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Welcome to the Journal of Amateur Sport

I am quite excited to release our first Special Issue of the Journal of Amateur Sport (JAS). Our guest editors, Drs. Joshua Newman (Florida State University) and Kyle Bunds (North Carolina State University) did an exceptional job of creating a space where a wide-range of viewpoints on the political economy of amateur sport can be shared. I would also like to commend all the authors who have their work included in the following pages. The quality of the writing and theory advancement speaks to the quality of the call and editing from Drs. Newman and Bunds and I believe the ideas in this issue will have an impact on, and be cited in, a number of fields. I hope you will enjoy reading this issue as much as I have.

Jordan Bass, Ph.D., University of Kansas
Co-Editor and Founder of JAS

Mission and Purpose

The overarching mission of the Journal of Amateur Sport (JAS) is to provide scholars an outlet in which to share scholarship relevant to the amateur sports realm. We define amateur sport as those who participate and govern at the youth, recreational, community, international, and intercollegiate level. We acknowledge the tenuous debate surrounding the amateurism of intercollegiate athletics, thus at this time we welcome examinations that are focused on the less commercialized avenues of college sport participation and governance (especially NCAA Division II, III, and other less publicized governing bodies and settings). Submissions from all disciplines are encouraged, including sociology, communication, and organizational behavior. Similarly, we welcome a wide array of methodological and structural approaches, including conceptual frameworks, narratives, surveys, interviews, and ethnographies.

As an open-access journal, submissions should be of interest to researchers and practitioners alike. In all, the content published in JAS should advance the collective understanding of the participants, coaches, administrators, and/or institutional structures that comprise amateur sports worldwide. We challenge authors to submit

creative and nontraditional manuscripts that are still high-quality in nature. Authors are encouraged to email the editors before submitting if they are unsure if their manuscript is a proper fit within JAS.

Call for Papers

Thank you for considering the Journal of Amateur Sport (JAS) for your scholarly work. Please follow the guidelines laid out below when submitting your manuscript to JAS. Visit http://www.jamsport.org and click "Submit Now" to begin the submission process. To aid in the double-blind review process, please include three separate files: (1) a title page with corresponding author information, (2) an abstract of no more than 500 words with no identifying information, and (3) the full manuscript with no identifying information. The manuscript should not have been simultaneously submitted for publication or been published previously. Manuscripts should follow the current *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* with exception to the elements noted below. The document must be double-spaced, in Garamond font, size 14, and utilize one inch margins throughout. Maximum length, including references and figures, is 50 pages. Be sure to include a running header, page numbers, and footnotes (when appropriate). Authors are responsible for receiving permission to reproduce copyrighted material before submitting their manuscript for publication.

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Special Issue Foreword
On the Political Economy of Amateur Athletics

Joshua Newman[1] Kyle Bunds[2]

Special Issue Co-Editors
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Joshua Newman (Ph.D., Maryland) is Director of the Center for Sport, Health, and Equitable Development and Associate Professor of Sport, Media, and Cultural Studies at Florida State University. He is also Associate Chair and Director of Doctoral Studies in the Department of Sport Management. He has published two books and over 60 articles and chapters on issues related to social inequalities, cultural (bio)politics, and political economics and ecologies of sport and physical activity. His most recent book, Sport, Spectacle, and NASCAR Nation (Palgrave, with M. Giardina) was awarded NASSS's Outstanding Book for 2012 and was named as a CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title in 2013. His work has been published in top international journals such as the Sociology of Sport Journal, Body & Society, Qualitative Inquiry, and the Journal of Sport & Social Issues.
Kyle S. Bunds (Ph.D., Florida State) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism Management at North Carolina State University, where his research and teaching examines the connection between sport and the environment generally, and sport, water, and air pollution more specifically. His work, predominately grounded in political economic theory, has been published in numerous academic journals, such as Sport Management Review; European Sport Marketing Quarterly; Sport in Society; Critical Studies in Media Communication; Communication, Culture, & Critique; Cultural Studies-Critical Methodologies; and Water Resources: IMPACT. In addition to his guest editorship with JAS, he is currently guest editing a forthcoming special issue on sport, physical culture, and the environment in the Sociology of Sport Journal.

In its most artless definition, *political economy* refers to the study of inter- and intra-state transaction—concerned in large part with the dialectics of state governance and the production/consumption functions therein. Many of us, with varying degrees of deliberation, have read the works of forerunning political economists such as Adam Smith (c. 1723-1790), David Ricardo (c. 1772-1823), Thomas Malthus (c. 1766-1834), John Stuart Mill (c. 1806-1873), Karl Marx (c. 1818-1883), and Thorstein Veblen (c. 1857-1929). These classic political economists and their contemporaries shared a concern for the extent to which land, labor, income, capital, and the population derived value from, and maintained contingency with, state polity. While each diverged from the others in how to best organize the State in relation to markets and exchange activities (and vice versa) so as to optimize the citizenry's well-being, these scholars and their contemporaries laid the foundations for the long-standing field of inquiry fixed on exploring how various national political systems (democracy, monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, etc.), markets, and political and economic behavior could bring about national prosperity, maximize individual freedom, or raise collective utility.

From an historical perspective, the timing of the modern political economy project makes sense: the Peace of Westphalia (c. 1648) brought national self-determination to many nation-states in Europe (and beyond). With this newfound sovereignty, nation-states formed various governance and political systems aimed at optimizing national economic growth, population growth, and geopolitical positionality. As the field developed and evolved—and certainly in the period following the publication of Alfred Marshall's *Principles of Economics* (c. 1890) through to the rise of a global *market doxa* that would come to hold sway over most of the developed world a century later—its practitioners largely focused on the *economics* in political economy; that is, economic activity in the national and global environment. This economic structure is evident in the neoclassical economic theories first envisaged by Austrian School theorists such as Ludwig von Mises and Freidrich von Hayek and further fleshed out in the theories of Chicago School economists such as Milton Friedman and the policies informed by those theories and as put into practice by Ronald Reagan in the United States, Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom, Augusto Pinochet in Chile, and Paul Keating and Roger Douglas in Australasia (to name but a few).

This ever-evolving political economy has, of course, brought about important initiatives and changes in public policy. This political economy has helped curb or abet intensive/extensive national growth, inflation and stagnation, multi-scalar economic development, population growth, national (un)employment, and per capita income. Political economists now draw

upon advanced analytics to explicate a number of politico-market dynamics, from the economics of plutocracy to the effects of cronyism; from demographic and social economics to how policy affects economic behavior among national constituents. Many self-described political economists of the contemporary academy utilize mathematical models (e.g. John von Neumann's game theory) and "big data" representing market activity and population health to analyze or predict patterns of income or wealth distribution, assess modes of accumulation, or to forecast everything from rents to gross domestic product. Suffice it to say, political economy has been and continues to be broad in its scope and definition, in its object(s) of analysis and the tools by which those objects are analyzed. More concretely and to the point, though, political economy is perhaps as topical—nay, critical—as ever before.

Contributors to this special issue of the *Journal of Amateur Sport* have been charged with exploring political economy's breadth and heuristic potential—toward assembling a more complex reading of the civic, transactional, and commercial aspects of contemporary amateur athletics. This special issue is important, we believe, as the political economic dimensions of industrialized sport tend to be implied or overlooked in most sport business research - namely that in the interrelated fields of sport management, sport marketing, sport for development, and to some extent even sport economics. Indeed, it is quite rare to find sponsorship, sales, or marketing scholars of sport delving into how the congruence of liberal democracy and supply-side economic *praxes* influence the act of consumption; or, to discovery in the literature deep explication on the social characteristics of the sport-based commodity-form; or, to run across a study proffering an analysis on the valorization of surplus athletic labor (to name but a few examples). Yet, these and many other features of the ongoing and multifarious political economy project are critical in framing how we buy, produce, sell, capitalize upon, and find ourselves alienated from or exploited by commercial sport. Equally important, perhaps more so, are the banal assumptions scholars often make about sport's givenness to commercialization and commodification. That is, why is it that sporting activities and the consumers and athletes involved in those activities are assumedly seeking to exchange or produce value? Is sport only always commercial? For some, yes. And for others, no.

Quite simply, there is much ground still yet to be covered in the political economic analysis of sport. In this forum, we seek to open some new doors (and some old ones), and to cover some of this ground by turning the contributors' collective gaze upon amateur sport and the athletes who play it. The common endeavor shared by each contribution to this special issue (from an admixture of perspectives) is the pursuit of new linkages between sport-based practice,

performance, object, or action and the broader political economic forces operating upon those sporting locals. As you will see, we cover quite a bit of ground, canvassing community-level sport to school based sport to intercollegiate athletics. The contributors carefully link broader systems of accumulation and governance to problems ranging from inequality of access to sport, disparities in sport-based human capital, the enterprise of intercollegiate athletics, and other important and timely topics. Our authors engage a cacophony of interdisciplinary approaches (e.g. economics, social geography, political philosophy, neoclassical [family] economics, and political ecology) and utilize a broad range of techniques (e.g. geographic information systems, meta-theory, surveys, and interviews) in their efforts to problematize both amateur sport/athletics and its effects.

Before outlining the remainder of the special issue's contents, we thought it might be a good idea to set the stage, so to speak. To do this, we outline some key points of contradiction that frame our dissonant collection. We do so not to suggest that this lack of consistency in political economic thought in general, or our analyses of sport in particular, are compromised by a lack of consensus, but rather to highlight how something as complex as amateur sport needs multiple perspectives and fluid approximations if we are to get somewhere better in our understanding of the intersectional politics and economies of contemporary sport.

Political Economy of/as Contradiction

Since its earliest days, political economy has been burdened by contradiction. A brief survey of some of the field's key terms reveals political economy's oxymoronic tendencies. Controlled growth. Creative destruction. Labor power. Market states. Free trade. These and other key constructs by virtue of their very conjunction bring to *praxis* contradictions. Take, for instance, controlling growth: in an age of entrepreneurialism such as that which we currently find ourselves living in, how does the state or even the CEO plan for and moderate growth? How can those in charge of a geopolitical entity or transnational corporation predict market activity, regulate accumulation, or maintain a steady-state of increased returns given the unpredictable nature of innovation (arguably the key features of growth)? Or take Schumpeter's notion of creative destruction, whereby accumulation in capitalist economies (the delta function of capital) presupposes the annihilation of both wealth and property. How can we be making and selling stuff, building wealth through exchange, only to produce destruction? These and other political economic concepts reveal the complexity that comes with seeking to examine governed *potenza* (potency) and freedom. By virtue of innumerable axes of association by which a given political economic order is established (e.g. labor and

capital, the public and the private, the one and the many, freedom and government), the questions of political economy are always already burdened by internal incongruities. When scholars set out to theoretically or empirically advance our understanding of how money converts into commodities, or how assets are given value in an exchange market and yet held privately, or understand the moment at which work in assigned value, things tend to get messy.

Of course, most branches of the social sciences are replete with contradictions; most are messy. However, political economy presents for the scholar an interesting series of contradictory relations. For our purposes—those being the analysis of the political and economic intersectionalities of and upon the athletic body in non-professional and pseudo-non-professional contexts—we would like to briefly outline a few such contradictions and discuss how they shape and give life to our agonistic project. We seek not to provide answers to the quandaries that sport introduces to the contemporary political economist, but rather to open new doors to the messy metaphysical terrain we now find ourselves seeking to traverse. We start by calling into question how our field tends to render those who are to be governed, and then turn to questioning how we make sense of that which is to be exchanged.

The (Sporting) Individual

First consider the individual athlete. Here we have the agent of human action (in von Mises terms), a rational (if bounded) actor who has come into being (as athlete) through a series of choices—to use the body to play, to train, to give oneself and one's time over to the craft or to the team, and so on. This individual, from the neoclassical perspective, will have over time accumulated the physical or human capital necessary to capitalize upon her investment. Yet she has little to no control over the labor market she places her athletic body and her labor power within; no ability to shape demand nor to structure the cultural politics or externalities that might add value to or diminish the value of her labor. As such, the individual athlete is subjugated to collective configurations—to society and/or to the market. But what are these collective configurations if not amalgamations of human action? Further still, ontologically speaking, how does any rational action—say the choice to pick up a basketball instead of a football—come into being without society, without the meanings, values, and significance swirling about the social world and associated with a given choice, action, or experience? Without the representation of the object, the leather sphere itself, or the socio-cultural significance placed upon each over time, there is no choice to be made.

All this leads to the question of determinism. The structural Marxists among us will likely point to base-superstructure forces to explain much of this. They will explain how systems of athletic labor and

the mode of (social) production produces the habitus fields upon which the individual makes choices, usually determining life chances and stratifying the opportunities of the individual athlete. The methodological individualists, by contrast, would inevitably point out the fact that humans are never identical in their taste, practices, or preferences—we are a productive engine of multiplicity. As such, the uptake of basketball represents an act of individual free will.

What is at stake here? If we as scholars of sporting praxis assume that the individual basketball player *becomes* a basketball player through choices, absent much consideration of the constraints and boundaries that might be acting upon rational action, then we might look to individualize our approach to promoting sport participation. We would then look into the psyche of the individual to mark out patterns of disposition, preference, or attitude that are predisposed to be managed, marketed to, coached, or developed. Conversely, if we take a structuralist approach to understanding the basketball player in question, we might instead look to the extend to which capitalism (and its ancillary labor and social class politics), the state, has actively repressed the individual or limited her ability to pursue sporting/social activities outside of basketball. We would look at the uneven distribution of power in establishing the systems by which the individual chooses what to play, where to play, and/or if play is even an option.

The (Sporting) Masses

Further still, continental political philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze or Roberto Esposito might look at something like mass sport—both mass participation sport and mass spectator sport—and find in the articulations of *the one* and *the many* a series of unexpected political economic relationships under-theorized in the sport research. In the extensive research on "identity" emanating from the sport marketing sub-discipline, for example, there is a noticeable gap in how we might best conceptualize the political and economic conditions upon which the individual forges his sporting identity. Is it merely the case that identity is something one builds, buys, or connects with? Does identity come by way of purchase (of a jersey representation a team with which one affiliates) or signification (waving a national flag, adorning the Nike swoosh)? Or is identity performed in rhythm with the social outputs of the biological masses? Is identity always contingent on social location, social constructedness of the author and the reader of its discursive projection? Can identities and the formation thereof be managed? The point here being: how can we as scholars chart a political economy of sport-based identities? What role does the nation-state play in forging the conditions of identity formation (and identification)? Does identity come to us and work through us in markets (and only in markets)? Are they inscribed onto our athletic or athlete-

consuming bodies? Is identity a matter of population? If so, could the political economies of Georges Bataille or Paolo Virno provide new insights? All this is left largely unstated in the sport marketing literature.

Also left under-theorized in the sport management literatures are the complex interrelationships that come with bringing sport participants or consumers together in common spaces. While it is clear that once congregated—as participants in Kim Il-sung Square in Pyongyang or as consumer-spectators in Neyland Stadium in Tennessee—the sporting masses produce cultural experiences, commercial activity, and surplus value, what is less clear is how such spatial and corporeal organization(s) of the masses serves particular political economic interests and ends. Moreover, in connecting the politics of identity and the politics of spatial distribution, to what extent is a member of a given sport community indebted to the membership at large (or to the intermediaries who brought the community into being)? If the intercollegiate athletics supporter highly identifies with the university—to the point where she sees herself in and as part of the institution—then to what does she owe the public (that is served by the university)? The state (that authorized and supports the university)?

The Market and the State

In this issue, contributors also look to more established approaches to exploring sport's capacity for promoting individual freedom, institutional structures, and the twin arcs of accumulation and governance. Such established approaches have tended to look at sport market's unique qualities—from the supply and demand of athletic labor and sport-based merchandise to the exceptional post-Sherman Act cartel structure to intercollegiate and franchise sport organizations' extraordinary monopsony positions in acquiring labor and fixed capital (stadia). Sport has an unparalleled place in industrial economic history for its intermediaries' ability to avoid state regulation and in many cases juridical process. However, sport is also one of the most regulation-intensive sectors of the global economy. Its games are foisted upon volumes of codes and rules—from the play on the field to the administration of the events to the governance over commercial activity in and around the stadium. Its workforce it subject to intensive surveillance, biological, chemical, and gender testing, and intensified training regiments. Its salary structures are artificial and closed. In this sense, there is nothing free about the sport market. Indeed, the contradictory (and inseparable) articulation of politics and economics lies at the core of contemporary athletics. Here we have the sporting body—running, jumping, and moving as it does—being simultaneously pushed and pulled by state and market. It is a body that is constrained by training, technology, ideology, and polity just as it is set free through ludic motility.

Amateur Athletics as Contradiction

Since we are concerning ourselves with contradictions, it might now make sense to turn our attention to the focus of this special issue: amateurism. Concerned by the rise of professionalism in sport, and in an attempt to protect the sanctity of amateurism, the famous author and early bicycling aficionado G. Lacy Hillier proclaimed in 1892, "Sport is amusement solely…The essence of sport is relaxation…The sportsman (sic), then, is the man who has an amusement which may cost him something, but which must not bring him in anything, for an amusement which brings him in anything is not a sport but a business" (as cited in Allison, 2001, p. vii). In the historical present, however, it has become quite clear that sport is now a deeply privatized and commercialized feature of most societies.

Considering the widespread development of both mass participant and mass spectator sport over the course of the last 150 years, historians, sociologists, economists, legal scholars, and behavioral scientists have in recent decades dedicated considerable effort to the study of how political forces and economic logics have infiltrated, and in some ways been remediated by, the function of amateurism within sport.

This coupling of sport and business has impacted the structure of amateur sport organizations as well as the ethic of amateurism more generally. Issues such as a) the professionalization of the Olympic Games, b) the rights of intercollegiate student-athletes to gain remuneration through their economically-productive sporting practices, and c) the hyper-commodification of youth sports feature largely in many a nations' public discourse. It has been argued that amateurism serves a double function: on the supply side, amateurism produces a system of governance that suppresses wage labor (in relation to market value) and exacerbates income inequality (allowing those with capital to produce incomes at rates that exceed those producing income through labor); and on the demand side, the structure of amateur sport allows for the uneven allocation of public resources dedicated to fostering community development and health through sport and physical activity.

The Special Issue: Surfaces, Bodies, Institutions, and Markets

Given the current environment, there is a need for scholarly research and discussion on the political economy of amateur sport in the contemporary (global) market society. In what remains of this issue, we seek to get closer to answering questions that have longed haunted the sport studies disciplines, questions such as:

Is the athlete a laborer or a commodity?
Is the athlete a free or rational actor?
Is it more beneficial for the state or the private sector to act as the primary provider of sport and recreation?

Are historically marginalized groups (based on race, gender, ability, sexuality, or socio-economic status)

Does commercial sport exacerbate, or alleviate, income inequality?

Does the reallocation of public resources to catalyze private sector sport lead to positive economic development?

In this issue our contributors canvass multiple sites and scales of amateurism to further problematize the political economics of the contemporary sporting condition. Given the breadth of the topic at hand, it is not surprising to note that there are a number of different approaches taken by the authors in this special issue. However, the general tenor of each ranges from community level analyses to K-12 school based inquiry to college athletics. Thus, we organized the articles from the larger perspective of community sports first, then move on to the still broad but more focused, before ending with four articles focusing on college athletics.

In the first two articles, Lee ("Economic and Strategic Management View toward Understanding Outsourcing in Amateur Sport") and Kim, Coutts, Newman, Brandon-Lai, and Kim ("Social Geographies at Play: Mapping the Spatial Politics of Community-Based Youth Sport Participation") focus on the political economic framings of sport at the community level. Lee's work focuses on understand the outsourcing of youth sport programs by city-owned recreation centers. Specifically, he analyzes three different sites in order to examine the motivation of outsourcing and what risks are involved with outsourcing youth sport programs. In so doing, he sheds light on a business and sport industry-wide tactic that has seemingly infiltrated youth sport programming with real practical and theoretical implications.

Kim and colleagues' article complements Lee's utilization of youth sport programs by mapping travel access to youth sport programs along lines of historical socio-economic and racial segregation and examined participants travel distances. Utilizing archival data from the Parks, Recreation, and Neighborhood Affairs Department in a mid-sized Southeastern United States city, Kim et al. offer an assessment of five years worth of demographic and GIS visualization data to show differences in travel and accessibility to sport programs among different racial and socio-economic demographics. These two articles offer an introduction to how the structures of amateur sport act upon, through, and within dynamics of sport participation from a city-wide standpoint.

While Kim and colleagues offer a nice example of the impact that systemic structure holds on accessibility of youth sport programs, Jones, Bunds, Carlton, Edwards, and Bocarro ("The Salience of Sport in Cross-Race Friendship Selection") move the special issue toward a school based examination. In their analysis on the impact of sport in cross-race friendships, Jones and colleagues seek to understand the

impact participating in sport has on one's friendships with individuals of a different race. Sport programs claim to offer an opportunity for individuals in different races and from different backgrounds to be exposed to different cultures, yet Jones et al. suggest this is only the case in certain situations.

Equal access to sporting opportunities is a central underlying issue in the first three articles of the special issue and is the main thrust behind Buchanan, Odenheimer, and Prewitt-White's examination of equal access to sporting opportunities in United States public schools ("An Examination of Equal Access in Athletic Programs Throughout Public High Schools in the United States"). Specifically, Buchanan and colleagues note that most opportunities for individuals in public schools are for those who compete in highly competitive sport activities. The authors appropriately question how the focus on highly competitive sports impacts opportunities for participation, especially when considering equal access across genders.

All of the first four articles comprising the first two sections on 1. Community sport and 2. Public school sport, examine the possibility that sport has not been carefully scrutinized in terms of its formation and function. That is, the structures in place have been exclusive in parts, and examinations of structures and the impact of structures on individual choice, freedoms, and action have been incomplete at best. Fort ("College Athletics Spending: Principals and Agents v. Arms Race") leads us into our third and final section detailing the political economics of amateurism in college athletics by articulating that previous studies examining athletic department spending by utilizing the arms race explanation have been incomplete at best and naïve at worst. Fort, therefore, utilizes a bevy of research to suggest that researchers should instead use a principal-agent explanation that depends on actual observed budgetary data to examine college athletics expenditure patterns.

The profoundly grounded insights of Fort and his focus on athletic administrators and budgets lend way to the theoretical musings of Otto ("Ideological Perspectives on 'Athlete-Centered' Reform) who considers the role of the student-athlete in the financially driven big market of college athletics. Otto deeply interrogates the classical political philosophers in questioning how the likes of Marx and Engels, John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mills, and John Rawls can inform college athlete driven reform. In an era where the individual freedoms and liberties of athletes are questions and brought to the forefront through events such as the attempted unionization of student-athletes at Northwestern University, this timely article helps to theoretically frame the arguments of the current-era.

Building upon Otto's deeply theoretical submission, Marsh, Peterson, and Osborn ("Sport Discontinuation: A Comparison of Stated Goals to Actual Outcomes") bring

both the financial aspects and reform to the forefront through examination of college athletics programs that had cut at least one sport from their athletic department sport offering. The authors found that athletics departments offered three main reasons for cutting programs, reducing athletic spending, reallocating resources, and Title IX compliance. However, the authors found that the explained reasons for discontinuing a sport do night always fit with the actual processes and outcomes of sport elimination.

Finally, Horner, Ternes, and McLeod ("Not Going Pro: On Seeking Lasting Returns from College Sports") build rather serendipitously upon the previous articles by offering an empirical examination into the lived experiences of graduated, former collegiate student-athletes in order to understand perceived "returns" athletes received through their student-athlete "investments." This article very articulately utilizes Becker's discussion of human capital to examine athlete experience and places the athlete within the expanding neoliberal university understanding between students and student-athlete as consumers.

In this era of uncertainty for amateur athletics through cuts in public spending on athletic opportunity and privatization of amateur sport, these eight articles offer crucial insight into the workings of amateur athletics across a number of paradigmatic approaches and levels of amateurism. It is our hope that the readership will be exposed to a diverse array of understandings of amateur athletics and become invested contributors to ensuring a just structure for equal access and critical analysis of amateur sport writ large.

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Economic View and Strategic Management View toward Understanding Outsourcing in Amateur Sport

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Outsourcing as a strategic business decision has been a prevalent business practice in the sport industry, and as a result has been receiving increasing academic attention by scholars in sport management. In many cases, the academic attention has been focused on the multi-billion dollar hyper-commercialized sport industry, like professional and intercollegiate sport in the United States. However, outsourcing has infiltrated the world of amateur sport, for instance youth sports programs (YSP), as well. In spite of a growing use of outsourcing as a viable business strategy within a community based sport setting, efforts to understand outsourcing in amateur sport have so far gone unheeded in academia. Accordingly, this study examined outsourcing YSP by city-owned recreation centers (CORC). The motivation of outsourcing and the risk of outsourcing were analyzed using a multiple case study approach. The results of this study argue that combination of both economic and strategic management views are effective ways to understand outsourcing strategies in an amateur sport setting. The findings of this study provide both theoretical and practical implications. Furthermore, to contribute to the body of literature, the findings of this study are compared with previous sport management outsourcing literature to provide a comprehensive understanding of outsourcing.

Historically, youth sport in America has been a popular form of activity (Coakley, 1979), and the youth sport participation for some sports is consistently increasing. Many major sports governing bodies have started to implement and run very attractive initiatives designed to promote youth sports participation across the country (e.g., Gray, 2015; Missal, 2015; Thomas, 2015). This trend by the major sports governing bodies presents a serious competition to many sport organizations like city-owned recreation centers (CORC), because they also sell

youth sports programs. Also, CORC are facing huge challenges to be financially sustainable against major sports governing bodies that have better financial, physical, human, and informational resources than CORC. Additionally, many CORC have a relatively small number of full time employees and face a budgetary constraint as the financial support from cities is generally decreasing. As a result, many CORC are forced to adapt in a new and challenging market place. One of the notable changes is outsourcing YSP to independent contractors (Park and Recreation National Database Report, 2014). The National Alliance for Youth Sports (2012) also noticed recent trend addressing that "In recent years there has been a huge shift in youth sports with more and more municipalities outsourcing programs to independent volunteer-led organizations."

While a growing number of the cities are employing outsourcing strategies for their YSP, there has been no academic effort to understand outsourcing in terms of motivation, risks, and its mitigation strategies. Thus, given the paucity of investigation toward outsourcing YSP to better understand current amateur sport management, this study seeks to investigate why CORC outsource their YSP to a third party, and what outsourcing risks they have and how they mitigate those risks.

Such investigation is necessary for several reasons. First, outsourcing as a subject matter has been examined frequently in the context of sport management. However, a majority of published studies focused on a highly commercialized professional (Burden & Li, 2009; Lee, 2010; Lee & Lee, 2011) or an intercollegiate sport setting (Bouchert, 2010; Burden & Li, 2005; 2003; Burden, Li, Masiu, & Savini, 2006; Lee & Walsh, 2011; Li & Burden, 2004; 2002; Walker, Sartore, & Taylor, 2009; Zullo, 2013a; 2013b), which can be characterized by commodification, commercialization, and marketization. Scholars are belated to understand outsourcing in the context of YSP by CORC. It is believed that this study will contribute to the body of overall sport management literature in a unique way by focusing on the amateur sport context. Secondly, as Davis-Blake and Broschak (2009) argued, outsourcing is a complex, multi-dimensional, and heterogeneous practice depending on a wide range of variables affecting outsourcing success or failure. The outsourcing decision, as well as the operation, is much more complicated nowadays, so the traditional "make or buy decision" is gone. Academic efforts to understand outsourcing in areas where little exploration and theory exist will contribute to the body of sport management and outsourcing literature. Also, to contribute to the body of literature, the findings of this study are compared with previous sport management outsourcing literature to provide a comprehensive understanding of outsourcing.

Literature Review

This study has three research questions that are developed by previous literature: What motivates the outsourcing of YSP?; What are the outsourcing risks to YSP?; And, what are the risk mitigation strategies used by YSP?

Outsourcing Motivation/Risks

Outsourcing as a strategic business decision has been used globally for many years across many different industries, and according to the Statista (2013), in 2013 the market size of the outsourced service was close to 83 billion dollars. Busi (2008) described outsourcing as a business strategy by an organization that contracts out one of its operations to an external and independent third party. For years, in academic literature such as information system, a vast amount of research from a number of different academic fields has been accumulated to better understand outsourcing.

Academic focus of outsourcing studies has become more diverse, and scholars have discussed different aspects of outsourcing (see Lacity, Solomon, Yan, & Willcocks, 2011) such as transaction attributes (e.g., process complexity, risk, transaction costs, etc.), client firms (e.g., client size or age, prior firm performance, etc.), relational governance (communication, relationship quality, etc.), and outsourcing decisions (e.g., make or buy, multi-sourcing, etc.). Among these, outsourcing motivation and outsourcing risks are two of the most studied topics in literature (see Lacity et al., 2011). Regarding outsourcing motivation, several motivations have been identified such as cost reduction, focus on core activities, access to the resources/skills, performance improvement, innovation, and development of employees (see Lacity et al., 2011). There are two major outsourcing motivations: cost-driven and performance-driven outsourcing (Kremic, Tukel, & Rom, 2006). Cost-driven outsourcing focuses on a cost reduction perspective. Minimization of indirect costs, such as fewer employees, is a primary example. Performance-driven outsourcing is an approach from a quality improvement point of view, and many organizations expect access to expertise/resources (e.g., Baldwing, Irani, & Love 2001; Elmuti & Kathawala, 2000; Kakabadse & Kakabadse, 2000; Kumar & Eickhoff, 2006; Mukherji & Ramachandran, 2007) and expect professional development, like knowledge acquisition, through outsourcing (e.g., Barthélemy & Quélin, 2006; Zach & Singh, 2010). However, more often than not, a combination of these two motivations seems more common for outsourcing motivation.

Despite the benefits outsourcing brings to the organization (Fill & Visser, 2000; Kremic et al., 2006), the outsourcing decision is not a panacea for all organizations as there are always risks associated with outsourcing. Previous outsourcing studies identified and discussed outsourcing risks and the necessary managerial actions to handle them (e.g.,

Aron, Clemons, & Reddi, 2005; Bahli & Rivard, 2003; Earl, 1996; Kremic et al., 2006; Willcocks, Lacity, & Kern, 1999). Some of the risks are inherent in that those risks are present in any business, such as a hidden cost like a search for a service provider or contract negotiation with a service provider, a potential loss of control/competence, changing environment, conflict of interest and relationship issue. Also, outsourcing may lead to distrust toward the service provider and diminish employee's commitment (Bhagwati, Panagariya, & Srinivasan, 2004). In addition, other types of risks related to various managerial risks include poor contract details, poor communication, and poor monitoring (see Kremic et al., 2006).

For a risk mitigation strategy, Key (1995) suggested a group of experts knowledgeable about not only outsourcing but its risks should manage a service provider's performance. In reality, outsourcing risks can occur in many different ways. One of the risks as a result of action by the service provider is called shrinking (Aron et al., 2005). It is the intentional under performance by the service provider while still claiming a full service fee, and it can stem from deliberate effort by individuals, untrained/inexperienced staff hiring, and under investment in resources by the service provider to get out of the existing contract or renew the existing contract (Aron et al., 2005; Earl, 1996). Shrinking will cause a significant and unexpected financial burden to the organization as they may have to manage the shrinking situations through a contract amendment, buyout, and so forth. Eventually, managerial risks incur hidden costs meaning that two different types of risks are very much affecting each other.

Economic View and Strategic Management View

There are several theoretical perspectives that discuss outsourcing and these theoretical perspectives have been proven effective to understand outsourcing. According to Cheon, Grover and Teng (1995), there are two major theoretical frameworks in outsourcing. The first one is an economic view based on transaction cost theory that emerged as a predominating theory to explain outsourcing. Economist Ronald Coase introduced the concept of transaction cost theory in the 1930s to discuss the cost, including time and effort incurred for any economic activity, in making any transaction in the market system (Coase, 1937). Then, it was developed further by Williamson in the 1970s. According to Williamson's view, any organization has two options for its economic activity; in-house performance or market mechanism like outsourcing. Either option has the cost involved such as production costs which consists of both direct and indirect cost to produce the good or service and other transaction costs needed for economic activity such as operational and contractual costs (Williamson, 1975; 1985). The main focus

of the organization's decision is controlling and minimizing transaction costs through an external market mechanism if available rather than internally within the organization (Coase, 1937; Williamson, 1975; 1985). In the modern business world, it is always important to keep the transaction costs minimal, and there have been many business strategies to achieve it. Outsourcing has been proven to be an effective business strategy so much so that many outsourcing studies have been guided by transaction cost theory to explain outsourcing motivation (see Bolumole, Frankel, & Naslund, 2007). Therefore, this framework explains that the organization tries to minimize the transaction costs and transfer the costs to the external third party should the costs arise (Williams, 1975; 1985).

While traditional outsourcing studies focused more on economics approaches, other aspects of organizational behavior started to be seriously examined (Silverman, 1999). The strategic management view utilizes a resource based theory to discuss how to formulate or implement outsourcing strategies for successful outsourcing outcomes (Cheon et al., 1995). The theory postulates that an organization is basically a set of resources and capabilities that are treated as strengths (Grant, 1991), and these resources and capabilities are important to create competitive advantages for any organization (Cheon et al., 1995). To discuss the resources, Grant (1992) categorized five different resources; some are tangible like financial and physical resources, and some are intangible such as human, technological, and reputation. The theory's underlying concept is that the organization can exploit the resources through agreement rather than extending the organizational boundaries (Silverman, 1999). With respect to outsourcing, any organizations lacking resources can choose options of purchases, strategic alliances, or outsourcing to make up for the resources and capabilities, and that is why this theory can be powerful to explain outsourcing (Grant, 1991). Similarly, any organizations performing below the expected or desired level, outsourcing can be a great business strategy to boost the effectiveness by taking advantage of the resources available externally (Teng, Cheon, & Grover, 1995). Whereas these two theoretical frameworks are different in terms of unit of analysis (transaction vs. resources/capabilities) and criterion (minimizing costs vs. creating value), they complement each other (Espino-Rodriguez & Padron-Robaina, 2006).

Sport Management Outsourcing Study

Outsourcing studies in the sport management field are not as prolific as general outsourcing literature, but the field has started to receive attention from the scholars. The topics include marketing management (e.g, Burden & Li, 2005; Lee & Walsh, 2011; Walker et al., 2009; Zullo, 2013a), sales management (e.g., Bouchert, 2010; Lee & Pinheiro, 2014; Zulloa, 2013b), and concession management (Lee & Lee,

2011). Sport management literature shows that performance-driven outsourcing in terms of revenue maximization and the focus on core competencies are the dominant primary outsourcing motivations. Burden and Li (2005) also showed the case of one Division I athletic department that outsources its marketing operations so they can instead focus on other activities. Recently, Lee and Walsh's (2011) findings from a SWOT and Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP) combined model demonstrated that a selected athletic department in a Division I program employed sport marketing outsourcing mainly because of performance-driven outsourcing motivation. They noted that revenue generation through sport marketing outsourcing is the most important for outsourcing decision making. Another influential outsourcing decision making factor they identified was the focus on core business. By outsourcing, the athletic department could and would focus more on some other activities such as fundraising, media relations, and facility operations. In their study, cost control was selected as an influential factor, but not as important as revenue generation or a focus on core activities. Lee and Lee (2011) also identified expertise that the service provider can bring is one of the major motivations of concession management outsourcing along with revenue generation and transfer risks. So while cost driven outsourcing was also identified as a motivation by some other studies (Lee & Lee, 2011; Lee & Pinheiro, 2014; Lee & Walsh, 2011), it appears that performance-driven outsourcing is the dominating motivation in the context of sport management outsourcing.

Similarly, sport management studies identified and discussed outsourcing risks. Not only were inherent outsourcing risks discussed previously (Bouchert, 2010; Burden & Li, 2005; Lee & Lee, 2011; Lee & Walsh, 2011), but managerial risks and how to mitigate them was also discussed in terms of communication (Walker et al., 2009) and performance monitoring (Lee & Pinheiro, 2014; Lee & Lee, 2011). Specifically, Walker et al. (2009) noted some potential downfalls to outsourced operations such as a degrading of service, loss of control by the client, service provider selection problem, and ineffective communication, and also argued that potentially, these risks may create an 'us against them' dichotomy. Overall, outsourcing risks in sport management studies are very consistent with general outsourcing studies, meaning that risks existing in outsourcing are quite universal.

Regarding the theoretical frameworks, strategic view appears to be a dominating theoretical perspective due to the fact that a majority of previous studies viewed outsourcing as a strategic opportunity to deliberately gain resources from the service providers such as financial (Lee & Walsh, 2011), physical (Lee & Lee, 2011), human (Burden & Li, 2005; Lee & Lee, 2011; Lee & Pinheiro, 2014; Lee & Walsh, 2011; Walker et al., 2009), and technological

resources (Lee & Lee, 2011). Thus, outsourcing as a business strategy can be an impactful business decision as it can provide a strategic opportunity for the sport organization to obtain competitive advantages through resources the service provider possesses. Economic view focuses on cost control for the organization, and some studies in sport management outsourcing addressed and/ or investigated this view (Lee & Lee, 2011; Lee & Pinheiro, 2014; Lee & Walsh, 2011). Although these studies addressed the economic view, all of these studies combined both the economic and strategic view to better understand outsourcing in the context of sport. Thus, while these two views may have different approaches to describe, analyze, and understand complex nature of outsourcing function, sport management outsourcing studies do complement each other's view point, which is very consistent with general findings of outsourcing studies (Espino-Rodriguez & Padron-Robaina, 2006).

Outsourcing Youth Sports Programs (YSP)

Understanding outsourcing in amateur sport has been somewhat overlooked. Therefore, there is not enough academic knowledge regarding why CORC outsource YSP and how CORC manage outsourcing. Traditionally, many outsourcing cases in sport focused on professional or intercollegiate sport. A couple of explanations why the focus on professional and collegiate sports outsourcing has been dominating in literature instead of amateur sports might be possible. One, it is assumed that these highly commercialized sports receive mass media attention on a daily basis, so scholars started to look at outsourcing as a subject matter in both a professional or collegiate sport context (Coakley, 1979). Another possible explanation might be the fact that amateur sport has not been really operated as a business, unlike professional or collegiate sport. Outsourcing is viewed as a strategic business decision for an organization (Busi, 2008), and, traditionally, amateur sport has not been operated in such a way because it probably didn't need a business strategy for its operation. Yet, recently, some studies from outside of the United States have discussed amateur sport examples that outsource physical education or coaching classes to the third party (Aoyagi et al., 2014; Whipp et al., 2011; Williams et al., 2011). Williams et al. (2011) found that many schools in Australia outsource sport and physical educational work such as outdoor adventure and extra-curricular activities. This study found that outsourcing motivation includes access to expertise/resources and teacher professional development. That is to say, the schools outsource to get access to specialized skills (i.e., how to run sports programs, etc.) and resources (i.e., facilities, information, etc.) which the school can not access without hiring and working with the service provider. Whipp et al. (2011) found that outsourcing physical education to the

specialized service providers allows teachers to enhance confidence and skills of teaching physical education effectively. As a result, teachers from the schools also receive educational opportunities for their professional development by associating with the service provider.

The primary outsourcing motivation in the case of physical education or coaching appears to be performance-driven outsourcing. This is not inconsistent from other previous sport management outsourcing studies that support mainly performance-driven outsourcing.

Method

To understand the contemporary phenomenon of outsourcing YSP by the CORC, a multiple case study approach was used for this study (Woodside & Wilson, 2002). Multiple bounded systems (cases) are explored through research questions of how and why in the context of contemporary and real life contexts (Yin, 2003). To be specific, the interview questions are modified and developed based on Rottman and Lacity (2008) and Mclvor (2009)'s interview questions to understand 'why' and 'how' questions with respect to outsourcing decision, outsourcing risks, and its mitigation strategies.

The CORC in this study means a city-owned recreation center managed by a park and recreation department that promotes health and well-being of the residents through a wide range of programs for people of all ages. The CORC used in this case study are all from one state in the northeast United Sates. This study examined three different CORC that are outsourcing their YSP. For confidentiality purposes, these three CORC will be referred to as Case 1, Case 2, and Case 3. There are two reasons for selecting these particular CORC. Firstly, all CORC have been using an outsourcing model for years for their YSP operations, which will provide ample information to understand outsourcing motivation, risks, and its mitigation. Secondly, the researcher has relationships with the CORC, and it is believed that the relationship would provide quality of data through the interview (Eisenhardt, 1989).

To collect the data, an in-depth interview, follow up email conversation, and secondary data (e.g. webpages, brochures, online documents) were used. To solicit rich data to answer the research questions of this study, interviews with the manager in charge of YSPs were conducted. Each interview lasted between 30 and 45 mintues. A semi-structured interview with the personnel from three CORC highly involved in outsourcing YSP, as well as number of other resources, such as documents, minutes, and newspaper articles pertaining to outsourcing YSP, were used for data triangulation (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1981).

Case 1 Description

Case 1 is a 100,000 square-foot health, fitness, wellness and recreation center that serves the residents of the community. It offers a variety of sports programs, leagues,

and fitness classes for all ages. The recreation center was opened 11 years ago, but they have been outsourcing YSP, such as basketball, soccer, flag football, tennis, and others depending on seasonal demands using multiple service providers for at least 5-6 years. Revenue sharing is 75% to the service provider and 25% to Case 1. There are only 3 full time employees, including one administrative assistant, who are all city employees. Furthermore, they have more than 80 part-time employees who can only work 20 hours maximum per week. As for a selection of the service provider, there is no official request for proposal (RFP) and bidding process. Historically, a potential service providers proposed an idea informally. For example, ideas such as, "Do you have karate classes?" or "Do you have tennis classes?" were asked. If the Assistant Recreation Facility Manager in Case 1 is interested, an official meeting will be scheduled to discuss the possibility of outsourcing internally. Given that Case 1 is family-oriented in its daily operations and examines if there is a fit between the two organizations. The Assistant Recreation Facility Manager said, "They need to understand what our mission is, what our vision is, and how we conduct the business…Don't want to misrepresent who we are because the (YSP) programs still represent us. We are city employees so we represent the city." Once all three employees agreed that certain service providers fit, the Director of the Recreation Center presented the outsourcing plans to the governing board, which included the mayor, city finance director, and legal expert of the city. After this presentation, the mayor presented the findings to the city council. The YSP outsourcing model was viewed as a viable business option to effectively and efficiently run the CORC, because the city clearly understood how much the CORC was understaffed. Once the service provider was formally selected and contracted, the service provider would do a background check, hire the instructors, advertise YSP, and pay the instructors.

Case 2 Description

Case 2 provided a diverse array of programs that promote fitness, health, enjoyment, and education. Case 2 has experienced a huge managerial challenge because of an economic slowdown. Five years ago, the city stated it would discontinue financial support to the Case 2, and it has forced Case 2 to develop a different organizational structure and financial plan. While there were no clear reasons announced publicly as to why the city cut the budget for Case 2, it is quite safe to assume that it was to lessen the financial burden of the city's general fund. Specifically, utility costs increases ranged between 50 and 100 percent, and the CORC was in the red for years, which forced the city to reconsider its financial support to the CORC. Besides, a financial investment in the CORC and its YSP is perceived as less of a priority by the city. Generally, it is not surprising to see the local government cut

spending for the recreation center and its programs and transfer its spending to other local services such as police or fire department (Potkewitz, 2008; Sword, 2009). Therefore, it underwent a huge downsizing, reducing the number of full time employees from 20 to only two for the entire department, which forced them to outsource a lot of their programs including YSP. Due to no financial support from the city, Case 2 had to generate its own sources of revenues and, mainly, it heavily relied on program/membership income (90%). The CORC had a record-breaking profit year mainly stemming from increased program/ membership fees in 2014, sponsorship with a regional hospital and other sources of revenue such as donation, rentals, vending machines, and leases (10%). Since the sponsorship deal had just expired, it could mean less sponsorship revenue for Case 2. Case 2 had a sponsorship with a local hospital back in 2009 for three years and had another three year sponsorship with another regional hospital. Case 2 is now seeking another three year sponsorship. Case 2 outsources a lot compared to other CORC as 70% of their programs are currently outsourced to multi service providers.

Case 2 has two different approaches, both formal and informal, for their service provider recruitment and selection. After opening up the RFP locally, about five selected prospective bidders were invited for presentations. Case 2 selected the service provider that could "minimize the production costs and benefit the community by serving its residents." For instance, Case 2 selected the service provider that said "we will also maintain the field" for the YSP. Case 2 was able to significantly reduce production costs.

Case 3 Description

Opened in 2002, Case 3 has an 110,000 square foot facility that provides recreational spaces. Case 3 CORC, a joint project between the city and city schools, has 6 full time employees. Although they receive a small financial subsidy from the city, the recreation department is expected to be self-financing so they have to generate enough revenue for their operation. Case 3 contracted some of its YSP to only two service providers, both out-of-town companies, which is a major difference from the previous two cases. Case 3 is working very closely with the Rec Advisory Board that is responsible for working collaboratively on the operational and managerial matters in accordance with the Operating Agreement between the organization, city, and city schools. Also the Recreation Advisory Committee comprised of six members (two city representatives, two city school representatives, one president at large, and two members at large) works closely with the Case 3 as well. So many programs including YSP are operated internally. Case 3 has an application form available anytime for the prospective service providers. If there is a need for certain YSP, and no in-house

option is available, the employees make a selection of who will run a specific YSP based on a number of decision making criteria. A revenue sharing model, the service provider's previous experience, the feeling of trustworthiness toward the potential service provider are regularly used decision making criteria.

Results

Outsourcing Motivation and Risk

Case 1 revealed that the major motivation for outsourcing YSP was to bring expertise and, at the same time, cost minimization. A lack of full time employees forced them to heavily rely on external manpower. Such ideas were represented when it was said, "the city pretty much understands the way our office works…We can't really offer any additional programing with our own staff." Also the experienced service providers are in charge of hiring the instructors for each program and running the YSP. In doing so, Case 1 does not have to spend its time and resources on hiring full time city employees and worrying about their pensions and health plans. Both cost-driven and performance-driven outsourcing motivation were identified in the Case 1 situation. In Case 2, the main outsourcing drive is also the combination of two. By hiring part-timer employees instead of full-time employees and by hiring the external service providers that can bring the expertise in the area of YSP, they can "take pressure off by outsourcing." The interview showed that Case 2 does not outsource revenue-generating programs (e.g. summer camps). Instead, they handle those programs internally to keep the revenue, yet they outsource relatively unimportant YSPs. Although outsourcing is not a main business model for YSP for Case 3, still Case 3 outsources some YSP because of the expertise that the service provider can bring which Case 3 does not have, and also cost reduction.

