JOURNAL OF AMATEUR SPORT

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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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An Examination of the Relationship Between Team Cohesion and Individual Anxiety Among Recreational Soccer Players

Eungwang Oh Diane L. Gill
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship between cohesiveness and competitive state anxiety and the contribution of cohesion to the prediction of competitive state anxiety among recreational soccer players. The research, which was conducted over two studies with recreational soccer players (n = 47 in Study 1; n = 88 in Study 2), revealed negative relationships between sub-dimensions of cohesion and cognitive and somatic state anxiety. Further, individual attraction to the group-task (ATG-T) contributed significantly to the prediction of state anxiety beyond the contribution of competitive trait anxiety. The findings suggest that recreational soccer participants with high ATG-T are likely to have low competitive state anxiety.

Cohesion has been extensively studied as part of an attempt to develop an in-depth understanding of group dynamics in sport and exercise psychology (Brawley, Carron, & Widmeyer, 1987; Carron, Brawley, & Widmeyer, 2002; Carron, Widmeyer, & Brawley, 1985). Carron, Shapcott and Burke (2007) noted that "cohesion is considered a distinguishing attribute of successful groups, whether it be in the domain of work, military, sport, or exercise" (p. 118). Research pertaining to group dynamics in sport has implications for team performance enhancement and team success. For example, the effects of group size (Widmeyer, Brawley, & Carron, 1990), group norms (Patterson, Carron, & Loughead, 2005), and cohesion (Carron, Colman, Wheeler, & Stevens, 2002) have been studied with a focus on team success. Other studies have recently examined intrapersonal or individual factors related to cohesion, which in turn affect overall group performance or individual group member's experience and behavior. Such individual factors associated with cohesion include

positive mood (Terry et al., 2000), increased passion (Paradis, Martin, & Carron, 2012) and satisfaction (Spink, Nickel, Wilson, & Odnokon, 2005), to name a few.

It is noteworthy that cohesion, a group construct, is determined by individual perceptions of team environment in which they interact (Carron et al., 2002). Teams consist of individual members who are simultaneously influencing and influenced by one another. Furthermore, the team environment, which is developed by individuals, also affects individual cognition, feelings, and behavior. Bosselut, Heuzé, Eys, and Bouthier (2010) pointed out that the team environment impacts team members' psychological states. They reported that high group cohesion, particularly group integration-task (GI-T) could lead to a facilitative interpretation of cognitive anxiety. Beauchamp, Bray, Eys, & Carron (2003) found that individual perception of role ambiguity and responsibilities within the team environment was associated with competitive A-state. Such findings imply that positive group factors including team cohesion can positively influence individual affective states during competition. Therefore, it is important to continue investigating intrapersonal or individual factors associated with cohesion, especially when the focus is on the individual experience in team sport, rather than team success.

In the most accepted definition, cohesion is described as "a dynamic process which is reflected in the tendency for a group to stick together and remain united in the pursuit of its instrumental objectives and/or for the satisfaction of member affective needs" (Carron, Brawley, & Widmeyer, 1998, p. 213). This definition is based on a multifaceted conceptual model proposed by Carron et al. (1985). Carron et al. (1985) not only took into consideration the group, but also the individual aspect of cohesion. Further, the instrumental (task) and the interpersonal (social) aspects were included in the cohesion model. Subsequently, four dimensions are identified in Carron et al.'s (1985) cohesion model: Group Integration-Task (GI-T), Group Integration-Social (GI-S), Individual Attractions to the Group-Task (ATG-T), and Individual Attractions to the Group-Social (ATG-S). It should be noted that each component represents the different conceptual construct of cohesion.

- Group integration-task (GI-T): individual perception about the unity of team as a whole around task aspects (e.g., taking responsibility when failing to achieve the performance goals in the team).
- Group integration-social (GI-S): individual perception about the unity of team as a whole around social aspects (e.g., building up fellowship away from sport).
- Individual attractions to the group-task (ATG-T): individual perception about personal interest in the group

task. (e.g., liking performance related aspects of the team).

