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Who's Got the Power? Examining the Similarities and Differences in Benefits Obtained and Considered Important by High School Basketball Players and Coaches

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Who's Got the Power? Examining the Similarities and Differences in Benefits Obtained and Considered Important by High School Basketball Players and

Coaches

by

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Dedication

To My Lord and Savior who made all life possible and gave me the strength and humility to complete this season in my life; to You alone belongs all the glory.

To the girls and boys, of all ages, whom participate in sport- this project is for you to better understand who you are so you may better understand what you deserve from sport, yourself, and others. Expect nothing but the best and give nothing less than that to others. Colossians 3:23

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Who's Got the Power? Examining the Similarities and Differences in Benefits Obtained and Considered Important by High School Basketball Players and

Coaches

Joyce Oluwatoyin Olushola, PhD The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

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Despite the lack of clarity on how sport delivers the benefits intended, sport continues to be positioned as a panacea for social disparities (Coalter, 2010). The inconsistent and sometimes nonexistent evaluation of sport has raised doubt about sport's capacity to deliver the benefits desired(Broh, 2002; Chalip, 2006; J. J. Coakley, 1979; J. Coakley, 1993) . In worse cases, sport has been considered complicit in reinforcing the same oppressive social structures that created the initial need for its intervention (Hartmann & Depro, 2006; Hartmann, 2003; Sally Shaw, Frisby, Cunningham, & Fink, 2006; Spaaij, 2009a).

The belief that sport can provide benefits stems from the recognition that there are two groups of people: the empowered (i.e., those who employ sport for development), and the disempowered (i.e., those who are targeted to participate in these programs). Darnell (2007) asserts that "within the development through sport movement, a wellintentioned and benevolent 'mission' of training, empowering, and assisting is not only based upon, but to an extent requires, the establishment of a dichotomy between the empowered and the disempowered, the vocal and the silent, the 'knowers' and the known" (561). The crux of this assertion lies in the notion that the benefits provided through sport serve as social control mechanisms by reifying the values of the empowered as those that should be desired and reinforcing the social hierarchies that oppress the disempowered through the controlled (unequal) allocation of resources. Latent in the intent of these sport-for-development programs is the need to continually identify and socially anchor the historically disempowered. Social myths about their inferiority overshadow how social class, further distinguished by race and gender, was historically fashioned by the unequal distribution of resources and overpower the voices of those who are marginalized through this process. Therefore, what is considered "beneficial" becomes a contest between which group can put the most resources behind their ideals as opposed to the expressed needs of the participants (Coalter, 2007; Darnell, 2007; Spaaij, 2009).

To better understand what shapes perceptions about the benefits obtained from sport participation, the purpose of this study was threefold: (1) to determine what players and coaches perceive as the benefits obtained by players through basketball and what benefits they perceive to be important; (2) to determine whether players and coaches perceive that players obtain benefits to the same degree that they feel they are important; and (3) to understand the differences in these perceptions based on gender, race, SES, and role (i.e., player or coach). Upon receiving IRB approval, a pilot study was conducted on high school athletes (N=450) to ascertain the benefits they obtained from high school basketball. In SPSS, exploratory factor analyses with varimax rotation were conducted on 109 benefits identified in the literature to determine which groups of benefits were salient to high school basketball players. From the initial factor analysis, 23 factors emerged. In addition to feedback from sport-for-development researchers, coaches, and players, a second pilot study (N=69) was conducted to refine the categories of benefits players obtained. The final instrument contained 41 items in ten categories of benefits: Academic Resiliency, Self-Expansion, Self-Discipline, Analytical Thinking Skills, Moral Value Development, College Preparation, Leadership Training, and Relationships with Others, Sense of Community, and Career Development. Cronbach's alpha was used to test reliability of each category and all were found to be acceptable for this study Nunnally (1978). The instrument was available in paper form and electronic form for players and coaches to complete in a four-week period. The final sample included 237 high school basketball players and 164 high school basketball coaches from Texas.

First, two MANOVAs (one for benefits obtained and one for importance) were conducted to examine the potential interactions among gender, race, SES, and role in perceptions of benefits obtained and the importance of those benefits. Results of the MANOVAs were considered significant at $\alpha = .10$. Next, paired-sample *t*-tests were conducted to determine whether players and coaches perceived that players received the same benefits that were deemed important. Finally, one sample *t*-tests (against the neutral point of the scale, 4) were used to determine which benefits were perceived to be obtained and which were considered important by players and coaches. *T*-tests were considered significant using Bonferroni criteria.

The results of the MANOVAs included a three-way interaction between race, gender, and role that was significant in determining the perceived benefits obtained through sport. These results reinforce the need to analyze sport from a transdisciplinary lens to understanding the personal and structural factors shaping the needs of sport participants and subsequently creating culturally responsive sport component to provide the desired benefits. SES was used as a proxy for social class, more specifically, for one's access to resources, and was not found to be significant in determining the perception of benefits obtained from sport. This finding suggests that people marginalized by class differences may have a false consciousness about the benefits at levels comparable to more privileged groups and even worse, that sport participation can be detrimental to their development.

In light of the findings that African-American women perceive more strongly that they obtain benefits from sports than do their male counterparts, further exploration is needed on how the experience of sport is influenced by hegemonic structures based on race and gender. To this end, practical implications for implementing sport-fordevelopment programs including promoting culturally responsive training and implementation of programs (Ladson-Billings, 1990) that employ the resources available to foster the intended benefits and more importantly, to create more sustainable programs.

Another key finding was that race, gender, role, and SES were significant in influencing the benefits perceived to be important. While the results showed that "sport is good" for providing the benefits observed, the differences in how well these benefits are obtained by race and gender suggest that further investigation is needed in understanding what are the mechanisms that allow sport to be "good" in providing these groups with benefits and in determining how athletes perceive sport as the channel for receiving benefits.

Both findings push for more organic and long-term studies in the benefits of sport participation. Using the tenets of Critical Race Theory, theoretical implications include employing a socioecological approach to understanding how needs and benefits are conceptualized, the use of more emic approaches to studying these concepts, and providing more agency to the individuals in researching and understanding their needs and the benefits they desire from sport (along with the potentially negative implications of sport participation). The results promote the need to look specifically at one's access to resources, race, and gender in determining the components necessary and sufficient to providing benefits through sport. The concept of hegemony posits that these factors are not conditions inherent to an individual but identities and social positions constructed by the larger society. Therefore, sport researchers must create concepts of researching "needs" and "benefits" that are reflective of the individual as well as cultural and environmental factors that shape sport participation. These concepts must also be organic,

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taking into consideration that factors influencing the needs of participants are changing in concert with social norms and their effects on one's identity and access to resources.

The results of this study also provide practical implications for recognizing that sport does not exist in vacuum and to be effective in providing participants with the intended benefits, sport must be culturally responsive (Ladson-Billings, 1992). To this end, sport administrators should be mindful of the cultural and structural factors that shape the students' environment and consequently their identities and needs, by implementing sport components that work on multiple levels. Administrators and participants should also examine the ways that sport may impact them in negative ways, particularly if those negative impacts are masked by potential benefits (Simon, 2010). Giving voice to the participants, engaging school and community officials in providing access to resources, and using goal-setting to help students exercise more agency in shaping their sport experience were also practical implications from this study.

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Introduction

Obesity prevention, peace, crime reduction, political engagement, community development, and educational attainment are the UN's Millennium Goals. The Millennium Goals outline various social ills that should be addressed in moving forward as a global community. Recognized as a right for all to claim, sport continues to be hoisted as a panacea for redressing social ills and supported as an intervention by government and third sector organizations (Hartmann, 2003). There is a plethora of literature and popular press on the stated benefits of sport participation (Coleman, 1961; Jones & Jones, 2002; Le Menestrel & Perkins, 2007; McHale, Vinden, Bush, Richer, Shaw, & Smith, 2005; Zarrett, Fay, Li, Carrano, Phelps, & Lerner, 2009). The immense federal, state, and local attention and funding towards decreasing social disparities stresses the growing interest in, and significance of, creating sport programs that lead to benefits for targeted populations (Coalter, 2007a; Spaaij, 2009; Vail, 2007). Despite the claims of benefits and interest in creating sport programs, we lack evidence regarding how sport produces benefits, for whom, and under what conditions (Coalter, 2007; Spaaij, 2009a). The increased use of sport as an intervention for personal and community development emphasizes the urgency for understanding the factors of sport programs that contribute to their success in providing the intended benefits.

1

Benefits of Sport Participation

Sport-for-development programs are undergirded by the desire for sport to provide benefits that assist the participants in their personal and communal development. Although a wide array of benefits, including mental and physical health (Giacobbi et al., 2007), has been attributed to sport participation, many of the benefits (such as those listed above) are largely manifested only at the individual level. Therefore, the educational and social development benefits linked to sport are the focus of this study.

Educational benefits. Structures around interscholastic sport ensure that students who desire to play sports attend class and maintain a passing grade. These structures increase the school's accountability of the students to their academics. Interscholastic sport also provided students with academic resilience. Academic resilience refers to the ability to overcome challenges hindering academic achievement (Hawkins & Mulkey, 2005). The structure of sport mirrors that of school in that students have a set time in which they learn and apply knowledge toward increasing their skills. Like competitive games during a season, students face academic challenges- tests, quizzes, projects- that require them to focus on the task in front of them while putting the task in perspective of the larger goal. Tailoring practice according the opponent and getting team feedback mirrors the academic process of adapting study habits and incorporating feedback from classmates. Games can also enhance academics as they provide students feedback on their skills with the goal of preparing them for the next challenge. Interscholastic sport participation has been an avenue for promoting and recognizing academic achievement (Olushola, Jones, Dixon, & Green, 2012). To participate in sport, attendance and grade

requirements are set by national and local governing bodies (e.g., National Federation of State High School Associations). These requirements are attributed to increased school attendance as well as increased desire to come to school. Having good relationships with teachers and school staff is also reported as a benefit of sport participation. Teammates and coaches have been shown as motivators for students to achieve honor status. This social structure promotes academic achievement through accountability and recognition from team, school, and community members. Interscholastic sport has also provided access to higher education (Olushola et al., 2012; Troutman & Dufur, 2007). Participation in interscholastic sport is crucial to accessing athletic scholarships at the collegiate level. Tournament play can provide exposure to college recruiters while also providing students access to college campuses. The commitment and time needed to excel in sport has also been cited for promoting academic resilience for college students (Hawkins & Mulkey, 2005).

Yet, Eitle and Eitle (2002) cautioned sport managers to be critical of attributing sport participation to positive educational benefits because background demographics of participants can affect the benefits received from sport. A key finding in their work was the importance of socioeconomic class (SES) in affecting educational attainment. As supported by other studies, SES is a powerful predictor of student academic achievement (Clauss-Ehlers, 2010; Muijs, 1997). Another key finding is that the benefits of sport participation were less for African-Americans than European Americans. In terms of gender, girls seemed to benefit more than boys, but in what way is not clear (Miracle & Rees, 1994). Therefore, if sport is to be more effective in promoting educational benefits, programs must not only address the perceived benefits of sport, but also examine the factors of SES (i.e. access to educational resources, parental support), gender, and race (i.e., discrimination, structural biases) that impact the experience of these benefits.

Social development benefits. From teaching young boys how to be gentleman to decreasing teen pregnancy, sport continues to be employed as a tool for social development for young people. Social development benefits refer to the benefits that aid in one's ability to interact with others. As summarized by Frasier-Thomas et al. (2005), sport can foster "citizenship, social success, positive peer relationships, and leadership skills" (p. 24). These benefits had a positive influence on adolescent behavior in other social settings including the classroom, home, and community (Carpenter, 2001; Marsh, 1993; Olushola et al., 2012; Spaaij, 2009a).

A number of programs demonstrate sports' capacity for social development. For example, the Sport Stewardship Program in England was created to integrate disadvantaged youth into the workforce. Participants of the program reported having a more positive social outlook and increased employability. Benefits received were attributed to the linking capital fostered in the relationship with program staff and larger economic agencies (Lin, Cook, & Burt, 2001; Spaaij, 2009). In addition, Biermann (2011) found that creating child-friendly spaces also contributed to the social development of youth. These spaces were shown to promote learning, happiness, amicable conflict resolution, entrepreneurship, health, and an increased perception of safety. Chalip (2006) argued that sport could promote salubrious socialization and preparation for higher education and Career Development.

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In addition, Gano-Overway et al.(2009) demonstrated that sport participation was linked to more pro-social behaviors including empathy for others and the ability to sense the needs of their group. These students also displayed leadership skills and the ability to think critically about the world around them (Olushola et al., 2012). These skills seem to transfer into their college years as those who participate in sport at the collegiate level are shown to have better coping skills than their non-student-athlete peers (Giacobbi Jr, Tuccitto, & Frye, 2007). Each of these factors contributes to positive personal and community social development.

Social support benefits. Youth participants have also reported that sport can increase their social support. For example, in a study of a girls' basketball program, social support was developed by increasing the quality and quantity of positive adult and peer relationships (Olushola et al., 2012). In addition, the team can provide a positive family atmosphere in which participants feel accountability to their team, coaches, school, and community. Leadership opportunities (e.g., captain, mentoring younger players) helped to foster this sense of accountability while providing a context in which participants can be supported in fulfilling their responsibilities. Coaches and older students modeled expected behaviors and provided counseling for participants in order to encourage positive decision-making. Participants also benefited from the sense of belonging linked to being on a team, the friendships gained, and the increased ability to empathize with other's feelings.

The structure of sport (especially in contexts with strong socialization patterns) has also been credited for reducing antisocial behaviors and promoting more socially acceptable conduct (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Spaaij, 2009). Sport-for-development programs often mirror larger social structures and therefore reinforce normative social values (Gruneau, 1983; Rhoden, 2007; Sage, 1990). Social development through sport is promoted through reducing boredom, reducing unstructured time, providing access to socially acceptable activities, and providing rehabilitative services. Despite the variety of means in which sport is implemented to meet these ends, the underlying assumption is that sport can create a diversion from antisocial behaviors while providing resources for promoting pro-social behaviors.

Summary. While literature provides overwhelming support for the effectiveness of sport in social development, *how* sport can provide these benefits is unclear. While there is an abundance of evidence that supports the use of sport as a social development tool, a deeper look at the literature reveals the effectiveness of sport to provide social development benefits is highly dependent on the sport managers' perception of programs success. Results reported are often short term (less than year) and often do not address the initial factors associated with promoting antisocial behaviors being redressed. Without more participant feedback, how sport provides these benefits will remain ambiguous.

Despite the lack of clarity on how sport delivers the benefits intended, sport continues to be positioned as a cure for social disparities. The inconsistent and sometimes nonexistence of the evaluation of sport has raised doubt about sport's capacity to deliver the benefits desired. Sport has even been seen as complicit in reinforcing the same oppressive social structures that created the initial need for its intervention. The assumption that sport is good has been a root problem in the lack of evaluation in sport programs. Literature on the effectiveness of sport-for-development programs suffers from this assumption. Due to this assumption, the implementation of sport is not fully discussed and it is unclear how the sport program actually provides the outcomes reported.

Under this assumption, sport programs that resulted in benefits to the targeted population were attributed to the sport whereas the lack of benefits received was individualized to the participants (F. L. Wilson, Mood, Risk, & Kershaw, 2003). Decreases in the quantity and quality of sport participation were attributed to deficits in the participants or to characteristics in the targeted population that would hinder the attainment of the intended benefits. By assuming that sport is inherently good, sport administrators fail to recognize that sport, as a social construction, is subject to the hegemonic ideologies that underpin the structures of the larger society and consequently, maybe part of the problem.

Statement of the Problem

Inconsistent results of previous interventions have raised the question of what allows these interventions to be effective in redressing social ills. As the use of sport for developmental purposes continues to increase, more attention has been given to the evaluation of sport in providing intended benefits.

Sport, a favored intervention tool of the United Nations, is employed in redressing a number of social ills. However, the ability of sport to provide the intended benefits has not only been questioned in its consistency, but also in its potential to create more harmful outcomes for the participants. For example, the use of basketball as a crime prevention tool for African-American males was inconsistent in attending to the issues that affected participation in criminal activities and in some instances provided another space for crime to occur (Hartmann, 2003). The use of sport as a deterrent to antisocial behavior was beneficial only as it provided an activity to shield participants from negative stimuli in their environment (Coalter, 2010; Green, 2008; Hartmann, 2003). In some cases, sport was actually attributed to increasing antisocial behavior, specifically aggression, risky sexual behavior, and drug abuse (Eitle & Eitle, 2002). The negative and inconsistent outcomes of sport participation are causing funding and policy making bodies to question the use of sport as an intervention and have become more critical in their support of these endeavors (Spaaij, 2009).

Yet, we do know about the design and implementation factors that make sport more effective as a developmental tool (e.g., Green, 2008; Olushola et al., 2012). Wilson and White (2001) found that incorporating youth input in the implementation of a sport program fostered a sense of accountability that made participants loyal to the program and helped them develop prosocial behavior. The incorporation of participant feedback was useful in sport programs that promoted health for African-Americans and sport to underserved women (Shaw, Frisby, Cunningham, & Fink, 2006). Also, key to effective implementation of sport-for-development is the partnership of sport organizations with local and regional/national organizations to provide holistic development through sport and non-sport programming and cultural change. Sport programs alone are not sufficient interventions and need to be linked with other programs to provide more benefits to the participants, which in turn give the program more value and increase program retention rates (Green, 2008; Hartmann, 2003). In Hartmann's (2003) evaluation of the Institute of Athletics and Education, creating a program culture in which the participants have ownership in the program's effectiveness was important to the success of the program. Vital to the translation of sport lessons into the classroom was the proper training of staff. A key finding from this program is the centrality of participant-adult relationships in creating beneficial sport programs.

These studies highlight at least two important areas for effective sport-fordevelopment designs: (1) programming must be culturally relevant or participants will not buy-in and (2) design and implementation must include both "designer/builder/adult" and "user/participant/youth" input.

With the increasing reliance on sport to provide benefits to alleviate social disparities, more information is required to understand the needs being targeted and the sport components sufficient and necessary to fulfill those needs within the particular contexts in which they are being deployed. While it is certainly appropriate to call for greater emphasis on changing larger social structures (e.g., education, healthcare, employment), the challenge seems to be creating sport environments that are appropriate to the social, cultural, and economic conditions in which targeted populations find themselves. For youth in the United States, school sport provides an ideal context for exploring how sport-for-development initiatives are implemented and evaluated given that interscholastic sports are the most funded and most popular extracurricular activities in public schools (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Eide & Ronan, 2001). The goal of this study is to examine how sport participants and sport administrators in American interscholastic sport programs differ in their perceptions of the benefits obtained and considered important from sport participation.

Significance of Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the difference between sport participants and sport administrators in the perceived benefits obtained and considered important. The aims of this research is to (1) raise awareness and reduce the difference in the worldviews of participants and administrators in order to (2) design and implement programs that better suited to the needs of sport participants.

Coalter (2007) highlights that the benefits attributed to sport are not naturally available and that more data is needed to identify the conditions necessary and sufficient to creating these benefits. To identify these conditions, practitioners must become more attuned to the socio-ecological factors affecting how and why participants engage in sport (Hedstrom & Gould, 2004). Data from this study was analyzed to identify what role race, gender, and class has in determining the benefits desired by sport participants. The voices of sport participants and sport administrators will help determine which areas have the voices of marginalized groups. Specifically, participants, women, racial minorities, and people of low socioeconomic status (SES) have been suppressed and should be taken into consideration in the desire to create sustainable sport programs.

Vital to creating sport programs that provide benefits for young people is having a structure in place that is responsive to the individual and environmental factors that shape

their needs and how they can be met (Sport England, 2003). This study will provide the empirical data on what the needs of these sport participants are which can be used in creating and sustaining positively impactful sport-for-development programs (Doll-Tepper, 2006). By identifying these needs, practitioners and researchers can then explore how these needs are incorporated into administrators' implementation of sport. Data from the sport administrators seeks to identify the relationship between race, class, and gender in shaping the structure in which these benefits can be obtained. The results of the data analysis seek to further explain if sport is expected to meet those needs and if sport participation leads to benefits (Coalter, 2007).

With a more parsimonious understanding of how sport participation can and does provide youth with desired benefits, the utility of sport-for-development programs can be increased. Data from sport participants and administrators can reduce the gap in the program components needed and those components implemented in structuring sport-fordevelopment programs. Streamlining these programs to be better tailored to the needs of the participants can increase the return on the investment of these programs. With more culturally responsive programs reducing the barriers (i.e., lack of skill, lack of access to facilities, lack of interest) and increasing the enablers (i.e., enhanced skill levels, trained administrative staff, program and personal goal alignment) to sport participation, participants have an increased opportunity to engage in lifelong sport activities.

