alternative directed toward the same purpose. As a result, they continue to derive negative feedback from their hypothesized
identity, instilling a negative self-image mainly through inappropriate, inadequate, and ineffective role assumption (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972, p. 98).

For the former athlete, maladjustment is manifested in a pervasive identity denial. The conditions of identity denial can begin long before athletic retirement. A first condition begins when athletes actively restrict their self and role involvement to being the "athlete." This process begins at any point in the life span. For some former athletes, it may begin as early as childhood and extend through the adult years. These athletes value those meanings of self that have gained positive feedback from significant others, maintained a sense of self continuity, and/or elicited positive feelings when assuming the role "athlete." However, the inevitable "life without sports" brings with it the "void and sadness," as Kramer (1985) so eloquently describes. According to Jackson (1970), this is self as process, a dynamic reference system inseparable from its neurophysiological substrate. The former athlete is like any other person experiencing role loss. He must find a way to salvage and/or restructure what is worthy of himself (i.e., salient identities), and/or engage new role opportunities, regardless if they are related to athletics. This is done to reaffirm what he is and what he is becoming (Allport, 1955). For this reason, the role is irrelevant
and adjustment to role loss is never complete. Most importantly, through role loss, self as process is a means, not a means to an end. Role loss is not a deterioration of social identity per se, as Roscow (1973) contends, but a process which acts and reacts to reality demands (Jackson, 1970). Therefore, as a stimulus input, leaving sport may have significant self meaning depending on the identity salience for which the former athlete only knows and feels. Like the widower, widow, divorcee, college graduate, etc...; the former athlete evaluates his new role opportunities only in terms of himself, thus righting himself through continual reorganization of his identity assemblage.

The next chapter discusses the **Self as Process and Role Behavior** perspective in terms of its conceptual categories which form the hypotheses under study. Like any complex process model, the conceptual categories to be discussed are not mutually exclusive. As such, they are defined as higher versus lower order conceptual categories. The strategy presented in the following chapter is a discussion of each lower order category, its inclusiveness and relationship to "identity denial." It is here the athletic retirement event becomes empirically related to self process, crisis and adjustment.
CHAPTER III
CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES
AND HYPOTHESES

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss higher and lower order conceptual categories related to self and role behavior theory. Higher order concepts are composed of those subcategories, or the conditions which determine a form of role behavior, role behavior interchangeability, identity salience and identity denial. In this investigation, conceptual categories are also confirmed by subjects assuming a specific role and its loss.

Conditions Determining Role Behavior Manifestations

Jackson (1970) discussed the differences between role and role behaviors. She claimed that roles are a functional concept; in that, they represent ascribed and prescribed socially determined behaviors emitted during a social act. However, an individual's performance in a role is determined by a different form of role behavior. A role behavior, therefore, is defined as an overt or covert manifestation and is a product of cognitive-affective activity which may or may not be representative of one's
self-meanings or identities. To Jackson, a role is a social opportunity by which role behaviors may be employed to validate identities. In addition, role behaviors can represent egocentric conditions to fantasize self representations, or as social opportunities to express nonmeanings of self (i.e., not self perceived). Jackson (1970, p. 76) identified and confirmed four psychological conditions which determine three forms of role behavior. These forms include role taking, role figmentizing and role playing and are outlined in Table 2. These role behaviors are the higher order categories under investigation herein. Table 1 has been derived from Jackson (1970, p. 76) for the purposes of outlining and discussing role behavior conditions. Jackson states,

"Role behavior is not a synonym for, nor synonymous with roles. Role behavior refers to the methods used by an individual as functions of both observable and unobservable cognitive-affective activity and for enhancing the development of self as process. Roles refer to specific ascribed and prescribed behaviors emitted during a social act..." (1970, p. 145).

Whereas, "role behaviors are process formations dependent upon the factors relating to self, motivation, reality, and reflexiveness" (ibid, 1970, p. 146).

Reality and nonreality conditions. Reality and non-reality conditions are defined in Table 2 (see
(Ibid, 1970, p.204-205). Reality and non-reality conditions provide the contexts for role performance. The differences between these conditions as they relate to role performance.

"Roles are dependent upon the perception of reality held by individuals involved in interactive behavior. When a role is an inner-constructed condition not consensually validated for expectations and behavioral requirements, then the role becomes a means for non-reality based performance" (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972, p.110).

Reality is a psychological condition whereby one subjectively constructs a state of role consensus between self and other. With the onset of concrete operations, one is no longer dominated by an egocentric embeddedness of self and other. Role consensus is a subjective state; derived from the knowledge of "other" (Selman, 1980), as one simultaneously processes role expectations for him/herself and the other during social interaction. To Jackson, this interaction becomes a source of feedback for testing and evaluating one's self hypotheses (identities) or one's role performance as it meets the expectations of others.

Identity versus anti-identity base. Conceptual categories of identity versus anti-identity are defined by Jackson in Table 3. Role performance represents a "concrete manifestation of a hypothesized identity or set
Table 1
Role Behavior Forms
(Jackson, 1970, p. 76)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Behavior</th>
<th>Reality</th>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role Take</td>
<td>Yes---</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Interactive</td>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consensus</td>
<td>concepts</td>
<td>Self-other-</td>
<td>Locus of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mutually perceived</td>
<td>manifested</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in context</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>is self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Figment</td>
<td>Non-reality subjective</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>No---not interactive</td>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>concepts</td>
<td>not in context</td>
<td>Locus of control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nonreflexive</td>
<td>is self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Play</td>
<td>Yes---</td>
<td>Anti-Identities</td>
<td>Interactive but</td>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>consensus</td>
<td>contextual derivations</td>
<td>non-self</td>
<td>Locus of control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mutually perceived</td>
<td>of behavior</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td>&quot;Others&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of identities presenting an observable product of the self process" (ibid, 1970, p. 135). As previously discussed, an identity is rooted in cognitive-affective structure. It is a product of cognitive operations, allowing the individual to engage reality with hypothetico-deductive process. In other words, an identity is a self hypothesis tested against reality. In contrast, role performance can be expressed as an anti-identity. An anti-identity (i.e., not self perceived), as defined by Jackson (1970), is an externally demanded behavioral enactment, whereby one's role performance satisfies role requirements and ensures
Table 2

Lower Order Categories Associated with Reality Context (Jackson, 1970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Category</th>
<th>Definition of Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reality Context</td>
<td>When a role is consensually validated condition, as behavioral expectations and requirements are mutually perceived by self and other. Roles are situationally bound.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Reality Context</td>
<td>When a role is an internally constructed condition not consensually validated for expectations and behavioral requirements. Non-reality bases include fantasy, dreams, imagination and pretense play.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

status quo (i.e., functional effectiveness) between self and other.

Employing her semi-structure interview, Jackson found evidence for both identities and anti-identities. She had subjects generate identity concepts by comparing themselves to significant others or role representatives who were the most different or similar to self. In reference to perceived differences, one of her subjects described himself as being "mature" when comparing himself with two friends.
"...They enjoy being together, both of them need other people and they enjoy their work, they enjoy their students—just like people—like to be around people... I'm older and a little more mature, I'm not as athletic. I'm a little bit different personality in the sense that I am a little more stable, a little more mature...." (Jackson, 1970, p.,93).

Subjects also produced identity statements by comparing themselves with an "exemplar" or someone who personified a given concept. As noted by Jackson (1970), this method established an anchorage for a concept in which a subject could locate himself in reference to an exemplar. Below, another subject describes himself in reference to the identity concept, "good-looking," by comparing himself with an exemplar.

"(Name) is probably one of the nicest looking guys I know. He's not tall and he's not real dark but he is attractively slender and yet quite athletic. He doesn't wear his hair real long but medium long and it looks nice, and he's got a lot of hair which is attractive to me since that's one of my few good features... However, I'm decidedly inferior to him in looks and in body formation and facial expression and probably speed and agility of movement" (Jackson, 1970, p.,95).

In addition, she reported the presence of anti-identities. In the example below, one of her subjects describes himself as one who likes to act the way he feels, but opts for a "not me" (i.e., stiff upper lip, optimism) because the demands of the situation calls for it.
"I'd like to be able to complain... to let my hair down like at home and act the way I feel. But I usually try to keep a stiff upper lip around people I don't know well or that don't know me well, and had people ask me why I was so cheerful when I wasn't really cheerful at all. I simply emulate optimism, I think, in situations where I'm not well known or do not well known or do not know the people well" (Jackson, 1970, p.,119).

Reflexiveness. The reflexive condition has been delineated into three types: self-reflexive, non-self reflexive and non-reflexive. Each is defined in Table 4. Jackson defines reflexiveness as the act of directing an action back upon the doer of the act, and she notes reflexiveness has theoretical origins in Cooley's (1902) notion of the "looking glass self." Cooley (cited in Breakwell, 1983) proposed that self development occurs as a result of people seeing themselves as others see them because they learn about themselves from others; "others" serve as mirrors in which individuals can see themselves. Mead (1934) extended this notion by proposing that persons evaluate themselves in reference to a "generalized other." Accordingly, the generalized other is a subjective apprehension, as one comes to understand the world as others do to maintain the social order. Mead believes self to be a social process. He explains this by reworking James' I-me dialectic. He proposes the "I" as an impulsive, undisciplined and unorganized potential of
individual uniqueness which yields to social constraints, so that self and behavior essentially mirror society. Mead calls this social construction the "me" portion of the I-me dialectic. Therefore, selves and society have no reality apart from each other. Jackson disputes Mead's view, claiming he ignores individual variables in self-other interaction, those "underlying factors originating within individuals who participate in a social act are treated as inconsequential for expected social role performance" (ibid, 1970, p.,160). Reflexiveness becomes a critical condition in affecting and differentiating each form of role behavior.

What Mead is describing as the development of "me" should not be confused with what Jackson (1970) refers to the process of non-self-reflexiveness. Mead describes meeting other's expectations as essential to selfhood but only in terms of maintaining the social order or "social conduct." In this respect, individuality is defined in terms of similarities that exist between the person and others in society. Jackson, however, views meeting other's expectations as an individually determined cognitive-affective evaluation process of one's performance in role enactments. Specifically, non-self reflexiveness is understanding the results of one's role performance, but the behavioral feedback emanating from interaction is
Table 3
Lower Order Categories
Associated with Identity Manifestations
(derived from Jackson, 1970, pp.,112-117)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Category</th>
<th>Definition of Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identity Base</td>
<td>Self assumptions are present and tested against reality as overt behavioral manifestations. (e.g., &quot;I'm the middle of the road type, between my values and integrity...I will cater to their expectations...but if it violates too much...of the things I believe in, I rationalize or get out of the situation.&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a me&quot;</td>
<td>OR A covert behavioral expression of a self hypothesis which is aspired, often futuristic. (e.g., &quot;I imagine myself...I envision myself doing this...I hope I can someday become....&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-identity</td>
<td>A behavioral expression of a &quot;not me&quot; which is a role requirement, demand or expectation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;not me&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

psychologically processed and evaluated in terms of what the individual perceives to be the expected role performance criteria. The role performance, therefore, is not evaluated in terms of self focused standards or concepts. Jackson reported one subject evaluating his
performance in terms of what he perceived to be the expectations of his work role. "Oh, I played the part... I was the darling, the junior executive on his way up" (ibid, 1970, p.,116).

When evaluation of a self-other interactions involves self focused-self oriented standards, Jackson terms this self-reflexiveness. Essentially, she postulated that self reflexiveness is a necessary condition which differentiates role taking from role playing. Self reflexiveness is a psychological process by which the results of self-other interaction are evaluated and integrated into cognitive-affective structures representative of self. In reflexive conditions, the doer of the act and the actions directed back upon the doer are evaluated in reference to self criteria (i.e., meaning loci), and depending on the criteria's personal value, yields a relative "emotional charge" defined as affective displacement. This may be one reason why Jackson (1970, pp.,13) claims self to be a learning process. Evaluations of others' feedback in terms self related criteria act as internal stimulus reinforcers, manifesting themselves in positive or negative affect, and can determine expectations for future role behavior. Thus, with affective displacement as a learning outcome, one learns to "act toward one's own person in the same manner one acts toward others..." (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972,
A third type of reflexiveness is termed non-reflexiveness. This is an evaluation of self based on self-other interactions but restricted to non-reality contexts. Accordingly, as Jackson contends, evaluations of self are not based on reality encounters or concrete feedback from self-other interaction. Evaluations reside in an egocentric world. In this respect, self evaluations often manifest themselves in the form of what are generally termed aspired identities, ideals, etc... Jackson postulates that non-reflexiveness differentiates role figmentizing from role taking in that self evaluations are derived from non-reality contexts. This does not suggest, however, that an individual is free from affective displacement. It is quite possible that negative affect could emanate from one's own egocentric constructions or figmented role interactions. This is consistent with Ellis' notions of self defeating statements and their effects on one's emotional state and behavior (Corsini, 1984). Unless self evaluations can be tested in reality, the negative affect emanating from these irrational beliefs persists indefinitely. Corsini explains,

"...emotional problems directly stem from magical, empirically unvalidatable thinking; and that if disturbance-creating ideas are vigorously disputed by logico-empirical thinking... because these beliefs are unrealistic, they will not with
stand objective scrutiny. They are essentially deifications or devil-ifications of themselves or others; and when empirically checked and logically assailed, they tend to evaporate..." (1984, p.,198).

Although the non-reality context is implicit, Jackson (1970) found evidence for non-reflexiveness in statements inferring self evaluations related to future fears.

**Motivation.** Table 5 outlines two motivational conditions which determine role behavior. In doing so, Jackson notes the interrelationships among motivation, locus of control, and reinforcement. Jackson cites English's (1958) definition of motivation: "personal or organismic determiner of the direction and strength of action or of a line of action" (1970, p.,202). Extrinsic motivation directs behavior outside the organism, often associated with consumptive acts and needs reduction (learned or otherwise), as the organism's behavior is purposeful in terms of striking an internal homeostatic balance. In contrast, intrinsic motivation is a "self reinforcing activity" (ibid, 1970, p.,203) when informational discrepancies occur between stored and new inputs. Intrinsic motivation has been associated with exploration, competence and mastery behaviors (Harter, 1978).

To Jackson, motivation is the energized, goal oriented, directional determinant of behavior, and does not
Table 4
Lower Order Categories Associated with Reflexiveness (Jackson, 1970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Category</th>
<th>Definitions and Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>A feedback principle derived from self-object interaction. Feedback gained from behavior is reflexive in that it is described as the act of directing an action back upon the doer of the act. The feedback gained from interaction is evaluated in terms of self defined criteria. The self-object interaction can occur as me-they, me-he, me-she me-them, me-you, etc..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>Feedback does not immediately qualify concepts of self; but relates to performance criteria. Behavior is not for self but in accordance to others' demands, expectations, etc..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Reflexiveness</td>
<td>Self is evaluated in the absence of self-other interaction and feedback.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

exist independently of two other psychological states known as reinforcement and locus of control. Reinforcement is a psychological construct whereby the organism knows of a contingency between its response and stimulus outcome, whether it be aversive or positive. Locus of control is a
cognitive mechanism, whereby the organism formulates a generalized expectancy of a stimulus outcome (i.e., reinforcer) following its response. According to Rotter (1954), locus of control is an expectancy that the probability of a certain response outcome occurs as a function of one's own characteristics (i.e., internal locus) or factors beyond one's control such as luck or fate (i.e., external locus).

In Self as Process theory, role taking and figmentizing are intrinsically motivated behaviors. Both are self-directed behaviors. Collectively, role taking and figmentizing are cognitive-affective activities manifested in goal directed behaviors which are based on the probability that a self-reinforcing outcome (i.e., positive affect) is under internal control. Consistent with Harter (1978), positive affect is derived from feelings of competence or self mastery; that one successfully validated self standards.

Conversely, Jackson (1970) proposes that role playing is extrinsically motivated. The individual adheres to role requirements to avoid negative sanctions directed toward self by others, or to gain socially determined rewards. In either case, the role enactment is focused externally on "other" induced consequences. She reports one subject becoming more externally motivated into assuming role
playing (i.e., disengaging) to avoid negative feedback toward self.

"But larger groups have an inhibitory effect in putting myself across to others. I start frank, start speaking... jovial... see if they match up my sense of humor with theirs and if I get a cool reaction, I disengage... I back out" (1970, p.,114).

**Interchangeability: Dynamics**

Interchangeability is a shift in role behavior.

It reflects the dynamics of the self process. Horrocks and Jackson (1972) claim that even to the close observer, role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Category</th>
<th>Category Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motivation (Internal)</td>
<td>The source of behavior enactment is self-reinforced; one believes he/she is in control of behavior consequences; of which are evaluated in terms of self defined criteria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation (External)</td>
<td>The source of behavior enactment is reinforced by the &quot;other;&quot; the individual understands that he is not responsible to himself for his actions; behavior occurs as a result of others' expectations, demands, requirements etc..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

oward self.
taking and role playing may be indistinguishable. Only the observer's perceptions of the role behavior as being acceptable or unacceptable to the social role can be evaluated. Likewise, interchangeability manifests itself in figmentizing behaviors. Individuals, as noted in Jackson's (1970) sample, can just as easily shift from reality to nonreality contexts to reaffirm identity concepts. Two subcategories related to the interchangeability dynamic are defined in Table 6.

Developmental shift. Developmental shifts in role behavior reflect the ongoing processes inherent to cognate beings. As the person attends to and processes incoming stimuli, these stimuli are matched against existing cognitive-affective structures, or the cognitive-affective structure is adapted. If change does not occur, cognitive conflict (i.e., high entropy) persists and survival of the concept is threatened. Assuming, according to Jackson, self or nonself representations manifested in cognitive-affective structure are subject to change, the change affects identity structures.