- Individual attractions to the group-social (ATG-S): individual perception about personal interest in social interaction with the group members (e.g., liking social interaction in the team). (See Carron et al. (2002) for more details)

Anxiety during competition is commonly experienced by athletes at all levels (c.f., Defrancesco & Burke, 1997; Landers & Arent, 2010). Accordingly, many researchers and professionals in sport and exercise sciences have paid special attention to precompetition anxiety in research and practice, enabling continual developments of measurements models along with empirical research (Hanton, Neil, & Mellalieu, 2008). An extensive line of research on competitive anxiety began with Martens' (1977) early work and continues to expand in several directions. Martens drew on the psychology research of Spielberger (1966) and others who differentiate trait and state anxiety. Trait anxiety (A-trait) is a personality disposition, or tendency to become anxious in threatening situations. State anxiety (A-state) is an emotion, referring to the immediate feelings of anxiety. Martens described competitive trait anxiety (A-trait) as the tendency to perceive competitive situations as threatening, and respond with state anxiety. Martens (1977) developed a sport-specific measure of competitive A-trait, the Sport Competition Anxiety Test (SCAT). Considerable research supports that the SCAT has strong psychometric properties, and more importantly that competitive A-trait predicts competitive A-state in competition better than more general trait anxiety measures (Martens, 1977; Martens, Vealey & Burton, 1990).

State anxiety is one of the most studied emotions in psychology, as well as in sport, and much of the research highlights the multidimensional nature of state anxiety with cognitive and somatic components. Similarly, competitive A-state is a multidimensional construct that involves immediate responses in competitive evaluation situations (Martens et al., 1990). Martens et al. (1990) developed the Competitive State Anxiety Inventory (CSAI) which assesses cognitive (cognitive A-state) and somatic (somatic A-state) state anxiety. Cognitive A-state is described as worry about negative outcomes while somatic A-state refers to physiological arousal in response to evaluative situations.

Both the SCAT and CSAI-2 are widely used in sport psychology research, and considerable research confirms that competitive A-trait (SCAT) predicts competitive A-state (e.g., Gill & Martens, 1977; Martens et al., 1990). Weinberg and Gould (2014) indicated that competitive A-trait has a direct relationship to competitive A-state. Smith, Smoll and Wiechman (1998) concluded that in competitive sport situations, competitive A-trait is the primary predictor of competitive A-state.

Research suggests that excessive anxiety experienced by sport participants has a variety of negative psychological and behavioral correlates, including loss of confidence, burnout, and possibly dropout from sports (Gould, Petlichkoff, & Weinberg, 1984; Martens et al., 1990; Weinberg & Gould, 2014). However, research also shows that group cohesion provides psychological benefits for athletes. The unity in groups has a positive influence while social exclusion from groups is associated with negative feeling states (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Cohesion is also associated with improved mood (Lowther & Lane, 2002), and has a negative relationship with depression and tension (Terry et al., 2000). Prapavessis and Carron (1996) specifically suggested that cohesion may reduce individual competitive A-state. The notion that decreased levels of competitive A-state benefit athletes in various ways has been well-supported by a substantial body of research (Martens et al., 1990). Therefore, cohesive groups can foster cognitive, psychological, and somatic benefits in sport participants.

Previous research examining the relationship between cohesion and competitive A-state provides groundwork for the present study. Prapavessis and Carron (1996) recruited 110 athletes in rugby, basketball, hockey and soccer to examine the interrelationship between cohesion and competitive A-state. Their results showed that ATG-T and competitive A-state were negatively related, and that highly task-cohesive team members tend to perceive less cognitive A-state. Eys, Hardy, Carron, and Beauchamp (2003) further examined the relationship using the CSAI-2d (Competitive State Anxiety Inventory 2 with a direction scale, Jones & Swain, 1992) and reported that highly task-cohesive athletes positively interpreted their competitive A-state. Specifically, task cohesion distinguished athletes with positive perceptions of their competitive A-state from athletes with negative interpretations of their competitive A-state.