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Literature Review

The notion that sport can provide benefits stems from the recognition that there are two groups of people: the empowered (i.e., those who employ sport for development), and the disempowered (i.e., those who are targeted to participate in these programs). Darnell (2007) asserts that "within the development through sport movement, a wellintentioned and benevolent 'mission' of training, empowering, and assisting is not only based upon, but to an extent *requires*, the establishment of a dichotomy between the empowered and the disempowered, the vocal and the silent, the 'knowers' and the known" (561). The crux of this assertion lies in the notion that the benefits provided through sport serve as social control mechanisms by reifying the values of the empowered as those that should be desired and reinforcing the social hierarchies that oppress the disempowered through the controlled (unequal) allocation of resources. Latent in the intent of these sport-for-development programs is the need to continually identify and socially anchor the disempowered-- the financially poor, women, and racial minorities. In targeting these groups for benefits, social myths about their inferiority are signified and used to justify the disproportionate amount of resources available to them. These social myths overshadow how social class, further compounded by race and gender, was historically marked by the unequal distribution of resources and overpower the voices of those who are marginalized. What is considered "beneficial" becomes a contest between which group can put the most resources behind their ideals (Coalter, 2007; Darnell, 2007; Spaaij, 2009).

Therefore, to better understand what shapes perceptions about the benefits obtained and considered important from sport participation, the following review of literature will employ power as an analytical tool for examining social relations in the United States particularly in the context of sport and education. In further understanding power dynamics, a sociohistorical analysis of race and gender will also be conducted to identify how power has been exercised through the distribution of resources and the adoption of ideologies that promoted White, wealthy, males as the standard for the highest form of humanity. For those who did not meet that standard, development programs were created to assist them in becoming more functional to the needs of the larger society as opposed to the opportunity to develop as a person in their own right. Again, power will be employed to examine how sport was used to coerce those who were oppressed to acquiesce to policies and programs implemented underpinned by these ideologies that oppressed them. The role of sport administrators will be discussed as they are central to the benefits and ideals promoted through sport followed by the call to have more participants and traditionally marginalized groups input in the structuring and evaluation of sport (Darnell, 2007; Spaaij, 2009).

Power Defined

Power defined by Weber (1946) power can be observed through the visible conflict between two groups to reach a decision. Power in this dimension is the ability of one group to influence another group into conceding to their will. A second dimension of power posits that opposition to one's will can be suppressed to the point of not physically manifesting in visible conflict. Power exercised in this manner is not observable and can cause decisions made to appear consensual. Both definitions of power provide insight into how individuals or groups of individuals make decisions or non-decisions. Yet, these dimensions rely heavily on measuring behavior as a proxy for power. Lukes (1974) suggests the *real* power struggle begins in the mind. In considering the psychosocial dimension of power, Lukes asks:

Is it not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial? (p. 24)

Embedded in Lukes' question are two actors: the empowered and the disempowered. The empowered have the sociopolitical influence to shape the minds and lives of the disempowered through continuous processes and structures. The most notable example of this sociopolitical power is the formal education system. From its inception in Britain, schools, in function and form, served to reinforce and strengthen social hierarchies (Dunning, 1971). Structurally, schools reified gender and class, and eventually race. Roles in administration were only open to the social elite and access to formal education was virtually exclusive to boys of nobility who had the time (from not having to work) and the money to afford it. Though schools for girls of nobility were available, they were less prominent than those for boys and served to teach girls their place as submissive to men (McCrone, Mangan, & Park, 1987). Through consensual and differentiating rituals, formal education was employed to socialize those in and out of school to adopt beliefs about how one should function properly in society (Bernstein, 2003). Through consensual rituals, acceptable behavior was reinforced in the formal education setting by increased access to resources and recognition while differentiating rituals provided a means of punishing behavior that was considered antisocial. These rituals also further alienated those who were not allowed to attend school by suggesting that they were inherently antisocial (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

As the need to promote physical fitness arose, sport became a consensual ritual that physically and symbolically represented the ideals of the elite. School administrators implemented sport with the goal of reinforcing physical strength and character values as desired traits (Hargreaves, 2002). Physicality was praised; competition was promoted as a means of obtaining "success," suggesting that there are those who must lose in order for one to win (C. Roger Rees, Miracle, Coakley, & Dunning, 2000). Winning was equated to the victor being superior to the defeated, and therefore worthy of more rewards. Tangible (medals) and intangible rewards (recognition, status) served as powerful influences for getting youth to conform to the dominant social standards of Victorian ideals (Park & Mangan, 1987). Through these means, scholastic sport became a potent and viable propaganda tool for socializing youth to adopt the views of their educators.

As formal schooling, and consequently interscholastic sport, was exclusive to those who could afford it and were allowed to matriculate, these institutions did more to justify and reify social hierarchies than to educate young people on how to interact as individuals in a social world. Boys were taught the values of being the ideal Victorian man-- a leader, protector of his property (which included women), strong, noble, with military prowess--through the curriculum in the classroom and through the physical time spent on the playing fields and away from other non structured forms of education. Implemented by adults, school sport served as a tool of institutional control over the behavior and thinking of young people. Sport enhanced the agenda of the elite education system by creating invented traditions that celebrated certain desired traits and promoted social myths as rationale to how one could possess those traits (Miracle & Rees, 1994). While the motives of educators in this time period were to shape young people into more productive citizens, the lack of emphasis on assisting students in becoming critical autonomous thinkers suggests that the real focus of school was to maintain, if not strengthen, current power structure in the midst of dynamic demographic, ideological, and technological shifts. School, and consequently interscholastic sport, was not meant nor suited to empower individuals, but to separate those who had it from those who did not, namely women and racial minorities.

Women's Sport Participation

Historians and sports sociologists generally agree that women's sport in the US and Western Europe has been shaped by adherence to traditional social roles that viewed women as different and subordinate to men (McCrone et al., 1987; Messner, Dunbar, & Hunt, 2000; Messner & Sabo, 1990). As historian Jan Todd points out in *Physical Culture and the Body Beautiful* (1998), the influential French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau heavily influenced nineteenth century women's physical education by suggesting that women should only do such exercise as would make them attractive to men able to be better mothers and housewives.

Rousseau's ideas, however, were not original. Although Ancient Greece is considered the birthplace or organized sport, it provided women with relatively few opportunities for sport participation and made it illegal for women to even attempt to watch the Olympic Games (Hackensmith, 1966). In Roman times, sport served as a tool for war preparation and as a signifier of one's status in society, and again, women were largely excluded (Hackensmith, 1966). Although historians now believe that a few women did become gladiators and participated in the war-like games favored by the Romans, the vast majority of Roman women rarely participated in sporting activities as the martial nature of most Roman games was not believed to suit their more delicate sensibilities (Guttmann, 1986; Kidd, 2013). As military status was linked to social status, this relegated women to second-class citizens in their society. Their worth was seen in their ability to produce healthy children (especially boys) who could later become and create healthy warriors (Blanchard, 1995).

During the Enlightenment, the rediscovery of the physical culture and sport practices of Ancient Greece and Rome proved to be a powerful impetus for the introduction of physical education and sport into both the public and private school systems of Western Europe and the United States for both boys and girls (Todd, 1998). As schools became a primary method for preparing boys for adulthood, sport was considered a valuable tool for training them for physical combat as well conditioning them to understand their role in society (C. Roger Rees et al., 2000). Sport in these settings served to reinforce the ideal of competition, and the character-building aspects of sport participation were widely believed. In fact, by the middle of the nineteenth century, team sports such as rugby and football were increasingly adopted as the best form of school physical education for boys because they were believed to promote manliness, courage, discipline and the ability to take orders (Putney, 2009; Todd, 1998).

Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, women's schools largely eschewed sport in favor of various kinds of physical culture regimens (Todd, 1998). The invention of basketball, in 1893, and Senda Berenson's championing of the sport for women at Smith College shortly thereafter, proved to be a significant turning point in the history of women's sport (Cahn, 1995). As Cahn documents in her book, the struggle over the control of women's basketball and the right of women to participate in intercollegiate competition against other women was rooted in the need to overcome the socially prevailing belief that women were physiologically different than men and unsuited to competitive activities (Hargreaves, 2002). During the first seven decades of the twentieth century this meant that sport for girls was largely conducted independently of sport for boys and also meant that women were marginalized from true equal status in both the world of sport and society at large (Cahn, 1995; Shakib & Dunbar, 2002).

Gender Hierarchy Reproduced

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 was a legislative step towards achieving equality. The federal law mandated that women of all backgrounds must have

access to sport, sport facilities, and coaching (Acosta & Carpenter, 2002; Guttmann, 1994). As women's teams began being organized in high schools and colleges across the United States, girls' sport participation rose exponentially and many women and men found new jobs as coaches for women's teams. Although media coverage of women's sports has dramatically increased since the passage of Title IX, professional women's leagues now exist, and many women athletes have corporate sponsors, some scholars argue that these seeming advancements in gender equality in sport do not go far enough (Acosta & Carpenter, 2002; Theberge, 2000).

Shaw and Frisby (2003) proposed that women's sport has been allowed to increase structurally for three reasons. Sport administrators saw sport as (1) an opportunity to "fix" girls and women, (2) reinforce dominant notions of masculinity through the celebration of femininity, and (3) regulate woman's participation through provision and policies.

In fixing the person, sport is employed as a tool for social control. Sport administrators acknowledged that sport can promote ideal behavior and sport is implemented with the goal of filling a need (Darnell, 2007). These ideals permeate the rules of co-ed sport including basketball and hockey. Guided by myths of women's physical inferiority, these sport-for-development programs often lack focus on skill development (e.g., undertrained staff) with more focus on promoting ladylike behavior (Feder-Kane, 2000; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994). The mindset of fixing girls through sport suggests that sport in- and-of itself is not an activity for girls to do (Kane & Disch, 1993; Thorne, 1993). Womanhood is seen as deviant and something needed to be controlled and monitored. Sport in this framework can never be empowering as it is constantly being structured to fill a need as opposed to enhance one's understanding of one's self and their potential (Cahn, 1995; Shakib & Dunbar , 2002; Theberge, 1985, 2000). Fixing the person declined to value what makes women unique and how that uniqueness can better help in understanding human behavior in order to create better human services.

Valuing the difference, namely femininity, has become more prominent means of promoting female sport participation. The formation of the Women's National Basketball League, Women's Football League, and Women's Rugby League suggests that sport administrators recognize a need for women's sports that is tailored to this population. What they have not accounted for is how or why women's play differs from men, particularly in sports like basketball where the skills needed are very similar (Shakib & Dunbar, 2002; Theberge, 1997). Given that girls and boys are virtually equal in cognitive and physical development until the age of puberty, structural differences in sport implementation for girls and women have served to create new understandings of how the different genders participate in sport and reinforce differences between the two. Even the nomenclature around sport has suggested that women play a different version of sport while men play "real sport" (Theberge, 2000).

The example of valuing the difference lens is Crosset's (1995) work with the Ladies Professional Golf Association. He found that the space for women to play at the elite level was celebrated yet held captive by financial demands to sustain the sport and the ideologies around women's heterosexuality. Women in the LPGA were critiqued about their appearance by a male commentator on national media. His remarks invoked unspoken myths about women's physicality being linked to homosexuality. These myths also reified that a woman's power and value was in her ability to be attractive to men and reproduce. Not to deny the empowerment women gained in this space, defining what power women have and how it could be used remained contested not only in shaping social relations, but also in accessing resources (Connell, 1987; Thorne, 1993). Femininity, though celebrated, is often considered to make women, and consequently women's sport, inferior to men and men's sport.

Title IX has been instrumental in combating these beliefs about women's inferiority on the playing field by increasing sport opportunities for girls and women. This legislation worked to decrease the structural barriers hindering girls and women from participating in and administering sport. Yet, it has not been implemented effectively to redress the gender stereotypes that initially hindered female sport engagement. Though altruistic in its implementation, simply increasing more opportunities for girls and women to participate in sport reifies two paternalistic ideologies. First, it implies that girls and women are dependent on men to provide them with opportunities to participate in sport, suggesting that sport is not a women's place unless given permission. Second, participation must be sanctioned according to those providing the opportunities. In this sense, sport opportunities for girls and women cannot be empowering, as participation itself serves to reinforce men's dominance over women.

Implications for women's sport participation. The quantity and quality of women's programs are continued to suffer under these reasons for promoting women's sport. Lack of funding and instruction for girls and women's sport literally leave these athletes "benched." Prepubescent girls' sport participation (in terms of numbers of participants) is relatively equal to prepubescent boys; yet, girls participate in sport at lower rates than males over time (Women's Foundation Sport, 2013). A drastic drop in girls' sport participation occurs around the late middle school/ early high school years coinciding with a heightened sense of self and a desire to be considered "attractive". While this drop can also be attributed to the structure of interscholastic sport offering fewer opportunities for participation as competition increases, the ideology of a woman "knowing her place" is more detrimental to women's sport participation (Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Theberge, 2000). Characterization of sport as a "man's game" and athleticism as a "masculine" trait both work to discourage girls from participating in sport as they are continually pushed to conform to gender normative roles as they reach their pubescent years (Shakib & Dunbar, 2002). Therefore, benefits from sport participation are centered on conforming young women to standards of femininity that oppress their physical ability and confine their identity development.

Sport can provide a realm in which gender norms can be challenged, but this goal is often subverted by males' overprotection of their masculinity. With the increasing trend to hire male coaches for female sports, the individual desires of men to maintain sport as a male preserve can become institutionalized. In this process, women's desires and needs from sport are policed, silenced and in many cases, assimilated in line with "the maintenance of the masculine sport hegemony" as notions of male superiority are reinforced at the administration level (Shakib & Dunbar, 2002). Despite the gains of Title IX, the inability to address the ideology around the inferiority of women continues to keep women from participating in and administering sport at more meaningful rates and in more meaningful ways. This ideology is even more detrimental to women who already suffer from racial and class discrimination. This continual disempowerment leads to girls' and women's voices being silenced in the sport design and delivery process. It is therefore highly likely that what girls think they want and need from sport and what they actually get are quite different. One of the main purposes of this study is to examine if this happens and the potential implications thereof.

Race, Power and Sport

In similar ways, race has served as a means of identifying social groups for the purpose of creating hierarchical relations that determine and justify the resources allocated to individuals (Darnell, 2007; Jarvie & Reid, 1997; Sammons, 1994). These scholars suggested that race has become a "global sign'... shaping outlook, defining reality, and ascribing value in terms of the colors black and white, which stand in binary opposition while delineating the gulf between" (Sammons, 1994). Sammons (1994) also posited that in discussing race, recognizing how "White" and "Black" were constructed as opposites would provide insight into understanding how "difference" is constructed for other races as well. Thus, this notion further implied race as socially constructed more than biologically determined. Where economic class and family linage became harder to

discern over time, the hypervisibility of physical attributes provided an ideal medium in which "difference" could be easily identified and signified in order to justify the social position of different individuals in the social hierarchy and consequently the resources afforded to these individuals (cf., Barzun, 1965). As Jarvie and Reid (1997) suggested:

Race relations are simply established – outsider relations of a particular type and, as such, are characterized by differential power chances and the exclusion of less powerful groups from positions with higher power potential (217).

In the United States, these outsider relations were structurally reinforced through racial projects-- a social process in which resources are allocated around social understanding about race to justify those ideologies and reinforce their utility-- namely, public schooling projects (Omi, 1994). In the face of changing federal laws, particularly the Fourteenth Amendment, the doctrine of "separate but equal" was employed to maintain the social status quo of African-Americans being considered less than full citizens. Under this doctrine, two distinct social worlds emerged in the US- shaped by the unequal distribution of resources to African-American schools and communities and justified by the myth that the lack of resources was due to an inherent inferiority of African-Americans. Their access to public resources was limited, if not completely denied, and consequently, so were opportunities for self- sufficiency. As illustrated by the plaintiffs in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) case:

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to (retard) the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system.

School books and supplies for African-American students were outdated, if available at all, and curricula primarily focused on students preparing for vocational positions that had lower earning potential (Carter G. Woodson, 1933). The ideology behind "separate but equal" whitewashed the fact that African-American received less resources to obtain an education and to access to career paths equitable to those of their European-American counterparts while allowing European-Americans to hold on to false sense of meritocracy (Sammons, 1994). The separation of these two groups fostered a stronger habitus for each group, one based on cultural heritage daily redefined by access to resources, namely, employment, housing, health care, and education (Omi & Winant, 2004; Rhoden, 2007). Despite legal desegregation, the ideology of "Black" inferiority still worked to undermine the worth of African-Americans and their access to quality education.

Integration. Operating under the assumption that African-American schools were inherently inferior, European-Americans and African-Americans pushed for legislation to integrate "White" schools. This approach was considered in opposition to providing more resources to "Black" schools to operate in a manner equitable to their White counterparts therefore widening the gap between the resources allocated to the two institutions. The

increasing inequity in the distribution of resources led to the disintegration of many Black schools, and eventually Black communities where these schools served as a source of communal development, medium of value transmission, and self-expansion. Black students, devoid of this source of culture knowledge and pride, were faced with increased exposure to physically and mentally harmful school environments that often led to decreased academic competency and self- worth (Kunjufu, 1983).

However, the effects did not stop in the classroom. Interscholastic sports, once a source of communal bonding and academic resiliency in "Black schools", became contested areas of racial superiority in integrated schools. Sport in "Black schools" for boys and girls were characterized by a focus on racial pride, community engagement, building the body as a means of sharpening the mind, particularly as it related to preparing for college (Wiggins & Miller, 2003). Sport, once a vital source of communal recognition, self- definition, and achievement, became a source of separation as the top African-American athletes (particularly males) were uprooted and transported to "White schools", and their migration posited as a public display of the perceived shortcomings of African-Americans (Rhoden, 2007). Communal support also was diminished as students were playing for and at schools that were outside of their community but more significantly in communities in which African-Americans were not welcomed. The structural damage to interscholastic sport opportunities for African-Americans also would affect the benefits received from participation as the means and purposes for which African-Americans engaged in sport were suppressed as the resources available to fund their own sport was diminished.

African-Americans, along with other racial minorities, were considered inferior mentally and therefore relegated to non-playing or less vital positions. This move diluted the personal benefits these students received from sport (Hodge, Harrison, Burden, & Dixson, 2008; Wiggins, 2010). By moving African- Americans to these positions, stereotypes about their inferiority were reinforced hindering these students' opportunities for recognition and achievement through sport participation. Physical health benefits were also diminished as playing time was limited if provided at all (cf., manning theory, Hill & Green, 2010).

Sport for African-Americans meant a medium for cultural celebration distinct from and independent of the larger White society and an opportunity for achievement that was often denied in other realms of society. Sport for African- Americans served as a form of resistance to oppressive laws and the ideologies underpinning them (Sammons, 1994; Wiggins & Miller, 2003). Yet, with limited resources provided to enhance the quality and quantity of sport programs for African-Americans, sport in public schools became part of a racial project. The ideology of African-Americans' inferiority also fueled the pseudoscience that was employed to support limiting, if not completely barring, African-Americans and other ethnic minorities from participation in sports including horse racing, tennis, golf while funneling their opportunities for sport participation through sports, namely, football, basketball, boxing, and track (Hoberman, 1997; Rhoden, 2007). These ideologies not only hindered full participation of ethnic minorities on the playing field but also stifled opportunities for sport management and administration. The lack of input from ethnic minority groups would be evident in the motives in which sport was organized for these groups.

Implications for Sport for Ethnic/Racial Minorities. The ideology of the racial inferiority of African-Americans and other ethnic minorities shaped and limited the means in which ethnic minorities were able to engage in sport. Sport is often seen as a social intervention tool, a tool for inclusion (read: assimilation) into dominant societal values and norms, or as a diversion from critical engagement in one's political or social standing (cf. Green, 2008). In these capacities, sport served as a social control mechanism, reinforcing hegemonic values through the structures and policies guiding success in sport (Spaaij, 2009). Access to resources, or the lack thereof, funneled ethnic minorities into certain sports, limiting the ways in which ethnic minorities can engage in sport. To play in the sports accessible to them, these individuals are pushed to adopt mainstream ideas about the benefits of their participation, specifically that: competition is the only means of resource acquisition, education as a means of social mobility, and inclusion.

Competition as a means of resource acquisition. The emphasis on competition enforced the notion that resources are extremely limited for certain groups and the resources needed for self-preservation are not guaranteed (Woodson, 1933). These resources must be "won" at the expense of someone else not obtaining these benefits. For collective cultures, namely African, Latino, and Asian cultures, this focus on competition subverts cultural values creating physical and cognitive dissonance from one's community (Kunjufu, 1983). Without this social support, individuals become dependent on this system for defining and achieving success.

Education as a means of social mobility. Education is closely linked to economic stability but in ways not completely made transparent to all groups (Hoberman, 1997). Education in and of itself does not provide economic stability-- the access to resources for one to be educated and employed in a field that allows for economic self-sufficiency. Sport as means of accessing money via education was a powerful motivator given its impression as an "even playing field" in which one's actions (read: agency) could be evaluated fairly and rewarded accordingly (cf. Gruneau, 1983). The relationship between financial stability and education was simplified and sold as a guarantee for racial minorities to overcome poor economic conditions (Rhoden, 2007). The desire of these racial minorities to gain power and provide for their families converged with the interest of the social elite in reifying education and capitalism as the means of being successful.

This convergence clouded the interpretation of academic expectations for African-Americans ("interest convergence", Bell, 1980). When school becomes disassociated with their desires to transcend their social position, these students became disengaged with the formal education process. Often, administrators misconstrue this disengagement as an intellectual apathy and reinforce this apathy with policies that intentionally marginalize these students in the classroom and reinforce their identity as athletes (Aronson & Steele, 2005).