Jackson (1970) and later with Horrocks and Jackson (1972) propose that developmental shifts from role playing to role taking often occur as a result of social conformity. Through repetitive experiences, one learns that an expression of an anti-identity (i.e., role playing)
Table 6
Lower Order Categories
Associated with Role Behavior
Interchangeability

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Category</th>
<th>Definition of Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developmental Shift</td>
<td>Over time, anti-identity expressions can be reorganized into possible self representations. Identity manifestations through role taking can also be discarded and become anti-identities over time. A developmental shift from role figmentizing to role taking might occur when the individual fantasizes ideals, aspirations, etc; which later in life are tested against reality in role taking. (e.g., RF-RT shift: &quot;[a career in sports] it was always in the back of my mind... Then I had a pretty good senior year...I think that's the reason why I was encouraged to try to pursue it as a career&quot;) (Gordon, pilot interviewing).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situational Cues</td>
<td>Stimuli present in situations influence a shift in role behaviors. It frequently occurs as a result of social conformity (i.e., a role-taking to role playing shift). Shifts can occur at any time with any combination of role behaviors depending on the present situational constraints. This is a &quot;for the moment&quot; shift in role behavior. (e.g., &quot;I won't sit back and let the class go by without saying two words. But larger groups have an inhibitory effect in putting myself across to others&quot;) (Jackson, 1970, p.,114).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
can lead to conformity with social expectations. Likewise, one learns that an expression of an anti-identity can have favorable outcomes. As a result, one's anti-identity can become integrated into cognitive structure to differentiate new concepts. When an anti-identity becomes a self representation, it demonstrates that one is capable of taking personal ownership of an "other" standard. At times, it might be in the individual's best interests to accommodate an anti-identity. Since role playing behavior can be "at variance with self-percepts, it follows that cognitive dissonance or cognitive strain will often ensue" (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972, p.,117). To reduce the dissonance (Festinger, 1957), one may reorganize the anti-identity into a self representation.

Other developmental shifts can occur. For example, shifts from role taking to role playing can occur. That is, an identity concept can be discarded as a result of cognitive dissonance built up through unsuccessful reality testing. When situational demands call for the same identity, it may later manifest itself as an anti-identity. Other shifts occur when an identity manifested in role figmentizing eventually becomes tested in role taking. Jackson (1970) reported of one subject who figmentized being a soldier as a child and was later rejected by the
military service because of physical problems. Interestingly, this subject's disconfirmation of this identity through role taking eventually led to the formation of a potential anti-identity (not me).

**Situational Cues.** Interchangeability can also occur when factors specific to situations require the individual to shift role behaviors. Situational cues provide information as role requirements. For example, Jackson reported of a situational cue (relating to the role instructor) which induced one subject to shift from role taking to role playing. When engaging the student role, one subject wanted to assume the identity "provocateur" but with certain faculty, he selected to role play the "nice student."

**Identity salience**

There are five interrelated categories of identity salience originally postulated by Jackson (1970). These are defined in *Table 7*. A salient identity involves a self hypothesis which is emotionally charged (i.e., affective displacement) and sensitive to significant others' reactions. A salient identity appears to remain conceptually stable over time and provides a sense or perception of continuity with past and present conceptions of self. Identity salience is integrated with individual
values, standards, ideals, etc.. In this respect, a salient identity is extremely important to the individual and has prominence in the individual's identity hierarchy or assemblage. If confirmation of the identity is not available through role taking, the identity can lose its importance (value).

The risk in role taking becomes greater when it involves testing a salient identity. Jackson (1970) and Horrocks and Jackson (1972) consider this a dilemma in the self process.

"One of the dilemmas of the self-process is that the more important certain identities are to the identity hierarchy, the greater risk incurred in role testing, especially in the case of those identities associated with peers, family, and occupations. If role taking attempts are unsuccessful a person is likely to experience stronger affects from these unsuccessful attempts than from other threats to the identity clusters" (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972, p.,64).

This statement points out the interdependence of lower order categories associated with identity salience. The relationship between confirmation of significant others and affective displacement is clear. The stability of identities over time and their integration with values are contingent on consistent significant other feedback. Furthermore, identity salience has implications for identity denial, adjustment from role loss becomes a
function of continual seeking of validation of important identities through role taking to avoid negative affect.

Significant other. Jackson (1970) argues that individuals need feedback from others to evaluate assumed identities. Horrocks and Jackson (1972) reviewed studies which suggested a positive relationship between self acceptance and acceptance of others. Therefore, a significant other is defined as one who has a confirmatory or disconfirmatory effect on an identity tested against reality. This also suggests that not all people are significant effectors, (including those individuals traditionally thought of as significant, e.g., maternal figure). This notion is a more flexible interpretation of significant other than those espousing the various psychosocial models in which it is limited to a specific stage in the life span (Erikson, 1959). The greater affective displacement resulting from disconfirmation, the greater the identity's salience.

Value incorporation. Values function as rules or standards for present and future role behavior and emerge during early development. Jackson claims that values are meaning loci derived from somatic cognitive-affective structures.

"The somatic self cognitive representations, emanating from a biological base, emerge as
(1) establishers of standards upon which behavior is determined, and (2) criteria set for evaluating one's own action. Thus, they are the beginnings of value criteria" (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972, pp., 23-24).

Thereafter, a value system develops through the process of socialization. It is manifested in one's attitudes, modes of conduct and goal seeking behavior (e.g., enhancing self process or obtaining a reward). A value is a product of the socialization process (i.e., significant others) and once internalized, becomes a prime source for cognitive dissonance and negative affect. Once internalized, a value becomes a personally owned standard for behavior which has meaning and worth to the individual. In this respect, a value reflects one's self exemplary needs. Horrocks and Jackson (1972) summarized the interdependence of values with significant others.

"...values represent a system of evaluative criteria formulated by the individual during his process of development. Values develop from the inculcation of cognitive-affective encodings of the results of learning, imitation, and reinforcements and are reached inductively from behavior. Furthermore, values also acquired through longitudinally developed socialization efforts either directly or vicariously with significant other persons" (p., 73).

An individual's identity assemblage is a reflection of one's personally derived value system. That is; determining when, where and what identities to test in role
Table 7
Lower Order Categories
Associated with Identity Salience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Category</th>
<th>Definition of Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Significant Other</td>
<td>Is there a significant other present (e.g., parental figure, teammate, friend) in confirmation and disconfirmation of identity statement. For example, &quot;I start frank, start speaking... jovial... see if they match up my sense of humor with theirs and if I get a cool reaction, I disengage, I back out&quot; (Jackson, 1970, p., 114).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value Incorporation</td>
<td>A salient identity can be expressed as a standard or value, that is, something that is of worth to the individual. Values are personally constructed criteria. (&quot;Value most, personal integrity, ideas I consider my own, being honest with myself.&quot;) (Jackson, 1970, p., 124)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td>A salient identity is perceived to be stable over time or continuous. (e.g., &quot;I have always been this way.&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discontinuity</td>
<td>A salient identity which has been rearranged on the hierarchy. It may ascend or descend on the hierarchy. (e.g., &quot;Being Christian at one time was number one, but not this time, that's not number one. But I think I'm a damn nice guy.&quot;) (Jackson, 1970, p., 102).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective Displacement</td>
<td>A salient identity is a manifestation of being oneself which is emotionally charged. It is sensitive to affective feedback.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
taking reflects the individual's value system. Consequently, when one's value system is unstable, self referents are unstable as well. As a result, one is apt to assume anti-identities. Horrocks and Jackson (1972) cite adolescence as a developmental period when individuals are most susceptible to unstable value and self conceptualizations. The adolescent is faced with difficult task of achieving a stable identity assemblage without behavioral standards to gauge role taking efforts. Jackson (1970) found evidence for value incorporation among her sample. Jackson discovered that through role taking behaviors, subjects were able to evaluate and modify self-standards.

**Continuity.** Jackson (1970) proposes that an identity (or set of identities) can maintain or change their position of importance. Continuity refers to the stability of identity's relevant position over time enhanced through successful role taking. If not successful, one's reliance on defense mechanisms may achieve a temporary sense of continuity. She deduces that the individual is more likely to attend to and select information and accumulate experiences which confirm identities of greater importance (i.e., salience). Steady confirmation of important identities not only "cements" their position to self but
increases their resistance to change.

**Discontinuity.** With self process' inherent dynamic, it is possible for salient identities resisting change, eventually to do so. This describes the discontinuity of identities, in that, what one once considered him/herself to be important "then" is no longer as important "now." That is, through the gradual experience, an identity can move its relative position on the identity hierarchy. However, when abrupt rearrangements occur on the hierarchy, the individual is susceptible to affective displacement.

**Affective displacement.** Some theorists claim that affect is the "meaning of a transaction" between the organism and its surroundings (i.e., self-other dialectic) (Cicchetti & Stoufe, 1978; Kegan, 1983). Affect is the meaning and motivational system that cognition serves. That is, "all thinking and activity emanate from a background of feeling" (Cicchetti & Stoufe, 1978, p. 311). Kegan (1983) integrates cognition (i.e., knowing) and affect (i.e., feeling) into a unifying context or "experiencing activity" called meaning. He explains,

"Seen psychologically, this process is about the development of "knowing;" but at the same time we experience this activity. The experience, as we will see, may well be the source of our emotions themselves. Loss and recovery, separation and attachment, anxiety and play, depression and transformation, disintegration and coherence--- all may owe their origins to
the felt experience of this activity, this motion to which the word "emotion" refers. I use the word "meaning" to refer to this simultaneously epistemological and ontological activity....." (Kegan, 1983, p.44).

Jackson (1970) not only predicted Kegan's statement about meaning but went beyond it. While Kegan calls meaning a unifying contextual activity for knowing and feeling, Jackson earlier on, termed meaning a dynamic loci for relating, interpreting and integrating the past and present and with the expectation of future experience. This loci is manifested in a biological drive called synthesis-integration. This drive is inherent to the neurological substrate and is unique only to the human species. In this respect, it "presupposes a relatively complex cognitive structure capable of processing and interpreting exterior experience and internal sensation" (Horrocks & Jackson, 1972, p.17). Kegan contends that meaning is observable and inter-subjectively ascertainable. Jackson termed it affective displacement, in which affective displacement is an observable product of "meaning making." In other words, what is known is felt and what is felt is known; is a simultaneous activity manifested in the physiological substrate and accessible in motor and verbal behavior.
Jackson (1970, Appendix A), in an extensive summary of the role literature, juxtaposed the intensity of cognitive-affective mechanisms with making meaning of oneself in social interaction. In doing so, she applied Sarbin's (1954) notion of organismic involvement. On one end of the scale, self and role are highly differentiated as organismic involvement in role interaction is minimal. This is contrasted with self and role being undifferentiation which leads to "maximal involvement of the entire organism with much effort expended" (Jackson, 1970, p. 162). Sarbin calls this level of involvement "bewitched." The physiological and social controls engaging lower levels of organismic involvement in role interaction cannot function.

Along these lines, she notes Schachter and Singer (1962) who claim that emotion is a joint function of bodily arousal and cognitive interpretations. Their work suggests that persons are able to label their physiological and emotional state with cognitive interpretations from events in their environment. Conversely, it is also possible for cognitions to induce emotional states. Therefore, cognitive and affective states are reciprocal. This suggests that evaluations of self hypotheses through role taking are open to cognitive and affective
interpretations. Considering the interdependence of cognition and affect, it would seem that the more intensely individuals assume themselves in role (role taking), the greater the consequences in terms of somatic response.

Identity Denial

Role loss becomes a case of identity denial when one is denied the opportunity to test and obtain social validation of salient or important self meanings. Identity denial involves the interdependence of lower order categories related to role taking and identity salience. Identity denial is a psychological construct, whereby the degree of stress associated with it depends on salience of identities no longer validated in a former role. In other words, since the self process involves the total organism, self assumptions derived from continuous significant other confirmation and highly integrated value system become vulnerable to intense affective displacement (i.e., physical and emotional discomfort). When related to the athlete's role loss, the former athlete's self exemplary needs, as defined by his identity hierarchy, require him to seek role interactions associated with his former role to obtain positive affective feedback and subsequent validation of salient identities. As an example, the former athlete seeks reality contexts, specifically role interactions peripherally associated with his former role,
to reaffirm his "in the public eye" image which has become a salient aspect of his identity hierarchy. The former athlete attempts to maintain friendships with former teammates, accepts speaking engagements, prolongs his association with a player agent, etc., to sustain the structure of his identity hierarchy and avoid the negative affect of identity denial. Considering the dynamics of the self process and unpredictable nature of role taking opportunities, restructuring the identity assemblage (i.e., discontinuity) is a likely, but nevertheless, painful way to deal with emotional discomfort of identity denial.

For identity denial to occur, one must try to test salient identities in role taking. There must be disconfirmation of continuous self standards (i.e., values) and hypotheses (i.e., identities) by significant others. The former athlete experiencing identity denial faces the task of coping with affective displacement because his role involvement, as defined by Sarbin, may be very intense. Adjustment becomes a function of restructuring an identity hierarchy which is emotionally and cognitively structured. Adjustment results in role taking salient identities in other available roles. Or, adjustment is occurs by figmentizing salient identities.
Hypotheses

Hypotheses have been proposed to determine the construct validity of higher order categories related to Self as Process and Role Behavior theory. Hypotheses are based on relationships between lower order and their higher order constructs discussed above. These hypotheses are tests of construct validity and are contingent upon results of interrater agreements and reliabilities of lower order categories. Hypotheses are based on regression models containing units of role behavior (i.e., segments of interview) and judges' ratings on subcategories.

Hypothesis testing is delineated in the following areas: 1) prediction of role behavior units from judges' ratings on role behavior conditions, 2) prediction of interchangeability units from judges' ratings on situational cues and developmental shifts, 3) prediction of identity salience and denial units (i.e., judges' ratings on affective displacement) from judges' ratings on conceptual categories associated with identity salience and denial.

Hypotheses and role behavior form. Table 1 outlines the interdependence of psychological conditions (lower order categories) associated with each form of role behavior. Hypotheses below are based on regression models
consistent with postulates which hypothesize the
interdependence of psychological conditions as predictors
of role behavior form.

**Hypothesis (i):** Judges' ratings on reality context, identity base, self reflexiveness and intrinsic motivation significantly discriminate on units designated as role taking.

**Hypothesis (ii):** Judges' ratings on reality context, anti-identity base, non-self reflexiveness and extrinsic motivation significantly discriminate on units designated as role playing.

**Hypothesis (iii):** Judges' ratings on nonreality context, identity base, nonreflexiveness and intrinsic motivation significantly discriminate on units designated as role figmentizing.

**Hypotheses and role behavior interchangeability.**

Table 6 outlines the lower order categories associated with role behavior interchangeability. Hypotheses below are based on regression models which hypothesize that situational cues and developmental shifts occur when two or more role behaviors are present.

**Hypothesis (iv):** Judges' ratings on situational cues significantly discriminate on units with designated situational cues.

**Hypothesis (v):** Judges' ratings on developmental shifts significantly discriminate on units with designated developmental shifts.

**Hypotheses and identity salience.** Table 7 outlines the interdependent conceptual categories associated with identity salience. The hypothesis below is based on a
regression model consistent with Jackson's (1970) postulate that a salient identity is an emotionally charged self-hypothesis and which is predicted from valued significant others, evaluation of social feedback in terms of self criteria (self-reflexiveness), one's incorporated self standards or values, and perceived continuity and discontinuity of identities.

**Hypothesis (vi):** Judges ratings on significant other, self reflexiveness, values incorporation, continuity and discontinuity significantly predict judges' ratings on affective displacement of units designated as role taking.

**Hypotheses and identity denial.** The hypothesis below is based on a regression model which tests the construct validity of "identity denial." Identity denial occurs when one is denied social validation of salient or important self meanings. A regression model based on this definition has been established and is proposed in the hypothesis below.

**Hypothesis (vii):** Judges ratings on significant other, self reflexiveness, values incorporation, and discontinuity significantly predict judges ratings on affective displacement of units designated as identity denial.
CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY

Issues in Construct Validity

In psychological research, construct validity is a logical necessity, but it can be a formidable task, especially if the constructs involved are not clearly defined. Well defined and logically deduced problems are more easily solved. Self concept and adjustment have multiple meanings, are poorly defined constructs and therefore the issues of validity are the central focus (Bills, 1982; Hoyt & Creech, 1983). According to Bills, to define something means to agree upon it. But agreeing on what constitutes the constructs of self or adjustment, and the conditions involved in operationalizing them, does not appear to be highly probable in the near future. This lack of consensus is due in part to the two disciplinary approaches taken which attend specifically to either a sociological or a psychological perspective. As a result, each discipline has its own way of conceptualizing self and adjustment and the scientific methods used to determine
their validity.

Bills (1982) has delineated two general research approaches. The first is the technique-centered approach which presupposes the existence of self concept, and makes it amenable to quantification. The other approach is inference-centered which does not assume a direct measure of self concept, but develops methods by which self can be inferred. The inference centered approach, however, is time consuming and expensive for it typically uses small sample sizes to establish interrater reliabilities and agreements upon which inferences about self or adjustment are supported and validated.

Most studies examining athletic retirement and adjustment have relied on life satisfaction indexes or other quantifiable means. Greendorfer and Blinde (1985) propose that a better understanding of athletic retirement and adjustment can be achieved by employing qualitative research approaches. They explain,

"Unless retirement studies include methods in their design which incorporate the athlete's interpretation and reaction to the sport structure, as well as the information pertaining to the athlete's perceptions of his or her personal experience of leaving sport (e.g., biographical information), it would seem that assumed relationships between leaving sport and psychological adjustment might not be as clear as suggested by the existing literature" (p.108).
According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975) qualitative approaches are predominantly "procedures which produce descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior" (p.,4). This method does not adhere to rigorous objective techniques as ordinarily defined in scientific research for it does not test cause-effect relationships between independent and dependent variables, nor does it make any attempt to control experimental outcomes. Rather, the qualitative approach adheres to studying persons within their natural settings without reducing behavior into isolated units or testing specific hypotheses.

The present investigation is based on the inference-centered approach and samples behavior within a natural setting, combining quantitative strategies to validate major conceptual categories related to self as process and role behavior theory. Specifically, this inference centered approach is achieved by employing Jackson's (1970) semi-structured interview. This interview has been partially modified by adapting lead questions which take into account two conditions of a specific role assumption (i.e., athlete and former athlete) and test for identity denial (i.e., lack of validation of salient identities through role taking).
Subjects

Former professional football players are not an accessible population. In his investigation of professional football players forced to retire early, Lide (1981) noted difficulties in soliciting these professionals, whereas, Lerch (1979) had minimal difficulty collecting a sample of former major league baseball players. In fact, Lerch distributed questionnaires to 1186 former major league players by utilizing a bi-annual document called the Baseball Address Book. This book contains names and home addresses of all former and active major leaguers. The National Football League Players' Association provides a list of business addresses and phone numbers of retired players. The Players' Association has strict confidentiality policies regarding this document but did cooperate in releasing information for this study.

Other sources were used to contact subjects. The investigator first relied on former players, former coaches and sports administrators to release information as to the whereabouts of possible subjects. The phone numbers were obtained from the local directory or from referral sources who were informed of the need only. The contacted individual was apprised of the research. This information included a brief introduction of the investigator's background, interests and rationale of the investigation
(Appendix A). If subject agreed to meet the investigator, a time and location were arranged.