Research on the relationship between cohesion and competitive anxiety is limited and focused on elite competitive athletes (e.g., national or international level), or mixed samples at various competitive levels (e.g., intercollegiate, club, or competitive school level). Issues related to cohesion and anxiety are just as relevant to the larger number of participants in recreational sport competition. Group dynamics between elite and recreational athletes are likely to differ because of different group norms, rules, and roles across different skill levels. In fact, Carron et al. (2002) suggested that recreational sport teams and elite sport teams may have different group attributes. In their meta-analysis, it was found that the degree to which cohesion is related to performance differed across levels of competition. Therefore, individual affective states in relation to cohesion from a variety of competitive levels need further examination. In addition, sport takes place in more recreational environments than

highly competitive settings (Widmeyer, Brawley & Carron, 1990). At the recreational sport level, positive individual experiences (e.g., enjoyment, lower anxiety) are as important as group performance (Widmeyer et al., 1990). However, the importance of individual affective states in the recreational sport setting has been overlooked and the relationship between team cohesion and individual anxiety among recreational athletes has remained unexplored. Cohesion in recreational sport teams may be a way to enhance positive individual experiences. Participants' positive experiences in recreational team sports, such as less pressure and improved feeling states, can promote adherence and long-term physical activity. Spink and Carron (1993) found that cohesion is closely associated with individual adherence to sports. Exercise participants in the 8-week team building intervention groups had fewer dropout rate and late arrivals compared to the control groups. Particularly, ATG-T was reported to be the most relevant dimension for team building. It was revealed that individual adherence behavior can be influenced by individual perceptions of cohesion within the group. Therefore, an examination of the relationship between cohesion and competitive anxiety at the recreational level has implications for sport adherence behavior.

The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship of team cohesion with competitive A-state experienced by recreational sport participants. The present study extends previous studies on the relationship between multi-constructs of cohesion and multi-dimensions of competitive A-state to the recreational sport level. Also, no previous research has included competitive A-trait along with cohesion in relation to competitive A-state. Given that competitive A-trait is a well-established major predictor of competitive A-state, it should be a strong predictor in the current study. In the present study, the additional contribution of cohesion over and above the expected contribution of competitive A-trait to the prediction of competitive A-state was examined.

To address the purpose, the relationship of each dimension (Individual Attraction to the Group-Task, ATG-T; Individual Attraction to the Group-Social, ATG-S; Group Integration-Task GI-T; Group Integration-Social, GI-S) of the Group Environment Questionnaire (GEQ; Carron et al., 1985) to each component (cognitive A-state and somatic A-state) of the CSAI-2 was examined. Based on findings from previous research that demonstrated significant associations between task cohesion and competitive anxiety (Eys et al., 2003; Prapavessis & Carron, 1996), it was hypothesized that individual attraction to the group-task (ATG-T) and group integration-task (GI-T) would be negatively related to cognitive A-state and somatic A-state. As previous research suggested that the strongest predictor of competitive A-state during competition situations was competitive A-trait, it was hypothesized that

competitive A-trait would significantly predict competitive A-state and that individual attraction to the group-task (ATG-T) and group integration-task (GI-T) would contribute to the prediction of competitive A-state above and beyond competitive A-trait.

Methods

This research was conducted in two separate studies, both addressing the same research questions with recreational soccer players. Because both studies address the same research questions, using the same measures and similar procedures, methods and results are presented together with any specific differences noted. It is important to note that the two studies were conducted at different periods of time. Also, the characteristics of competition and participants were different; therefore, the two studies were analyzed separately. Power analysis was carried out based on data from the first study, and indicated that a sample size of 80 was adequate for the second study.