Inclusion. The focus on education played into the larger function of sport as a tool for inclusion, integrating racial minorities into the larger society by assimilating

students to American values. In Foley (1990) work, Latino and Asian boys were ostracized, as they did not desire to play American football. Basketball, by way of grassroots and top-down sport programs, has had more success in reaching various cultures and incorporating cultural values into its implementation. Unfortunately, this cultural appeal has been misappropriated to hook racial minorities into participating in sport, but employed to indoctrinate them into dominant social values (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011).

Implications for Interscholastic Sport in US

On the surface, these sport-for-development programs seemed benevolent. Yet, a deeper investigation of the motives underpinning their implementation suggests a static hierarchy of racial groups in which one or more groups are privileged more than others to provide opportunities for and, participate in, sport. Noting the power of this structure to shape the sporting experiences of those groups considered lower in the social hierarchy is not to belittle the agency of these groups to create their own opportunities, as some have done with great, albeit, temporary, success, but to call out the mindset that one must *provide* opportunities for these group to participate and illuminate the ideologies shaping our understanding behind who actually has a right to play and who is just given the privilege. In the U.S., this mindset is most visible in the implementation of interscholastic sports.

School sport is used to create in and out groups based on students' adoption of dominant values and norms (C. Roger Rees et al., 2000). These groups are enforced

through the social acceptance and support received from adults through the distribution of tangible and intangible (e.g., recognition, social status acceptance) rewards. These forces work to keep students focused on survival more than feeling a part of a larger community (Rhoden, 2007).

Yet, recognizing sport as racial project is not to deny the agency of African-Americans and other racial minorities in creating their own spaces for engaging in sport but to acknowledge that race is socially structured and individually interpreted. The concept of race works on multiple levels (individual, interpersonal, institutional, and environmental) to shape the benefits these groups obtain and consider important from their sport participation (cf., Bronfenbrenner, 1979). These individuals' personal reasons and cultural beliefs also guided their participation in and administration of sport. In the context of interscholastic sports, the interplay between the personal and structural factors that shape African-American sport participation " shows the successful student-athlete caught between athletic codes of behavior, peer expectations, and a community in turmoil" (Sammons, 1994). In his text, Sammons suggested that, this experience, and the implications for benefits and obtained and considered important, is not limited to just African-Americans but can apply to all those who deviate from the ideal of Whiteness (cf., Foster, 2003).

Therefore, in determining the benefits obtained and considered important from sport participation, recognizing the tangible effects of race on access to resources and its intangible effects on identity, one must consider the sociohistorical role of race in shaping who benefits and how.

Summary

Similar to women, this process of denying or limiting resources, and consequently the benefits of sport for racial/ethnic minorities, served to control, silence, and/or assimilate the voices and needs of racial minorities. Underpinning the racial and gender discrimination in sport and society is the need to continuously establish one group's power over their own lives through the suppression of other groups' power over theirs. The rules and policies that marginalized the participation and administration of women and racial minorities in sport stem from a "historical struggle over the control of rules and resources in the social life and the ways in which this struggle relates to structured limits and possibilities" (Gruneau, 1983). This struggle consists of hegemonic projects--education, health care, and employment-- in which group differences were not only ranked but also granted resources that perpetuate the credibility of the social hierarchies created. Sport-for-development also can become hegemonic in this sense as administrators of these programs create cognitive dissonance by framing the wealth disparities between themselves and those they "serve" as static and unchangeable.

Contemporary Sport-for-development Programs

When initiatives did not specifically engage the youth in a holistic experience, sport as a vehicle for developing young people demonstrated mixed results for providing benefits other than athletic skill enhancement (Coalter, 2007; Coleman & Johnstone, 1981; Coleman, 1961). Effective programs included not only the athletic component, but also the life skills component, academic improvement, enhanced cultural appreciation and support for positive career development (Jones & Jones, 2002). Therefore, more data is needed in understanding how sport-for-development programs provide these benefits in order to create a more sustainable design, and consequently, more long-term effects for their participants.

While the relative emphasis on sport varies in sport-for-development programs, there is an underlying assumption that sport can (and does) assist in the development of young people. Further underpinning this assumption is the belief that sport administrators possess something not manifested in the sport participants that they must help participants obtain. Darnell (2007) found that sport-for-development volunteers viewed themselves as financially superior to their participants and obligated to help the economically disadvantaged. Sport administrators also saw themselves as providers of intangible benefits (e.g., hope, soccer skills) that they claimed were not available to participants in their current environment. This notion of development reinforced the differences in who are sport administrators and who are sport participants. When there is a great imbalance between the resources the sport administrators and participants possess, the goals of sport administrators can become central to program implementation without thought or input of the participants themselves. A prime example of this paternalistic belief in the United States is Midnight Basketball.

Midnight Basketball: A top-down approach to sport-for-development. Midnight Basketball was designed to reduce crime in the Washington D.C. area by providing basketball during the peak times in which crime occurs. Midnight Basketball was implemented in 1986 at the height of the war on drugs and crime. In response to rising crime rates, a retired police officer created Midnight Basketball to provide sport as an alternative to criminal activity. Held between the hours of 10 PM and 2 AM, the program sought to engage local youth in a supervised activity during the time they were not engaged in other activities and most apt to commit crimes. While celebrated in the media for its success and replication in cities across the United States, a deeper investigation of the program uncovered inconsistencies in the administrators' program goals, which was the root of the program's ineffectiveness to create and/or sustain reduced criminal behavior (Hartmann & Depro, 2006; Hartmann & Karuk, 2011).

From its inception, the broad goal of Midnight Basketball was to lower crime rates. Yet, embedded in that goal were narrow conceptions of why criminal activity occurred and how it could be decreased. Program administrators targeted changing the behavior of local male youths of ethnic minority groups, namely African-American and Latino males between the ages of 12 and 17. By targeting this population, sport administrators saw crime as inherent to these individuals as opposed to endemic to a larger system that creates the opportunity and desire to commit crime (Hartmann & Depro, 2006). These perceived moral and behavioral shortcomings indemnified the problem to the participants and created a perceived dependency on the program to maintain the desired non-criminal behaviors. Program participants were not seen as possessing the resources within themselves to redress their behavior and therefore they required assistance and monitoring from administrators who had those assets. This mindset created an artificial boundary between the sport administrators, as the solution, and sport participants as the problem, which worked to reify the need for the former group to oversee the social development of the latter.

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Interestingly, scholars in England noticed the same disconnect in programs initiated under neoliberal political regimes in which sport administrators, often local governments or large political organizations, position themselves as the problem solvers for troubled populations (Beutler, 2008; Coalter, 2010; Spaaij, 2009). Underlying this top-down approach is the visible difference in the amount of resources available to these organizations to provide sport opportunities. These structures are a powerful force in shaping how groups with fewer resources participate in sport. The manifestation of this schism between who can be the sport administrators and who must be the sport participants suggest there is a disconnect in how these two groups view and, therefore engage in, sport.

The use of basketball as intervention tool also speaks to the difference in how sport administrators and sport participants view sport. Chosen for its popularity in the targeted community, basketball was the ideal sport for a crime prevention tool. With the increasing media attention and money given to professional basketball players and the availability of courts in the targeted area, basketball had the social recognition to draw sport participants and the physical infrastructure to make program implementation feasible (Hartmann & Depro, 2006).

While these factors were vital to the programs anecdotal success, not discussed is *why* basketball had this potential to be an effective intervention. Sport in the African-American community has cultural significance given its history as a medium of achievement and cultural expression in a society that often denied these outcomes (Rhoden, 2007; Wiggins & Miller, 2003). Specifically, the popularity of basketball in this

community increased as opportunities to participate in other sports were denied due to cost, racial discrimination, and other structural barriers (Wiggins & Miller, 2003). Tied to this increase was the social belief that African-Americans had natural abilities that made them "jump higher" and "run faster" (Rhoden, 2007). This belief manifested itself in the heightened investment into basketball programs for African-American youths and was reinforced by the overrepresentation of African-Americans in the National Basketball Association (Hoberman, 1997; Wiggins & Miller, 2003).

Sport managers of Midnight Basketball capitalized on the sport's popularity to implement an intervention that served their interest in reducing crime within the African-American community. In serving the managers' interests, basketball participation became an activity that was regulated and under constant surveillance from those outside the community. The use of the police as behavior monitors not only reinforced the notion that crime was inherent to the participants but also stifled the opportunities for cultural expression that was valued by African-Americans in their basketball participation. The police served as a structural reminder of the intention of basketball in this context and established their role enforcers of "acceptable" behaviors. The difference in the value of sport between the targeted communities and the administrators of Midnight Basketball further highlighted the schism between what these two groups viewed as sport and the benefits derived from sport participation.

Spaaij (2009) also noticed this difference with sport-for-development programs that employed soccer in Africa and among ethnic minority groups in London to redress issues of AIDS prevention, crime, social inclusion, and employment. Local governments and non-governmental organizations conducted these programs where soccer, given its cultural popularity and the existing infrastructure support, was co-opted to promote the organizational goals of reducing social ills associated with the targeted communities. Celebrities, health care providers, and volunteers from outside the community were brought in as sport administrators or to assist sport administrators in implementing these programs. The use of people outside the targeted community suggested two things. First, the value of sport management, as a science, is underestimated or seen as tangential to the larger goal as communicated by the lack of training for sport administrators and regard to *how* sport would be implemented in these contexts. Second, the administrators' and volunteers' motives for conducting the program arose from an awareness that they were more advantaged than the groups they desired to help. Darnell (2007) confirms this suggestion in his work on Sport for Peace projects. Volunteers from these projects base their service on their recognition of their ability to assist "the less fortunate" through the transfer of resources.

The desire to help fuels a top down structure that continues to place the giver on top and the receiver in a perpetual state of dependency. This dynamic is reinforced when programs and/or results are not sustained and the community is seen as a group in need of constant assistance.

The negative and inconsistent outcomes of sport participation caused funding and policy making bodies to question the use of sport as an intervention and become more critical in their support of these endeavors Yet, there is evidence that when implemented with the intention of providing benefits directly perceived as important *to the*

participants, sport can be effective (Chalip, 2006). Thus, more work is needed to understand what benefits are perceived to be important. One logical place to begin is with the creators and/or the mangers of the programs.

The need for managers and participant voices in sport-for-development

programs. In measuring the effectiveness of sport, implementation and values are pivotal in creating the desired result (Olushola et al., 2012). Within the sport development literature, sport managers consistently emerged as central to establishing and reinforcing program structure and values. The adult- youth interaction between coaches and participants were key in communicating the vision of the program and holding participants accountable to its implications (McCormack & Chalip, 1988; Smoll, Smith, Barnett, & Everett, 1993; Smoll, Smith, Curtis, & Hunt, 1978). Successful administrators focused on the participants' development as being the end product and sought to empower adolescents through leadership positions, skills training, and opportunities for unrestricted expression.

Underlying the ascription of sport organizational goals and structures for targeted populations was the assumption that these goals were representative of what society as a whole desires. Funding and political support was gained for these programs by presenting them as beneficial to the society as a whole, often in terms of economic or social benefits (e.g., reduced crime, reduced need for police/prisons, increased social health). Subsumed in this process is the voice of the targeted communities as to what the relevant social issues are and how sport can address them. Their views are often assumed to be congruent with their more dominant perspective. Consequently, the actual participants are often not given the opportunity to express their views or have sufficient power to enforce them in the sport opportunities provided to them.

In response to the deficiency of this top down approach, more grassroots sports emerged to offer programs more consistent with the needs of the targeted communities. These programs often arise out of the impetus of sole administrator (e.g., Institute for Athletics and Education in Chicago, Westinghouse program in Pittsburgh) or the collaborative efforts of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) and local residents (e.g., Mathare Youth Sport Association). These programs are often unique to their context and little research examines how success in these programs can be transferred to other contexts. These programs also suffer from a lack of continuity given the program's ideals and structure being tied to a sole administrator. When the sole administrator (and often the program's champion) is no longer involved in the program, a decline in program output and/or effectiveness was observed (Hartmann, 2003). Programs that are able to overcome this burden through community partnership face isomorphic pressures to conform to the standards of the partners with the most influential resources (Babiak & Thibault, 2009; Babiak, 2007). Participant needs and input get co-opted by the more influential sponsors, if they are addressed at all. The political pressure to conform is pivotal to the functioning and sustainability of the program. Therefore, sport administrators' real goals for sport-for-development programs conform to those motives while stated goals (e.g., mission statements) present more egalitarian intentions (Gruneau, 1983; Sage, 1990).

In summary, sport-for-development programs mirrored the beliefs and desires of the administrators who conduct the programs. The tension between these influences was attributed to the ambiguity around the purpose and nature of sport-for-development programs and consequently the inconsistency in sport providing the benefits intended.

What remained consistent in sport-for-development was the role of the government and other large organizations (e.g., UN, FIFA, and Nike) in creating and developing sport programs with particular agendas in mind. The relationship between these organizations and the populations being targeted alluded to a power dynamic that privileges the former group because of the power derived from the resources they possess (i.e., financial capital, human capital, political capital) in being able to determine what development is and how is will be accomplished. The values of these larger organizations are privileged over targeted populations and promote the use of these organizations' ideology as "lawlike explanations of outcomes that yield determinate predictions" (Lukes, 1974, p. 63). This power, Lukes (1974)suggested, allows these organizations to shape and control how sport is used for development by limiting, if not completing shutting out, the voices of those with competing interest.

Lukes (1974) posited that there is latent conflict between these state actors and the population being targeted for development. Latent conflict refers to the contradiction between the interests of the group employing power and the real interest of a second group that are excluded. In regards to sport-for-development, the conflict was latent given the lack of avenues for those targeted for development to participate in the implementation of sport or to have their motives for sport participation acknowledged.

The lack of data from these populations further complicates the state actors' ability to include them in the implementation of sport-for-development programs as their perspectives are often not expressed and/or identified in the larger academic dialogue (Bell, 1992). Implications from Lukes' concept of latent conflict demand that more empirical research is needed to promote the use of these participant voices in determining their true interest and making visible the possible conflicts between them and those exercising the power to develop.

Alternative perspectives on sport-for-development. In program implementation, administrators often neglected to acknowledge and address the socioecological factors shaping the environment and subsequently the sport experience for their participants. In attempts to leverage sport for social development, the administrators stripped the sport of the components (e.g., freedom of expression, sense of community, peer recognition) that poised sport as an ideal intervention tool (Hartmann, 2003; Palm, 1991; Spaaij, 2009). In these cases, sport was implemented as a development tool but the components that make it effective for this purpose are missing. This "Cargo Cult" approach has led to the unquestioned use of sport as an effective tool for development and the recriminalization of targeted participants (Achebe, 1984; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Participants who were not successful in receiving the intending benefits are seen as deficient as opposed to the program being considered a source of the problem. Without participant feedback in program evaluation, it is unclear what individual and/or programmatic factors contributed to what benefits were or were not received. New perspectives are needed to uncover the voices that were marginalized in sportfor-development programming and evaluation. These perspectives include critical theory and hegemony. As argued above, current design and implementation methods for sportfor-development programs employ a top down approach that reinforces oppressive social structures that created need for intervention (Coalter, 2010; Frisby & Millar, 2002). The use of critical theory can bring marginalized perspectives to the center of understanding social relations and redefining them to be more empowering for all individuals. Therefore, research and program design methods underpinned by critical theory concepts are needed to redress status quo and provide more parsimonious understandings of sport and the benefits it can provide.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory

This study seeks to balance the voices of both sport participants and administrators in identifying the benefits obtained and considered important from interscholastic sport participation. The voices of the participants could offer a critical perspective in creating, implementing, and evaluating sport-for-development that would help increase program recruitment and retention of these populations and consequently, the benefits they obtain from sport. As barriers to living a quality life (e.g., decreased access to healthcare and higher education) increase, more information is needed to identify how sport programs can provide the benefits expected to help sport participants reach personal and educational goals.

In seeking the voices of sport participants to gain this information, this study will employ hegemony theory and critical theory. In fulfilling its purpose, this study seeks to uncover the voices of both sport participants and coaches in identifying the benefits obtained and considered important from interscholastic sport participation. The voices of the participants may offer a critical perspective in creating, implementing, and evaluating sport-for-development that would help increase program recruitment and retention of these populations and consequently, the benefits they obtain from sport. As barriers to living a quality life increase (e.g., decreased access to healthcare and higher education), more information is needed to identify how sport programs can provide the benefits expected to help sport participants reach personal and educational goals (D. F. Sabo, Miller, Farrell, Melnick, & Barnes, 1999).

This study will employ Critical Race Theory as the primary theoretical framework. Rooted in legal studies, Critical Race Theory (CRT) braches out from the broader critical theory paradigm by employing race as a tool of analyzing how social identities are (re)created and ranked through the possession of material wealth (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Tate, 1997). By understanding how race has been used to determine the distribution of resources in one's society, CRT scholars posit that inequalities faced by ethnic minorities can be redressed by raising awareness and appreciation for these groups' contribution to society (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Bell, 1992). Critical Race Theory (CRT) "can and should inform theory, research, pedagogy, curriculum and policy" (Yosso , 2005, p 73). The CRT framework includes over seven tenets, yet, for the purpose of this study, Solorzano & Yosso (2002)'s five tenets will be employed to guide the research process: (a) the intercentricity of race and racism; (b) the challenge to dominate ideology; (c) the commitment to social justice; (d) the centrality of experiential knowledge; (e) the utilization of interdisciplinary approaches.

Intercentricity of race and racism. The first tenet, the intercentricity of race and racism, asserts that race is real and has historically influenced the structures and meanings people ascribe to themselves and the world around them. Notions of gender and class have been shaped and reshaped over time by the dynamic nature of race (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991; Gilroy, 2000; McClintock, 1995; Omi & Winant, 2004; Said, 1977). Therefore, to gain a clearer understanding of how social structures operate to marginalize people of color, race, as it is individually interpreted and socially constructed, must be at the center of these analyses. Hylton (2008) reiterates this notion by imploring researchers "to consider less the question of methodology but more the notion of an epistemology that gives a more accurate picture of the black experience in society" (p. 8). CRT scholars posit that analyses of these ideologies must recognize the centrality of race of shaping the thinking and practices around these ideologies. Work on African-American women point to the need to recognize how race works synergistically with gender and class to create interlocking layers of oppression that are not experience by their European-American counterpart (Bruening, 2005; Akilah Rah Carter, 2008; Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991). Analysis of the benefits of sport should employ race as a mediator of the benefits considered obtained and important.

Challenge to dominate ideology. The second tenet, the challenge to dominant ideology, challenges notions of meritocracy and race-neutrality in the construction of social structures. Race has been entrenched in various social practices and institutions to

the extent that even with changes in legislation and social norms, raced-based thinking continues to permeate in the evaluation of individual's worth and access to resources (i.e., Jim Crow). Though contemporary structures promote color blind decision making, CRT scholars "argue that these traditional claims act as a camouflage for the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in U.S. society" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 10). The historical effects of this colorblindness have resulted in racial projects that continue to discriminate and subjugate ethnic minorities. Hylton (2008) suggest that sport offers a fruitful context for challenging the dominant ideology as:

the academy, practitioners, policy makers, the media and the law join sport in the contested racialised arena of society, each maintaining dominant viewpoints, racial hierarchies, racial inequalities and 'truths' open to reinterpretation. An alternative reading of sport and its history for example is likely to challenge the existing orthodoxies surrounding it of cultural pluralism, fairness, integration, racial harmony, colour-blindness and other social benefits. (p. 10)

In regards to sport, evaluation of the benefits of sport should account for how race has historical influenced the larger social structures that shape sport participation, namely education, the legal system, the economy, health care system, and housing. Therefore, in determining what benefits are considered obtained and important to obtain from sport, race must be interpreted from a structural perspective that allows for the exploration of the perceptions of individual sport experiences. **Commitment to social justice.** In gaining knowledge about the means in which race and racism affects one's perception of sport and the benefits derived from participation, the third tenet, the commitment to social justice, urges that the knowledge be collected and employed for the empowerment of marginalized groups. Expanding on previous CRT scholars, Solorzano & Yosso (2002) urge the use of CRT as a "framework or set of basic insights, perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain subordinate and dominant racial positions in and out of the classroom" (p. 25). Specifically, knowledge gained from this framework should be employed toward the eradication of race, gender, and class based oppressions and the appreciation of traditionally marginalized people and cultures (e.g., Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, poor, women).

This study employs critical theory to seek the voices suppressed under current paradigms and systems. Aitchison (2005) states that to empower those who have been marginalized in research "the real task is not in selecting the right [research] methods but in asking the right questions" (p. 427). Employing CRT as an epistemology and methodology can create new understandings by questioning the taken-for-granted knowledge assumed in past constructs. **Centralizing marginalized voices.** The fourth tenet, the centrality of experiential knowledge, focuses on redressing the effects of hegemony by bringing marginalized voices to the center of research and practice. To do so, critical race theorist recognize the "the experiential knowledge of people of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p 26). Without the voices of people of color in the implementation and evaluation of social structures shaping their lives, these structures will continue to operate on notions that devalue their worth and deny them opportunities for attaining a higher quality of life. Centralizing marginalized voices may also provide new insight into understanding current social structures that could create more liberating structures for all (Bell, 1992).