Outsourcing motivation between general business and sport organizations are not inconsistent in that mainly cost driven outsourcing and performance driven outsourcing are the main motivation. According to the interviewees, outsourcing motivation is focused on financial considerations. According to previous outsourcing studies, many small and medium-sized companies in America outsource their operations partly because of the cost saving (Coward, 2003), and, consistently, this case study supports that small organizations in sport also outsource for a cost saving reason. As Table 1 shows, the number of the full time city employees is extremely small to serve the city, so the size of the CORCs forced them to control the cost and take advantage of the resource available outside of the organization.

Theoretically, this result can be understood from both an economic view (transaction cost theory) and strategic management view (resource based theory), and it appears that there is no one dominating theoretical framework to

describe outsourcing motivation; rather, it is integrated with more than one theory.

To be specific, all three cases expect both production cost and transaction cost reduction by exploiting mainly human resources from the service providers externally available in the market place through the contracts.

Case 1 shared a couple of different previous situations where outsourcing risks of loss of control occurred, but noted that these are quite minor risks for them as it did happen very rarely. Case 1 said that "we have problem solving and decision making power". Case 2 had not experienced outsourcing risks. Case 2 said, "they follow our rules" and added that they have built and maintained a great relationship with the multiple service providers based on mutual respect and trust. This helped them to avoid any potential outsourcing risks. Case 3 also did not really face any outsourcing risks as they created and maintained very good working relationships with the service providers. Also Case 3 added that their contract details helped them avoid getting involved with any outsourcing risks. Overall, all three cases did not experience any major outsourcing risks, which is a very interesting result in that it is different from previous sport management outsourcing studies that identified a set of outsourcing risks (Bouchert, 2010; Burden & Li, 2005; Lee & Lee, 2011; Lee & Pinheiro, 2014; Lee & Walsh, 2011; Walker et al., 2009).

To summarize, the result of this study showed that the motivation of YSP outsourcing by CORC is explained by the combination of both economic and strategic management view; as opposed to one single dominating view point. As for transaction cost theory, this study found cost control is the primary motivation for CORC outsourcing YSP. Specifically, by collaborating with the service provider specialized in YSP, CORC can minimize the cost of YSP operations. Dyer and Singh (1998) noted that the use of combined resources across organizations would create competitive advantages. To create competitive advantages, CORC employ outsourcing strategy for YSP operations by purchasing service provider's expertise in cost effective way. Accordingly, it shows how two theoretical views are interconnected with each other.

As for outsourcing risks, unlike previous sport management outsourcing studies, this study does not show a huge concern of outsourcing risks. The interviews showed that outsourcing risks, such as lack of communication, conflict of interest, or loss of control, were quite minimal to be a serious managerial concern. Internally, CORC has outsourcing risk mitigation plan in place as a form of a detailed contract. Externally, the size of two organizations (CORC and service provider) being so small help them to manage any potential risks through effective communication and trust developed for years through mutual respect between two.

Discussion

All the CORC in this study are facing financial challenges as the tax support from the city is decreasing. More than likely this trend, due to an economic slowdown, affected many CORC throughout the country. Like Case 3 expressed during the interview, the fact that a service oriented nonprofit community organization is "running a (CORC) business and making money to run the program (YSP)" has become a major financial and managerial challenge. This challenging situation forces the CORC to create ways to better manage their programs including YSP, and the use of outsourcing has become a widespread strategy.

As for outsourcing risks, this case study found a mixed result. Case 1 showed a low level of concern over such risks based on previous incidents whereas Case 2 and 3 did not experience such issues. However, all three cases were aware of the importance of outsourcing risks, so working with the service providers to create mutual benefits is taken seriously (Narasimhan & Das, 2001). It has to be noted that few outsourcing risks examples (e.g., loss of control, conflict of interest, etc.) were presented during the interview. Yet, it was not clear from their answers whether or not they were aware of other types of outsourcing risks like hidden or unexpected costs associated with outsourcing such as contract changes, monitoring, bidding process, and others (Aron et al., 2005; Bahli & Rivard, 2003; Earl, 1996; Kremic et al., 2006; Willcocks et al., 1999). Knowledge about hidden costs is practically important in that the organization should not be misguided about the benefits of outsourcing as there might be hidden costs involved for successful outsourcing and, moreover, knowledge about hidden costs allowed the organization to develop an outsourcing risks mitigation mechanism.

One effective outsourcing mechanism that can prevent outsourcing risks from occurring is a dual sourcing strategy (Bahli & Rivard, 2003; Kern, Wilcocks, & Heck, 2002). Dual sourcing is one of the risk mitigation mechanisms through a multi-vendor strategy. The multi-vendors strategy creates a situation where there is a competitive environment between the service providers, and it motivates the service providers to outperform each other. While it may appear these cases use the dual sourcing strategies with multiple service providers, none of the people interviewed addressed or implied a dual sourcing strategy as an outsourcing mitigation mechanism. This implies that the CORC had a dual sourcing model for cost minimization by looking for better fits to find the service providers. Interestingly, given no reported serious concern over potential outsourcing risks, it appears to be working because it is assumed that the service providers are motivated to perform well and earn repeated service contracts with the CORC. Given that many service providers for this case study come from small local organizations, losing the client

will hurt their business significantly so they always have a performance level they have to satisfy. Previous outsourcing studies found that the size of the service provider does not affect the performance (Lacity et al., 2011; Nadkarni & Herrmann, 2010). This study supports that notion because even though the service providers are understaffed, CORC are still very satisfied with the performance by the service providers. So the results of this study support previous studies about the relationship between the size of the service provider and its performance. While it may work as a mitigation mechanism, it could work better if the CORC know how to strategically utilize the benefits of the dual sourcing strategy. Such benefits could include how to create friendly competition among the service providers or how to promote collaborative working relationships with all stakeholders involved in outsourcing.

Another potential mitigation plan that seems to be working very well is the contract details. Previous studies found that there is a positive relationship between outsourcing contract details and outsourcing success (Niranjan, Saxena, Bharadwaj, 2007; Wullenweber, Beimborn, Weitzel, & Konig, 2008). Although all of the cases are extremely understaffed, they present great examples of taking care of contract details which is possible because they are working for the city. According to the interviews, it seems that contract completeness, such as clauses that address and clarify specificity of outsourcing details, is covered. Contract details are important for CORC in that it can act as a quality control mechanism such as performance monitoring and problem solving procedures. Contract details are vital for any potential disputes or litigation because the contract details act as a managerial guideline for both parties. Overall, as Table 2 shows, all cases reported that they are highly satisfied with their outsourcing mitigation mechanism.

Comparisons to Previous Sport Management Outsourcing Research

Findings of this multiple case study can be compared with the findings from previous outsourcing studies in sport management. Since previous sport management outsourcing research focused on only highly commercialized professional or intercollegiate sport, the investigation of amateur sport focusing on YSP provided by the CORC and its outsourcing strategies will provide better understanding about outsourcing.

There are several outsourcing motivations identified in previous sport management outsourcing research: revenue generation, quality improvement, cost reduction, access to the expertise, a focus on core activities, risk mitigation/sharing, mimic behavior and, many times, a combination of these factors (e.g., Burden & Li, 2005; 2009; Lee & Walsh, 2011).

Many cases, however, of professional or intercollegiate sport seek primarily revenue maximization or generation through

outsourcing; accordingly, the result of this study is somewhat different in that revenue generation is not the primary outsourcing motivation. All cases briefly discussed the assignment of generating revenue for business, but it is not perceived as a high pressure for the cases. Case 3 reported that, "I am not sure outsourcing will bring more revenues to us", which was implied by the other cases. So, it is quite safe to argue that amateur sport organizations providing YSP are still not a highly business-oriented sport entity in our society. Similarly, Case 2 reported that to be self-supporting without a tax levy or appropriations from the general fund is important but not revenue generating. Case 2 ended last fiscal year with a record-breaking profit but it will fund several repairs and improvements within the CORC. Therefore, although there is an indication of the need to make money in order to be a self-financing organization, it appears that the operation of the YSP through the CORC is based on fulfilling its mission by serving the city residents, rather than revenue maximization or generation to which professional or intercollegiate sports are dedicated.

While previous sport management outsourcing studies addressed outsourcing risks (Bouchert, 2010; Burden & Li, 2005; Lee & Lee, 2011; Lee & Pinheiro, 2014; Lee & Walsh, 2011; Walker et al., 2009), all three cases reported no major outsourcing risks. It is not clear if the cases did not really experience outsourcing risks or that risks were so minimal that they were not addressed. Yet it appears that it is not a major managerial or financial issue for the cases, which is different from previous sport management outsourcing studies. One possible answer is that typically the CORC prefer to hire either local or regional service providers with which they have built relationships over the years. This makes both parties handle the risks in a very effective and efficient way before it becomes a serious issue. Another answer might be the fact that, as addressed earlier, these service providers are fairly small organizations, so it is safe to assume that they want to avoid any potential issues by maintaining good business and professional relationships with the CORC. It might be an ideal situation for all the cases as they can avoid outsourcing risks such as relational governance, financial incongruence, and conflict of interest with the service providers.

Unlike previous sport management outsourcing studies that focus on a primarily strategic view to address revenue generation, improved quality, or focus on other activities through outsourcing, this case study can be understood better through the combination of both an economic and strategic management view as opposed to one dominating viewpoint. All cases in this study addressed the importance of minimizing production and transaction costs (economic view) as well as creating resources or developing capabilities (strategic management view). In other words, it may be insufficient or

inappropriate to have only one view to fully grasp the nature of outsourcing in the amateur sport context.

Practical Implications

Based on the results of this study, there are several practical implications for the manager from the CORC in terms of how to mitigate risks. If CORC decide to outsource, the manager should be knowledgeable about and familiar with outsourcing, outsourcing relationships, and most importantly, risks involved to better understand overall outsourcing implementation. Trust between service provider and client as a key influential factor for successful outsourcing, has been proven in previous research (Gainey & Klass, 2003; Oza, Hall, Rainer, & Grey, 2006; Sabherwal, 1999). Knowledge as well as efforts to create and promote good trust-based relationships between employees, full or part-timers, from the CORCs and service providers will serve as a foundation of successful outsourcing for the CORCs. To be specific, more formal collaborative projects between two organizations and further informal relationships, such as golf outings or retreats for both organizations, will create more trust building opportunities. In fact, this practical implication is relatively easier to implement as both the CORC and service providers are quite small in terms of staff. As a result, the CORC might be able to reduce costs for monitoring service provider performance which eventually will minimize the risks of creating or increasing unexpected or hidden costs (Gainey & Klass, 2003; Sabherwal, 1999). Also, without actual monitoring by the CORC, outsourcing risks, such as shrinking, can be avoided in many cases because trust-based relationships will act as an outsourcing risk mitigation mechanism.

Similar to trust building, effective communication is very crucial. Communication has been such an important concept for successful outsourcing as noted by previous outsourcing literature (e.g., Chen & Paulraj, 2004; Gainey & Klaas, 2003; Sen & Shiel, 2006). Sen and Shiel (2006) addressed the importance of communication between the leaders from both the service provider and client to better understand each other. Chen and Paulraj (2004) noted the importance of not only the intra-organizational communication but also inter-organizational communication because all parties involved in outsourcing should communicate effectively and efficiently. Walker et al. (2009) specifically investigated a communication-commitment relationship with regards to sport marketing outsourcing within the athletic departments in the United States. They found that while sport marketing employees perceive sport marketing outsourcing as critical, they also experienced dissatisfaction with the frequency, level, and direction of communication, which could potentially hurt the business partnership between the organizations involved in outsourcing (Burden & Li, 2002; Walker et al., 2009).

So as a manager of the CORC, it is quite important to have good communication skills with the multiple stakeholders. Unlike many service providers working for the athletic departments, all the service providers for this study are very small in terms of staff, and it makes the managers from the CORC communicate more effectively and efficiently as they may have less frequencies, levels, and directions to go through for communication. Practically, trust and communication will be important from the economic view because these two will significantly reduce transaction costs by the CORC like service provider search cost, service provider selection cost, bargaining cost, enforcement cost, and cost of coordinating work with the service provider (Williamson 1975; 1980).

Another recommended way of monitoring is better management of dual sourcing (Bahli & Rivard, 2003). In spite of the benefits of the dual sourcing strategy from the CORC standpoint, it may be understood somewhat differently by the service providers. The service providers may think their business is always in danger of losing the client, and may have concerns about how their performance is perceived by the CORC. A multiple service providers structure may create a competitive relationship between them. Therefore, the CORC may need to inform and discuss the nature of dual sourcing with the service providers so that no service providers misunderstand the true mission of the dual sourcing strategy. Hence, the CORC can create the best outcomes out of a dual sourcing strategy. For instance, the CORC may employ dual sourcing strategy for YSP for soccer. Soccer programs for very young players may go to one service provider that specializes in youth skill development, and the program for older players goes to another service provider that may have more expertise in that age level with more advanced skills development.

Lastly, while outsourcing YSP is perceived satisfactorily by the CORC according to the interviews, there have been no comments about how the service provider's performance is measured for internal review. It seems, however, that the CORC simply assume outsourcing is working. Having formally structured performance measure metrics will be helpful for an outsourcing failure prevention purpose.

Limitations and Future Research

Like other studies, this one has its limitations. Essentially, this study focused on youth sport to understand amateur sport and its use of outsourcing by centering on CORC. The results of this study may be different from other amateur sport, like that of high school or other types of community based adult sports leagues. Future research on such other types of amateur sport could enhance the understanding of outsourcing in amateur sport. In addition, the three CORC used in this study are all from the same northeastern state, so further examination of CORC from different states

with different sizes of population, levels of household income, and a city budget could help to significantly contribute to the body of literature by providing a more comprehensive study of current outsourcing in amateur sport.

Conclusion

This case study examined YSP and the contemporary business nature of amateur sport by focusing on outsourcing as a business strategy. Whereas this case study is exploratory, its intent is to create academic attention and promote further examination from a field that has been receiving little to no academic attention. This study provided academic and practical implications for sport managers from the CORC who should be knowledgeable about contemporary phenomenon and future trend as to outsourcing. Certainly outsourcing in amateur sport as a serious academic area of study needs to be researched further, and this study provided initial steps for that journey.

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Tables

Table 1

City Profile

Cases	*Year 2014 Estimated Population*	*Population Percentage Change (Year 2010 – Year 2014)*	*Median Household Income (Year 2009-2013)*
Case 1	17,527	-0.3%	$54,225
Case 2	34,604	+1.0%	$63,924
Case 3	26,523	-0.5%	$53,586

Source: United States Census Bureau.

Table 2

City Profile

Cases	*Outsourcing Risk*	*Outsourcing Risk Mitigation Plans*	*Outsourcing Mitigation Satisfaction*
Case 1	Low	Monitoring, Communication, Contract Details	High
Case 2	Extremely Low	Monitoring, Communication	High
Case 3	Extremely Low	Monitoring, Communication	High

Table 3

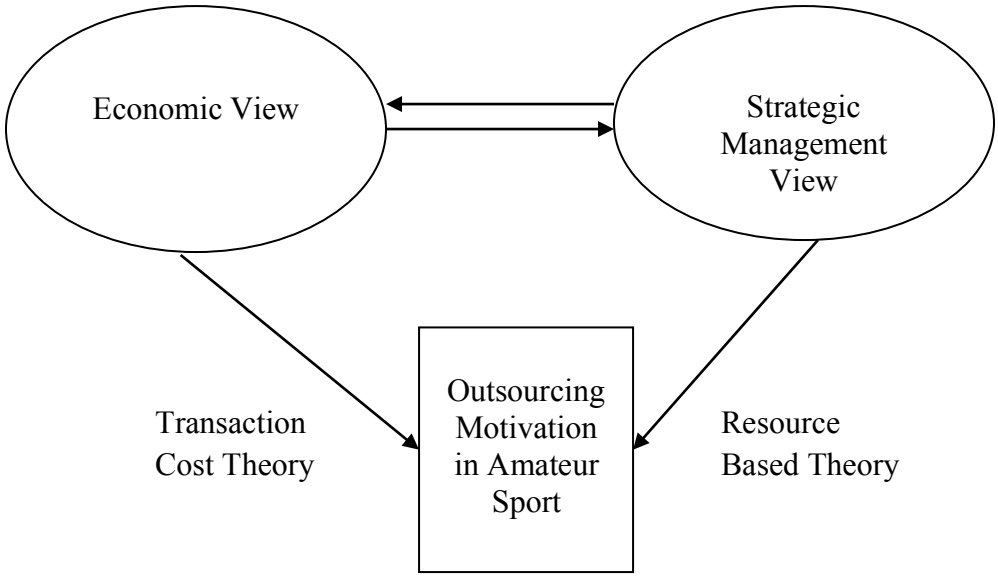
Example of Case 1 YSP Outsourcing Revenue

	FY2014 Revenue (% of Revenue)	*FY2013 Revenue (% of Revenue)*	*FY2012 Revenue (% of Revenue)*	*FY2011 Revenue (% of Revenue)*
YSP Outsourcing	$14,270 (1.07%)	$17,344 (1.19%)	$17,160 (1.19%)	$16,836 (1.17%)
YSP In-House	$33,985 (2.54%)	$36,924 (2.53%)	$26,082 (1.81%)	$41,330 (2.88%)
Total	$50,369 (3.61%)	$56,281 (3.71%)	$45,254 (3.00%)	$60,177 (4.05%)

Figures

Figure 1

Economic and Strategic Management View in Amateur Sport Outsourcing



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Social Geographies at Play: Mapping the Spatial Politics of Community-Based Youth Sport Participation

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Organized youth sports programs (YSP) provide opportunities for participation in physical activity, and represent an important part of the broader public health agenda in the United States. YSP not only provide physiological health benefits through active participation, but also promote social relationships within communities. In this study, we (1) investigated participants' travel to access YSP located in neighborhoods historically delineated by an over/under-representation of socio-economic and/or racial homogeneity; and (2) examined the neighborhood demographics for those YSP participants who traveled the most/least to participate. To do this, we analyzed five years of demographic and geographic information system (GIS) visualization data from participants in a publically-provisioned youth sport league network. We found significant differences between the travel distances of participants in different sports, and between the travel distances of participants from neighborhoods with different racial and/or socio-economic composition. This research expands understanding of the potential segregation effects of community-based YSP for various stakeholder groups.

In sport settings, community-based youth sport programming—such as organized baseball, football, basketball, volleyball, and soccer—has been posited as an effective "intervention" to enhance public health and physical activity among participating children (e.g., Small, 2002) and promote social relationships among community members (e.g., Houlihan & Green, 2008). According to the National

Council of Youth Sports (NCYS) roughly 60 million youth are currently registered to participate in organized youth sport programs across the United States (NCYS, 2015). The expansion of publicly provisioned forms of structured, extra-curricular (non-school sanctioned) physical activity has been a defining feature of the broader national public health agenda since the latter part of the 19th Century (Eitzen & Sage, 2009). Local parks and recreation departments, community centers, non-governmental organizations, and grassroots sport programs have for over a century been charged with maximizing access to, and participation in, these non-elite forms of amateur athletics.

With concern for maximizing the benefits of participating in youth sport programs (YSP), scholars from fields such as education, public health, epidemiology, sociology, and sport management have for decades examined the positive effects of community-level sport initiatives and programs (e.g., Dishman, Heath, & Lee, 2013; Finch & Donaldson, 2010; Hill, 1965; Maxwell & Taylor, 2010; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012) and correlates of participating in YSP and positive health outcomes (e.g., Biddle, Mutrie, & Gorely, 2015; Kahn, Thompson, Blair, Sallis, Powell, Bull, & Baumann, 2012; Mandic, Bengoechea, Stevens, de la Barra, & Skidmore, 2012; van der Horst, Paw, Twisk, & Van Mechelen, 2007). Likewise, public policymakers, administrators, and urban and regional planners across the country (and around the world) have endeavored to build sport-specific programming and infrastructure (community centers, parks, field, etc.) to accommodate the needs of a given population (city, county, region, state) by reducing barriers to access (Downward & Rasciute, 2010; Wicker, Hallmann, & Breuer, 2013; Xiong, 2007). This has resulted in what has become a popular "community-based" approach to delivering structured sport programming (namely youth sport activities); an approach premised on the idea that to optimize public sport provision in a given area, administrators should strategically locate sport facilities and activities in locations that would present the fewest proximity (to homes, schools, neighborhoods) barriers and engender the greatest sense of participatory stakeholdership (Strong, Malina, Blimkie, Daniels, Dishman, Gutin, & Rowland, 2005).

Research has illustrated that in many contexts, a community-based approach to youth sport programming has led to both positive health outcomes and increased social cohesion (Eime & Payne, 2009; Roux, Pratt, Tengs, Yore, Yanagawa, van Den Bos, Rutt, Brownson, Powell, Heath, Kohl III, Teutsch, Cawley, Lee, West, & Buchner, 2008). Practitioners have developed new programs—often at new facilities—that resulted in increased participation and enhanced geospatially-defined communities (i.e. intra-neighborhood communities). New sport programs have galvanized inter-neighborhood communities, bringing

together kids from varying socio-economic backgrounds and neighborhoods to forge a new sport-specific community. This has led to the emergence and strengthening of spatially-defined (often demographically homogenous) communities through sport (i.e. Baltimore's Roland Park lacrosse community). In addition, youth sport as acted as a catalyst for the constitution of new inter-neighborhood sport-based communities (i.e. the Shelby County youth soccer leagues).

This community-based approach, both in scholarship and in practice, brings into question premises and broad conceptions of "community." In some instances, "community" refers to citizens or members of a particular geo-spatial area (i.e. residents within a neighborhood, a town or city, or a county or region). In other instances, "community" refers to a group bound together by a shared ethnic, national, or cultural heritage and practices (i.e. "the African-American Community," "the Korean diaspora," or "the Jewish community"). Further still, the term "community" is sometimes used in local sport contexts to refer to established social networks formed around specific sport organizations or subcultures (i.e. "the North suburbs soccer community," "the skating community," etc.). This unfixed meaning is more than a matter simple linguistic ambiguity. Understanding how certain sports activities, in particular geo-spatial arrangements, are positioned to produce or strengthen "community" ties within and across these differential and potentially competing definitional configurations is key.

In a physical sense, organized youth sport—particularly when in a team setting—*brings people together*. Parents and youth in YSP congregate to share in cooperative and competitive social bonding activities. If the sport community is being built around an impetus to strengthen the demographically- and socially-bounded neighborhood, then organized sport could serve as an important platform for strengthening ties amongst geographically and socio-economically associated families. This presents both potentially positive (e.g., stronger sense of community, better in-group relations, ease of access and thus fewer geo-spatial barriers, etc.) and negative (e.g., homophily effects, re-segregation) outcomes. By contrast, sport communities built around an impetus to bring together stakeholders from across socio-demographic or geographic neighborhoods creates a different series of outcomes—increased inter-neighborhood socialization, diversification of unit (team) socio-demographic plurality, more geo-spatial barriers, and a loosening of neighborhood ties.

In this study, we explore two simple questions: first, who comes together in the community-based youth sport environment, and, second, where do they come from? Correlates of physical activity have tended to be categorized into six essential categories (i.e., socio-demographic correlates, biological correlates,

psychological correlates, behavioral correlates, socio-cultural correlates, and environmental correlates) (see Biddle et al., 2015, for detailed information). However, there is a paucity of research devoted to understanding the geographic structuration and political spatialization of community-based youth sport. That is, how the spatial environment structures and potentially influences correlative outcomes. To address this gap, we employ geographic information system (GIS) techniques to examine the relationship between the type of program or activity and socio-demographic neighborhood structuration (of both facility location and the participating family) by tracking specified spatial locations (Seifried, 2011). In this study, we follow Biddle et al.'s (2015) approach by mapping the socio-demographic correlates (e.g., race, age, gender, socio-economic status) and geographic correlates (e.g., facility and program access) of YSP participation. To this end, we render a network-wide (within a county-wide sport league system administered by a central governing body) analysis that maps out: 1) do participants travel outside of their neighborhood to access certain youth sport programs located in neighborhoods historically delineated by an over- or under-representation of socio-economic and/or racial diversity (and are there differences based on sport-type?), and 2) what are the neighborhood demographics for those YSP participant who travel the most or least to play youth sports? To do this, we provide an analysis of GIS visualization data extracted from five years of youth sport participation in a publically-provisioned youth sport league network of a mid-sized city in the Southeastern United States.

This research is critical to expanding our understanding of the segregation effects community-based YSP might create for participating youth, their parents/guardians, and the neighborhoods in which they reside. Given a majority of popular sports such as basketball, baseball, soccer, softball, volleyball, and football are provided within most municipality or county networks (Dixon & Bruening, 2014), it is important to consider the extent to which the location of YSP practices and games might not only present barriers for those with limited means of transportation (Atkins, Sallis, Saelens, Cain, & Black, 2005; Owen, Leslie, Salmon, & Fotheringham, 2000; Owen, Humpel, Leslie, Bauman, & Sallis, 2004, Wicker et al., 2013), but also re-entrench or break down established patterns of socio-economic and racial segregation. Although environmental factors such as socio-demographic characteristics and travel distance have been considered significant factors within physical activity literature (Davison & Lawson, 2006; Gordon-Larsen, Nelson, Page, & Popkin, 2006), few studies have explored the associations of the facility location and team sport's broader community-building capacities (Balish, McLaren, Rainham, & Blanchard, 2014). Ultimately, the present study provides critical insights for sport administrators to

make more informed decisions about site location, programming, and access points to places of play. This can be beneficial in developing socially and geographically heterogeneous (and heterogenizing) practices for encouraging participation in YSPs.

Review of Literature

Youth Sport Participation: Outcomes and Correlates

Sport is an effective and powerful tool to promote health and well-being for youth (Holt, 2008). Despite potential negative outcomes such as injuries (Khan et al., 2012) or hazing (Crow & Macintosh, 2009; Edelman, 2004; Rosner & Crow, 2002), most scholars agree that the positive outcomes surpass these negative effects, and have specifically highlighted the effectiveness of promoting physical activity (Alfano, Kleges, Murray, Beech, & McClananhan, 2002; Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003; Larson, 2000; Mahoney, Larson, & Eccles, 2005; Peretti-Watel et al., 2003; Perkins, Jacobs, Barber, & Eccles, 2004). In addition, previous research indicates positive outcomes can also include: 1) positive youth development (Barber et al., 2001; Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003; Larson, 2000; Mahoney et al., 2005; Peretti-Watel et al., 2003), 2) learning skills to develop identity and emotion (Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003), 3) increased academic achievement (Marsh & Kleitman, 2003), 4) increased levels of intrinsic motivation and concentration (Lowe Vandell, Shernoff, Pierce, Bolt, Dadisman, & Brown, 2005), 5) decreased likelihood of risky behavior such as smoking (Audrain-McGovern, Rodriquez, Wileyto, Schmitz, & Shields, 2006), and 6) decreased depression and suicidal behavior (Brown & Blanton, 2002; Sabo, Miller, Melnick, Farrell, & Barnes, 2005). While definitions of youth sport participation and physical activity participation are different, previous studies note that correlates of both sport and physical activity are categorized into similar schema among youth (Balish et al., 2014; Dollman & Lewis, 2010; Michaud, Jeannin, & Suris, 2006). Yet compared to reviews of physical activity, only a handful of studies have reviewed the role of youth sport participation. The present study focuses specifically on socio-demographic correlates and environmental correlates (Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor, 2000).

A series of studies have identified age and gender as the most important correlates of physical activity participation (e.g., Alfano et al., 2002; Audrain-BcGovern et al., 2006; Balish et al., 2014). To be specific, males have reported more physical activity than females, while children have reported more physical activity than adolescents (Biddle et al., 2015). In addition, studies on ethnicity have disclosed that White individuals have more physical activity than other groups. Such results varied depending on geographic location (i.e., different countries, different regions within one country) (Biddle et al., 2015).

According to Stalsberg and Pedersen (2010), 37 out of 60 studies involving socioeconomic status (SES) confirmed a positive relationship between SES and physical activity, whereas 20 found no significant relationship, and only 6 detected a negative relationship. In addition, significant environmental correlates include travel distance/facility access (Ferreira et al., 2007; Sallis et al., 2000), outdoor activity (Hinkley, Crawford, Salmon, Okely, & Hesketh, 2008), and crime rate (Davison & Lawson, 2006). The present study investigates two vital correlates ,socio-demographic and environmental, to study YSP participation.

A Cultural Geography of Play: Socio-Demographic Characteristics, Sport Types, and Travel Distances in YSP

Parents play a critical role in determining what kind of sports their children participate in and what resources they employ to access those activities (Welk, Wood, & Morss, 2003). To be specific, studies have confirmed that these decisions can be affected by SES (Gottlieb & Chen, 1985; Sallis, Alcaraz, McKenzie, Hovell, Kolody, & Nader, 1992; Sallis, Nader, Broyles, Berry, Elder, McKenzie, & Nelson, 1993; Yang, Telama, & Laakso, 1996) and race (Bungum & Vincent, 1997; Garcia, Broda, Frenn, Coviak, Pender, & Ronis, 1995). Specifically, previous research suggests SES has a positive relationship with the rate of sport participation (Gottlieb & Chen, 1985; Sallis et al., 1992; Sallis et al., 1993; Yang, Telama, & Laakso, 1996). The same tendencies have been observed among youth sport participants. For children in socially- and economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, three patterns have been identified: 1) children from neighborhoods with high SES profiles are more likely to be involved in sports, 2) children from lower SES groupings are more inclined to engage in contact sports such as football, and 3) children from socially- and economically disadvantaged neighborhoods tend to participate in sports that demand little equipment or that are publicly funded programs (The Aspen Institute, 2015).

In the present study we analyzed the distance parents with varied socio-demographic profiles (i.e., race, income) travel to access YSP. We also examined the extent that sport types (e.g., volleyball, soccer, football, etc.) mediate willingness to travel farther and/or to play in neighborhoods with similar or different SES profiles. On the surface, this inter-relationship between geographic (travel, neighborhoods), socio-demographic (race, income), and sport participation factors might not seem of critical concern to the political economy of sport and physical activity. However, as we will make clear in what follows, it is those inter-relationships between sporting bodies and space—and the distribution and movement of populations therein—that constitute the paradoxical inter- and intra-neighborhood capacity for sport-based community-building. Indeed, the social and physical

health outcomes of community-based youth sport participation are largely contingent on the location where the activity takes place, the production function the sport-specific human movement has played and continues to play in segregating fields of social interactivity, and the extent to which social participants locate themselves in and amongst spatially- or socially-anchored members of the broader population. As such, we argue that community-based sport operates at the confluence of what W. E. B. DuBois would have referred to as two traditionally "segregationalizing" political-geographic institutions: the neighborhood and sport.

Residential Segregation

The population health and cultural geography scholar Douglas Massey describes residential segregation as "the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of the urban environment" (Massey & Denton, 1988a, p, 282). In a series of widely cited studies of the urban United States in the 1980s, Massey and his colleagues (Denton & Massey, 1988; Massey, 1985; Massey & Denton, 1988a; 1988b) explicate the historical and political determinants of inter-neighborhood segregation practices. They point to a series of associations that concurrently contribute to reproducing segregated neighborhood and housing practices:

> Minority members may be distributed so that they are overrepresented in some areas and underrepresented in others, varying on the characteristic of *evenness*. They may be distributed so that their *exposure* to majority members is limited by virtue of rarely sharing a neighborhood with them. They may be spatially *concentrated* within a very small area, occupying less physical space than majority members. They may be spatially *centralized,* congregating around the urban core, and occupying a more central location than the majority. Finally, areas of minority settlement may be tightly *clustered* to form one large contiguous enclave, or be scattered widely around the urban area. (Massey & Denton, 1988a, p. 283)

At its core, their analysis points to the extent to which social (discrimination, socialization, etc.) and political (public policy, housing, urban and regional planning, etc.) practices lead to the reproduction of racial and socio-economic groupings across the urban terrain. They also illustrate the extent to which public infrastructural and institutional works often contribute to further clustering where people live, who has access to public facilities, where groups interact, and how they valorize the benefits of public works.

For our purposes, the concept of residential segregation provides a useful hermeneutic device for exploring the extent to which publicly provided sport—when administered at numerous and scattered sites across the city geography—can serve to reconstitute (based on location, access, or

activities undertaken on site) or eliminate longstanding residential segregation practices. Indeed, given that youth sports tend to bring people together to interact in a group environment (as member of the team, as one of many spectators) and at a central location, who goes where, and interacts with whom, could hold potential for integrating members of disparate neighborhoods through practices of common interest. Conversely, if the membership of a given team or league at a specific site is considerably over-represented by participants from the same racially- or socially-homogenous neighborhood—at a location within that neighborhood—it could serve the double function of reinforcing segregative practices (negative) and strengthening community ties (positive).

Sport Segregation

In the United States, as elsewhere, wide disparities and inequalities in economic resources among different social classes have influenced both access to and social discrimination within sport participation. The research has consistently shown that both adults and youth from high-income, high-education, and high-status occupational groups engage in greater rates and levels of sport participation. A survey across all types of individual and team sport activities (e.g., football, basketball, baseball, volleyball, soccer, softball, golf, tennis, swimming, sailing) reveals strong patterns of association between income and rates of sport participation (Eitzen & Sage, 2009). Notably, greater disparities continue to persist in sports that require special access to private clubs or facilities such as golf, tennis, and skiing (Eitzen & Sage, 2009). Similarly, patterns of racial segregation continue to exist in sport in the United States. African-Americans have been found to participate disproportionately in some sports due to the 'sports opportunity structure' (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). When it comes to sport types, African-Americans are generally under-represented in sports that demand facilities and coaching often held in expensive and exclusive clubs (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). As such, scholars have surmised that while sport is no longer formally segregated by race-based participation limitations, many sport leagues and teams in various cities continue to act as informal segregating institutions. As Glover (2007) explicates, racism can exist even within YSPs that institute "color-blind" policies . Indeed, sports such as soccer and baseball tend to be more popular in most cities over-represented by higher SES and White participants (relative to the city's overall demographic profile), and sports such as football and basketball continue to be over-represented by low SES and minority racial groups (Glover, 2007).

Figure 1 serves as a loose framework for explaining the segregating effects of home neighborhood location (neighborhood demographics, starting point for travel distance to access sport facilities, etc.) on the community-building capacities and outcomes of YSP. In this study, we utilized

demographic data and geospatial coding to create statistical and visualization based analysis of these complex inter-relationships. We then illustrate the extent to which—within the designated community-based youth sport network—specific configurations of sport type and facility location: 1) bring together participants from close proximities (while others draw in participants from across the city) and 2) attract participants from neighborhoods with varied SES and racial profiles.

Methods

Data Collection

The researchers retrieved archival data of registration information between 2010 and 2014 from the Parks, Recreation, and Neighborhood Affairs Department of a mid-sized (metro population between 250,000 and 500,000) city in the Southeastern United States. Each year, this municipality's Parks, Recreation, and Neighborhood Affairs Department administers eight different types of sport programs (i.e., tackle football, flag football, volleyball, cheerleading, soccer, basketball, baseball/t-ball, and softball) across three seasons (i.e., fall, winter, spring). Worth noting here, all participating families are free to choose which facility to practice and play home matches/games. As such, there is no artificial administrative mechanism that mediates the relationship between home location and choice of sport facility location (i.e. they do not have to play in a certain district or zone based on home address). The information of 6,021 households was collected for a cross-platform GIS and sport typology analysis. Demographic data were acquired at the census block group level using the 2011 American Community Survey 5-year average. Race, median income, and employment status data describing the 235 census block groups in which the subjects lived were attributed to each observation. The 2011 GIS census block group TIGER/Line® shapefiles were retrieved from the US Census Bureau.

Data Analysis

The research team employed ArcGIS v10.1 to geo-code the observations in order to determine the distances children travelled to a facility to participate in their YSP. The road network reference dataset was the Florida Department of Transportation Base Map, an extremely robust dataset that is updated quarterly. The address locator was built within the ArcGIS desktop application. A total of 272 observations were discarded before the geocoding procedure due to nonresponse or if they provided a P.O. Box as an address. This left a total of 5,749 observations. The match rate for geocoding was exceptional, varying by sport within the range of 97.3% and 100% at an average of 98.41%. 90 observations could not be geocoded and were dropped, and a further seven were lost due to them being incorrectly geo-located. This left a total of 5,652 observations for the analysis. The municipality's 19 sport and recreation

facilities were also geocoded using the same reference dataset and address locator. The 5,652 children were then paired with the facility at which they participate in YSP. The distance between a child's home and facility was calculated using a road network distance. This is considered an improvement over an as-the-crow-flies (Euclidian) distance as it represents actual travel distances.

We employed a series of statistical analysis using StataSE v12.1. A one-way ANOVA procedure was used to examine whether there was a significant difference among eight different sport types in the mean distance travelled to their respective facilities. We then conducted a univariate regression analysis with miles travelled as the dependent variable and the percent white of the neighborhood in which the participant lives as the independent variable. A test of mean significance (*t*-test) was used to examine if there was significant difference between female-only sports (i.e., volleyball, cheerleading, and softball) and other co-ed or male sports (i.e., tackle football, flag football, soccer, basketball, baseball/t-ball).

A Gettis-Ord Gi* statistic was calculated using ArcGIS v10.1 for the variable of distance travelled to facilities. The Gi* statistic identifies statistically significant "hot spots" and "cold spots" of spatial clustering. For statistically significant clustering to occur, a feature with a high or low value will be found in close proximity to features with similarly high or low values. The results of the statistic are z-score values that are interpreted as standard deviations. Values over 1.96 or under -1.96 are statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level. Values over 2.58 or below -2.58 are statistically significant at the $p<0.01$ level. This statistic provides a quantitative assessment to illuminate those parts of the metro region where participants of YSP travelling above and below the mean distances to reach facilities spatially cluster. *Fixed distance* was the conceptualized spatial relationship for the Gi* test, and the default fixed distance was used. The default fixed distance uses the minimum distance that ensures every observation has at least one neighbor for the analysis.

Results

Table 1 displays the number of participants by facility and sport. As table 1 indicates, in general, facilities with more sports had more participants . Conversely, there was no relationship between the number of participants of a given sport and the number of facilities at which that sport is played. With respect to average distance travelled, participants who played volleyball and softball travelled farther than other sports. The mean number of miles travelled for entire sample was 4.8, ranging from 0.12 to 32.6 miles.

As shown in Table 2, the one-way ANOVA procedure revealed that there was a significant difference among eight different types of sport in the mean distance traveled to their assigned facilities ($p<0.01$).

The sports that deviated the most from the mean travel distance for all sports (μ=4.8 miles) were volleyball (μ=6.8 miles) and softball (μ=5.9 miles). This may be due to the fact that all volleyball participants played at one facility. Similarly, there were only four different softball facility locations, second only to volleyball in terms of fewest number of facilities. Also, it is interesting to note that only 0.008% of the sample lived within walking distance (0.25 miles) of the facility where they played their chosen sport. Almost all YSP participants are therefore likely to drive, or take some form of limited public transportation, to reach a given facility.

Table 3 and Table 4 present the description of race proportions and median income of sport participants'. In most of the sports, participants were from predominantly White neighborhoods. The blocks comprising of participants of tackle football and cheerleading were racially neutral. The mean percent of White and African-American participants was derived from a pool of neighborhood values that ranged from 0 to 100 percent. As a whole, a total of 2,055 participants came from the neighborhoods that were above the mean percent of African-Americans (25%) for neighborhoods in the metropolitan region. Also, aside from the neighborhoods of participants in tackle football and cheerleading, mean income ranged from $61,146 to $78,323 . Baseball participants' had the highest median income, while participants of tackle football and cheerleading were $48,866, and $47,465 respectively.

As shown in Table 5, the results of a multivariate regression analysis showed that the travel distance to participate in YSP increases as the percentage of White residents from their home neighborhood (census block group) increases. Specifically, controlling for median income and the number of persons unemployed, for every 1% increase in the percent white of the neighborhood, the distance they travel to a facility increases by 0.031 miles (p<0.01). Figure 2 represents the relationships between travel distance and the percent of white in neighborhoods.

In this figure, a total of 19 facilities were mapped out with graduated symbols. The larger the symbol, the farther the average YSP participating family travelled to attend events held there. While it might be assumed that locations closer to downtown may have shorter travel distances due to increased residential densities, the result of Figure 2 suggests an alternative pattern. Many of the facilities located in suburban neighborhoods, namely those over-represented by White residents—drew participants from a wider footprint than those more centrally located and certainly those located in neighborhoods over-represented with minority residents. With regard to income and facility travel distance, the results of a univariate regression analysis showed that there was no significant relationship between median income of neighborhoods of participants and travel

distance. The results of the t-test showed that there was a significant difference in miles travelled by participants that are exclusively female (M=5.9, SD=3.8) as compared to all other sports (M=4.7, SD=3.5) at .01 level.

Figure 3 reveals the results of a cluster analysis. Red dots represent the participants who traveled greater distances from home to reach a facility at .01 level, while blue dots represent the participants who traveled shorter distances from home to reach a facility at .01 level. Only blue dots and red dots represent statistically significant clusters. The results showed that children that live out of town were more likely to play the sport not played at their local facility.

Figures 4 to 11 are the maps for the cluster analysis by sport. As same as Figure 3, red dots represent the participants who traveled greater distances from home to reach a facility at .01 level while dark orange dots represent the ones who traveled greater distances from home to reach a facility at .05 level. Blue dots represent the participants who traveled shorter distances from home to reach a facility at .01 level while green dots represent the ones who traveled shorter distance from home to reach a facility at .05 level. The succession of figures reveals that there is significant clustering of youth sport participants living in close proximity to others who travel similarly short and long distances to reach facilities, and that these patterns of significant clustering shift by sport.

The contrast in travel distance clustering is evident when comparing sports such as tackle football (home neighborhoods over-represented by non-White participants) and flag football (home neighborhoods more consistent with city's overall demographic profile). In tackle football there is no significant clustering, implying that participants that live close to one another vary greatly in the distances they travel to reach facilities. However, it is also clear that participants traveling from neighborhoods over-represented by White residents are willing to travel farther to play the sport than are those participants originating from neighborhoods over-represented by racial minorities. In flag football there is significant clustering of participants traveling longer distances to reach facilities (red) and shorter distances to reach facilities (blue), with those traveling shorter distances clustered on the east side of the city (the location of most of the city's neighborhoods over-resented by White residents). It is also worth noting that a considerable contingent of flag football players from the northeastern corridor of the city (location of many of the city's almost exclusively White neighborhoods) stayed within their neighborhood to play flag football.

Discussion

Overall, only 0.008% of the sample lived within walking distance (<0.25 miles) of the facility that they participated in YSP at. As such, the majority of participants need to use public transportation or drive a

private vehicle to the facilities. A series of analyses disclosed the dynamics among travel distance, sport types, and socio-demographic characteristics. First, the results showed that a total of 5,652 participants played at 19 facilities. A total of nine facilities were used by 373 participants from 16 tackle football teams; whereas a total of 11 facilities were used by 1,294 participants from 90 flag football teams and by 1,374 participants from a total of 123 soccer teams. As a general trend, what is revealed by the GIS visualization analysis is that for many sports—namely soccer, flag football, and to a lesser extent baseball and softball—parents from racially homogenous neighborhoods are choosing to travel outside of their home neighborhood to participate at facilities with a heterogeneous racial and SES profile. As such, we might surmise that sport-based "communities" are being forged more around cultural and social activities associated with the sport than with a socio-geographic configuration. Conversely, in sports such as basketball and tackle football, participants are significantly more likely to stay within or close to their home neighborhoods. As such, we might conclude that these sports promote in-neighborhood community building—but possibly at the expense of cultural integration/desegregation.

Primarily, sport participation entails two types of resources—opportunities to be involved in sport programs and motivation to go along with those opportunities. As a policy maker and YSP organizer, it is vital to promote both because these two resources are interrelated. In other words, opportunities can affect motivation and motivation can affect opportunities. The study of sport participation has typically emphasized individual factors related to youth's self-selection out of sport, rather than reduced opportunities (i.e., lack of sport leagues) (Balish et al., 2014). The results of this study tease out the significance of increasing more opportunities. Participants of volleyball and softball tended to travel farther than other participants because of the restricted number of facilities. The results of one-way ANOVA procedures confirmed that there was a significant difference in the mean distance travelled to facilities among the different sports. For instance, only one facility served a total of 249 participants from the 21 volleyball teams, and only four facilities served a total of 370 participants for the 37 softball teams. Parents seem to be overcoming this potential barrier so that their child can play a certain girl-only or girl-dominant sport. In fact, if parents wanted their girls to play this league in the fall season there was no choice but participate in volleyball or softball, because all other sport leagues were male-oriented sports. For girls that want to participate in a more traditional form of sport, their only choice is to participate in volleyball. Similarly, the only option for girls in the spring season is softball or male-oriented baseball leagues. Consequently, further investigation is needed to determine if this restricted

number of facilities is a barrier to participation in female sports. At the same time, more options may be needed for girls' YSP participation. This could be achieved by offering more co-ed friendly recreational sports such as ultimate frisbee or by encouraging greater female participation in existing co-ed compatible sports such as flag football.

Limitations and Future Implications

This study used the block data rather than individual data to investigate socio-demographic information. For future studies, it may be important to collect self-reported data of individual participants and compare it with block data. This study used travel distance to reflect the sport infrastructure influence, but other quantitative measurements may have highlighted different components of the spatial environment that also influence participation in YSP. For instance, an urban sprawl index was calculated based on residential density, land use mix, degree of centering and street accessibility (Ewing, Schmid, Killingsworth, Zlot, & Raudenbush, 2003), which might explain another aspect of environmental factors focusing on infrastructure conditions impacting this study. The sample for this study used the public community-based YSP. However, as many sport sociologists have contended (Eitzen & Sage, 2009 for more information), the nature of sport programs offered by private country clubs or private sport programs is very different from public programs. In the former type of sport programs, participants have more opportunities to work with a greater number of coaches and play sports at facilities with better equipment. Consequently, it may be important to broaden the scope of samples in future studies.