Participants and Procedure

In both studies, the competition was recreational or non-elite. Only those adults (age 18 and over) who participated in amateur local leagues/competitions mainly for recreation, without formal contract or compensation were recruited for this research. Non-elite or recreational soccer participants in this research were participating in local competition for recreational purposes, without being paid to play and stay on the team. Managers and competition organizers from the targeted amateur soccer leagues were contacted to request their cooperation for the present study. After obtaining approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), the primary researcher separately met the three competition organizers (one for Study 1, two for Study 2) and two managers (Study 2). Potential participants for Study 1 (approximately 110) were contacted in person and potential participants for Study 2 (approximately 340) were contacted at a team meeting or competition and later via e-mail.

Study 1. Participants were recruited from a soccer tournament of the Korean American sport competition. This sport competition is popular among Korean immigrants residing in the U.S. and most teams practice months for this competition. Many recreational athletes stay on the same team across several seasons. This is reflected by years spent on the same team (M = 4.68; SD = 4.06). Eight teams participating in the competition were met by the primary researcher. They were asked to voluntarily participate, and six of the eight teams participated. Participants completed questionnaires that included a demographic and soccer background questionnaire, the GEQ, the CSAI-2, and the SCAT immediately before competition. Of the 55 recreational athletes who agreed to participate, seven did not complete all of the questionnaires and one was excluded due to

lack of English fluency (i.e., less than 4 [good] on a 6-point Likert scale [from poor to excellent] for those whose primary language is not English) and therefore were not included in subsequent analyses.

The 47 participants were all male soccer players, including two Caucasians (4%), one African American (2%), and 44 Asians (94%; dominantly Koreans) regarding race/ethnicity. Because it was assumed that there would be participants whose primary language was not English, primary language and English fluency were examined. It was found that 22 participants used English as their primary language, 23 participants used Korean and two participants used other languages as their primary language. All scored at least 4 (good) on the 6-point rating of English fluency except for the one who was dropped from subsequent analyses.

Their ages ranged from 18 to 51 years old (M = 27.26; SD = 7.57). Years of experience ranged from two to 40 years (M = 13.68; SD = 8.10), while years on the current team ranged from 0 to 16 years (M = 4.68; SD = 4.06). On average, the perceived individual soccer skill was 4.11, and their mean team skill level was 4.32 on a 6-point Likert scale. Their perceived importance of the competition was 4.51 on a 6-point Likert scale with higher scores reflecting higher skills and importance.

Study 2. Participants in community recreational soccer leagues were recruited for Study 2. Most of the recreational athletes stay on the same team from season to season, as reflected in the years on their team (M = 3.8; SD = 4.05). The same teams participate in the same local recreational soccer leagues across seasons. All recreational athletes who agreed to participate were sent an e-mail that included an explanation of the study, informed consent, and a hyperlink to an electronic survey (Qualtrics). The survey included the same measures as in Study 1 - a demographic and soccer background questionnaire, the GEQ, the CSAI-2, and the SCAT. Reminder e-mails were sent twice to those who did not respond to the initial e-mail. It was emphasized that participation in the study was voluntary and confidential. Of the 114 recreational athletes who completed the online survey, 26 were excluded due to the incomplete surveys. Therefore, 88 participants were used for further analyses in Study 2.

The 88 participants in Study 2 were 79 male (89.8%) and nine female (10.2%) recreational soccer players who participated in local amateur soccer leagues. The leagues were co-ed with no minimum number of female players, but the large majority was male participants. Thus, the sample is representative of the leagues. A majority (68) of the participants identified as White/European (77.3%) and 11 others as Asian (12.5%), four as Black or African American (4.5%), four as Hispanic/Latino (3.4%), one as American Indian or Alaska Native (1.1%) and one other (1.1%). The average age of participants was 36.2 years old (SD = 11.78; range = 20 - 66).