For this study, this epistemology implies that in order to understand one's interaction with an object (sport), one must ask the people who have the lived experience, and therefore have the most relevant meaning of the situation. Within this study, the most relevant lived experiences are those of sport participants and sport administrators. Hence, these two parties will be asked directly what benefits they obtain and consider important from sport participation.

Miller and Crabtree (1999) further suggest that a person's interaction, or experience, is the crux for gaining meaning about the world and "pluralism, not relativism, is stressed with focus on the circular dynamic tension of subject and object" (p. 10). This notion allows the researcher to recognize and account for the differences in benefits obtained and considered important that may occur as a result of one's experience in sport, for example, and/or their social demographics. Therefore with regard to sport, once differences are identified as presented by the marginalized voices, these differences may provide key information to understanding why and how participants engage in sport and how administrators can improve their experience. For the purposes of this study, constructionism allows us to critique sport (object) as a static concept and explore sport as dynamic through the perspectives of sport participants and the administrators.

Sport, as a construct of the larger society, can also work to marginalize the voices of less privileged group by incentivizing behaviors congruent with the dominant ideology (e.g., fair play, hard work, respect for authority) and punishing or preventing unwanted ones (e.g., insubordination, criminal activity, risky sexual behavior) (Rees et al., 2000). For example, interscholastic sport was a powerful influence on shaping positive adolescent behavior, mixed results about how sport can and does shape behavior suggest that components of the sport program and individual characteristics of the participants mediate sport's ability to provide development benefits (Coalter, 2007). Therefore, sport in education contexts must be viewed as "processes through which cultural practices and the ideologies and beliefs underlying those practices are created, reproduced, and changed through human agency and interaction" (Coakley & Dunning, 2002, p.3). With CRT and centralizing marginalized populations in the research and analysis, examining issues such as sport and sport participation for these people and groups has the potential illuminate issues that can affect the experience, policy, and program administration.

Utilization of interdisciplinary approaches. The fifth tenet of CRT stresses the need for a transdisciplinary approach to exploring and explaining the means in which dominant ideologies affect perceptions of one's self, sport, and consequently one's sport participation. The concept of race has been constructed and reconstructed over time in tangent with other forms of oppression, namely gender and class (Collins, 2000; McClintock, 1995). Hylton (2008) posits that a:

CRT viewpoint allows us to get a clearer understanding of the major structures involved in the organization of sport, which is crucial when racism is the ultimate target. An emergent counter-narrative helps us to focus on established power processes, white hegemony, racism, and equality that have been consistently ignored by mainstream theorists. (p. 11)

Therefore race, social class, and gender will be observed in this study to explore how these variables work individually and in concert with one another to shape the perceptions of one's sport experience. Specifically, the concept of hegemony will be employed to interpret these effects.

Summary

To better understand the group differences between sport participants and administrators, CRT can be employed to dispel this illusion and provide a more parsimonious explanation of how and why people behave as they do. These tenets work together to deconstruct the dominant ideologies around race, gender, and social class and identify how these beliefs create class and other systems of subordination. Despite the public denouncement of racism and sexism, contemporary social and economic structures "reinforce an illusion of a White community that cuts across ethnic, gender, and class lines" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p 19).

The key to utilizing critical race theory effectively is asking why the dominant ideology operates to favor large organizations that administer sport-for-development programs while marginalizing the participants of these programs. As dominant ideology ascribes symbolic value to material goods, employing critical theory can assist in deconstructing the "interrelationship between materialities, in the form of organizational structures, procedures, and policies, and those of cultures, in the form of discourses, attitudes, and appearances" (Aitchison, 2005, p 439). By acknowledging the values that govern one's life, researchers have a basis to engage in dialogue and seek change in terms compatible from those whom it is sought. As opposed to viewing new ideas as antithetical, critical theorists believe "it is possible that correcting injustices and empowering people can also improve organizational performance and the bottom line" (Frisby, 2005, p 6). The goal of critical theory is not to argue there is a wrong way to think about the world, but to offer a more cosmopolitan view of the world that brings society closer to recognizing the truth about itself.

In regards to sport, CRT is helpful in understanding how these ideologies work to shape the benefits obtained and considered important from sport as well to explore who and what shapes that process. CRT is especially promising in uncovering how these ideologies work to create social structures that create distinct groups between those who administer sports and those who can only play. Hence, this theoretical perspective is built on the notion that all research is political, reflective of government and other social structures in which mediate human relations, and focuses on uncovering how power dynamically shapes these relations; and, a social justice orientation is embedded in the critical inquiry perspective (Solórzano, 1997). Research from this perspective is meaningful when it can lead to action to ameliorate the oppression caused from these unbalanced relations. Provided that, a primary goal of this study is to uncover how sport can provide a more transformative experience for sport participants. In addition, this perspective is vital in recognizing the voices of those who are directly involved in shaping the process and whose insights are often left out in the main discourse about the meaning of sport for them.

Current sport-for-development programs employ a top down approach that reinforces oppressive social structures that create need for intervention (Coalter, 2010; Frisby & Millar, 2002). Critical theorists emphasize bringing those perspectives that are oppressed by the dominant ideology to the center of understanding social relations and redefining them to be more empowering to the subordinate group is a step forward (Bell, 1992; Crenshaw, 1991; DeLorme & Singer, 2010; Singer, Harrison, & Bukstein, 2010; Solorzano & Villalpando, 1998; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). This study then fills an important gap in the sport-for-development literature by examining and comparing the views of both the sport administrators *and* the sport participants.

Justification of Context—Texas High School Basketball

Sport and education are deeply intertwined in the symbolic and physical distribution of resources in the US. Based on Victorian ideals, education in purpose and structure socialized young people into understanding and continuing hegemonic ideas about how social hierarchies are formed. Schools in the US context are a primary socializing tool for youths. Through sanctioned activities, like sport, students' understanding of which behaviors are praised and which is punished in this society is developed. This understanding is further reinforced by consensual rituals and differentiating rituals (Bernstein, 1975). Consensual rituals are those that align with the larger school culture and allow the student to find acceptance in that context; in contrast, differentiating rituals work to identify students as different from the larger school population. Through these rituals, visible group differences, namely race and gender, are reified. These differences are employed to justify social stratifications through the resources and punishments received and to guide adolescents towards accepting the dominant views of what characteristics are necessary for "success." School sport provides a context not only for defining success but also for the means in which that success can be obtained. Yet, in many instances, sport fails to provide this roadmap to success. Given the entrenched social myths about women and racial groups, individual characteristics and group membership are often to blame for students' failure to participate in consensual rituals; the rise in scrutiny of interscholastic programs suggests the more fruitful explanations lie in understanding the motives of implementing and participating in sport programs.

Despite the inconsistencies in sport's ability to provide benefits to participants, current administrators believe in the social and educational value of sport in school as strongly as their predecessors did" (Rees et al., 2000, p. 279). This is troubling given that many of these administrators do not, through lack of access or interest, take advantage of the multi-disciplinary work conducted on education and sport that highlights these issues. Without this knowledge, coaches continue to perpetuate the "sport is good" motif through sports structured around racial gendered understandings of society (Rees, 1997).

In choosing a sport to critique current programs, high school basketball offers a fruitful context to explore given the racial and gender barriers that keep women and ethnic minorities out of the positions and conversations that shape their sport participation at this level. Despite increased opportunities due to Title VII and Title IX legislation, women and ethnic minorities' representation at the administration level is decreasing (Acosta & Carpenter, 2012; Lapchick, 2010). The lack of administrators at this level suggests the voices of these populations are not being represented in the decision-making processes concerning their sport participation. In addition, educational barriers, including obtainment of bachelor's degrees and teaching certification, also limit opportunities for people of lower SES to obtain positions as administrators though this population is the most likely to participate in this sport. The structural barriers to becoming a sport administrator in this context point to the racial and gender ideologies this study seeks to redress. The high school sport was chosen for this study given the accessibility to the population, structural distinction between sport participants and administrators, and desire to focus on developmental benefits.

With the increasing reliance on sport to provide benefits to redress social disparities and increase the quality of life among youths, more information is needed to understand what are the needs being targeted and what are the sport components sufficient and necessary to fulfill them. While it is certainly appropriate to call for greater emphasis on changing larger social structures (e.g., education, healthcare, employment), the challenge seems to be to create sport environments that are appropriate to the social, cultural, and economic conditions in which targeted populations find themselves (Schinke et al., 2006). For youth, athletic programs are the most funded (and most popular) extracurricular activity in public schools (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Eide & Ronan, 2001). As interscholastic sports become more central in providing youth with moral development, academic discipline, and increased health, more information on how sport can provide these benefits is required in making these outcomes, and the programs that produce them, more sustainable. Thus, the task is to design, market, and manage sport programs in a manner that renders more positive impacts for its intended participants.

Chapter Three. Method

The primary purposes of this study are the following: 1) to determine participants' perceptions of the benefits of participating in a basketball program and the degree to which they feel those benefits are important; 2) to determine what coaches perceive to be the benefits gained from basketball participation and the degree to which they feel these benefits are important, and 3) to examine the degree to which participants and coaches/administrators perceive similar or different benefits of participation and the importance of these benefits. Race, gender, and class were examined to further examine how these two groups may differ in their perceptions on the benefits of basketball.

Pilot Study 1

In line with the fourth tenet of CRT, an initial pilot study was conducted to determine the benefit categories relevant to players. Results on the benefits of sport often reflect the mythopoeic understanding of sport, in which the ideal of sport as good negates the need for evaluation of the sport and participant input. This participant input is key to clarifying which benefits participants perceive they obtain from sport as opposed to those merely assumed. Literature on the benefits of sport participation was reviewed to identify what benefits were promoted through sport and begin to create dimensions of benefits for further analysis. From the literature review, two overarching themes emerged as dimensions of sport participation benefits: Education and Social Development. Within Social Development, subthemes of Health, Character Building, and Interpersonal Skills were identified. Under these five themes, a total of 121 benefit items were identified. To refine the dimensions of benefit categories identified from the literature items were placed on surveys according to the two overarching themes and three subthemes of benefits. To reduce respondent fatigue, five different surveys with randomized items were created. Surveys were completed by current high school basketball players at the state high school basketball championships in addition to schools around the state of Texas. Five surveys were presented for players to complete and they were allowed to choose which surveys they wanted to complete. For each benefit item players were asked, "How much do you agree that you obtain this benefit from sport?" Responses were anchored on a 7-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Data collected from these surveys were analyzed using an exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation. The Kaiser rule was used to determine which items loaded on the factors that emerged and an iterative process was employed to refine the dimensionality of the benefit categories.

For the pilot study, 450 surveys were collected (Education, N= 88; Interpersonal Skills, N= 90; Health, N = 83; Character Building = 94; and Social Development, N = 95). From all the surveys, a total of 23 benefit categories emerged for a total of 95 items. Upon further review of the benefit categories and the items excluded by the factor analysis, the researchers observed that items excluded from the initial factor analysis may have been due to a lack of conceptual fit with the other benefits with which the item was grouped. To redress this limitation, another pilot study was conducted to identify what other benefit categories may be relevant to participants that were not captured due to items being analyzed exclusively with other benefits considered in the same theme.

Table 3.1: Final Benefit Categories

| | Basketball increases my desires to stay in school | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Academic Resiliency | Basketball meteases my desires to stay in school Basketball motivates me to improve my GPA | | | | | | |
| | Basketball keeps me from getting in trouble in school | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Basketball motivates me to come to school each day | | | | | | |
| | Basketball helps me overcome obstacles (things that keep me from being successful) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Basketball gives me exposure to college campuses | | | | | | |
| College | Basketball gives me access to Academic Scholarships | | | | | | |
| Preparation | Basketball makes Athletic scholarships accessible to me | | | | | | |
| | Basketball makes me want to go to college | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| C | Basketball helps me build networks with people who can help me think about a | | | | | | |
| Career | career path | | | | | | |
| Development | Basketball opens up job or career opportunities | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities in the school | | | | | | |
| Leadership | Basketball provides me with a sense of school pride | | | | | | |
| Training | Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities | | | | | | |
| _ | Basketball helps me to understand the challenges of being a leader | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| Sense of | Basketball allows me to feel supported by the community | | | | | | |
| Community | Basketball makes me feel more a part of the community | | | | | | |
| | Basketball teaches me to give back to the community | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | Basketball helps me improve my relationships with others | | | | | | |
| Relationship with Others | Basketball helps improve relationships with adults | | | | | | |
| | My team provides a sense of being a part of something bigger than myself | | | | | | |
| | Basketball teaches me that working together requires some compromise | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| I | | | | | | | |

Table 3.2: Final Benefit Categories (continued)

| Self- | Basketball encourages me to do new things |
|-------------|---|
| | Basketball allows me to try a new way of acting around people |
| Expansion | Basketball gets me thinking about who I want to be |
| Expansion | Basketball prepares me to go to new places |
| | Basketball allows me to do things I don't get to do anywhere else |
| | |
| | Basketball shows me how to set priorities |
| | Basketball teaches me how to make sacrifices to do the things that are most |
| Self- | important to me |
| Discipline | Basketball helps me meet goals |
| | Basketball shows me how to organize my time and not procrastinate |
| | Basketball helps me to be dependable |
| | |
| | Basketball helps my communication skills |
| Analytical | Basketball improves my ability to think clearly |
| Thinking | Basketball improves my critical thinking skills (e.g., ability to make good decisions |
| Skills | based on the information given) |
| JKIIIS | Basketball helps me to control my emotions |
| | Basketball improves my problem solving ability |
| | |
| Moral Value | Basketball motivates me to be a better person |
| | Basketball shows me the importance of having morals and values guide my life |
| Development | Basketball shows me how to stand up for something I believe was morally right |
| | Basketball has a positive influence on my life |

Main Study

The goal of this study was to determine differences in the benefits obtained and considered important to obtain through basketball. A second goal was to see if these differences were related to sport role, race, gender, and social class. Based on the benefit categories derived from the pilot studies, players and coaches were asked to identify which benefits they perceived were obtained by players and what benefits they considered to be important to obtain from basketball. Multivariate analyses were employed to explore how sport role, race, social class, and gender influenced the benefits perceived to be obtained and considered important to obtain from basketball. Using G Power, a total sample size of 192 with six (6) respondents in each group was sought. The alpha level was set at .10 and an effect size of .08 was employed. The method section will present the following: participant description, instrumentation, data collection procedures, and data analysis.

Participants. High school basketball is the most popular high school sport. Over 1 million students play in the United States (National Federation of State High School Associations, 2013). To access this population, a snowball sampling method was employed. Upon receiving IRB approval, coaches within the researchers' personal network were asked to participate in the study and/or suggest other coaches that maybe interested. In addition, the Texas Association of Basketball Coaches was directly contacted and members were asked to complete a questionnaire on the benefits of basketball and asked to provide their players with the student version of the same questionnaire. Eligibility criteria were twofold: all participants were (1) currently

coaching a high school basketball team and (2) willing to participate. For players to be eligible for the study, they were required to be a current high school basketball player (both females and males).

Demographics of Participants. As seen in Table 3.2 and Table 3.3, data was included for three racial groups, two gender groups, and three SES groups. Demographic data from the pilot study suggested that Black, Latino, and White players and coaches were the more prominent races to participate in high school basketball, and therefore, participants in these groups could be recruited in sufficient quantity for the data analyses conducted for this study. Though data on Asian/Asian-American and multiracial students were collected, the number of respondents was not sufficient to provide enough power for the data analyses as individual groups and they were not included in multivariate analysis of the data.

| Race/Ethnicity | Lower SES | Middle SES | High SES | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|----------|-------|
| | Female | | | Total |
| Black/African-American/African | 19 | 31 | 18 | 68 |
| Latino/Latino | 4 | 11 | 3 | 18 |
| White/Caucasian-American | 2 | 7 | 2 | 11 |
| Subtotal | 25 | 49 | 23 | 107 |
| | Male | | | |
| Black/African-American/African | 12 | 34 | 24 | 70 |
| Latino/Latino | 5 | 14 | 0 | 19 |
| White/Caucasian-American | 0 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| Subtotal | 17 | 50 | 31 | 88 |
| Total | 43 | 104 | 55 | 195 |

Table 3.3: Frequencies of High School Basketball Players by Race, Gender, andClass. Sport Participants

| Race/Ethnicity | Lower SES | Middle SES | High SES | Total |
|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-------|
| | Female | | | |
| Black/African-American/African | 2 | 12 | 2 | 16 |
| Latino/Latino | 0 | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| White/Caucasian-American | 0 | 20 | 10 | 30 |
| Subtotal | 2 | 40 | 13 | 55 |
| | Male | | | |
| Black/African-American/African | 1 | 17 | 8 | 26 |
| Latino/Latino | 0 | 6 | 2 | 8 |
| White/Caucasian-American | 0 | 37 | 30 | 67 |
| Subtotal | 1 | 60 | 40 | 101 |
| Total | 3 | 100 | 53 | 156 |

 Table 3.4: Frequencies of High School Basketball Coaches by Race, Gender, and

 Class

Data Collection

Participants were given the choice to complete the survey online or in person. All participants were asked to provide their opinion on what benefits are received through basketball and which benefits are important. In addition, respondents were asked to answer questions about their demographics and basketball experience. The survey took approximately 15 -20 minutes to complete. Items on the questionnaire were arranged to decrease respondent fatigue and bias. No identifying information was collected and participants were informed that their participation was voluntary. Only the researcher and research assistant were made privy to this information, and at no point was it used in conjunction with the data analysis. The researcher provided email and phone contacts to assist respondents with any questions or concerns.

Surveys were available online for participants to complete during the data collection period. Paper surveys were also made available to coaches at a state coaches' meeting and through the researchers' personal contacts. School districts around the state were also contacted to complete the paper surveys and return them to the researcher. Of the 327 players who responded, 209 completed the survey satisfactorily. Players (N= 116) were excluded for missing half or more responses to the questionnaire, race, gender, or SES indicators; in addition multiracial respondents and Asian-American were excluded based on the power analysis (N= 14). Of the 209, 17 completed the survey online and 194 completed the survey in person. Of the 182 coaches who completed the survey, 161 completed the satisfactorily. Coaches (N= 20) were excluded for missing half or more responses to the questionnaire process to the questionnaire process.

addition Multiracial and Asian-American respondents were excluded based on the power analysis (N= 5). Of the 161 coaches who completed the survey satisfactorily, 58 completed the survey online and 103 completed the survey in person. The following tables outline the demographics of each group (Tables 3.2 and Table 3.3).

Instrumentation

Academic Resiliency. Academic Resiliency refers to the resources and skills that assist students in overcoming obstacles to academic success. There were five items that emerged in this factor. These items highlighted to basketball's ability to increase desire and ability to maintain school engagement (e.g., "Basketball increases my desire to stay in school," "Basketball motivates me to come to school each day"). These items also aligned with the literature on how sport can provide skills to help students handle school issues more effectively (Hawkins & Mulkey, 2005). The internal consistency was considered satisfactory for this study (α = .856 for players and α =. 869 for coaches)

Self-Expansion. Self-Expansion refers to one's ability to explore social activities that allow for a better understanding of one's self and others. The five items on this scale represent one dimension conceptualized using items from a previous survey on Self-Expansion (YES Survey) and early childhood development (Kohlberg & Gilligan, 1971). Sample items included "Basketball shows me a new way of acting around people" and "Basketball gets me thinking about who I want to be". For this scale, internal consistency was also satisfactory (α =. 779 for players and α = .825 for coaches).

Self-Discipline. In defining Self-Discipline, the items that emerged from the factorial analysis focused on the ability to be held accountable to one's self and others to

complete expected tasks. Basketball is considered helpful in increasing goal setting abilities (e.g., "Basketball shows me how to set priorities") and accountability (e.g., "Basketball teaches me how to make sacrifices to do the things that are most important to me"). The Cronbach's alpha was found acceptable for this study (α = .818 for players and α =. 894 for coaches).

Analytical Skills. Analytical Skills refer to the ability to think rationally about situations and topics with which one is presented. The five (5) items on this scale asked respondents about basketball's ability to help with thinking ability (e.g., "Basketball improves my ability to think clearly") and emotion management (e.g., "Basketball helps me to control my emotions"). For this scale, internal consistency was also satisfactory (α =. 834 for players and α = .877 for coaches).

Moral Value Development. Moral Value Development contains items that pertained to developing one's value set and moral code. The four (4) items in this measure observed basketball's ability to recognize the role of values in one's life (e.g., "Basketball shows me the importance of having morals and values guide my life") and increasing self- improvement (e.g., "Basketball motivates me to be a better person"). For this scale, internal consistency was also satisfactory (α =. 847 for players and α = .816 for coaches).

College Preparation. College Preparation refers to the benefits that enable high school students to attend college. The four (4) benefits identified work to create enablers (e.g., "Basketball makes me want to go to college") or to remove barriers (e.g.,

"Basketball makes Athletic scholarships accessible to me"). The Cronbach's alphas were found acceptable for this study (α = .817 for players and α =. 826 for coaches).