The purpose of the preliminary interview was to maximize subject participation by explaining the intent and rationale of the study and providing a brief description of the athletic retirement literature, and the need for examining in depth personal perceptions of leaving professional sport. The interview also included the subjects' approximate time commitment, a description of the format, the ethical and confidential practices to be followed. As part of the preliminary interview, the subject was given the opportunity to talk about himself, his athletic career and the circumstances leading to and after his retirement from professional sport. This helped determine whether or not the subject met the conditions for sample homogeneity. Lastly, since Jackson's (1970) semi-structured interview required individuals to discuss personal feelings and thoughts about self, the preliminary interview provided a means to establish a bond of openness between subject and investigator. Subjects' participation was entirely voluntary and no compensation was offered.

**Homogeneity of the sample.** In qualitative research, samples tend to be select and small. The intent of qualitative research requires selection of a sample by minimizing individual differences between subjects, to
achieve a greater commonality in those personal experiences from which to sample behavior. For homogeneity to exist in this sample required that five conditions be met. (1) All subjects played professional football from one of three major leagues (Lide, 1981).

(2) All subjects were "forced-retired" from professional football. Mihovilovic (1968) selected the term "objective cause" to indicate forced retirement. An objective cause is one which forces the athlete to retire against his will. Mihovilovic delineated five objective causes among his sample of soccer players. These causes included injury, age, family, management and elimination by younger players. In Mihovilovic's sample; injury, age and family were cited as the primary causes of retirement. In Lide's (1981) sample, injury and management or a combination of both were cited as the primary reasons for one's retirement from professional football. Unlike Mihovilovic's sample, Lide did not cite family or age as objective causes. It is possible that for Lide's sample, age was not considered as the "cause" because his subjects were forced to retire prematurely. The average career length of a professional football player approximates a period of five years (Hill & Lowe, 1974). Therefore, a management decision is a more probable cause for forced retirement as opposed to the actual age of the player.
Unlike Mihovilovic, Lide considered familial relations from the perspective of others' reactions to the retirement. Rather than focusing on family as a cause of retirement, Lide chose to examine it as a consequence of leaving sport. Given that Lide's sample was professional football players, the investigator selected injury and/or management decision as conditions or causes of forced retirement.

(3) Another condition for sample homogeneity was based on time. Based on Lerch's (1979) criteria of "recent" retiree, the investigator selected a sample currently pursuing a second career and whose athletic careers ended within a recent but specified time period. Unlike Lerch's time criterion of twenty years (1950-1970), the present sample retired within a ten year period. This time criterion assumes a historical-cohort condition by controlling retirement within selected time boundaries.

(4) Length of career was also a condition for homogeneity. Subjects must have played professionally a minimum of 3 years. Lide found that subjects playing more than three years tend to be more bitter toward their retirement, and suggests that athletes playing longer (i.e., three or more years) may have more role taking opportunities than subjects playing less than three years.

(5) The last condition involved the length of retirement period. Subjects had to be retired for
approximately one year. This control is based on the assumption that being retired for one year permitted subjects time to "adjust" and therefore to be able to relate their retirement experiences.

Procedures

Instrumentation. Data was collected by employing Jackson's (1970) semi-structured interview (see Appendix B). There are limitations to interviewing as a data gathering device.

"It is sometimes felt that the interview method puts the examiner at the mercy of whatever fictions the subject chooses to set forth. When we ask someone to tell us what he considers to be the characteristic and essential features of his life, we certainly give him an opening to regale us with falsified pictures, selected events and highly colored interpretations" (White, 1975, p. 89).

Despite this limitation, White regards the interview an adequate technique when asking subjects to share all what they can about themselves and their environment, and it is an appropriate technique for revealing personal perceptions. Specifically, Jackson's semi-structured interview is a co-researcher technique similar to that used by Keniston (1968). A co-researcher technique attempts to minimize "falsified pictures" by requiring that the individual is equally responsible for participating
actively in "investigating" (i.e., researching) the topic of study.

As a data collecting tool, Jackson's semi-structured interview requires subjects to respond to specific lead questions associated with conceptual categories (see, Chapter 3). Lead questions served to guide "the natural progression of conversation" (Jackson, 1970, p.88). She notes that this method is a combination of other techniques including White's (1952) method of interview, Wolberg's (1954) technique for case study and the Adlerian historical data gathering technique. She explains,

"This format culled information concerning family, perceived inter-relationships of family and significant others with respect to the interviewee, discipline, ideals, early memories, fantasies, school and social relationships, interests, problems, fears, attitudes and beliefs, value formations, specific events, situations and behavioral responses, aspirations and goals of present and future, anticipations of contextual and social change, perceptions of continuity or discontinuity in expectations of self, and present role status and probability of role occurrences" (1970, p.89)

Lead questions were of three varieties. First, lead questions from the original Jackson's (1970) semi-structured interview were used (see, Appendix B). These original items asked subjects to generate their own identity concepts and role behavior constructions in the absence of specific role assumption. As noted in Chapter
lead questions related to specific role assumption (e.g., athlete and former athlete role assumptions) were adapted from the original semi-structured interview (see, Appendix C). For example, the following lead question asks subjects to assume salient aspects of themselves as athlete, "As a professional athlete, what made you, you?" or to elicit role behavior manifestations "Being an athlete, did you feel you had more or less opportunities to express yourself across situations before or after retirement?" The latter lead question asks subjects to assume the role of former athlete, for the purpose of eliciting statements related to identity denial.

The semi-structured interview has advantages because it allows the investigator to probe for additional in-depth information. This was achieved by instructing subjects to give examples whenever possible. Also, the use of secondary questions maximized the subject's output. Secondary questions were tailored to each subject for the purposes of probing beyond the information obtained through lead questions.

Data collection. This section discusses the procedures undertaken to collect data. The investigator conducted pilot interviews with former professional athletes of other sports. This was done for two reasons. First, the investigator needed practice employing Jackson's
semi-structured interview to establish normative procedures for consistency in presentation. Second, piloting was used to test the effectiveness of adapted lead questions associated with specific role assumption.

Like Jackson (1970), the investigator conducted a maximum of three interviews to collect the data. The interview sessions typically ranged from 75 to 90 minutes in length and were done at the subject's convenience. The majority of interviews were held during the morning and afternoon hours at the subject's workplace or home.

The actual interview contained two sessions. During the initial session, subjects completed a data sheet (see Appendix D). This was followed by asking subjects lead questions from the original semi-structured interview. The first line of questioning asked subjects to generate identity concepts. First, the investigator adopted Jackson's technique of having subjects respond to perceived differences and similarities with respect to significant others and/or specific role representatives (e.g., "Thinking of your brothers, sisters, best friends, relatives, etc... who do you consider the most different from you?"). Second, subjects were asked to verbalize and describe identity concepts in reference to perceived exemplars. As a result, self-referent meanings emerge by subjects gauging themselves in accord with specific
Identity concepts (e.g., "Thinking of individuals, who would you say is the most conforming person you know, and compare yourself with this person?"). Given these techniques, the investigator would continue probing by asking subjects to illustrate and expound in terms of "when" (in order to determine continuities and discontinuities) and in "what types of situations" identities were likely to be exemplified and tested (i.e., role taking) or not exemplified (i.e., role playing). By giving illustrations, subjects are more likely to describe past and present role interactions (the reality contexts) and the conditions which determine role behavior manifestations. In addition, semi-structured interviews also contained general lead questions which asked subjects to verbalize role behavior manifestations (e.g., "What do you not attribute to yourself that others might attribute to you?"). This question asks subjects to verbalize possible role playing manifestations.

During the second interview session, lead questions dealt with a specific role assumption and circumstances surrounding each subject's retirement. For example, the lead question, ("Do you know a former athlete who had difficulty adjusting because he was no longer in the public eye, and compare yourself?") asks subjects to gauge identity concepts in relation to a former athlete (i.e.,
role representative) having difficulty adjusting to retirement. Questions also pertained to specific role behavior manifestations. Assuming the role of athlete, subjects might verbalize role figmentizing behaviors ("How did you expect to make your retirement decision?"), or ("Did you dream about athletic retirement, if so can you remember the content of these dreams?"). These questions specifically asked subjects if they fantasized about being a former athlete.

Data Analysis.

Data analysis techniques sought to confirm lower order categories related to role behavior form, role behavior interchangeability, identity salience and identity denial. There were four objectives involved in the analysis of categories: 1) establishing the units of analysis, 2) developing a rating system, 3) establishing statistics for interrater agreement and reliabilities of lower order categories and 4) employing various multivariate analyses to determine construct validity of higher order categories.

Determining units of analysis. The first task in content analysis of the interview material was to determine the criteria for defining a unit of analysis. According to Auld and White (1956), dividing interview data into analytical units is an essential first step in content analysis. Agreement on lower order categories depends on
logical rules for designating units. Auld and White suggest that simple sentences represent the minimum unit of analysis. A unit therefore consists of an independent clause (i.e., a subject and predicate with/without modifiers) standing by itself or occurring with one or more dependent clauses.

Since the material was derived from a semi-structured interview, the number of sentences per unit was not limited. Requiring subject cooperation, the semi-structured interview consists of illustration and free association within the limits of lead and probing secondary questions, and such responses were often fragmented. For this reason, Jackson's (1970) strategy of combining associated ideas, thoughts and feelings into coherent analytical units was used. She notes that this association of ideas and thoughts has long been acknowledged by various theoretical formulations (e.g., Herbart's apperceptive mass, Freud's free-association, Tolman's cognitive maps).

Foremost, units selected were combined in accord with the higher order constructs defined by Jackson (1970). A role behavior is an overt or covert manifestation of the self process which is elicited under specific, but not mutually exclusive, conditions. According to Jackson, role behavior manifestations are differentiated by four psychological conditions. These include 1) reality
context, 2) identity base, 3) reflexiveness and self-or-other directed motivation. For a unit to be considered a possible role behavior, the nature of its reality context and identity base were criteria for selection, and both conditions had to be inferred within the unit. As noted in Chapter III, the criterion of reality context consists of conditions of reality versus non-reality. A reality context, therefore, consisted of self-other interactions where the subject cognitively constructed and assumed role interactions with the role of "other." In contrast, a non-reality context contained a reference to an egocentric state of mind (e.g., fantasy, dreams, future oriented thinking, etc.). The second criterion, identity base, was defined as an expression of an identity concept (i.e., an expression of "me") or anti-identity (i.e., a "not me" performed) within either of the reality contexts stated above.

These two conditions were selected for the units of study because they were amenable to lead questions and free associations, and they also provided the background against which other categories were rated. As noted by Jackson (1970), aspects of the self process (i.e., identities) and the conditions determining role behaviors, (reality or nonreality), are not mutually exclusive. That is, given the combination of a reality context and identity
base, it becomes possible to rate other role behavior conditions. For example, within a particular unit, if a reality context and identity based concept of "me" exist concurrently, then according to the theory upon which this study is based, it is possible to draw inferences regarding the existence of self reflexiveness (i.e., self evaluation by means of self-other interaction) and internal motivation (e.g., self-enhancing motives). If these conditions do not occur concurrently, other combination of reflexiveness or motivation can be deduced.

Units with identity bases and reality contexts also provide a background to rate identity salience. For example, reality context provides the background to rate salience in terms 1) affective displacement, 2) significant other validation and 3) incorporation of values. Also, 4) perceived temporal (continuity) and 5) spatial (discontinuity) dimensions of salience are inferred as long as an identity base is present in the unit.

**Rating units.** Three graduate students and one upperclassman enrolled in a sports psychology course were trained on self and role behavior constructs and their related subcategories (see Chapter III). Training began during the Spring Quarter of 1987 and extended through Summer Quarter of 1987. Data were rated and coded during the Summer Quarter of 1987.
Training sessions were scheduled weekly and usually lasted for two hours. During initial sessions, raters received an overview of self process and role behavior theory. Thereafter, raters were given a pilot transcript and definitions of lower order categories.

As a result of pilot analysis of procedures, an alteration of rating scales resulted. The nominal rating scale was changed to an ordinal scale during the course of training because raters periodically made ambivalent inferences on select subcategories. The ratings extended beyond a nominal "yes" or "no" and with this, concrete examples were provided to clarify understanding and avoid misinterpretations of lower order categories.

Raters were briefed on rating procedures. To ensure consistency, each rater adhered to a six step procedure which minimized omissions of a rating and lessened the time needed for rating each unit. Units were underlined to assure that raters attended to verbal stimulus cues.

Procedures adhered to control and ethical standards described in human subject use protocols and raters were informed of their ethical responsibilities for confidentiality as these transcripts contained personal units and were to be held in strict confidence.

Determining interrater agreements and reliabilities. Interrater agreements and reliabilities were determined for
subcategories associated with: 1) role behavior conditions, 2) elements associated with identity salience, and 3) interchangeability. According to Tinsley and Weiss (1976), interrater agreement and reliability are different measures and both should be reported in empirical research. They define agreement as the "extent to which judges tend to make exactly the same judgments about a rated subject" (1976, p.,359), whereas interrater reliability is "the degree to which the ratings of different judges are proportional when expressed as deviations from their means" (1976, p.,359). Collectively, both measures determine the consistency of units judged and whether proposed lower order categories are independent. In obtaining significant reliabilities and agreements, preliminary construct validity can be tested with more confidence. Failures to establish interrater agreements and reliabilities suggest that the conceptual categories are overlapping and/or the scale used to rate units was inadequate.

Lawlis and Lu's (1972) nonparametric chi-square test was used to determine and interpret interrater agreements for each lower order category. A formula for this statistic has been provided (see Appendix E). Since interrater agreement often refers to exact judgments, it is difficult to achieve significant agreements between
ratings. This usually occurs when scales have several values from which to rate an observation. Therefore, to maximize agreement, Lawlis and Lu's nonparametric chi square test accepts discrepancies from exactness. Discrepancies depend on the number of values on the scale. This investigation used a five point ordinal scale with a recommended discrepancy of 1.

Whenever discrepancies are used, Tinsley and Weiss (1976) recommend calculating "T" values. A "T" value is calculated for every significant chi square which disconfirms chance agreement. In this investigation, a nonparametric chi square test was determined for each rater combination on a specific subcategory (i.e., a total of 96 rater combinations). The "T" value is patterned after Cohen's "k" (Tinsley and Weiss, 1976). This statistic calculates a proportion of agreement between two raters after chance agreement has been removed from consideration. "T" values range from low (.00 to .32), moderate (.33 to .66) to high (.67 to 1.0). A positive "T" indicates that the observed agreement is greater than chance agreement. A low "T" value does not necessarily mean that agreement is not significant. However, a higher "T" value does suggest a strong agreement. According to Tinsley and Weiss, whenever a researcher defines agreement with some flexibility, as in case here, a "T" value should be
reported. Furthermore, chi squares and "T" values for agreements defined as identical (i.e., a discrepancy = 0) should also be reported. This allows a reader to evaluate whether or not agreements are contingent on the definition of agreement.

Finn's (1970) "r" was used to determine interrater reliabilities for each of the ordinally scaled subordinate categories. The formula for Finn's "r" has been provided (see Appendix E). The interrater reliability of each category represents the consistency of units rated, as reflected by the within unit variance averaged across all units. A significant "r" is derived from a ratio of observed and expected variances minus one. Concerning the observed variance, in the case of more than one rated subject, the investigator followed Tinsley and Weiss' (1976) recommendation that the within subjects mean square from a one-way analysis of variance be used in the "r" calculation. The expected variance represented a value if ratings were assigned at random.

Prior to calculating the "r," Tinsley and Weiss suggested using a chi square test to determine if the observed variance was significantly less than the chance variance (see Appendix E). This procedure was followed because the investigation did not randomly select judges from an infinite population.
Construct validity. Determining construct validity was contingent upon the results of interrater reliabilities and agreements. If interrater reliabilities and agreements were due to chance multivariate analyses were not employed. On the other hand, moderate to high interrater reliabilities and agreements indicated otherwise and warranted selected multivariate analyses to determine theoretical validity of the observed ratings.

The first multivariate analysis consisted of a stepwise discriminant analysis. This statistical procedure was employed because it treated role behavior conditions jointly and analytically, thus producing a linear composite that maximally discriminated between each role behavior form. This analysis was possible because role behavior conditions (lower order categories) were scaled with ordinal values and discriminated against a nominal category. The latter was scaled by this investigator and served as a standard from which role behavior conditions could discriminate. Stepwise discriminate analysis determines the best composite of role behavior conditions which discriminate each role behavior form.

A second discriminant analysis was calculated to determine whether or not the situational cue and developmental shift subcategories discriminated against a nominal category. This nominal category was scaled by the
A stepwise analysis was not employed because only one lower order category (judges' rating on situational cue or developmental shift) was used to discriminate.

A third multivariate procedure was employed. This consisted of a stepwise multiple regression analysis of role taking units to determine which identity salience category or combination thereof, predicted affective displacement. This analysis is consistent with Jackson's (1970) contention that a salient identity is an emotionally charged hypothesis which is tested against reality. Therefore, in constructing a regression model, the investigator deduced that significant other confirmation/disconfirmation, value incorporation, discontinuity, continuity and self reflexiveness predicted affective displacement.
CHAPTER V
RESULTS

This chapter discusses the quantitative results of this investigation as it relates to the self and role implications of athletic retirement. Three sections have been provided and include: (1) demographics, (2) presentation and discussion of interrater agreements and reliabilities and (3) results of construct validity of hypothesized lower order categories and higher order role behaviors evidenced from content analysis of interviews of retired professional athletes.

Demographics

Subjects completed data sheets containing background information. Information covered each subject's personal data, athletic career, retirement decision, and postretirement career. This investigation examines athletic retirement as a psychological process derived from correlates of self and role behavior theory, and the information presented here is representative of this sample.
and not professional athletes in general.

**Personal data.** Ten former professional football players, with a mean age of 32.3 years (range=28-38), were nonrandomly selected. Six subjects were of white Caucasian decent while the remaining four subjects were of Afro-American decent. At the time of their interviews, seven subjects were married, two subjects were divorced and one remained single. Of subjects married or divorced, 8 of the 9 subjects were currently raising children.

**The athletic career.** The investigator sought to select a sample of recent retirees who had played professional football for three or more years. The three year minimum was based on Lide's (1981) observation that subjects playing for three or four years tended to be more bitter toward retirement than subjects playing for no more than 2 years. In this investigation, two subjects played 4 years. The majority of the sample (n=8) played 5 years or more. The longest career involved nine years in the same league. Seven members of the sample played for two or more professional teams, while three played for only one professional team.

All subjects played major college football (i.e., Division I), but pursued careers in two professional leagues. A number of subjects received national recognition at both the professional and college levels.
Moreover, data suggests that all subjects played on successful teams. For example, the entire sample played on a college champion teams. In addition, some subjects enjoyed playing on successful professional teams. Seven subjects played on a professional playoff team. Five subjects played on a professional conference champion team.