The average years of experience was 22.9 (*SD* = 12.17; range = 1 - 60), while years on the current team was 3.8 (*SD* = 4.05; range = 0 - 22). On average, the perceived individual soccer skill was 4.0, and their mean team skill level was 3.8 on a 5-point Likert scale. Their perceived importance of the competition was 3.9 on a 5-point Likert scale with higher scores indicating higher skills and importance. In terms of team practice other than scheduled league matches, 72.7% answered 'never' and 14.8% answered 'less than once a week' while 12.5% indicated that they practice once or more than once a week. Concerning the most important reason to participate on the current soccer team, more than half of the participants (54.5%) answered 'to have fun.' The other reasons were 'for the competition' (19.3%), 'to socialize with others' (10.2%), and 'to improve soccer skills and move to higher levels' (3.4%) as their reason to participate. Interestingly, several participants chose other (12.5%), reporting that fitness or combination of fitness, fun and socialization was the reason to participate on the current soccer team.

Measures

Demographic and soccer background questionnaire. Demographic information on participants was collected using the demographic questionnaire. Demographic items included gender, age, and race/ethnicity. The soccer-related items included years of experience, years on the current team, perceived skill level, and importance of the competition for the current team. Frequency of practice for the current team and the most important reason for participating on the current team were asked as well. Demographic and soccer-related information were used to better understand the individuals and teams in the present study.

Group Environment Questionnaire. Cohesion was assessed with the Group Environment Questionnaire (GEQ; Carron et al., 1985). The GEQ consists of four dimensions of cohesion. Five items assess Group Integration-Task (GI-T; e.g., "Our team is united in trying to reach its goals for performance"), four items assess Group Integration-Social (GI-S; e.g., "Members of our team do not stick together outside of practices or games"), four items assess Individual Attractions to the Group-Task (ATG-T; e.g., "I do not like the style of play on this team"), and five items assess Individual Attractions to the Group-Social (ATG-S; e.g., "I do not enjoy being a part of the social activities of this team"). Participants marked a 9-point Likert scale anchored at the extremes by strongly agree (9) and strongly disagree (1). In this measure, higher scores indicate higher perceptions of cohesion. Previous research has supported its validity and internal consistency (Brawley et al., 1987; Carron et al., 2002; Carron, Widmeyer, & Brawley, 1985). Reliability for all measures in the current study is included in the results section.

Sport Competition Anxiety Test. Competitive trait anxiety was assessed with the Sport Competition Anxiety Test (SCAT; Martens, 1977). The SCAT was developed to measure the predisposition to become anxious in sport competition. The SCAT includes 10 items with three responses (hardly ever, sometimes, or often) that indicate how respondents usually feel when in sport competitions (e.g., "When I compete, I worry about making mistakes"). The possible range of scores is from a low of 10 to a high of 30, which reflects the highest competitive A-trait. Research supports the concurrent, predictive, and construct validity of the SCAT as a measure of competitive A-trait (Martens, 1977; Ostrow & Ziegler, 1978).

Competitive State Anxiety Inventory-2. The Competitive State Anxiety Inventory-2 (CSAI-2; Martens et al., 1990) was used to assess competitive state anxiety levels (how participants feel at the moment). The CSAI-2 consists of three dimensions: cognitive anxiety, which measures conscious awareness of unpleasant feelings about oneself or the situation, somatic anxiety, which measures awareness of bodily symptoms of the autonomic nervous system, and self-confidence, which measures the degree of certainty that athletes feel about their ability to be successful. The CSAI-2 has 27 items presented on a four-point scale anchored at extremes by not at all (1) and extremely (4). Higher scores represent higher levels of cognitive anxiety (e.g., "I am concerned about losing"), somatic anxiety (e.g., "I feel my stomach sinking"), and self-confidence (e.g., "I'm confident about performing well"). Previous research supports validity and reliability through correlations between the CSAI-2 subcomponents and other anxiety measures (Martens et al., 1990). In the present study, self-confidence was not used as this scale is not considered a dimension of A-state.

Role play scenario. Study 1 participants completed measures prior to competition, but for Study 2, participants completed a role play scenario that asked them to think about a situation when they are about to compete in the competition with their teams. The role play scenario was used due to the unique features of recreational sport teams. Many participants come to the competition individually, often at the last minute, which hinders survey administration before competition.