Relationships with Others. The literature on sport-for-development programs speaks greatly to the bonds student-athletes form with their coach and teammates. The relationship building skills gained from these bonds are valued in the student's ability to translate those skills into other settings (e.g., classroom, work). The four items in this benefit represent three aspects of building social relationships: (A) the ability to relate with others (e.g., "Basketball helps me improve my relationships with others"), (B) improving student-adult relationships (e.g., "Basketball helps improve relationships with adults"), and (C) selflessness (e.g., "My team provides a sense of being a part of something bigger than myself"). The Cronbach's alphas were found acceptable for this study (α = .768 for players and α = .840 for coaches).

Leadership Training. Leadership Training categorized four items that revolved around helping student gain the ability to take charge of others. The four benefits identified the need for opportunities to lead (e.g., "Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities in the school") and developing the mentality to lead (e.g., "Basketball helps me understand the challenges of being a leader") as aspects of Leadership Training for high school basketball players. The Cronbach's alphas were found acceptable for this study (α = .819 for players and α =. 871 for coaches).

Career Development. Career Development refers to the benefits that prepare students for planning and pursuing jobs in their preferred industry. The two benefits in this factor align with Career Development literature suggesting that networking and job

procurement are key to pursuing a career in one's industry (Kram & Isabella, 1985; Steffy, Shaw, & Noe, 1989; Super, 1980). The internal consistency of these items is acceptable for this study (α =. 765 for the players' scale and α = .698 for the coaches' scale).

Sense of Community. Three items comprised the Sense of Community benefit. Items measured the sense of belonging from community members (e.g., "Basketball makes me feel more supported by the community) and the participant's accountability to the community (e.g., "Basketball teaches me to give back to the community). For this scale, internal consistency was also satisfactory (α =. 787 for players and α = .852 for coaches).

For each benefit, respondents were asked, "How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?" and "How important is it to YOU that players get this benefit from basketball?" Responses for each question were measured on a 7- point scale ranging from 1 (*Not Expected at All*) to 7 (Always *Expected*) and 1(*Strongly Disagree*) and 7 (*Strongly Agree*), respectively. Given the length of the survey, items from each benefit were randomized into five (5) blocks. The order of the blocks was randomized to avoid systematic error from respondent fatigue. Each benefit was scored independently and was comprised of the mean score of the associated items. A score of 4 or higher connoted as the benefit being obtained; the same score was used to determine what benefits were considered important.

Demographic variables. Demographic information was collected on race, gender, and SES. To ascertain race, respondents were asked directly what their race/ethnicity is.

Respondents were given the option of Black/African/African-American, Hispanic/Latino, White/European-American, Asian/Asian-American, or writing in their race/ethnicity. Respondents were also allowed to choose multiple races/ethnicities. To ascertain, gender, respondents were asked directly what is their gender and given the option to choose between female and male.

To ascertain SES, literature from education, health, and sociology was consulted in selecting items that accurately measured SES and were feasible for the targeted population to report. For players, the final composite score for players consisted of free lunch eligibility, mother's education, father's education, and household income. Free lunch eligibility was chosen as it based on the student's verified household income and students would have access to their status. Mother's education was chosen as it has been shown to be a strong correlate with one's access to resources, particularly in measuring the effects of SES on educational outcomes. Two-parent homes are shown to have more resources available therefore father's education was also taken into consideration in addition to income.

To ascertain SES for coaches, a composite of household income and education was calculated on a 6-point scale. Total scores were divided by two; respondents who had less than a 2 were considered in the low socioeconomic class, those who had at least 2 but less than a 4 were middle SES, and those scoring higher than a 4 were high SES.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Free Lunch | | Free Lunch | | Reduced | | Does not qualify for |
| Eligibility | | | | Lunch | | free or reduced lunch |
| Mother's | Less than | High School | Associates | Bachelors | Master's | Doctorate |
| Education | high school | Diploma | | | | |
| Father's | Less than | High School | Associates | Bachelors | Master's | Doctorate |
| Education | high school | Diploma | | | | |
| Household | \$0 - | \$25,000- | \$50,000- | \$75,000- | \$100, 000- | \$125,000+ |
| Income | \$24,999 | \$49,999 | \$74, 999 | \$99,000 | \$124, 999 | |

Table 3.5: Item Scoring for Socioeconomic Composite Variable for Players

Table 3.6: Item Scoring for Socioeconomic Composite Variable for Coaches

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Education | Less than high school | High School Diploma | Associates | Bachelors | Master's | Doctorate |
| Household Income | \$0 - \$24,999 | \$25, 000- \$49,999 | \$50,000- \$74, 999 | \$75,000- \$99, 000 | \$100, 000- \$124, 999 | \$125,000+ |

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were gathered for each group (players and coaches) and subgroups to underscore the role of race, class, and gender in moderating these perceptions. The following research questions guided these analyses:

1. What are the benefits athletes think are important from playing basketball?

2. What are the benefits athletes perceive they obtain from playing basketball? Sub- question: Do athletes perceive that they obtain the benefits that are important to them?

3. What are the benefits coaches think are important from playing basketball?

4. What are the benefits coaches perceive basketball provides athletes?

Sub- question: Do coaches perceive that basketball provides benefits that are important to them (i.e., the sport administrators)?

5. How do athletes and coaches differ in their perceptions of the importance of the benefits related to playing basketball?

6. How do athletes and coaches differ in their perceptions of the benefits obtained from playing basketball?

7. How do race, gender, and socioeconomic status affect what benefits are perceived to be obtained from sport participation?

8. How do race, gender, and socioeconomic status affect what benefits are perceived as important?

Data collected were subjected to a thorough screening for accuracy. Data were entered by a research assistant and reviewed by the researcher. Responses that were unclear were marked for further review by the researcher and two advisors. Surveys were completely discarded from the analysis when responses indicated that the directions were not followed correctly (e.g., responses for each benefit went across the rows suggesting that respondents believed there was one question with 14 choices as opposed to two questions with 7 answer choices). Respondents were excluded from the multivariate analysis when group membership (race, gender, and/or class) could not be fully determined. These respondents were included in the analyses of the research question(s) related to the demographic variables they provided.

To increase the power of the analyses, missing values were calculated using mean substitution and linear interpolation. For items missing ten or less responses, mean substitution was employed to estimate the values. For items missing more than ten responses, linear interpolation was employed to provide a more accurate estimate of the missing values.

To ascertain what factors shape the benefits players and coaches perceive are obtained and considered important to obtain from basketball, descriptive statistics were calculated. For player, measures of central tendency along with dispersion were collected for each factor to investigate how participants' answers were spread across race, gender, and class. The same statistics were observed for coaches.

Two- sample t-tests were used to explore how players and coaches differ on benefits obtained and benefits considered important. Repeated measures MANOVA on the ten (10) subscales was conducted to observe the effects of race, class, and gender on the benefits perceived to be obtained and important by players and coaches. The ten subscales served as the within-subject variables and the demographic variables as the between-subject variables.

Delimitations and Limitations

Delimitations to this study were the focus on high school basketball. Basketball was chosen as it would allow for a diverse sample of participants particularly in the areas of gender, race, and class. The state of Texas was chosen has it provided a context in which sport is formally controlled by the same governing body (University Interscholastic League) therefore differences in individuals' perceptions could be better tied to differences in personal characteristics and social environment. The diversity of Texas' population along the lines of race, gender, and class also provide a fertile population to examine the research questions. Limitations of this study included the inability to control the administration of the surveys to the students. The researchers could not be with the student as they completed the forms therefore many surveys were completed incorrectly and questions about the survey items could not be addressed to ensure that the questions were read as the researcher intended. Time was also a limitation as schools were in the midst of end-of- the-year testing which made access to students difficult and time to administer the test limited. Another limitation was the number of multiracial, Asian-American and low SES respondents. The size of the sample in this study and dearth of research on their sport participation made the results of the study difficult to generalize to the population.

Chapter Four: Results

The purpose of this study was threefold: (1) to determine what players and coaches perceive as the benefits obtained by players through basketball and what benefits they perceive to be important; (2) to determine whether players and coaches perceive that players obtain benefits to the same degree that they feel they are important; and (3) to understand the differences in these perceptions based on gender, race, SES, and role (i.e., player or coach). First, two MANOVAs (one for benefits obtained and one for importance) were conducted to examine the potential interactions among gender, race, SES, and role in perceptions of benefits obtained and the importance of those benefits. Results of the MANOVAs were considered significant at $\alpha = .10$. Next, paired-sample *t*-tests were conducted to determine whether players and coaches perceived that players received the same benefits that were deemed important. Finally, one sample *t*-tests (against the neutral point of the scale, 4) were used to determine which benefits were perceived to be obtained and which were considered important by players and coaches. *T*-tests were considered significant using Bonferroni criteria.

Differences by Sport Role, Race, Gender, and Social Class

Perceptions of benefits obtained. To determine if there were group differences in perceived benefits obtained by sport role, race, gender, and social class, a 2 (sport role) x 3 (race) x 2 (gender) x 3 (social class) full factorial MANOVA was conducted for the ten benefit categories (dependent variables). The MANOVA was significant for the threeway interaction between race, gender, and role: F(10, 313)= 2.328, p=.012. Univariate tests for the three-way interaction among race, gender and role revealed significant differences in perceptions that players obtained the following benefits: Academic Resiliency, Self-Discipline, Analytical Thinking Skills, Moral Value Development, College Preparation, and Career Development. These six benefits were significant with *F* values ranging from F(2, 321) = 4.249 to 13.183, .003 . Theinteractions are shown graphically in Figures 4.1 to 4.6.

What is consistent among each of these benefit categories is that European-American females had the lowest perceptions of obtained benefits of all respondents. Among female players, African-Americans consistently held the highest perceptions of the benefits obtained through basketball. Among male coaches, European-Americans had the lowest perception of players obtaining benefits through basketball though, among male players, European-Americans held the highest perception for four of the six benefit categories. A reverse trend was observed with Latino males as the players consistently held the lowest perception of the benefits obtained through basketball while coaches had the highest of their role group.

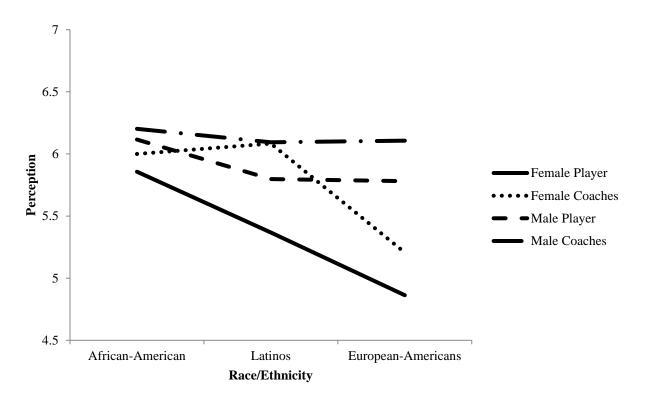


Figure 4.1: Perceptions of Academic Resiliency Obtained by race, gender, and role

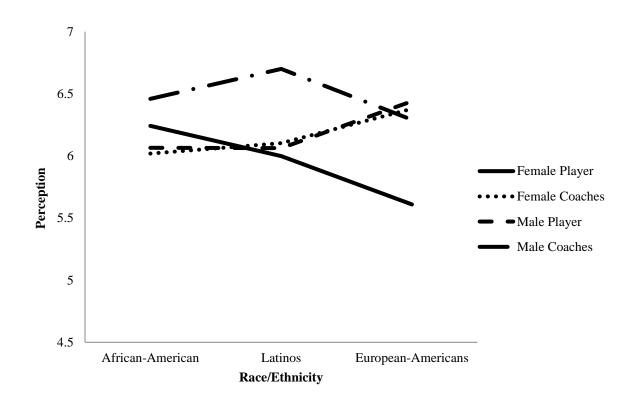


Figure 4.2: Perceptions of Self-Discipline Obtained by race, gender, and role

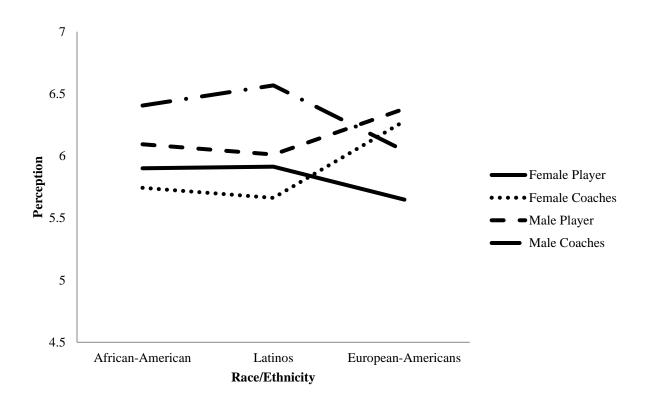


Figure 4.3: Perceptions of Analytical Thinking Skills Obtained by race,

gender, and role

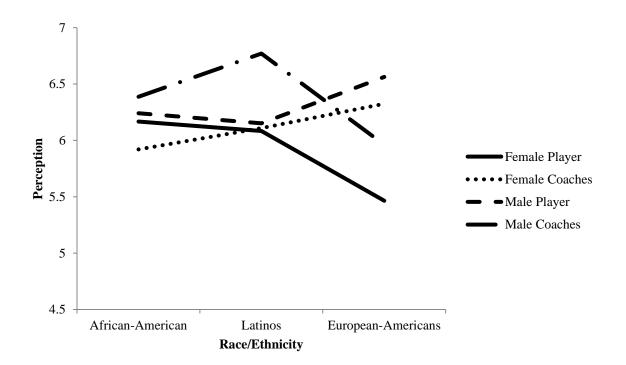


Figure 4.4: Perceptions of Moral Value Development Benefits Obtained by race, gender, and role

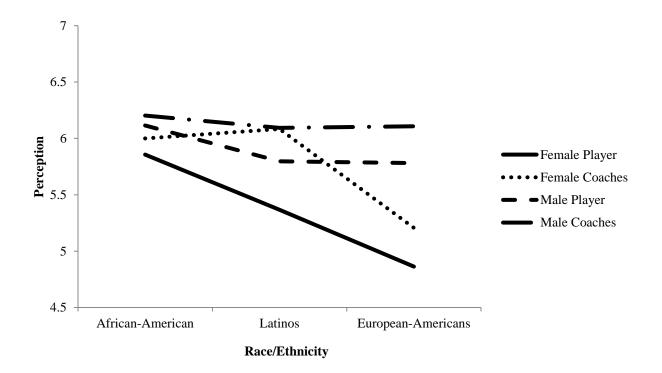


Figure 4.5: Perceptions of College Preparation Benefits Obtained by race, gender, and role

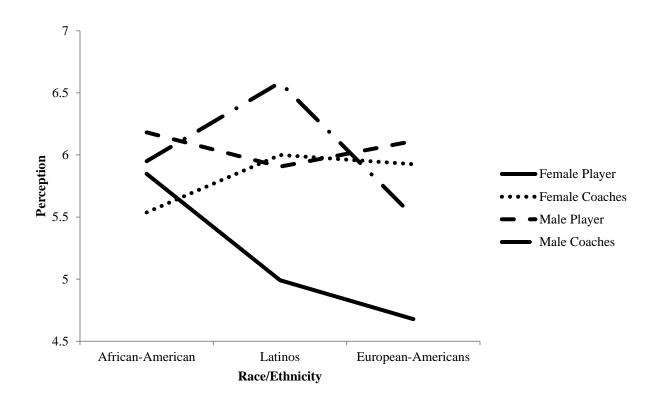


Figure 4.6: Perceptions of Career Development Benefits Obtained by race, gender, and role

Perceptions of the importance of benefits. To determine if there were group differences in the importance of the benefits perceived by sport role, race, gender, and social class, a 2 (sport role) x 3 (race) x 2 (gender) x 3 (social class) full factorial MANOVA was conducted for the perceived importance of the ten benefit categories (dependent variables). The MANOVA was significant for the four-way interaction among race, gender, SES, and role: F(10, 312)= 1.639, p=.095.

Univariate tests for the four-way interaction among race, gender, SES, and role revealed significant differences in the perceived importance of Self Expansion; F(1, 321)= 1.924, p = .073. The most striking result was that high SES European-Americans, across gender and role, placed the lowest importance on gaining Self-Expansion benefits through basketball (see Figured 4.7 and 4.8). Another noteworthy finding is that among African-American males, those who were low in SES placed the most importance on Self-Expansion benefits.

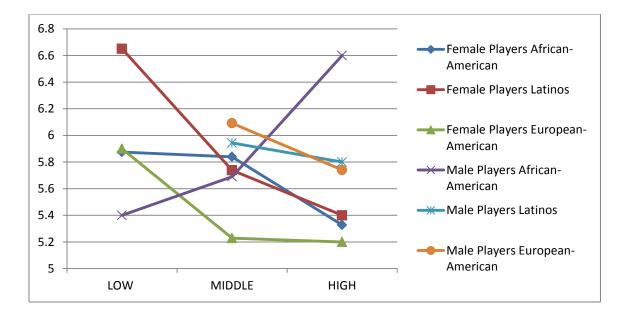


Figure 4.7: Perceived Importance of Self-Expansion by race, gender, SES, and role for Players

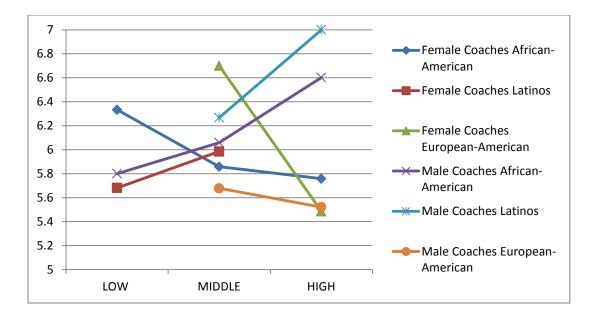


Figure 4.8: Perceived Importance of Self-Expansion by race, gender, SES, and role for Coaches

Differences between Perceptions of the Benefits Obtained and those Perceived Important

Paired sample *t*-tests were conducted to examine the similarities and differences in respondents' perceptions of the degree to which each benefit was considered important and obtained. Players reported significant differences in the degree that they felt that they obtained the following benefits and the degree to which they felt them to be important: College, Academic, Relationship with others, and Leadership (see Table 4.1). Two things are important to note. First, players rated the benefits obtained and importance of benefits highly with the lowest mean score being 5.65 on a 7-point scale. Second, the direction of the difference varies. That is, players perceived that College Preparation and Academic Resiliency benefits were more important that the degree to which they felt they obtained those benefits. However, they felt that Relationships with Others and Leadership Training benefits were less important than the degree to which they obtained those.

Coaches also expressed high agreement with players obtaining all the benefit categories observed and the importance of them doing so through basketball. Mean scores for each benefit category ranged from 5.68 to 6.44 on a 7-point scale for obtained benefits and 5.88 to 6.48 for their importance. For six of the ten benefit categories, there was a significant difference in the perceived importance of the benefit and the degree to which the coaches felt players obtained the benefits, namely Moral Value Development, Academic resiliency, College Preparation, Sense of Community, Analytical Thinking Skills, and Self-Discipline.

| | Role | Obtain | Imp | Diff | sd | t |
|----------------------------|---------|--------|------|-------|-----|---------|
| Academic Resiliency | Player | 5.89 | 6.03 | 14 | .78 | -2.824* |
| | Coaches | 6.19 | 6.47 | 28 | .68 | -5.314* |
| College Preparation | Player | 5.79 | 5.98 | -1.93 | .81 | -3.651* |
| | Coaches | 5.68 | 5.93 | 25 | .66 | -4.886* |
| Career Development | Player | 5.74 | 5.89 | 16 | .99 | -2.412 |
| | Coaches | 5.79 | 5.92 | 13 | .74 | -2.186 |
| Leadership Training | Player | 6.19 | 6.06 | .13 | .57 | 3.511* |
| | Coaches | 6.44 | 6.45 | 01 | .64 | 183 |
| Sense of Community | Player | 5.65 | 5.71 | 06 | .80 | -1.166 |
| | Coaches | 6.00 | 6.23 | 22 | .78 | -3.698* |
| Relationships with | Player | 6.14 | 6.02 | .12 | .59 | 3.230* |
| Others | Coaches | 6.38 | 6.48 | 10 | .64 | -1.990 |
| Self-Expansion | Player | 5.83 | 5.78 | .05 | .57 | 1.312 |
| | Coaches | 5.80 | 5.88 | 08 | .64 | -1.550 |
| Self-Discipline | Player | 6.05 | 5.98 | .07 | .65 | 1.608 |
| | Coaches | 6.29 | 6.43 | 15 | .63 | -2.967* |
| Analytical Thinking | Player | 5.84 | 5.91 | 08 | .73 | -1.583 |
| Skills | Coaches | 6.12 | 6.31 | 19 | .68 | -3.596* |
| Moral Value | Player | 6.11 | 6.06 | .05 | .67 | 1.137 |
| Development | Coaches | 6.10 | 6.41 | 31 | .72 | -5.571 |

 Table 4.1: Perceived Differences in Benefits Obtained versus Importance

* *p* < .005 *Players N*= 237; *Coaches N*= 159

Benefits Perceived to be Obtained and Perceived Important

One sample *t*-tests against the midpoint of the scale (neither agree nor disagree)

showed that players felt that they obtained all of the benefits included (df = 236, p <

.001), see Table 4.2. Coaches also perceived that players obtain all the benefits observed

(df = 163, p < .001), see Table 4.3.