Data shows that subjects assumed a variety of roles during their football careers. In terms of playing positions, there was a diversity. In college football, subjects played offensive back, offensive line, defensive back, defensive lineman and/or linebackers and special teams. A similar diversity was indicated in the professional ranks as well. Some subjects reported changing positions from offense to defense during their college careers.

Subjects also assumed various leadership roles during their careers. For example, a majority of subjects were elected captains on their college and professional teams respectively.

**Athletic retirement decision.** On the average, these subjects were retired for 4.4 years. Subjects began and ended their careers within the same ten year period. The first player to begin his career was also the first to retire. All subjects met the criterion of being retired for a minimum of one year. Only three subjects began and
ended their careers with the same team.

Consistent with Mihovilovic's (1968) objective causes for retirement, all subjects were forced to retire because of management decision and/or injury. Interestingly, only one subject reported that management was solely responsible for his retirement. In comparison, a majority of subjects reported that injury by itself was initially responsible for their retirements. Two subjects indicated that both management and injury were responsible for their retirements.

The circumstances leading up to the retirement decision varied in the sample. Subjects reported being released, traded, picked up on waivers before they eventually made their retirement decisions. One subject came out of retirement in an attempt to continue his career. Nonetheless, most of the sample retired because of injury. One subject reported how his injuries ended his career.

"In my final year, I was having some physical problems. At that point, I had four operations. The coach called me in. It was summer, and he gave me a crack at making the team. He waived me and brought me back on the team... In the middle of the season, I was reinjured. I could not play..."

Pre and post retirement role opportunities. All but one subject is currently employed. At the time of his
interview, the unemployed subject was in the process of completing his college degree. The majority of subjects, (n=9) were involved in a variety of management careers. Two subjects reported having employment related to athletics. Of the subjects currently employed, stable career patterns were indicated. Eight of the nine subjects employed held only one to two jobs since their retirement. While they were active players, seven subjects reported that they sought off-season employment in administration, management, sales, advertising and retail.

**Interrater Agreements and Reliabilities**

Interrater agreements and reliabilities were calculated to determine the consistency and validity of ratings on selected subcategories. Agreements were calculated by employing Lawlis and Lu's (1972) nonparametric chi-square test and Tinsley and Weiss' (1976) recommended "T" statistic. Interrater reliabilities were established by employing Tinsley and Weiss' (1976) chi square test and Finn's (1970) "r" (see Appendix E and the discussion of these statistics in Chapter IV).

**Interrater agreements.** Tables 8, 9 and 10 provide chi squares and "T" values for six rater agreement combinations and 16 lower order categories related to role behavior conditions, identity salience and interchangeability respectively. A total of 96 chi squares and "T" agreement
values were determined. An alpha level of .05 with one
degree of freedom (critical value = 3.84) was used to test
significance for each lower order category and rater
combination (Tinsley & Weiss, 1976).

Table 8 lists 54 chi square and T value agreements for
categories associated with role behavior conditions. All
chi square agreements were significant beyond the .01.
Further analyses using the "T" statistic indicated that of
the 54 values, 20 (37%) fell in the high agreement range,
29 (54%) in the moderate agreement range and only 5 (9%) in
the low agreement range. As expected, higher agreements
were found in ratings associated with subcategories of
reality and nonreality contexts. In addition, all six
rater combinations for identity base and extrinsic
motivation fell in the high agreement range. With the
exception of one agreement combination, reflexiveness
subcategories fell in the low to moderate range. All the
intrinsic motivation agreements were in the moderate range.

Table 9 lists 30 chi square and "T" value agreements
for categories associated with identity salience. Of the
30 chi squares calculated, only one combination (i.e.,
raters 1 and 2 on significant other category) was not
significant at an .05 alpha level. Only two other chi
squares associated with identity discontinuity were not
significant at an .05 alpha level. Further analyses using
the "T" statistic indicated that of the 30 values calculated, 8 (.27%) were in the high, 14 (46%) in the moderate and 8 (27%) in the low agreement range. Value incorporation contained the greatest number of agreements.

Table 8

Interrater Agreements of Lower Order Categories Associated With Role Behavior Conditions: Chi Squares & "T" Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>Raters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reality</td>
<td>209.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonreality</td>
<td>120.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>166.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.81)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Identity</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Reflex</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Self Reflex</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Reflex</td>
<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>131.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
with five of the six combinations falling in the high agreement range. With the exception of one rater, affective displacement contained high agreements. Similarly, any combination with same rater also showed low agreements on the significant other subcategory.

Table 10 lists 12 chi square and T value agreements for categories associated with role behavior interchangeability. Of the 12 chi squares, all were significant beyond the .01. Further analyses using the "T" statistic indicated that of the 12 values, all but one fell

Table 10

Interrater Agreements of Lower Order Categories Associated With Identity Salience: Chi Squares & "T" Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>2-3</th>
<th>2-4</th>
<th>3-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affective</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>112.8</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>209.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.35)</td>
<td>(.15)</td>
<td>(.21)</td>
<td>(.66)</td>
<td>(.66)</td>
<td>(.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif Other</td>
<td>a 3.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>102.8</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.12)</td>
<td>(.23)</td>
<td>(.21)</td>
<td>(.56)</td>
<td>(.63)</td>
<td>(.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>112.8</td>
<td>105.3</td>
<td>115.3</td>
<td>169.5</td>
<td>198.8</td>
<td>202.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.66)</td>
<td>(.64)</td>
<td>(.67)</td>
<td>(.81)</td>
<td>(.88)</td>
<td>(.88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.33)</td>
<td>(.30)</td>
<td>(.57)</td>
<td>(.42)</td>
<td>(.39)</td>
<td>(.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discontinuity</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>63.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.29)</td>
<td>(.13)</td>
<td>(.42)</td>
<td>(.48)</td>
<td>(.48)</td>
<td>(.50)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Not significant at .05
in the moderate range. The remaining "T" value was in the low agreement range.

In summary, results of the interrater agreements showed a high frequency of significant chi squares beyond the .01 alpha level. Greater support also is due to the fact that a majority of "T" values fell in the moderate to high range. This indicates that observed agreement is significantly greater than the agreement that could be expected by chance.

These results cannot be interpreted confidently without examining interrater agreements when discrepancies were not considered. That is, to what extent do these data suggest acceptable interrater agreements when identical ratings were used to calculate chi squares and "T" values? Calculations using identical ratings showed a 96 percent significance rate. Figure 1 shows comparisons of "T" values in the high, moderate, low and by chance ranges when employing discrepant and identical formulas. Results indicated differences in "T" value frequencies for each of the different definitions of agreement. For example, when using the identical definition, only one "T" value reached the high range. Furthermore, nearly 66 percent of the identical "T" values were in the low range in comparison to 15 percent of the discrepant "T" values. Only 5 percent of the identical "T" values reached chance agreement. No
Table 10
Interrater Agreements
Lower Order Categories
Associated With Interchangeability:
Chi Squares & "T" Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>2-3</th>
<th>2-4</th>
<th>3-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Situational Cue</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>95.6</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>63.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.44)</td>
<td>(0.30)</td>
<td>(0.53)</td>
<td>(0.61)</td>
<td>(0.54)</td>
<td>(0.50)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop Shift</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.50)</td>
<td>(0.43)</td>
<td>(0.51)</td>
<td>(0.60)</td>
<td>(0.57)</td>
<td>(0.39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discrepant "T" values reached chance agreement.

**Interrater reliabilities.** Interrater reliabilities were calculated to determine the consistency in ratings.

Reliability coefficients were determined by using Finn's "r" statistic. Since the observed variance of ratings for each lower order category was not derived from a randomly selected or infinite number of judges, Hays' (1963) chi square test for a single variance was used. Tinsley and Weiss (1976) recommend using this test prior to calculating Finn's "r" (see, Appendix E). This statistic determines whether or not the observed variance obtained was not exceedingly small due to violations in judges' selection and/or rating scale used. A chi square value lower than the critical value 14.95 (df=30, alpha < .01) indicated that the observed variance was significantly less than the
chance or expected variance. Assuming a chi square value below the critical value, calculation of a Finn's "r" for each lower order category could then be determined with confidence. Table 11 shows that chi squares for all lower order categories were less than the critical value of 14.95.

Table 11 also lists Finn's "r" coefficients for lower order categories. Results showed that interrater reliabilities ranged from a low of .74 for significant other confirmation/disconfirmation to .96 for situational cue and affective displacement. Because no coefficient was below .74, and most others ranged in .80 and .90's, interrater reliability reached acceptable levels.

Construct Validity.

Collectively, significant interrater agreements and reliabilities indicated consistency in judges' ratings. Based on these findings, a series of multivariate analyses were performed to establish construct validity of Jackson's (1970) Self as Process and Role Behavior theory. Hypotheses based on lower order categories were tested to establish the predictive validity of role behavior form, interchangeability and identity salience. Multivariate tests included: 1) a stepwise discriminant analysis to determine which composite of role behavior conditions
Figure 1. Percentage of High, Moderate, and Low "T" Values of Discrepant Versus Identical Agreements
(lower order categories) best predicted a nominally scaled role behavior form, 2) a discriminant analysis to establish predictive validity of developmental shifts and situational cues, and 3) a stepwise multiple regression to establish predictive validity of subcategories associated with identity salience and identity denial as manifested by affective displacements.

**Role behavior forms.** Results of the stepwise discriminant analyses on each role behavior form are contained in Tables 12, 13 and 14. Table 12 contains role behavior conditions which significantly predicted role taking. It was hypothesized that reality context, identity base, self reflexiveness and intrinsic motivation would predict role taking. Results indicate that three of the four hypothesized lower order categories (role behavior conditions) significantly discriminated on role taking. Of these conditions, reality context ($F=54.1$), self reflexiveness ($F=20.1$), and identity base ($F=6.2$) were significant respectively beyond the .01 alpha level. In addition, nonreality context ($F=180$) maximally discriminated on a non role taking classification. With the exception of intrinsic motivation, confirmation of role taking as a higher order construct is indicated from ratings on lower order categories.
Table 11
Interrater Reliabilities of All Lower Order Categories: Chi Squares and Finn's "r"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>Chi Square</th>
<th>Finn's &quot;r&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reality</td>
<td>3.75 a</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonreality</td>
<td>6.00 a</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>1.95 a</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Identity</td>
<td>1.79 a</td>
<td>.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Reflex</td>
<td>3.90 a</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Self Reflex</td>
<td>2.10 a</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Reflex</td>
<td>4.95 a</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
<td>6.75 a</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>2.10 a</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective</td>
<td>1.35 a</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif Other</td>
<td>7.95 a</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>2.25 a</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td>3.00 a</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discontinuity</td>
<td>4.05 a</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situational Cue</td>
<td>1.35 a</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop Shift</td>
<td>3.15 a</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Chi square lower than critical value 14.95 (df=30, alpha =.01, one tail test).
Table 13 contains results of conditions which significantly predicted role figmentizing. It was hypothesized that nonreality context, identity base, non-reflexiveness, and intrinsic motivation would maximally discriminate on role figmentizing. As expected, of these hypothesized conditions, nonreality context was a highly significant ($F=755.7$) predictor of role figmentizing, accounting for slightly over 40 percent of the variance. In addition, to a lesser extent, identity base was

Table 12

Stepwise Discriminate Analysis: Role Behavior Conditions and Role Taking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory (Role Behavior Condition)</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Reality Context</td>
<td>.0465</td>
<td>54.06</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonreality Context</td>
<td>.1396</td>
<td>180.03</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Identity Manifestation</td>
<td>.0056</td>
<td>6.20</td>
<td>.0129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Identity</td>
<td>.0018</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>.1587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0178</td>
<td>20.06</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0016</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>.1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0028</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>.0799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>.0014</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>.2116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Intrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>.9884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) hypothesized
also a significant predictor ($F=4.9$, $\alpha=.02$). Both non-reflexiveness ($F=.99$, $\alpha=.31$) and intrinsic motivation ($F=.85$, $\alpha=.85$) were not significant predictors of role figmentizing. Non-reflexiveness refers to evaluation of self in the absence self-other feedback. Evidently, self evaluation was not detected in these units. Like role taking, intrinsic motivation did not discriminate on role figmentizing. Although only two hypothesized categories maximally discriminated on role figmentizing, four

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory (Role Behavior Condition)</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reality Context</td>
<td>.0264</td>
<td>30.03</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nonreality Context</td>
<td>.4017</td>
<td>755.74</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Identity Manifestation</td>
<td>.0044</td>
<td>4.92</td>
<td>.0268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Identity</td>
<td>.0047</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>.0228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0003</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.5778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0360</td>
<td>41.40</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Non-Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0009</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.3196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>.0014</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>.0009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Intrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.8548</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) Hypothesized
categories connected to role playing achieved significance beyond the .01 alpha level. These conditions included reality context (F=30.03), anti-identity (F=5.20), non-self reflexiveness (F=41.40), and extrinsic motivation (F=6.70). It is possible these conditions discriminated on the "no" role figmentizing classification. This is a reasonable assertion considering that nonreality context was a strong predictor of role figmentizing.

Table 14
Stepwise Discriminate Analysis: Role Behavior Conditions and Role Playing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory (Role Behavior Condition)</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Reality Context</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>.9850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonreality Context</td>
<td>.0316</td>
<td>36.13</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity Manifestation</td>
<td>.0008</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.3531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Anti-Identity</td>
<td>.2231</td>
<td>318.68</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.9166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Non-Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0530</td>
<td>62.09</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0021</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>.1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Extrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>.0001</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.7313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>.0079</td>
<td>8.80</td>
<td>.0003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* Hypothesized
Table 14 contains the results of role behavior conditions which significantly predict role playing. It was hypothesized that reality context, anti-identity base, non-self reflexiveness, and extrinsic motivation would maximally discriminate on role playing. Of these hypothesized conditions, only two maximally discriminated. Anti-identity maximally discriminated \((F=318.7)\), accounting for 22% of the total variance. Non-self reflexiveness was also a significant predictor \((F=62.1)\). These results lend support for "not me's" performed in roles. Nevertheless, the validity of role playing is minimized considering that reality context and extrinsic motivation did not contribute to significant prediction. A nonsignificant contribution for reality context was surprising and suggests that raters could not achieve consensus on self and other in role interaction. This may explain why extrinsic motivation also did not have a significant contribution to prediction of this role behavior. If the "other" is not detected, it follows that the external sources of motivation such as expectations, demands, consequences, etc. might not be detected.

Results pertaining to role playing show that a single condition accounted for a disproportionate amount of the variance. Given these results, one can safely predict performance of anti-identities. The context of this role
performance is not clearly predictive because what constitutes reality depends upon the level of self-other involvement. It could be that playing the "not me" is the overriding discriminator as to whether one is in the role (i.e., role taking) or playing the role (i.e., role playing). Perhaps, playing the part in a theatrical play is a "not me" to one's own identities and is also a condition in which the role playing phenomenon is not reality based. Therefore, role playing is what the person is doing in the reality of the social context but the part an actor is undertaking may be real or not real in terms of social reality.

In summary, the hypotheses that role behaviors consist of specific psychological conditions (lower order categories) was put to empirical test and discriminate analyses lend support that each behavior form was differentiated from the other forms. There were specific subcategorical conditions that discriminated role taking, role figmentizing and role playing as originally postulated in Self as Process and Role Behavior theory. In general, motivation, intrinsic or otherwise, was not a strong contributor to predicting role behavior forms. These findings suggest possible methodological problems inferring motivation from select verbal statements. Unlike studies by Deci (1975), Harter (1975), and others, motivation was
not inferred from related task behaviors (Harter operationalized mastery as one's persistence on purely random task). This investigation did not employ experimental manipulations of performance demands. Instead, subjects freely reported their own reasons for why they performed or if they took on roles. These findings strongly suggest that alternative measures or techniques to operationalize motivation are needed to further establish construct validity of this as a condition of role behavior. Motivation is a critical condition because it emphasizes the purpose, direction and goals underlying role behavior, but it is not independent of identity and therefore may have been confounded in the discriminate analysis. Since interrater agreements (T statistic) were in the high range for extrinsic motivation and in the moderate range for intrinsic motivation, these results suggest that their lack of prediction of role behavior forms, was not due to chance agreement. Rather, it suggests that the conditions influencing role behavior form are not mutually exclusive.

Two other patterns are worthy of discussion. First, among the conditions postulated by Jackson (1970), identity and anti-identity bases were the most consistent conditions theoretically. This suggests that raters had little difficulty identifying "me's" tested and "not me's"
performed in social roles. More importantly, both were fairly strong predictors, especially the anti-identity condition. Second, the nonreality condition was a significant contributor to predicting each role behavior form. This finding may have been partially attributed to questions (i.e., pertaining to role figmentizing) which asked subjects to discuss themselves in dreams, daydreams, fantasies, etc... or the level of self and other involvement as in the case of role playing.

**Interchangeability.** A discriminant analysis determined whether or not ordinarily rated situational cues and developmental shifts predicted a similar but nominally scaled category. Figure 2 shows the percentages of ratings which were classified as situational cues. Of the 965 ratings not classified as situational cues, 744 (77.1%) predicted a no situational cue category. In contrast, of the 147 ratings classified as situational cues, 110 (74.8%) predicted a situational cue category. Developmental shifts did not discriminate to a greater extent. Of the 960 statements not classified as developmental shifts, 728 (75.8%) predicted a no developmental shift category. However, of the 152 statements classified as developmental shifts, only 89 (58.6%) predicted a developmental shift category. This result is no better than chance.
Overall, only moderate support for interchangeability is indicated. Situational cues were better predictors than developmental shifts. Some explanations for these results are offered. First, results could be due to differences in cognitive rating strategies and by raters. Unlike other subcategories, rating situational cues and developmental shifts required the rater to make collective judgments in reference to the number and nature of role behaviors existing in the unit. In rating other subcategories, raters engaged analytical processing by attending to particular instances identified apriori in the unit. On the other hand, rating interchangeability required judges to pull the particulars together and may indicate subjectivity of raters' strategies.