The role of travel distance in sport participation has been controversial. For instance, Boiché and Sarrazin (2009) claimed that a greater distance may influence the decision to drop out of sport activities. On the contrary, Balish and colleagues (2014) confirmed that sport participants are inclined to travel a greater distance to sport programs than people who discontinued participating in sports. Although this study disclosed the role of travel distance among sport participants related to socio-demographic characteristics and sport types, future studies may need to examine the role of distance with people who dropped out from the sport programs as well.

Moreover, while many studies have borrowed eminent theories such as self-determination theory, social cognitive theory, and the theory of planned behavior to explain predictions of sport participation (Balish et al., 2014), these theories have not been successful at illustrating how environmental variables such as facility location and travel distance may be associated with sport participation and dropout of sport programs. Future studies may need to bring a modeled conceptual

framework with theoretical backgrounds to explain the role of environmental variables within organized sport programs more broadly. The concepts and theories surrounding social segregation, social inclusion, and social exclusion may be helpful.

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Tables

Table 1

Number of Participants by Facilities and Sport

Facility	*Sport*								*Total participants by facility*	*# sports by facility*
	TF	*FF*	*VB*	*CL*	*SC*	*BK*	*BB/TB*	*SB*		
1	24	0	0	23	0	0	0	0	47	2
2	0	0	0	0	0	112	0	0	112	1
3	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	1
4	0	104	0	0	135	0	122	47	408	4
5	0	222	0	0	17	0	239	0	478	3
6	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	0	60	1
7	50	27	0	30	9	58	0	0	174	5
8	0	87	0	0	110	0	125	0	322	3
9	0	60	0	0	62	0	0	0	122	2
10	23	331	0	20	535	0	380	237	1,526	6
11	71	0	0	39	120	0	0	0	230	3
12	24	0	249	13	0	89	0	0	375	4
13	0	127	0	0	125	0	133	0	385	3
14	85	111	0	47	149	0	136	29	557	6
15	0	114	0	0	69	89	0	0	272	3
16	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	1
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	57	1
18	0	69	0	0	0	185	84	0	338	3
19	55	42	0	8	43	0	0	0	148	4
Total participants by sport	373	1,294	249	180	1,374	593	1,219	370	5,652	
# facilities by sport	9	11	1	6	11	6	7	4		
# teams by sport	16	90	21	14	123	61	81	37	443	
Avg dist (miles) by sport	4.8	4.3	6.8	4.6	5.1	5.0	4.4	5.9		
Min dist	.14	.12	.69	.16	.12	.16	.14	.18		
Max dist	26.7	22.1	24.3	19.9	27.0	32.6	25.5	31.0		

Notes. TF = Tackle Football, FF = Flag Football, VB = Volleyball, CL = Cheerleading, SC = Soccer, BK = Basketball, BB/TB = Baseball/T-ball, SB = Softball

Table 2

ANOVA: Mean Distance Traveled to Assigned Facilities by Sport

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	7	2157.44	308.21	25.61	.00
Within groups	5,644	67917.87	12.03		
Total	5,651	70075.31			

Table 3

Racial Profiles of Blocks of Participants by Sport Types

Sport	*White (%)*	*African-American (%)*	*Difference (%)*	*Total(%)*
Tackle Football	52.7	41.4	11.3	94.1
Flag Football	68.7	25.1	43.6	93.8
Volleyball	70.9	22.9	48	93.8
Cheerleading	47.9	47.0	0.9	94.9
Soccer	70.0	23.9	46.1	93.9
Basketball	61.4	32.7	28.7	94.1
Baseball	76.2	17.3	58.9	93.5
Softball	73.6	20.1	53.5	93.7
Mean	65.2	28.8	36.4	

Table 4

Median Income of Block of Participants by Sport Types

Sport	Median Income
Tackle Football	48,866
Flag Football	71,713
Volleyball	70,691
Cheerleading	47,465
Soccer	71,772
Basketball	61,146
Baseball	78,323
Softball	77,125
Mean	65,888

Table 5

Multivariate Regression: Travel Distance to Participate in YSP and Percentage of White Residents from Home Neighborhood

	B	*Std. Error*	*t*	*p*
Percentage of white residents	0.031	0.003	11.09	0.00
Income	-0.000	0.001	-5.8	0.002
Unemployment	0.002	0.001	3.17	0.00
R^2		0.02		

Figures

Figure 1

A Theoretical Sketch of the Complex Relations of Neighborhood, Sport Participation, and Community-Building

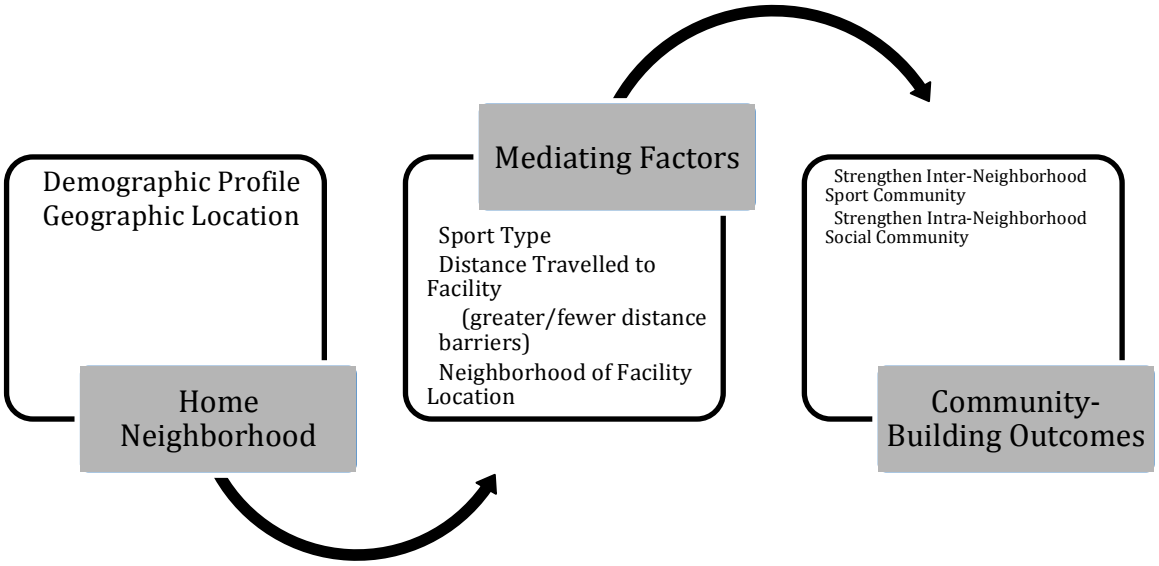


Figure 2

Visualization of Travel Distance of Each Facility and r Neighborhood Race Demographics

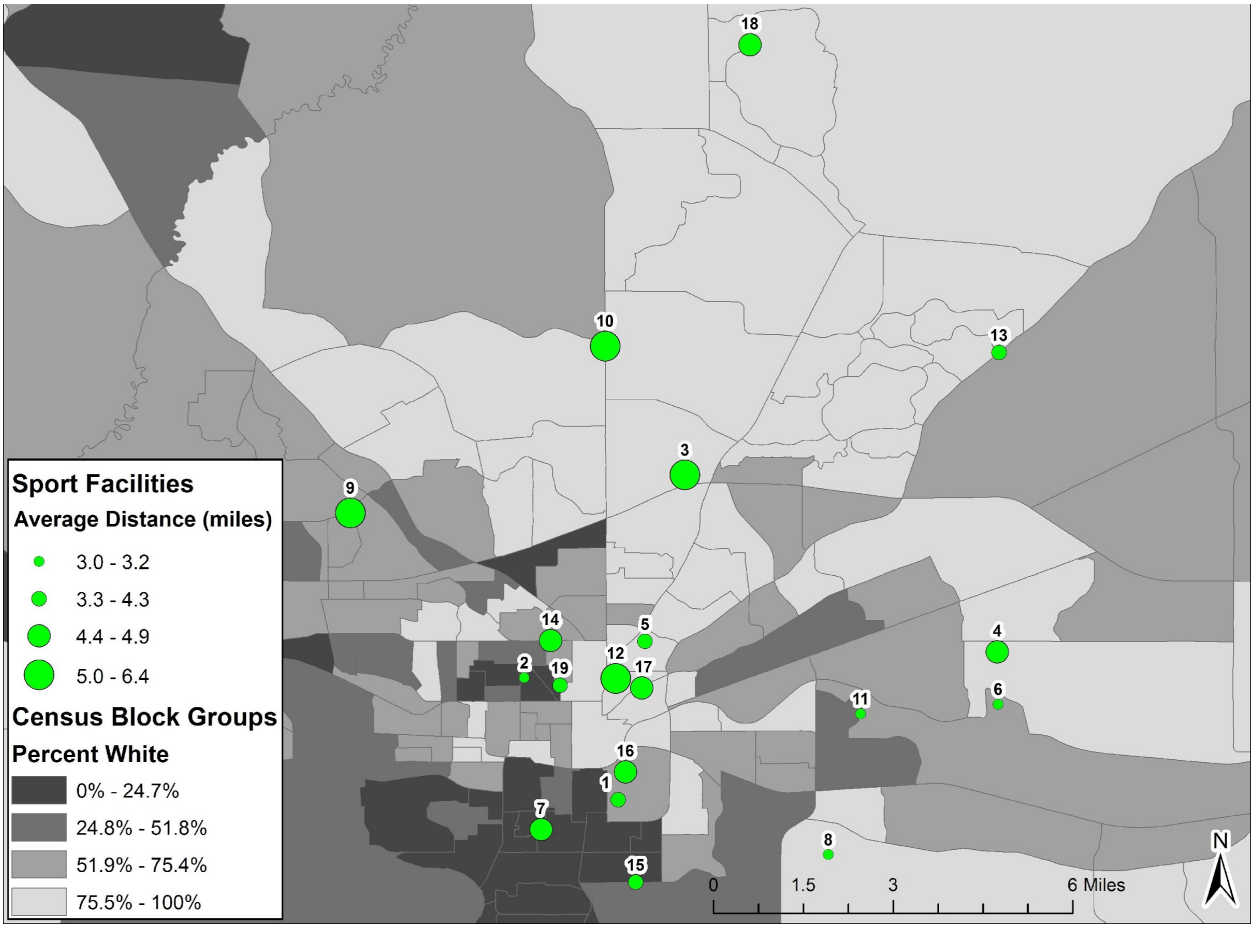


Figure 3

Aggregated Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Traveled to YSP Facilities in Relation to Neighborhood Race Demographics

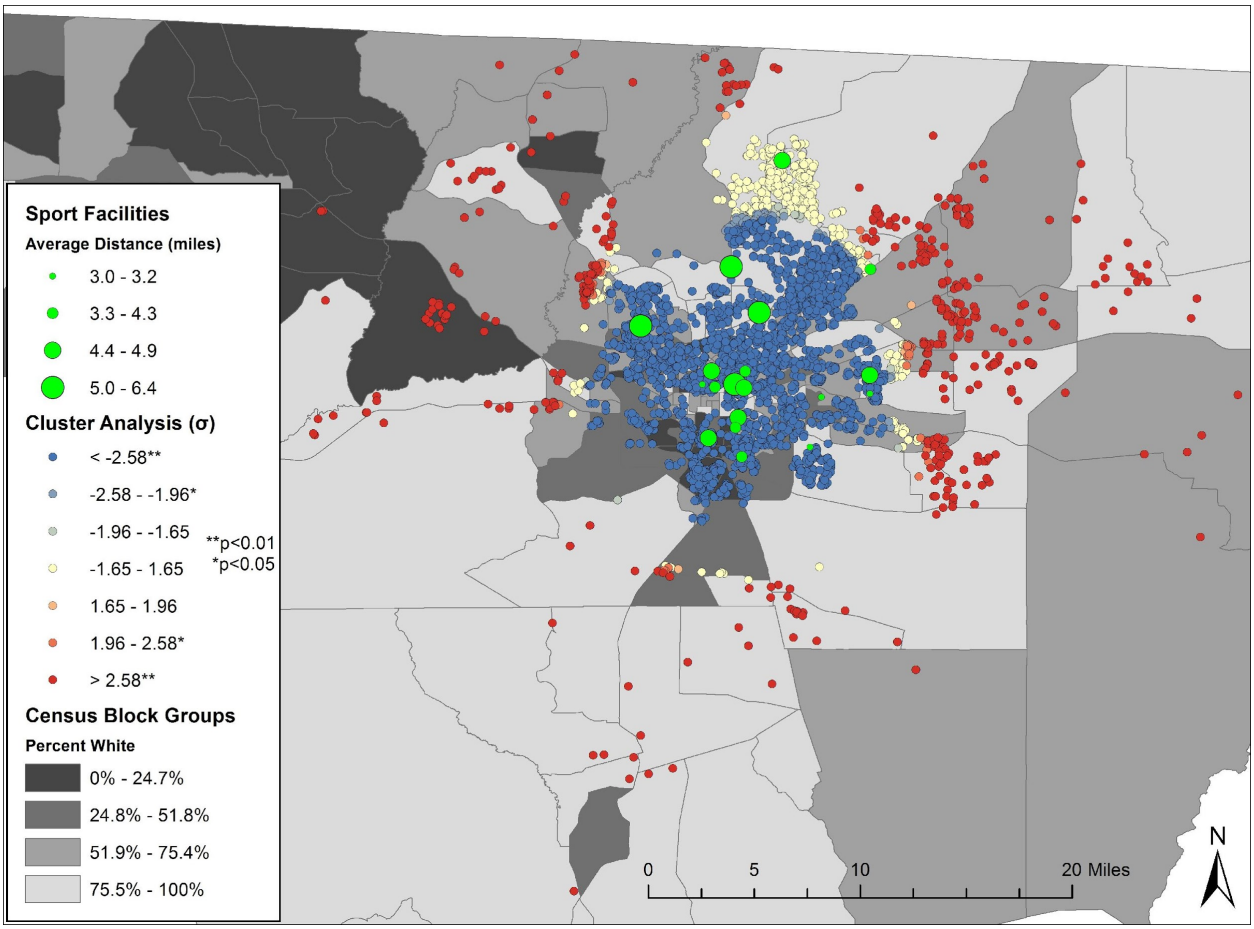


Figure 4

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Tackle Football and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics

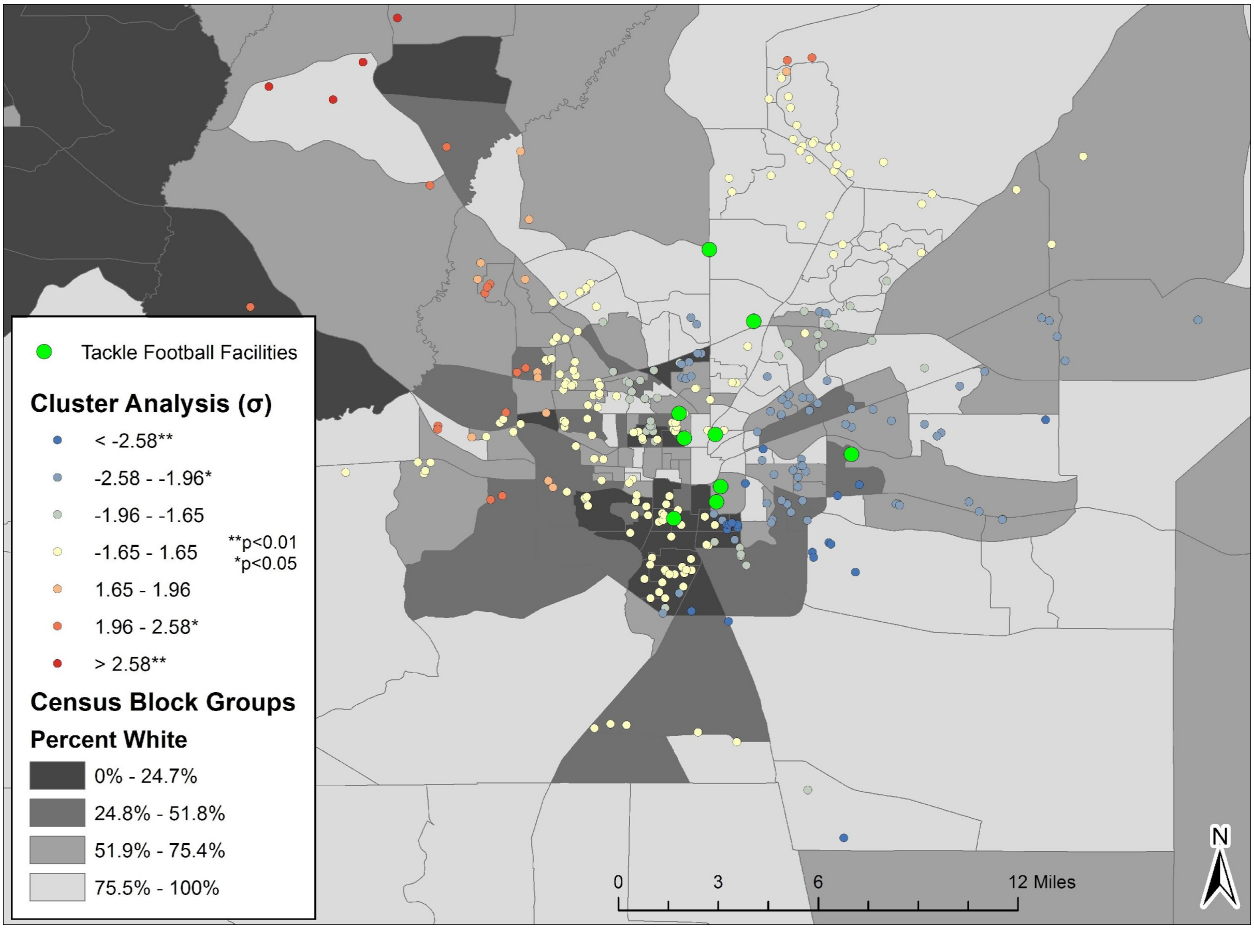


Figure 5

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Flag Football and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics

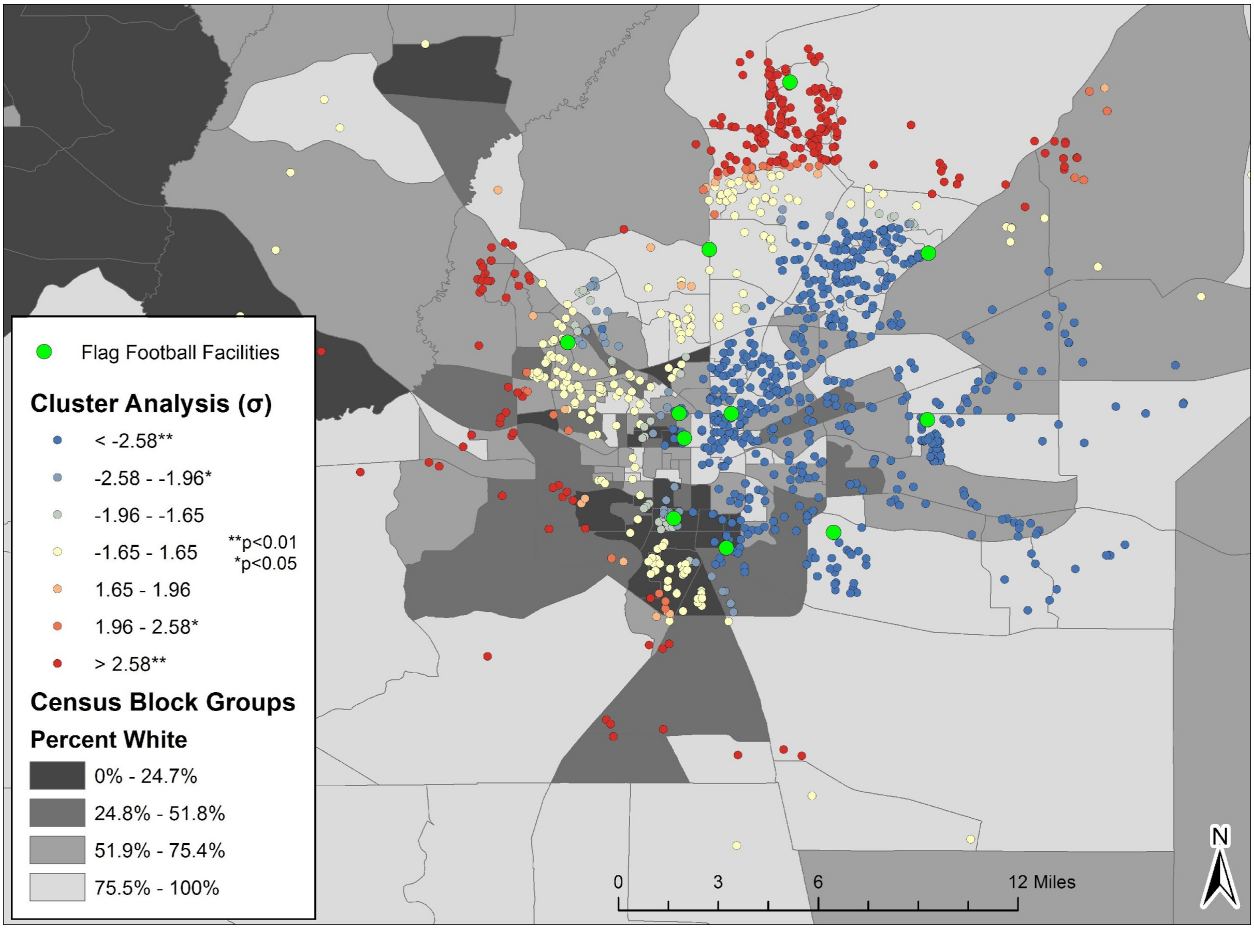


Figure 6

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Volleyball and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics

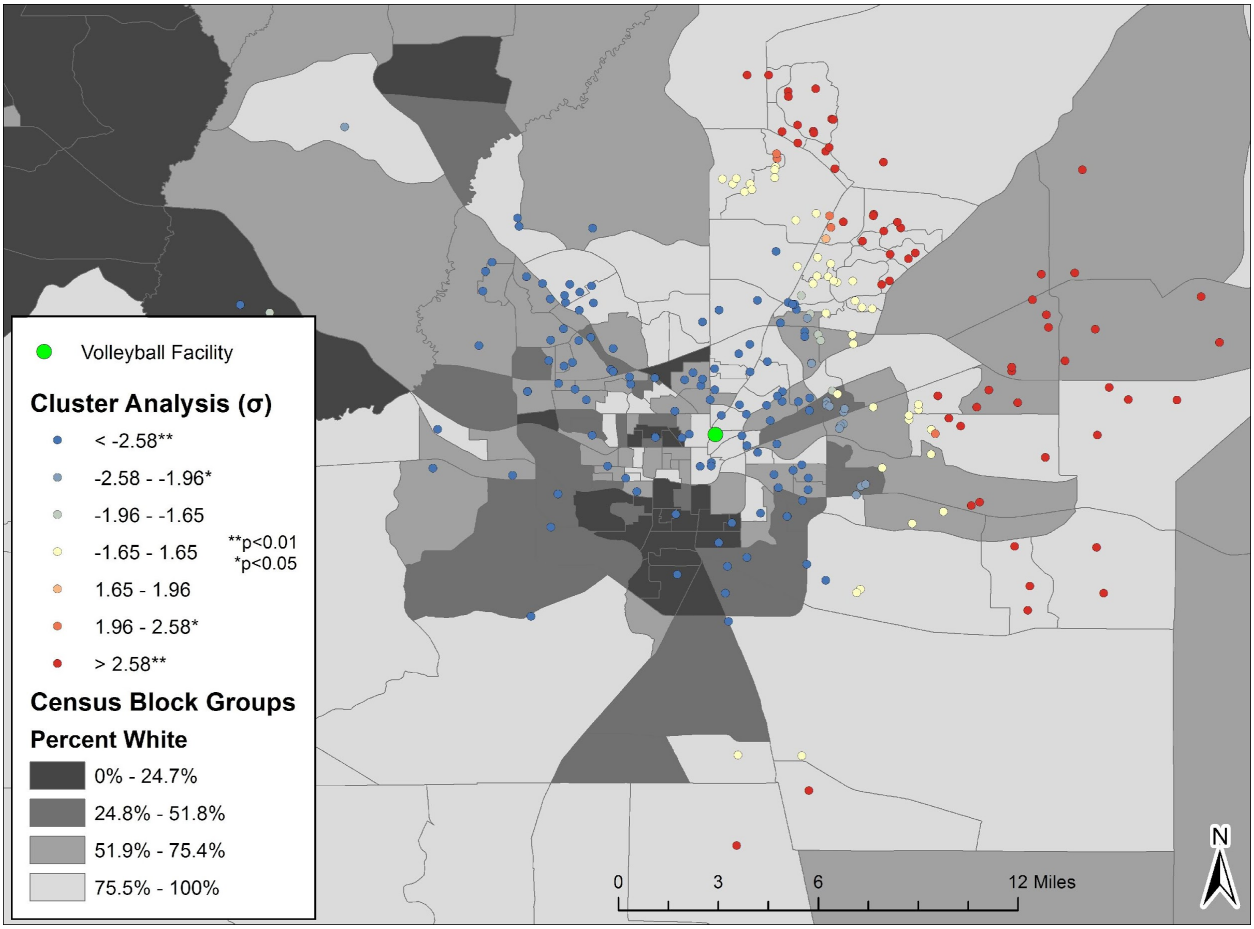


Figure 7

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Cheerleading and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics

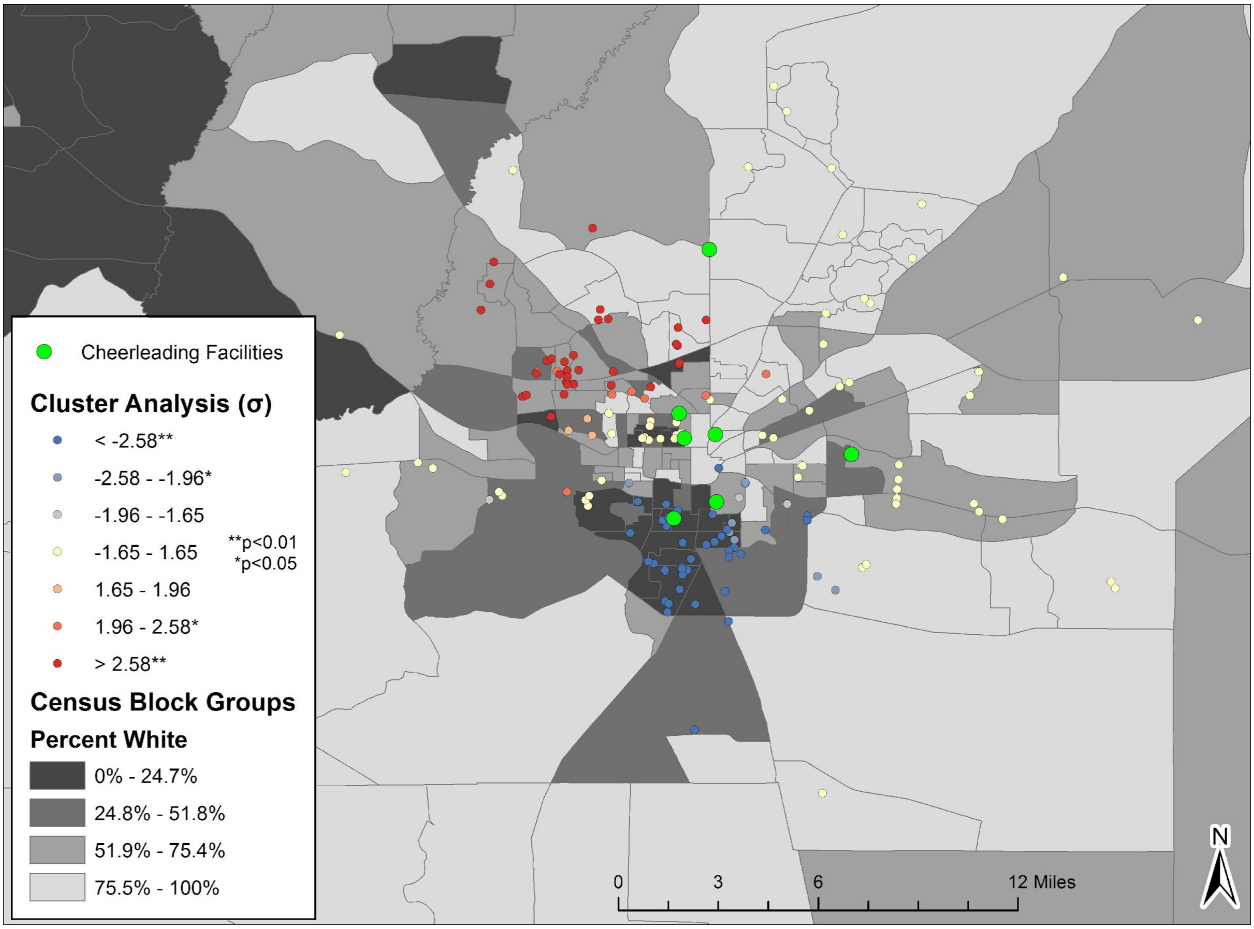


Figure 8

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Softball and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics

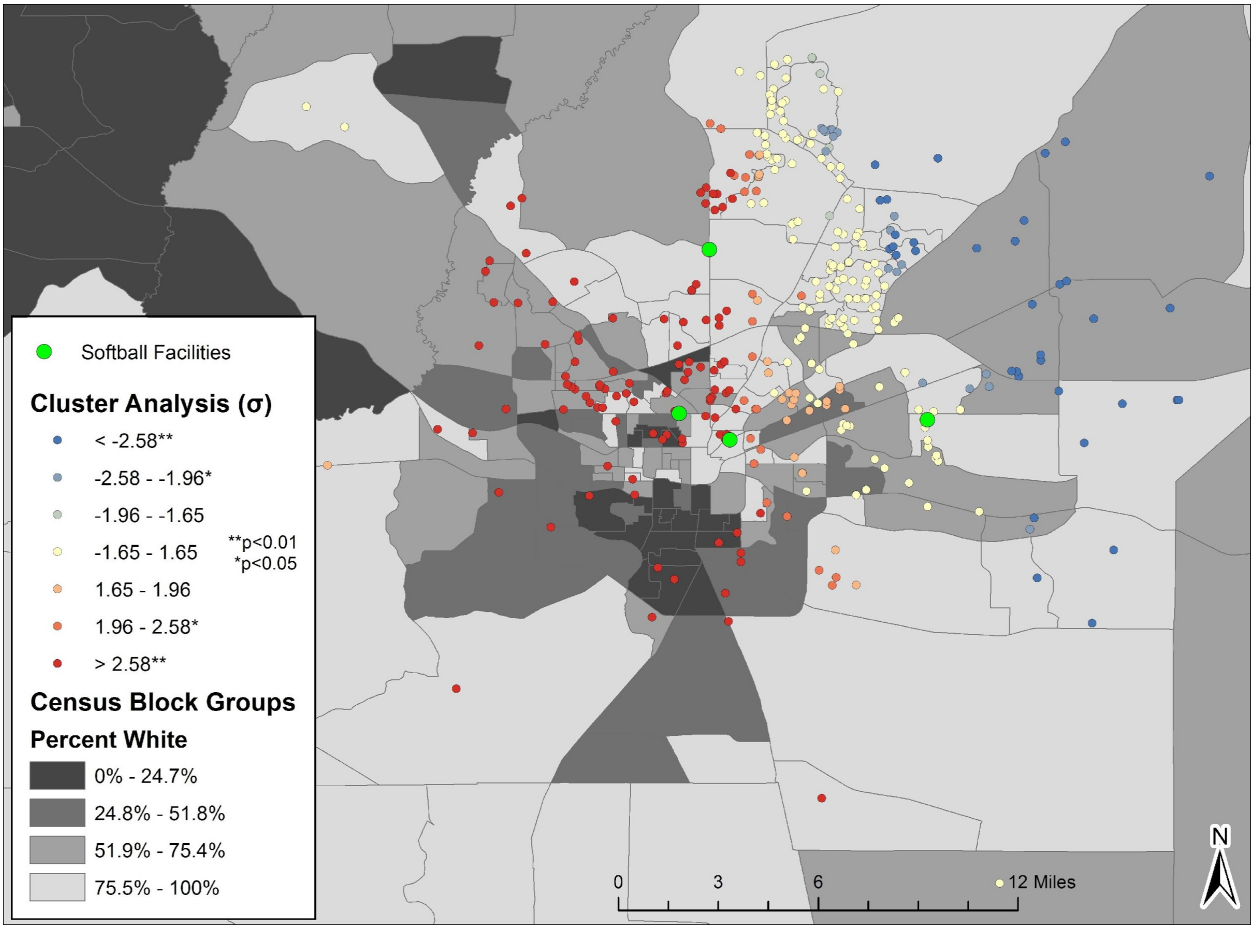


Figure 9

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Baseball/T-ball and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics

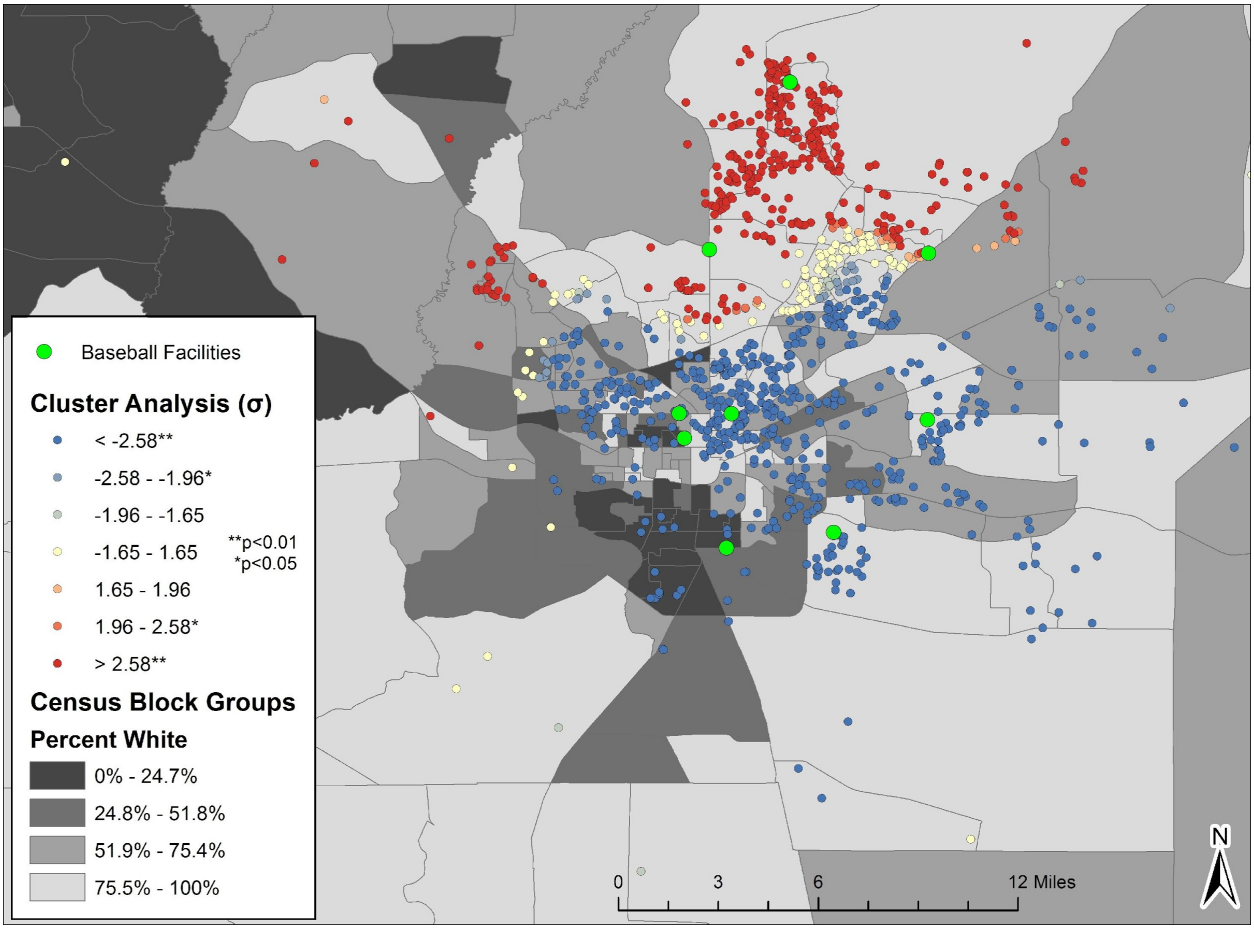


Figure 10

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Soccer and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics

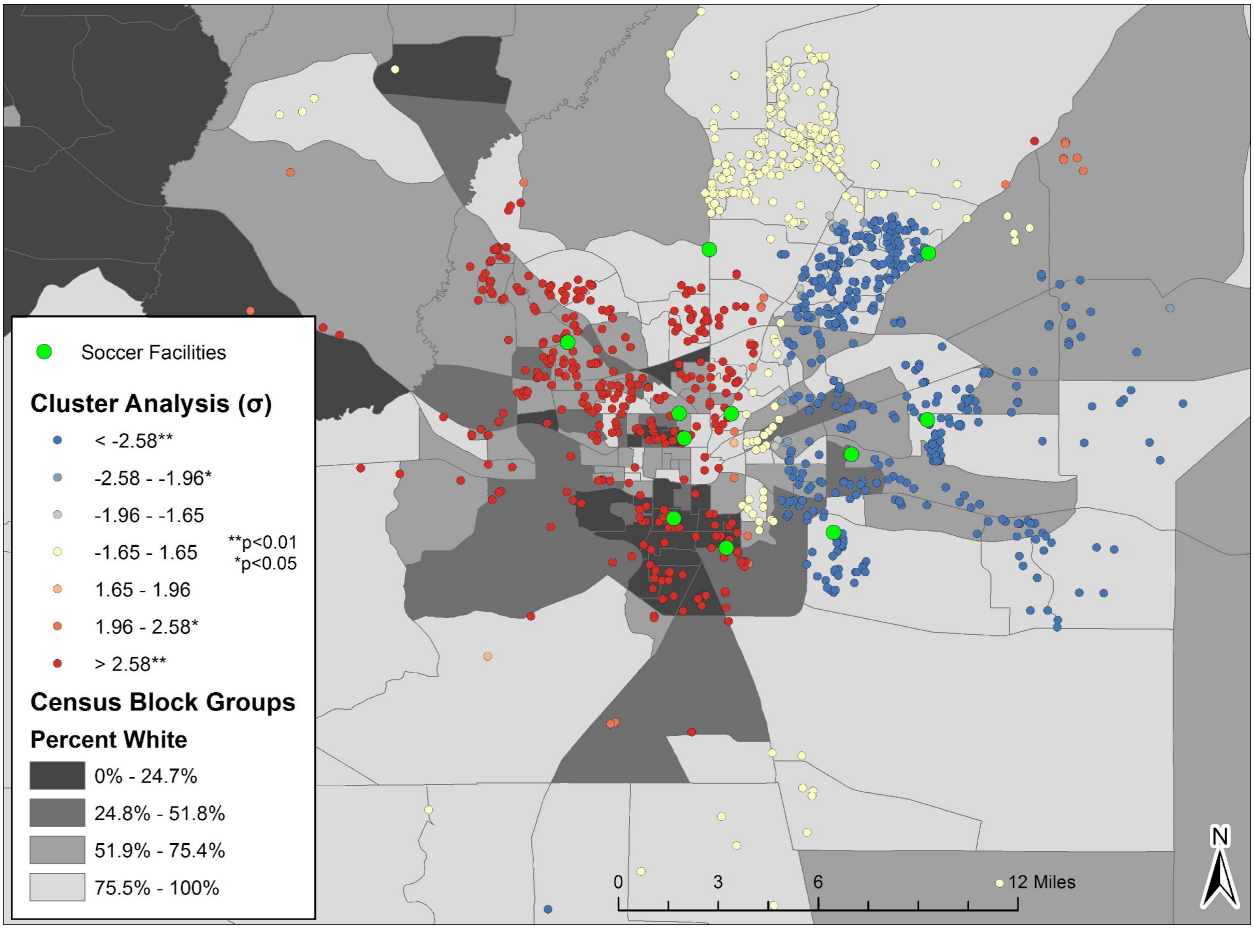
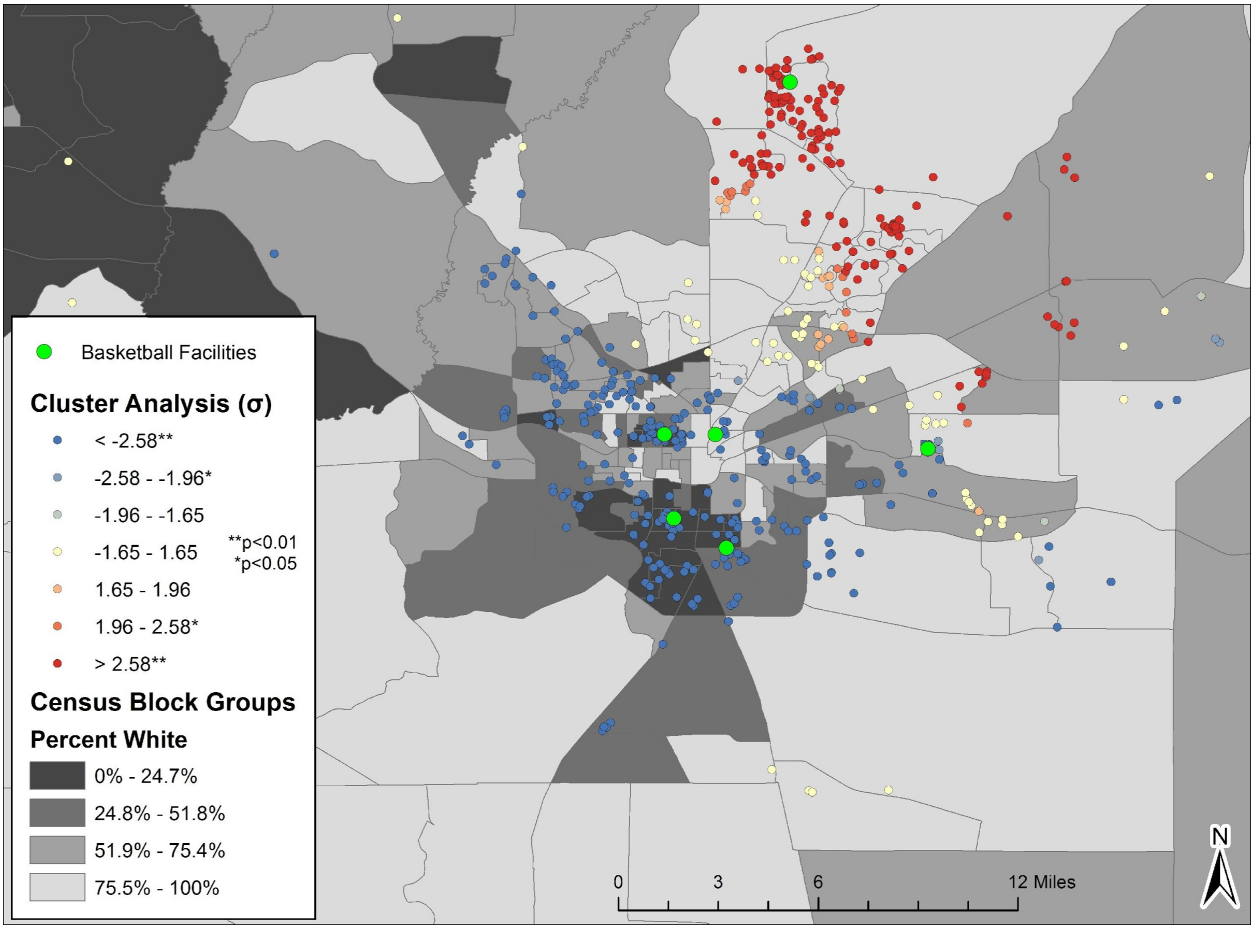


Figure 11

Cluster Analysis Visualization of Distance Travelled for Basketball and Travel Distance and Neighborhood Race Demographics



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The Salience of Sport in Cross-Race Friendship Selection

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In response to growing racial concerns, stakeholders have called for programs that facilitate positive cross-race interactions. Adolescence has been targeted as the most effective life stage to initiate programs promoting relationships. Since schools are one of the primary social influences on adolescent development, they have been emphasized as a particularly important setting for promoting intergroup contact. Sport plays an important role in the experiences of students, and contributes to intergroup relations within a school. The purpose of this study is to examine the unique effect of sport participation on cross-race friendship selection. Using data from Wave I of The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), mixed-effects regression models and analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used to assess the effects of sport participation on friendship heterogeneity. Overall, participation in sport activities did not significantly influence the racial heterogeneity of adolescent's friendship networks.

The importance of promoting civil society has been magnified in recent years, with Edwards and Gaventa (2013) suggesting it is the "essential task" of the 21st century (p. 1). While any singular definition of the term would fall short of capturing its multifaceted nature, a civil society can broadly be characterized as "a social infrastructure of dense networks of face-to-face relationships that cross-cut existing social cleavages such as race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and gender" (Edwards, Foley, & Diani, 2001, p. 17). Although progress has certainly been made on this front, most societies remain deeply divided along one or more of these

social cleavages. Such schisms not only inhibit the development of civil societies, but also contribute to the prevailing social order, which perpetuates inequality through various forms of overt and latent discrimination (Bourdieu, 1986; Weber, 1957).

In the United States, racial dimensions of inequality are particularly salient due to the deep-rooted history of racism in American history, culture, and politics. Although the presidential election of Barack Obama in 2008 led many to conclude the U.S. was entering a "post-racial" era, racial inequalities have persisted and in many cases deepened throughout the country (Omi & Winant, 2015). The social prejudices that accompany these inequalities, combined with visual categorizations of race, contribute to the largest divide in social networks in the United States (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Strong racial homophily is evident in just about every social relation one encounters, from marriage (Kalmign, 1998) to work associations (Ibarra, 1995). For example, a nationally representative sample in 1985 found that only 8% of adults "discussed important matters" with a person of another race (Marsden, 1987), and while the overall racial heterogeneity of the American population has increased markedly since this time, recent studies suggest the salience of race in social relations has remained constant (Smith, McPherson, & Smith-Lovin, 2014). This trend has led to growing concerns that the United States is fragmenting rather than integrating (Lichter, 2013), causing political and cultural discord that severely inhibits the progression of a civil society.