Table 4.2: Benefits Obtained – Players

| N= 237; df= 236; p <. 01 | Mean | SD | t | |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|--------|--|
| Leadership Training | 6.186 | .798 | 42.158 | |
| Relationship With Others | 6.145 | .747 | 44.213 | |
| Moral Value Development | 6.107 | .926 | 35.046 | |
| Self-Discipline | 6.050 | .872 | 36.173 | |
| Academic Resiliency | 5.885 | 1.168 | 24.842 | |
| Analytical Thinking Skills | 5.839 | .978 | 28.494 | |
| Self-Expansion | 5.828 | .875 | 32.170 | |
| College Preparation | 5.791 | 1.196 | 23.054 | |
| Career Development | 5.737 | 1.303 | 20.513 | |
| Sense of Community | 5.650 | 1.182 | 21.499 | |

Table 4.3: Benefits Obtained- Coaches

| N= 164; df= 163; p <. 001 | Mean | SD | t |
|----------------------------|-------|------|--------|
| Leadership Training | 6.443 | .729 | 42.897 |
| Relationship With Others | 6.383 | .690 | 44.231 |
| Self-Discipline | 6.289 | .681 | 43.034 |
| Academic Resiliency | 6.179 | .737 | 38.000 |
| Analytical Thinking Skills | 6.116 | .768 | 35.275 |
| Moral Value Development | 6.102 | .793 | 33.960 |
| Sense of Community | 6.001 | .918 | 27.898 |
| Self-Expansion | 5.799 | .808 | 28.521 |
| Career Development | 5.793 | .960 | 23.916 |
| College Preparation | 5.680 | .994 | 21.639 |

Benefits Considered Important

One-sample *t*-tests against the midpoint of the scale (neither agree nor disagree) showed that players found all the benefits measured in this study to be important (df = 236, p < .001). These results are reported in Table 4.4. Similarly, one-sample *t*-tests also showed that all benefits were important to coaches (df = 163, p < .001). Coaches' results are reported in Table 4.5.

| N= 237; df= 236; <i>p</i> <.01 | Mean | SD | t | |
|--------------------------------|-------|-------|--------|--|
| Moral Value Development | 6.058 | .908 | 34.889 | |
| Leadership Training | 6.057 | .831 | 38.111 | |
| Academic Resiliency | 6.028 | .985 | 31.716 | |
| Relationship With Others | 6.020 | .809 | 38.430 | |
| College Preparation | 5.894 | 1.021 | 29.901 | |
| Self-Discipline | 5.982 | .804 | 37.929 | |
| Analytical Thinking Skills | 5.914 | .878 | 33.577 | |
| Career Development | 5.892 | 1.026 | 28.397 | |
| Self-Expansion | 5.780 | .833 | 32.900 | |
| Sense of Community | 5.710 | 1.081 | 24.364 | |

 Table 4.4: Benefits Considered Important by Players

| N= 164; df= 163; <i>p</i> <.001 | Mean | SD | t | |
|---------------------------------|-------|------|--------|--|
| Relationship with Others | 6.482 | .465 | 68.341 | |
| Academic Resiliency | 6.470 | .464 | 68.122 | |
| Leadership Training | 6.452 | .562 | 55.880 | |
| Self - Discipline | 6.435 | .498 | 62.660 | |
| Moral Value Development | 6.414 | .533 | 58.041 | |
| Analytical Thinking Skills | 6.307 | .581 | 50.840 | |
| Sense of Community | 6.225 | .693 | 41.108 | |
| College Preparation | 5.932 | .854 | 28.964 | |
| Career Development | 5.924 | .862 | 28.572 | |
| Self - Expansion | 5.877 | .748 | 32.131 | |

 Table 4.5: Benefits Considered Important by Coaches

Chapter Five: Discussion

The purpose of this study was threefold: (1) to determine what players and coaches perceive as the benefits obtained by players through basketball and what benefits they perceive to be important; (2) to determine whether players and coaches perceive that players obtain benefits to the same degree that they feel they are important; and (3) to understand the differences in these perceptions based on gender, race, SES, and role (i.e., player or coach). To answer these questions, a sample of 195 high school basketball players and 156 coaches from the state of Texas were surveyed and analyzed. Repeated measures ANOVA results displayed a three-way interaction between race, gender, and role for shaping the perceptions of benefits players obtained through sport. A four-way interaction between race, gender, SES, and role was shown to affect the perceived importance of benefits from basketball, namely Self-Expansion.

In the paired sample *t*-tests, significant differences were found between the perception of benefits considered important to obtain from basketball and the degree to which those benefits were perceived to be obtained. Coaches felt that, for six of the ten benefit categories, players were not obtaining the benefits to the same degree to which they felt they were important. Yet, one-sample *t*-test results showed that all players and coaches perceived that all benefit categories were obtained and important to obtain by players through basketball. Yet, SES was not a significant variable in determining whether a benefit was considered important to obtain from basketball.

The difference between players and coaches on the perceptions of benefits obtained and considered important suggests two things in determining the benefits of sport participation. In determining the short-term benefits of sport participation, the benefits obtained from sport can be inflated if not reported in conjunction with the athlete's point of view. Yet, the confidence and importance coaches place on these benefits may also suggest that these benefits are realized over time and may not seem as important or real to the athletes in this point of their development. While players and coaches both perceived that "sport is good" for providing benefits, difference in the patterns of beliefs based upon gender, ethnicity, SES, and sport role pleads for further investigation of what actually makes sport beneficial (Coalter, 2007; Simon, 2010).

While the means by which sport administrators, individuals and/or organizations develop targeted groups through sport require further investigation, the question of how these bodies obtain the positions in which they are able and needed to develop a group of people must first be raised. Inequities in wealth distribution continue to increase the resource gap between sport administrators and sport participants. This gap creates a social and financial dependency for the latter group on the former group to provide sustainable sport experiences. Sport administrators are able to control the means of development though resources, namely funding and access to regulating political bodies. They possess these resources to enforce their perspective and use these resources to promote their agenda as beneficial for the society as a whole. On a micro level, this scenario is seen in the class differences between sport administrators and players, as the administrators are often from a higher socioeconomic class that provides the

aforementioned resources to gain positions that control who and how groups with fewer resources can participate in sport. These sport roles are maintained by the continual distribution of resources that favor those who already have resources. The underrepresentation of ethnic minorities and women in sport administration speaks to how race and gender discrimination intertwine with class to increase the resource gap and deny these groups input in structuring their own sport opportunities (Ingham & Loy, 1993; Rhoden, 2006).

Though participant-run, bottom–up approaches increase in popularity in resistance to the top-down approaches, the lack of consistent funding and political power to justify these programs often make them unstable and unsustainable. These programs succumb to larger political and structural isomorphic forces that cause them to become more like the top-down structures or dissolve (Gruneau, 1999; Sage, 1990). Yet, their existence speaks *for* and *to* the marginalized perspectives that suggest that dominant structures in sport are not as good as it seems. More recognition and analysis of these perspectives are warranted in redressing the uncritical manner sport is implemented and evaluated.

Coalter (2007) posits that the positive evaluations of sport have centered on mythopoeic concepts that have done more to reinforce cultural norms about sport being a "fair, neutral, apolitical space" that fosters personal development than to evaluate the meanings and outcomes attributed to sport participation from those who participate in and manage sport. Without such evaluations, new understandings of sport that can be gained from sport participants and managers go unanalyzed and the mythopoeic concepts about sport essential goodness operate without critique. Yet, to gain these understandings, a paradigm shift must occur- one that places value on seeking these voices and providing a more robust and dynamic definition of sport based on the knowledge of those who are directly engaged with sport.

Therefore, the concept of hegemony is an optimal tool for identifying and analyzing these voices. As defined by Gramsci, *hegemony* is the process of one group gaining and controlling power over another. By recognizing these processes, hegemony provides a fruitful lens "for explaining how ideas and practices which seem against the interests of subordinate groups are believed in and carried out by them so as to become 'commonsense" (Dunning & Coakley, 2000, p. 50). Hegemony theory is also useful as it fosters the exploration of demographic characteristics, namely race, gender, and social class in shaping the resources available to individuals and communities.

Hegemony proves useful in this endeavor as it recognizes the "dialectical relationship between socially constructed possibilities and human agency" (Gruneau, 2000, p. 27). Without recognizing the role of human agency in structuring and participating in sport, mangers create programs that focus more on reproducing current social structures than transforming participants. Sport managers are instrumental to structuring sport programs and consequently the benefits available through participation (Biermann, 2011; Coalter, 2007; Ewing et al, 2002; Nicholls 2009). Their beliefs about what benefits are available through sport and how sport can provide those benefits are reflected in how they structure their sport programs. For example, in interscholastic

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sports, coaches are pivotal in program implementation and viewed as the source for creating the education, social, and health benefits obtained (Olushola et al., 2012).

What is problematic is that sport policy makers and enforcers "tend to view themselves as impractical facilitators operating in a value free and ideological neutral setting" (Gruneau, 2000, p, 12). Darnell (2007) warns that such passivity allows for dominant ideologies about what benefits sports can provide and how these ideologies could do so to go unchecked even with the most well-intentioned administrators. In reproducing these structures, the inequities in resource distribution are also reproduced, along with the dominant ideology that justifies why those inequities exist. Without intervention, it is entirely likely that a sport-for-development program could reify, if not magnify, the social ills in which it was designed to alleviate.

Therefore, future research on sport-for-development is needed to further investigate the differences in the perceived benefits of sport. In particular, future work should explore variations in culture and context that may affect beliefs about the potential importance of obtaining key benefits through sport, and perceptions of the degree to which athletes actually receive those benefits. The concept of hegemony would offer a fruit lens for this examination granted the isomorphic nature of sport at this level to societal norms and the need to promote human agency in sport participation.

More specifically, hegemony may help illuminate how managers buy into the dominant ideology in their implementation of sport. Coaches, in general, rated the importance of the benefits more highly than do players. This may be a result of the professional preparation of high school coaches and/or their personal belief in the

importance of their own role in the lives of their players. Although these data do not provide evidence of the reasons for differences, the results do show that players and coaches do not see sport been as beneficial. Simon (2010) wrestles with the "sport is good" concept as he questions whether sport provides development benefits for participants or those who participate in sport do so because they already possess these traits: "even if participants in competitive sports do manifest desirable character traits to develop: they may have been there all along. Correlation should not confused with causation" (pg 21). Building on Harry Edwards' assertion that sport does not build character from scratch, Simon posits that sport participation may foster participants' personal development through the interaction they have with the adults and structures though sport. Therefore more focus in research and practice is needed on identifying how individuals engage in the processes and structures that shape sport and how and when that engagement leads to benefits.

Theoretical Implications

Both interpretations push for more organic and long-term studies in the benefits of sport participation. In framing the finding and its implications the five tenets of Critical Race Theory are employed: (1) the intercentricity of race and racism; (2) the challenge to dominate ideology; (3) the commitment to social justice; (4) the centrality of experiential knowledge; and (5) the utilization of interdisciplinary approaches (Solorzano, 1997). Using the tenets of Critical Race Theory, theoretical implications include the use of theories that use a socioecological approach to understanding how needs and benefits are conceptualized, the use of more emic approaches to studying these concepts, and

providing more agency to the individuals in researching and understanding their needs and the benefits they desire from sport. These implications are further discussed below.

The intercentricity of race and racism and challenge to the dominant ideology. The first and second tenet of CRT posit that race is central to understanding one's lived experience and the effects of other forms of oppression; by centering race in this understanding challenges dominant ideologies of European superiority and African inferiority. A deeper look at the perceived benefits obtained though basketball uncovered that across all benefits in which a significant difference was observed, European-American female had the lowest perception of obtained benefits in comparison to their female counterparts. These girls participate in sport at rates higher than their peers yet they perceive that they are getting the least out of their participation. This result speaks to Shaw and Frisby's (2006) analysis of female sport participation in which they warn researchers and practitioners that increased opportunities to participate in sport does not automatically lead to more women participating in sport nor does it create more quality sport experiences for the girls and women that do.

European-American female players also had the lowest perception of obtained benefits among European-Americans. This finding challenges the dominant ideology of White superiority that there is nothing inherit about whiteness that increases the quality of one's life experience, in this case, the benefits perceived to be gained from sport participation. What is also noteworthy about this result is that it highlights that European-Americans are not immune to the oppression hegemonic ideologies based racial, gender, and social class have on the quality of one's life experience. These ideologies cannot oppress one group in society without oppressing all. Though their race may afford European-American girls access to more resources, this finding suggests that their race does not hinder their understanding of being considered inferior due to their gender and/or class.

Furthermore, the consistent difference among European-American girls from their male and adult counterparts supports the notion that Whiteness should not be the standard in which one's lived experience is measured because Whiteness operates in an oppressive society in which it can only be as "good" as the society allows it to be. Gilroy (2000) speaks to the notion of European-ness being the standard for human and therefore programs, like sport-for-development programs, strive to make participants to be more European in culture and thinking than human. Programs with this basis function to further enforce the ideal of European superiority by providing benefits that promote assimilation into European values and the suppression of one's individual and cultural values. What the results of this study show are that European-ness is not a static concept and is subjected to gender and class based ideologies in similar ways to Blackness. While this suggest that European-ness should not be the standard to which one's quality of life should be measured because it does not represent the highest of human achievement, it also suggests that the lived experiences of European-American gender and class minorities should not be negated as they too suffer from oppressive ideologies and structures that is overshadowed by their race. Implications of this finding suggest studying European-American girls more as their experience speaks to the need to create a

new standard for evaluating human development outside of race and the need to create standards that recognize how various social factors including race, gender, and class, and social role intersect to create different interpretations of one's self and the structures shaping their life experiences (cf., Collins, 1990).

Another interesting finding was that among female players, African-Americans perceived the highest level of obtained benefits. This finding highlights the importance of sport for African-Americans as a means of social development in a society in which other opportunities for such growth are limited, if even accessible. This may mean that sport is a valuable source for development and should continue to be pursued and improved. However, caution must be taken as a heavy reliance on sport can be detrimental as social and structural forces work to pull African-American girls out of school, a primary source of sport participation, and into structures that suppress their ability to participate given the lack of access to sport in the communities these girls often dwell. What this finding posits is that African-American girls perceive themselves to have beneficial sport experiences when provided the opportunity to participate.

Yet, African-American girls perceived sport to be less beneficial than their male counterparts. This finding again highlights the means in which race, and its effects on one's lived experience, is also mediated by gender. Therefore, as with European-ness, Blackness must also be understood as a dynamic concept that changes in concert with other social demographics and over time (Collins, 1990; McClintock, 1995). The focus on White males and maintaining patriarchal dominance has led to the discrimination and exclusion of different ethnic groups and women in the administration, and consequently, the participation of these groups. While more contemporary interest in the experiences of these groups has been generated, these efforts have been conducted divergently, with a focus paid to a particular group (e.g., race or gender) and not symbiotically where the discrimination from all the groups can be utilized to attack the overall ideology driving their marginalization. This silo effect is most detrimental to those who fit into multiple demographics, which are discriminated, particularly African-American women. In sport management, the data on this population are often reported in conjunction with the overall female or the overall African-American population. What is now emerging in the research is African-American females suffer from disparities that cannot fully be understood by just combining the disparities faced by African-Americans and those faced by women (Bruening, Armstrong, & Pastore, 2005; Carter & Hart, 2010).

Similar to the issues in studying the acculturation of African-Americans in US culture, studies on African American females has been limited has the notion that they are not different from the populations already being investigated (African-Americans and women). African-American females face an intersectionality of race, gender, and ultimately class that affects them at a greater rate in sport participation and administration than other demographics. The effects of these conditions on African-American females must be studied from an emic point of view recognizing the intersectionality of race and gender shape the structural, political and representational aspects of African-American women differently than other demographics as previously held notions and concepts may not apply or have different meanings to this population (Crenshaw, 1991).

Commitment to social justice. Yet, despite the agreement of all players and coaches to the benefits of sport participation and African-American girls' high perception of benefits from sport, their rates of participation are decreasing. In light of the health and social disparities facing these girls now and later in adulthood, this finding speaks to the potential of sport to be an effective tool for health promotion and social development of this population. The commitment to social justice tenet urges the use of this data towards creating more empowering and transformative experiences for these girls. Therefore, focus on African-American girls is warranted as their sport experiences serve as "canaries in the mines" to the social, cultural, and structural influences that are continually driving individuals out of sport. Subjected to the "triple threat" of racism, sexism, and classism, identifying how these girls navigate and overcome these barriers to engage and remain physically active through sport will provide insight in designing sport programs that employ the individual and environmental enablers to participation in the recruitment and retention of this population.

Thus, discerning African-American girls' level of consciousness regarding contemporary and intersecting oppressions, in addition to identifying relevant theoretical notions and practical applications (Few, Stephens, & Rouse-Arnett, 2003), may aid in increasing levels of participation of groups marginalized by similar oppressions. Key to sport serving this purpose is for it to be implemented in a sustainable manner, specifically in culturally responsive manner that recognizes how gender, race, and social class intersect to shape the needs of African-American girls and consequently the sport components necessary to redress those needs. Building on Sabo and Veliz (2008), this research desires to shift current concepts of sport participation from being endemic to one's membership in a social group, towards framing sport participation as a composite of individual desire, social support, and structural opportunities. In doing so, this research has the potential to redress gaps in the quality of the sport opportunities for girls and women of color. With a clearer understanding of how people, social structures, and cultural values shape participants' sport experiences, sport administrators could provide more culturally responsive and sustainable sport programs. More importantly, sport can become a more effective tool for redressing racial, gender, and class stereotypes by increasing awareness of how hegemonic structures reinforce social myths and providing a medium for the voices of marginalized groups to be represented more authentically in research and practice.

The utilization of interdisciplinary approaches and the centrality of experiential knowledge. To create a more parsimonious understanding of how sport provides benefits for its participants, researchers need to focus on the components of sport that are necessary and sufficient in providing benefits for the intended participants (Coalter, 2007). The fourth tenet, the centrality of experiential knowledge, focuses on redressing the effects of hegemony by recognize the "the experiential knowledge of people of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26). This study promotes the need to look specifically at one's access to resources, race, and gender in determining those components. The concept of hegemony posits that these factors are not conditions inherent to an individual but identities and social positions constructed by the larger society. Therefore, sport researchers must create concepts of researching "needs" and "benefits" that are reflective of individual as well as cultural and environmental factors. These concepts must also be organic, taking into consideration that the factors influencing the needs of participants are changing in concert with social norms and their effects on one's identity and access to resources. Shifts in one's values, goals, and relationships must also be considered in conceptualizing needs and benefits for implementing and evaluating sport-for-development programs. From a socioecological perspective, these factors operate on multiple levels to influence the benefits obtained and considered important to obtain from sport participation. Therefore, theories that incorporate this perspective are needed in studying sport-for-development.

To this end, the fifth tenet of CRT stresses the need for a transdisciplinary approach to exploring and explaining the means in which dominant ideologies affect perceptions of one's self, sport, and consequently one's sport participation. Intersectionality holds this perspective in its thrust that people's identities and behaviors are shaped by the social construction of personal characteristics including race, gender, class, and ability (Crenshaw, 1991). This theory holds that people experience with race, gender, class, and other demographic factors on different levels and in different ways based on how individuals interpret these factors and how these demographics are socially constructed in their environment. For theoretical concepts in sport-for-development to have more probative value, they must be valid in their measurement of these factors by recognizing and incorporating their individual and synergetic effects. Contemporary scholars are pushing the field towards a hermeneutic and constructivist methods in finding the truth in voices that have are often ignored. Research in the critical theory paradigm moves away from the need for objectivity, a crux in traditional empirical research that has allowed for the marginalization of these voices, toward being established as a "social-cultural nexus... [which] as both a site and process of construction, legitimating, reproduction, and reworking of [social relationships]" (Aitchison 2005, p. 423; Singer, 2005). A critical theory lens provides insight into the means in which dominant ideology operates unquestioned, critique of the dominant ideology as favorable to only certain groups and transformative redefinition of current systems to make them (read: the people that operate them) more favorable to all (Frisby, 2005).

To this end, more emic approaches to studying sport-for-development are needed. The emic approach allows researchers to employ the subjects of inquiry as agents in defining what should be studied and how. By giving these individuals this agency, researchers can reduce the reproduction of dominant and oppressive ideologies in their methods and implications. Having concepts organic to the population being study gives researchers tools that provide more insight into how sport is constructed and engaged for that population and consequently provide tools for analysis and evaluation that are logical, practical, and most importantly relevant to the population being served. In addition, giving individuals agency in the study of their sport participation also reduces the dependence on researchers as providers of knowledge and allows for more selfsustaining efforts of increasing the effectiveness of sport-for-development programs. Emic approaches allow the researcher to have a more realistic role in the research process as a co-informant as opposed to the more objective role taken in traditionally empirical research (Olushola et al., 2012). Similar to the objections to the finding of clinical research versus those conducted in the field, researchers should strive to conduct research in a manner that seeks to preserve the natural environment. This allows data collected to be more accurate and more applicable to informing the literature on human behavior and creating practical implications that are tailored to the people being engaged yet relevant to populations with similar factors shaping their sport participation.