It is possible that some developmental shifts may be easier to identify than others. Raters may have been receptive to developmental shifts which involved shifts from role figmentizing to role taking. Dreams and fantasies turned reality are not uncommon in the developmental literature (Levinson et al., 1978). A shift from role figmentizing to role taking suggests a continuity of identities and self needs over time. From a rating standpoint, the rater can easily attend to shifts in reality contexts and identities. This seems plausible considering that nonreality contexts were strong predictors
Figure 2. Percentage of Predicted and Nonpredicted Classifications for Situational Cue (SC) Interchangeability.
of role behavior form. On the other hand, a developmental shift from role taking to playing may not be as easy to identify. This shift presupposes that an identity once tested and confirmed in role taking becomes an anti-identity performed in role playing. Compared to other shifts, making reasonable inferences about shifts from role playing to role taking and vice versa may require raters to attend to more information within a given unit. Therefore, some shifts may be better predictors of interchangeability than others.

Identity salience. A stepwise multiple regression analysis on role taking units (n=228) was done to establish predictive validity of lower order categories associated with identity salience. Affective displacement served as the predicted variable. Results are contained in Table 15. It was hypothesized that continuity, value incorporation, self reflexiveness, discontinuity and significant other would significantly predict affective displacement. Of these conditions, discontinuity (F=38.4, alpha < .01), value incorporation (F=6.7, alpha < .01) and significant other (F=49.4, alpha < .01) significantly predicted affective displacement. Self reflexiveness was also a predictor (F=3.2, alpha < .07) of affective displacement but to lesser extent. Continuity was not a significant contributor to the model.
Figure 2. Percentage of Predicted and Nonpredicted Classifications for Developmental Shift (DS) Interchangeability.
These results are encouraging given the current empirical status of identity salience. Rosenberg (1981) argued that identity salience had advanced conceptually but not empirically. For the most part, present findings provide both conceptual and empirical support for this construct. These results support the predictive validity of identity salience as defined by Jackson (1970). Judges' ratings infer that affective displacement can be predicted from identities which are validated, invalidated, self reflected and restructured in terms of feedback obtained from meaningful others.

Table 15

Stepwise Multiple Regression:
Conditions Associated with Identity Salience as Predictors of Affective Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory (Identity Salience Condition)</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>$F$</th>
<th>Prob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Significant Other</td>
<td>.0614</td>
<td>49.41</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discontinuity</td>
<td>.0379</td>
<td>38.40</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value Incorporation</td>
<td>.0076</td>
<td>7.78</td>
<td>.0054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0031</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>.0743</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* Continuity did not meet the .15 significance level for entry into the model.
Identity Denial

A stepwise multiple regression was done to establish predictive validity of lower order categories associated with identity denial. Results are contained in Table 16. Identity denial as used and hypothesized for this study, refers to unsuccessful role taking. In this investigation, identity denials are affective displacements resulting from self reflexiveness and discontinuities, as salient identities and values previously assumed in the athlete role are presently denied exemplification. Results show that only significant other disconfirmation (F=17.4, alpha < .01) and to a lesser extent, self reflexiveness (F=4.06, alpha < .05) significantly predicted affective displacement. Unlike the regression model which used role taking units for this analysis of affective displacement, both value incorporation and discontinuity were not significant predictors of affective displacement.

An explanation is proposed regarding these hypothetical predictors. The regression model indicates that discontinuity and value incorporation do not contribute significantly to predicting of affective displacement when derived from units of interviews with former athletes. As noted by Jackson (1970), restructuring salience is one of three ways to respond when encountering unsuccessful role taking. Jackson proposes that persons
Table 16
Stepwise Multiple Regression: Conditions Associated with Identity Denial as Predictors of Affective Displacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subcategory (Identity Salience Condition)</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Significant Other</td>
<td>.1285</td>
<td>17.40</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Reflexiveness</td>
<td>.0293</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>.0461</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Value incorporation and discontinuity did not meet the .15 significance level for entry into the model.

can resist or delay restructuring by pursuing other role taking opportunities or engaging self defenses. If so, a clearer understanding of discontinuity is achieved when observing identity denial over a spread of time. These data suggest that restructuring may not be an immediate alternative when adjusting to identity denial.

Quantitative methodology, as in the case here, is incomplete in explaining identity denial and adjustment. Adjusting to identity denial is an idiosyncratic self process; therefore, it becomes profitable to examine identity denial in terms of case histories.

Conclusions

This chapter has provided quantitative support of self and role behavior postulates. Results of interrater
reliabilities and agreements warranted additional analyses to determine the construct validity of role behavior form, interchangeability, identity salience and denial. In terms of role behavior form, these analyses showed strongest support for role taking. The predictive validity of lower order categories associated with each role behavior form was determined using a stepwise discriminant analyses. Of the role behavior conditions, reality/nonreality context, self/non-self reflexiveness and identity/anti-identity were strong predictors for discriminating among hypothesized role behavior categories and noncategories. Extrinsic and intrinsic motivation were not strong contributors to predicting role behavior form. Situational cues were strong discriminators of interchangeability but discerning developmental shifts may depend on specific types of shifts in role behavior. Overall, lower order categories associated with identity salience were significant predictors of affective displacement. Specifically, discontinuity, significant other and value incorporation were strong predictors of affective displacement. When isolating psychological/behavioral units designated as identity denial, only significant other and self reflexiveness were strong predictors of affective displacement. However, units designated as indices of value incorporation or discontinuity did not significantly
contribute to predicting affective displacement.
Rearrangement of the hierarchy as manifested by affective displacements is an idiosyncratic self process, and qualitative analyses are essential to explain the dynamics of identity denial.

An inference-centered approach, as defined by Bills (1982), used quantitative and qualitative means to validate theoretical constructs related to Self as Process and Role Behavior. Chapter V describes the results of quantitative models related to conceptual categories under study. The following chapters are qualitative discussions of the constructs examined. Chapter VI is a replication of Jackson's (1970) findings of lower order categories associated with role behavior form, interchangeability and identity salience. Chapter VII is a qualitative analysis of identity denials and adjustment patterns, as originally proposed by Jackson (1970).
CHAPTER VI
SELF PROCESS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR
A QUALITATIVE DISCUSSION

This chapter is a discussion concerning the qualitative nature of role behavior form, interchangeability and identity salience. A discussion of these conceptual categories is structured similarly to Jackson's (1970) research. Jackson presented select excerpts to illustrate and substantiate conceptual categories. Excerpts represented verbalizations based on subjects' idiosyncratic role constructions.

For the most part, subjects in this investigation readily assumed the role "professional athlete" and "former athlete." These role constructions were freely verbalized from lead questions in Jackson's (1970) semi-structured interview. The following excerpts have been selected because they illustrate most clearly, the conceptual categories under study.

Role Behavior Form: Idiosyncratic Role Assumptions

Chapter III defined and discussed lower order categories related to three role behavior forms. Chapter V
discussed the results of stepwise discriminant analysis on subcategories associated with each role behavior. Overall, results indicated that three of the four hypothesized lower order categories (i.e., reality, identity and self reflexiveness) maximally discriminated the role taking category. Lower order categories connected to both role playing and figmentizing received moderate support. This section provides qualitative rather than quantitative information of role behavior form. In doing so, discussion is interfaced with Jackson's (1970) original corollaries.

Role taking. Jackson proposed that role taking is an observable activity, reality based, and the result of cognitive-affective processing in which the focus is self. Unlike role playing, it is an intrinsically motivated behavior representing a hypothesized identity or set of identities. In general, these subjects generated a number of role taking statements. Excerpts are discussed with respect to corollaries proposed by Jackson's (1970) data. First, Jackson proposed that role taking is reflexive of self demands and situational constraints. In this respect, role taking identities can be selective or broad interpretations depending on how people satisfy self or situational demands. Second, identities are self conceptualizations, and therefore are selective (or intrinsically motivated) to satisfy self needs. In effect,
one's perceptions of role requirements become standards which direct role enactments. Third, role taking is a dynamic behavior, in that, role taking can change into forms of role behavior, when the basic psychological conditions (e.g., reality base, motivation, etc...) change.

The following excerpt illustrates the idiosyncratic and dynamic nature of the self process and indicates interchangeability. Self reflexiveness is an evaluative process and as Jackson contends, "related to both self demands and to demands of the situational context" (1970, p.,135). In the excerpt below, a subject evaluates his identity "private person" through feedback obtained in familial roles. Through self reflexiveness, he is aware of his openness in situations, but engages a "front" under certain circumstances. In some situations, this Subject's "up personality" is an anti-identity (i.e., "not me" self concept) and the role is performed by "keeping up a front." He selectively role plays an "up personality" although his need is for trust---to trust others, to give others the benefit of the doubt. As a result he is not revealing to others what is inside him, so he plays the role of "keeping up a front" with an "up personality."

"I am not as private. I'm an up personality. I have a tendency to trust people more than I should. I really do. My whole thing--and my mom and brothers
are starting to work on me about changing and not trusting so many people... I have the tendency to give everyone the benefit of the doubt. So I'm a lot more open. I'm not as private as I should be although I'm pretty good at keeping up a front and not letting you know what's inside me; what's really going on inside me...

What is perceived as an "up personality" is an anti-identity. Self contradictions such as the one stated above are common, but why? Jackson argues that identities can be role and situation specific or pervasive self assumptions depending on the subjectivity of a given situation. Subjects reported a number of incidents, whereby interchangeability in role behavior occurred. The shift stated above is not as clear as it might appear. This stems from the absence of situational cues. When situational cues are perceived or readily accessible, exemplification of identities and anti-identities are easily discerned. Specific illustrations of situational cues and role behavior shifts are discussed in the section on interchangeability.

The "will" to maintain internal standards, or as Harter (1978) contends, the "mastery" to do so, is termed intrinsic motivation. Stepwise discriminate analysis revealed that intrinsic motivation condition was not a strong discriminator of role taking. Nevertheless, in some excerpts, intrinsic motivation is inferred. For example,
one subject's self evaluative statements below suggested that he assumed the role "captain" for himself and by his values resists role playing others' expectations. This excerpt demonstrates these role requirements are self constructed and idiosyncratic cognitive-affective standards. In role taking "captain," this subject was motivated to exemplify his standards by "standing up" for his teammates and refusing to role play the "front" or "yes" man. He explains,

"I was not going to be a yes or front man for the rest of the players. But, if they are being treated unjustly by the coach or unfairly.... I would be on their side until the end... I was proud of the fact that I was elected captain, but I never campaigned for being captain. It was given to me out of respect. (Recalling an unfair ruling by a coach) I jumped up on one of the benches and I just told him (the coach) what I felt... I think that was the reason I was elected captain because I was not afraid to stand up to the coach...I am not a ringleader but if there is something wrong."

Identity manifestations can be continually validated in a variety of role assumptions. A subject reported testing and validating the identity "fighter" in the athlete and student roles. This excerpt suggests identity manifestations can be broader interpretations of self. Jackson (1970) proposed that the more general an identity becomes, the greater the number of situations in which it can be successfully validated. Moreover, that a "pervasive
identity" becomes interrelated with other identities. This deduction has implications for identity saliency and denial to be discussed later.

"I have always been a fighter... I had a coach and we did not get along very well. I was not vociferous. I am not that way. But I am not the type to kiss up to people. For some reason, he was going to test me and break me down. He did not want me on the team... He put me through a test for two weeks... He was really hard on me. I never gave up... He even admitted that he was impressed... (Assuming role as student) Academics have always been a stumbling block for me and I did it. I had no help. I had no tutors. I didn't have anything. It was just me... It was tough work. It was a test."

Role figmentizing. Role figmentizing is an unobservable, nonreality based, cognitive-affective product of the self process (Jackson, 1970). That is, role figmentizing is a covert behavior implemented in daydreams, fantasies, etc... It is similar to role taking, in that, it is intrinsically motivated and represents a hypothesized identity or set of identities. When it is impossible to test or try identities in reality, figmentizing can become a means to seek confirmation. The confirmation by social agents, however, "is nonreflexive to self structures due to its lack of social interaction" (ibid, 1970, p.,136).
These data replicate Jackson's original findings on role figmentizing. Jackson inferred different patterns of role figmentizing. First, figmentizing behaviors provide an opportunity to develop self concepts in reference to idealized others. Subjects assumed ownership for themselves, of the qualities they perceived and identified in others. Second, role figmentizing is a means to fantasize identities that have been not tried, tested nor confirmed in reality. In this respect, figmentizing is closely associated with one's aspirations. Figmentizing behavior is a continuous product of the self process. Persons can figmentize identity concepts and values that are currently validated in role taking. In the excerpt below, a subject's self standards are perceived in an idealized "other."

"I have always looked up to him (a famous fighter). He is a very strong man. He always took his beliefs all the way to the limit... When you meet somebody like that... you could just feel the inner strength in him... I see myself in a similar light. Of course, I have not been in the same situations as him. But if I was in that position, I would respond in the same way. If you don't have any pride or any convictions in life, you are a shallow man.... A man has to have something."

This subject's hypothesized identity is revealed in his self standards (having inner strength) and if the role of fighter were available, he would behave in a similar way
that he sees as representing these self standards. Therefore, his figmentizing of self is to be like that famous fighter, that is, he assumes in his imagination that he is like him.

Jackson hypothesized that "a person can emulate a role model by conceptualizing identity concepts similar to those symbolizing the role figure in his cognitive constructions" (1970, p., 149). In terms of figmentizing, she claims that a role model can be perceived as representing important self meanings, hypothesized as necessary and desirable but nevertheless, "incapable of manifestation." (1970, p., 150). For example, although no reference to a specific role model is made, a subject figmentized being a "singer" but role taking opportunities were perceived as unavailable.

"If I wanted to I would like to be singer. I like to sing and I like music If there was something I would want to be, but obviously I can't."

Similarly, another subject figmentized about an ideal football physique, but its manifestation remained a fantasy.

"I always wanted to be taller. I always pictured myself being about 6-5, 250 pounds and run like the wind. In college, I was 6-2, maybe around 220, and decent speed. I always pictured myself being bigger. I was
always fantasizing of being another two or three inches taller, a little bigger physically. I never got that."

Jackson's work showed that figmentizing was closely associated with aspirations. Not surprisingly, aspirations were related to dreams of playing professional football. In some cases, figmentizing "professional football player" was connected to idealizing a specific player. One subject recalls idealizing a professional football player who attended speaking functions in his hometown.

"I remember he (prominent athlete) was in town for a few Saturdays. This guy used to play for the (a professional team). I remember watching and going to the stadium... I remember thinking to myself... I was going to play ball someday because he played pro ball."

Likewise, in his aspirations, another subject idealized being a professional football player as a youngster.

"I thought about it as a kid in the punt, pass and kick. It is really when you are a kid. You look up to a professional player. You are in awe. (Idealizing a former football player) I liked his style of the way he ran. He could run and catch. He sticks out in my mind. I wore his number on my jersey when I represented (this professional team) in the punt, pass, and kick... It was definitely something that made me think about it more..."

Figmentizing aspirations were also present in adulthood work roles. One subject reported figmentizing
about being a "successful coach."

"I imagine myself coaching in a football championship game... I think I do daydream about the fact of taking a championship team, daydream about the kids on the field playing fantastic. Everybody is as happy as can be. I do dream about coaching a great season with these kids."

Role playing. Jackson (1970) postulates role playing as reality based behavior; observable, prescribed, demanded and determined by situational contexts. From these data, role playing patterns can be evidenced from subjects' statements. First, Jackson contends that role playing behaviors are role performance demands by others which are perceived appropriate in specific contexts. Jackson reported that anti-identities can be performed at variance with self standards and concepts. Second, Jackson postulates that role playing behaviors are "not me's," externally motivated and deemed necessary to maintain functional (performance) effectiveness.

Consistent with these patterns, a subject understood that to gain acceptance from his teammates, it was necessary to role play the "cool" athlete womanizer. In the excerpt below, this subject clearly perceived this as an anti-identity. His role playing behaviors illustrate that persons can behave at variance with their values. The excerpt belows illustrates how role playing allows one to
conceal and protect values to avoid negative feedback. He perceived the functional effectiveness of being accepted by the "football fraternity" as more important than staying out of trouble. Jackson notes that when encountering new groups, such as in the case here, "a person usually attempts role playing, conforming or fulfilling perceived role expectations" (1970, p. 148).

"He always told us to stay out of trouble. I did not want to be an outcast. I was part of that circle (i.e., the football fraternity). I want to be accepted by everybody. I knew it was not right but I did it because I wanted to be accepted, that is, chasing women and not going to school. People expected me to be cool and know all the ropes, women, hip... I have to be like everybody else. Then you try to be like the older guys. When you try to be like them, it was just not me. In college, I was more into women. The whole circle, going out with the fellows, being accepted by the boys, living up to the athlete womanizer image... When you are an athlete, you have to be cool... you have to have women...."

Similarly, at variance with his self concepts but fulfilling role requirements, a subject played the role as "barometer" for testing the toughness of new incoming players. He explains,

"I was always the tester for everybody to see how tough they were. There is so many things you have in you... If a guy came on the team, they would pit him against me. I was always one of the better one's on the team and I would be a barometer for
somebody to determine if they were good or bad... I was kind of a backboard for judging people a lot of the time. It was pain in the ass. That was my job and that is why I did it...."

Jackson hypothesizes that role playing "...provides knowledge of role requirements by defining the limits of the person's social world as imposed by self and society" (1970, p.,148). For example, a subject understood the role requirements of being an "athlete on the field." As an athlete, he was aware that being a football player required him to be something other than a "human being." He perceived the "football personality" as a responsibility or what others expected of him. According to Jackson, role playing is non-self reflexive, meaning that persons evaluate themselves in terms of their performance and that cognitive information is not self focused and does not directly affect self-identities. For this subject, his comments suggest that it was easy for him to perform (i.e., sliding into the uniform) the requirements of "football player" on the field. Nevertheless, assuming the "fierce competitor" and performing it in situations off the field was perceived differently.

"... my personality as a football player, off the field, I could separate it because we had a uniform on, a face mask, and a helmet. It was like transforming yourself into another person. I was playing that role out there... It was like you were taking yourself out of just
being a human being running into another one. This was your responsibility. You are assuming this role and mentally I had very easy time sliding into that uniform and becoming a very fierce competitor."

On the other hand, one subject revealed,

"When I was a player, I felt like that they were not talking to me, they would say, you are (jersey number). You play with (his professional team). How about that game? How are you going to do next year? I was like a walking recorder. It was all the same questions. I would give all the same answers. It was all the canned quotes...."

Another subject was clearly aware of limits imposed by his self constructions and role requirements. He found both elements intertwined in his work and family roles. In the excerpt below, he evaluates his performance as a 'chameleon' in the business world and 'negotiator' in family interactions.

"Sometimes I think that I am somewhat schizophrenic because I have so many different levels that I operate on... I have to be a chameleon because I have to operate in the white business world and yet still be able to come back on the other side of the fence because I know whence I came, the roots of the guys I grew up with. When I say operate on all fronts, I am constantly negotiating... I am negotiating with my mom, and I'm wearing a different headset there. I am negotiating with my brothers, and I am wearing a different headset there. That is, putting my level of thinking on their level. I know, when I talk to my brother, that I
have to conform a little bit to that brother type role but yet still let him know that I respect him as being my brother, I respect his opinions; but I am a man, too..."