In response to these concerns, numerous politicians, policymakers, and scholars have called for programs that facilitate positive cross-race interactions. While promoting these relationships is germane at every age level, adolescence has been targeted as the most effective life stage to initiate such programs (Watkins, Larson, & Sullivan, 2007). Adolescence is a period of considerable psychological growth, yet it is also when the formation of strong social cliques can magnify perceived inter-group differences (Brown, 2004). While they possess the mental dexterity to develop a better understanding of various out-groups, many adolescents incubate themselves in same-group relationships which enable discriminatory attitudes and behavior (Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005; Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002). As a result, adolescence is considered a "significant turning point" (Watkins et al., 2007, p. 381), where individuals either develop the competencies to form cross-group relationships, or contribute to the further fragmentation of society.

Since schools are one of the primary social influences on adolescent development (Brown & Evans, 2002), they have been emphasized as an important setting for promoting intergroup contact (Hewstone et al., 2015). After the Supreme Court's watershed ruling on Brown v. Board of

Education in 1954, various techniques have been employed to promote cross-group interactions in schools (Rivkin, 2000). While the results of these efforts have been largely mixed (Reardon, Grewal, Kalogrides, & Greenberg, 2012), extracurricular activities have been highlighted as an especially viable mechanism for promoting positive intergroup contact (Crain, 1981; Eccles, Barber, & Stone, 2003; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2013; Scott & Damico, 1984). For example, Moody (2001) found that interracial friendships were more likely in schools with racially diverse extracurricular programs, while Crain (1981) found that schools with high extracurricular participation had greater interracial contact and stronger bonds between students.

As the most popular extracurricular activity in terms of participation (Fredricks & Eccles, 2006), sport plays a particularly important role in the experiences of students and contributes immensely to intergroup relations within schools (Clotfelter, 2002). Ideally, sport provides active goal-oriented settings for teammates to work together towards common objectives (e.g. winning), which helps reduce prejudice and promote acceptance among players (Miracle, 1981; Pettigrew, 1998). This process has received considerable support from school administrators and is romanticized with great effect in various forms of sport media and movies (Leary, 2013; Rowe, 2004). However, empirical studies assessing the impact of sport participation on racial integration have produced inconsistent findings, with some concerned sport may actually intensify racial segregation in schools (Chu & Griffey, 1985; McPherson, 1976; Sargent, 1972). While sport has helped facilitate positive cross-group interactions in certain instances (Clotfelter, 2002; Harris, 1998; Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Tonts, 2005), it has also been a context for racial and cultural dissonance (Hawkins, 2013). Clearly, more work is needed to understand the factors and conditions that help facilitate this process (Cunningham, Bopp, & Sagas, 2010; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011).

This paper examines how sport participation is associated with cross-race friendship selection in schools. After controlling for key structural and social characteristics of schools that are known to influence race relations, the friendship racial heterogeneity of sport participants was compared with other extracurricular participation categories (e.g., academic, performing arts, other). Key social structural characteristics of student's extracurricular profiles were then analyzed to examine these differences and further explicate the association between sport and cross-race friendship selection. Finally, key characteristics between specific sport activities were assessed to highlight their potential influence on cross-race friendship selection.

Theoretical Background

Allport's (1954) contact theory is the predominant framework guiding initiatives that address issues of racism, prejudice, and discrimination through intergroup contact. According to Allport (1954), cross-group contact is positive and effective only when four conditions are met: (1) equal status of the groups in the situation, (2) common goals, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) support from the authorities, laws, and customs. If these conditions are present, intergroup contact is hypothesized to reduce prejudice and mitigate conflicts between groups (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). Recently, scholars have highlighted the importance of a fifth condition, friendship potential, which has been added to Allport's initial model (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). From this perspective, situations that provide close interactions between participants facilitate friendship-developing mechanisms (e.g. self-disclosure) that enhance positive contact effects (Pettigrew et al., 2011). By promoting what Allport (1954) described as intimate contact, it is posited that friendship inherently evokes the four conditions that promote positive intergroup relations (Pettigrew, 1998). In addition, since friendship entails prolonged interactions that extend beyond the immediate situation, the likelihood that positive effects will generalize to other social contexts and outgroups is increased (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007).

Despite a strong theoretical base for contact theory, empirical studies of intergroup contact have produced mixed results, with some suggesting intergroup contact can actually intensify schisms between groups (Pettigrew et al., 2011). These studies highlight additional factors such as the characteristics of the contact setting, the individuals and groups being targeted, and the conflict(s) under study which can influence intergroup interactions (Patchen, 1999; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Stephan, 1987). In addition, since effects (positive or negative) are the product of a specific set of conditions that may not be replicable in other settings, it is difficult to generalize beyond the immediate situation (Pettigrew, 1998). Consequently, while positive intergroup relations may be produced in a particular setting, these sentiments do not automatically extend to broader social relations. This highlights a need to understand how the structural arrangement of social situations may influence the clustering of ties amongst adolescents, particularly in schools.

Blau's (1977) macrosociological theory is a common framework for this analysis, and highlights two predominant factors that influence intergroup contact (Blum, 1985; Floyd & Shinew, 1999). First, the probability of intergroup relations is inversely related to the size of one's in-group, such that those with smaller in-groups have greater interaction with out-

groups, while those with larger in-groups have less interaction with out-groups (Blau, 1974, 1977). The size of the overall population is also an important consideration related to this factor, since larger populations afford more potential relations from which students can select similar ties (Blau, 1994). Second, the more heterogeneous a population is on any nominal characteristic (e.g. race), the more likely individuals are to engage in cross-group relations based on that characteristic (Blau, 1977). This is perhaps the most straightforward of Blau's arguments, as opportunities for adolescent cross-race friendship formation depend upon racial mixing opportunities (Echols & Graham, 2013; Graham, Munniksma, & Juvonen, 2014; Simpkins, Schaefer, Price, & Vest, 2013).

When these factors are applied to the school context, it is important to consider that the social dynamics of student bodies are much more malleable than general populations, since students interact within a relatively bounded setting and various institutional policies may influence interracial mixing opportunities. Among these, school sport activities have been highlighted as one of the most effective policies for promoting positive interracial contact (Eccles et al., 2003; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2013). Well-directed athletic teams are thought to provide a safe and autonomous environment for interracial teammates to work together towards common goals and build positive relationships (Pettigrew, 1998). Due to the high social status of sport within schools, the positive out-group perceptions formed by athletes are also expected to diffuse across the broader school network faster and more efficiently than those formed in other activity types (e.g. performing arts, academic clubs) (Schaefer, Simpkins, Vest, & Price, 2011). Moreover, the prominence and popularity of Black sporting celebrities has led to a widespread belief that sport is "colorblind" (Winograd, 2011), and offers a prime opportunity for racial self-expression (Dyson, 1994; Jarvie & Reid, 1997), with several studies indicating sport participation has improved race relations within schools (Hartmann et al., 2012; Schaefer et al., 2011).

The association between sport participation and positive intergroup contact is supported by studies examining racial (Hartmann, Sullivan, & Nelson, 2012), cultural (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011), and class-based (Skinner et al., 2008) divides. The theoretical rationale is grounded in Feld's (1981) focus theory, which suggests individuals participating in activities organized around similar foci are more likely to form interpersonal relationships. This viewpoint proposes that in addition to the direct impact of similarities across categorical attributes, shared relations to a foci (i.e., sport activity) can indirectly influence students through mutual interactions (Feld, 1981). From this perspective, since the clustering is focused around the purpose or objectives of the

sport, rather than the socio-demographic profiles of participants, sport activities offer ideal settings for cross-race interactions that might otherwise be considered incongruous given the racial composition of the school or community (Crain, 1981; Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003). Although categorical attributes remain salient in sport settings, Feld (1981) suggests that "unless the similarities of attitudes, attributes, and social positions are translated into the structuring of focused interaction, their selective effects on tie formation will be overwhelmed by structural features that do focus the interaction." (p. 1019).

Yet involvement in organized sport activities does not inherently facilitate positive cross-race interactions (Chu & Griffey, 1985; Rees & Miracle, 1984). Different sport activities offer unique structural and social contexts that can create status discrepancies among participants based on race (Floyd, 1998; Floyd & Shinew, 1999). These discrepancies influence participation rates among different races (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, 1994; Philipp, 1994, 2000; Shinew, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe, 1995; Shinew, Floyd, & Parry, 2004) and significantly impact cross-race interactions within sport settings (Floyd & Shinew, 1999). In the United States, the status value of race is especially salient in sport (Carrington, 2013; Frey & Eitzen, 1991; Pitts & Yost, 2013). Minorities are overrepresented in some sports yet drastically underrepresented in others (Edwards, Bocarro, Kanters, & Casper, 2011; Goldsmith, 2003; Phillips, 1976), and strong racial connotations remain associated with certain sport activities and specific athletic positions (e.g., stacking) (Sack, Singh, & Thiel, 2005). In addition, factors influencing what Phillips (1976) described as the "sports opportunity structure" continue to perpetuate imbalances by limiting participation among certain demographics (p. 48). For example, the cost, time, and resources needed to play certain sports has been shown to inhibit participation among low-income and minority students (Casper, Bocarro, Kanters, & Floyd, 2011; Edwards et al., 2011; Goldsmith, 2003; Lee, Burgeson, Fulton, & Spain, 2006), and can lead to drastically different racial profiles among different sports.

The confluence of these factors influences the association between sport and cross-race friendship by creating settings that are not conducive to positive cross-race interactions. In addition, racial imbalances within sport settings may create status differences that reduce the likelihood of forming cross-race friendships among adolescents (Floyd & Shinew, 1999). While previous research has focused primarily on characteristics of sports that are thought to contribute to cross-race friendship formation, such as teamwork and identity (Lawrence, 2005), there has been less work examining the broader social structural features of sport activities. This limitation is noteworthy considering the racial and social characteristics of sport settings play an important role in providing the conditions

necessary for cross-race friendship formation. In addition, it is important to consider how the association between sport and cross-race friendship formation compares to other extracurricular activities (e.g., academics, performing arts, other), since school administrators must understand how different combinations influence cross-race relations between their students.

The purpose of this study was to examine the association between sport participation and cross-race friendship selection among middle and high school students. The analysis was guided by three primary research questions:

1. After controlling for key structural and social characteristics of the school context, do sport participants have more racially heterogeneous friendship networks than participants in other extracurricular activities (e.g., academic, performing arts, and other activities)?
2. Do Blau's (1977) structural principles influence the association between extracurricular participation and cross-race friendship, and what is the relative effect of sport?
3. How do these structural factors vary across different sport activities, and is this variance consistent across races?

Methods

Data

Our analysis utilized secondary data from The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Add Health is a nationally representative sample of students from middle schools and high schools throughout the United States (grades 7-12). Schools were systematically selected with probability proportional to enrollment from a list of 80 sampling strata, which were delineated by factors such as geographic location, school size, and grade span. Surveys were administered to the complete student population within these schools to gather information on a variety of health and behavioral constructs. In addition, global friendship network data was collected by asking students to nominate up to five male and five female friends from a roster of students enrolled in either their school or a sister school. Interviews were also conducted with administrators, which provided information related to the organizational features of the school.

The data for this particular study comes from the adolescent in-school questionnaire, which was collected during Wave I in 1994-1995. Wave I is the only iteration of this study with global network information, and contains the largest sample of adolescents and schools. Since this study required both school level and individual level data, only schools that completed both the administrator interviews and the student survey were included. In addition, to ensure the reliability of global network measures, only schools with over 50% response rates were included. The final sample consisted of 126 schools and 49,820 students who responded to all variables of interest.

Measures

According to the model of contact theory outlined by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), interactions that facilitate friendship formation enhance positive contact effects. From this perspective, someone who perceives an individual from another group (e.g. race) as a friend must possess a certain level of acceptance for that group (Pettigrew, 1998). In addition, this friendship implies that positive perceptions are more likely to be generalized across other social contexts and outgroups as well (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Since this process is guided by the perception of friendship, not necessarily its reciprocation, we focused on the racial heterogeneity of a student's send-network (e.g., adolescents nominated by ego). This measure represents the racial heterogeneity of the friendship network identified by ego, and ranges from 0 (all friends are the same race as ego) to 1 (all friends are a different race than ego).

The homophilizing effects of gender and SES have been noted in previous research, as adolescents are generally more likely to select friends who are similar on these characteristics (Brown & Larson, 2009; Schaefer et al., 2011). In addition, adolescents with larger friendship networks are expected to have more opportunities to establish cross-race friendships than adolescents with smaller friendship networks (Simpkins et al., 2013). To account for the potentially spurious effects of these individual characteristics, we included measures for gender, socio-economic status (SES), and friendship network size. Gender was measured with a binary dummy coded variable (1=female, 0=male), and SES was measured on a 4-point ordinal scale of maternal education ranging from 0 (Less than high school) to 3 (College degree or higher). The size of friendship networks was measured using Bonacich centrality, which measures a student's centrality weighted by the centrality of their nominated friends (Bonacich, 1987). Bonacich centrality was chosen because it accounts for both the size of a student's friendship network and that of their friends. Race was included as an individual level variable, and classified into four categories: 1) Black, 2) Hispanic/Latino, 3) Other/Mixed, and 4) White.

To control for the influence of key structural and social factors at the school level, we adapted several measures from Moody's (2001) study of institutional factors that influence friendship segregation. The structural measures included the number of students enrolled in the school, racial busing (1 = racial busing, 2= no racial busing), a public/private distinction (1= public, 2= private), and two measures of geographic region (1=South, 2=Non-South; 1= urban, 2= suburban, 3= rural). The social measures included gender and grade friendship segregation, relative density, racial composition, and the racial in-group size. Following Moody (2001), Freeman's (1972) segregation index was used to as an indicator of gender and grade segregation,

an adjusted relative density measure was used to account for the limited selection criteria (e.g., only up to 10 friendship nominations), and racial composition was measured using a generalized heterogeneity measure which can be interpreted as the likelihood that any two students chosen at random are of a different race. Racial in-group size was measured as the proportion of the overall student body that was the same race as ego.

Analysis

Data were analyzed using Statistical Analysis System (SAS) software version 22. The first two research questions were answered using mixed-effects regression models. This technique was chosen due to the sampling design of the Wave I dataset, which was based on a stratified selection of schools. Since the variance between individual responses within schools was expected to be correlated, we incorporated these correlations into our model by expressing measures related to key structural and social features as fixed effects, and measures corresponding to individual responses as random effects. The first model assessed the association between sport and friendship heterogeneity relative to other extracurricular activities (e.g., academics, performing arts, other). To allow for meaningful comparisons between groups, seven discrete participation categories were created: 1) sport activities only (Sport Only), 2) sport in combination with other activities (Sport Combo), 3) academic activities only (Academic Only), 4) performing arts activities only (Performing Arts Only), 5) other activities only (Other Only), 6) combination of other non-sport activities (Other Combo), and 7) no extracurricular activities (None). An interaction effect was also included to determine if these associations were dependent on race.

The second model assessed specific features of student's extracurricular repertoires that may influence friendship heterogeneity, and included several additional variables to represent key structural features based on Blau's (1977) principles. The size of a student's extracurricular repertoire was measured as the average size of the extracurricular activities they participated in (Size). The racial heterogeneity of a student's extracurricular repertoire was measured using the same generalized heterogeneity formula that was used for the school-level variable (Heterogeneity). Racial in-group was measured as the proportion of participants in their extracurricular repertoire that was of the same race (Racial In-group). An interaction effect between these two variables (Heterogeneity*Racial In-group) was included to assess their interdependency. Finally, the relative effect of sport was examined by including variables for the number of extracurricular activities (Number of Activities) a student participated in and the proportion of these activities that were sport (Proportion Sport).

To answer our third question, we utilized a one-way analysis of variance

(ANOVA) model with Bonferroni post-hoc analysis to compare the racial distribution and heterogeneity of different sport activities to the overall school population. Two measures were calculated from the total sample for this analysis. First, a relative in-group ratio was calculated for each racial category by dividing the proportion in-group within a sport activity by the proportion in-group in the entire school. A measure under 1 indicated that the racial in-group proportion within an activity was less than the proportion in the overall school. A measure over 1 indicated that the racial in-group proportion within an activity was greater than the proportion in the overall school. If a particular race was not represented in a school, the ratio was set as a missing value. Second, a relative racial heterogeneity ratio was calculated by dividing the racial heterogeneity of each sport activity by the racial heterogeneity of the overall school. A measure under 1 indicated the racial heterogeneity of an activity was less than the racial heterogeneity of the overall school, and a measure over 1 indicated the racial heterogeneity of an activity was greater than the overall school.

Results

Table 1 displays the individual-level results from the first mixed-effects regression model (the full model can be found in Appendix 1). Increases in Bonacich centrality were associated with significant increases in the racial heterogeneity of students' friendship selections ($B = .043$, $p < .001$), indicating students with larger overall friendship networks selected more racially heterogeneous friends than students with sparser friendship networks. SES was also significantly related to friendship heterogeneity, and indicated increases in SES were associated with significant decreases in cross-race friendship selection ($B = -.005$, $p < .001$). In terms of race, Hispanic/Latino ($B = .072$, $p < .001$), and Other/Mixed ($B = .037$, $p < .001$) race students had significantly more racially heterogeneous friendship selections than White students. There was no significant difference in friendship heterogeneity between Black students and White students..

The main effects for extracurricular participation indicate that White students participating in sport and other activities ($B = -.018$, $p < .001$), other activities only ($B = -.019$, $p < .05$), and a combination of other activities ($B = -.012$, $p < .05$) selected significantly less racially heterogeneous friends than White students participating in no extracurricular activities. The interaction between extracurricular participation and race indicated Black ($B = .038$, $p < .001$), Hispanic/Latino ($B = .027$, $p < .01$), and Other/Mixed race ($B = .019$, $p < .01$) students participating in sport and other activities had significantly more racially heterogeneous friendship selections than same race students participating in no extracurricular activities. There were no other significant associations related to

other participation categories ($p > .05$). These findings indicate that there is an association between participating in sport and other activities and friendship heterogeneity, but that the association is influenced by the race of the student. Specifically, there is a negative association for White students, and a positive association for Black, Hispanic/Latino, and Other/mixed race students.

This may be attributable to key structural characteristics of extracurricular activities. According to Blau's (1977) principles, the number of participants, size of one's racial in-group, and racial heterogeneity of an activity influence opportunities for cross-race contact. Since students often participate in multiple activities that structure their social relations, the second model assessed these characteristics across the breadth of student's extracurricular repertoires. The individual-level results are displayed in Table 2 (the full model can be found in Appendix 2).

Once again, increases in Bonacich centrality were associated with significant increases in the racial heterogeneity of student's friendship selections ($B = .044$, $p < .001$), and increases in SES were associated with significant decreases in the racial heterogeneity of friendship selections ($B = -.005$, $p < .001$). Hispanic/Latino ($B = .069$, $p < .001$) and Mixed/Other ($B = .046$, $p < .001$) race students had significantly more racially heterogeneous friendship selections than White students, and there were no significant differences between White and Black students ($p > .05$). Increases in the overall size of a student's extracurricular repertoire were associated with significant decreases in racially heterogeneous friendship selections ($B = -.030$, $p < .01$). The interaction between racial heterogeneity and racial out-group was significant ($B = -.116$, $p < .001$), indicating that the influence of racial heterogeneity was dependent on the size of a student's racial in-group. Specifically, the racial heterogeneity of a student's extracurricular repertoire was positively associated with friendship heterogeneity, but this influence was contingent on the size of their racial in-group. Finally, the effect of the number of extracurricular activities a student participated in and the proportion of these activities that were sport was not significant ($p > .05$).

Table 3 displays the results of the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) model comparing relative racial in-group ratios between different sport types. For Black students, there were significant differences in racial in-group ratios between sport types ($F = 4.788$, $p < .001$, $n^2 = .036$). On average, the relative proportion of Black students participating in basketball was significantly higher than the relative proportion of Black students participating in field hockey ($p < .05$), ice hockey, ($p < .01$), soccer ($p < .01$), and swimming ($p < .05$). Similarly, the relative proportion of Black students participating in track was significantly larger than the relative proportion of Black students participating in field hockey ($p <$

.05), ice hockey ($p < .01$), soccer ($p < .01$), and swimming ($p < .05$). The relative proportion of Black students participating in football was significantly larger than the relative proportion of Black students participating in ice hockey (< .05). There were also significant differences in racial in-group ratios between sport types for White students ($F = 2.645$, $p < .01$, $n^2 = .018$). The relative proportion of White students participating in ice hockey was significantly larger than the relative proportion of White students participating in dance ($p < .05$), basketball ($p < .01$), field hockey ($p < .05$), football ($p < .01$), swimming ($p < .05$), track ($p < .01$), volleyball ($p < .01$), and wrestling ($p < .01$). There were no significant differences between sport types for Hispanic/Latino students ($p > .05$), and although the variance in racial in-group ratios between sport types was significant for Other/Mixed race students ($F = 1.899$, $p < .05$, $n^2 = .013$), pairwise comparisons revealed no significant difference between specific sport types ($p > .05$).

There were also significant differences in the relative racial heterogeneity of different sports ($F = 5.802$, $p < .001$, $n^2 = .038$). The relative racial heterogeneity of field hockey was significantly lower than dance ($p < .01$), baseball ($p < .01$), basketball ($p < .001$), football ($p < .001$), soccer ($p < .05$), swimming ($p < .01$), track ($p < .01$), volleyball ($p < .01$), wrestling ($p < .01$), and other sports ($p < .01$). Similarly, the relative racial heterogeneity of ice hockey was significantly lower than basketball ($p < .01$), football ($p < .01$), and track ($p < .01$). The relative racial heterogeneity of tennis was also significantly lower than basketball ($p < .05$), football ($p < .05$), and track ($p < .05$).

Discussion and Conclusion

Sport activities have become one of the most popular extracurricular options available to school administrators to enhance cross-race contact opportunities for students, and are commonly believed to promote positive cross-race interactions within schools (Chu & Griffey, 1985, Clotfelter, 2002). The widespread belief in this narrative, among other generalized assumptions, has led many administrators to invest significantly in school sport facilities, often at the expense of other academic, arts, and vocational clubs (Ripley, 2013). Yet our results suggest administrators should carefully consider these decisions. The first multi-level regression model indicated that the influence of sport participation was dependent on race, with negative influences for White students and positive influences for Black, Hispanic/Latino, and Other/Mixed students. However, after controlling for key structural characteristics of student's extracurricular repertoire, there was no significant association between sport participation and friendship heterogeneity. This indicates the structuring of extracurricular activities (i.e., size, racial in-group, racial heterogeneity) may be more salient than sport/non-sport distinctions. Rather than prioritizing sport over other activities, school administrators should consider providing extracurricular policies that encourage positive racial mixing opportunities, regardless of the activity type.

Blau's (1977) macrosociological theory provides a useful framework to inform these decisions. While Blau's principles

suggest cross-race contact is influenced by key features of the school setting, our results indicate these principles are applicable to extracurricular activities as well. Students who were exposed to larger segments of the school population through extracurricular participation had less heterogeneous friendships than students exposed to smaller segments. In addition, students exposed to a larger proportion of same race students in their extracurricular repertoire had less heterogeneous friendships than students exposed to a smaller proportion of same race students. Finally, increases in extracurricular racial heterogeneity were significantly associated with increases in friendship heterogeneity, yet this association was contingent on the size of one's racial in-group. These results indicate that in addition to providing settings that are appropriate for cross-race contact (Allport, 1954), sport administrators should also consider the structural characteristics of their activities. In order to facilitate positive cross-race contact, sport activities must be intentionally designed and managed to do so (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). This not only involves intentional programming to promote positive interactions within the activity, but also intentional management and administration to create settings that are most conducive to those interactions.

This may be especially important in the sport context, as previous research has revealed ongoing racial imbalances between different sport activities (Edwards et al., 2011; Goldsmith, 2003; Phillips, 1976). These imbalances were evident in our study as well, even after controlling for racial distributions at the school level. In addition to highlighting important concerns regarding sport opportunity structures and socioeconomic disadvantages, racial imbalances may influence the nature of cross-race interactions within certain sport contexts (Shinew et al., 2004). In particular, sport and leisure scholars delineate between leisure practices that facilitate true racial integration and those that simply absorb minorities in mainstream culture (Floyd, 1998; Hylton, 2010). This literature has uncovered the potential negative impact of "color-blind" policies on race relations, and specifically highlights the ramifications of institutionalized white privilege (Glover, 2007). This is an especially important consideration for school administrators with less racially heterogeneous student populations, as they must not only consider the interactions between races, but also the status discrepancies involved in these interactions (Floyd et al., 1994; Shinew et al., 2004).

These findings should be considered in light of several limitations. First, our analysis focused on only Wave I of the Add Health dataset, and is cross-sectional in nature. While several intriguing trends were identified, causality between sport participation and cross-race friendship formation cannot be implied from these results. Second, aside from distinctions between sport participation categories, there were no variables available to assess additional features of the sport environment, such as competition level or participation intensity and breadth. These are critical features of sport settings that can significantly influence the experiences of students and the likelihood for cross-race friendship formation, but are not controlled

for in this study. Third, students typically participate in a number of different sport and other extracurricular activities, making it difficult to isolate the effects of one particular activity. Although we captured unique characteristics of each particular activity, the relative influence of these activities on participants is not known. Finally, the Wave I dataset is from 1994-1995, so the different school- and individual-level variables may not be representative of the current population. However, since the focus of this analysis was the on the effect of these variables on friendship heterogeneity, not estimating their distribution across the population, these findings are applicable to present-day administrators.

Recent public protests and riots in Baltimore, Ferguson, and New York underscore mounting racial tensions in the United States. Despite notions of a post-racial America, it is clear that race continues to segregate social networks. As one of the most influential settings in adolescent development, schools offer a unique opportunity to shape the racial perspectives of future generations. Understanding how different mechanisms structure social relations in these settings is critical to promoting positive cross-racial contact and friendships amongst this demographic. Sport is the most popular extracurricular activity among students, and has become a popular tactic for administrators to promote racial integration in schools. However, the effectiveness of sport is not inherent. Although sport activities may promote cross-racial friendships in certain instances, these effects must be understood within the context of important social and structural features that characterize the setting. As such, administrators, coaches, and other sport personnel should monitor the racial and social patterns of their sport activities, and consider alternative activities to diversify participation. Understanding sport in relation to the broader school environment is critical to understanding how sport activities can be intentionally managed to facilitate positive cross-race relations among students. Future research should be directed to not just understanding what effects sport can influence, but also the context, conditions, and processes that contributed to this process.

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Tables

Table 1

Mixed-Effects Regression Model 1

Effect	*B (SE)*	*t*
Intercept	.137 (.05)	3.01**
Individual		
Bonacich Centrality	.043 (<.01)	10.12***
SES	-.005 (<.01)	-4.90***
Female	-.003 (<.01)	-1.12
Black	-.020 (.01)	-1.81
Hispanic/Latino	.072 (.01)	6.63***
Other/Mixed	.037 (.01)	3.25**
Extracurricular Participation		
Sport Only	.001 (<.01)	.30
Sport Combo	-.018 (<.01)	-3.91***
Academic Only	-.011 (.01)	-1.62
Performing Arts Only	.009 (.01)	1.42
Other Only	-.019 (.01)	-2.72**
Other Combo	-.012 (.01)	-2.09*
Race*Extracurricular Participation		
Black*Sport Only	-.001 (.01)	-.12
Black*Sport Combo	.038 (.01)	4.21***
Black*Academics Only	.007 (.01)	.53
Black*Performing Arts Only	.013 (.01)	.96
Black*Other Only	.021 (.01)	1.43
Black*Other Combo	.023 (.01)	1.90
Hispanic/Latino*Sport Only	.002 (.01)	.22
Hispanic/Latino *Sport Combo	.027 (.01)	2.96**
Hispanic/Latino *Academics Only	.003 (.01)	.25
Hispanic/Latino *Performing Arts Only	.008 (.01)	.58
Hispanic/Latino *Other Only	.028 (.02)	1.89
Hispanic/Latino *Other Combo	.011 (.01)	.86
Other/Mixed*Sport Only	.006 (.01)	.56
Other/Mixed *Sport Combo	.019 (.01)	2.09*
Other/Mixed *Academics Only	-.010 (.01)	-.73
Other/Mixed *Performing Arts Only	.007 (.01)	.51
Other/Mixed *Other Only	.006 (.02)	.40
Other/Mixed *Other Combo	.000 (.01)	.03
AIC	-25289.0	
BIC	-25144.3	
Pseudo R^2	.219	

*Note 1: * denotes p < .05, ** denotes p < .01, *** denotes p < .001*

Note 2: AIC of unconditional model = -17334.2

Table 2

Mixed-Regression Model 2

Effect	*B (SE)*	*t*
Intercept	.093 (.05)	1.99*
Individual		
Bonacich Centrality	.043 (<.01)	10.33***
SES	-.005 (<.01)	-4.86***
Female	-.003 (<.01)	-1.09
Black	-.010 (.01)	-1.31
Hispanic/Latino	.069 (.01)	8.29***
Other/Mixed	.046 (.01)	5.56***
Extracurricular Participation		
Number of Activities	-.001 (<.01)	-2.21*
Proportion Sport	.002 (<.01)	.61
Size	.000 (<.01)	-2.80**
Heterogeneity	.122 (.01)	10.70***
Racial In-group	-.038 (.01)	-4.20***
Heterogeneity*Racial In-Group	-.128 (.03)	-4.22***
AIC	-25464.3	
BIC	-25362.2	
Pseudo R^2	.220	

*Note 1: * denotes p < .05, ** denotes p < .01, *** denotes p < .001*
Note 2: AIC of unconditional model = -17334.2

Table 3

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) of In-Group Proportions by Sport Type

Sport	*Black*	*Hispanic/Latino*	*Other/Mixed*	*White*	*Race Het*
Dance	1.13 (.15)	.67 (.12)	1.65 (.19)	.95 (.04)	.92 (.04)
Baseball	.78 (.07)	.61 (.04)	1.60 (.20)	1.06 (.03)	.94 (.03)
Basketball	1.74 (.10)	.71 (.04)	1.72 (.25)	.82 (.02)	1.06 (.03)
Field Hockey	.49 (.12)	1.27 (.41)	3.05 (.50)	.91 (.09)	.64 (.06)
Football	1.51 (.12)	.84 (.08)	1.74 (.21)	.87 (.02)	1.06 (.05)
Ice Hockey	.34 (.10)	.95 (.08)	2.95 (.67)	1.53 (.38)	.76 (.06)
Soccer	.42 (.06)	.67 (.22)	2.43 (.34)	1.13 (.06)	.88 (.04)
Swimming	.60 (.07)	.82 (.07)	2.15 (.31)	.98 (.04)	.95 (.05)
Tennis	.73 (.16)	.53 (.14)	2.29 (.31)	1.10 (.12)	.82 (.06)
Track	1.79 (.22)	.63 (.09)	2.06 (.38)	.90 (.08)	1.05 (.04)
Volleyball	.95 (.09)	.89 (.05)	1.89 (.27)	.92 (.03)	.95 (.05)
Wrestling	1.51 (.71)	.86 (.14)	2.08 (.23)	.88 (.04)	.90 (.05)
Other Sport	.73 (.13)	.62 (.16)	1.86 (.19)	1.06 (.04)	.90 (.04)
Total	.99 (.07)	.77 (.04)	2.08 (.09)	1.01 (.03)	.91 (.01)
F	4.788	1.718	1.899	2.645	5.802
Sig.	<.001	.057	.03	.002	<.001
n^2	.036	-	.013	.018	.038

Note 1: Figures reported as mean (SE)

Appendices

Appendix 1

Full Mixed-Effects Regression Model 1

Effect	*B (SE)*	*t*
Intercept	.137 (.05)	3.01**
School		
Busing	-.036 (.02)	-1.89
Urban	.029 (.01)	1.99*
Suburban	.023 (.01)	1.83
South	-.017 (.01)	-1.82
Public	-.016 (.02)	-1.01
School Size	<.001 (<.01)	2.71**
Relative Density	.171 (.05)	3.19**
Gender Segregation Index	.119 (.08)	1.42
Grade Segregation Index	.115 (.04)	2.75**
Racial Heterogeneity	.101 (.03)	3.53***
Teacher Heterogeneity	-.025 (.03)	-.95
Proportion In-group	-.269 (.01)	-21.32***
Individual		
Bonacich Centrality	.043 (<.01)	10.12***
SES	-.005 (<.01)	-4.90***
Female	-.003 (<.01)	-1.12
Black	-.020 (.01)	-1.81
Hispanic/Latino	.072 (.01)	6.63***
Other/Mixed	.037 (.01)	3.25**
Extracurricular Participation		
Sport Only	.001 (<.01)	.30
Sport Combo	-.018 (<.01)	-3.91***
Academic Only	-.011 (.01)	-1.62
Performing Arts Only	.009 (.01)	1.42
Other Only	-.019 (.01)	-2.72**
Other Combo	-.012 (.01)	-2.09*
Race*Extracurricular Participation		
Black*Sport Only	-.001 (.01)	-.12
Black*Sport Combo	.038 (.01)	4.21***
Black*Academics Only	.007 (.01)	.53
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Other/Mixed *Performing Arts Only	.007 (.01)	.51
Other/Mixed *Other Only	.006 (.02)	.40
Other/Mixed *Other Combo	.000 (.01)	.03
AIC	-25289.0	
BIC	-25144.3	
Pseudo R^2	.219	

*Note 1: * denotes p < .05, ** denotes p < .01, *** denotes p < .001*

Note 2: AIC of unconditional model = -17334.2

Appendix 2

Full Mixed-Effects Regression Model 2

Effect	*B (SE)*	*t*
Intercept	.093 (.05)	1.99*
School		
Busing	-.044 (.02)	-2.24*
Urban	.029 (.02)	1.94
Suburban	.028 (.01)	2.18*
South	-.018 (.01)	-1.94
Public	-.016 (.02)	-.97
School Size	<.001 (<.01)	2.77**
Relative Density	.191 (.06)	3.40***
Gender Segregation Index	.122 (.09)	1.40
Grade Segregation Index	.108 (.04)	2.50*
Racial Heterogeneity	.106 (.03)	3.61***
Teacher Heterogeneity	-.014 (.03)	-.51
Proportion In-group	-.212 (.01)	-16.86***
Individual		
Bonacich Centrality	.043 (<.01)	10.33***
SES	-.005 (<.01)	-4.86***
Female	-.003 (<.01)	-1.09
Black	-.010 (.01)	-1.31
Hispanic/Latino	.069 (.01)	8.29***
Other/Mixed	.046 (.01)	5.56***
Extracurricular Participation		
Number of Activities	-.001 (<.01)	-2.21*
Proportion Sport	.002 (<.01)	.61
Size	.000 (<.01)	-2.80**
Heterogeneity	.122 (.01)	10.70***
Racial In-group	-.038 (.01)	-4.20***
Heterogeneity*Racial In-Group	-.128 (.03)	-4.22***
AIC	-25464.3	
BIC	-25362.2	
Pseudo R^2	.220	

*Note 1: * denotes p < .05, ** denotes p < .01, *** denotes p < .001*
Note 2: AIC of unconditional model = -17334.2

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An Examination of Equal Access in Athletic Programs Throughout Public High Schools in the United States

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The mission of the U.S. Department of Education is "to promote student achievement and preparation for global competitiveness by fostering educational excellence and ensuring equal access" (www.ed.gov). As an extension of U.S. public education institutions, secondary afterschool programs involving physical activity are theoretically designed to enhance and support the educational mission of public schools. Yet, due to the hyper-commodification of youth sports, "equal access" in sport and physical activity is becoming increasingly limited to parameters grounded in highly competitive environments reflecting broader sport trends in society. An interesting paradox emerges in public school settings where the importance of physical activity for adolescents is also emphasized. However, in reality, the majority of public tax dollars funding extracurricular opportunities to be physically active are only for those who are highly competitive, physically literate and have the financial means to assist in the funding of their sport experiences. There are also issues related to gender in terms of who is being served. Therefore, it is important to examine how public resources relating to physical activity and health are being unequally allocated in the public school setting.

The mission of the U.S. Department of Education is "to promote student achievement and preparation for global competitiveness by fostering educational excellence and ensuring equal access" (www.ed.gov). As an extension of U.S. public education institutions, secondary afterschool programs involving physical activity are theoretically designed to enhance and support the educational mission of

public schools. Yet, due to the hyper-commodification of youth sports, "equal access" in sport and physical activity is becoming increasingly limited to parameters grounded in highly competitive environments reflecting broader sport trends in society. An interesting paradox emerges in public school settings where the importance of physical activity for adolescents is also emphasized. However, in reality, the majority of public tax dollars funding extracurricular opportunities to be physically active are only for those who are highly competitive, physically literate and have the financial means to assist in the funding of their sport experiences. There are also issues related to gender in terms of who is being served. For example, in Virginia during the 2012-13 academic year, only 40% of females participated in high school athletics (NFSHSA, 2015; NCES, 2015). The rates of participation are even lower among Black and Latina females as well as those from low-SES families (Johnston, Delva, & O'Malley, 2007).

Therefore, we argue that it is important to examine how public resources relating to physical activity and health are being unequally allocated in the public school setting. For the purposes of this article, we will focus on gender inequity within high school athletic programs. To contextualize the current issue, we discuss a brief history of sport and physical education in the United States, while focusing on the commercialization of youth sport. As such, the hyper-commodification of sport results in a gendered, political economy within the sporting landscape. We center our discussion on the nexus of economy, sport, access, and gender.

A "Brief" History

An old cliché states that *you can't understand the future unless you understand the past*. This cliché has relevance to public education in the United States in relation to how sport and physical education became embedded as part of the educational process. High school sports initially began as a student led initiative to create opportunities for participation. As interscholastic sports evolved into a more adult-directed and controlled experience, the original mission and purpose focused on promoting "pure amateur sport", which supported the educational mission of schools (NFHS, 2015b). Yet the rapid and intensified commercialization of sport in advanced capitalist societies has permeated educational institutions to the point that engagement in sport often results in a hyper-commodified experience in which the teams and athletes are viewed as commercial products to be packaged and promoted. This section provides a brief overview of this process beginning with the nineteenth century.

As a result of industrialization, organized youth sports grew exponentially between 1880 and 1920 (Rader, 2009). This growth was due in large part to concerns that young males were no longer being involved in productive work and moral

development at home or through apprenticeships (Mechikoff, 2013). As more items became available for purchase in the marketplace, there was less interaction between young males and their fathers in urban settings where many fathers began working away from home. Of similar concern was the lack of apprenticeship, vocational-based opportunities that declined as a result of societal reliance on machinery. During this time, laws were passed which extended the length of the school term from four months to nine months and impacted the age at which adolescents should attend school and enter the work force (14 and older) (Rader, 2009). In addition, there was a push by middle- and upper-class parents for their children to further their educations to secure white-collar professions such as doctors and lawyers. As a result of these changes, youth spent more time with their peers in spaces unsupervised by adults. Of additional concern was the ways in which males could continue to maintain a strong, physical, and aggressive presence in an increasingly industrialized nation in which physical dominance was not necessitated.

After the Civil War, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) offered classes in gymnastics and calisthenics to generate interest among young men and to encourage males in their spiritual journeys (Lumpkin, 2011). As part of the "muscular Christianity" movement, Luther Halsey Gulick Jr. stressed the foundation of a strong spiritual life was grounded in the uniform development of both mind and body (Wuest & Fisette, 2015). Eventually, competitive athletic competitions resembling modern day sport grew in popularity and number. Justification for sport participation throughout the nineteenth century included values surrounding the benefits of competitiveness, health, manliness, and strength/power as related to religion (Anderson, 2010).

At the same time that youth sport was increasing in popularity, the field of physical education began to evolve. As an academic field in higher education, there were ongoing discussions regarding the pros and cons of Swedish vs. German gymnastics (Wuest & Fisette, 2015). During this time, professionals were also debating the calisthenics system developed by Catherine Beecher. Discussions involved medical professionals as well as physical educators as they struggled to develop a solid theoretical framework specific to physical education (Mechikoff, 2013).

According to Anderson (2010), the first interscholastic sports in public high schools were actually student-led and directed. Toward the end of the 19th century into the 20th century, students formed the first athletic associations as well as managed all administrative aspects of competition such as game schedules and finances. As football grew in popularity and a "win at all cost mentality" took root, undesirable student outcomes, such as a loss of academic focus, and unethical behaviors, such as the "use of 'ineligible' players," resulted (Rader, 2009, p.

114). In 1920, educators created the Midwest Federation of State High School Athletic Associations (MFSHSA) to provide parameters and authority over interscholastic sports. Specifically, the purpose of the association was "to protect the athletic interests of high schools belonging to the various state associations and to promote pure amateur sport" (NFHS, 2015b, p. 18). In 1923, this organization was renamed to its current name, the National Federation of State High School Athletic Associations (NFHS, 2015b).

The "comprehensive" secondary school ideology evolved into an experience that continued to emphasize academics. However, vocational knowledge was also emphasized in addition to social values. Many leaders and social educators subscribed to the notion that extracurricular activities such as sports could teach social values and also serve as a means to manage student behaviors. Additionally, educators also believed that an *esprit de corps* could result in a more cohesive student body and community as a whole. While social educators touted the benefits in relation to social development and a sport-for-all philosophy, school boards and communities formed an ideology focused more on the development of strong varsity programs. Along with the expansion of competitive varsity programs, increases in the intensified market relations in sport have led to a hyper-commodification of youth sports (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2007). This concept is discussed in the next section.

Hyper-Commodification of Youth Sports

Over the past few decades, there has been a shifting cultural emphasis on sport in society. This emphasis, largely focused on professional sports, has permeated institutions of higher education as well as public high schools. Many would argue that as a result, educational priorities have been compromised as sporting endeavors generate more publicity and revenue. According to DeSensi (2014),

> The current status of intercollegiate athletics has experienced a transformation in the role it appears to have played throughout history to the present time. The educational value of developing the body, mind, and spirit of students, has been transformed into campus, state, regional, national, and global entertainment, money making ventures, and spectacles. (p. 59)

The authors, along with others, argue that the emphasis now placed on professional as well as collegiate sports has compromised the mission and value of sports in public high schools throughout the United States (Budig, 2007). According to DeSensi and Rosenberg (2010), school and community sports are more than ever before being modeled after professional sports where athletes have become important commodities. Yet, in contrast to professional sports, school and community

sports are considered "amateur" and involve "those who participate and govern at the youth, recreational, community, international, and intercollegiate level" (Journal of Amateur Sport, n.d., para. 1).

As one considers aspects relating to hyper-commodification, it is important to distinguish similarities and differences of this term as related to commodification. According to Giulianotti (2015), "commodification" can be described as the "process by which an object or social practice acquires an exchange value or market-centered meaning" (p. 250). A similar definition states that commodification is "the transformation of a thing with only use-value to a good with both use-value *and* exchange-value" (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2007, p. 12). From a more critical viewpoint, commodification in sport can also refer to social structures in which "the individual is viewed and treated as an object to be manipulated, bought, and sold" (DeSensi & Rosenberg, 2010, p. 13). For those who subscribe to a philosophy of amateurism, commodification in sport is problematic because it compromises goals such as the pursuit of excellence and the intrinsic value derived as a result (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2007, p. 14).

Although some may argue that commodification and the exchange-value in sport has always existed, Walsh and Giulianotti (2007) argue that the term "hyper-commodification" provides a more accurate description of modern sport. The term "hyper-commodification" can be defined as "both the substantive increase in the range and number of goods that are bought and sold as well as the intensification of market understandings and attitudes towards sport itself" (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2007, p. 14). There are four main concepts related to this term:

1) The transformation of clubs and systems into corporations,
2) The emergence of large numbers of highly paid sportspeople,
3) The advent of large scale advertising and merchandising in sport, and
4) The 'venalisation' of the *ethos* of sport

(Walsh & Giulianotti, 2007, p. 14)

The first concept, "the transformation of clubs and systems into corporations", revolves around a sporting industry in which the moral atmosphere has shifted to a concern with profits over any other considerations (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2007, p. 14). Impersonal, corporate entities of power, often on a globalized scale, have replaced what were once local community clubs and organizations. The involvement of wealthy investors as well as media corporations provides an additional layer of influence in relation to the hyper-commodification process. The connection with this concept begins long before students enter high school. The emergence of professional training facilities and year-round travel teams for youth is indicative of a shift in which adult-directed athletic endeavors have a targeted financial goal in mind. The targeted financial goal for year-

round travel teams is a college scholarship for the athletes, which in turn benefits parents. This goal also provides credibility for coaches in relation to fees charged for their services. The targeted financial goal for professional training facilities, such as indoor batting cages, is ensuring a consistent revenue stream through encouraging year-round participation. Interestingly, the single sport year-round model does not align with research indicating that there are greater benefits to diversification (Lumpkin, 2011).

The next aspect to consider is the "emergence of large numbers of highly paid sportspeople" (Walsh & Guilianotti, 2007, p. 14). Prior to the 1960s, athletes were often loyal to the communities and teams they represented and vice versa. However, the professionalization of sport has led to a breakdown of this loyalty in all respects. Interestingly, a similar phenomenon has also happened with students participating in high school sports. Instead of being loyal to the communities and teams where they attended elementary and middle school, some high school athletes move to a rival school with the rationale that the athletic program (not academics) is better (Sondheimer, 2014). Their rationale is often based on the premise that to earn a Division I scholarship, they must attend the school with the best athletic program and coaching staff. Similar concerns are also evident in regards to loyalty of athletes and their families to club / AAU / travel teams over their high school teams ("What effect," 2014). Young athletes are learning and being told that college coaches are not going to their high school games because the coaches will have to wade through the talent. Instead, they are most likely to recruit at larger venues such as AAU basketball tournaments, legion baseball and tennis open tournaments where the talent is more plentiful (Drotar, 2015). The issue is complex in that many of the privatized programs require an even greater financial and time investment than required of high school programs. Therefore, many parents want to take full advantage of their investment. The result in terms of a lack of equal access is two-fold. First, athletes whose families have financial capital to pay for more specialized coaching and training expertise are more likely to earn positions on their high school teams instead of being cut. Secondly, the result is a reproduction in high school sports of economic inequalities evident in larger society (Lumpkin, 2011).