A role play scenario has often been implemented in a variety of fields including sport and exercise psychology to assess emotion appraisal by recalling personal experience or relating it to a hypothetical scenario (e.g., Jones & Uphill, 2004; Levine, 1996; Ntoumanis & Biddle, 2000). Some researchers have used scenarios in competitive A-state research (Hanin, 2007; Levine, 1996).

In the scenario, a brief description of a soccer competition followed by specific instructions was provided to help the participants visualize their most recent important game and elicit thoughts and

feelings in that situation at that moment. Participants were asked to imagine how they would react in that specific situation. This hypothetical scenario was designed according to instructions used by Ntoumanis and Biddle (2000) and Jones and Uphill (2004). Then, participants were asked to complete the CSAI-2 based on their feelings in the scenario. The GEQ and the SCAT were completed first, and then the CSAI-2 was completed with the role play scenario.

Results

Results are presented for both studies starting with reliabilities and descriptive analysis results followed by correlation and regression analyses.

Reliabilities

Initially, internal consistency was examined for all scales (see Table 1). All internal consistency values were acceptable except for ATG-S (Study 1, $\alpha = .37$; Study 2, $\alpha = .32$) that showed substantially low internal consistency. Also, GI-S had a low reliability in Study 1 ($\alpha = .59$), but acceptable reliability in Study 2 ($\alpha = .67$). Thus, ATG-S was eliminated from regression analyses in both studies. The GI-S was retained, but the marginal reliabilities suggest caution in interpretation. All other internal consistency values were similar in both studies.

Correlations

Pearson's correlation analysis was conducted first to examine relationships of sub-dimensions of the GEQ with sub-components of the CSAI-2 (cognitive A-state and somatic A-state) and competitive A-trait. The results of correlation analyses are presented in Table 2. As expected, GEQ dimensions were negatively correlated with cognitive and somatic A-state in both studies, indicating that higher scores on cohesion dimensions were associated with lower levels of cognitive and somatic A-state. However, in Study 1, only somatic A-state was significantly related to ATG-T, while task-oriented cohesion (ATG-T and GI-T) was significantly correlated with both cognitive and somatic A-state in Study 2 (see Table 2).

Stepwise Multiple Regression

In each study, two separate stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the contribution of the cohesion sub-components in predicting cognitive and somatic A-state; cognitive and somatic A-state were the criterion variables, while the three GEQ sub-components (ATG-T, GI-T and GI-S) were entered in the multiple regression model as the predictor variables.

In Study 1, no significant multiple regression was found because no correlations were high enough to enter into the equation predicting cognitive A-state. In Study 2, a significant result was found, $R^2 = .12$, $F(1, 86) = 12.12$, $p < .001$, with the multiple correlation coefficient of .35 and approximately 12% of the variance in

cognitive A-state accounted for by ATG-T. ATG-T was the only predictor that accounted for a significant amount of variance in cognitive A-state, indicating that recreational soccer players with higher ATG-T have lower cognitive A-state.

The stepwise multiple regression model with somatic A-state as the criterion variable produced similar results in both studies; $R^2 = .13$, $F(1, 45) = 6.91$, $p < .05$ in Study 1 and $R^2 = .08$, $F(1, 86) = 7.81$, $p < .01$ in Study 2. The results of the analysis indicated that the multiple correlation coefficient was .37 in Study 1 and .29 in Study 2, respectively reflecting approximately 13% and 8% of the variance in somatic A-state. In both studies, only ATG-T had a unique contribution to the prediction of somatic A-state.

Hierarchical Multiple Regression

Subsequently, two sets of hierarchical multiple regression analyses in each study were carried out with competitive A-state as the dependent variable to test the hypothesis that the GEQ sub-components add to the prediction of cognitive and somatic A-state beyond the contribution of competitive A-trait. Competitive A-trait was the first variable entered, followed by the GEQ subcomponents with the stepwise method, based on theory and previous research.