Practical Implications

The results of this study show that sport cannot exist in vacuum to effectively provide participants with the intended benefits. Ladson-Billings (1992) states that to be culturally responsive in the educational setting educators must employ "cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (p. 382). To this end, sport administrators should be mindful of the cultural and structural factors that shape the student's environment and consequently their identity, behaviors, desires, and needs. In constructing the needs sport-for-development programs seek to address and the benefits these programs intend to provide, sport administrators must conceptualize these needs and benefits from a socioecological perspective and therefore implement sport components that take a multilevel approach to addressing the needs and providing the intended benefits for the participants, not just for themselves.

For interscholastic sport to be effective in providing developmental benefits for students, the program components should address the nature and the influence of these forces. Spaaij (2009) reinforces this point in his critique of sport-for-development in the UK as these programs desired to increase employment of underserved populations without redressing the economic and social conditions that created and continue to perpetuate the need for such programs. Programs that are not culturally responsive will continue to disempower participants by suggesting their condition is inherent to whom they are and that they must continue to depend on people and resources outside of their environment to succeed, if not, survive. Without recognizing the role of culture in shaping one's actions, sport administrators who seek to "develop" their participants will simply reinforce dominant notions of these individuals, "need" and their position to address that need.

Programs of this nature serve the administrators more than the participants and work towards the detriment of both as the potential for redressing the larger social structures that create the need for development programs is diminished. Hartmann (2001)'s assessments of the Midnight Basketball interventions highlights how programs promoted to serve a population can do more to personally benefit the administrators by providing a "solution" to their perceived problem than actually serve the intended population by providing an environment that allows them to develop to one's individual potential. In this program, the lack of intentionality and the inability of sport administrators to see crime as socially constructed limited the scope and reach of Midnight Basketball in providing benefits for African-American males. The program lacked cultural responsiveness, a better understanding of the population and a more critical review of the sport administrators' motives was needed to make this program more effective in achieving its stated purpose and more sustainable in design.

Creating culturally responsive sport programs requires a critical analysis not only of the social conditions that create the need of the targeted participants but also, the social conditions that shape the motives of the sport administrators. Coaches and sport administrators must see that the same factors that provide the privilege of obtaining the resources to provide sport are similar, if not, the same factors that disenfranchise the individuals they target with their programs. Access to resources has historically been shaped by desires of individuals to obtain the power to control their lives and, by consequent, the lives of others. In order for interscholastic sports to be more effective in its development aims, the motives of coaches and administrators must be taken into account.

To foster accountability from the players and the coaches in player's obtaining benefits from sport participation, coaches can provide the opportunity for players to inform them about the benefits they desire from sport. Having this information can help coaches be intentional in the sport components they design and implement to provide benefits for their players. This information could help coaches tailor their program components, goals, and feedback to the needs of the student. Knowing what the players need could also justify the need for more personnel and funding for interscholastic sport programs. Providing this agency to the student-athletes can also foster responsibility on their part to ensuring that they are giving the effort needed to obtain those benefits.

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In recognizing that student's sport participation does not exist in vacuum outside of their everyday lives, coaches and sport administrators need to incorporate the resources and challenges of their student's lives into components of their program. In the school context, this includes building relationships with students' teachers and other school personnel that also influence the students' lives to help reinforce skills and benefits promoted through sport participation. An example of the effectiveness of this relationship in creating more sustainable benefits for student-athletes is the Westinghouse' girls basketball program (see Olushola et al., 2012). The coach created a program that worked at the individual, interpersonal, institutional, and environmental level to shape the benefits the participants obtained from sport. On the environmental level, the coach recognized the challenge of promoting opportunities and positive self-esteem in African-American girls given the negative images they had from the media and the surrounding community. To counter those images students reported that the coach and older players provided positive images of African-African women. Given the lack of access to collegeeducated people in their family and financial cost to travel, access to college campuses and players provided new experiences for students that helped them actualize their desires of being college athletes and gain a better understanding of how to become one.

On the institutional level, the challenge was to provide an academic and athletic program that fostered the highest level of student achievement in the midst of shrinking school funds and neighborhood that had been economically divested. To meet her goal, the coach engaged with school officials directly and indirectly to foster a community and a culture of accountability to the students' wellbeing. She spoke directly to teachers and school administrators about the goals of her program and the needs of her students and utilized them for study hall and tutoring sessions. Indirectly, she had her students give teachers progress reports to complete about their behavior and grades which communicated to the teachers that she also cared about the academics of the students and that her program was working synergistically with the teachers to promote the value of education and respect (Jones & Jones, 2002). In return, school officials supported the team in ways including financial donations, access to facilities and moral support at games, and volunteering their time.

On the interpersonal level, the lack of stability in the home and surrounding community created the challenge of promoting healthy relationships in an economic and social environment that fostered poor ones. The coach created bonding, leadership, and mentoring opportunities that fostered accountability, higher self-esteem, and increased basketball skills among her players. Upperclassmen were given leadership roles based on their personal strengths. The team served as mentors to local elementary and middle school youths and implemented community service projects. Events like Bulldog Weekend were held to give the team an opportunity to grow closer to one another through social activities and time to learn about players as individuals. These program components also had an effect on the intrapersonal level as program participation was linked to increased self-esteem, sense of accomplishment, accountability, basketball skills, understanding of basketball, critical thinking skills, self-expansion, goal setting, and academic ability. Students also credited program participation to the character development and shaping their career aspirations. In creating her program, the coaches were able to incorporate the resources and challenges facing her students in creating her goals, designing her program and implementing the necessary components to meet those goals. Evidence of this the effectiveness of this approach is seen in her record on the court in addition to the academic, personal, and professional success of her students beyond high school.

With coaches adopting a socioecological lens in identifying the needs of their students, opportunities for collaboration with local and national organizations with similar goals are revealed. The silo effect of focusing sport-for-development programs on individual change as opposed to communal transformation limits sport administrators perceived opportunities for meeting program goals. Current initiatives to curb antisocial behavior- teen pregnancy, criminal activities, and sedentary behaviors- create potential funding sources in nonprofit organizations, government agencies, and even private sector businesses. Cooperatives with organizations with similar goals of developing young people can increase the stability of school sport programs financially and more importantly in its ability to operate synergistically at multiple levels to affect change on the participants and the local environment and be more intentional in providing benefits in one's programming. Yet, the key is not to let the interest of cooperative organizations outweigh the welfare and desires of the participants.

Researchers can assist coaches and sport administrators with implementing more culturally responsive programming by creating mediums for which their work can be used to inform current practice. The data from this study highlights the need for intentionality in creating sport-for-development and practical ways of implementing sport to provide the desired benefits. In highlighting that sport is not inherently good, researchers can raise awareness in coaches to the need for creating structures built to promote the benefits they desire and their role in being able to influence the sport experience of young people. Collaborations with local, state, and national sport governing bodies serve as ideal platforms for informing, engaging, and empowering coaches with theory based practices to assist them in creating the positive sport experiences this study demonstrated they desire but feel players are not obtaining. Data from this study also speak to the need for more participant input in the evaluation and implementation of sport programs. The instrument developed for this study would serve as an insightful planning and evaluation tool to guide coaches in creating more culturally responsive, and consequently more sustainable, sport programs.

Recognizing that coaches are often working under administrators whose position can create a different perspective on how sport should be implemented, this data can provide coaches with the knowledge and tools that can increase their opportunities for influencing the administration of their sport programs. The discrepancy between the importance of benefits and the level to which coaches felt players were obtaining these benefits suggests that coaches' desire for their sports program may also be marginalized in the larger discussion of sport-for-development administration. Implications from this study suggest that the focus on understanding the effects of race, gender, and social class on one's lived experience is not limited to participation but also affects sport administration as well. Coaches and administrators would benefit from professional development programming that educated them on the means in which social factors historically have shaped sport structures and the meanings associated with sport, raised awareness for incorporating diverse perspectives in the implementation and evaluation of sport, and provided tools that foster more inclusive environments for players and coaches.

In summary, sport can be good but more critical methods of inquiry and practice are needed to increase the effectiveness (consistency and quality) of interscholastic sport programs. While the theoretical and practical implications provided require long term implementation, more importantly, it necessitates administrators and researchers willing to engage in the process of critiquing the social forces that create the initial need of the sport administrators and the participants-- for sport-for-development. In determining the benefits obtained and considered important by players and coaches, researchers and practitioners can have a clearer picture of the motives shaping participation and administration of sport programs. With a better understanding of these motives, theoretical concepts that are more valid in their measurement and more robust in their analytical value, and consequently more practical in their implications can be created. These concepts can lead to the theories sought in making sport-for-development programs more sustainable in structure and relevant to those whom they are meant to serve.

In answering the question: "Who's got the power?" this study sought to determine what factors affected the sport experiences of players. In reviewing the results, the question seems one sided as it is not just about who has the power to shape the means in which they and others engage in sport but also what are the factors to which individuals give power to shape their thinking and behavior. Despite the structural forces that hinder sport participation for African-American girls, they still held a high perception of benefits obtained from sport. Their experience speaks to power being dynamic, not just embodied in one person or a group of people, but expressed by all in a daily challenge to increase one's life quality in the context of unequal resource distribution. What is learned from African-American girls from this study is that all have the power to shape their individual life experiences; what is needed are the environments to express that power and mediums to do so.

APPENDIX A

High School Basketball Study [ISB]

We want to understand the ways that Basketball affects your life. Please answer the following questions about possible benefits that basketball has provided YOU. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell us your opinion. **PLEASE COMPLETE THE FRONT AND THE BACK.** Thanks!

| I want to know how basketbal How much do you agree that Ba | | | ? | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--|
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit |
| Basketball teaches me that working together requires some compromise | О | 0 | o | 0 | О | О | о | 0 |
| Basketball helps me become better at sharing responsibility | О | 0 | o | 0 | o | о | о | o |
| Basketball helps me to be patient with others | О | о | o | 0 | o | о | о | o |
| Basketball shows me how my emotions and attitude affect others | O | 0 | o | 0 | o | о | о | o |
| Basketball shows me that it is not necessary to like people in order to work with them | O | 0 | o | 0 | o | о | о | o |
| Basketball helps me to be more open-minded (I can better relate to the needs/feelings of others) | о | O | o | О | o | 0 | о | o |
| Basketball helps me understand the challenges of being a leader | О | O | o | 0 | o | о | о | o |
| Basketball gives me an opportunity to be in charge of a group of my peers | о | o | o | О | o | 0 | о | 0 |
| My team provides a family atmosphere | О | о | O | 0 | о | О | о | o |
| I get mentoring from older players | О | о | • | 0 | o | 0 | о | o |
| The basketball gym/ practice facility is a physically safe place | 0 | 0 | o | 0 | o | О | о | о |
| I am responsible for how my actions affect my team (Accountability) | O | о | o | О | o | 0 | о | 0 |
| My teammates are my friends | 0 | о | • | О | o | О | о | О |
| My team provides me with leadership opportunities | о | 0 | o | 0 | o | 0 | o | O |

| I want to know how bas | I want to know how basketball helps your relationships with family and friends. | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|------------------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| How much do you agree t | that Basketball g | ives you this be | nefit? | | | | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit | | | | |
| My team provides a sense of being a part of something bigger than yourself (Tradition) | o | 0 | 0 | о | 0 | 0 | о | o | | | | |
| My teammates count on me | o | o | О | o | О | o | о | o | | | | |
| My coach(es) mentor me | o | o | О | o | О | o | о | o | | | | |
| I mentor younger players | o | o | о | о | О | 0 | o | o | | | | |
| Basketball helps me make friends with someone of the opposite gender | o | o | o | о | o | o | o | о | | | | |
| Basketball helps me get to know someone from different ethnic groups | o | o | o | 0 | 0 | o | o | o | | | | |
| Basketball helps me to make friends from different social classes (someone richer or poorer than you) | o | o | O | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | o | | | | |
| Basketball allows me to travel to places I've never been | o | 0 | 0 | o | 0 | o | o | o | | | | |
| Basketball improves my relationships with my family/guardians | o | 0 | 0 | o | 0 | o | o | O | | | | |
| I have good conversations with my parents/guardians because of basketball | O | O | 0 | o | O | 0 | O | O | | | | |
| Basketball improves my relationships with siblings/other family members | 0 | 0 | 0 | о | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | | | | |
| What is your gender? | | | | | What is your | race/ethnicity | ? | | | | | |

What is your gender? O Female

O Male

What grade are you in? _____

What Division are you in? 1ADI 1ADII 2A 3A 4A 5A

What is your race/ethnicity?

O Asian/ Asian- American O Black/ African/ African- American

0 Hispanic/ Latino

0 White/ Caucasian/ European American

O If your race/ethnicity is not listed, please write it below

(PLEASE FLIP OVER. Thank you!)

APPENDIX B

High School Basketball Study [HB]

We want to understand the ways that Basketball affects your life. Please answer the following questions about possible benefits that basketball has provided YOU. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell us your opinion. **PLEASE COMPLETE THE FRONT AND BACK**. Thanks!

| Q1 I want to know he How much do you agr | | | | festyle. | | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--|
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit |
| Basketball increases my knowledge of healthy eating | 0 | 0 | о | О | 0 | 0 | o | O |
| Basketball increases my desire to stay physically active after high school | o | • | 0 | O | o | 0 | о | O |
| I have access to a workout facility because of basketball. | O | o | О | О | О | 0 | о | O |
| Basketball increases my desire to eat healthy foods | О | o | О | О | О | o | о | 0 |
| Basketball increases my ability to maintain a healthy weight | o | о | о | 0 | o | o | 0 | o |
| Basketball makes me feel good about my body | о | 0 | о | О | О | • | o | 0 |
| Basketball makes me feel good about myself | o | o | о | О | o | 0 | o | o |
| Basketball gives me an opportunity to learn more about who I am | 0 | • | о | 0 | 0 | • | o | o |
| Basketball increases my confidence | о | 0 | о | О | о | 0 | o | 0 |
| Basketball give me the ability to see myself as a role model | 0 | • | о | 0 | 0 | • | о | o |
| Basketball motivates me to do things better | o | o | о | о | о | 0 | o | o |
| I gain recognition from my basketball team for my achievements | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | о | O |
| Basketball is a positive influence on my life | o | o | о | О | o | o | o | o |

| I want to know how basketball he How much do you agree that Baske | | his benefit | ? | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--|
| | | | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit |
| Basketball gets me thinking about who I am | о | о | О | О | о | о | o | o |
| Basketball helps me start thinking about my future | 0 | о | О | О | • | о | o | o |
| Basketball encourages me to do new things | О | 0 | О | О | О | о | o | О |
| Basketball allows me to try a new way of acting around people | 0 | о | 0 | О | 0 | 0 | o | o |
| Basketball increases my cardiovascular health (stronger lungs and heart) | 0 | О | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | o |
| Basketball increases my endurance (I can workout longer) | 0 | о | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | o |
| Basketball increases my physical ability (fitness) | О | о | О | О | о | 0 | o | o |
| Basketball increase my flexibility | 0 | 0 | 0 | О | 0 | 0 | 0 | О |
| Basketball increases my strength | О | 0 | О | О | о | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I have access to health role models through basketball | 0 | о | 0 | О | о | • | 0 | О |
| Basketball decreases my need for medication | О | о | 0 | O | О | 0 | o | О |
| Basketball decreases my desire for illegal drugs | О | о | 0 | 0 | O | 0 | o | o |
| Basketball decreases my desire for alcohol | 0 | о | О | 0 | О | o | • | o |
| Basketball decreases my desire to smoke | О | о | О | o | О | 0 | 0 | o |
| Basketball helps me control my sexual desires What is your gender? | 0 | 0 | О | О | O | o | o | о |

What is your gender?

• Female

O Male

What grade are you in? _____

What Division are you in? 1ADI 1ADII 2A 3A 4A 5A What is your race/ethnicity?OAsian/Asian American

O Black/ African/ African- American

O Hispanic/Latino

O White/ Caucasian/ European American

O If your race/ethnicity is not listed, please write it below

(PLEASE FLIP OVER.)

APPENDIX C

High School Basketball Study [EB]

We want to understand the ways that Basketball affects your life. Please answer the following questions about possible benefits that basketball has provided YOU. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell us your opinion. **PLEASE COMPLETE THE FRONT AND THE BACK**. Thanks!

| | I want to know how basketball helps you relate to others. How much do you agree that Basketball gives you this benefit? | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit | | | | |
| Basketball motivates me to improve my GPA | О | о | О | 0 | o | 0 | o | O | | | | |
| Basketball keeps me from getting in trouble at school | о | o | О | о | o | о | o | o | | | | |
| Basketball motivates me to come to school each day | о | o | О | о | o | o | o | o | | | | |
| Basketball gives me the ability to handle academic pressure (e.g., get assignments done on time, study for multiple courses) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | о | o | o | | | | |
| Basketball increases my desire to stay in school | o | o | O | o | o | о | o | c | | | | |
| Basketball gives me knowledge of how to apply to college | о | o | О | о | o | O | o | o | | | | |
| My team and coaches recognize me for my academic achievement | 0 | о | О | 0 | o | 0 | o | о | | | | |
| My team/coaches hold me accountable for my GPA. | o | o | O | o | o | о | o | O | | | | |
| My coaches provide structured time for me to get my homework done | O | о | 0 | 0 | o | о | o | О | | | | |
| My coaches provide tutors to help me with my homework | о | о | О | 0 | • | o | o | о | | | | |
| Basketball helps me network with professionals in the workforce | o | o | О | o | o | O | o | 0 | | | | |
| Basketball helps me build networks with people who can help me think about a career path | о | 0 | O | 0 | o | Q | o | O | | | | |
| Basketball provides me an opportunity to pursue a career in sport | о | o | О | 0 | • | 0 | o | о | | | | |
| Basketball opens up job or career opportunities | О | o | О | 0 | o | 0 | o | О | | | | |

| I want to know how basketball How much do you agree that Bas | I want to know how basketball helps your relationships with family and friends. How much do you agree that Basketball gives you this benefit? | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit | | | |
| Basketball helps prepare me for college | o | o | О | o | O | о | О | О | | | |
| Basketball gives me exposure to college campuses | o | o | O | o | 0 | о | O | o | | | |
| Basketball makes me want to go to College | 0 | o | О | o | o | o | О | o | | | |
| Basketball makes Athletic Scholarships accessible to me | 0 | o | О | o | o | 0 | О | O | | | |
| Basketball gives me access to Academic Scholarships | o | o | О | o | • | о | О | O | | | |
| My high school basketball program increases my understanding of basketball | o | o | О | o | o | о | о | c | | | |
| My high school basketball program helps me develop my position specific skills | o | o | o | o | 0 | о | o | o | | | |
| My high school basketball program increases my motor skills (e.g., hand eye coordination) | 0 | o | 0 | • | 0 | о | 0 | o | | | |
| I get mentoring from experienced athletes in my high school basketball program | o | o | 0 | o | 0 | о | o | o | | | |
| I have access to knowledgeable coaches in my high school basketball program | o | o | 0 | o | 0 | о | 0 | o | | | |
| I have opportunities to compete with athletes at my level or better (e.g., tournament play, exhibition games) in my high school basketball program | • | o | o | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | | | |

What is your gender? O Female

O Male

What grade are you in? _____

What Division are you in? 1ADI 1ADII 2A 3A 4A 5A What is your race/ethnicity?

O Asian/ Asian- American

O Black/ African/ African- American

O Hispanic/ Latino

O White/ Caucasian/ European American

• If your race/ethnicity is not listed, please write it below

(PLEASE FLIP OVER. Thank you!)

APPENDIX D

High School Basketball Study [LSB]

We want to understand the ways that Basketball affects your life. Please answer the following questions about possible benefits that basketball has provided YOU. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell us your opinion. **PLEASE COMPLETE THE FRONT AND THE BACK**. Thanks!

| I want to know how ba | sketball helps y | you improve y | our thinking skil | lls. | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|---|
| How much do you agree | e that Basketball | gives you this | benefit? | | | | | |
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit |
| Basketball shows me the importance of having morals and values guide my life | o | 0 | o | 0 | o | • | o | o |
| Basketball taught me to be a role model for my morals and values | o | o | о | o | o | o | o | o |
| My coaches are good moral role models to me | 0 | o | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | 0 | 0 |
| My teammates are good moral role models to me | О | о | О | o | o | o | o | O |
| Basketball improves my Academic skills | O | О | o | o | o | o | o | C |
| Basketball improves my skills for finding information | O | о | 0 | o | O | o | O | 0 |
| Basketball improves my computer/internet skills | 0 | о | 0 | • | 0 | o | 0 | o |
| Basketball improves my Artistic/Creative skills | o | о | o | 0 | 0 | o | 0 | o |
| Basketball improves my Communication skills | о | о | 0 | 0 | o | o | o | o |
| Basketball improves my ability to think clearly | О | О | О | o | 0 | o | 0 | o |
| Basketball improves my critical thinking skills (e.g., ability to make good decisions based on the information given) | 0 | 0 | о | о | О | 0 | О | o |
| | | | | | | | | |

PLEASE FLIP OVER. Thank you!