The third aspect relates to "the advent of large scale advertising and merchandising in sport" (Walsh & Guilianotti, 2007, p. 14). From stadium fences to game broadcasts, marketing, advertising, and merchandising are a core component of modern sport. Although a mainstay for professional sports, merchandising opportunities in high school sports have been explored with a mixture of positives and negatives. As educational funding continues to be reduced, many high school athletic programs are actively seeking solutions to the funding deficits. One option is merchandise sponsorship through

companies such as Under Armour and Nike. This option can provide substantial funds and discounts for athletic equipment and is considered a standard practice in states such as California (Donaldson, 2013). However, the result in some areas is a "keeping up with the Jones" mentality in athletic equipment and apparel where schools feel pressure to provide the same high standard of quality as other schools in their area.

There is also additional pressure related to the contract in which the overall win-loss record in high school becomes paramount to continuing a contract with a particular apparel company. For those amateur athletes who become professional, sponsorship agreements can also be problematic. When athletes are contractually obligated to a particular company, they may have less control over their competition schedules and other aspects of their lives. This aligns with earlier definitions of commodification in sport where individuals become objectified in the quest for financial gain (DeSensi & Rosenberg, 2010).

The final aspect of hyper-commodification is "the 'venalisation' of the *ethos* of sport" (Walsh & Giulianotti, 2007, p. 14). Venalisation refers to a mindset where money is the central focus and predominates all other considerations. "All other considerations" include a lack of concern for student-athletes. For example, some media companies are attempting to negotiate contracts to develop and televise high school football playoff games (Sepulvado, 2014). In Florida, each team would receive $12,500 as an appearance fee and another $25,000 in merchandising fees. However, some are concerned that this would exploit the young athletes at a vulnerable time in their development.

In summary, this section has outlined the shifting emphasis of sport in society as related to hyper-commodification. This shift has not only impacted professional sports, but also collegiate and high school sports. The next section outlines participation numbers and issues related to participation (or lack of).

Equal Access

As referenced earlier, the U.S. Department of Education's mission is "to promote student achievement and preparation for global competitiveness by fostering educational excellence and ensuring equal access" (www.ed.gov). Afterschool programs at public schools are provided as an extension of the educational mission and therefore should provide equal access. Yet, an examination of 9^{th}-12^{th} grade athletic participation rates throughout public schools in the United States indicate that in every state and the District of Columbia, the rates are lower for females than males (Table 1) (NCES, 2015; NFHS, 2015a) and in over half the states, female participation rates are less than fifty percent. A further understanding regarding how the participation numbers are calculated reveals even more imbalance. Participation numbers are even less than indicated in

Table 1 because student-athletes who play multiple sports are counted more than once. Therefore, one individual could be counted three times if he or she played three sports during the academic year. Even more concerning are data indicating that certain demographic subgroups of females engage in lower rates of physical activity. Overall, ethnic minority females are less active than white females (Staurowsky et al., 2015). Latina females, the fastest growing female ethnic minority group in the U.S., engage in less physical activity than any other major demographic subgroup (Larsen, Pekmezi, Marquez, Benitez, & Marcus, 2013).

Another way to approach equal access is in terms of outcomes associated with the sporting experience. Are all students afforded equal access to a variety of outcomes other than just the win-loss record or the type of sports in which they participate? One important aspect to consider in relation to female involvement in sport and physical activity is how females interpret their experiences and the meanings they derive as a result. This interpretive process can greatly influence student choice as related to their involvement (or lack of) in sports.

The overall quality of the experience can be diminished when there are "outcome discrepancies" (Buchanan, 2011, p. 108). Outcome discrepancies refer to "the intended or preferred outcomes of participants as compared to the teacher, coach, or other individuals in positions of power" (p. 108). Research by Cooky (2009) illustrates this point in relation to sporting opportunities for females. There is an abundance of sporting opportunities available for females in comparison to availability prior to Title IX. However, Cooky (2009) points out that although the number of opportunities has risen significantly, the outcomes related to participation are still linked with ideologies situated within competition and dominance. Yet many females (and some males) prefer an "atmosphere of cooperation in which everyone achieves a common goal" as opposed to "an atmosphere in which the success of some is dependent upon the failure of others" (Buchanan, 2011, p. 25).

According to Staurowsky et al. (2015), the enthusiasm exhibited by high school females in physical education was dependent upon the types of offerings. For example, many preferred fitness-based physical activity as opposed to sport units. The rationale provided included an emphasis on health, fun, and something they could do beyond school. Research findings from the Tucker Center for Research on Girls and Women in Sport found similar findings in that the most prevalent reason girls give for participating in sport is having fun (Kane & LaVoi, 2007). These experiences mirror a "pleasure and participation" sport model as opposed to a "power and performance" model (Coakley, 2015, p. 686). The power and performance sport model, which encourages competition and dominance, has historically been the most popular form of

sport in the United States and appeals to those in positions of wealth and power. In contrast, pleasure and participation sporting models are not as often supported when compared to power and performance models (Buchanan, 2011). This section has outlined issues with equal access as related to participation numbers and varying experiences in terms of the overall outcome. The next section continues this discussion in relation to economic and financial capital.

Financial / Social Capital

The hyper-commodification of professional and college sport has trickled down into school sport to the point that it is becoming an extracurricular option mainly for those with financial and social capital. As Odenheimer (2012) stated, "economic or financial capital refers to monetary assets and income. Socio-economic position partly determines a person's economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984) and thus what sports they, or their children, have access to" (p. 8). That is to say, the amount of wealth and economic capital a person has impacts the type of sports (e.g. sailing vs. running) someone engages in and at what level of participation (e.g. local vs. international). Odenheimer (2012) went on to explain that, "people use their economic capital to accumulate other forms of capital, namely social and cultural" (p. 8) and "in simplest terms, social capital refers to one's social network or social relationships, formal or informal, with other people, groups, or organizations (Bourdieu, 1984)" (as cited in Odenheimer, 2012, p. 11).

In athletic programs, social capital could refer to the type of sport a person chooses based on his or her existing social relationships. There are four aspects relating to financial and social capital included in this discussion. Those aspects relate to 1) athletic equipment, mileage, and gate fees, 2) health insurance, 3) fundraising, and 4) alternate activities.

In terms of financial capital, there are various costs associated with athletic equipment. The following numbers and information are based off expenditures of one author whose son is currently playing high school football. The initial costs associated with playing football at a high school in a rural area of Virginia includes the following: $80 for football cleats and $55 for a Spirit Pack which included shorts and a t-shirt required for two-a-day practices. During the parent meeting, the coach did point out that parents could touch base with him in the event they were unable to pay for the Spirit Pack. Prior to the season beginning, there were also mileage costs related to summer practices which athletes were expected to attend. Once the season starts, there are mileage costs related to driving to/from the school on a daily basis to pick up students after practice. Additionally, the cost to attend games ranges from $5-$6 / person, including children. Therefore, a family of five would pay $20-$24 / week to support their son or daughter. Throughout the

course of a month, the cost would be $80-$96 per month. If he or she was involved in basketball or volleyball, there are often two games per week which would then result in $160-192 / month. This does not include costs associated with more than one child participating or driving to/from the home school and/or away games. Granted, families do not have to attend each game. Yet as indicated above, social capital includes those in one's social networks. As such, part of the modern-day era of parenting for many middle and upper-class families is that parents feel obligated to support their children as "good" parents by being highly involved in all aspects of their sport participation, including being present for competitions, which is a physical expression of social capital (Coakley, 2015).

The second aspect of financial inequality is related to health insurance. An HBO Real Sports episode recently highlighted collegiate student-athletes and the medical bills they acquired as a result of injuries sustained in their respective sports (Real Sports, 2015). It is understood that injuries can occur at any point throughout the season. However, similar to the concept of worker's compensation, many assume that an injury an athlete sustains as part of his or her school-sponsored involvement would be covered by the respective school system. Yet further examination reveals that this coverage is very limited in high school.

According to one high school student athletic handbook, there is a $10,000 maximum benefit to cover athletic injuries and the coverage would be secondary to any other insurance (WCPS, 2015). Of the various injuries which can occur, knee injuries rank among one of the most common. The cost for a knee injury requiring ACL surgery and rehabilitation can be up to $17,000 (Frisch, Croisier, Urhausen, Seil, & Theisen, 2009). Therefore, the cost for a family without insurance other than what is provided through the school would be $7,000. If a family has a high deductible insurance plan, they could be responsible for the first $10,000-$12,000, depending on the plan. Interestingly, on the same page that outlines insurance coverage, the student athletic handbook also states "there is a risk of serious injury which may result from athletic participation" (WCPS, 2015, p. 3).

Due to concerns relating to sport injuries, those who lack good health insurance may be better off by participating in non-contact activities such as aerobics and walking (Coakley, 2015), which connects back to the concept of economic capital and its impact on sport choice. However, many schools do not provide funding for extracurricular options such as these. The result is that children who are not as socioeconomically advantaged are not afforded opportunities to participate in any type of extracurricular physical activity, whether traditional sports or non-contact activities.

The third aspect of financial inequality is related to various fundraisers conducted to raise money for the athletic program. In

the county where one author's child attends high school, discount cards to local restaurants are currently used as a main fundraiser for various sports such as football and baseball. Athletes are asked to sell 20 cards at a cost of $20 per card. The assumption by school administrators, athletic directors, and coaches is that student-athletes have enough social capital in relation to one's social networks or social relationships to sell the cards. In some instances, student-athletes are encouraged to sell a specified number of cards by a certain date in order to be excused from a portion of the physical conditioning session. This is problematic in that it mirrors the common practice in some sports of directing students to run as a type of punishment when they fail to perform adequately in either practice or competition.

Yet in this particular instance, a lack of acceptable performance is linked to issues relating to socioeconomic status and social capital. In terms of hyper-commodification, this represents the venalisation of sport in which money supersedes all other considerations (Walsh & Guilianotti, 2007). Another issue specific to the card fundraiser is the focus on advertising and promotion of eating at fast food restaurants. Along with associated costs of eating out, most cards include discounts to dining establishments with limited healthy options.

According to the Center for Science in the Public Interest (2007), "school-based marketing adds credibility to marketing efforts by associating a company's name, brands, or products with schools and teachers [or coaches], which are trusted institutions and role models for children" (p. 3). Advertising and promoting fast food directly contradicts school wellness policies which limit fast foods being brought into the schools. This represents yet another example of how advertising and merchandising in sport on a large scale has permeated the amateur environment of high school athletics.

The fourth financial aspect to consider is the type of extracurricular opportunities that may appeal to females. Many of the most popular physical activities for females are not offered through public school systems and are limited to families with financial resources. Due to the emphasis on traditional competitive sports, afterschool opportunities to be physically active such as ballet, yoga, dance, gymnastics, archery, etc. are usually not offered. Interestingly, these are also forms of physical activity in which females are often equal to or more physically literate than males.

According to Whitehead (2010), a physically literate individual possesses the "motivation, confidence, physical competence, knowledge and understanding to maintain physical activity throughout the lifecourse" (p. 5). This definition expands what is often considered athletic competence limited to traditional sports. For example, Buchanan (2011) found that male students in a high school physical education class which included non-traditional sports were surprised to find that

females in the class were often equally or more competent in certain sports such as archery. Yet involvement in these types of activities often require financial capital as well as social capital and are not currently offered as extracurricular options at most public high schools throughout the United States. When alternate programs are offered, instructors often volunteer their time or seek alternate ways of receiving compensation such as through grants or sponsorships.

The inequalities included in this section are directly influenced by the power and performance ideology which "explains and justifies economic inequalities as part of the natural order of things" (Coakley, 2015, p. 66). Broader than actual sport participation, many dominant political ideologies are reproduced through sport. Just as much of the U.S. political arena is influenced by money, so too are high school sports. Those who have more financial capital have greater access and influence than those who do not. For example, a recent analysis of high school athletics in North Carolina found that the number of state championships was higher in schools with lower free and reduced lunch percentages (Stevens, 2015). The meritocratic ideology often goes unquestioned and results in less participation by those with financial limitations. The next section offers insight into an interesting paradox in public schools regarding sport participation vs. physical activity.

The Paradox of Sport Participation vs. Physical Activity (Why It Matters)

There is a plethora of research available regarding the benefits of physical activity (Bocarro et al., 2014; Pangrazi & Beighle, 2010; Ratey, 2008). Specifically for females, a physically active lifestyle can lower the risk of breast cancer, illicit drug use, and depression (Staurowsky et al., 2015). Yet a recent report released by the Women's Sports Foundation indicates that in the United States, only 25% of females age eleven and under are getting the recommended levels of physical activity (Staurowsky et al., 2015). According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2015), youth ages 6-17 should have 60 minutes of physical activity each day. Yet by age 15, levels of physical activity drop to 17%. This trend is continuing even though required health and physical education classes stress the importance of physical activity on a regular basis. Recent research also indicates that along with health benefits, physical activity provides significant neurological benefits, which can positively impact the learning process (IOM, 2013; Ratey, 2008). According to the Institute of Medicine (2013), incorporating physical activity throughout the school day can influence the success of academic endeavors. Pontifex et al. (2013) also found that moderate-intensity aerobic exercise positively impacts students diagnosed with ADHD, which contributes to their on-task behavior and academic success in the classroom.

Due to research regarding the importance of physical activity, federal legislation was passed to support initiatives in public schools. For example, as a result of the Child Nutrition and WIC (Women, Infants, and Children) Reauthorization Act of 2004, all U.S. school districts receiving federal funding for school meals were required to develop and implement comprehensive wellness policies (Pangrazi & Beighle, 2010). The policies were to be approved and in place by the 2006-2007 academic year and were specifically designed to address nutrition and physical activity. Although many schools included references to a range of opportunities to be physically active, the majority still relies on traditional sports programs as a way to comply with the federal legislation. For example, one county's wellness policy states "students shall be given opportunities for physical activity through a range of after-school programs" (Wellness program, n.d., p. 10). Yet the after school programs involving physical activity at the high school level are limited solely to the competitive sports teams. As a result, public funding is being used for coaches and predominantly male students who are more physically literate in traditional sports than their peers.

This continuing trend is disturbing given the benefits of physical activity, regardless of the competitive or non-competitive nature of the activity. Herein lies the paradox. As referenced earlier, competitive sport brings the inherent risk of injury that can range from mild to severe. Athletes are often asked to follow the "no pain, no gain" philosophy to win at all costs. However, research indicates that the healthiest types of physical activity are noncompetitive and rhythmic (Buchanan, 2011).

Another paradox arises when considering intramural sports offerings in relation to varsity sports. In contrast to interscholastic varsity sports, which limit participation and are highly competitive, intramural sports offer a more inclusive alternative. Research has indicated that schools with intramural sports programs and policies have higher student participation rates than those which offer only varsity sports (Drake et al., 2015; Kanters, Bocarro, Edwards, Casper, & Floyd, 2013). The intramural sports model provides opportunities for students who may have lower levels of physical literacy which limit their opportunities to participate on varsity sport teams even though they still enjoy traditional sports such as basketball. The intramural sports model also provides options for students interested in athletic experiences beyond traditional competitive sports.

Yet intramural programs are often dependent upon a school's "size, budget, and geographic location" (Drake et al., 2015). There are obviously great benefits to those who participate in high school sports. However, if there are also benefits to being physically active unrelated to the competitive varsity sports model, then how can public schools continue to justify using

public dollars to support only a small segment of the student population focused on a power and performance model?

Conclusion

Research regarding involvement in youth sport and physical activity highlights benefits derived as part of participation. Those benefits include improved self-confidence and self-esteem (Wann, Belva, Armstrong, Weaver, & Ladd, 2015). Directly related to academic endeavors are data indicating that there are significant neurological benefits specific to academic achievement when students are physically active (IOM, 2013; Ratey, 2009). Yet due to the hyper-commodification of sport, many students are not afforded equal access to physical activity in public high schools throughout the United States. According to Wiggins (2013), modern day youth sports have evolved into "a system that places more importance on winning than a sound educational experience" (p. 72). In a similar fashion, DeSensi and Rosenberg (2010) state

> If a main program objective is to provide sport for all, then limitations on participation cannot be coherently and ethically sustained. Similarly, the types of activities offered, the quality of instruction and supervision, and the ways in which programs are funded fall within the realm of social responsibility. (p. 10)

Recommendations for change include providing funding to expand the current extracurricular offerings in public schools. The expansion should include consideration for varying levels of physical literacy, accommodating gender preferences for activities as well including types of experiences from broader, more diverse perspectives. For example, research has indicated that in some instances, students are more physically active in an intramural sport setting in contrast to an interscholastic sport setting (Bocarro, Kanters, Edwards, Casper, & McKenzie, 2014). In efforts to enable sport to be a more inclusive space with learning and engagement of our youth as the paramount goal, the authors suggest considerations for program implementation which challenges the "win at all cost mentality." Suggestions include opportunities informed by child development research such as the Aspen Institute's Sport and Society Program Project Play (www.aspenprojectplay.org). Other suggestions include after school opportunities modeled after programs such as Girls on the Run (www.girlsontherun), Ready, Set, Run (www.nays.org), and GoGirlGo! (www.womenssportsfoundation.org). Rather than focusing on winning, these programs provide a different type of experience in which physical activity is combined with an educational component or character-based curriculum. Given the plethora of benefits associated with a physically active lifestyle, a reconsideration of resources in the public school setting

should be a priority in the realm of public education.

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Tables

Table 1

U.S. Public high school enrollment numbers and athletic participation rates (2012-13)

State	*Total Enrollment Grades 9-12*	*Total Participation*	*Percent*	*Male Enrollment*	*Male Sports Participation*	*Percent*	*Female Enrollment*	*Female Sports Participation*	*Percent*
Alabama	217,203	91,965	42%	110,518	61,833	56%	106,685	30,132	28%
Alaska	38,420	22,037	57%	19,732	11,882	60%	18,688	10,155	54%
Arizona	321,634	126,219	39%	164,237	73,839	45%	157,397	52,380	33%
Arkansas	138,428	49,807	36%	70,145	30,987	44%	68,283	18,820	28%
California	1,965,168	777,545	40%	1,008,790	456,317	45%	956,378	321,228	34%
Colorado	246,051	130,891	53%	125,626	72,667	58%	120,425	58,214	48%
Connecticut	170,245	118,067	65%	87,460	61,667	71%	82,785	49,390	60%
Delaware	38,022	27,684	73%	19,209	15,634	81%	18,813	12,060	64%
District of Columbia	17,577	3,440	20%	8,527	2,178	26%	9,050	1,262	14%
Florida	799,602	243,397	30%	406,066	138,969	34%	393,536	104,428	27%
Georgia	481,043	193,722	40%	243,352	116,779	48%	237,691	76,943	32%
Hawaii	51,069	33,735	66%	26,440	19,842	75%	24,629	13,893	56%
Idaho	82,631	45,148	55%	42,395	26,100	62%	40,236	19,058	47%
Illinois	624,679	339,944	54%	318,519	200,270	63%	306,160	139,674	46%
Indiana	316,329	152,577	48%	160,244	91,094	57%	156,085	61,483	39%
Iowa	144,784	140,939	97%	74,607	83,584	100%+	70,177	57,355	82%
Kansas	137,855	103,649	75%	70,639	62,547	89%	67,216	41,102	61%
Kentucky	193,961	99,233	51%	99,424	53,919	54%	94,537	45,314	48%
Louisiana	186,111	100,405	54%	92,907	60,961	66%	93,204	39,444	42%
Maine	57,815	53,634	93%	29,732	28,858	97%	28,083	24,776	88%
Maryland	256,836	125,431	49%	130,635	71,798	55%	126,201	53,633	42%
Massachusetts	287,506	221,628	77%	145,832	124,467	85%	141,674	97,161	69%
Michigan	492,272	304,438	62%	251,729	174,429	69%	240,543	130,009	54%
Minnesota	262,041	230,421	88%	134,437	120,109	89%	127,604	110,312	86%

Mississippi	133,809	110,417	83%	66,753	66,756	100%+	67,056	43,661	65%
Missouri	270,370	172,722	64%	138,658	103,745	75%	131,712	68,997	52%
Montana	42,089	31,746	75%	21,752	17,902	82%	20,337	13,844	68%
Nebraska	88,073	77,107	88%	45,371	45,894	100%+	42,702	31,213	73%
Nevada	131,953	43,471	33%	67,043	26,092	39%	64,910	17,379	27%
New Hampshire	60,805	44,434	73%	31,408	23,833	76%	29,397	20,601	70%
New Jersey	400,875	270,423	67%	202,954	158,052	78%	197,921	112,371	57%
New Mexico	97,242	47,571	49%	49,821	26,247	53%	47,421	21,324	45%
New York	825,972	389,475	47%	419,073	215,447	51%	406,899	174,028	43%
North Carolina	438,375	210,186	48%	223,725	124,299	56%	214,650	85,887	40%
North Dakota	30,116	25,291	84%	15,401	14,681	95%	14,715	10,610	72%
Ohio	518,617	327,919	63%	264,139	194,330	74%	254,478	133,589	52%
Oklahoma	176,812	99,794	56%	90,288	56,593	63%	86,524	43,201	50%
Oregon	178,239	98,638	55%	91,848	56,915	62%	86,391	41,723	48%
Pennsylvania	557,464	315,492	57%	285,823	169,198	59%	271,641	142,294	52%
Rhode Island	44,672	28,854	65%	22,838	16,567	73%	21,834	12,287	56%
South Carolina	208,648	96,465	46%	107,071	61,436	57%	101,577	35,029	34%
South Dakota	37,267	28,052	75%	19,122	16,195	85%	18,145	11,857	65%
Tennessee	281,971	107,075	38%	143,739	68,795	48%	138,232	38,280	28%
Texas	1,387,513	798,333	58%	711,511	484,030	68%	676,002	314,303	46%
Utah	169,077	59,134	35%	87,050	35,011	40%	82,027	24,123	29%
Vermont	27,557	14,719	53%	14,214	8,049	57%	13,343	6,670	50%
Virginia	375,975	174,518	46%	193,085	101,081	52%	182,890	73,437	40%
Washington	327,134	164,998	50%	168,204	93,918	56%	158,930	71,080	45%
West Virginia	80,673	36,091	45%	41,302	21,079	51%	39,371	15,012	38%
Wisconsin	265,682	192,400	72%	136,544	113,020	83%	129,138	79,380	61%
Wyoming	26,243	19,286	73%	13,439	10,949	81%	12,804	8,337	65%
Total	14,710,505	7,713,577	52%	7,513,378	4,490,854	60%	7,197,127	3,222,723	45%

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College Athletics Spending: Principals and Agents v. Arms Race

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It is widely held that collegiate athletic directors are trapped in an expenditure arms race. But the arms race explanation completely omits the actual consideration of the university budgeting process. In its place, the arms race logic imposes strained assumptions about the cooperative setting and the naïveté of university administrators, along with a curious distinction of one type of revenue to reach its conclusions. And the interpretation of the data on spending and benefits from college sports has not been done particularly well in the past. This paper presents an alternative principal-agent explanation that is based on the observed actual financial (budget) relationship between university administrators and their athletic department and consistent with the entirety of the aggregate-level data on college athletics finance. Empirically discerning between the two models is crucial since each generates decidedly different policy implications.

It is commonly held that college athletic directors (ADs) are trapped in an expenditure arms race. This arms race explanation (ARE) is so pervasive that it is now invoked casually in academic work and invoked in nearly every policy discussion of college athletics spending. The direct evidence taken in support of an arms race is rapidly escalating spending compared either to the general increase in prices or (and especially) compared to increases in spending on college academic programs. And inherent in that observation is that such spending is in excess of the value created.

This paper offers an alternative principal-agent explanation (PAE) on observed college athletics spending. Where the ARE ignores the university budgeting process entirely, instead choosing to cast ADs trapped in an arms race via a set of assumptions, the PAE is based directly on

the actual relationship between university administrators (UAs) and their ADs.

The inspiration for this line of thinking came from two distinct literatures. Early on, there was a rejection of the ARE of predator-prey interaction in behavioral biology (Abrams, 1986). Later, Weingast & Moran (1983) and Weingast (1984) rejected models following Niskanen (1971) that cast "runaway" bureaucrats in control of their own spending.

Of course, if strained assumptions give us the most analytical leverage over the observed outcome of college sports then they may be worth it. However, the PAE also turns the ARE observation that college sports are a net drain on the university budget on its head. Budget allocations by UAs to the athletic department are not "bail outs" but, instead, comparatively small investments in values across the rest of campus that both suit UA objectives and cover their costs.

Whether the ARE or the PAE is operative is critical because each dictates entirely different policy approaches. For any given level of college sports output, the ARE dictates that wasteful spending is occurring to achieve that level. The policy prescription is to cut the wasteful spending and still achieve the same level of sports output. On the other hand, for that same level of college sports output, the PAE dictates that the budget of the athletic department, including the infusion of funds from the university budget, is sufficient to insure that level of sports output for UAs. If the PAE is in operation, following the dictates of the ARE and cutting spending can only reduce the values that college sports creates 1) across campus, 2) for college sports consumers, and 3) for students competing in college sports.

This is not to argue that the level taken as given in this comparison is necessarily the socially preferred level. However, that level should be determined by its values and costs, not some possibly incorrect view that whatever level is determined, the process at the university will result in spending that is too high to achieve it. Determining which explanation, ARE or PAE, is in operation is essential to hitting whatever is the agreed upon target of college sports output.

This paper proceeds as follows. In Section II, the ARE as it currently is applied to college sports spending is presented. The descriptive PAE is offered in Section III. Section IV summarizes the comparison of the empirical veracity of the alternative explanations. Policy implications accompany the conclusions in Section V.

The Arms Race Explanation

Edwards' (1984, p. 7) reference to an athletic arms race in the recruiting and development of college athletes is the earliest I could find but an overview of just the most recent college sports "issues" journals reveals that the ARE is often now simply taken for granted. Weight, Navarro, Huffman, & Smith-Ryan (2014, p. 394), in their paper on shifting governance and the

value of participation, provide the most extensive statement:

> This formal governance shift is troubling to some who believe it will hasten the *arms race* of extravagant expenditures…The *arms race* of expenditures represents a win-at-all-costs phenomenon wherein athletic administrators outspend one another…The *arms race* has been pursued at all levels of intercollegiate athletics but some of the most detrimental effects of the spending are most clearly evident at the Division I Power Five level… [Italics added.]

In that same journal, just in the most recent volume, similar use of the arms race as a motivation for research is in Brewer, McEvoy, & Pops (2014, p. 76); Sanderson, Hardin, & Pate (2014, p. 127); Huml, Hancock, & Bergman (2014, p. 425); and Cooper, Cavil, & Cheeks (2014, p. 325). Some of these cite the earlier work by Tsitsos & Nixon (2012) and Weight, Weight, & Schneider (2013). Moving to the most recent issue of other sports "issues" journals, the list grows to include Sagas & Wigley (2014, p. 49); Lanter & Hawkins (2013, pp. 87-88); Staurowsky, Murray, Puzio, & Quagliariello (2013, p. 111-112); Sparvero & Warner (2013, pp. 123, 136); and Hoffer & Pincin (2016, p. 84).

The ARE is also now gospel at the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), among watchdogs like the Drake Group and the Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics (henceforth, KCIA), and in popular media reports. The earliest statement I could find among this variety of adherents puts it clearly enough (KCIA, 2001):

> The most glaring elements of the problems outlined in this report – academic transgressions, *a financial arms race*, and commercialization - are all evidence of the widening chasm between higher education's ideals and big-time college sports… [Italics added.]

A time-series cross-section *sample* of the pervasiveness of this acceptance since then is KCIA (2009, 2010a, 2010b); Women's Sports Foundation (2008); Fuoco (2010); Stafflord (2010); Gurey (2014), and Drake Group (2015).

Analytical support of this view followed a few years later when KCIA commissioned Frank (2004) to provide an academic treatment (general economic coverage of arms races can be found in Arce & Sandler, 2005, and Dixit, 2006, and their extensive reference sections). Frank started his presentation with what is surely the clearest motivation of the ARE, Shubik's (1971) dollar auction game. An auctioneer enforces a non-cooperative setting with no talking among participants. Then the auctioneer holds up a dollar bill and announces that it will be sold to the highest bidder *and that the auctioneer will also collect the bid of the second highest bidder*. The result is over-bidding relative to the size of the prize. Since the second highest bidder will receive nothing in return, it is always in their best

interest to raise the bid even when the bidding exceeds one dollar. I can personally attest that the game produces precisely this result having used it for years myself as a teaching device.

Frank (2004) then makes the assumptions required and applies Shubik's (1971) logic directly to collegiate sports spending. College sports are assumed a non-cooperative endeavor and Frank (2004) pays particular attention to the naïveté of UAs in estimating the probability of obtaining future values. Frank (2004) also assumes that all are chasing a fixed revenue prize and all are spending to chase it. According to Frank (2004), in such a setting it should be expected that more would be spent than the value created by college sports. The over-spending is pure waste since the same prize could be had with less spending.
Frank (2004) offers empirical support of the ARE in two steps. First, he shows that the typical athletic department result is spending in excess of "generated" revenues. "Generated" revenues include everything except the direct allocation by UAs from the general university budget to the athletic department budget. This latter allocation is typically referred to separately as "institutional support". Second, he surveys the work of others at the time and concludes that the returns college sports generate across the rest of the university (on-field success, student applications, or general giving to the university) cannot cover "institutional support".

Frank (2004) concludes that if all athletic departments were to simultaneously reduce and cap spending, exactly the same college sport outcomes would be achieved, in quantity and in quality. Then KCIA Chair William Friday (President Emeritus, UNC-Chapel Hill) said of Frank's findings (KCIA, 2004), "His study points to the need for an overall 'stand down' in the athletic funding 'arms race.'"

The Principal-Agent Explanation

This section presents a descriptive model of the PAE. A model is just an abstraction that can be compared in its explanatory value to other models. In true economic fashion, the model here is neither heavily documented nor judged closely by its bearing on reality (although my limited experience suggests it does so). Indeed, those interested in testing the model in ways different from the tests in this paper may succeed in replacing it with something else. But for now, the model offered here offers both interesting insights and alternative policy prescriptions.

While there will be variations, a generally descriptive model of UAs and ADs can be based on the following elements of the observed nature of their environment. ADs operate in their university structure, their conference structure, and as one of the representatives of their university to the NCAA. In this setting, the relevant actors are UAs and their overseers (e.g., board of regents) and ADs. The process could be easily extended

to include conference commissioners and NCAA administrators. All care about income and upward mobility that, in turn, enhances their future welfare. In the context of their environment, enhanced welfare depends upon the performance of their respective organizations in the eyes of their hierarchical overseers.

However, and this is a critical component, there can be areas of conflict between the goals of UAs and the self-interested pursuits of ADs. The welfare of UAs depends on the performance of their agents along well-known dimensions—research, teaching, and service. While the definition of research and teaching are transparent, service may not be. Members of the university are engaged in free outreach, information to the press and participation in press events, and entertainment. On the latter, some might think of fine arts offerings, especially music and dance. College sports are clearly another entertainment, also offered by members of the university.

The ability of UAs to overcome conflicts with their agents in the provision of research, teaching, and service will depend on two things. First, ADs will consider the net value of independent action that is possibly detrimental to the welfare of UAs; the higher that net value, the more often UAs will expect ADs to attempt that independent course of action. Second, the costs of monitoring to UAs will temper the oversight mechanism choice and the level of that oversight.

This operational environment suggests a setting that is well known to economists, namely, UAs are "principals" to the "agents" in departments across campus (Ross, 1973; Jensen & Meckling, 1976). The agents are academic leaders and non-academic leaders like ADs. The president of the university in consultation with the board of regents (most typically, but with some exceptions) controls the AD's employment and pay subject to market forces and the costs of monitoring. Along this well-known line of reasoning, UAs have every incentive to create and manage institutional designs that harness the self-interested behavior of ADs to the enhancement of UA welfare. This is the essence of the PAE.

If output is predictable and observable at discrete points in time, direct, hierarchical monitoring is possible and effective. If not, incentive compatible devices where the agent shares in specified, direct ways (e.g., profit sharing) may prove more effective. In the university case, apparently output is predictable and observable since UAs handle all of their principal-agent relationships through hierarchical oversight with only trivial incentive compatible mechanisms (e.g., performance bonuses to ADs). UAs organize the university into departments so as to facilitate the comparative advantages of each department along the lines of research, teaching, and service as well as to facilitate monitoring.

The athletic-academic department design comparison is as follows. All of the assistant coaches in a given sport are

specialists in different areas just like individual faculty on the academic side (e.g., in football, strength and conditioning, position coaches, offensive and defensive coordinators). These specialists are organized under the head coach similar to an academic department and its chair. The collection of sports is organized into the larger unit, the athletic department, similar to schools or colleges on the academic side.

To keep the analogy truly complete, we could refer to this as the "school of athletics" since, at the top of the athletic department, the AD is the equivalent of an academic dean (at least in terms of oversight and authority). The AD has associate ADs to handle the day-to-day operations of the department, freeing the AD to see to fund raising and external relations for the athletic department. The AD answers to the President (rather than the Provost on the academic side) and up the ladder to the board of regents and governor.

The ultimate result of this principal-agent structure is money and political support that is useful to UAs pursuing their goals. Services from all areas of the university flow out, under the three major headings of research, teaching, and service, and money and political support come back to UAs. In turn, hierarchically, through Deans and directors, including *athletic* directors, UAs allocate rewards back to departments. As is the typical principal-agent result, agents including ADs are rewarded when they contribute to UA goals and face the prospect of reduced resources at least, and demotion or unemployment at most, when they don't.

Some doubt the power that overseers have over UAs or, in turn, the power that UAs have over ADs because of observed major oversight breakdowns such as the Southern Methodist University football program death penalty imposed beginning with the 1988 football season or the recent Penn State sexual predator scandal. But the PAE explains this contingency—as long as monitoring is costly, and overseers act economically, there will be some transgressions that will not be caught until after the fact (if at all). We can all wish that it were not so, but it is. So just finding holes in any oversight process is not evidence against the PAE. And focusing on the holes misses the greater point—by and large the oversight process works.

If ADs do not contribute to UA goals, or if the athletic department becomes costly to the university in embarrassing ways, then UAs have recourse. For one, budget allocations to the athletic department can simply be reduced. Numerous examples where ADs reduced their budgets to meet university-wide reduction mandates by UAs during the recent economic downturn are presented by Cross (2015). Experience also reveals that budget cuts occur even without financial exigency. At the limiting extreme, there are interesting current and historical observations where King Football has simply been closed down altogether by UAs. But a careful case-by-case reading

shows that it was never going belly-up in an arms race that was the cause.

Historically (tracking through the college football conference listings at the respected sports-reference.com), 6 Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS, Division I-A prior to 1978) football programs have been abolished—University of Chicago in 1939, Villanova in 1980 (although it returned a few years later at the Football Championship Subdivision, or FCS, level), CSU-Long Beach, CSU-Fullerton, and University of the Pacific in the 1990s, and Alabama-Birmingham in 2014. The Ivies and a few departments from the Southern Conference and Southland Conference also moved to the FCS in 1981.

Football was abolished at 54 FCS colleges (Division I-AA prior to 1978) starting in the 1920s and the most recent examples prove instructive of what causes this at this level of play. UAs at Northeastern University cut its football program in November of 2009 and UAs at Hofstra University followed suit the next month. The official stance at Northeastern was, "The decision is consistent with the university's strategic approach to prioritize programs and invest in signature strengths" (ESPN.com News Services, 2009a). At Hofstra, UAs stated flatly that football was eliminated because of a general lack of interest among students and alumni, and a desire to spend the money to greater advantage on academic programs (ESPN.com News Services, 2009b). No public mention can be found in either case that this had anything to do with being pushed to absurd spending levels and finally throwing up their hands a la the ARE.

There also are other dramatic actions familiar to all who follow collegiate sports that can be taken by UAs. Episodes of unsatisfactory performance and AD firings or forced resignations are well known and program quality blind. Just recently at two college sports icon programs, ADs David Brandon (Michigan) and Steve Patterson (Texas) began searches for new employment. Some might argue that the sway of coaches over the process is being glossed over. But if they hold such sway, it's interesting that the good ones change jobs often and are seldom happy with the actions of their UAs (historically, Bear Bryant; recently, Urban Meyer). And let's not forget that their tenure is beholden to their UAs—a nice way of putting that they also are fired on a regular basis.

As with all things, not all departments are equally adept at each of the research, teaching, and service areas and an effective organizational structure would take this into account. Among academic departments, some are more about teaching and others are more about research. Compared to academic departments, the mix is different still for the athletic department. Although arguably there can be a research mission, there clearly is teaching (student athletes populate the coaching ranks and professional sports). But athletic departments truly shine in service (entertainment).

The PAE also puts an entirely different spin on "institutional support", that is, the budget allocation to the athletic department. First, from the PAE perspective, all revenues to the athletic department are "generated," some at the gate and attendance related (parking and concessions), some from TV, some from booster contributions (alumni and others), and still others in terms of the budget allocation from the university. It is rational for UAs to allocate these rewards to highest possible return among all departments including the athletic department. Second, there is no difference in the purpose of budget allocations to the academic side and the allocation to the athletic department. All "agents" compete on the basis of their relative success in the eyes of their UA principals. Athletic departments receive their share, as do all departments, through a competitive budgeting process at the university level.

One final note concerns the actual functioning of budgeting. In all of the deliberations that lead to the final budget decisions of UAs, the purpose of the allocation is completely clear. As they do in all areas, UAs are attempting to see to the funding of an athletic department of optimal size and scope for their purpose. UAs then expect all departments to spend their entire budget to make good on the promises made during the battle for their budget share. As in all units on campus, it is expected that spending should equal all revenue, including the UA allocation.

Members of the athletic department, from the AD through the associate ADs, on down to coaches and assistants, and finally the athletes themselves, provide entertainment services enjoyed by millions. The returns to UAs include the direct money payment that comes through the tuition component of grants-in-aid to athletes. More typically, the benefits not found in the athletic department bottom line include (Fort & Winfree, 2013):

- Greater giving by alumni and other boosters to the general university fund.
- A larger and better set of student applicants.
- Favorable general budget treatment by legislators.
- Better faculty and administrators.
- Value added to athletes, some of who would not be at the university without athletics.

The upshot of all of is a set of questions whose answers can separate the PAE from the ARE that are addressed in the next section:

1. *Do ADs operate in a non-cooperative setting?*
2. *Are UAs and ADs naïve?*
3. *Is it tragic to come in second?*
4. *Does spending always rise to meet revenues?*
5. *Does the value created by the athletic department across the university provide a reasonable return on the instutional support investment?*

Arms Race or Principals and Agents? Do ADs operate in a non-cooperative setting?

While incentives can be in conflict at the university, cooperative behavior abounds at all levels of college sports organizations. Examples include AD cooperation through their conferences in determining membership, setting schedules and rules, hiring officials, and designing conference championships. Cooperation of this nature is required in order to define and brand conference play. Cooperation through conferences also results in *conference* TV contracts to the economic benefit of its members and, more recently, the creation of conference sports networks (e.g., the ACC Network, Big Ten Network, the SEC Network, and the Pac-12 Networks).

Moving up one level, in all sports except FBS football, ADs cooperate through their conferences and on up to the NCAA to determine national champions. The College Football Playoff that determines the FBS national champion is also a marvel of cooperation among "Power 5" conference commissioners that represent their individual conference members (Atlantic Coast Conference, Big 12, Big Ten, Southeastern, and Pacific-12), the sports network ESPN, and bowl organizers.

The NCAA controls applications to advance to higher divisions. The NCAA also is a cooperatively designated marketing manager of many sports properties (videos, image use in video games). Finally, the NCAA is used cooperatively to reduce the economically competitive urges that cannot be controlled by members in conferences alone. The member institutions of the NCAA created the amateur requirement, recruiting restrictions, required letters of intent, the one-year sit out rule, and all rules governing practice time. The office of the President of the NCAA enforces these rules.

Given this extensive structure of cooperation, it simply strains any sense of reality to suppose that ADs and their UAs act non-cooperatively.

Are UAs and ADs naïve?

Frank (2004) simply states that UAs are naïve, based on findings in unrelated research that *some people have been observed to be naïve in some situations*. However, to date, nobody has actually analyzed whether or not this is true of actors in collegiate sports and there is plenty of prima facie evidence to the contrary. All UAs and ADs "come up through the ranks;" they must satisfy relentless selection mechanisms. The result of such intense selection would typically be participants keenly aware of their environment and well trained for the job at hand.

UAs are seasoned administrators and observers of the collegiate sports scene. ADs are astute students of business, many are lawyers, and all cut their teeth on the collegiate sports scene. While first hand management at the top level will be new to all at first, and mistakes are human, the idea that they are naïve seems far-fetched.

None of this would appear to the knowledgeable observer of sports management personnel to suggest any naiveté at all.

Is it tragic to come in second?

There is nothing at all to suggest that the fundamental underpinning of the ARE—that is, coming in second is truly tragic—characterizes college sports spending. "Tragic" in the ARE context means that all bidders pay *but only one earns any return*. While it is true that there is only one conference champion, and only one subsequent national champion, this is not "winning" in the ARE sense. All of the rest of the ADs also generate revenues and kudos for their competitive performances. Life is pretty good even for coaches and ADs at FBS institutions that seldom win their conference championship, let alone see post-season play. Nearly all of the athletic departments in Table 1 come in "second" nearly all the time but the revenue results appear to be far from tragic (shortly, it is made clear that there is nothing special about 2013-14 in this regard).

Indeed, there is demand to *enter* the top levels of competition where the arms race should be most heated, rather than avoid it. Four schools earned bona fide FBS membership in 2013—South Alabama, Texas State, Massachusetts, and Texas-San Antonio. Four more will establish full FBS membership rights in 2015—Old Dominion, Appalachian State, Georgia Southern, and North Carolina-Charlotte. The UAs and ADs at these 8 recent entrants would all have to fall into the same trap under the ARE; that they were about to jump in to a long-established arms race situation, destined for tragedy.

There is nothing at all to suggest that the fundamental underpinning of the ARE, that is, coming in second is truly tragic, characterizes college sports spending.

Does spending always rise to meet revenues?

The PAE tells us ADs should spend all of their budgets, including allocations from UAs, so that revenues equal expenses. There would be no reason to expect any budget deficits other than for the usual mistakes under uncertainty because these would be in nobody's best interest. It should be noted in passing that annual operations ignore the possibility of an arms race in capital, a possibility raised by Orszag & Orszag (2005a, 2005b). But the spending arms race is taken at large as a general explanation of spending.

The NCAA commissions an ongoing survey of operating revenues and expenses for athletic departments in the different divisions of college sports (most recently, Fulks, 2015). The data are presented in two forms in the original documents, the median report (average report before 2004) and the largest report. In any given year, neither of these reported aggregates necessarily matches up to the same athletic department; the average revenue reported does not necessarily come from the same athletic

department that reports the average expenditure. But the NCAA finds this type of characterization of "average" and "large" programs useful so it is carried along here

Simply combining the revenue and expense data for the FBS into Figure 1 (I first found this useful in Fort, 2010) presents an aggregate picture of collegiate sport revenues and expenses that is entirely consistent with the PAE, but not the ARE. First, at the average report through 2003, revenues and expenditures both grew at the same 4.6 percent real (inflation adjusted) annual rate. At the median report from 2004 on, revenues and expenses grew at the same 5.6 percent real annual rate. Second, the correlation between revenue and expenses during the period of average reports is 1.00 and 0.99 during the period of median reports. Essentially, "average" athletic departments have enjoyed tremendous revenue growth and spend every dollar they bring in.

It is difficult to make any call on "net" revenue since the revenue and spending reports are not necessarily from the same department. In addition, there can be as much as a decade between the earliest reports (an examination across individual departments appears below). In any event, the largest excess of spending over revenue is 3 percent in 2014, at the median reports of the two.

For the largest reported values, the real annual growth in revenues and expenses (both are reported from 1985 on) is 5.5 percent and 5.1 percent, respectively. The correlation between revenues and expenses is 0.97. Unlike their "average" counterparts, the "largest" athletic departments don't spend quite everything they bring in, but it is close. The interesting dip in reported largest spending from 2001-2003 and the slighter deviation over the last five years could do with further analysis. Expenses exceed revenues only once in 1997 by 0.2 percent.

In passing, it is easy to see why some might view the increase in spending with alarm. The real annual growth rate in spending just noted at both the "average" and "largest" reports are large relative to the typical real growth rate in the economy. They are also large relative to the growth in spending on the academic side. However, worries about some form of collapse appear misplaced (Fort, 2010). The real annual growth rate in the average report of *revenues*, of course, matches the growth in expenses.

Consistent with the budget process on which the PAE is based, the median- and largest-reports show ADs spending all of their revenue, including institutional support. Of course, this level of aggregation begs a more disaggregated examination. That may be had using the *USAToday* (2015) data on individual department revenues and expenditures. This is a data base of high integrity, generated by Freedom of Information Act requests of individual athletic departments.

The results are in Tables 2 and 3. Immediately, the correlations in Table 2 across all FBS departments tell the same

story as the correlations over time for the median and largest reports in Figure 1. Essentially, departments spend every dollar they take in and this is true despite the broader variation from negative net revenues to positive. The only possible exception would be 2005-06, when Oklahoma State recorded the largest contribution in the entire data set, $211,023,155, nearly twice the next largest (Oregon, $124,927,474 in 2013-14). When that outlier is removed, the correlation climbs again to the usual level in Table 2, 0.983.

As one would expect in cross-section, there is substantial variation around either the mean, median, or mode in any year. While the mode is always $0, only more detailed analysis of the position of every department in the distribution over time can tell the story from that perspective on the propensity to break even. However, revealed in Table 3, between 21% and 33% of the departments are within a quarter of a million dollars of $0 in any of the tabled years.

Granted, revenues equal to expenditures could also be consistent with some other model of college sports outcomes not compared here. For example, Hoffer, Humphreys, Lacombe, & Ruseski (2015) model athletic department spending and find that athletic departments spend all revenue and practice "non-price" competition in their spending decision. But this paper is long enough and a test of other models awaits both the specification of such an alternative test and the associated empirical work.