Jackson (1970) reported that role playing behaviors occur naturally in role interactions and satisfy situational requirements. For example, when encountering fans, the press, etc..., some subjects were consciously aware of satisfying "what others wanted to hear." In response to fans' misconceptions of the athlete role, one subject satisfied situational requirements by, "...playing off people, giving them the answer that they want to hear and go about my business." Another played the role as team "spokesman" with the press. Recalling a bad experience with the press (i.e., misrepresentation of himself on the field), he explains how he became a role player with the press.

"... I sort of learned the game after that. I played the political game or got buddies with all these people. It was huddle time by my locker and his (i.e., a former teammate). We were like the spokesmen back there for the defense; not that we played a good or bad game, but we told them what they wanted to hear and as accurately as possible."

**Role Behavior Interchangeability**

Discriminate analysis indicated support for situational interchangeability. Jackson (1970) proposed
that role behaviors can occur in combinations at any time, that subjects cognitively interpreted and acted on situational demands, but were often aware of social constraints of when and where they could place themselves in the role. Results from this investigation show that former athletes were equally aware of situational cues and their effects on role taking and playing.

Jackson (1970) reported that different situations contributed to shifts in role behavior form. For example, she found that shifts from role taking to role playing occurred as a result of conforming to situations. One subject reported that he preferred being his "own game" or a rebel. However, in the structured football situation, he put this identity aside and conformed to team rules.

"I'm the kind of guy who goes along with the flow. If I'm working in a structured environment, like football, football is structured, you be there at 9:30 for a meeting and you don't leave until 7:00 at night. They (i.e., management) say its 100 dollars for every minute you are late, I'm there 15 minutes early. Now, when I'm not in this environment, and I'm like my own game, then I'm the one setting them and I will rebel against everybody there."

In the section on role playing, subjects reported behaving at variance with their self concepts. Along these lines, Jackson found her subjects engaging role playing because they perceived situations as threatening to
important self meanings. Jackson argues that values and self standards are anchors which determine when and where role behaviors are implemented. For example, encountering a masculine challenge, a subject recalled an interaction where he had the opportunity to engage his identity "fighter" but selected to walk away.

"Some guys might come up to you and challenge you. I am in a bar and some guy walks up to me and says, you are not so big. I say give me a break.... It is obvious that he is trying to build a reputation off of me."

Assuming the role as teacher, one subject interpreted new persons and situations as potential threats to "being in control." As noted by Jackson in 1970, persons engage role playing until they perceive situations as being less threatening or comfortable. This suggests that role taking is somewhat calculated risk taking for self meanings (see below). That is, persons assess and interpret situations before putting themselves into them. This a-priori perceptual set to a social interaction has been elaborated more recently by Bandura (1986) by which our prior knowledge conditions influence our engagement in social interactions or behavior.

"I have never really been outgoing to a point of being weird. Once I know them real well, I have no trouble taking the lead in conversations. Until I know
people, I kind of hold back..."

For the most part, discriminate analysis indicated a lack of support for developmental shift interchangeability. Explanations for these results were offered. Specifically, different shifts may be easier to identify than others. For example, a role figmentizing to role taking developmental shift may be easier to detect because hypothesized identities can be projected in fantasy and later implemented in reality. Below, a subject figmentized becoming a lawyer, but later experienced the reality (i.e., performance demands of that role) of his ambition. But by assuming the role as high school student and later as teacher, he achieved confirmation for an hypothesized identity.

"I always wanted to be a lawyer...
I enjoyed talking about the law. I enjoyed working the law. We had a few classes in high school in business law, I took. I enjoyed that a lot. I always considered the possibility of going into the law. I came to my senses when I realized that I did not have the application necessary to become a lawyer.... I just did not see myself sitting down month after month really studying and studying to do it. I gave up that ambition."

Developmental shifts involving other role behavior combinations were not as clear. In one notable exception, a subject initially perceived autograph signings as
performing a role requirement (i.e., role playing).

However, later on, signing autographs provided a means for confirming himself as a public figure and as an active and former athlete (i.e., role taking).

"It was kind of neat to sign it, but I was not signing it because of me but I was signing it because I was a player. So I understood the difference. Then signing them after I was known was a bigger kick... Then they were saying my name, before they were saying please sign my autograph (book). Then I would sign it and they would say who are you? Now, they are asking me for my autograph and not just a player's autograph. During the first one, I was nothing. I was just a player who was performing.... with all the publicity, TV and in the paper, they would say great game to me, give me your autograph, then I knew they wanted mine. They still do."

Identity Salience: Constructed and Specific Role Assumption

Jackson (1970) proposed that a salient identity is an emotionally charged self hypothesis tested against reality. Recently, sociological perspectives have advanced the concept of identity salience. Like Jackson, Stryker (1981) links salience to affect but his connection is not clearly elaborated. One aspect of salience, according to Stryker, is the probability of an identity being invoked in a variety of situations. More importantly, he connects salience to interpersonal commitment or the extensive/intensive network of relations to others. In
addition, Stryker defines identity salience as a hierarchy of interpersonal commitments, whereby "the assumption that the investment one has in his network of social relationships reinforces the significance to the person of the identity on which this network is based" (1981, p.206). In other words, identity salience with an emphasis on interpersonal commitments, suggests a social reciprocity rather than a psychological mutuality process. For Stryker, salience is nested in the relationship and not in the individuals cognitive-affective meaning loci.

Jackson (1970) however contends that, in terms of identity salience, relationships are necessary from the standpoint of confirmation and disconfirmation of identities and not merely "the sheer number of relationships entered by virtue of an identity... and the depth of these relationships..." (Stryker, 1981, p.,204). Stryker presupposes an underlying social process, in that, the relationship becomes a barometer for salience. According to Jackson, salience is determined not by an interpersonal relationship, rather, salience is derived from selectively attending to information gained from others' feedback of our actions, processed and integrated by self and manifested as affective displacements (This view has been supported by recent cognitive social learning theory of Bandura). The value a person places on a social
relationship is a necessary but not sufficient condition for salience. That is, a social relationship simply provides the context for role performance, whereby salience identities are tested, confirmed and/or disconfirmed. Moreover, disconfirmation (i.e., negative self statements) and confirmation of salience can occur within a nonreality context. Persons can daydream themselves into affective displacements by figmentizing past and/or future role interactions. Therefore, it is conceivable that despite having great many relations in a role, it could be inconsequential to the identity hierarchy if feedback and its source are not meaningful to that person's concept of self.

As originally hypothesized, perceived significant other confirmation/disconfirmation, value incorporation, continuity and discontinuity would predict affective displacement. Quantitative results of these four conditions showed that only continuity did not reach significance as an independent contributor to the model. The following discussion examines incidents where conditions of salience are applicable to role taking identities.

Identity salience is manifested by the values learned and incorporated into the self system. Jackson contends that values determine one's selection and implementation of
identities. For example, in assuming the role "athlete," one subject affectively confirmed his value of "owe something back" in his self assumption of "fatherly type."

"I used to be the fatherly type, I used to worry about everybody, at all times... everything used to break me down... That was the fatherly taking care of person image that I had... I wanted to help everybody... owe something back to the community... I did banquets for the Veterans Hospital, Children's Hospital. I was always gone... It used to drive the wife crazy... I was always gone, I was neglecting my family. I was Mr. Goodie and I have almost come full cycle. I was way over... I still have the same feelings and the caring attitude, for everybody... I have gone a 180 turn in the last 3 or 4 years."

This excerpt illustrates how self standards become subject to reality testing. Discontinuities (i.e., "a 180 turn") in values can occur as a result. According to this subject, his value of "owe something back" resulted in negative feedback from his wife and required him to reevaluate his value system and to invest this identity "fatherly type" into his familial role.

For these subjects, most identity and role constructions were associated with being an athlete. Coming off an injury, a subject reported an incident whereby his salient identity of "starter" was affectively disconfirmed. It is clearly inferred that he placed worth on being a "starter." As Jackson argues, values are like
affective anchors for action. In the excerpt below, this subject's self standard and its disconfirmation anchored his decision to quit his college team.

"I went out for a pass and I could not even turn around for the ball. The coach told me, he says, oh hell, he is not ready send him to the scrub team. So I went down to the scrub team. I was pissed, tears running down my eyes. I was real mad because I was a starter..... that was the ultimate slap in the face to be put down on the scout team when you were a starter at the beginning of the year. So I went down to the scout team and just quit the team.... He treated me unfairly."

Quantitative results showed that continuous self standards and identities did not independently predict affective displacement. Relating the concept "most athletic" to himself, one subject reported his continuous standards of being strong, quick, and 110 percent athlete. Given unavailable role taking, he continued to interpret himself in this way. In the excerpt below, there is an indication that when placed in the role (i.e., during games), he achieved affective confirmation as manifested by his comment, "That was excitement for me." Interestingly, these self percepts remain salient even now as a former athlete.

"I always felt one of my best assets was being strong and quick. I wasn't real tall. So I had to be stronger than the guy I played against. So I see myself always playing to the
The integration of identities and values and their affective confirmation in role taking is inferred in one subject's role taking, "son." Along these lines, Jackson (1970) proposes that self development involves formulating concepts based on perceptions of role representatives. Through these perceptions, a person is able to integrate and assess them as identifications of self which may or may not be exemplified in role taking. For one subject, his father was not only a source of approving (and disapproving) values but a role representative from which to compare and develop self concepts (i.e., football player). This self-other dynamic played a significant role in his self definition and manifested itself in his salient identity, "father's favorite child."

"I am the only boy and I am the one who went and followed in his footsteps, playing college ball and pro ball... I would be his favorite just because I followed in his footsteps. He never missed one game.... He wrote the letters, sent money. I could just feel it. I know it and he knows it.... he was in his glory on Saturday afternoon sitting in the stands knowing that his son is making All-American. He had big aspirations for me. He would just tell me there's no reason you
A salient identity and its place in the hierarchy is contingent upon significant other confirmation. In other words, a salient identity is a valued self conceptualization, fueled by the self evaluative feedback from others. If and when confirmation is available, persons pursue opportunities to validate important meanings of self. Multiple regression analysis revealed that significant other confirmation was a strong predictor. Furthermore, qualitative analysis revealed a number of incidents in which subjects obtained affective confirmations of salient identities. For example, one subject sought public speaking to confirm his emotionally charged "funny man" identity. This identity was important to him because it conveyed to others that he was more than the "grunt and groan---yes I am a football player, routine." For him, speaking was more than an expectation, it was an available role taking opportunity to satisfy his self exemplary needs.

"I never really drudged going to public appearances or speaking engagements because I had a hand packed talk that lasted an hour with guaranteed laughs. I had some stories of over 25 years of football that I knew were going to get laughs. I guess I wanted to be accepted. I wanted to be funny. That is one
thing about being an athlete. When you are asked to come out and do benefits, they expect you to be funny. Someone who can tell jokes. It was ego inflating. I certainly miss the competition and camaraderie of football, but at the same time there were some of these things that people patted me on the back and said I did a great job. I found a lot of satisfaction in that. I got a lot of enjoyment in making people laugh and giving them a different perspective other than the grunt and groan—yes I am a football player routine, I am tough and tackle people."

Pervasive identities are broad interpretations of self which are assumed in a number of roles and situations. Some of these general interpretations can become salient identities. A subject reported his identity of "being big" as a broad interpretation of himself. Under certain circumstances, he desired "being big" but in other situations, reflexiveness suggested otherwise (i.e., negative affect). For example, on the one hand, he desired being big because of its freedom (i.e., no one wants to mess with you). On the other hand, encounters with women and being by himself led to negative self evaluations and negative affect (i.e., frustration, uncomfortable). He explains,

"Being big, it is kind of a headache. It is for me now, you know, all the big jokes. It is kind of frustrating... Being big... women, after they are with you, they say how gentle a big person is.... I would not want to be small. When you are big no one wants to mess with you... When you are a good size person, physically strong
or whatever, they do not want to mess with you.... It is so obvious everywhere I go When he (a big teammate) and I walked into a bar up the street and everyone would say, wow, they just turn around and look tap each other. You are standing there and they grab your arm and say, your arms are so big, you must play football! It is like, here we go again. I know before I ever go out, it is going to happen. There was this girl. She was with her boyfriend and they went out on the dance floor... She said, you are big enough, why don't you guard our drinks.... I always felt funny going out by myself."

Conclusions

Qualitative discussion of the data replicated Jackson's (1970) original findings. Qualitative evidence for role behaviors, interchangeability and identity salience is inferred from the data. These data were consistent with Jackson's postulate that self as process and role behavior are dynamic mechanisms. At any time, role behavior can change depending on specific psychological conditions (e.g., reality base, identity manifestation, etc...). As such, there is selective implementation of identities through role taking, and given certain situations, the behavioral interaction can shift to anti-identity manifestations. Evidence also supports that subjects test identities across situations and through multiple roles.

In the next chapter, adjustment patterns to role loss, as defined by Jackson (1970), are conceptually linked to
the constructs discussed in this chapter. Close examination of "identity denial" is presented. Identity denial is a special case of identity salience, whereby role taking opportunities are thwarted and invalidation of important self meanings may or may not occur depending on one's pattern of adjustment.
CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION:
ATHLETIC RETIREMENT
AND SELF ADJUSTIVE PROCESSES

Dynamic Self Adjustive Process and Identity Denial

This investigation examined self as process and role behaviors of individuals taking the roles of "athlete" and "former athlete." The relationship between athlete and former athlete identifies a loss of a role. Self as Process and Role Behavior theory's conceptual categories have implications for adjustment to role loss. Current views would suggest that adjustment and role loss is more a social process contingent upon life satisfaction. In this investigation, adjustment to athletic retirement is conceptualized in terms of a psychological process of self development.

In the previous chapters, conceptual categories related to self as process and role behavior were discussed. This chapter discusses these same categories with an emphasis on "identity denial." Identity denial is the invalidation of salient identities. Jackson
while not using the term, "identity denial," conceptualized the "adjustment" to it. Adjustment is described in cognitive-affective terms as 1) maintaining continuity of salient identities through alternative role taking, 2) restructuring a hierarchy of salient self concepts, 3) engaging self defenses to maintain salience and 4) using role figmentizing to adjust to identity denial. One's adjustment to role loss is characterized by all four of these patterns. The incorporation of these patterns makes for a dynamic self adjutive process.

Select interview segments have been taken from biosketches of each subject to explain self as process and adjustment to athletic retirement. A biosketch is synopsis of each subject's life history and comprises role behaviors, identity denials and self adjustment patterns in response to role loss (athletic retirement). For brevity sake, single illustrations of adjustment patterns stated above are provided.

Identity denial: Continuity and alternative role taking. Self continuity or consistency and its relationship to psychological functioning and behavior has been considered by some as a social value (Gergen, 1968), a developmental task of adolescence (Erikson, 1959), a conscious but unobtainable state of mind (James, 1890), a defensive self symbol resistant to change, (Lecky, 1945),
or precondition of identity salience (Jackson, 1970). As an adjustment to identity denial, self continuity is manifested in persons seeking alternative role taking to maintain salient identities. Regression models indicated that continuity did not independently predict affective displacement. It is possible that continuity was confounded with intrinsic motivation, a condition of role taking. This is consistent with the view that self continuity is a motive (Breytspraak, 1984; Markus & Wurf, 1987). If so, alternative role taking is self-motivated as persons pursue validations of stable conceptualizations of self.

This pattern was confirmed in the biosketches of some subjects. For example, one subject sought alternative role taking opportunities to maintain salience of important self perceptions and conceptualizations. Throughout his life, he sought opportunities to continually validate his salient identity "leader." This identity was exemplified in a number of previous (e.g., team captain) and current roles (e.g., community service). Below, the excerpt demonstrates that continuity of his salience is manifested in a developmental shift from role figmentizing to role taking. Since his retirement, the statement "yearning" suggests an identity denial, as self focused evaluation and lack of significant other confirmation for his identity "leader"
is evident. There also is evidence for continuity as manifested by his resistance (on his part) to restructure the identity, "leader" by figmenting.

"I have always been in the leadership role starting when I was captain of the junior high patrol in grade school. I was the captain of our team in junior high. I was captain of our team in high school... freshman team at college... my professional team. So I've always been in a leadership role. I am very active on a lot of boards. Even now, out of football I am involved in a lot of activities. Even in those roles, I am involved in a leadership role... I find myself dreaming about it, thinking about it because I'm yearning for it right now. In each facet of my life, I have been in a leadership role. I remember seeing myself when I was in elementary school on a white horse leading some people. I remember that just as clear as day. I remember looking up into the sky at some clouds and seeing myself leading people."

Identity denial: Restructuring salient identities. Identities are capable of change. Restructuring or changing salient identities is, as Horrocks and Jackson (1972) describe, a complex task, "with floundering and defense mechanism appearing until a hierarchy is achieved" (p.,129). When role taking is incongruent with reality demands (negative feedback) and defenses are no longer adaptive, restructuring salience becomes a necessary adjustment pattern. Following his retirement from professional football, one subject felt the need to restructure his salient hierarchy, as reality demands of
validating "role model" induced feelings of rejection, uncertainty and stress.

This same subject realized that he confined his identities into the role of "athlete" and peripherally related roles (e.g., public speaker), and struggled to restructure salient identities. Despite the identity denial, he sought other role taking opportunities to maintain his salience (i.e., popular, role model, pretty good guy, professional athlete), but in doing so, he became sensitive to others' feedback (i.e., self reflexiveness) as his needs and the resulting lack of gratification from self reflexive feedback induced affective displacement and restructuring of his self perceptions.

A closer examination of this subject's comments supports the premise that adjustment to role loss involves psychological processes related to self. That is, what he valued and found worth in terms of himself became threatened. However, in this subject's case, restructuring led to a realigning of environmental demands and self exemplary needs. He was able to shed the identities "macho man" and "great football player."

"I broadcasted games over the radio which still gave me an opportunity to be a part of it. It gave me an opportunity to make some comments, talk to some fans and still do some of the things I enjoyed... I still had a position of notoriety. Then
again, it had all changed. I was asked to come back and do some banquets and things with the same charism or glow that I could sense people had for me. They were still very warm and friendly toward me, but it was not like you just killed that guy last week; that was a great hit--- maybe that was my own perception. Whether it was or not the fact is, that I sense this change in what is going on...you are so sensitive. (Now) I feel better about myself. I feel better from the standpoint: when people say, you are a great football player and you can do this and that. From a macho standpoint, you say, I feel pretty strong here, my t-shirts are pretty tight, I am a macho man. I don't feel that about myself anymore. I feel better about myself..."