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| | I want to know how basketball helps you manage time and develop morals. How much do you agree that Basketball gives you this benefit? | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit | | | | |
| Basketball shows me how to organize my time and not procrastinate | о | о | о | О | O | о | 0 | o | | | | |
| Basketball shows me how to set priorities | о | о | о | о | • | о | о | o | | | | |
| Basketball allows me to practice self-discipline | О | О | О | 0 | О | о | О | o | | | | |
| Basketball teaches me how to make sacrifices to do things that are most important to me | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | 0 | 0 | o | | | | |
| Basketball helps me create goals | о | o | о | о | 0 | o | 0 | o | | | | |
| My basketball program provides structured time to get homework done (e.g., study hall) | 0 | 0 | 0 | О | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | | | | |
| Basketball allows me to help others | О | О | О | О | О | О | о | о | | | | |
| Basketball enables me to change my school or community for the better | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | о | 0 | o | | | | |
| Basketball shows me how to stand up for something I believed was morally right | 0 | 0 | 0 | О | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | | | | |
| My basketball team discusses morals and values | о | О | o | 0 | o | 0 | o | o | | | | |

What is your gender? O Female

О Male

What grade are you in? _____

What Division are you in?1ADI1ADII2A3A4A5A

What is your race/ethnicity?

0 Asian/ Asian- American 0

Black/ African/ African- American

0 Hispanic/ Latino О White/ Caucasian/ European American

О If your race/ethnicity is not listed, please write it below

PLEASE FLIP OVER. Thank you!

APPENDIX E

High School Basketball Study [5]

We want to understand the ways that Basketball affects your life. Please answer the following questions about possible benefits that basketball has provided YOU. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell us your opinion. **PLEASE COMPLETE THE FRONT AND BACK**. Thanks!

| I want to know how basketball helps you relate to community. | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|----------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-------|-------------------|--|
| How much do you agree that Basketball gives you this benefit? | | | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit |
| Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities in the school | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | o | • | o |
| Basketball provides me with a sense of school pride | o | o | o | o | o | o | o | o |
| Basketball makes me accountable to teachers and classmates | o | 0 | о | o | o | o | • | o |
| Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities in the community | 0 | o | 0 | о | 0 | 0 | o | 0 |
| Basketball gives me opportunities to mentor younger students | 0 | • | o | 0 | o | o | o | O |
| Basketball gives me a sense of community pride | 0 | o | 0 | 0 | o | o | o | o |
| Basketball makes me feel more a part of the community | o | o | 0 | о | o | o | • | o |
| Basketball gives me more support from community members | О | о | O | o | 0 | o | o | 0 |
| Basketball makes me think about how my actions affect the community | 0 | o | 0 | o | o | o | o | o |
| Basketball helps me get to know people in the community | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | o | o | o |
| | (PLEASE FLIP OVER. Thank you!) | | | | | | | |

| I want to know how basketball helps you control your feelings. | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|----------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|---|--|--|
| How much do you agree that | How much do you agree that Basketball gives you this benefit? | | | | | | | | | |
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball gets in the way of me getting this benefit | | |
| Basketball helps me control my temper | О | О | О | О | о | 0 | o | o | | |
| Basketball helps me become better at dealing with fear and anxiety | О | О | О | о | о | 0 | o | о | | |
| Basketball helps me handle stress better | О | О | О | О | О | 0 | o | о | | |
| I learn that my emotions affect how I perform through basketball | о | о | о | o | o | О | o | о | | |
| I learn coping skills through basketball | о | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | 0 | 0 | o | | |
| The basketball gym/practice facility is a safe emotional space for me. | 0 | О | О | о | o | 0 | o | o | | |
| In basketball, I observe how others solve problems and learn from them | о | О | О | о | о | О | o | о | | |
| Basketball shows me how to develop plans for solving a problem | о | О | О | О | o | О | o | O | | |
| Basketball shows me how to use my imagination to solve a problem | о | О | О | О | o | О | o | O | | |
| Basketball allows me to do things I don't get to do anywhere else | о | О | О | О | o | О | o | O | | |
| Basketball helps me focus my attention | о | О | О | o | o | О | 0 | o | | |
| Basketball shows me how to overcome obstacles (things that can keep me from being successful) | o | 0 | 0 | • | o | 0 | 0 | o | | |
| What is your gender? | | | | Wha | t is your race/e | thnicity? | | | | |

What is your gender? O Female

O Male

What grade are you in? _____

What is your race/ethnicity?OAsian/ Asian- American

O Black/ African/ African- American

O Hispanic/Latino

O White/ Caucasian/ European American

O If your race/ethnicity is not listed, please write it below

What Division are you in? 1ADI 1ADII 2A 3A 4A 5A

PLEASE FLIP OVER. Thank you!

APPENDIX F

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS (High School Basketball 5)

| | Component | | |
|---|-----------|------|------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Basketball allows me to do things I don't get to do anywhere else | .794 | .149 | .055 |
| Basketball shows me how to overcome obstacles (things that can keep me from being successful) | .764 | .199 | .096 |
| Basketball helps me focus my attention | .751 | .308 | .128 |
| Basketball shows me how to use my imagination to solve a problem | .724 | 002 | .345 |
| In basketball, I observe how others solve problems and learn from them | .697 | .087 | .225 |
| I learn that my emotions affect how I perform through basketball | .666 | .271 | .169 |
| Basketball makes me accountable to teachers and classmates | .629 | .358 | .294 |
| Basketball gives me more support from community members | .160 | .791 | .190 |
| Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities in the community | .248 | .768 | .095 |
| Basketball makes me feel more a part of the community | .114 | .733 | .301 |
| Basketball gives me opportunities to mentor younger students | .194 | .678 | 021 |
| Basketball helps me control my temper | .201 | .051 | .843 |
| Basketball helps me become better at dealing with fear and anxiety | .400 | .139 | .724 |
| Basketball helps me handle stress better | .114 | .320 | .701 |

Rotated Component Matrix

Items Excluded Iteratively

1st Iteration: The basketball gym/practice facility is a safe emotional space for me

 2^{nd} Iteration: Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities in the school

3rd Iteration: I learn coping skills through basketball (excluded based on lack of conceptual fit)

4th Iteration: Basketball provides me with a sense of school pride

5th Iteration: Basketball gives me a sense of community pride

6th Iteration: Basketball shows me how to develop plans for solving my problems

7th Iteration: Basketball makes me think about how my actions affect the community

8th Iteration: Basketball helps me get to know people in the community

APPENDIX G

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS Leadership Skills (LSB)

Rotated Component Matrix

| | Component | | | | |
|--|-----------|------|------|--|--|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | | |
| Basketball shows me how to set priorities | .900 | .133 | .146 | | |
| Basketball allows me to practice self-discipline | .785 | .224 | .206 | | |
| Basketball teaches me how to make sacrifices to do things that are most important to me | .784 | .256 | .061 | | |
| Basketball helps me create goals | .764 | .224 | .202 | | |
| Basketball shows me how to organize my time and not procrastinate | .754 | .085 | .217 | | |
| Basketball shows me the importance of having morals and values guide my life | .711 | .367 | .283 | | |
| Basketball improves my Academic skills | .466 | .084 | .445 | | |
| My teammates are my good moral role models | .004 | .817 | .089 | | |
| My coaches are good moral role models | .244 | .795 | .030 | | |
| Basketball taught me to be a role model for my morals and values | .437 | .617 | .256 | | |
| Basketball allows me to help others | .269 | .567 | .427 | | |
| Basketball shows me how to stand up for something I believed was morally right | .451 | .554 | .180 | | |
| Basketball improves my Communication skills | .027 | .185 | .796 | | |
| Basketball improves my ability to think clearly | .205 | .169 | .795 | | |
| Basketball improves my critical thinking skills (e.g., ability to make good decisions based on the information given.) | .360 | .040 | .763 | | |

Items Excluded Iteratively

1st Iteration: My basketball team discusses morals and values.

My basketball program provides structured time to get homework done

(e.g., study hall)

- 2nd Iteration: Basketball improves my computer/internet skills
- 3rd Iteration: Basketball improves my skills for finding information
- 4th Iteration: Basketball enables me to change my school or community for the better Basketball improves my Artistic/Creative skills

APPENDIX H

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS Interpersonal Skills (ISB)

| | Component | | | | |
|---|-----------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Basketball helps me to make friends with people from different social classes (someone richer or poorer than you) | .807 | .221 | 008 | .210 | .060 |
| Basketball helps me get to know someone from different ethnic groups | .717 | .160 | .008 | .309 | 103 |
| Basketball helps me make friends with someone of the opposite gender | .715 | 005 | .286 | 033 | .121 |
| Basketball allows me to travel to places I've never been | .643 | .202 | .221 | 119 | .131 |
| I have good conversations with my parents/guardians because of basketball | .089 | .907 | .121 | .248 | .002 |
| Basketball improves my relationships with siblings/other family members | .260 | .824 | .024 | .165 | 063 |
| Basketball improves my relationships with my family/guardians | .186 | .729 | .381 | 154 | .201 |
| I get to mentor younger players | .072 | 008 | .802 | .106 | .047 |
| Basketball helps me to be more open-minded (I can better relate to the needs/feelings of others) | .330 | .086 | .666 | 173 | 017 |
| My teammates count on me | .171 | .304 | .642 | .132 | .007 |
| Basketball helps me understand the challenges of being a leader | 034 | .106 | .623 | .242 | .155 |
| My team provides a family atmosphere | .006 | .139 | .113 | .834 | .083 |
| I get mentoring from older players | .328 | 043 | 088 | .692 | 044 |
| My teammates are my friends | 022 | .184 | .287 | .676 | .054 |
| Basketball teaches me that working together requires some compromise | 049 | .107 | .052 | .078 | .865 |
| My team provides a sense of tradition (Being a part of something bigger than yourself) | .208 | 062 | .092 | .003 | .841 |

Rotated Component Matrix

Items Excluded Iteratively

1st Iteration: The basketball gym/practice facility is a physically safe place for me

2nd Iteration: Basketball helps me to be patient with others

3rd Iteration: Basketball shows me how my emotions and attitude affect others

4th Iteration: My team provides me with leadership opportunities

5th Iteration: My coach(es) mentor me

6th Iteration: I am responsible for how my actions affect my team (Accountability)

7th Iteration: I get mentoring from older players (excluded based on lack of conceptual fit)

 8^{th} Iteration: Basketball shows me that it is not necessary to like people in order to work with them

APPENDIX I

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS Health Benefits (HSB)

Factor Analysis I

| | Comp | onent |
|--|------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 |
| Basketball increases my endurance (ability to workout longer) | .922 | .136 |
| Basketball increases my strength | .859 | .024 |
| Basketball increases my cardiovascular health (stronger lungs and heart) | .842 | .262 |
| Basketball increases my physical ability (fitness) | .785 | .240 |
| I have access to health role models through basketball | .639 | .378 |
| Basketball decreases my desire to smoke | .133 | .959 |
| Basketball decreases my desire for illegal drugs | .141 | .951 |
| Basketball decreases my desire for alcohol | .263 | .901 |
| Basketball helps me control my sexual desires | .184 | .591 |

Rotated Component Matrix

Items Excluded Iteratively

1st Iteration: Basketball increases my flexibility

2nd Iteration: Basketball decrease my need for medication

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS Health Benefits (HSB) Continued

| Rotated Component Matrix | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|--|--|
| | Compo | onent | | |
| | 1 | 2 | | |
| Basketball give me the ability to see myself as a role model | .833 | .156 | | |
| Basketball is a positive influence on my life | .788 | .055 | | |
| Basketball motivates me to do things better | .774 | .198 | | |
| I gain recognition from my basketball team for my achievements | .742 | .263 | | |
| Basketball helps me start thinking about my future | .698 | .333 | | |
| Basketball increases my confidence | .676 | .335 | | |
| Basketball encourages me to do new things | .140 | .877 | | |
| Basketball allows me to try a new way of acting around people | .161 | .818 | | |
| Basketball gets me thinking about who I am | .363 | .518 | | |

Factor Analysis II

Items Excluded Iteratively

1st Iteration: Basketball makes me feel good about myself

 2^{nd} Iteration: Basketball gives me an opportunity to learn more about who I am

Factor Analysis III

Component Matrix

| | Component |
|--|-----------|
| | 1 |
| Basketball increases my ability to maintain a healthy weight | .872 |
| Basketball makes me feel good about my body | .800 |
| Basketball increases my desire to stay physically active after high school | .748 |
| Basketball increases my knowledge of healthy eating | .678 |
| I have access to a workout facility because of basketball. | .647 |
| Basketball increases my desire to eat healthy foods | .602 |

Items Excluded Iteratively

All Items retained.

APPENDIX J

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS Educational Benefits (EB)

Factor Analysis I

Component Matrix

| | Component |
|--|-----------|
| | 1 |
| Basketball provides me an opportunity to pursue career in sport | .887 |
| Basketball opens up job or career opportunities | .873 |
| Basketball helps me build networks with people who can help me think about a career path | .830 |
| Basketball helps me network with professionals in the workforce | .818 |

Items Excluded Iteratively

All Items retained.

Factor Analysis II

Component Matrix

| | Component |
|--|-----------|
| | 1 |
| These questions asks how Basketball helps prepare me for college | .883 |
| Basketball gives me exposure to college campuses | .839 |
| Basketball makes me want to go to College | .777 |
| Basketball gives me access to Academic Scholarships | .750 |
| Basketball makes Athletic Scholarships accessible to me | .734 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Items Excluded Iteratively

All Items retained.

FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS Educational Benefits (EB) Continued

Factor Analysis III

| | Component |
|--|-----------|
| | 1 |
| I have access to knowledgeable coaches in my high school basketball program | .904 |
| My high school basketball program increases my understanding of basketball | .875 |
| I have opportunities to compete with athletes at my level or better (e.g., tournament play, exhibition games) in my high school basketball program | .832 |
| My high school basketball program increases my motor skills (e.g., hand eye coordination) | .748 |
| My high school basketball program helps me develop my position specific skills | .748 |
| I get mentoring from experienced athletes in my high school basketball program | .519 |

Component Matrix

Items Excluded Iteratively

All Items retained.

Factor Analysis III

| | Com | ponent |
|--|------|--------|
| | 1 | 2 |
| Basketball increases my desire to stay in school | .814 | .289 |
| Basketball gives me the ability to handle academic pressure (e.g., get assignments done on time, study for multiple courses) | .797 | .200 |
| Basketball motivates me to improve my GPA | .796 | .157 |
| Basketball keeps me from getting in trouble at school | .721 | .326 |
| Basketball motivates me to come to school each day | .626 | .087 |
| My coaches provide tutors to help me with my homework | .090 | .861 |
| My coaches provide structured time for me to get my homework done | .139 | .851 |
| My team and coaches recognize me for my academic achievement | .380 | .673 |
| Basketball gives me knowledge of how to apply to college | .406 | .544 |

Rotated Component Matrix

Items Excluded Iteratively

Iteration: My team/coaches hold me accountable for my GPA.

Benefits of High School Basketball Survey

Greetings High School Basketball Player! Please answer the following questions about possible benefits that basketball has provided YOU. There are no right or wrong answers. Just tell us your opinion. **PLEASE COMPLETE THE FRONT AND THE BACK**. Thanks!

| | | | | ts. If basketball keeps S ME from getting this | | ing this | | |
|--|----------------------|----------|----------------------|---|-------------------|----------|----------------|---|
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball HINDERS me from getting this benefit. |
| Basketball helps me to solve problems | • | o | O | 0 | О | О | o | o |
| Basketball helps me to control my emotions | o | o | o | 0 | о | o | o | 0 |
| Basketball helps me to be dependable | o | o | o | o | О | о | o | 0 |
| Basketball helps me to make a positive difference in other people's lives | 0 | о | o | O | 0 | 0 | о | o |
| Basketball helps me focus on my schoolwork | o | o | o | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | 0 |
| Basketball makes me expect more from myself | o | o | O | 0 | о | 0 | o | 0 |
| Basketball improves my communication skills | o | o | o | o | о | о | o | 0 |
| Basketball improves my ability to think clearly | о | o | O | O | о | о | o | 0 |
| Basketball improves my critical thinking skills (e.g., ability to make good decisions based on the information given) | 0 | Э | o | o | 0 | 0 | О | 0 |
| Basketball helps me understand the challenges of being a leader | o | o | o | 0 | 0 | 0 | o | 0 |
| Basketball helps me to be more open-minded (I can relate better to the needs/feelings of others) | 0 | о | O | O | o | 0 | О | o |
| Basketball helps me learn that I am responsible for how my actions affect others (Accountability) | 0 | Э | O | o | o | 0 | O | 0 |
| Basketball helps me to be patient with others | o | o | o | 0 | о | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | (PLEASE FI | LIP OVER. Thank you | (!ג | | | |

| How much do you agree that Basketball gives you this benefit? REMEMBER: The last column asks if Basketball HINDERS YOU from getting this benefit. | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-------|----------------|--|
| | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree | Basketball HINDERS ME from getting this benefit. |
| Basketball helps me to work well with others | o | o | o | o | О | О | o | 0 |
| Basketball increase my desire to stay in school | о | о | О | о | О | О | o | 0 |
| Basketball motivates me to improve my GPA | 0 | о | О | о | О | О | o | 0 |
| Basketball gives me the ability to handle academic pressure (e.g., get assignments done on time, study for multiple course) | o | 0 | o | o | o | 0 | O | o |
| Basketball keeps me from getting in trouble at school | 0 | о | о | о | О | О | о | 0 |
| Basketball motivates me to come to school each day | 0 | О | О | о | О | О | o | 0 |
| My coach gives me knowledge of how to apply to college | 0 | о | о | о | О | О | о | 0 |
| Basketball provides me with a sense of school pride | o | о | о | O | О | О | o | • |
| Basketball provides me with leadership opportunities in the school | о | o | O | o | 0 | O | o | 0 |
| My basketball team provides me with leadership opportunities | o | о | 0 | o | O | о | 0 | 0 |

Background Questions

What is your gender?

 \mathbf{O} Female

0 Male

What grade are you in?

- Ο 9th grade
- 0 10th grade
- 11th grade 12th grade 0
- 0

What Division are you in?1ADI1ADII2A3A 4A 5A What is your race/ethnicity?

0 0 Asian/ Asian- American Black/ African/ African- American

0 Hispanic/Latino

0 White/ Caucasian/ European American

 ${f O}$ If your race/ethnicity is not listed, please write it below

(PLEASE FLIP OVER. Thank you!)

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Vita

Joyce O. Olushola graduated with Distinguish Honors from Elkins High School in Missouri City, TX. She attended The University of Florida as a National Achievement Scholar and participated in the Cycle of Success Mentoring, Minority Ambassadors, Honors Program, and McNair Scholars Program. In the McNair program, she completed her first research project investigating the effects of sport participation on the social and academic adaptability of college freshman with a focus on social risk factors and successful methods of coping.

During her tenure at UF, Joyce served in numerous capacities including Resident Assistant, Freshman Orientation Leader, Student Senator, and National Board of Director for SISTUHS, Incorporated. In her field, she worked with the athletic training program for the Gator Football team as well as local high school football programs, the student sport medicine clinic in addition to the university's track team, gymnastics, and women's basketball. Joyce also performed as a Gator Greeter for Men's Basketball, a practicum student for the Stephen C. O' Connell Center and an intern for the Gainesville Sport Organizing Committee (now the Gainesville Sport Commission). In 2006, Joyce was a part of the inaugural class of Sport Management majors at the University of Florida and graduated with minors in Business Administration and Health Science Education. She was also recognized for her contributions to the campus and community by being selected for Who's Who Among American College and University Students, President's Recognition of Outstanding Students, National Residence Hall Honorary, Savant UF, Florida Blue Key, Beta Eta Sigma (Black Honor Society), the Charles McPhilomy Scholarship for Excellence in Sport, Dean's List and Honorable Mention for Outstanding Leadership for Female Graduating Senior.

Upon graduation Joyce worked for the Houston Rockets and Comets before matriculating into the Master's of Education in Sport and Recreation Administration at Temple University as a Future Faculty Fellow under the advisement of Dr. Michael Jackson. While at Temple, Joyce served as the Vice President of Operations for the 501 Corporation, a mentor in the Dawn Staley Foundation, and a team leader in the City Year Young Heroes program. She also worked in various capacities for the Black Women in Sport Foundation including Administrative Intern, Coach/Mentor, and Program Facilitator for the Safety Nets Program. In completion of her requirements for her Master's she completed a project examining the best practices of community based programs for African-Americans. Joyce would graduate in 2008 as a member of Golden Key Honour Society and with the Dean's Certificate of Excellence.

Joyce matriculated into the Kinesiology- Sport Management doctoral program the University of Texas at Austin in the Fall 2008 under the advisement of Dr. B.C. Green and Dr. M. A. Dixon. She taught as a Teaching Assistant for four years and was honored with the Alderson Teaching Excellence award three times. She

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