Does the value created by the athletic department across the university provide a reasonable return on the instutional support investment?

Frank (2004) read the literature on non-revenue values from college sports one way, on a few dimensions (on-field success, student applications, or general giving to the university), and found them small at best. Without any formal comparison, he concluded that such small returns did not justify the level of institutional support.

Fort & Winfree (2013, Chapter 3) detail how Frank's appeal to past work on the values of college sports at the university was cursory at best. The latest data available to them was for 2010-11, and for "Automatic Qualifier" (AQ) schools at the time of the data reviews. The AQ schools included what is now the FBS Power 5 plus the Big East Conference. There were 54 AQ reports in the popular source they used. The Power 5 would of course be the object of future analysis at this level. They demonstrate that the tuition part of the grant-in-aid to student athletes that is paid to the university provides ample return in all but six AQ cases.

For those remaining six, values across the rest of the university did not have to be very large, relative to the institutional support investment, in order to generate even a 5 percent return. A similar exercise revealed that the proportion of the rest of

the FBS departments that needed to rely on the values across the rest of the university was larger than for the AQ case. However, the level of these values required to generate a reasonable return was only an issue at a very few schools. In addition, and contrary to some perceptions, the FCS ADs actually run their programs much more on a break-even basis, program by program, than do their FBS counterparts.

Fort and Winfree (2013) also show that the variety of values created across the rest of the university was much broader than Frank (2004) examined, even in the literature available to him at the time of his writing. For example, the survey and extension in Goff (2004) revealed a broader array of values as well as some work touting higher values than those found by Frank (2004). In addition, Fort and Winfree (2013) point out that work since then has revealed that this value is also much higher than Frank concluded.

Humphreys & Mondello (2007), Tucker (2004, 2005), Tucker & Amato (2006), and Smith (2008) showed values from giving to the university rather than just the athletic department. Tucker (2004, 2005) also found football success increased the SAT scores of entering freshmen and enhanced graduation rates. Humphreys (2006) found that FBS football participation generated an 8 percent larger annual state appropriation than those without such programs. It should come as no surprise, then, that Fort and Winfree (2013) reach the opposite conclusion of Frank (2004). Even though each of the values may be small, in total the direct money payment via the tuition portion of grants-in-aid, plus the values across the rest of the university, are large enough to justify the institutional support investment made by UAs.

All of this is completely consistent with the level of institutional investment generating sufficient return consistent with the PAE but not with the ARE.

Conclusions and Policy Observations

The principal-agent explanation outperforms the arms race explanation both in terms of its description of the actual process (rather than strained assumptions) and in its application to data on college spending outcomes. As always, one study never decides any issue and additional work exploring these competing explanations is in order.

Formal development of the rigorous implications of the principal-agent explanation is surely needed in order to hone empirical propositions on college sports. The explanation should also be tested in other arenas. For example, the same type of data on revenue and expenses are available for Division II and Division III. Similar analysis to that done here for FBS universities can be done there in order to determine whether a principal-agent explanation generalizes to college sports where, ostensibly, big revenues appear not to be the goal. In another spending area, it could be that arms race logic is operational

in other contexts such as capital investment covered by Orszag & Orszag (2005b).

The principal-agent explanation should also be useful in university-athletics relationships beyond just the spending outcome. Surely a catastrophic failure of oversight led to the tragic sexual violence scandal at Penn State and the complete capture of the university vis a vis athletics in the SMU football death penalty episode. But the principal-agent logic also adds another consideration for the reform-minded, namely, assessing how to improve those monitoring processes.

If it stands later scrutiny, the principal-agent explanation offered here changes the focus of policy intervention from remedies aimed at outcomes, like spending reductions and caps, to institutional design. One important lesson from application of this explanation to bureaucratic processes is that principal-agent mechanisms afford principals chances to credit-claim and blame-shift (Weingast & Moran, 1983; Weingast, 1984). On this dimension, blame shifting could be the explanation for survey reports by university administrators that they "feel powerless" to change collegiate sports (Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics, 2009). This claim rings hollow in the face of a history replete with examples of them doing just that, but is consistent with blame shifting.

Another important principal-agent institutional design lessons is that effective oversight can generate complete alignment between the *preferences* of principals and the behavior of their agents, revealing that the stance of critics is not about oversight, but about the preferences of principals in the first place (Weingast & Moran, 1983, and Weingast, 1984). If so, there is no principal-agent problem. Instead, and completely legitimately, others can only disagree with the preferences, not the process. This is especially insightful to those constantly monitoring the mix of university outputs.

But there are important policy observations in this context as well. If the oversight process were working effectively, then instead of reducing waste, spending cuts and caps would produce a social loss. This loss would be in the form of reduced values created across the rest of the university, reduced satisfaction for those that enjoy the games, and, paradoxically, reduced satisfaction and future earnings for those students whose participation in college sports would be reduced. This may or may not be what critics seek, but it will be true nonetheless.

This is not to argue that the level of college sports output is necessarily the socially preferred level. However, that level should be determined by its values and costs, not by applying an arms race view that whatever level is determined, overspending will occur. Determining which explanation is in operation, arms race or principal-agent, is essential if the institution of college sports is to produce whatever is the agreed upon level of college sports output.

According to the principal-agent explanation, if there is any problem with the level of athletic spending, it will be found in the "slack" in these levels of oversight—the choice of the level of spending on athletics by UAs is not at the level preferred by their overseers and/or there is a fundamental weakness in the oversight relationship between UAs and their AD principals. From the principal-agent perspective, one *might* see spending run away, but it is not "runaway spending" resulting from an arms race. And altering spending (after all, ineffective oversight might also allow overseers to *underspend* on athletics) would be *only part of the remedy*.

Without meaningful reform of the oversight process itself, any problem with the level of spending will not be solved. For example, while hierarchical monitoring and oversight work for academic deans, perhaps there are better approaches with ADs. Other incentive compatible approaches may be more valuable to university administrators, on net.

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Tables

Table 1

Top 25 Revenues, 2013-14

Department	*Total Revenue*
Texas (Big 12)	$161,035,184
Alabama (SEC)	$152,588,651
Ohio State (Big Ten)	$143,718,564
Michigan (Big Ten)	$135,869,791
LSU (SEC)	$132,828,429
Oklahoma (Big 12)	$129,220,692
Wisconsin (Big Ten)	$124,928,916
Auburn (SEC)	$120,699,075
Florida (SEC)	$118,860,545
Penn State (Big Ten)	$117,590,993
Notre Dame (Indep)	$114,843,522
Stanford (Pac 12)	$110,240,490
Southern California (Pac 12)	$106,528,649
Iowa (Big Ten)	$105,508,954
Florida State (ACC)	$104,420,339
Tennessee (SEC)	$103,542,112
Georgia (SEC)	$103,495,587
Minnesota (Big Ten)	$100,707,642
Washington (Pac 12)	$100,275,186
South Carolina (SEC)	$98,439,097
Kansas (Big 12)	$97,681,067
Arizona (Pac 12)	$97,630,769
Arkansas (SEC)	$96,793,972
Nebraska (Big Ten)	$94,797,692
Kentucky (SEC)	$92,842,049
ACC	1
Big 12	3
Big Ten	7
Indep	1
SEC	9
Pac 12	4
Total	*25*

Source: Total revenue data are from U.S. Department of Education Office of Postsecondary Education (2015).

Table 2

FBS Net Revenues and Descriptive Statistics, 2004-05 through 2013-14

Year	NOBS	Bottom	Dept	Top	Dept	Ave	Dept	Median	Dept	S.D.	Cor(TR,TE)
2004-05	98	-$7,887,618	Cal	$23,854,329	Georgia	$1,036,137	Colo. St.	$212,796	E. Mich.	$3,796,348	0.984
2005-06	97	-$10,328,595	Houst.	$161,063,918	Ok. St.	$2,925,221	Ohio St.	$283,016	C. Mich.	$16,791,840	0.849
2006-07	97	-$9,448,172	Iowa St.	$15,669,822	Florida	$1,489,534	Colo. St.	$315,605	Akron	$4,460,433	0.988
2007-08	97	-$6,206,372	N. Texas	$19,470,624	Auburn	$2,039,345	S. Carol.	$472,461	LA-Laf.	$4,232,118	0.991
2008-09	98	-$20,029,043	Ok. St.	$20,309,228	TA&M	$531,060	S. Carol.	$50,755	UTEP	$4,097,565	0.990
2009-10	99	-$6,903,058	N. Texas	$44,538,251	Oregon	$3,065,298	Ore. St.	$527,994	W. Mich.	$7,022,244	0.982
2010-11	98	-$8,374,016	Flor. St.	$23,398,586	KS St.	$2,999,663	Utah St.	$1,245,060	Utah	$5,302,547	0.990
2011-12	98	-$16,261,224	Missouri	$37,910,104	TA&M	$2,348,193	BGSU.	$553,646	LA-Mon.	$7,211,448	0.982
2012-13	102	-$7,993,152	Colo.	$27,168,637	Alabama	$2,594,777	Flor. Atl.	$361,951	Maryland	$6,136,687	0.990
2013-14	104	-$13,714,440	Wash. St.	$85,651,966	Oregon	$3,175,279	VA Tech	$427,851	Ohio	$10,468,298	0.969

Source: USAToday (2015).

Notes: The mode of the distribution of net revenues is always $0. Departments listed for the average and median are the ones closest to those values. Besides the following exceptions, the "Contributions" category was always less than $50,000: Oklahoma St., $211,023,155 (2005-06); Oregon, $73,809,775 (2009-10); Texas A&M, $53,388,379 (2011-12); and Oregon, $124,927,474 (2013-14).

Table 3

Distribution of FBS Net Revenues, 2004-05 through 2013-14

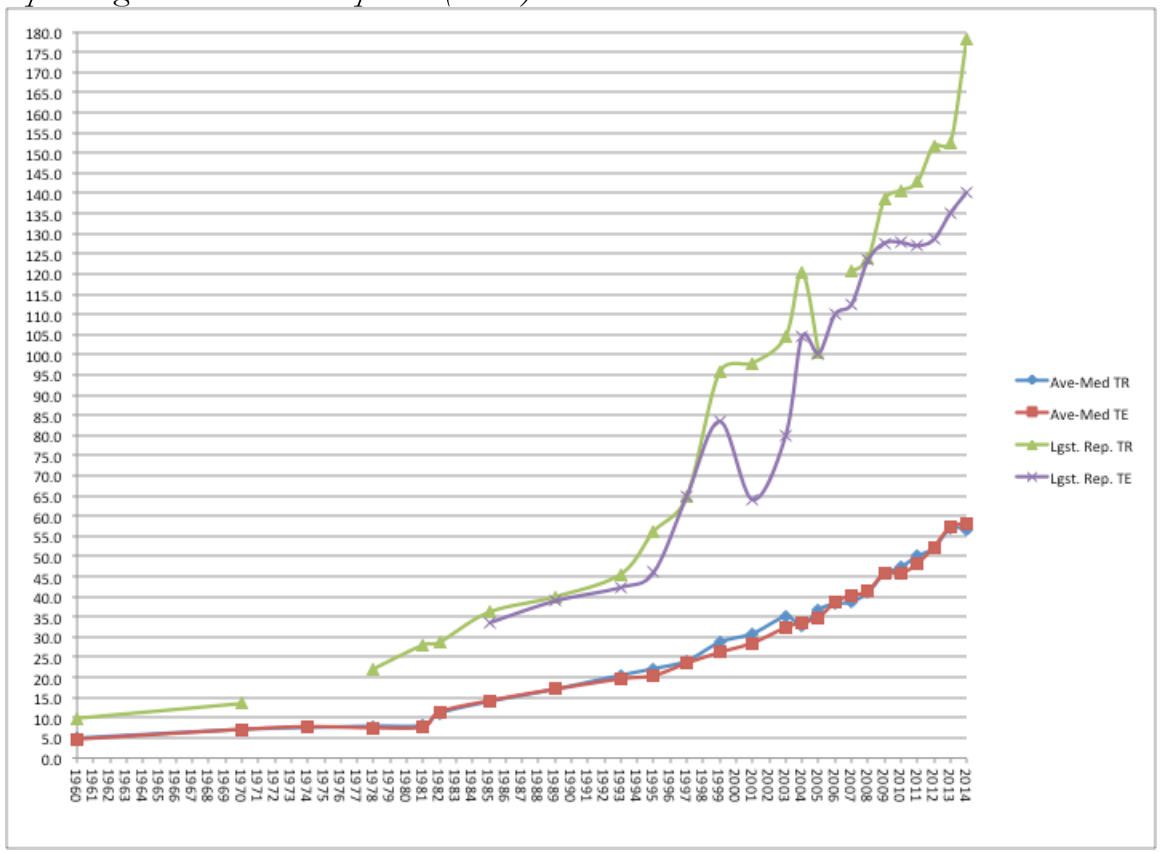
Year	*NOBS*	*(Bottom, -$250K)*	*(-$250K, $0)*	*$0*	*($0, $250K)*	*($250K, Top)*	*(-$250K, $250K)*
2004-05	98	20%	6%	7%	19%	47%	33%
2005-06	97	29%	3%	4%	13%	51%	21%
2006-07	97	21%	6%	6%	14%	53%	27%
2007-08	97	21%	6%	6%	9%	58%	22%
2008-09	98	34%	4%	8%	16%	38%	29%
2009-10	99	14%	7%	11%	11%	57%	29%
2010-11	99	14%	6%	6%	12%	62%	24%
2011-12	99	21%	3%	7%	11%	58%	21%
2012-13	102	24%	10%	5%	9%	53%	24%
2013-14	104	19%	5%	9%	14%	53%	28%

Source: Author's calculations on the data cited in Table 2.

Figures

Figure 1

Operating Revenues and Expenses (2009)



Source: From the NCAA revenues and expenses data, most recently Fulks (2015).
Notes: Largest Reported Total Revenue omits 2006 ($260.7 million $2009). In personal correspondence, the NCAA Research Department reported it was due to a very large gift. However, that should have nothing to do with annual operations.

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What would the political philosophers do? An exploration of ideological perspectives on 'athlete-centered' reform

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In this paper I explore how the values inherent in the political philosophies of libertarianism, capitalism, utilitarianism, and egalitarianism are manifest in big-time college athletics reform which places athletes' rights as its highest value. The initial intent of the paper focuses on the use of Marx and Engels' dialectical materialism as a way of framing the historical relationship between the NCAA and the athletes. Next, I turn to the main thrust of the paper which is to utilize the ideological inquiry approach to explore the overarching values inherent in the perspectives of John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and John Rawls in an attempt to see more clearly how their perspectives are manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform. Lastly, I put forth that, based on the values inherent in the perspectives of the political philosophers, 'athlete-centered' reform begins with liberty for the athlete, which is assured by right, just, and democratic institutions, and is secured by an athlete association.

> Political economy…belongs to moral philosophy… and is considered as a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator…to provide a plentiful revenue or subsistence for the people…or to enable the people to provide a revenue or subsistence for themselves. (Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* in Morrow (Ed.), 1969, p. 60)

Adam Smith instructs that morality should guide leaders as they make decisions that profoundly affect the well-being of a society. For this paper, "a society" is defined as the National Collegiate Athletic Association (hereinafter, "NCAA") member institutions in the power five conferences (ACC, SEC, Big 10, Big 12, and PAC 12) and Notre Dame as an independent in

football. "The leaders", as Smith points out, are those in positions of power (the NCAA and its members as a governing collective) who have the solemn duty to morally legislate. Because the play of the athletes (primarily male athletes in the sports of football and basketball) is the product which the schools, conferences, and NCAA commercially exploit by way of television contracts, gate receipts, and merchandise sales, to what degree is morality guiding the leadership in their decision making such that the athletes are provided a revenue or are enabled to provide a revenue for themselves? While the power five conferences have made recent progress on this front (i.e., voting to increase the scholarship to cover the full cost of attendance (Hosick, 2015)), it is fruitful to explore the overarching values that are manifest in an 'athlete-centered' college sports system. Toward this goal, I explore how the values inherent in the political philosophies of John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and John Rawls are manifest in reform which places athletes' rights as its highest value. To begin, Marx and Engels' dialectical materialism is presented as a way of framing the historical relationship between the NCAA and the athletes. Next, I utilize the ideological inquiry approach to explore the overarching values inherent in the political philosophies in an attempt to see more clearly said values are evident in 'athlete-centered' reform. Lastly, by way of model creation, I discuss the ways in which the values held by the political philosophers are manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform.

Theoretical Foundation: Dialectical Materialism

A historical exploration of moral values calls for an awareness of the economic, political, social, and religious context and an understanding of the process of change. Change, according to Hegel, is grounded in ideas; namely, "every idea…bred its opposite and the two merged into a synthesis which in turn produced its own contradiction…and history was…the expression of this flux of conflicting and resolving ideas" (Heilbroner, 1967, p. 129). Marx and Engels refined Hegel's work realizing that in order to understand the process of change, *and* to actually affect change, history needed be interpreted from the perspective of dialectical materialism. "*Dialectical* because it incorporated Hegel's idea of inherent change, and *materialism* because it grounded itself not in the world of ideas, but…the social and physical environment" (Heilbroner, 1967, p. 130). Dialectical materialism, then, focuses on how capitalism (*thesis*) is socially and economically untenable (*antithesis*) and how a fundamentally different system emerges when the workers gain class consciousness and overthrow the owners (*synthesis*) (Marx, 1932, p. 10, in Eastman (Ed.)). Here, Marx and Engels revealed that "…socialism was no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two

historically developed classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" (Engels, *Socialism: Utopia and scientific*, in Tucker (Ed.), 1972, p. 622).

In the same sense, and on the topic of this paper, the existing NCAA system is also socially and economically untenable. Indeed, it is safe to say that the process of big-time college sports reform has not always been a rational attempt to achieve justice and fairness; rather, it has been a relationship of strife wherein the NCAA has sought to maintain the status quo and athletes and reformers have sought to change it. This relationship is untenable because it embodies a contradiction wherein the economic interests of the NCAA and the athletes are fundamentally at odds. To give the reader a sense as to how the material dialectic frames and informs this relationship, the historical narrative that follows underscores the ongoing economic strife between the NCAA and the athletes and reformers who seek to change the system.

The NCAA System through the Lens of Dialectical Materialism

Founded in 1906 as a way to curb the violence in football, in 1910 the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States became the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) (Crowley, 2006). With just 39 colleges and universities in its impetus, the non-profit NCAA currently has more than 1,200 members and boasts an annual budget of nearly $1 billion (NCAA Membership, 2015; NCAA Consolidated Financial Statements, 2014). Even before its founding, however, the economic interest in college sport existed when, in 1852, the prize for winning a rowing match between Harvard and Yale "was a pair of expensive black-walnut oars" and "no one complained that…a railroad owner sponsored the event" (Smith, 1985, p. 223; Smith, 1993, p. 432). With Harvard and Yale leading the charge, in the early 1900's, Harvard spent $300,000 to build its football stadium and Yale followed "…by constructing a stadium with a seating capacity of 75,000…" (Sack & Staurowsky, 1998, p. 31). By 1908, concerned that athletes would exploit their talent for pay during the summer, Amos Alonzo Stagg of the University of Chicago supported the development of a definition of amateurism. In fierce opposition to such a restriction, J.P. Welsh of Pennsylvania State University stated, "The student in good collegiate standing…needs to be let alone in the full, free, untrammeled exercise of his American citizenship, which entitles him to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which sometimes means money" (Hawes, 2000, para. 32). Despite such protest, in 1916, NCAA members agreed to insert a definition of amateurism into its bylaws: "An amateur athlete is one who participates in competitive physical sports only for the pleasure and the physical, mental, moral and social benefits directly derived therefrom" (Hawes, 2000, para. 35).

With World War I having ended, college sports were becoming an integral part of higher education as a business operation with expanding stadiums, national radio broadcasts, and extensive travel (Smith, 2000). So too, the locus of control over college athletics shifted "…from an activity that was internally controlled for internal purposes to an activity that had the entertainment of external constituents as its purpose" (Gerdy, 1997, p. 32). By 1922, the NCAA was already modifying its definition of amateurism to read: "An amateur sportsman is one who engages in sport solely for the physical, mental, or social benefits he derives therefrom, and to whom the sport is nothing more than an avocation" (Sack & Staurowsky, 1998, p. 35). And, in 1929, The Carnegie Foundation issued a scathing report of college football noting that rampant professionalism, commercialization, and exploitation were corrupting college sports and, by extension, academic institutions (Savage, Bentley, McGovern, & Smiley, 1929).

Prior to the end of World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt enacted the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (i.e., the "G.I. Bill") (Reimann, 2004). With the massive influx of male students, many of whom were athletes, college football realized a direct benefit. As competition to recruit the best athletes increased, under-the-table payments increased as well. In an attempt to reign in these excesses the NCAA passed the Sanity Code in 1948 which aimed to establish uniform financial aid standards; unfortunately, adherence was short-lived as the competition to secure the most talented athletes proved too great (Byers, 1995).

By the 1950's, with higher education transitioning to the business-model, corporate language began to permeate the walls of the academy; students became customers, and academic programs became products (Sack, 2008). As institutions began to adopt a more entrepreneurial model, they realized that athletics was an effective way to promote and market the product of higher education (Stoke, 1954). Further, with Americans enraptured by the television, colleges had the perfect mode through which to sell their product. Sack (2008) refers to this period as the era of "academic capitalism" wherein "…high-profile athletic teams are presumed to give universities an edge in attracting new students, creating revenue streams, and…enhancing a university's brand…" (p. 48).

With television contracts propelling the NCAA's revenue stream into the millions, the colleges realized that they had to unite on the issue that college sports still were only for 'amateurs'. So, in 1956, "colleges, acting through the NCAA in the name of 'amateurism,' installed their own pay system called the athletics grant-in-aid or athletics "scholarship" (Byers, 1995, p. 65). The fear was that the "…athletes could be identified as employees"; thus, the NCAA "…crafted the term *student-athlete*, and soon it was embedded in all NCAA rules and

interpretations as a mandated substitute for such words as players and athletes" (Byers, 1995, p. 69). In addition, NCAA rules capped financial inducements to athletes by universities, limited player mobility through transfer rules, and in 1967 "the NCAA passed a rule allowing athletic scholarships to be taken away from athletes who voluntarily withdrew from sports" (Sack, 2008, p. 70). This "fraudulent misrepresentation rule" gave coaches the authority to more easily get rid of unwanted players and it was no coincidence that the rule was passed "during the period when athletes on some college campuses were in revolt" (p. 70).

By 1981, NCAA television rights totaled $31 million/year; a 77% increase from 1977 (Byers, 1995, p. 145). With so much money to be had, in 1984, the colleges and universities demanded the right to control the lucrative market of televised football (*NCAA v. Bd. of Regents of the University of Oklahoma and University of Georgia Athletic Association*, 104 S. Ct. 2948, 1984). While the NCAA lost the right to monopolize the football television market, Judge Bork's comments in *Bd. of Regents, et al.* (1984) gave considerable assist to the NCAA by solidifying the necessity of 'amateur' college sports. Indeed, Judge Bork noted that in order to maintain the integrity of the product (i.e. amateur sports), the principle of amateurism must be *perceived* as secure; and, this product integrity "cannot be preserved except by mutual agreement [of the colleges]…[t]hus, the NCAA plays a vital role in enabling … a product to be marketed which might otherwise be unavailable" (Bd. of Regents, et al., 1984, p. 102).

By 1998, the free market for coaches' salaries broke wide open when assistant coaches successfully challenged the NCAA's restricted earnings rule (*Law v. NCAA*, 134 F.3d 1010, 10th Cir. 1998). Indeed, currently over 100 college football and men's basketball coaches earn $1 million or more (Nick Saban, head football coach at the University of Alabama, tops the football list making more than $7 million/yr. and Mike Krzyzewski, head men's basketball coach at Duke University, makes $9.6 million/yr.) (*USA Today NCAA Salaries*, 2015). With the free market operating for the NCAA, conferences, institutions, coaches, and athletic administrators, the athletes, under the guise of 'amateurism', remained the lone party being denied the fundamental right to be economically free.

Now, over a century later, the athletes are gaining class consciousness, recognizing that their relationship with the NCAA is economically untenable. In 2001, former University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) football player Ramogi Huma founded the National College Players Association (NCPA) "to provide the means for college athletes to voice their concerns and change NCAA rules" (NCPA, Mission, 2015). One of the NCPA's biggest victories came in 2006 when the court granted class certification for football and men's basketball players in *White v. NCAA*. *White*

argued that the NCAA and its members violated antitrust law by engaging in a horizontal agreement to cap the financial aid award. Ultimately, the suit was settled and the NCAA was ordered to create a $10 million educational fund to assist athletes (NCPA, Victories, 2015). Stemming, in part, from the athletes success in *White*, in 2006 late-president Myles Brand reaffirmed the NCAA's position when he stated, "'amateur' defines the participants, not the enterprise"…the NCAA need "…not be ambivalent about doing the business of college sports" (Brand, 2006, p. 1).

But the athletes were just getting started. In 2009, former UCLA basketball star, Ed O'Bannon filed a class action lawsuit against the NCAA alleging antitrust violations in relation to ownership rights of former athletes' likenesses and images (*O'Bannon v. NCAA*, C 09-03329, N.D. Cal., July 21, 2009). In 2013, the NCPA backed the Collegiate Student Athlete Protection Act (CSAP Act), which aimed to provide much needed protections for the athletes (H.R. 3545, 2013). And in 2013, researchers (Otto & Otto) offered assist when they exposed the logical flaw in Brand's definition of amateurism, pointing out, that "…in certain commercial contexts, *an implication* of the common definition of the word 'amateur'—together with the common definition of 'exploitation'—runs headlong into conflict with a clear requirement of NCAA Bylaw 2.9" (p. 261).

In 2014, Northwestern University football players, also backed by the NCPA, petitioned the National Labor Relations Board to be recognized as employees under the law (Region 13, Case 13-RC-121359, Mar. 26, 2014). And *Jenkins v. NCAA* (2014) seeks to allow athletes to sell their services to universities in a free-market system (Case 3:33-av-00001, U.S. Dist. N.J. Mar. 17, 2014). Additionally, faculty formed the College Athletes Rights and Empowerment Faculty Coalition in support of the athlete's in their quest for justice (CARE-FC, 2015). Even the U.S. Congress took note, calling two separate hearings pertaining to the relationship between athletics and academics and the potential consequences of athlete unionization (Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, 2015; Berkowitz, 2014). This brings us to the present day wherein, as a result of mounting legal, congressional, and organizational pressure, NCAA institutions in the power five conferences passed a measure, which allows schools to cover the athletes' full cost of attendance (Hosick, 2015). Is this concession free from moral contradiction?

The successes of the athletes are due, in large part, to a common consciousness, which has manifested itself in collective social, political, and legal action. But, as the material dialectic has revealed, it is actually the NCAA that is responsible for the rise of the athlete collective. Indeed, Marx pointed out that

> [T]he development of Modern Industry…cuts from under its feet the very

> foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable. (*The Communist Manifesto* (1848), in Eastman (Ed.) (1932), p. 334)

Thus, it is because the athlete is still economically bound that change is on the horizon. For this reason, an exploration into how the values inherent in the political philosophies are manifest in reform which places athlete's rights as its highest value is necessary.

Ideological Inquiry Approach Part I: Ideological Perspectives

Ideology generally refers to a set of values, meanings, and beliefs. Viewed negatively or positively, ideology can "…give birth to massive social illusion or…inspire a…group or class in the pursuit of political interests…" (Eagleton, 2007, p. 43 & 44). In *The German Ideology*, Marx understood that "the production of ideas and conceptions, of consciousness…is…directly interwoven with the material activity…of men…" (1932, p. 9). It is the economic structure of society that is the real foundation on which the legal and political superstructure arises, shaping social consciousness. Indeed, "it is not the consciousness of men which determines their existence, but on the contrary it is their social existence which determines their consciousness" (Marx, in Eastman (Ed.), 1932, p. 11).

In applying the Marxist ideology to sport, Rigauer (1981) noted that "…the athlete is the producer, the spectators the consumers. The athlete's achievement is transformed into a commodity and is exchanged on the market for its equivalent value, expressed in money" (p. 68). In the case of the NCAA, however, the existing ideology requires the athlete to enter into definite economic, political, and social relations, which includes being classified as an "amateur", who, according to the NCAA, cannot be paid. Still, payment for services rendered does not dissolve the relationship between owner and laborer. Rather, it brings a sense of economic fairness to the relationship. Indeed, Hoch (1972) noted that while professional athletes have a union and are paid handsomely, they are still viewed by the owners as workers who produce the product known as the "spectacle-of-competition" (p. 119). In this sense, sports leagues, operating as legalized monopolies, "…sell a product whose main ideological function is to perpetrate the belief in competition" (p. 121).

Thus, the ideological-oriented approach "…is determined by the framework within which one is operating and the findings are interpreted…from the perspective of that theory" (Patton, 1990, p. 86). Recall that we began by using Marx's material dialectic as a way of understanding the historical relationship between the NCAA and the athletes. Now, we turn toward positive ideological inquiry so as to explore how political philosophies of John Locke, Adam

Smith, John Stuart Mill, and John Rawls may serve to inspire the NCAA in pursuit of political interests judged to be desirable. This approach aims to answer: How is (*x*) [where (*x*) is an ideological perspective] manifest in (*y*) phenomenon [where (*y*) is athlete-centered reform]? To this end, we begin by exploring the ideological perspectives.

Review of Ideological Perspectives

This review takes the reader from the mid-1600's through the late-1900's wherein some of the great political philosophers used logic and reason to determine how best to care for society. These thinkers rationally and morally measured one value against another toward the goal of a 'good' society. What follows, broadly, is continuous rational dialogue wherein these thinkers sought to refine the work of their predecessor. It should be noted that this review does not attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of each of the political philosophies, since, as one reviewer noted, this is too large an undertaking; rather, this is but an *exploration* into the *overarching values* inherent in each of the perspectives.

John Locke (1632-1704)

Regarded as the father of modern liberalism, Locke valued the freedom of the individual stating, "just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty, is the thing we stand in need of" (Fraser, *Locke*, in Morris, 1931, p. 54). While holding that "…no man can be allowed to interfere with the freedom of another…" (p. 56), Locke recognized that in order to live together in peace "…firmly sanctioned principles…" must be established to form a civil society (p. 57). It appears that Locke's philosophy resides in Kohlberg's (1963) post-conventional morality, social contract; namely, a 'good' society is one which individuals respect each other's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Foreseeing the necessity of a shift from the monarchy of the late 1600's to a democratic system of government, Locke held that the stability of governments are dependent on the will of the people. In fact, it was Locke who had a profound influence on John Hamilton, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson as they constructed the Declaration of Independence with liberty as the bedrock principle. Pertaining to property rights, in *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke noted that initially everything was held in common by all men "…but when a man by his own effort has changed a thing from the state in which nature made it, that thing from being common becomes the property of him that mixed his labour with it" (Morris, 1931, p. 59). With capitalism yet to take hold, Locke, perhaps, did not foresee the extensive problems that would soon develop as it pertained to property rights since, in discussing man's property rights he said "…it requires no government to establish it, nor can any government take it away" (Morris, 1931, p. 59). Locke's theory of the origin of the right of property

served to establish the fundamental principle of the science of wealth, shaping future political ideologies, including Marx's critique of the capitalist system (Morris, 1931).

Adam Smith (1723-1790)

Born in Kirkcaldy, Scotland during British industrialization, moral philosopher Adam Smith extended the work of Locke. As a result of excessive regulations of the French mercantilists, Smith viewed laissez-faire as a moral imperative; namely, that people have the natural right to be free—to be economically "let go of" (Morrow, 1969, p. 63). To this end, Smith held that the "…duties of the state [should] be restricted to defending the society against external aggression, administering justice, and maintaining…public works…" (p. 63).

In *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) Smith contemplated the motivation of humans (self-interest) within the context of industrialization. In this sense, Smith's focus was not exclusively economic but rather "a broad study in social welfare" (Morrow, 1969, p. 59) as he sought to understand the ethical motivations of humans inside a capitalistic system. Virtue, Smith argued, is the common thread—virtue, consisting of prudence, justice and benevolence.

> Prudence (self-interest) is an essential characteristic of a good man, which is beneficial in the economic sphere and is to be restrained only by the principle of justice. One individual in the pursuit of his own interest must not be allowed to hinder another in the same pursuit. Above the activity of self-interest restrained by justice there is a higher ethical principle, benevolence, which rules in the more intimate sphere of personal relationships...[and] thus represents the fullest degree of human excellence. (Morrow, 1969, p. 8)

Smith understood that the wealth of a nation is a consequence of the productivity of its labor and that industry is more productive when there is a division of labor, noting that specialization gives the laborer meaning, a purpose, and a sense of dignity (Morrow, 1969, p. 60). Since class divisions cannot be dissolved, industry serves the interests of bettering the lot of life of the worker. This inequity is a fundamental aspect of capitalism, creating a competitive environment where "…workmen desire to get as much, the master to give as little as possible" (p. 67). Smith sought the advancement of a system that was both profitable and civilized wherein the leadership, guided by virtue, would ensure that revenues are distributed to the worker and to public services.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)

British philosopher John Stuart Mill was influenced by John Locke and Adam Smith and so was in agreement that individual liberty is foundational to any just society and should not be interfered upon except in cases of self-protection or to prevent harm to others (Mill, 1955). Although class

divisions were fragmenting society (i.e., workers sold their labor to owners), Mill could not reconcile one voluntarily selling himself as a slave for in so doing "he abdicates his liberty…he defeats …the purpose the justification of allowing him to dispose of himself…The principle of freedom cannot require that he should be free not to be free" (Mill, 1955, p. 152). Freedom of thought, speech, and expression and economic freedom had to be ensured since it was *freedom* that motivated individuals to better their lives. Because of this, Mill brought to the forefront trade and craft guilds, collectives, and associations.

Influenced by David Hume's notion of 'utility', Mill, along with his mentor, Jeremy Bentham, put forth the notion that the greatest good should be sought for the greatest number of people. They understood that "…nature placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure*" and that "the *principle of utility* recognizes this subjection" (Bentham & Mill, 1961, p. 17). Under this line of thinking, there must be a consensus; namely, a group of individual interests become the interests of a community (i.e., guilds, collectives, associations). From individual liberty, "…follows the liberty…of combination among individuals…the freedom to unite…no society in which these liberties are not…respected is free…and none is completely free in which they do not exist absolute and unqualified" (p. 18).

John Rawls (1921-2002)

Moral and political philosopher John Rawls brought the discussion more acutely back to the foundation that Locke and Smith had so vigorously advocated for hundreds of years prior when he reaffirmed the necessity of the moral imperative in his 1971 work *A Theory of Justice*. Rawls coined the phrase 'justice as fairness' noting that the starting point for any society must be that of agreed upon principles of right and justice and that any social institution that fails to ensure that individuals are treated justly needs to be abandoned or reformed (p. 11). Such principles, Rawls pointed out, can only be established when people operate behind the 'veil of ignorance' (i.e., impartially) (p. 136).

In *The Law of Peoples*, Rawls (1999) reasoned that peace and justice can be achieved in a society of liberal and decent peoples. "Liberal" meaning a reasonably just constitutional democratic society (p. 12). "Decent" generally describing "societies whose…institutions meet certain… conditions of political right and justice" (i.e., "the right of citizens to play a substantial role…in making political decisions and lead their citizens to honor a reasonably just law for the Society of Peoples") (p. 3). Stemming from Rousseau's inquiry in *The Social Contract*, Rawls' position was that "reasonable pluralism" is possible but relies on "actual laws of nature and the stability those laws allow for the right reasons" (p. 12) and "its…principles…be workable and

applicable to ongoing political and social arrangements" (p. 13).

Similar to Locke, a just society is one which liberty is paramount in that primary goods are afforded to all citizens ("basic rights and liberties, opportunities, income and wealth, and…self-respect") (p. 13), and similar to Smith, a just society requires virtuous conduct of its citizens. While a free citizen (by extension a collective of free citizens) determine(s) the moral culture, a society "…must have political and social institutions that effectively lead its citizens to acquire the appropriate sense of justice" (Rawls, 1999, p. 15). Rawls' position maximizes liberty, values equality for all (with the 'difference principle' exception, wherein inequality is justifiable if it leads to a better situation for the disadvantaged group), and affords all citizens a fair opportunity to acquire goods.

Ideological Inquiry Approach Part II: 'Athlete-Centered' Reform

Having reviewed the ideological perspectives, we now turn to the second part of the inquiry approach—the phenomenon: what is 'athlete-centered' reform? Otto (2014) identified four major categories of "athlete-centered" reform (p. 189) which can be used *as a starting point* to "…develop ethically sound frameworks…to advance principled collegiate athletics reform" (p. 202) (*see* Figure 1).

Categories include two educational options—scholarship education or optional education. Scholarship education includes the following protections for the athlete: scholarship security (the athlete will not have his scholarship revoked for any athletic reason and it will extend to graduation); freedom from academic exploitation (*See* McCants & Ramsey et al., v. NCAA & the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Class Action Complaint, 15 CVS 1782, Jan. 22, 2015); tutoring services are offered for athletes who would benefit from such; and, lastly, the athlete has total freedom to transfer just like any other university student. Optional education is the opportunity for the athlete to attend college or not, and just like any other prospective student, their admission is dependent upon meeting university standards.

Economic options for the athlete are also two-fold: access to the "Derivative Value Trust" (hereinafter, "DVT") (Otto & Otto, 2013, p. 265) or employee status. The DVT is part of an attachment to a proposed scholarship upgrade; it would be jointly owned (athlete and institution) and would take effect in the athlete's post-playing years, and depending on the commercial value of the athlete they would reap a fairly negotiated percentage of the profit from commercial exploits such as television deals, video games, merchandise, etc. (Otto & Otto, 2013). Should the athlete not be interested in attending college or not be qualified for admission, the athlete, if talented enough, can apply for employment with an institution as, say, a basketball or football player. This employment situation would be the same as any other standard

employer-employee relationship and the market would assist in determining appropriate salaries.

Health, safety, and well-being (hereinafter, "HSWB") and legal protections are the baseline provisions and protections for all athletes. Based on Otto's (2014) categories of 'athlete-centered' reform, four overarching considerations were developed: 1) economic freedom; 2) education; 3) legal protections; and, 4) HSWB provisions.

The next step was to explore how the values inherent in the ideological perspectives of Locke, Smith, Mill, and Rawls inform 'athlete-centered' reform considerations by developing a model for each perspective. In the models that follow, the values of the political philosophers are set forth in the left column. The right side of each of the models serves to explain the way in which each of the perspectives are manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform. A few notes will assist the reader in understanding the models: A hard dot at the beginning or end of a line represents the starting point or ending point, respectively. A hard line represents an outcome that is likely to be manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform. A broken line represents an outcome that is dependent on ability, effort, or desire. A long dash dot dot line represents equality of opportunity; therefore, the outcome is optional (dependent on choice). An arrow illustrates the effect of, outcome of, or relationship to. A thorough explanation immediately follows each of the models.

Creation and Interpretation of Ideological Models

John Locke's position on liberty serves to inform the foundation of 'athlete-centered' reform; namely, every athlete ought to have the same rights, privileges, and freedoms which are guaranteed to all citizens. These protections, along with constitutional rights and legal protections, can only be assured by a democratic government operating in accordance with the will of the people. In this case, the athlete owns himself and the labor of his body (property rights). Once the athlete puts forth effort so as to change a thing from its natural state it becomes the property of him whose effort (labor) changed it. The example that Locke provides in *Two Treatises of Government* is instructive. It is the case of an Indian killing a deer. Locke explains that the deer is the common right of every one, but when the Indian bestows his labor upon it, killing it, the deer becomes the property of the Indian. In applying this case to that of the athlete we begin with the athlete owning himself and his labor as his property. Once the athlete engages his effort in, say, playing in a basketball game, the game becomes his property (at least in part) because he mixed his labor with it. This is no different from the music student who engages his effort in composing a symphony—the symphony becomes his property (at least in part) because he mixed his labor with it.

Extending the work of Locke, Smith held that individual economic liberty is

paramount. Here, the athlete's economic liberty is assured. Smith's call for a non-intrusive government is instructive as a number of steps would need to be taken to unravel, and ultimately change, existing NCAA legislation and bylaws which violate the athlete's economic liberty. Additionally, Congress would need to act virtuously so as to not infringe on athlete's rights, and the courts would need to rule from a place of virtue so as to ensure justice for the athlete. Indeed, Smith highlighted the fact that if virtue does not undergird the actions of the leadership then society cannot function in a civil and just fashion.

As it pertains to property rights, the athlete is free to sell his labor in open markets. Here, the athlete is bound by a class division. The inequality that exists is due, primarily, to the fact that he is a laborer and that his market worth is dependent on merit. Because of this the outcomes are not equal. Based on merit, the athlete could either operate within the scholarship education model or the employee model.

An additional insight is Smith's recognition that an industry is only as good as its laborers. This being the case, it would be in the economic interest of the NCAA to offer additional benefits to the athlete so as to improve production. Additional offerings would include HSWB provisions to the degree that they improve the product, and legal protections to the degree that they give the athlete a sense of protection such that they continue to labor for the NCAA. It would also be in the NCAA's interest to allow the athlete to engage in endorsement contracts with business entities since the NCAA's market reach would be extended and it would also reap significant financial gains from its intellectual property rights. If the amateur restrictions were lifted then the NCAA, in contractual relationship with the players, could exploit the economic potential of the athletes in areas that are currently off limits (i.e., EA Sports video games, merchandise identifying the player, etc.). As Smith pointed out, this give-and-take between the industry and the laborer serves the interests of both parties (i.e., the laborer's lot in life is improved and the owner's market expands).

John Stuart Mill countered Smith's self-interested individual because he realized the significant imbalance of the class system was beginning to fragment society. Mill's contention was that while individual liberty is essential, it is only when individuals act collectively that the 'greatest good for the greatest number' is realized. Thus, Mill's position (i.e., social liberty) would inform the development of an athlete guild (i.e., collective or association) which would, by rational consensus, determine what should be of greatest value. In establishing a hierarchy of values, the athlete association would use its collective status to push the NCAA, conferences, and institutions to implement its reforms (e.g., the NCPA has made progress in this regard).

Still, because it is a collective, the association could be restrained in advocating for advancements in each of the

areas in so far as the reforms would result in the greatest 'good' for the greatest number of athletes. Under the utility calculation, it is likely be that the DVT would result in the greatest 'good' for the greatest number of athletes since all athletes (to include athletes who otherwise would not merit the benefits of the DVT) would benefit from the DVT while only a few who merit more than the DVT (i.e., the star athletes who have market value) would be exploited. But it is also possible that within the collective the athletes would agree to differing outcomes based on varying degrees of achievement, and therefore could negotiate for different benefits and privileges (as is the case in the professional sports leagues). If the association shares the values of justice and fairness based on achievement, then it is conceivable that the members would be amenable to different economic options.

As for legal protections and HSWB provisions, these would be afforded in full for all athletes since this would indeed result in the greatest 'good' for the greatest number of athletes. Finally, Mill's commitment to individual liberty may serve to shed light on the consideration of education. Of course, making education necessary for play serves the greatest 'good' for the greatest number since the benefit for the athlete is two-fold (education and athletics), but perhaps it need not be requisite, rather it could be a choice since the requirement that the athlete be a student is unrelated to the athlete's labor and arguably violates his liberty.

Having had the benefit of time, John Rawls was able to see the values and systems that worked best toward achieving the goal of a 'good' society. Drawing on the works of Locke, Smith, and Mill, Rawls' position begins with the requirement that "any institution that fails to ensure that individuals are treated justly need to be abandoned or reformed" (1971, p. 11). In other words, college sports reform begins with 'justice as fairness' for the athletes. The starting point is that, guided by natural law and virtue, right and just institutions ensure that the rights of the athlete are honored.

Once this occurs athletes would be free to maximize their liberty and all athletes would have the same opportunity to acquire social goods (this is where the long dash dot dot lines come in representing equality of opportunity; therefore, the outcome is dependent on choice, or optional). This opportunity, however, can only occur if during the establishment of right and just institutions, the leadership (guided by natural law and virtue), acts behind a 'veil of ignorance'. This impartiality requirement lays the groundwork for people to be on an equal footing (i.e., all athletes would have the same opportunity to realize their academic potential). Consider that if a family, school, or community does not value education for the athlete at a young age then it is likely that the athlete will be at a disadvantage in realizing his academic potential (i.e., in 2014 CNN reporter Sara Ganim revealed that some college athletes are illiterate). Rawls' intent was to attempt

to remove individualistic factors that currently serve to differentiate people (i.e., socio-economic status, merit, need, competence, etc.). In order to accomplish this John Rawls calls upon right and just institutions to intervene in an attempt to mitigate these disadvantages on the front end. Rawls' (1999) call may serve to inform the issue of special admissions for athletes at the university level. If elementary and secondary schools renewed their commitment to ensuring that all students are afforded a genuine opportunity to be educated, and universities did away with "special admissions" for athletes, then it is likely that we would not have athletes at our universities who are illiterate.

The economic offerings would include the choice between the DVT or employee status. Rawls (1999) advocated for minimizing inequality on the front end and then allowing for inequality on the back end if it could be shown that the inequality resulted in a better situation for the disadvantaged (i.e., the 'difference principle exception'). Here, both economic options could be defended since the most talented athletes (i.e., those who could command a salary in a competitive college sports market) aid in the maintenance of a high level product—but for these athletes the opportunity may not exist for the other athletes to reap the benefits of the scholarship and the DVT. HSWB and legal protections would be granted absolutely since right and just institutions recognize that these are basic protections which are to be afforded to everyone.

Discussion

It is clear that the foundational value inherent in the perspectives of Locke, Smith, Mill, and Rawls is liberty. The way in which we see liberty manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform is in a step-wise progression. Locke begins with individual liberty. Smith extends Locke's requirement to include economic liberty. Mill recognizes the necessity of social (collective) liberty. Lastly, Rawls stresses the importance of political liberty (i.e., justice as fairness). In brief, all of these thinkers held that liberty is paramount and that any system that denies an individual his liberty is unjust and must be abandoned or reformed. It is largely the case today that while athletes are often viewed as having privileged status (and they do receive a number of benefits and are afforded special treatment), it is also the case that, under the control of the NCAA, conferences, member institutions, and coaches, they are restricted from otherwise enjoying the freedoms and protections guaranteed under the Constitution (e.g., some universities bar athletes from using certain words (Wolverton, 2012)). In addition, as the dialectic revealed, the NCAA has used, and continues to use, carefully crafted terms (i.e., 'amateurism' and 'student-athlete') as the way to bar athletes from financially capitalizing on their athletic talent—this in violation of the athlete's liberty (i.e., property and economic

rights to own oneself and to own the product of his labor).