Identity denial. Engaging self defenses. Self as process continually makes meaning of stimulus inputs and relates them to a dynamic reference construct. The self process invariably encounters stimulus inputs incongruent with self. As a result, self regulates incongruent inputs through self defenses to avoid negative affect. Specific to role loss, incongruent stimuli are identity denials or the invalidations of salient identities through role taking. Self defenses are a temporary means to adjust to disconfirmations by regulating affective displacements.

As an athlete, one subject felt the need to protect a "vulnerability" or his value for compassion. In the excerpt below, he describes how he was unable to be compassionate when taking the role as athlete. Instead, he exhibited behaviors at variance with his self concepts.
These self evaluations were reaction formations and included "a disliked person," "spoiled brat," or "the jerk." However, since his retirement, taking the role as "father" and "community leader" allowed him to validate his compassion for others. This excerpt demonstrates that role loss can allow one to shed self defenses and try out identities which were previously threatened in different situations and roles.

"I used to have very little patience for people. I was a very disliked person, because I was very self-centered, in that I knew what I wanted in life and I would go out of my way to get it done... I had a very little patience for mistakes and I let them know it... I was a screw-up and loud mouth. People did not like me for it... (Now) Those who went to high school with me, they would probably say I would be an entirely different person. I learned to have more compassion... Maybe, I did not show my vulnerability... being sympathetic... I had to hide my feelings. I understand people more.... What I worry about is my boy. This kid might not be interested in football. It scares me because I don't want that kid to think he has to follow in his father's footsteps... I make sure he knows..."

Identity denial: Role figmentizing as means of adjustment. As role taking opportunities become unavailable, persons resort to fantasy to validate salient identities. This validation is, however, nonreflexive. Confirmation of salience is afforded temporary security in a nonreality context. Figmentizing becomes a pathology
when individuals excessively turn to fantasy to validate self concepts. On the other hand, a person's active figmentizing by occasionally "fantasizing in past roles" can be adaptive as long as their is an awareness of reality demands and a need to restructure salient identities.

Subjects reported figmentizing the athlete role as an active and former athlete. As former athletes, subjects recalled spontaneous daydreaming of athletic accomplishments (e.g. big plays) and reminiscing about athletic careers that were and might have been. Some reported that tangibles (e.g., newsclickings, trophies, etc...) triggered figmentizing. One subject figmentized being a professional football player and was unyielding in his aspirations to be one. He figmentized in his daydreams, "I can see myself catching a pass over my shoulder in a corner of the endzone for a touchdown to win the game. I think about that once in a while". In this respect, role figmentizing gave him an opportunity to hypothesize the "if me's" despite the reality demands and denial of his ideals.

"I wish I was still playing football sometimes. When I came up I always wanted to be (i.e., professional athlete). I was always, I was always considered the best in this, the best in that, best in basketball, and just sometimes, I think that is all done. During big game weeks, I would run into people. They talk about how good I was and stuff like that, and that kind of brought back (i.e., the idea)
if I was still playing. A lot of them ask me, when they ask me, I tell them I would play tomorrow. I just kind of imagined myself that but I know I will never do it again, that is, play."

Conclusions

In this chapter, single illustrations of a dynamic self adjustable process have been presented. Illustrations were taken from short biosketches constructed from interview segments of each subject. Biosketches are comprised of conceptual categories, as defined in Self as Process and Role Behavior theory and represent reconstructed and selected memories of subjects' thoughts, feelings and perceptions regarding their retirements from professional football. Qualitative evidence for alternative role taking, restructuring, self defenses and figmentizing as adjustments to identity denial was indicated. This supported Jackson's contention that self conceptualizations are amenable to reinterpretation as the saliency of identities no longer permitted in the social milieu (i.e., identity denial) are collectively maintained through alternative role taking, restructured, defended or figmentized.
CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSIONS

This investigation was an examination of the career athlete who had experienced termination of the athlete's role. Adjustment to the athletic retirement role loss and role loss in general, has been conceptualized as a social and not psychological process. This investigation tested the construct validity of a psychological self process theory as proposed by Jackson (1970). In doing so, the following issues were considered. First, can the constructs proposed in *Self as Process and Role Behavior* theory be subject to empirical analysis for establishing its properties as an appropriate and adequate theory of self and role? Second, can theoretical assumptions of *Self as Process and Role Behavior* be used to empirically test the role loss and adjustment of the athlete? Third, does the technique of information gathering (i.e., Jackson's semi-structured interview) have rigor and useful application for the psychological study of self development and role behavior?
Establishing Empirical Analyses and Construct Validity

Jackson (1970) proposed that the study of self is amenable to scientific inquiry by examining self assumptions through the individual's cognitive-affective role constructions. She noted the lack of progress in self concept research was due to the ignorance of inferential, subjective cognitive processes or the individual's cognitive-affective interpretations of self in roles. Although Jackson relied on this approach to ascertain the validity of her theory, she argued that a comprehensive study of self required both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

This investigation used qualitative and quantitative analyses to validate Jackson's (1970) conceptual categories related to Self as Process and Role Behavior. First, statistical regression models consisting of lower order categories (i.e., conditions associated with role behavior and identity salience) were proposed to test and determine construct validity of role behavior form, interchangeability, identity salience and identity denial. Testing regression models was contingent upon the investigator's content analysis of subjects' transcripts to determine the "units of analysis." Units of analysis consisted of role behavior forms from which trained judges rated lower order categories. Trained judges rated lower
order categories related to role behavior and identity salience. These ratings were recorded and subjected to tests of interrater reliability and agreement. Results indicated that interjudge ratings reached acceptable reliability and agreement levels. Given these results, regression models could be formulated and tested with confidence.

Discriminate and multiple regression analyses were used to determine the construct validity of role behavior form, interchangeability, identity salience and identity denial. A stepwise discriminate analysis was used to determine validity of conditions related to role behavior form. Results indicated a number of discriminations among role behavior conditions. Hypothesized discriminators indicated strong support for role taking. Role figmentizing and role playing were supported to lesser extent. Interestingly, among role behavior conditions, motivation did not significantly discriminate among any of the role behaviors. Yet, results of interrater agreement and reliability did not indicate that ratings on extrinsic and intrinsic motivation occurred by chance. Therefore, these results suggest that motivation is not independent of the other conditions determining role behavior. This offers support to Jackson's contention that conditions which determine role behaviors are not mutually exclusive
but dynamically interrelated.

A discriminate analysis was used to determine the validity of role behavior interchangeability. Results indicated that role behaviors shift in response to situational cues. On the other hand, developmental shifts were less discernable. Qualitative analysis demonstrated that subjects attended to situational cues such as others' expectancies and demands, and opportunities to assume self in roles. Discriminate analysis was unable to support developmental shifts to a greater extent. This could have been attributed to the type of developmental shift. For example, a role figmentizing to role taking shift may be discernable because persons often figment aspirational identities and later test them in reality through role taking. Furthermore, a lack of support may have been due to initial content analysis which yielded only fragments (units) for analysis. Developmental shifts are more likely discernable if role behaviors are framed in the ontology of personal histories.

According to Rosenberg (1981), identity salience has advanced conceptually but not empirically. Results from this investigation suggest otherwise. Jackson (1970) defined a salient identity as an emotionally charged self-hypothesis. A salient identity is contingent upon its continuity, discontinuity (restructuring), values (self-
standards), significant other confirmation and evaluation of feedback thereof (self reflexiveness). A stepwise multiple regression indicated that significant other, discontinuity, value incorporation and self reflexiveness significantly predicted affective displacement. On the other hand, results indicated that continuity did not significantly predict affective displacement. In theory, self continuity has been implicated in affect regulation (Marcus & Wurf, 1987). Some theorists have considered self continuity to be a motive (Greenwald, 1980; Rosenberg, 1979). If that premise is valid, as a motive, self continuity is not an independent condition of salience and determinant of affective regulation. Continuity may represent a "superordinate" motive which is not mutually exclusive of other salient conditions. Persons are motivated to maintain salient identities by seeking valued significant others and positive feedback. This is consistent with the current view that persons seek self-relevant information (Greenwald, 1980) and domains to reaffirm stability in self concepts (Markus & Wurf, 1987).

Identity Denial, Self Adjustive Processes and Termination of the Athlete Role

The main purpose of this investigation was to test theoretical statements related to Self as Process and Role
Behavior in terms of role loss. Role loss provides a contextual framework to examine the dynamic nature of identity denial and self adjustive processes. Specifically, this investigation examined the athletic retirement role loss. Although athletic retirement has captured the public interest, speculation as to the former athlete's adjustment pervades. Recent studies have conceptualized adjustment as a social process, contingent upon the athlete's demographics, constellation of role involvements and life satisfaction.

Self as Process and Role Behavior theory proposes that adjustment to athletic retirement is an active and dynamic psychological self process in response to "identity denial." That is, in spite of role loss, the former athlete's meanings of self remain, and therefore, continuity of self concepts become subject to identity denials, affective displacements and self adjustive processes. Athletic retirement, like other role losses, does not necessarily lead to identity denials, affective displacements or require self adjustive processes. However, individuals are more vulnerable to identity denial, as Jackson (1970) contends, when they test a restricted number of salient identities and values in a limited number of roles. Consequently, as role opportunities become unavailable, persons become
susceptible to invalidations by significant others, negative self evaluations and discontinuity of self standards (values) and identities. In response, persons implement self adjustive processes. That is, they can temporarily use self defenses and role figmentizing to maintain salient identities. They can also engage alternative role taking to reaffirm continuity of self concepts or restructure their salient hierarchy.

Construct validity of identity denial and self adjustive processes required both quantitative and qualitative analyses. First, multiple regression analysis supported the validity of identity denial. Results indicated that significant other invalidation and self reflexiveness were significant predictors of affective displacement. Value incorporation and discontinuity were not significant predictors of affective displacement. These data suggest that former athletes may not respond to identity denials with immediate restructuring of values and identities. Instead, persons may initially respond to identity denials with cognitive-affective biases (Greenwald, 1980). Repeated disconfirmations of salience result in restructuring (discontinuities) and alternative role taking. In this respect, as a self adjustive process, restructuring identities occurs not "for the moment" but is subject to cognitive-affective reinterpretations of salience.
over time. Therefore, achieving an understanding of identity denial requires researchers to consider role loss from the standpoint of developing personal histories.

Multiple regression analysis of identity denials warranted a more inclusive, comprehensive approach which included a qualitative analysis of self adjustive processes. Since many self adjustive processes unfold over time, qualitative analysis involved construction of biosketches. Biosketches are structured narratives, comprised of conceptual categories related to Self as Process and Role Behavior. A biosketch is a research tool used to isolate subjects' self adjustive processes to identity denial. Based upon subjects' identity and role constructions of athlete and former athlete, inferences regarding alternative role taking, restructuring salient identities, self defenses and role figmentizing were made. Qualitative results suggest that adjustment to athletic retirement involves dynamic self adjustive processes.

Future Applications and Research: Implications

Self adjustive processes and the life review. Life review or reminiscence are interchangeable concepts associated with old age and adjustment. Merriam (1980) identified different types of reminiscence. These included simple reminiscence or spontaneously recalling of the past, informative reminiscence or story telling and life review
reminiscence. The latter is described as a psychological process in which older persons analyze past experiences to achieve an integration and acceptance of their lives.

Some studies indicate that elderly are likely to engage the life review process when experiencing abrupt changes and social losses (Lieberman & Falk, 1971; Marshall, 1980). As such, it is possible that the life review and self-adjustive processes are similar, if not related, adaptive mechanisms. Both are self-focused, and each process strives for meaning and self consistency. The life review process may involve self-adjustive processes to counter negative affect induced by identity denials. For example, in this investigation, former athletes reported figmentizing previous athletic experiences, successful plays, aspirations, etc... which elicited positive affect. Figmentizing is a selective process, whereby persons use daydreams to remember or evoke specific role assumptions, and thus promote self consistency and acceptance.

A relationship between self-adjustive processes and life review assumes an adaptive function. However, the life review, as a self readjustive method, has been plagued by misconceptions. Life reviews have been equated with senility, a preoccupation with the past, a disengagement from present and future concerns and maladaptive
"regressive" behavior. Sable (1985) proposes the life review process as a useful therapeutic strategy which helps persons achieve a sense of integration and acceptance of self. Life review therapy facilitates memory through sensory and cognitive stimulation. Those seeking life review therapy, openly state a desire to put their lives in order. This application, however, has been limited to elderly persons facing their finitude.

As a therapeutic technique, Jackson's semi-structured interview may serve a similar function by helping adults resolve prior conflicts and achieve integration and acceptance of self. The conflict consists of identity denials induced by specific role losses or new role assumptions. This type of therapy would involve helping clients construct self hypotheses in unavailable or newly acquired roles to ascertain identity denials and conflicts between performance requirements and self needs respectively. As a life review strategy, this semi-structured interview elicits salient hierarchies and assesses current role taking opportunities.

Future research and limitations. Construct validity of Self as Process and Role Behavior theory, and its effectiveness as a therapeutic strategy are contingent upon future research. Jackson (1970) emphasized the importance of role as an empirical context to validate constructs
related to self process development. Therefore, continued validation of the construct "identity denial" requires examination of other role losses such as widowhood, retirement, divorce, etc... As an outcome of these studies, the effectiveness of Jackson's semi-structured interview as a life review strategy can be tested and applied with confidence.

Research and applied interventions can be extended beyond role loss. Construct validity studies centering on the assumption of new roles is needed to test the relationship between role playing and role taking. New roles, such as obtaining new work roles (e.g., career changes), becoming a wife or husband (e.g., marriage), becoming a parent (e.g., postpartum depression), etc... require learning and anticipating new performance expectations which can induce stress. In new roles, persons may have difficulty discerning performance requirements (i.e. role playing) and opportunities to assume salient identities and self standards. In addition, an examination of self and role may be applicable to those experiencing "burnout" in work or related roles. In theory, burnout is case of identity denial involving a disconfirmation of ideal self standards.

This investigation employed multivariate models and qualitative analyses to confirm conceptual categories
related to **Self as Process and Role Behavior.** Results indicated that adjustment to athletic retirement is an active and dynamic self-adjustive process. However, despite these empirical advances, the nature of this investigation does lend itself to certain limitations. First, a small, select and homogeneous sample of former professional football players was used. Their role loss represented a non-normative life event, and therefore results of this investigation are restricted to those who experienced forced termination of the athlete role. It is possible that involuntary termination of the athlete role is a unique role loss which lends itself to identity denials and self-adjustive processes. That is, former athletes forced to retire experience career and social developments unlike their nonathlete counterparts. The nonathlete is establishing an adult life style, whereas the former athlete is relinquishing one. Further studies examining self-adjustive processes within the context of voluntary and involuntary role loss can address this question empirically. Second, inference-centered approach was used to determine construct validity. This approach is time consuming and requires training judges to rate conceptual categories. Further research to determine the rigor of these procedures is warranted.
In spite of these limitations, this investigation was a comprehensive study of self. Unlike other studies of self, it used subjects' inferential and cognitive-affective processes to ascertain idiosyncratic role constructions. These role constructions were further subjected to rigorous statistical testing. A combination of these approaches is essential if an understanding of self processes and role behavior is to be achieved.
APPENDIX A

PHONE SOLICITATION SCRIPT
Hello, my name is Robert Gordon, I am a doctoral student in the Psychology Department at the Ohio State University. (If applicable, state a referral)

I am currently working on my dissertation in Developmental Psychology. In general, my dissertation examines individual changes which take place as a result of athletic retirement.

In recent years, I have been committed to studying the developmental issues facing highly skilled athletes.

I was hoping you could spare a half hour of your time to talk about your retirement and understand the intent of my research. I would also like to know your perceptions, thoughts and feelings about your athletic retirement experience.

When would be a good time to meet with you?
APPENDIX B

JACKSON'S (1970) SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW
I am going to ask you a number of questions concerning attitudes and observations of your youth and adult life. Feel free to expound in any way that you see fit to the questions asked. The ideal situation would be if you can tell me of any instances or facts that come to your mind in relation to the subjects presented to you, and if the situations arises, tell me of any instances or attitudes that you can remember or that you have now. In other words, it you can, answer by illustrations.

Structuring of Identity Concepts.

(Q) I want you to think of people that have come into your life. These can be family members, parents, friends, teammates or close relatives. They can be old and young, they also do not have to be close. Think about them in reference to yourself. Thinking of these individuals, who would you consider most different from you? Thinking of these individuals, who is the most like you? How are they like you how do you compare yourself with them?

(Q) Thinking of these individuals named, who seemed to get along with each other? Who seemed to fight and not get along with each other? Why? Is there something about them that makes them difficult to get along with?

(Q) In many friendships, there is usually a person who looked after or took care of others. Can you compare yourself with this person? Illustrate?

(Q) Considering these individuals you have named so far, who did you consider to be the friendliest and what made them friendly? Compare yourself with that person? Illustrate?

(Q) Who is the most intelligent person you know? Compare yourself with that person? Illustrate?

(Q) Who would you consider the most industrious person or one who worked the hardest? What in your mind made him/her seem industrious to you? Compare yourself with that person? Illustrate?
(Q) We know of a number of people who we consider as having the most complaints or cry the most. Tell me about a person like this and then compare yourself with this person? Illustrate?

(Q) There are some people that say things wrong most of the time and always seem to get into problems because of it. Do you know any persons like this? If so, tell me some of the things they might say and compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Who do you know that says that he/she is unhappy? compare yourself with that person? Illustrate?

(Q) Thinking of individuals, who would you say is the most conforming? How are you like or unlike this person? Illustrate?

(Q) I am sure that you know people who are openly rebellious, people that never did things that other people wanted them to do. Do you know such a person, compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Many people do not like to be bossed around, and yet there are some who can take it and some who cannot. Who do you know that does not like to be bossed around? Compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Thinking of all your friends, who was the most popular with the other kids or who seemed to have status? What made them popular? How did you compare? Illustrate?

(Q) Many of us like to be by ourselves, but some prefer it more than others. Who do you remember as being private? Compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Think of a person who is always critical of others, someone who says that other people are not right or are not good. Compare yourself with that person? Illustrate?

(Q) Selfishness is a trait that most have to some extent. Who do you know that you would consider selfish, a person that wants everything for themself? What do think makes he/she selfish? Compare yourself? Illustrate?
(Q) Many people easily get their feelings hurt, and are considered sensitive. Think about a sensitive person you know and describe this person in terms of this feeling. Compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Who always wants their way, and demand their own way? Describe these demands and compare yourself with this person? Illustrate?