The hierarchical multiple regression models with cognitive A-state as the dependent variable first indicated that competitive A-trait contributed significantly to the regression model in both studies; $R^2 = .11$, $F(1, 45) = 5.28$, $p < .05$ in Study 1 and $R^2 = .37$, $F(1, 86) = 51.05$, $p < .001$ in Study 2. In the second step, the only significant predictor of cognitive A-state was ATG-T in both studies; $\Delta R^2 = .10$, $\beta = -.31$, $t = -2.29$, F change $(1, 44) = 5.25$, $p < .05$ in Study 1, and $\Delta R^2 = .06$, $\beta = -.26$, $t = -3.09$, F change $(1, 85) = 9.57$, $p < .005$ in Study 2. ATG-T explained an additional 10% and 6% of variation in cognitive A-state beyond the contribution of competitive A-trait. That is, the prediction of cognitive A-state was significantly improved by adding ATG-T beyond the contribution of competitive A-trait.

The second set of hierarchical multiple regression models with somatic A-state as the dependent variable also showed that competitive A-trait contributed significantly to the regression model in both studies; $R^2 = .17$, $F(1, 45) = 9.14$, $p < .005$ in Study 1 and $R^2 = .59$, $F(1, 86) = 121.72$, $p < .001$ in Study 2. As predicted, after controlling for competitive A-trait, ATG-T made a significant contribution to predicting somatic A-state in both studies; $\Delta R^2 = .16$, $\beta = -.41$, $t = -3.29$, F change $(1, 44) = 10.82$, $p < .005$ in Study 1, and $\Delta R^2 = .03$, $\beta = -.16$, $t = -2.39$, F change $(1, 85) = 5.71$, $p < .05$ in Study 2. No other subcomponent of GEQ contributed significantly to the prediction of somatic A-state (See Table 3 and 4).

Discussion

The aim of the present study was to determine the relationship between cohesion and competitive A-state among amateur soccer players. Specifically, the contribution of cohesion to the prediction of competitive A-state was examined. In addition, the relationship between cohesion and competitive A-state was investigated, while also including competitive A-trait as a predictor. It was hypothesized that ATG-T and GI-T would be negatively associated with cognitive and somatic A-state. Pearson's correlation analysis indicated that the three cohesion variables (ATG-T, GI-T, and GI-S) were negatively related to cognitive and somatic A-state in both studies, with ATG-T demonstrating the strongest relationships with both somatic A-state and cognitive A-state. The findings suggest that when task cohesion (ATG-T, GI-T) is high in sport teams, team members may have low pre-competition anxiety. Prapavessis and Carron (1996) and Eys et al. (2003) showed similar correlations between cohesion variables and competitive A-state variables.

It is meaningful to note that most participants (87.5%) in the second study reported that they never practice or practice less than once a week as a team. Only 12.5% of the participants reported that they practice more than once a week. This comes as no surprise in that more than half of the participants (54.5%) indicated that their primary reason to play for their current team was to have fun. The other reasons to participate on their current team were the competition, social interaction, fitness, and combinations of these. Only 3.4% of participants reported that their main reason to play for their team is to improve their soccer skills and move to higher levels.

Stepwise multiple regression results provide partial support for the hypothesis that ATG-T and GI-T predict competitive A-state. ATG-T accounted for significant variance in cognitive (approximately 12%) and somatic A-state (approximately 8%). However, GI-T was not a significant predictor of competitive A-state. The findings were consistent with Prapavessis and Carron's (1996) finding that ATG-T and cognitive A-state had the strongest relationship among cohesion variables and competitive A-state variables.

The findings from the hierarchical multiple regression analyses showed that A-trait was a strong predictor of A-state, as expected. This finding confirms that competitive A-trait is the best predictor of A-state (Gill & Martens, 1977; Martens et al., 1990; Smith et al., 1998). Furthermore, ATG-T contributed to the prediction of cognitive and somatic A-state beyond the variance explained by competitive A-trait. Again, competitive A-state was not predicted by any other dimensions of cohesion. That is, ATG-T is the most important cohesion component in the relationship between cohesion and competitive A-state.