The next value inherent in the political philosophers' perspectives which is manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform is the prescription that right, just, and democratic institutions virtuously lead in accordance with their duty to morally care for society. Smith pointed out that for the free market to flourish self-interested individuals must act from a place of virtue. When people fail to act virtuously, as the dialectic also revealed, rules are broken, corruption flourishes, and exploitation takes hold. As a starting point the NCAA would need to rid itself of all legislation that violates the athlete's liberty. The courts would need to advance justice for the athlete (noting that current precedent in *Bd. of Regents* (1984) has legitimized the NCAA's operations). U.S. and state congresses must pass legislation in support of athlete's rights (noting that legislators have moved to bar athletes from unionizing (e.g., Michigan House Bill No. 6074, Dec. 2014)).

Once liberty is assured for the athlete through right, just, and democratic institutions, what is the next step? The next value manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform is the freedom to unite (i.e., collective liberty). Here, Mill's notion of community good vis-à-vis the establishment of a guild or association is a secure tack. Professional sports provides an instructive example of how an athlete association could result in liberty for the athlete while also ensuring the stability of the league. The 'big-4' professional sports leagues (NFL, NBA, NHL, and MLB) all have players unions. They have a system of shared governance and built in market controls (i.e., salary caps, drafts, free agency, luxury taxes, etc.) to ensure the success of the league as a whole. The players associations have also agreed to unequal economic outcomes based on varying levels of achievement.

The final values manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform are 'equality of opportunity' and 'justice as fairness'. Can the consideration of unequal opportunity to acquire social goods (i.e., education, economic benefits) be rectified? Rawls attempts to minimize this concern by advancing the notion of equality of opportunity. This is a much more difficult issue to tackle since it requires a universal value set and major institutional and programmatic interventions and corrections. For example, as it pertains to improving the opportunity for children to realize their academic potential, as an initial step, scholastic-level schools could renew their commitment to educating all students, and NCAA member institutions could send a message to elementary and high schools that it too values education for all students and so is doing away with special admissions exceptions for athletes.

We now turn to the conception of 'justice as fairness'. Here, the athlete association is called upon to deal fairly with each of the athletes as it pertains to economic value or worth. Recall that Rawls 'difference principle exception' allows for

inequality if it can be shown that the inequality resulted in a better situation for the disadvantaged. On this basis the athlete association can negotiate varying deals depending on each of the athlete's merit which will result in economic fairness (not to be confused with equality) for all of the athletes.

Recommendations for Future Research

Exploring the ideological perspectives of Locke, Smith, Mill, and Rawls served to shed much needed light as to how their values are manifest in an 'athlete-centered' college sports system. Going forward, I would recommend that future researchers conduct a comprehensive analysis into each of the political philosophies in order to sharpen and deepen our understanding as to the way in which their values are manifest in 'athlete-centered' reform. Additionally, it would be prudent to examine existing regulations, policies, standards, and laws, which are applicable to other industries (business, law, healthcare, etc.), with the goal of tailoring the requirements such that they can inform the policy development of an 'athlete-centered' college sports system (overarching laws and requirements such as work policies and standards, employment law, contract law, Constitutional law, health and safety codes and regulations, etc.).

Limitations

Due to the fact that the political philosophies of libertarianism, capitalism, utilitarianism, and egalitarianism have evolved to such an extent, it should be noted that in developing these models I worked from the values held by the principal contributors (John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and John Rawls). Additionally, this paper was *an exploration* (a beginning point) as to how the values of these thinkers are evident in an 'athlete-centered' college sports system.

Conclusion

As is often the case, the present mirrors the past wherein over a century ago J.P. Welsh so aptly stated that the athlete, like everyone else, deserves liberty first-and-foremost:

> The student in good collegiate standing…needs to be let alone in the full, free, untrammeled exercise of his American citizenship, which entitles him to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which sometimes means money. (Hawes, 2000, para. 32).

It seems that the difficulty in leaving the student alone in the full, free exercise of his American citizenship is due to the distorted notion that it is acceptable to deny these freedoms to a student who participates in athletics. Perhaps now is the time for the athletes to put forth a Constitutional argument; namely, that in order to play a sport at an NCAA member institution the athlete must abdicate his liberty. He is no longer free.

On September 30, 2015, the U.S. Court of Appeals "vacate[d] the district court's judgment and permanent injunction insofar

as they require the NCAA to allow its member schools to pay student-athletes up to $5,000 per year in deferred compensation" (*O'Bannon et al., v. NCAA et al.*, 2015, p. 63). An initial aspect of this ruling, which is troubling, is the court's continued use of the term "student-athlete" which, late-NCAA president Walter Byers admitted, was deliberately crafted to avoid the possibility that athletes could be identified as employees (Byers, 1995, p. 69). Additionally, the court relies on Judge Bork's comments in *Bd. of Regents* (1984) in which he noted the importance of maintaining the integrity of the product ('amateur sports'). It appears that the court permitted the values of preserving the product based on an *if*; namely *if* consumer demand decreases if the athlete were paid, then the athlete cannot be paid. This *if* effectively served to trump the mandate of liberty which is guaranteed to the athlete under the United States Constitution.

Finally, this court disregarded the mutual interest amongst the power five conferences to grant the athlete up to $5,000 in deferred compensation. In striking down the requirement permitting the NCAA to allow its members to grant compensation, is not the court violating the economic liberty rights of the member schools? Indeed, a careful reading of Judge Bork's comments suggests that Bork was not opposing the payment of monies to 'amateur' athletes. Rather, Bork was merely pointing out that that the product integrity of 'amateur sports' must be *perceived* as secure by mutual agreement. Thus, if the athlete's liberty is assured by mutual agreement, then 'amateur sports' is *perceived* as secure.

In sum, based on the values inherent in the perspectives of John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and John Rawls, 'athlete-centered' reform begins with liberty for the athlete, which is assured by right, just, and democratic institutions, and is secured by an athlete association.

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Figures

Figure 1

Categories of "Athlete-Centered" Reform

Education
- *Scholarship Education*
  - Scholarship security
  - Freedom from academic exploitation
  - Tutoring services
  - Freedom to transfer
- *Optional Education*
  - Uniform policies, standards, benefits, burdens apply

Economic
- *Derivative Value Trust* (DVT) (Otto & Otto, 2013)
  - Joint ownership
  - Fair % of proceeds
  - Access
  - Renegotiable
- *Employee Status*

Health, Safety, Well-Being (HSWB)
- Concussion testing
- Insurance
- Policies, standards, plans, supervision
- Athlete awareness training

Legal
- Constitutional Rights
- Due Process
- Right to Appeal
- Right to Representation
- Right to Name, Likeness

Figure 2

John Locke

Figure 3

Adam Smith

Smith

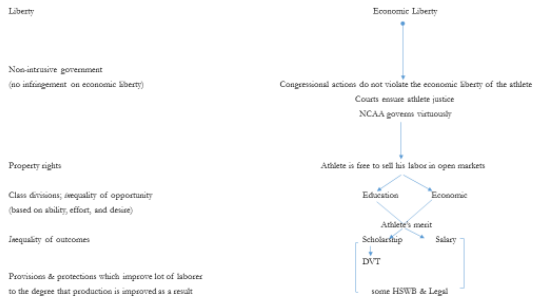


Figure 4

John Stuart Mill

Mill

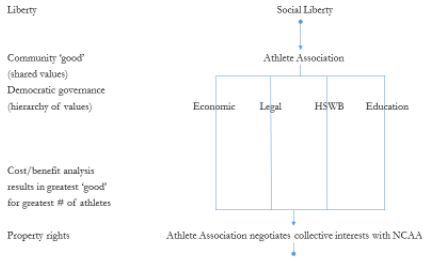
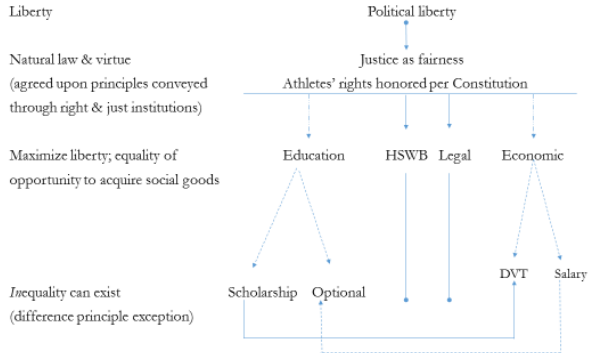


Figure 5

John Rawls

Rawls



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Sport Discontinuation: An Assessment of Goal Achievement via Empirical Measures

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Collegiate athletic teams are being eliminated at an alarming rate; however, empirical research of athletic spending and participation after these cuts occur is lacking. This study compared whether the proffered rationales for discontinuing teams were consistent with the measurable budgetary and participation outcomes. From a sample of NCAA Division I institutions that discontinued at least one team between the academic years 2000-01 and 2008-09 (N = 125), a total of 49 schools with documented cut rationales were identified. The EADA cutting tool was then used to examine athletic revenues, expenses, and participation numbers from the year prior and the year after the cuts to determine, via descriptive statistics and paired t-tests, if the stated objectives were met. The three reasons primarily cited for the program elimination included: reducing athletic spending (44.9%), reallocating resources (42.9%), and Title IX compliance (18.4%). Statistical analysis revealed that only institutions citing reallocation of athletic resources were able to achieve their stated goals. Institutions citing efforts to reduce athletic spending had significant increases in athletic expenses and none of the institutions citing Title IX compliance achieved substantial proportionality. These results show a troubling disconnection between the sport elimination rationale and the budgetary and participation outcomes.

The decision to discontinue a collegiate athletic team is one of the most difficult decisions that an athletic administrator must make. Such a decision has life altering implications for many student-athletes and coaches. Thus, it is of the utmost importance that these decisions be made with the best information available. Currently, when the decision to discontinue an athletic program is made

there is a great deal of analysis and discussion leading up to the decision, but very little follow-up to determine the results of the discontinuation. The lack of follow-up studies to examine the results of such cuts hinders the ability of future athletic administrators to make the best decision in future situations.

The American economy is always in flux. In light of the recent significant economic downturn and facing uncertainty about the breadth of the recovery, college athletics programs are facing tough questions about their economic futures. All but one of the NCAA Division I institutions, Grand Canyon University, are non-profit institutions (New, 2014). This means that there is little incentive to having expenses greatly lagging behind revenues. Most athletic departments align their spending to utilize nearly every dollar that they make and in most cases institutions are unable to generate enough revenue to cover all of their expenses. In 2009, only 14 of the 120 NCAA Division I Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) schools reported athletic revenues in excess of athletic expenses as opposed to 25 programs in 2008 (Fulks, 2010). This type of economic uncertainty and challenge for athletic departments is not only a long-term issue, but something that can rapidly change on a year-to-year basis. In 2011 and 2012, 23 FBS athletic programs reported generating revenues in excess of their expenses; however, it was not the same 23 schools in both years (Fulks, 2013). Collegiate athletic departments typically plan for future expenses based on projections of revenues several years in advance. In the face of the economic crisis of 2008, most of these projections did not account for a prolonged economic recession and consequently revenues often began to run far short of projections (Associated Press, 2010). Given such a challenging set of circumstances, what action can be taken by Division I athletic departments?

When revenues come up short, schools must seek ways to contain expenses. Cost cutting measures such as reducing travel per diems, taking longer bus trips rather than fly, and scheduling opponents closer to home are becoming prevalent in college athletic departments. None of these measures, however, take into account the two largest expenses associated with collegiate athletics, coaching salaries and scholarships (Brady, 2009). While scholarships and salaries account for the two largest expenses for NCAA Division I athletic departments (Fulks, 2013), they can be very difficult to control or reduce due to legislative or legal constraints. From a legislative perspective, the NCAA bylaws for Division I member schools include requirements to provide certain minimum levels of financial aid to student-athletes (NCAA Division I Manual, 2015). The scholarships costs are also subject to the current trends of tuition costs for all students, and the cost of college tuition is increasing at a rate four times faster than the consumer price index (Jamrisko & Kolet, 2014). Prior efforts to control escalating coaching costs have been met with legal action, when United States District Court Judge, Kathryn H. Vratli, ruled that any organized structural restriction on the compensation of coaches violated the Sherman Antitrust Act (*Law v. NCAA*, 1995). Given these constraints related to making reductions in the number of athletes

or in coaches' salaries, other solutions to the financial challenges must be considered.

When an athletics program's expenses far outweigh its revenues, one possible solution is to cut teams, as this measure can simultaneously address expenses in both the scholarship and salary budgetary components while sidestepping the aforementioned concerns. From 2007 through 2009, more than 227 varsity athletic teams at NCAA institutions across all divisions were cut (Watson, 2009). In every instance, the decision to cut an athletic program was a complex one that affected the lives of numerous people.

The elimination of collegiate athletic teams is a process that often draws public attention and at times criticism. Therefore, the announcement of such cuts is often publicly communicated with a clear rationale for the cuts as noted in the examples above. However, there has not been specific investigation made after these cuts to see if the budgetary or gender equity outcomes align with the previously stated rationales for the program cut. Therefore, this study was developed to document the stated rationale for cutting teams at the NCAA Division I level, and then to examine these programs after the cuts from both a budgetary and gender equity perspective in the year preceding and the year after the cuts were made. In order to better understand the nature of athletic cuts and the financial and gender equity constraints in collegiate sport, a brief review of pertinent literature of these topics is provided.

Revenues and Expenses in Intercollegiate Athletics Programs

The factors leading to the discontinuation of collegiate athletic teams have been documented in both academic research and in the media. In a recent study examining the decision making process in intercollegiate athletic departments when eliminating multiple varsity sport programs, four main factors were cited for eliminating teams: an athletic department budget shortage, broader institutional financial constraints, the financial strain of individual teams, and Title IX and gender equity implications (Skolnick, 2011). The first three of these factors relate strictly to budgetary or economic issues while the Title IX factor relates to compliance with federal legislation.

Several recent incidents of Division I program cuts exemplify these rationales. At the conclusion of the 2009-2010 academic year, Cal State Fullerton announced the termination of its wrestling and women's gymnastics teams as a cost saving measure ("Wrestling, Gymnastics Programs Terminated", 2011). In March of 2011, Liberty University announced that they would be reclassifying their wrestling program from a fully funded varsity sport program to club status. According to Liberty Director of Athletics Jeff Barber, this move was made in an effort obtain compliance with Title IX ("Liberty to Reclassify", 2011). At the conclusion of the 2013-2014 academic year, Temple University eliminated five athletic programs in an effort to produce a "more sustainable experience" for their student-athletes ("Temple Reduces Varsity Sports", 2013).

The decision to discontinue an athletic team inherently has financial ramifications. In order to better understand these decisions, it is important to analyze the economic climate in which these decisions are being made. The recent economic recession affected nearly every industry in our nation, including college athletics, and the recovery from recessions is becoming an increasingly lengthy process (Olney & Pacitti, 2015). The fluctuations in the American economy are reflected in the fluctuations in collegiate athletic budgets. Daniel Fulks (2010, 2013) of Transylvania University released two comprehensive reports spanning the 2004-2012 fiscal years. These reports provided valuable insight into the changing fiscal environment in which intercollegiate athletics programs operate.

NCAA Division I is divided into three subdivisions for football, yet, compete as a whole in all other sports. The financial resources for Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) institutions are much greater than those of Football Championship Subdivision (FCS) institutions and Division I institutions without a football program. The large disparity in financial resources amongst Division I institutions creates a unique competitive landscape in which these institutions must operate. Despite the stark differences in financial resources, fluctuations in athletic budgets is a common theme among all three subdivisions. While revenues increased each year from 2004-2012, the percent increase varied greatly from year to year (Fulks, 2013). This creates a significant challenge for administrators that project budgets years in advance (Associated Press, 2010). Mean revenues and expenses for each subdivision can be found in Tables 1-3.

The main sources of revenue for athletic departments vary greatly across Division I. FCS and non-football Division I members rely much more on institutional support for revenue, while FBS institutions receive institutional support at levels similar to their revenue generated by ticket sales, contributions from alumni and others, and NCAA and conference distributions. The top expenses, however, are very similar across all three subdivisions. Salaries and benefits are the top expense in each division and student-athlete grant-in-aids are the next greatest expense in each subdivision. A summary of top sources of revenue and expenses are noted in Table 4.

Title IX

When athletics administrators decide to eliminate teams and thereby participation opportunities for student-athletes, the legal requirements of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, forbidding sex discrimination in any program conducted by a federally funded educational institution, should be considered. Title IX, as applied to athletics, requires schools to provide equal opportunities in three areas: scholarships (or financial aid), treatment, and participation. In 1979, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) issued a Title IX Policy Interpretation, which introduced a three-part test to measure participation compliance. If an institution is in compliance with any one of the three prongs then that institution is deemed to be effectively accommodating the interests and abilities of its student athletes. The three-pronged test is structured as follows:

1. The competitive opportunities are provided in numbers substantially proportionate to the respective enrollment of each sex.
2. The institution's current and historical practices of program expansion are responsive to the athletic interests of the underrepresented sex.
3. The institution accommodates the interests and abilities of the underrepresented sex in the current athletic program (Policy Interpretation, 1979).

While compliance with any one of the three prongs allows an institution to be compliant with the law; the proportionality test garners the most attention. The proportionality test has been described by the courts as a "safe harbor" for compliance (*Cohen v. Brown University*, 1992).

The discontinuation of athletic programs is an all too common occurrence and the process leading up to these discontinuations is relatively well documented. There is, however, a lack of research examining the outcomes of these discontinuations. The purpose of this study was to compare whether the proffered reasons and goals for discontinuing athletic teams expressed in the news media were consistent with the actual measurable outcomes observed after the discontinuation of the teams related to budgetary and gender equity considerations. Based upon the identified problem and purpose, three primary research questions were developed to structure the study:

1. What are the primary, publicly stated reasons given by athletic departments for the discontinuation of athletic teams?
2. What are the financial and participatory outcomes of the discontinuation of athletic teams?
3. Do the financial and participatory outcomes of the discontinuations align with the publicly stated reasons given by the athletic departments?

Methodology

In order to compare reasons and goals given for the discontinuation of athletic teams in publicly released statements with actual participation and financial information, multiple methods were employed, including content analysis of primary sources for rationale determination and statistical analyses of the financial data and student-athlete participation data.

The population of this study included all NCAA Division I institutions that have discontinued at least one varsity athletic program between the 2001-2002 and 2008-2009 academic years. The original timeframe desired for this analysis was the entire decade of the 2000s; however, one key data source was not archived before 2001.

The data for this study were collected through a variety of sources by a single primary researcher. First, a list of discontinued athletic teams was obtained through correspondence with the NCAA. From that list, Division I institutions having discontinued at least one athletic team between the 2001-2002 and 2008-2009 academic years were identified. An extensive Internet search for news articles regarding the discontinuation of the identified athletic teams was conducted. Identified institutions

and athletic teams were searched using Google. The searches were conducted using the institution name, the discontinued sports identified, and the following keywords: discontinued, eliminated, and cut. Content analysis of the obtained news articles was used to identify the publicly-stated reasons for the respective discontinuations. The articles were read, content analyzed, and coded based upon key words, phrases, and other textual elements to determine the publicly stated reasoning for the discontinuation of each program.

The methods for research question two required the collection and analysis of financial data and sport participation data for the institutions that discontinued athletic teams. Using the United States Department of Education Equity in Athletics Data Analysis Cutting Tool, data for the institutions having been identified as having discontinued at least one athletic team and for which a news article was obtained was collected. In 1994, Congress enacted the Equity in Athletic Disclosure Act (EADA), to determine if institutions were in compliance with Title IX requirements. The EADA requires that co-educational institutions of postsecondary education that participate in a Title IV, federal student financial assistance program, and have an intercollegiate athletic program, prepare an annual report to the Department of Education on athletic participation, staffing, and revenues and expenses, by men's and women's teams (Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act, 1994). The EADA cutting tool provides public access to the data that is archived back to the 2000-2001 academic year.

The collected data included the male to female ratio of the student body and the male to female ratio of student-athletes. This was used to assess the loss in participation opportunities and compliance with Title IX through proportionality. Financial variables assessed included total athletic revenues and expenses, and the total revenues and expenses for football (when applicable), men's basketball, and women's basketball teams for the year prior to the discontinuation, the year of the discontinuation, and the year after the discontinuation. These variables were chosen to analyze the financial impact of the discontinuations. Football and basketball were specifically chosen due to their status as both primary revenue producers and top spectator sports. It is important to note that revenues and expenses are being analyzed separately from one another. Analyzing revenues and expenses as a combined variable, profit, is not appropriate for this study as all of the institutions in this study are non-profit institutions. Division I athletics is not a traditional business environment where increased profit is the goal for shareholders, but rather a generation of revenue to allow for more spending on the sport enterprise itself.

IBM SPSS version 21.0 and Microsoft Excel were used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics and primary frequencies were analyzed to determine the primary reasons given for the discontinuation of athletic teams and to examine the financial and participatory data. Paired sample *t*-test analyses were used to assess changes in financial and participatory data from the year prior to the

discontinuation of an athletic team to the year after the discontinuation.

For the final research question, data from the year prior to the discontinuation of the athletic team(s) was compared to the year following the discontinuation. The observed changes in financial measures of revenues and expenses along with participation rates for men and women were then compared to the publicly stated reasons and goals for the discontinuation to determine if the empirical data was consistent with the rationale.

Results

Description of the Sample

A total of 125 Division I institutions were identified as having discontinued at least one athletic team between the 2001-2002 and 2008-2009 academic years. Of the 125 institutions, news articles about the discontinuation were obtained for 49 of the institutions (39.2%). Of the 49 institutions for which data was obtained, 14 (28.6%) were Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) members, 20 (40.8%) were Football Championship Subdivision (FCS) members, eight (16.3%) were non-football playing members, and seven (14.3%) were FCS members eliminating their football programs.

As shown in Table 5, the 49 institutions for which data was collected combined to eliminate 95 programs. Of these 95 programs, 66 (69.5%) were men's programs. This shows that men's programs were being eliminated at more than twice the rate of women's and co-ed programs combined. Table 1 also appears to show an increase in the number of programs being cut over time, but it is important to note that changes in webpage archiving practices caused the recovery of articles from earlier years to be more difficult. Table 6 shows the breakdown of the number of programs eliminated per institution. A total of 40 (81.6%) of the institutions in the study eliminated either one or two programs; however, as many as 10 programs were eliminated at one (2.0%) institution.

Three primary reasons and five secondary reasons for the discontinuation of athletic teams were identified in the news articles. The three primary reasons identified for the discontinuation of athletic teams were efforts to reduce athletics spending, the reallocation of athletics resources, and Title IX compliance. The five secondary reasons identified for the discontinuation of athletics teams were the lack or loss of a conference to compete in, poor academic performance of the team, lack of competitiveness of the team, lack of facilities for the team, and poor experiences provided to the team's student-athletes.

Efforts to reduce athletics spending was the most frequently stated reason for the discontinuation of athletic teams having been stated by 22 of the 49 institutions (44.9%). The reallocation of athletics resources was a stated reason for the discontinuation of athletic teams by twenty-one (42.9%) of the institutions. Title IX compliance was a stated reason for the discontinuation of athletic teams in nine (18.4%) of the institutions. Of the five secondary reasons for the discontinuation of athletic teams, the lack or loss of a conference to compete in was stated by five (10.2%) institutions, poor academic performance of the team was stated by two (4.1%) of the institutions, lack of

competitiveness of the team was stated by two (4.1%) of the institutions, lack of facilities for the team was stated by two (4.1%) of the institutions, and poor experiences provided to the team's student-athletes was stated by one (2.0%) institution. It should be noted that multiple rationales were recorded for many schools resulting in cumulative percentages greater than 100.

Participatory and Financial Data

The 49 institutions in this study saw a significant mean loss of 35 male student athletes from the year prior to the discontinuation to the year after the discontinuation, $t_{(48)} = 4.499, p < .001$) The mean losses of male student athletes for each of the three sub-groups of primary reasons for the discontinuation of an athletic program were also statistically significant. Neither the 49 institutions as a whole nor any of the three sub-groups saw statistically significant changes in female student athletes. The complete participatory data can be found in Table 7.

When the 49 institutions included in this study were examined as a whole, total expenses ($t_{(48)} = 6.215, p < .001$), football expenses ($t_{(35)} = 3.377, p = .002$), men's basketball expenses ($t_{(48)} = 5.148, p < .001$), and women's basketball expenses ($t_{(48)} = 4.266, p < .001$) increased at statistically significant levels from the year prior to the discontinuation of athletic teams to the year after the discontinuation. Total revenue ($t_{(48)} = 3.866, p < .001$), football revenue ($t_{(25)} = 3.036, p = .005$), and women's basketball revenue ($t_{(48)} = 2.359, p = .022$) also increased at statistically significant levels. The complete financial data for the sample as a whole can be found in Table 8.

From the sample, 22 institutions cited efforts to reduce athletic spending as a primary reason for the discontinuation of athletic teams. These institutions had statistically significant increases in total athletic revenue ($t_{(21)} = 4.027, p = .001$), and total athletic expenses ($t_{(21)} = 4.019, p = .001$). It is important to note that while both revenues and expenses increased significantly, total revenues (17.2%) increased at a greater rate than total expenses (11.8%). Men's basketball expenses ($t_{(21)} = 2.129, p = .040$) also increased at a statistically significant rate and while the increase in men's basketball expenses was 35%, this was not found to be significant at the .05 level. Summary financial data for institutions citing efforts to reduce athletic spending can be found in Table 9.

Twenty-one institutions cited the reallocation of athletic resources as a primary reason for the discontinuation of athletic teams. Statistically significant increases were found for both the mean total revenues ($t_{(20)} = 3.920, p = .001$) and mean total expenses ($t_{(20)} = 3.580, p = .002$) for these institutions. Increases in mean football expenses ($t_{(13)} = 2.489, p = .027$), mean men's basketball expenses ($t_{(20)} = 4.512, p < .001$), and mean women's basketball expenses ($t_{(20)} = 3.739, p = .001$) were also statistically significant. It is also important to note that from the year prior to the discontinuation of athletic teams to the year after the discontinuation, these institutions saw an increase in mean athletic expenses of $2,111,141. Of this, $1,277,215 (60.5%) consisted of increases in football and men's basketball expenses. The financial data for institutions citing the

reallocation of athletic resources can be found in Table 10.

Nine institutions identified Title IX compliance as a primary reason for the discontinuation of athletics teams. In the year prior to the discontinuation, these institutions had a mean of 44.67% male students and a mean of 58.22% male student athletes. In the year following the discontinuation, these institutions had a mean of 45.11% male students and a mean of 54.00% male student athletes. Of the nine institutions citing Title IX compliance, none achieved direct substantial proportionality, two (22.2%) came within two percentage points of direct substantial proportionality, five (55.6%) came between five and ten percentage points of direct substantial proportionality, and two (22.2%) did not come within ten percentage points of direct substantial proportionality.

Among the nine institutions citing Title IX compliance as a primary reason for the discontinuation for athletic teams, mean total athletic revenue ($t_{(8)} = 3.052$, $p = .016$), mean total athletic expenses ($t_{(8)} = 3.011$, $p = .017$), mean men's basketball revenue ($t_{(8)} = 2.781$, $p = .024$), and mean men's basketball expenses ($t_{(8)} = 3.069$, $p = .015$) were all statistically significant. Increases in football and men's basketball expenses from the year prior to the discontinuation to the year after the discontinuation totaled $1,717,742. This accounts for 56.0% of the $3,065,492 increase in total athletic expenses. Table 11 shows the complete financial data for institutions citing Title IX compliance as a primary factor for the discontinuation of athletic teams.

The 22 institutions citing efforts to reduce athletic spending as a primary reason for the discontinuation of an athletic team reported a mean increase in total athletic expenses of $2,015,476 ($t_{(21)} = 4.019$, $p = .001$). Such an increase in expenses is not consistent with effective reductions in spending. The 21 institutions citing the reallocation of athletic resources as a primary reason for the discontinuation of an athletic team reported mean increases in total athletic revenues of $2,221,507 ($t_{(20)} = 3.920$, $p = .001$) and $2,111,141 ($t_{(20)} = 3.580$, $p = .002$) in total athletic expenses. The similarity in the increases in both total revenues and total expenses following the discontinuation of an athletic team is indicative of the reallocation of athletic resources. Of the nine institutions citing efforts to become compliant with Title IX, none achieved direct substantial proportionality. Additionally, from a financial perspective on gender equity, 56% of the increase in total athletic expenses were allocated to football and men's basketball programs. These participatory and financial outcomes are not consistent with Title IX compliance.

Discussion

The results of this study are valuable in supporting prior research identifying rationales for athletic cuts at the Division I level. More importantly, the assessment of specific participation and financial indicators pre and post-discontinuation provide empirical measures of the outcomes of sport elimination that have not been reported in the past. The direct comparison of the measured outcomes with the originally stated rationales for the program cuts raises many questions due to the lack of consistency between the rationales and

observed outcomes. Indeed, the disconnect between the stated rationales and the observed outcomes indicates not only the inability of sport discontinuation to achieve the stated goals, but also a possible political staging of rationales to provide a more palatable rhetoric to the public. A more thorough discussion of these results structured upon the three research questions of this study provides valuable insight into these cuts.

Primary Reasons for the Discontinuation of Athletic Teams

For research question one, the findings from this study of three primary cut rationales (reducing athletic spending, reallocating resources, and Title IX compliance) aligned well with the prior research of Skolnick (2011) that cited four influential reasons in rank order of Athletic Department Budget Shortage, Institutional Financial Constraints, Title IX/Gender Equity Implications, and Financial Strain of Individual Programs. An assessment of the two most prevalent responses from Skolnick revealed that both involved the reduction of spending. For the purposes of the present study, no distinction was made between the reasons for budget constraints, and this would in effect combine the first two categories of the Skolnick study. Institutions seeking to reduce athletic related spending due to athletic budget shortages and those due to institutional budget constraints were all grouped together. As expected, this was the most often reported reason for discontinuation in media reports (44.9%) for this study. Therefore the primary reasons reported for the discontinuation of athletic teams in news articles in this current study were consistent with the top reasons provided by athletic administrators in the prior research.

While Title IX compliance was one of the primary reasons given in media reports, it was not the second most prevalent reason given, as it was by the athletic administrators in Skolnick's (2011) study. The second most prevalent reason found in media reports was the reallocation of athletics resources, which was cited nearly as often as reductions in athletic spending. This is consistent with the athletic administrators citing the financial strain of individual programs found in the Skolnick (2011) study. Title IX compliance was the third most prevalent factor cited in media reports in this study and was cited much less often than efforts to reduce athletic spending and the reallocation of athletics resources.

The most interesting finding in regard to the primary reasons for the discontinuation of athletic teams was the difference in the prevalence of Title IX compliance in the media reports in the current study and in the responses from athletic administrators. Title IX compliance and gender equity implications were reported by athletic administrators at very similar rates as athletic department budget shortage, institutional financial constraints, and financial strain of individual programs (Skolnick, 2011). In media reports, however, Title IX compliance was cited less than half as frequently as efforts to reduce athletic spending and the reallocation of athletics resources. There are several possible explanations for this difference. One possible explanation is a difference in population. The athletic administrators

surveyed were all at institutions that discontinued at least three athletic teams while news reports were examined for institutions that discontinued at least one athletic team. Another possible explanation relates to small sample size. The most intriguing possible explanation, however, is a reluctance of athletic administrators to publicly report Title IX compliance as a reason for the discontinuation of athletic teams. This could relate in part to a 2003 report from the Office of Civil Rights that called the practice of discontinuing men's athletics teams to achieve Title IX compliance a disfavored practice ("Further Clarification", 2003).

Participatory Data

Anytime athletic programs are eliminated, some student-athletes are going to lose their opportunity to participate in intercollegiate athletics. What is clear from the data in this study is that men are disproportionately affected by these cuts. Among all 49 institutions in this study, the mean loss of opportunities for men was more than three times that of women. As expected, the most drastic difference is found in institutions citing Title IX compliance as a primary reason for the discontinuations. Despite the Office of Civil Rights' classification of opportunity elimination for men a "disfavored practice," ("Further Clarification", 2003) these institutions experienced drastic losses of athletic opportunities for men. It is also important to recognize that these are the losses of current opportunities. Title IX was enacted to address the lack of opportunities for women, and the loss of opportunities for women shown in this study, including losses at institutions specifically citing Title IX compliance as a reason for cuts, signifies a regression in efforts to provide women with opportunities that have historically been lacking.

Stated Reasons vs. Actual Results Institutions Citing Efforts to Reduce Athletics Spending

A total of 22 institutions identified efforts to reduce athletics spending as a primary reason for the discontinuation of athletics teams. These institutions experiences multi-million dollar increases in total athletic expenses after the discontinuation of athletic teams. This is certainly not indicative of a reduction in athletic spending, however, a comparison to national trends revels some slight success in frugality. In his report, Daniel Fulks (2010) shows that athletics expenses are increasing at a higher rate than revenue generated by athletics. The 22 institutions citing efforts to reduce athletic spending reported a percentage increase in mean athletic revenues of nearly twice the percent increase in mean athletic expenses. This is a stark contrast to the national trend reported by Fulks. While these institutions were not able to reduce their spending, their ability to reduce the rate of budget growth should be noted.

It is also interesting to note that the mean increase in total athletic revenue was $912,268 more than the mean increase in total athletic expenses. With nearly $1,000,000 in newly generated excess revenue, was the discontinuation of the athletic teams necessary? Could the athletic department have maintained the team or teams and still met their bottom line? Where

is this excess revenue going? At the same time, the increases in revenue generated by the football, men's, and women's basketball programs all outpaced the increases in expenses for each respective program. Perhaps these institutions were just looking for a little budgetary breathing room, but is it worth sacrificing the student-athlete experience for the people affected?

Institutions Citing Reallocation of Athletic Resources

All but one of the NCAA Division I institutions included in this study, Grand Canyon University, were non-profit institutions (New, 2014). This means that there is little incentive to having program expenses lagging behind revenues. Most athletic departments align their spending to utilize nearly every dollar that they make. When an institution makes the decision to eliminate one or more of its athletic programs, the money not being spent on the eliminated programs is going to be spent elsewhere within the athletic department. This was evident in the consistency in the increases in total revenue and total expenses shown by the institutions in this study. The question then becomes to where is the money being reallocated?

Among the 21 institutions citing the reallocation of athletic resources, over 60% of the increase in total athletic expenses was allocated to football and men's basketball programs. This shows that the primary beneficiaries of the discontinuation of athletic teams are often the primary revenue producers and spectator attractions.

Institutions Citing Title IX Compliance

A total of nine institutions identified Title IX compliance as a primary reason for the discontinuation of athletics teams. Although schools have three ways to prove they are in compliance with the effective accommodation requirement, this study focused on the substantial proportionality test for Title IX compliance. Previously described as a "safe harbor," the proportionality test is a way that institutions can show mathematically that they are not discriminating between men and women. It is assumed that if the ratio of female student athletes closely mirrors that of the ratio of females in the student body that gender equality in participation opportunities is being met, even if there are significant numbers of women denied participation (Carpenter, 2013). While institutions identifying Title IX compliance as a primary factor for the elimination of athletic programs have made progress in the area of substantial proportionality, the progress made still leaves the institutions well short of compliance. None of the institutions achieved direct substantial proportionality. Based on these findings, institutions seeking Title IX compliance through the discontinuation of athletic teams were consistently failing to meet their stated goal. It is also important to note that schools that chose to cut men's teams but did not satisfy proportionality are also not likely to show Title IX compliance under the second prong for showing a history of program expansion of opportunities for the underrepresented sex. Although cutting men's teams helped to reduce the proportionality gap by an average of four percent, nothing about cutting men's teams

actually increased opportunities for women in this sample.

Of the nine institutions citing Title IX compliance as a factor for the elimination of athletic teams, five were FBS programs and four were FCS programs. All nine institutions had football programs and the presence of a football program makes achieving Title IX compliance through proportionality very difficult as it would take approximately 5-6 women's teams to equal the number of participation opportunities provided by a football program. These challenges to achieving direct proportionality are also exemplified by Fulks (2013) noting that from 2004-2012 FBS programs averaged 330 (55.0%) male student-athletes and 270 (45.0%) female student-athletes. FCS programs averaged 287 (56.9%) male student-athletes and 217 (43.1%) female student-athletes and Division I programs without football averaged 167 (49.4%) male student-athletes and 171 (50.6%) female student-athletes.

It is also of note that institutions identifying Title IX compliance as a primary factor for the discontinuation of athletic teams saw large increases in their football and men's basketball related expenses. The increases in football and men's basketball spending accounted for more than half of all new spending. This means that the institutions were neither becoming proportionate in participation numbers nor were they spending a higher percentage of their budgets on women's programs. These outcomes are not in line with the letter or the spirit of Title IX.

The results of this study indicate that regardless of the publicly stated reasons for the discontinuation of athletic teams, the end result is reallocation of resources and that typically means more resources for the revenue producers.

Limitations

Although this current investigation revealed numerous areas of significant findings, there are several limitations within the design of this research that should temper the application of the results. First, this study was conducted using information and data from news outlets and the EADA Cutting Tool. It was assumed that the information reported in the media was accurate. To further bolster sources related to that assumption only reports from institutional websites or news reports with quotes from university officials were used; however, it is not possible to be completely certain that all of the news reports were accurate. All of the financial and participatory data was collected from the EADA archives. The EADA does not require standardized accounting practices and the accuracy of the data is reliant upon the accurate reporting from each institution. This study was also limited by the loss of archived information on websites. During the time frame of the study, many institutions changed the platform for their athletic webpages and in many cases this resulted in the loss of archived stories. This made retrieving information about the stated reasons for the discontinuation of the athletic teams more difficult for the older discontinuations.

Conclusion

The decision to discontinue an athletic team is difficult and complex, particularly during uncertain economic times. When

making these decisions, it is important that administrators have as much information as possible. It is important to evaluate the outcomes of previous cuts to enhance the ability of athletic administrators to make future decisions. This study showed that the discontinuation of athletic teams for the purposes of a reduction in athletic spending or trying to achieve Title IX compliance was not effective. The most likely outcome from the discontinuation of one or more athletic teams was an increase in the football and basketball budgets and this appeared to be the desired result for many of the athletic programs in this study. The results of this study calls into question the validity of the publicly stated rationales for the discontinuations. Are these institutions simply failing to achieve their desired outcomes or are they providing rhetoric in the media to deflect attention from unpopular decisions? In any situation where the possibility of discontinuing an athletic team is present, it is vitally important that administrators understand the likelihood of achieving the desired outcome. It is important that the outcomes of these difficult decisions are closely examined by administrators at each school as well as by academicians across a broader scope of multiple schools. The outcomes should not only be evaluated, but the results should be shared in order to make future decisions of program elimination more informed. The loss of opportunities for student-athletes is too great a price to pay for misinformed or uninformed decisions.

Future Research

As this study serves as the initial inquiry to assess the connection between the rationale for team elimination and measureable outcomes, these results do provide an important basis for additional study. Future research should focus on examining the rationales and outcomes of the discontinuation of athletic teams at differing levels such as NCAA Division II, Division III, or the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) institutions. Research also needs to examine the outcomes of discontinuations on a sport by sport basis that may identify specific trends and unique factors that may be tied to specific sports. By examining the discontinuation of athletic teams by sport, researchers could also identify the financial impact of eliminating each sport. This would provide administrators with valuable information in the process of determining which sport(s) to discontinue. Additionally, the relationship of the discontinuation of athletic teams to the level of institutional support received by the athletic department should be examined. The elimination of sport programs and participation opportunities for individuals is indeed a difficult and often controversial process, and the development of research findings that can better inform those decisions is critical.

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Tables

Table 1

Revenues and Expenses for Division I Football Bowl Subdivision Institutions

Year	*Revenues*	*Change*	*Expenses*	*Change*
2012	55,976,000	6.2%	56,265,000	10.8%
2011	52,715,000	9.1%	50,774,000	8.8%
2010	48,298,000	5.7%	46,688,000	1.7%
2009	45,698,000	11.2%	45,887,000	10.9%
2008	41,088,000	9.4%	41,363,000	5.5%
2007	37,566,000	6.1%	39,192,000	9.6%
2006	35,400,000	7.6%	35,756,000	14.9%
2005	32,849,000	16.6%	31,128,000	7.4%
2004	28,214,000	N/A	28,991,000	N/A

Note: Adapted from "NCAA Revenues & Expenses 2004-2012: NCAA Division I Intercollegiate Athletics Programs Report." by D. Fulks, 2013.

Table 2

Revenues and Expenses for Division I Football Championship Subdivision Institutions

Year	*Revenues*	*Change*	*Expenses*	*Change*
2012	13,761,000	2.5%	14,115,000	6.8%
2011	13,425,000	1.8%	13,218,000	1.0%
2010	13,189,000	8.9%	13,091,000	8.9%
2009	12,111,000	0.3%	12,019,000	-0.8%
2008	12,080,000	14.8%	12,115,000	14.9%
2007	10,527,000	9.2%	10,541,000	11.1%
2006	9,642,000	7.1%	9,485,000	9.6%
2005	9,007,000	15.9%	8,655,000	10.8%
2004	7,770,000	N/A	7,810,000	N/A

Note: Adapted from "NCAA Revenues & Expenses 2004-2012: NCAA Division I Intercollegiate Athletics Programs Report." by D. Fulks, 2013.

Table 3

Revenues and Expenses for Division I Institutions without Football

Year	*Revenues*	*Change*	*Expenses*	*Change*
2012	12,756,000	7.8%	12,983,000	8.8%
2011	11,831,000	6.8%	11,930,000	3.2%
2010	11,077,000	6.7%	11,562,000	10.1%
2009	10,382,000	3.0%	10,502,000	1.5%
2008	10,082,000	8.6%	10,347,000	10.0%
2007	9,281,000	5.8%	9,403,000	5.4%
2006	8,771,000	9.1%	8,918,000	12.4%
2005	8,036,000	10.4%	7,931,000	11.0%
2004	7,281,000	N/A	7,147,000	N/A

Note: Adapted from "NCAA Revenues & Expenses 2004-2012: NCAA Division I Intercollegiate Athletics Programs Report." by D. Fulks, 2013.

Table 4

Top Revenue Sources and Expenses for Division I Institutions

	FBS	*FCS*	*D-I Non-Football*
Top Revenue Sources			
Institutional Support	19%	70%	77%
Ticket Sales	22%	5%	4%
Cash Contributions	21%	8%	6%
NCAA/Conference Distributions	18%	5%	4%
Top Expenses			
Salaries and Benefits	34%	31%	32%
Grant-in-aids	15%	26%	29%

Note: Adapted from "NCAA Revenues & Expenses 2004-2012: NCAA Division I Intercollegiate Athletics Programs Report." by D. Fulks, 2013.

Table 5

Eliminated Programs by Gender

Year	*Number of Schools*	*Eliminated Men's Programs*	*Eliminated Women's Programs*	*Eliminated Co-Ed Programs*	*Total Eliminated Programs*
2001-2002	3	4	2	0	6
2002-2003	3	6	2	1	9
2003-2004	5	6	1	0	7
2004-2005	4	7	2	0	9
2005-2006	6	5	1	0	6
2006-2007	7	16	6	1	23
2007-2008	8	8	2	0	10
2008-2009	13	14	10	1	25
Total	49	66	26	3	95

Table 6

Eliminated Programs by Number of Programs Eliminated at Each Institution

Year	*Schools Eliminating 1 Program*	*Schools Eliminating 2 Program*	*Schools Eliminating 3 Programs*	*Schools Eliminating 5 Programs*	*Schools Eliminating 6 Programs*	*Schools Eliminating 10 Programs*
2001-2002	1	1	1	0	0	0
2002-2003	1	1	0	0	1	0
2003-2004	3	2	0	0	0	0
2004-2005	0	3	1	0	0	0
2005-2006	6	0	0	0	0	0
2006-2007	3	1	1	1	0	1
2007-2008	7	0	1	0	0	0
2008-2009	5	6	1	1	0	0
Total	26	14	5	2	1	1

Table 7

Mean Participation Numbers

	All Institutions (n = 49)	*Citing Reallocation (n = 21)*	*Citing Reduce Spending (n = 22)*	*Citing Title IX Compliance (n = 9)*
Male S-As Year Prior	235	200	262	261
Male S-As Year After	200	177	225	209
Change	35	23	37	52
t-Value	4.499 **	2.461*	3.332**	3.003*
Female S-As Year Prior	173	140	191	187
Female S-As Year After	163	137	183	181
Change	10	3	8	6
t-Value	1.346	0.726	0.562	0.614

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 8

Mean Revenues and Expenses for All Institutions

	Year Prior to Discontinuation	*Year After Discontinuation*	*Change*	*t-Value*
Total Revenue	$15,041,638	$17,187,893	$2,146,255	3.866 **
Total Expenses	$14,618,807	$16,721,937	$2,103,130	6.215 **
Football Revenue	$5,558,307	$6,744,686	$1,186,379	3.036 **
Football Expenses	$4,546,505	$5,300,145	$753,640	3.377 **
Men's Basketball Revenue	$1,616,900	$2,062,250	$445,350	1.842
Men's Basketball Expenses	$1,460,571	$1,657,990	$197,329	5.148 **
Women's Basketball Revenue	$618,735	$742,070	$123,335	2.359 *
Women's Basketball Expenses	$979,239	$1,125,063	$145,824	4.266 **

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 9

Mean Revenues and Expenses for Institutions Citing Reduction in Athletic Spending

	Year Prior to Discontinuation	*Year After Discontinuation*	*Change*	*t-Value*
Total Revenue	$17,021,087	$19,948,831	$2,927,744	4.072 **
Total Expenses	$17,085,735	$19,101,211	$2,015,476	4.019 **
Football Revenue	$7,201,048	$8,589,761	$1,388,713	2.296 *
Football Expenses	$5,503,368	$6,090,360	$586,992	1.758
Men's Basketball Revenue	$1,961,083	$2,648,044	$686,961	1.315
Men's Basketball Expenses	$1,637,668	$1,762,056	$124,388	2.192 *
Women's Basketball Revenue	$685,315	$919,914	$234,599	2.801 *
Women's Basketball Expenses	$1,106,266	$1,211,724	$105,458	1.744

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 10

Mean Revenues and Expenses for Institutions Citing Reallocation of Athletic Resources

	Year Prior to Discontinuation	*Year After Discontinuation*	*Change*	*t-Value*
Total Revenue	$10,932,644	$13,154,151	$2,221,507	3.920 **
Total Expenses	$10,841,581	$12,952,722	$2,111,141	3.580 **
Football Revenue	$3,510,298	$4,917,340	$1,407,042	2.188 *
Football Expenses	$2,996,502	$4,009,217	$1,012,715	2.489 *
Men's Basketball Revenue	$1,148,843	$1,455,796	$306,953	2.454 *
Men's Basketball Expenses	$1,133,116	$1,397,616	$264,500	4.512 **
Women's Basketball Revenue	$507,102	$582,237	$75,135	1.105
Women's Basketball Expenses	$740,268	$906,211	$165,943	3.739 **

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 11

Mean Revenues and Expenses for Institutions Citing Title IX Compliance

	Year Prior to Discontinuation	*Year After Discontinuation*	*Change*	*t-Value*
Total Revenue	$19,523,742	$22,729,100	$3,205,358	3.052 *
Total Expenses	$19,427,520	$22,493,012	$3,065,492	3.011 *
Football Revenue	$4,936,797	$6,818,007	$1,881,210	1.922
Football Expenses	$5,174,567	$6,641,705	$1,467,138	2.095
Men's Basketball Revenue	$1,921,448	$2,315,823	$394,375	2.781 *
Men's Basketball Expenses	$1,923,573	$2,174,177	$250,604	3.069 *
Women's Basketball Revenue	$899,373	$1,042,358	$142,985	1.028
Women's Basketball Expenses	$1,355,854	$1,599,984	$244,130	2.211

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

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Not Going Pro: On Seeking Lasting Returns from College Sports

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The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) clearly states there are many favorable qualities derived from sport participation that benefit those "who go pro in something other than sports." However, the ability of collegiate athletics to deliver on the promise of attributable long-term value is rarely questioned. In this study involving former NCAA Division I student-athletes, the authors examined whether participation can be regarded as an investment and how student-athletes perceive the returns thus derived. Adapting and extending Becker's (1962) theory of human capital investment to sport participation, the authors probed participants' experiences for evidence of investment thinking and lasting benefits in corporeal, economic, social, and cultural varieties. The findings support the notion that participation in collegiate athletics can be broadly defined as investment, but not in accordance with the claims made by the NCAA or the long-term utility maximizing rationale assumed by neoclassical economists. Furthermore, much like their non-athlete counterparts, high costs of participation, inherent uncertainty and risk, and unreliable information confound athletes' decision-making and blur the distinction between consumption in the present and investing for the future.