(Q) Do you know anyone who is independent? Someone who does things when he/she feels like doing them? Compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Some of us are considered to have quite a temper, tell me about someone that gets mad easily and compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Tell me about someone you consider to have a good sense of humor---one who is always laughing? How do you rate in humor and compare with this person? Illustrate?

(Q) Who do you consider to be the most athletic or good in sports and compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Tell me who you consider the easiest to get along with and what makes them easy to get along with? Compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Who do you consider to be strong mentally or physically? How are you like or unlike this person? Illustrate?

(Q) Many people like to possess materialistic things, to whom is this important? What type of things does this person possess? Are you materialistic, compare yourself? Illustrate?

(Q) Who do you think is the best looking person, male or female, that you know? Describe this person, and compare yourself and tell how you are similar or dissimilar? Illustrate?

(Q) Do you know anyone who considers themselves to be a confident person? If so, describe and compare yourself? Could you give an illustration? *

* Lead question added to original interview
(Q) Do you know anyone who you might consider sociable or outgoing? Compare yourself? Illustrate? *

(Q) Who do you consider to be a moody person? Do you consider yourself to be moody in comparison? Why or why not? Do your moods affect others in family or group situations? Was your family influenced by your moods? When you got in a particular mood, who did you pick on or react to and why? Illustrate?

(Q) Every family has a certain set of values that are more or less spelled out to them in their youth. In thinking of your family, what were the values that were important to your family? What were those things that were not allowed by your parents? Did you conform? Why or Why not?

**Parental Figures.** I am now going to ask you a number of questions about your parents. Try to answer them to the best of your knowledge.

(Q) Who did you consider to be your father's favorite child? Based on your own perceptions, why would you consider that child to be his favorite? Who do you think is your father's favorite child now?

(Q) All parents have ambitions for their children. What was your father's ambition for his children? Did he ever sit down and talk to you about the future for you and his other children? What was your father's relationship with his children? Describe?

(Q) Which sibling was most like your father? In what way was he like your father? If possible, describe what made you feel that this was so?

(Q) Who do you consider to be your mother's favorite child? Why do you consider this person to be your mother's favorite? What position did you hold in comparison? Who do you think is your mother's favorite child now?

(Q) Did your mother have any pointed ambitions for her children, and did she direct you toward your future goals?

* Lead question added to original interview
(Q) Which sibling was most like your mother? Tell me how you came to this conclusion, or show a situation (s) that happened to make you feel this way?

Additional parental or adult figures. Many of us are reared by our parents, and yet we look upon other people as parental figures. This may include aunts, uncles, grandparents, teachers, coaches, principals, neighbors, etc... some authority that we personally went to for advice or security. Thinking back to childhood....

(Q) What person stayed in your memory as a parental figure? What made you choose that person or persons? Describe your relationship to them. (If you did not have any, what do you think was a reason for this relationship or closeness not to occur in your life?)

(Q) Do you still, if you had a parental surrogate figure, keep in contact with them now? Why or why not?

(Q) Thinking of these people, tell me how the substituted for your parents in a particular situation. In other words, for a person(s) other than your parent to give you this feeling, they must have filled some needs, what do you think were these needs?

Personal Actions-Reactions-Roles (Testing for role behaviors)

We realize that we all act differently in different situations, and I am looking for an indication of how you behave or perceive yourself in a specific class or situation.

(Q) Describe how you put yourself into various situations. Elaborate in incidents or by illustration of you in specific interactions.

(Q) What kind of student did you want to be? What kind of student did your teachers expect you to be? How do these differ in your estimation?

(Q) When meeting a new girl for the first time, there was a certain image that you want to portray in order to give her a certain impression of you. What did you wish to convey about yourself, and how did you go about doing this? In what type of situations would you prefer to meet her and why? How do you want her to perceive you, and how do you want her to remember you? How about now?
(Q) When you meet a new fellow for the first time, whether he is a peer, teammate, etc..., how do you react to that person? What type of an impression do you want to create about yourself? Is there anything about yourself you want or not want to show about yourself?

(Q) What do you perceive are others' demands and expectations of you? (If any, be specific as to where and when others place these demands upon you?)

(Q) What are the things that you do not attribute to yourself that others might? In other words, many peoples' analysis of you in a situation may or may not be the way you actually perceive yourself. How are their expectations different than what you are?

(Q) You may often find that you dream, and in many cases where work is boring, we daydream. Tell me what your current dreams are, and what is your part in the dreams? What is your reaction to your dream when you awaken?

(Q) Do you have an recurrent dream(s)? Describe them if any? Were you in your dreams?

(Q) There might be childhood dreams that stick out in your mind. Tell me if you can recall any of them, and your reaction to them?

(Q) Do you daydream? What did you imagine yourself doing, or being? Do you have a favorite daydream? What are your fantasies? What do you do and how does that compare with the way you are involved in your fantasies? What do you do and how does that compare with the way you are in reality?

(Q) How did you have to appear to others while at school, practice field, game, home, classroom (if applicable), church, and other groups in terms of their expectations of you? Were you ever afraid to show your real self in any of these situations?

(Q) In terms of those things that directly affect the way you see yourself, what are the things you fear most? Compare your childhood fears to your present fears?

(Q) Tell me about your childhood ambitions. What did you think you were going to be when you were going to grow up?
(Q) If I were to give you three wishes, what would they be as youngster? What would they be now?

(Q) Tell me about the most outstanding person or person you know. What, in your mind, makes them seem outstanding? Compare them to yourself?

(Q) Describe your personal assets, those things that make you, you? How have you made use of these assets in your everyday life?

(Q) What are your most important attitudes about yourself? Compare these with the way that you see yourself? When and where are you willing to express these attitudes of yourself?

(Q) Some things we are today are based upon something we have from the past, such as attitudes, conceptions, experiences, etc. What do you perceive are the most important relationships or happenings, or events that have made you the type of person you are today? Illustrate?

Condensing Identity Concepts and Role Behaviors Manifestations

At this point I am going to summarize quickly many of the points that we covered. What I am attempting to do is to recap some of these points, and you can condense your answers if you wish, or you may want to elaborate further on some of the answers that you gave the previous time, since you now have had time possibly to think more about the questions that were presented to you.

(Q) How did your family attempt to educate you, and also cover the habits, practices, ideas, or values that they instilled in you or passed on to you? How did others influence you in terms of those things you just mentioned?

(Q) With whom did you confide, and why did you pick that particular person?

(Q) Did you ever keep personal notes about anything that has ever happened to you; e.g., a diary, notes, or letters. If these things were kept, why did you keep them?

(Q) Looking over the years, what do you see as typical of yourself and consistent with the way you see yourself?
(Q) Your parents or siblings may consider certain things extremely important, and yet you may not. What is important to them that is not important to you; or what is important to you that is not important to them and how did you go about achieving your desired results?

(Q) What are some of the responsibilities that you have undertaken?

(Q) What are some of the responsibilities that you are required to fulfill? Are there any you like, why or why not?

(Q) Have you ever, or do you assume responsibility for others? How? Do you like to do this, why or why not?

(Q) You are made up of or hold certain concepts that make you an individual, or what makes you, you. Of all the things you are, which are the most important percepts or concepts you hold about yourself?

(Q) How do you feel about the way you see yourself, in terms of your ideals?

(Q) In what types of situations do you not show people what you are like; e.g., if you are an overly sensitive person, in what situations do you not show this? Explain what you do?

(Q) When people demand certain performances from you, how do you overcome or comply with these demands? Why would you do this?

(Q) To what extent do you do things you really do not want to do, in terms of your self concepts?

(Q) What are those things that you imagine yourself doing that you have not been able to do or do not see yourself as doing in real life?

(Q) What were your impressions of self-frustrations and how have tried to overcome or cope with them?
APPENDIX C

ADAPTATION:
JACKSON'S (1970) SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW
ATHLETE AND FORMER ATHLETE ROLE CONSTRUCTIONS
I am going to ask you a number of questions concerning attitudes and observations of your retirement from professional football. Feel free to expound in any way that you see fit to the questions asked. The ideal situation would be if you can tell me of any instances or facts that come to your mind in relation to the subjects presented to you, and if the situations arises, tell me of any instances or attitudes that you can remember or that you have now. In other words, it you can, answer by illustrations.

General Retirement Questions

(Q) Explain the circumstances that eventually led to your retirement from professional football?

(Q) When you retired, did you feel you could perform as well as your peers in your position?

(Q) Do you still wish you were playing, why or why not?

Identities as Athlete and Former Athlete

(Q) Did you have childhood ambitions which were not related to athletics? If so, what were these ambitions and do you currently hold these ambitions?

(Q) Why did you go into professional sport and your current occupation?

(Q) What kind of work would you like to do now? What kind of work would you not like to do?

(Q) What standards do you set for your work: are these standards the same since retirement from football? Can you give me an example of a standard you have taken from football to our current job, please illustrate?

(Q) Are there values you could have only learned through athletics? If so, what are these values?

(Q) While you were an active player, would you consider the athlete role the most important? Why or Why not?

(Q) If something happened to prevent you from being a professional athlete, what else would you have been, why? What would you not do (occupation) under any circumstances?
(Q) Since your retirement did you ever consider a career in sports other than a player? If so, what would this career be? Do you know of any former teammates who have continued a career in sport other than as a participant? Compare yourself with this person?

(Q) Do you know any former teammates who have benefited from their athletic careers in terms of opportunities after athletics. What are they doing and compare yourself with this former teammate?

(Q) Do you know of a former teammate who was forced to retire against his will, if so, describe him and compare yourself?

(Q) What did you or do you fear from athletic retirement?

(Q) Did you ever have a teammate who considered himself to be a hero, if so, describe him and compare yourself?

(Q) As an athlete, what made you, you?

(Q) What are your ideals (standards) for you and your behavior with others since retirement, are they the same or different? If so, how?

(Q) What kind of athlete did you want to be? What kind of athlete did the coaches expect you to be? How do these differ in your estimation?

Role Behavior Manifestations and Athletic Retirement

(Q) When becoming a former athlete for the first time, was there a certain image that you wanted to portray in order to give another person a certain impression of you? What did you wish to convey about yourself? and how did you go about doing this? In what type of situations would you prefer to meet people after athletic retirement? How do you want this person to remember you?

(Q) In general, how did you act with others as an athlete on the field, off the field, before and after retirement? Illustrate?

(Q) Do you think athletes have a certain image they must uphold? If so, what is this image and did you ever feel you were the image?
(Q) Was there anything about being the image of the athlete that you did not like?

(Q) Was there anything about the image of the athlete you did not like even though the public expected and demanded it of you? Why or why not?

(Q) Did you feel you had to portray this image?

(Q) Has this image changed since retirement?

(Q) Do you possess tangibles from your athletic career which you would not be willing to give up any cost, if so, what are they and why would you not be willing to give them up?

(Q) Did others' demands and expectations of you change before and after athletic retirement?

(Q) Did you ever dream about athletic retirement? What was your reaction to the dream? Did you ever imagine yourself not being an athlete, why or why not?

(Q) While as a youth did you ever dream about playing professional football? What did you see in your dreams, do you still have these dreams?

Identity Denial

(Q) How did you expect to make your retirement decision, did it happen the way you wanted, why or why not?

(Q) Do you remember reading in the newspapers about your retirement or release. If not, did you want to read about it? How did you feel and what did you want to do?

(Q) How did your family perceive your athletic retirement?

(Q) How did your teammates perceive your release or retirement? Was there a teammate who stands out, was he sympathetic, avoiding? How did he make you feel, did it affect the way you perceived yourself?

(Q) Where did you go first after your release?

(Q) Was there any place you wanted to avoid?
(Q) As an athlete, did you feel you had more or less opportunities to express yourself across situations before or after retirement?

(Q) When becoming a former athlete for the first time, was there a certain image that you wanted to portray in order to give another person a certain impression of you? What did you wish to convey about yourself and how did you go about doing this? In what type of situations would you prefer to meet people after athletic retirement? How do you want this person to remember you?

(Q) Describe how you put yourself into various situations before and after athletic retirement? Did novel situations become more threatening, less threatening? Do you recall any situation where you were not afraid to be yourself but after athletic retirement were afraid to be yourself?

(Q) Do you ever think about specific moments in your athletic career, like a specific play or game, what is your reaction from these thoughts, please elaborate?

(Q) Do you keep old pictures, athletic awards, newsclippings around the house? What is your reaction when you see them?

(Q) If you had one wish, would you wish would it be to continue your athletic career? Why or why not?

(Q) Is there anything you do not miss about being an active player? Did the public eye see you in a way that was different in the way you perceived yourself, if so, how did you react?

(Q) What are the most important beliefs you have about yourself at present and compare them with beliefs before you retired from football?
CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN
SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH

I consent to participating in research entitled: Athletic Retirement as Role Loss: Construct Validity Study of Self as Process and Role Behavior. NAME has explained the purpose of the study, the procedures to be followed, and the expected duration of my participation. Possible benefits of the study have been described as have alternative procedures, if such procedures are applicable and available.

I acknowledge that I have had the opportunity to obtain additional information regarding the study and that any questions I have raised have been answered to my full satisfaction. Further, I understand that I am free to withdraw consent at any time and to discontinue participation in the study without prejudice to me. The information obtained from me will remain confidential unless I specifically agree otherwise by placing my initials here ______________.

Finally, I acknowledge that I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given to me.

Date: ___________ Signed: ____________________ (Participant)

Signed: ____________________
(Principle Investigator)

Witness: ____________________
DATA SHEET

Name ___________________________ Age __________

Address __________________________________________

City ___________ State. ___________ Zip __________

Business Phone ___________ Home Phone __________

EDUCATION:

Level of education

(1) H.S. Diploma ________
(2) College Degree ________
(3) Post Graduate Degree ________
(4) Other ________ if so, be specific ________

Did you return to school to finish your degree while playing professional football?

(1) yes _______
(2) no _______

Did you return to school to finish your degree after you retired from professional football?

(1) yes _______
(2) no _______

CAREER:

How many years did you play football professionally?

(1) 1 year _______
(2) 2 years _______
(3) 3 years _______
(4) 4 years _______
(5) 5 years or more _____ if more than five, how many? ______

How many teams did you play for during your career?

(1) one _______
(2) two _______
(3) three or more _____ if more than three, how many? ______
Where did you play college football?

(1) division I (major college) ______
(2) division II ______ (3) division III ______

What position did you play during your professional career?
(Check more than one if applicable)

(1) Offensive back ______
(2) Offensive line ______
(3) Defensive back ______
(4) Defensive line ______
(5) Special Teams ______

What position did you play during your college career?
(Check more than one if applicable)

(1) Offensive back ______
(2) Offensive line ______
(3) Defensive back ______
(4) Defensive line ______
(5) Special Teams ______

What awards did you receive as a college or football player? (Check more than one if applicable)

(1) All conference ______
(2) All America ______
(3) Other NCAA national recognition ______ if so, please describe _______________________________________

(4) All Pro ______
(5) Other professional football award (e.g., MVP) ______
if so, please describe _______________________________________

Did you play on successful teams during your college or professional career? (Check more than one if applicable)

(1) College conference champion ______
(2) Bowl team ______
(3) Professional playoff team ______
(4) Professional conference champion ______
(5) Superbowl team ______

Did you ever hold any leadership roles on any of your professional teams or college teams?

(1) College captain ______
(2) Professional captain ______
(3) Player representative ______
(4) Other ______
RETIREMENT:

How was your retirement decision made?

(1) Imposed by management ______
(2) Athletic injury ______
(3) Other ______ Please describe _________________________________

How many years have you been retired?

(1) one year ______
(2) two years ______
(3) three years ______
(4) four years ______
(5) five years or more _____ if more than five, how many?____

Were you ever traded during your professional career?

(1) yes ______
(2) no ______

What year did you begin and finish your professional football career?

(1) 19____ to 19____

POSTRETIREMENT CAREER:

Are you currently employed?

(1) yes ______
(2) no ______

If yes, please describe your current employment ________________

How may jobs have you held since your retirement?

(1) one
(2) two
(3) three or more _____ if more than three, how many?____
Were you employed at any time as an active player?

(1) yes ________
(2) no ________

If yes, what did you do? __________________________________

Did you seek sport-related employment after retirement?

(1) coaching ________
(2) scout ________
(3) sport administration ________
(4) sports media ________
(5) other ________ please describe ________________________
(6) none ________

PERSONAL:

Marital Status

(1) married ________
(2) divorced ________
(3) widowed ________
(4) single ________

If married or divorced did it occur before or after your retirement from professional sport?

(1) before ________
(2) after ________

Do you have any children?

(1) yes ________ If yes, how many? __________
(2) no
APPENDIX E

STATISTICAL FORMULAE IN DETERMINING
INTERRATER RELIABILITIES AND AGREEMENTS
INTERRATER RELIABILITY STATISTICS

Finn's "r" Coefficient
(Adapted from Tinsley & Weiss, 1976)

\[ r^2 = 1.0 - \frac{So^2}{Sc^2} \]

So = observed variance or within subjects mean square obtained from a one-way analysis of variance

\[ Sc = \frac{k - 1}{12} \quad \text{OR} \quad \text{Chance Variance} \]

k = number of scale categories or (5)

Tinsley and Weiss (1976) Chi Square Test

\[ \chi^2 = \frac{N (K - 1) So^2}{2 Sc} \]

N = number of subjects
K = number of raters

So = observed variance or within subjects mean square obtained from a one-way analysis of variance

\[ Sc = \frac{k - 1}{12} \quad \text{OR} \quad \text{Chance Variance} \]

k = number of scale categories or (5)
df = N (K -1) or df = 10 (4 - 1) or df = 30
INTERRATER AGREEMENT STATISTICS

Lawlis and Lu (1972) Nonparametric Chi-Square
(Adapted from Tinsley & Weiss, 1976)

\[ x = \frac{(N1 - NP - .5)^2 + (N2 - N(1-P) - .5)^2}{NP \times N(1-P)} \]

- \( N1 \) = number of agreements
- \( N \) = number of individuals rated
- \( P \) = the probability of chance agreement on an individual*
- \(.5\) = a correction for continuity
- \( N2 \) = the number of disagreements

* Note: \( P = .52 \) when discrepancy equals 1
\( P = .20 \) when discrepancy equals 0 (identical)

Tinsley and Weiss (1976) "T" Test for Agreement Range

\[ T = \frac{N1 - NP}{N - NP} \]

- \( N1 \) = same as above
- \( N \) = same as above
- \( P \) = same as above
LIST OF REFERENCES
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