In 2007, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) launched a branding campaign comprised of several public service announcements (PSAs) and a new website. The televised PSAs included a tagline that has since become quite well-known to advocates and critics of college sport alike: "There are over 380,000 student athletes, and most of us go pro in something other than sports" (NCAA, 2007). Architects of the campaign indicated they were specifically targeting potential student-athletes and their parents with the new marketing strategy. According

to Penny Baldwin, managing director of Y&R—the marketing firm hired by the NCAA, the goal of the campaign was to highlight the "many intangible qualities student-athletes gain from their NCAA experience that stay with them throughout their lives" (NCAA, 2007). Dennis Cryder, then the NCAA senior vice-president for branding and communications, added, "many people do not realize the profound positive effects that college sports have" (NCAA, 2007).

Although the wording has changed, the refrain endures in the NCAA's current marketing materials. The following phrase was recently taken from the NCAA's website: "For the rest [not going pro], the experiences of college athletics and the life lessons they learn along the way will help them as they pursue careers in other fields" (NCAA, 2015a). The narrative espoused by the NCAA suggests that college sports definitively endow participants with certain favorable qualities.

The NCAA's statements are voiced in a time when universities are facing retrenched funding from state and federal sources, and are increasingly turning towards austerity policies and competitive profit-generating strategies to make ends meet (Aronowitz, 2000; Giroux, 2013; Washburn, 2008). The cumulative outcome of such an approach to higher education has been the emergence of what Henry Giroux (2007) called the "corporate university model" and its concomitant effects, including: skyrocketing costs in undergraduate education, the substitution of on-the-job training for education, an increased reliance on non-tenured faculty and graduate students as instructors, and increased private and military intrusion into the research and educational prerogatives of public universities. The sum total of the policies of higher education's present political milieu has been a depreciation of educational quality for students despite rapidly inflating costs for undergraduate studies (Aronowitz, 2000; Giroux, 2007; Tuchman, 2009). Caught in this morass is the student body, treated as a disposable commodity in the race to accumulate private wealth through higher education (Giroux, 2014).

At the same time when the corporate university is giving less to students, the NCAA and popular discourse are telling students that tertiary education and extracurricular activities are investments. College athletes are uniquely positioned in this strange relationship in the sense that they do not just consume college life, but in many ways produce it: in terms of the "public goods" of college teams, the surpluses from revenue-generating sports, and the elusive "Flutie effect" of increased, post-victory, student applications (see Bass, Newman, & Giardina, 2013; Sperber, 2000). Moreover, Wolverton, Hallman, Shifflett, and Kambhampati (2015) observed that over the last decade, increased subsidies for NCAA Division I athletics were primarily generated from higher student fees paid by non-athletes despite the reality of climbing tuition and deteriorating educational quality.

The aim of this study is to extend the line of critical inquiry by interrogating the contemporary practice of college sports in order to understand the real utility provided to participants and reconcile the enthusiastic claims made by the NCAA. To target the actual long-term value afforded to participants, former NCAA Division I

student-athletes are interviewed. Former student-athletes are important because they can elucidate both the experience of being a college athlete and life after college sports.

Drawing from the concept of human capital investment as theorized by the Nobel Prize winning economist Gary Becker (1962), as well as critiques of the *homo economicus* model offered by the French historian and political philosopher Michel Foucault (2004/2008), the participants were asked to evaluate the treatment of athletic participation as a type of personal investment and describe their perceived return on investment (ROI) attributable to sport. Our findings support the relevance of ROI analysis to college sport, but also elucidate problems with using criteria that do not account for the equivocal returns of participation. Furthermore, our analysis prompts us to question the statements made by the NCAA and the role of intercollegiate athletics within the corporate university model (Giroux, 2007).

Corporeal Investment and Productive Capital

In the early 1960s, Theodore Schultz (1961) and Gary Becker (1962) sought to explain why people work. Both scholars concluded that the objective of work is to earn a wage. This wage is the return on one's labor—an income (or interest) on a particular form of capital. Schultz (1961) and Becker (1962) reasoned that the capital of which the wage is the income is the set of physical and psychological factors, which make someone able to do a particular kind of work. Thus, labor is a kind of capital, embodied as skill and ability, representative of the potential for work and the source of future income. Consequently, the concept of *human capital* was born.

The shift in thinking about the body as a form of capital opened up previously private matters of the self and the family to a host of economic analyses and sparked a debate about the consequences of such thinking. Paraphrasing Foucault's (2004/2008) conception of the neoclassical position, human capital is inseparable from the person who possesses it—the capacity to work, a skill, or an ability is indistinguishable from the *person who is skilled* and *can do a particular thing*. In other words, labor as capital is instinctively *human*. Furthermore, because a worker has a lifespan and length of time in which his or her labor can be used in a productive capacity, human capital itself ages and has an eventual obsolescence. Therefore, the modern worker is a sort of machine, producing a stream of earnings over its lifespan. It is in this "machine-stream ensemble" that the worker is conceived not as the subject of labor-power as Marx argued, but rather as a conception of "capital-ability"—that is, the worker as a sort of "enterprise for himself (sic)" (Foucault, 2004/2008, p. 224-225).

Accordingly, a worker can be viewed as an entrepreneur—no longer merely a subject of capitalist power over labor, but a worker as a rational enterprise in and of himself or herself. From useful abstraction to wayward economic model, a variety of notable scholars including John Stuart Mill, Thorstein Veblen, Max Weber, John Maynard Keynes, Karl Polanyi, Michel Foucault, and many others have referred to this self-sustaining, omnipotent entrepreneur-of-the-self as *homo economicus*.

The treatment of laborers not as individual people, but as commercial enterprises by neoclassical economists allowed for the rationalization, systematization, and quantification of a society and an economy (see Foucault, 2004/2008; Miller & Rose, 2008). The shift in thinking, regarding the body as a site of *potential* capital accumulation, alters the way an education, skill, or ability figures into the micro-economies of individuals and families, and explains how these traits (or the pursuit thereof) can be quantified and evaluated in terms of a cost/benefit or risk/return.

In order to conceive of human skills, attributes, and capacities as capital, it presupposes that human activity and training are investments. In economics, investment is understood as forgoing consumption in the present in order to realize consumption in the future. In sport, investment has commonly been conceptualized as practice, whereby short-term sacrifices of time and physical effort are necessary to prepare for athletic performances in the future. For instance, Ericsson (2007; Ericsson, Krampe, & Tesch- Römer, 1993) has written extensively on deliberate practice—a task that requires effort, has no monetary rewards, and is not inherently enjoyable, but is required for achieving expertise in sport.

Extending and broadening investment analyses to sport participation is not uncommon nowadays, although it has elicited some lamentations. For instance, Newman (2014), commenting on the economization of sport, stated:

> Business and markets did not create running and jumping, they *valorized* them. A young child who swings a bat or dives into a swimming pool does so not necessarily to become, or be made into, a consumer (or a commodity, a celebrity, or a brand). (p. 611, emphasis in original)

Indeed, college student-athletes may not regard themselves as commercial enterprises, but under the collegiate model of marketized sport, which has existed for at least the last 50 years (Oriard, 2012), such a state may be unavoidable. When the market reality of modern-day college sport is coupled with the popular discourse concerning participation, application of *homo economicus* to the student-athlete as an abstracted ideal-type appears almost natural. Instead of fighting this idealization, we embrace the notion that student-athletes may regard participation as a form of personal investment and turn our focus towards evaluating the promise of significant and lasting benefits.

The investment decision is crucial to assessing the verity of investment as a framework for understanding college sport participation. In order for a decision to be classified as an investment, the actor must have some sense of information, uncertainty, and risk (Black, 1986; Callon, Lascoumes, & Barthe, 2001/2009). More specifically, if investment is consumption delayed into the future, then the actor who invests is one who confronts the uncertainty of the future, and therefore the uncertainty of their future consumption.

To deal with this uncertainty, an actor acquires information. Information allows an actor to treat the uncertain future as risk; that is, investors use information to make uncertainty calculable and actionable. The quality of information, and the manner with

which information is sourced and given, is therefore of central importance to investment in sport.

Personal Investment in Sport

Physical activity, exercise, and sport have been approached by scholars as a type of personal investment from a variety of perspectives and disciplines including physiology, psychology, sociology, and economics. Together, this research spans the physical and social-psychological effects of sport participation as well as some of the many macro-/microeconomic aspects of marketized sport. Physical education, kinesiology, and health studies researchers, for instance, have studied the investment of time and effort against the ability of various forms of physical activity to generate favorable physiological and psychological effects for participants (see Duda & Tappe, 1988; Ostrow, 1984; Smith & Serfass, 1981). In this vein, some scholars have explored the motivations, extent, and meaning ascribed to participation (Gray-Lee & Granzin, 1997), while others have focused on elite sport participation and the ideal mix of training to bring about superior performance (Wall & Cote, 2007). Still, others contend that social well-being as an outcome of participation is under-researched compared to other fields in the health sciences (see Fox, 1997, 1999; Miller & Hoffman, 2009; Reinboth & Duda, 2006).

Participation, particularly in elite organized sports, is increasingly viewed as a personal economic investment where costs and value are treated as pecuniary variables. Indeed, economists have approached sport as a new (and unique) frontier to apply classic investment techniques and financial assessment tools. Treating sport as a form of investment, economists have applied marginal revenue product (MRP) calculations, labor marketability assessments, and reviews of long-term economic well-being to assess the economic value of elite athletes at the high school, college, and professional levels (Barron, Ewing, & Waddell, 2000; Beamon, 2008; Eide & Ronan, 2000; Ewing, 1995, 1998, 2007; French, 2004; Long & Caudill, 1991; Sack & Thiel, 1979; Staurowsky, 2013). Other participation-related topics studied by economists include player compensation strategies and management relations (e.g., Fort & Quirk, 1995; Rosen & Sanderson, 2001), social determinants (e.g., Hoffman, Ging, & Ramasamy, 2002), industrial organization (e.g., Neale, 1964; Szymanski, 2003), economic impact (e.g., Baade & Matheson, 2001; Siegfried & Zimbalist, 2000), and the practice and influence of sports gambling (e.g., Forrest & Simmons, 2003; Zuber, Gandar, & Bowers, 1985).

Upon review of the cumulative body of literature, it is apparent there has been a shift in thinking concerning the assessment of value derived from sport participation. Thinking of sport as an investment, especially when the corporeality of sport participation is converted into economic units of analysis, introduces (a) a rationale requiring ROI analysis to justify the expenditure of resources (similar to other types of financial investments), and (b) a particular set of criteria against which to measure ROI. The ROI metric is most often accredited to an extension of Kirkpatrick's (1977) taxonomy for training program evaluation, later solidified by

Phillips (1997) as a way to calculate pay-off and demonstrate accountability by "following a logical, rational approach" (p. 2). In other words, by emphasizing the financial costs of training and development programs (as investment), the need arises to attribute direct returns to the expenditure of those resources.

Thinking in terms of cost/benefit necessitates the fabrication of evaluative criteria so that ROI analyses may be conducted. Unfortunately, the criteria selected are often arbitrary, vague, or cater to special interests, challenging the creation of an unbiased or objective ROI assessment sought in the first-place. Although ROI analysis may be applicable to sport participation, some resources invested (e.g., time, effort, and talent) are not easily quantifiable and the returns for non-premier athletes often lack attributable economic impact. For instance, it is more feasible to calculate the financial pay-off for those who can see a direct effect of their investment (e.g., elite or professional athletes who generate measurable financial returns for an organization or earn a wage for their participation) than the majority of those whose economic returns from sport participation are more subtle or uncertain.

Short v. Long-Term Returns

Efforts made by the NCAA and member institutions to incorporate protections for student-athletes—in other words, to guarantee long-term returns—have missed their mark (Smith, 2011). Indeed, NCAA reform is nothing new as "criticism of priorities and practices in intercollegiate sports, and thus an implicit call for reform, is nearly as old as college sports themselves" (Oriard, 2012, p. 4). However, as Oriard indicates many of the protocols enacted as a result of reform have ultimately shifted institutional concern for student-athletes away from their long-term well-being in favor of operational flexibility and short-term profitability.

Institutionalization of the near-sightedness plaguing collegiate athletics has been assisted by the establishment of academic progress and graduation metrics which have drawn considerable criticism for being poorly designed, inadequate, and easy to manipulate (Cusack, 2007; LaForge & Hodge, 2011; Oriard, 2012; Wolverton, 2007). The metrics used by the NCAA today—namely, the Federal Graduation Rate (FGR), Graduation Success Rate (GSR), and Academic Progress Rate (APR)—to measure the scholastic success of student-athletes focus exclusively on "academic progress" with a terminal limit set at graduation.

Though parading as academic reform, these gestures overwhelmingly favor the interests of university athletic departments as employers of student-athlete labor—labor with only four-years of useful productivity defined by NCAA eligibility rules. Under the current regime, administrators need to be near-sighted to focus on academic progress, leaving student-athletes' long-term well-being to the amorphous "merits of participation." Effectively, athletic departments that profit from student-athlete labor are only required to "progress" them towards an academic degree and are relieved of any substantial responsibility for their long-term well-being.

LaForge and Hodge (2011) argue that APR and GSR make it possible for

universities to adopt a "hands-off" or passive approach to student-athletes, using the metrics in ways that were never intended. While this treatment seems to put student-athletes on equal footing with the rest of the student-body, the student-athlete must still reconcile their massive investment in extracurricular athletic activities. Troubling still, with the enormous pressure of superior athletic performance levied on student-athletes and those on whom they depend most for support and guidance (namely, coaches and administrators), a quality academic experience is often the first thing to be compromised. Student-athletes may progress towards degree completion or even graduate from college, but the value of the degree conferred, relevance of the experience conveyed, and utility of the skills mastered cannot be assumed. In sum, such a near-sighted concern for eligibility, academic progress, and quantitative metrics work together to obfuscate the true value of the collegiate student-athlete experience, especially when projected over an extended period of time.

Institutional protections for student-athletes are further handicapped by aggressive recruiting practices, year-round athletic schedules, and scholarships limited to one-year renewable contracts, each of which inundate the utility of participation with uncertainty. Today's student-athlete is in a precarious position—although they may be the functional unit of college sports, they are given no guarantees for their efforts. That being said, it is no small feat to count oneself among the ranks of NCAA Division I student-athletes as only 6% of high school athletes go on to compete for NCAA schools (NCAA, 2015a). Talent, practice, and money are the most obvious resources needed to transform an energetic youth into a college student-athlete. While talent is difficult to quantify, the costs of participation in terms of time and money are more visible.

Although there is much variation, youth sport participants, especially those most likely to compete in college, spend several hours each day (sometimes more than once a day, six or seven days a week) at practice or in competition. In economic terms, the cost of coaching and equipment fees alone (not including travel and specialty training camps) run between one-hundred to nearly one-thousand dollars per month (Kids Play USA, 2015). Private lessons push this figure upwards and, though most sports have a primary season, participation is likely to span all twelve months of the year. It is difficult to avoid the stress caused by such a high-value investment, notwithstanding the opportunity costs associated with commitment to competitive sports, emphasizing the need for participants to make the investment pay off.

Although there may be a need to justify the various costs, the developmental potential of sport participation (especially at the elite level) is increasingly uncertain and contingent (Coakley, 2006, 2011). Moreover, there is a tacit escalation of commitment corresponding with higher-levels of athletic competition (see Oriard, 2012; Smith, 2011; Watterson, 2005). In Division I college sports (the highest level of non-professional athletic competition in the U.S.), both the direct costs of participation and indirect (opportunity) costs of forgone value provided by alternative investments are likely to be high.

Thus, given the high total cost of investment, questionable developmental and vocational potential, and contradicting institutional and popular discourses concerning participation, an investment analysis (with particular concern for ROI) is especially relevant. What we hope to contribute to the research on college sport participation through this study is an essential understanding of the long-term value afforded to participants who invest immensely in their discipline, but whose contributions are not easily quantifiable—namely, college student-athletes "who go pro in something other than sports."

Assessing ROI after College Sports

The challenge of ROI analysis is to link the pay-off to the investment. Although the formula can become quite complicated, the basic method for calculating ROI is to subtract the cost of an activity from the direct benefits of the activity (Grant, 2012). However, difficulty arises in precisely defining the costs and benefits, which can vary depending on what criteria are selected for the analysis. In the case of sport participation, this complexity is manifest in the myriad ways to conceptualize investment, multiple currencies of exchange, and subtle types of returns. The ROI criteria used in this study were drawn from an expanded version of the *homo economicus* model of human capital investment, accounting for a broad spectrum of possible outcomes.

Drawing from the works of Becker (1962), Bourdieu (1986, 1989, 2005), and Coleman (1988), four types of capital were used as theoretical moorings for our inquiry, including: *human*, *cultural*, *economic*, and *social capital*. *Human capital* is created by training people to improve or acquire skills and capabilities that enable them to perform in new ways (Becker, 1962; Coleman, 1988; Schultz, 1961). *Cultural capital* refers to learned norms and values (signified by qualifications, customs, and artifacts) acquired through education, group memberships, and organizational associations (Bourdieu, 1986, 2005). In the Marxist tradition, *economic capital* is the value achieved by owning the means of production, either in a monetized or commodified form (Bourdieu, 1986, 2005). *Social capital* refers to the quality and totality of relationships between actors (via group membership and social networks) and the mutual cognition and recognition of the reciprocal nature of those relationships (Bourdieu, 1986, 2005; Coleman, 1988).

Furthermore, Bourdieu (2005) argued that what makes capital valuable to its possessor is its ability to be transformed or exchanged for something else. Therefore, we anticipated that our participants may be able to reflect on costs and returns from participation in two ways: (a) direct accumulation or dispossession of human, cultural, economic, or social capital from sport participation, or (b) indirect transformation of sport participation and capital derived from sport participation into other forms of capital.

Method

In order to understand the ways in which student-athletes perceive their college sport participation as a form of personal investment (or on the contrary, the reasons they do not), we designed a qualitative phenomenological study during which nine

former NCAA Division I athletes were interviewed. Because return on investment is a contentious issue and the returns are difficult to identify, we opted for a humanistic, phenomenological approach (Markula & Silk, 2011). That is, we sought to understand how former athletes made sense of their experiences and the returns they received; importantly, this meant the athletes could identify, in their own terms, *what* was a cost and *what* was return. Following Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2011), the interviewers positioned themselves as co-constructors of knowledge in offering heuristic devices such as "investment," "information," "risk," and "returns" with which the participants could affirm, discount, or negotiate based on their own perspectives. In this way, we aimed to give "investment" to the former athletes, so that they could deconstruct it, in a direct affront to popular discourse that gives the athlete to investment. Through this phenomenological perspective, the present study offers commentary on and compliments the NCAA's GOALS study (Growth, Opportunities, Aspirations and Learning of Students in college) first conducted in 2010 and then again in 2015 (NCAA, 2015c).

Interview Guide

A semi-structured interview guide was created and revised after two pilot interviews. Interview questions addressed whether participants believed their own student-athlete experience was an investment and what types of returns they received from that investment after college. We used Bourdieu's approach to convertible capital as a heuristic framework to prompt participants to think about the different ways they could have paid for and received returns from participation (social, economic, cultural, and physical costs and returns). Additional questions explored the notions of uncertainty, risk, and access to information related to their participation.

Given the humanistic and phenomenological design of this study, we prompted participants to answer questions by reflecting on their experiences. We also, as stated above, encouraged the participants to critically evaluate the concepts of investment and their relevance to college athletics and post-athletic life. For instance, all participants were asked a version of, "What do you think of evaluating college sport participation as an investment?"

Sample Selection

Initial participants were invited to join the study from the researchers' existing social networks and then snowball sampling was used to connect with additional participants. Participants were recruited and interviewed in semi-formal private settings until an exhaustive description (i.e., thematic saturation) was achieved (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). Saturation was reached when emerging meaning units (i.e., "investment as cost," "coaches as holders and givers of information," etc.) became stable; in other words, new participants spoke to the same themes articulated with regards to different contexts (such as different sports, different life events, and unique subject-positions) (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994).

Participants were selected on the basis of having at least one-season of college sport experience (mean experience was 3.4

years) and were at least one-year removed from college (mean time since participation was 8.0 years). The participant group was comprised of six women and three men of varying race and ethnicity who participated in a number of different sports (cross-country (1), football (2), Nordic skiing (1), rowing (1), soccer (1), swimming (1), and track and field (2)) for schools geographically dispersed across the United States. Participants held a variety of athletic scholarships during their student-athlete tenure (full, partial, and non-scholarship/walk-on status), some passing through all types of scholarship. Three participants attempted to transition to the professional-level after college, although none were able to do so as their sole source of employment and all had withdrawn from professional competition at the time of the study.

Our participant group demonstrated considerable heterogeneity according to gender, ethnicity, sport, and scholarships. Given the epistemological framework and goals of this study, we feel this variability was important for acknowledging the multiple and subjective experiences of college athletes (Manning, 1997). However, there are two characteristics of the research sample that deserve reflection: over-representation of lower-profile sports and women athletes. We reflect on the implications of these over-representations in the conclusion, discussing how, precisely because of the composition of our sample, our findings are particularly well positioned to illuminate some current debates regarding college sport participation for some, but less so for others. For now note: of the 23 sports governed by the NCAA, more than half of the student-athlete population are women and the revenue sports (predominantly men's sports) are the clear minority (NCAA, 2015b). In general, we found that there was little difference between the responses provided by athletes in more visible sports than those in less publicized ones; the same was true between men and women. A possible explanation of this phenomena given during several of the interviews was that it was difficult for respondents to completely isolate their personal experiences from the greater social experience of living, training, and attending classes with other student-athletes (of varying demographics, sports, and athletic backgrounds). In sum, because our objectives in this project were idiographic in nature, avoiding nomothetic conclusions, we believe the final sample was appropriate for the task.

Analysis

Each interview was electronically recorded and transcribed by hand. Following Creswell's (2007) phenomenological approach, from these transcripts a list of significant statements was created, paying particular attention to non-repetitive, non-overlapping statements and giving each statement equal worth. Statements were grouped into themes and then a textural and structural description followed to describe *what* each participant experienced and *how* that experience occurred (Cresswell, 2007). The final description was constructed by reorganizing the coded material to form a credible representation of the cumulative narrative (Tracy, 2010) that preserved the authenticity of the participants' experiences.

College Sport as an Investment

Research participants characterized participation in college sport as a personal investment, with real opportunity costs and risk, from which they expected a return. While ROI is discussed in the following section, here we focus on how college sport became an investment for the participants.

Although all of the former athletes were able to consider college sport participation as an investment, there were some nuances in why each athlete was pursuing this investment and what they hoped to get from it in return. Specifically, some, such as Participant 2, expressed a socio-economic need to attain a college scholarship:

> I come from basically a single parent home. My mom pays for everything and I didn't want her to struggle for me to be in college. Also, I didn't want to get into debt, but that didn't turn out to be the case. I don't think I could have withdrawn voluntarily. I say that because I don't know how I would have paid for school. Had it not been for sports, I would probably have more debt than I do now. (Participant 2, Personal Communication, 2015)

This perspective can be contrasted with those offered by other participants who pursued college sport for the value of competing and challenging himself or herself at the next level. Despite the apparent differences, each of our participants vocalized some combination of socio-economic need and competitive desire motivating their investment decision.

Risk and Information

While there was some variation in the goals among the former college athletes in this study, when speaking about the decision-making process itself, they all identified similar experiences and anxieties. Information and risk were identified as two important themes in the interviews.

Participants used information from family, coaches, or administrators to decide to invest in college sports. These informants told them that they could get a free or reduced-cost education while participating in a sport they enjoyed and at which they excelled. Many of these information sources were never participants in NCAA sports, meaning that their knowledge of what it is like to be a student-athlete was second-hand. It became clear through the interviews that many of the risks in college sports were not discussed with participants during their initial investment decision. For instance, Participant 2 explained how a lack of information about what it is really like to be a year-round student-athlete and some misinformation from her coach, lead her to make a decision that she later regretted:

> I ended up having to take out student loans. I was given a full-ride scholarship to go to college and upon time to re-sign, my coach gave me the proposition that, "You know you're covered and you get government aid as well, would you be okay with us giving some of your money to another student-athlete to help them out?" I'm thinking I'd be covered, but I wasn't. I didn't realize that for collegiate athletes you only get paid for the school year, so over the summer, if you don't know how to manage your money, well you're basically struggling or you're taking out a student-loan. So I ended up giving up some of my scholarship. So I wouldn't

> have done that and I would have got more information about the process of what it means to be a full-ride athlete. (Participant 2, Personal Communication, 2015)

As Black (1986) posits, the validity and comprehensiveness of information is perhaps the riskiest component of any investment decision. That is, although information is proffered and accepted as expertise, it is sometimes simply erroneous data misconstrued as knowledge.

The most pervasive sources of information for our respondents were their coaches and athletic administrators. Some coaches used information to manipulate their athletes. In the case of Participant 4, the coach played on the uncertainty of scholarships and used their information superiority about whether certain athletes were replaceable:

> At any track meet, if I didn't do well my coach wouldn't talk to me. I could feel a sense of anger; I could just sense it. On the bus ride home my coach would be like "if we don't get our act together we will lose our scholarships." I could have left [the team], but I wanted to finish school and I wanted to leave with a degree. (Participant 4, Personal Communication, 2015)

Similar tactics were reported by a number of participants whereby coaches used the threat of replacement and/or loss of scholarship to influence the level of commitment of their athletes. As a consequence, athletes felt pressure to put more time and effort into their athletic training and performances to ensure their spot on the team. For one of our respondents, the environment created by this malicious use of uncertainty and information asymmetry prompted her to transfer to a different university.

By fabricating the notion of an infinitely deep recruiting pool, coaches exaggerated their information superiority and accentuated the uncertainty of the returns perceived by their athletes. At other times, commitment to the team was used as a point of leverage. Calling attention to the importance of "the team" above individual interests, coaches and administrators devalued other academic, vocational, or extracurricular pursuits.

When benefits achieved through group success are over-emphasized, individual risks inherent in the pursuit of team goals can be masked (Alhakami & Slovic, 1994; Finucane, Alhakami, Slovic, & Johnson, 2000; Slovic, 1999). By exaggerating the economic value of an athletic scholarship or the social benefits of team sports (or conversely, demonstrating that these things can be taken away), coaches and administrators obscure the real tensions and opportunity costs of investing in athletics.

Six participants were required by their coaches or their practice schedules to select certain majors over others. They were also required to do so much training, travelling, and competing that their studies suffered considerably. Participant 9 expressed regret for buying into a team culture that treated academics as a second-class investment:

> The reason I felt the academic stuff was worth letting go was because I felt that the only person I was letting down then was me. My grades, yeah they got me ineligible for a damn season, but the team still existed. There were other girls on the team and I believed enough in

> them to think that we would be ok. (Participant 9, Personal Communication, 2015)

What our interviews illuminated that other studies have not is the motivation to increase one's commitment to sport or team activities caused by the threat of losing the opportunity to seek a ROI from sport (i.e., losing a scholarship or being cut from the team). That is, the treatment of college athletics as an investment by their coaches, their administrators, their families, and popular discourse actually lead athletes to escalate their commitment.

Interestingly, the uncertainty of "opportunity lost" can even outweigh more concrete risks inherent in directing one's time away from other activities (e.g., committing to a team bonding activity instead of studying for a midterm). By investing time in sport or other team-based activities, student-athletes lost opportunities to realize value elsewhere. For instance, Participant 4 talked about the challenges she faced upon college graduation with little professional experience, stating, "A lot of my classmates were doing interviews and doing internships. I feel like what employers are looking for are people with experience and I really didn't have experience" (Participant 4, Personal Communication, 2015). Furthermore, when student-athletes rely on coaches and administrators as sole providers of information concerning the ideal management of their time, they allow for possible overrepresentation of athletic department interests in their personal investment strategies.

The manifest uncertainty in student-athlete time demands was also acutely corporealized in the form of physical injury, an obvious risk of sport participation. For instance, Participant 3's statement is characteristic of our respondents' experiences of injury:

> So my first injury happened right at the beginning of my college career. I had a stress fractured third metatarsal that I didn't recognize and I ended up breaking that foot and missed the first three months of competition of my college career. It healed completely and I redshirted that year because of that. It was rapid rehab with pool workouts and running on the alternate gravity treadmill the whole time I was hurt, but that injury didn't linger with me at all. My next injury was a neuroma in my foot, like a swollen nerve. That one was a pretty quick fix. That was my junior year of college. Then my senior year I again had a stress fracture in my foot. It was a different bone. It happened right at the end of my indoor track season and I didn't notice it. I was running well and I was training really hard to have a good outdoor track season. I was actually on the track for my first practice when I broke it. It just broke. The experience rehabbing from that was a little different because as a senior, they gave me the boot and all that, but there was no rehab. Since I wasn't coming back they told me I didn't have to aggressively rehab that. (Participant 3, Personal Communication, 2015)

Initially, physical injury and associated suffering might be interpreted as a cost of being a student-athlete. As Participant 3 described, injuries are an expected aspect of elite-level training and competition.

However, what is also interesting for the current analysis of investment is the extent to which injuries and sufferings last after intercollegiate competition has ended. For example, Participant 2 reflected on her lasting injuries from being a college field athlete:

> Javelin tore my elbow and shoulder up. One of my teammates had rotator cuff surgery. I didn't have to experience that, thank god, but the throbbing every now and again that I get in my arms, my lower back, I still don't even know how that happened. I got stuck bending over one day. And every now and then, more so when I'm up late, my back will hurt really bad. Ankles, that happens a lot. You'll roll your ankle and stuff. Shin splints, too. I actually injured my hip flexor, which I have issues with every now and again. A lot of that stuff, like beating up your body with weights and different events, puts your body into all these positions and motions. So not doing that anymore, you feel like every now and then it comes back and bothers you. (Participant 2, Personal Communication, 2015)

Thus, for some, the time spent as a premiere college athlete left them in permanent physical pain and created ongoing medical costs for which they are now solely responsible. Although none of the former athletes interviewed considered themselves to be seriously disabled as a result of their participation in college sports (others are not so fortunate), the approach to injury and rehabilitation reflects both institutional value on short-term labor viability and the use of information to encourage individual sacrifice in the name of athletic performance and/or team success. Long-term healing or preventative care were eschewed in favor of quick-fixes to keep student-athletes productive. In short, the risk of physical injury, uncertainty caused by time demands, and near-sighted institutional interests worked together to obfuscate student-athlete investment decisions and negatively impact personal ROI.

Those few who cited predominantly positive assessments of their college sport experience acknowledged the role of coaches and administrators who allowed for more autonomy in setting individual priorities and consideration of alternate sources of information. Participant 3's response was particularly indicative of how college representatives could contribute to positive student-athlete experiences and outcomes:

> But my coach, I really believe this, cared more about my academic success than he did my athletic success. There was one time, I had an organic chemistry test and we had a meet with Texas Tech that weekend down in Lubbock. The coach was filling out the team and I was the number one 5K guy who was supposed to go, and I said, "Hey coach, would it be alright if I didn't race this weekend and raced next weekend because I have this big organic chemistry test?" And he's like, "Yeah we can do that." I guess that's one of those moments that he recognized that I was concerned about the test and he probably sacrificed the team success for me. (Participant 3, Personal Communication, 2015)

> I came into college wanting to do biology pre-med and that's exactly what I ended up with. There is a physician there who serves on admissions who would come down to the athletic department and answer questions that anyone would have about what it takes to be accepted to medical school and what types of things they need to be doing. So I would say, because I was a student-athlete I got exposed to a good role model. (Participant 3, Personal Communication, 2015)

Participant 3 was able to maintain a balance between academics and athletics, search for information from multiple sources, and benefitted from support networks that appreciated the larger picture. In these cases, short-term athletic success and team objectives were occasionally suspended so attention could be turned to pressing needs in other areas. Additionally, scholarships and the more ambiguous notion of "opportunity lost" were not used as sources of leverage to influence student-athlete decisions.

Equivocal Returns

The former college athletes in this study recognized the importance of information and informants when, as a prospective student, they sought to decide on investing in sport participation and, as an enrolled student, they sought to escalate or de-escalate their commitment. Some of these students experienced uncertainty as a result of asymmetries of information. Here we build on the initial analysis of investment in order to understand the returns that our participants achieved from college sport participation.

The majority of participants had difficulty describing the exact benefits of their involvement. For instance, Participant 6 clearly articulated how fallacious it is to assume that simply being a participant would result in returns:

> I don't think my co-workers even know that I played sports. Even on my résumé, I don't know how long you keep that sort of thing on there. Maybe an employer could read into it and say, "You're a good team builder," but I don't know. I'm an underwriter for an insurance company, so my sport experience hasn't really done anything for me. (Participant 6, Personal Communication, 2015)

Saying you played sport on your résumé is not what the NCAA is evoking when it promotes the benefits of athletic participation. Instead, the benefits are understood to come in the form of a degree—"free" or at a reduced price—and other intangible benefits more directly related to sport participation. Furthermore, the assumption is that these benefits are cumulative; that is, a college degree is good, but a free college degree (of any sort) is better.

The respondents, however, consistently separated their assessment of the benefits attributed to their education from those linked to their athletic participation. The majority of study participants cited athletics as being in conflict with academics. Respondents indicated that an over-investment in athletics was a hindrance to the economic benefit they envisioned from having been a student-athlete.

The primary issue here seems to stem from the uncertainty of student-athlete time

demands, as respondents were unable to devote enough time to academics in the face of athletic commitments. Repeatedly, respondents indicated they had to make compromises to secure their place on the team and/or athletic scholarship even though most were unable to maximize the benefit of the educational opportunity afforded by the scholarship. Though there was an overwhelmingly positive assessment of college sport participation as a "once in a lifetime" or "priceless" experience, most respondents indicated they would place more emphasis on academics if they had the chance to do it over again.

Furthermore, although the economic value of college sport participation is widely researched, in this study attributable economic outcomes were limited or non-existent. Roughly half of our participants currently work in the sport industry (four), which would appear to reflect the benefits of participation. However, though they sought a career in sports because they had unique skills and experiences, their sport specialization also presented limitations. For our participants, working in the sport industry was both influenced by their love of sports forged over years of participation and the fact that they spent so much time participating in sports that they lacked the skills needed for other professions. Indeed, as Participant 4 demonstrated, these former athletes faced similar challenges to other underprepared graduates:

> I just wish there was something after [graduation] so they can allow athletes to get on their feet, maybe financially, maybe a training camp. Myself, I feel like I was left hanging. When I left school, I felt like I would leave school and find a job easy. Thank god for my mother. I have a lot of friends that don't have jobs. They have that degree, but no experience. (Participant 4, Personal Communication, 2015)

Importantly, as Participant 4 clearly describes, the commitment to sport instead of other activities such as internships may even put college athletes in a more difficult position than their non-athlete peers. At a minimum, our interactions with former college student-athletes complicate the NCAA's position that participation prepares student-athletes to "go pro in something other than sports."

The acquisition of social capital is another possible source of utility for student-athletes. Below, Participant 9 reported that the social relationships formed during her participation played a significant role in her life after college:

> I'm still friends with girls who were on the team, so you see it that way. Not just girls on my team, but other athletes. I'm still in touch with most of the baseball team from then, a few of the basketball players, some of the women's golf team. These are people that are still my friends. You're taking courses with them; you're sharing a weight room with people. The way the dorms were set up, and it's different now, they had baseball in this building, soccer in that building, and they faced each other with about 50 yards between the two. So we were really close with them. We saw it as this great opportunity to meet other people who did the same things we do. (Participant 9, Personal Communication, 2015)

Here is evidence that sport participation provides lasting, intimate, social relationships. However, while all our participants celebrated this aspect of their post-athletic lives, many were unable to articulate exactly how their relationships benefitted them personally.

Importantly, much of the social capital attributed by participants was perceived only within networks of other college athletes with similar experiences. Participant 6 explained how the social relationships in her sport of rowing were predicated on their high school experience and college tenure:

> Socially it was kind of difficult because it wasn't like your typical college sport where people are recruited. They had some people that were recruited, but other than that they had people who played different sports in high school because nobody really rows, at least not in Kansas. So socially it was difficult to break into that higher group. There was clearly a divide between the seniors and the freshmen. Then they had multiple strings. So they had people who had been rowing for a while and they were really good at it, and then they had people who had just played other sports. (Participant 6, Personal Communication, 2015)

Although Participant 6 points out that her case was a unique example, evidence of social segregation in sport is well documented (DeLuca, 2013; Swanson, 2009). This observation is supported by Putnam (2000), who distinguished between two forms of social capital: *bonding* and *bridging*. Although researchers have shown that both may occur under certain circumstances (Beaudoin, 2011; Palmer & Thompson, 2007; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009), social capital formed during sporting interactions is most often characterized as intragroup "bonding" rather than intergroup "bridging" (Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Goss, 2002). This is particularly salient in the current study, for where bonding triumphs, sport participation favors the creation of homogeneous relationships that could stifle career mobility and significantly restrict civic engagement (Coakley, 2011; Harvey, Lévesque, & Donnelly, 2007). However, the excerpt from Participant 8 demonstrates how bonding and bridging can both occur, eventually resulting in new pathways in one's social network:

> I had a great experience from my freshman year to my senior year. Thinking I was just going to go to school and get drafted by some team or something, but that wasn't the case. Over time I met people and I met more people different from myself. Meeting more people exposed me to more things. I met one of my good friends and he actually gave me the opportunity to be on the radio and meet other guys. (Participant 8, Personal Communication, 2015)

In Participant 8's case, "bonding" with his teammates gave him access to social networks beyond sport, which led to a job opportunity in radio and "bridged" his access to networks in the community of radio professionals.

Finally, it is worth reiterating that, despite the lack of measurable ROI, the majority of the respondents expressed being a student-athlete was of significant experiential value. Reflecting on the time

spent as an athlete, they identified that the experience of competing at an elite-level, the prestige of being recognized as a varsity athlete, and belonging to an exclusive organization provided a sense of intrinsic value. Recognition of this benefit is a manifestation of cultural capital afforded by participation.

Upon closer analysis it was observed that the potency of this form of capital has a shelf-life and is not easily extended beyond college. Participant 6 was wrestling with the limits of cultural capital when she questioned the relevance of her athletic experience:

> In the job market they look a lot more at education, but activities and things like that, I don't think they would place an NCAA team activity over a club sport or something organized where you are working with people. There's not an advantage I would say. (Participant 6, Personal Communication, 2015)

Moreover, when other respondents articulated the cultural value of their experience, they described it as limited or ambiguous. In turn, the cultural significance of having been a college student-athlete is only valuable when it is recognized by others and is often reduced to a passing curiosity. Several participants highlight the limited exchange value of cultural capital, acknowledging that though their status as former student-athletes may be "exotic", it is only useful as a cultural novelty.

Coda

In this paper, we set out to evaluate the verity of the claim that being a college athlete is an investment. The claim is a popular one, espoused by economists studying human capital, the popular press evaluating student debt, and NCAA commercials advertising college sport participation. At first glance, it seems as though our participants also shared this belief. They reflected on their student-athlete experience as an investment and believed that it should be understood that way by aspiring high school athletes.

Despite their conviction, we had difficulty qualifying the return on investment that these former athletes purportedly received. Furthermore, while our respondents had difficulty identifying the long-term benefits they received from being a student-athlete, they were consistent on one thing: the cost. Being a student-athlete requires a significant amount of money, time, and effort along with forgoing many other experiences and opportunities for self-development. Therefore, according to our participants, being a student-athlete *must* be an investment because it is so costly, not necessarily because it provides returns.

How do we make sense of the contradictory manner by which these former student-athletes reflect on their experiences? And how can we reconcile it with the NCAA's version of events, in which they promote the returns of being a student-athlete and, at best, neglect to publicize the costs? Being a student-athlete was, for all of our participants, an *experience they would not trade for any other*. In that sense, while they rationalized being a student-athlete in terms of investment, they recollected in terms of experience.

This is a key feature of sport that theories of human capital and political economy rarely elucidate (c.f., Gruneau,

1979, as cited in Beamish, 1982; Ingham & Hardy, 1984). When one plays sport, and in doing so puts one's body into motion with a lusory attitude, the outcomes are in excess of that which can be defined in bodily output. In other words, no matter how fully sporting goals might be appropriated for the production of capital, and no matter how completely sporting practice is reoriented to create investment, athletes, in this study at least, retain a sense of achievement which justifies their decision to participate in college athletics. For our respondents, their student-athlete experiences remain immensely enjoyable despite not having anything material to show for it.

We need to be very careful with this finding lest it be used to justify the continued over-extension of student-athletes. Instead, we argue that this finding should be interpreted as initial evidence for the need for a critical, research-driven evaluation of NCAA academic progress criteria. Specifically, we argue that our participants' reflections highlight the need for a clear delineation between short-term and long-term returns on investment.

Short-term returns from sport participation include internal rewards such as enjoyment and external rewards such as those provided by coaches and peers. According to our participants these returns were significant. However, these returns can also obscure the realities of long-term investment for college athletes. Our participants noted this happens in two ways. First, the thrill and enjoyment of competition itself led them to forgo educational opportunities. Second, and perhaps most importantly, coaches with short-term outlooks occasionally leveraged the respondents' perspective on the short-term, causing the then student-athletes to forgo investments in the long-term.

When viewed in the context of the corporate university model promulgated by late capitalist economic rationality, this confounded investment paradigm is not much different than that facing *non*-athlete students. That is, all students presumably attend college as a form of investing for a better future. However, both the athlete *and* the student are valorized in their attendance, and both face an uncertain future with limited or skewed sources of information.

There are important differences, however, between athlete and non-athlete students. First, the athlete's body is of central importance to his or her investment. As Participants 2 and 3 showed, these bodies can be broken. And second, the student and the athlete are entwined in each other's attendance, meaning they play a symbiotic role in their conjoined exploitation. The student indebting himself to the workforce, is tied, by way of exuberant athletics fees, to the athlete who must forgo her desired major or sacrifice non-sporting social relationships in order to practice. Thus, it appears the myths surrounding the college athlete experience mirror similar falsehoods presented to non-athlete students, supporting the supposition that the corporate university model extends to *all* students (Giroux, 2014).

As noted in the introduction and method, our research—given an overrepresentation of lower-profile sports and women participants—is not as relevant for commenting on the investments of aspiring professional athletes. However, given that the NCAA (2015a) estimated the

probability of collegiate athletes going pro to range from as low as 0.9% in women's basketball to as high as 8.6% in men's baseball, the college athlete who will not, or did not go professional is certainly worthy of sustained scholarly attention. Nevertheless, we believe a similar humanistic, phenomenological method could be used for those athletes who have made or started careers playing sports—they too deserve that the benefits of life after college not be taken-for-granted. Finally, with respect to our over-representation of women participants, the current findings add nuance to the oft-assumed notion that women athletes perform better and graduate at a higher rate than their men counterparts (see for instance Leeds & von Allmen, 2014).

In summary, while it may be necessary in the current climate of high performance amateur sport and the corporate university to treat college athletics as an investment, the theory of human capital cannot be used to explain this investment because student-athletes are not rational in the long-term (at least they are not permitted to be rational in the long-term). They enjoy competing, training with their peers, and holding a privileged status on campus. Furthermore, the entire support network created to ensure their success is designed to produce on-field performers and off-field "progressers" for four years—and only four years. The student-athlete is not an enterprise-of-the-self after all, despite the NCAA, academic, and popular discourse that has obfuscated this fact.

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