ATG-T was the main cohesion attribute to influence competitive A-state in the

present study and the findings are in line with previous research (Eys et al., 2003; Prapavessis & Carron, 1996). One possible reason for this can be found from participants' soccer background information. Primary motivation to participate on the current team was apparently pertinent to task-related characteristics (e.g., enjoying the game and participation in competition). ATG-T items such as "I do not like the style of play on this team" or "I'm not happy with the amount of playing time I get" reflect these motives among recreational soccer players. Perception of anxiety results from interpretation of a disparity between environmental demands and intrapersonal characteristics (Lazarus, 1991; Martens et al., 1990). It is probable that when high task cohesion (ATG-T) is present, intrinsic motivation for participation in sport competition may be satisfied, and thus, little anxiety is perceived by recreational soccer participants. On the other hand, when this motivation is not met (e.g., few opportunities to play), negative feelings may increase. Another possible explanation for this finding is that psychological costs (e.g., psychological stress experienced from sport teams) may be diminished when individuals hold high levels of task cohesion (Prapavessis & Carron, 1996). Specifically, the perceived pressure of responsibility may be reduced in highly task cohesive sport teams. Further, Eys et al. (2002) viewed "the pressure to carry out responsibilities and satisfy the expectations of others as task oriented activities" (p. 68).

In contrast to the hypothesis, GI-T was not a significant predictor of competitive A-state. It is difficult to understand why competitive A-state was not predicted by GI-T. One possible explanation is that GI-T was highly correlated with ATG-T and moderately correlated with competitive A-trait. Possibly, shared variance of GI-T with ATG-T prevented the significant contribution of GI-T to the regression model. Also, it may be that the GI-T scale is not very accurate for recreational soccer players. For instance, Cronbach's Alpha of GI-T was fairly low ($\alpha = .64$). In particular, participants had divergent responses to some items about practice. Because it was found that the majority of participants have little or no practice, these items might not be pertinent. Along with little or no weekly team practice, reconstitution of teams in every competition may have affected GI-T; team membership was relatively stable with some teams whereas turnover was higher on other teams. The wide range of years spent on the current team in both Study 1 (range: 0 to 16; M= 4.68; SD=4.06) and Study 2 (range: 0 to 22; M= 3.8; SD=4.05) could have masked the results. Carron et al. (1998) stated that team members who stick to the group for a long time may be more receptive to group involvement than newcomers. However, it should be noted that constitution and reconstitution of teams in recreational soccer competitions are common. Future research may aim for a

larger sample, which allows for controlling for years on the current team.

As expected, social cohesion did not contribute to the relationship between cohesion and competitive A-state. That is, social cohesion does not increase nor decrease competitive A-state. This result is in keeping with Prapavessis and Carron's (1996) findings of no relationship between social aspects of cohesion and competitive A-state variables. One possible explanation for this may be that social cohesion is an irrelevant factor to conditions that elicit stress. In the case of social cohesion, most recreational soccer players did not participate in the competition for the social purposes and may not perceive social cohesion as relevant to A-state responses. In support of this, only approximately 10.2% of the participants reported that they play for the current team to socialize. Another possible explanation may be due to an indirect link of social cohesion with sport competition. For instance, GI-S items do not imply any sport competition context (e.g., our team members rarely party together), while ATG-T items have more direct relevance for sport competition (e.g., I'm not happy with the amount of playing time I get). Therefore, the context of items might impact the extent to which cohesion and competitive A-state are related.

In spite of the findings demonstrating the significant association between task cohesion and competitive A-state as well as the contribution of ATG-T in predicting competitive A-state, this study has several limitations. First, most participants were male (89.8%) with only 10.2% female participants in Study 2. However, it should be noted that no significant difference in cohesion and anxiety was found between male and female participants. When correlation, stepwise and hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed without female participants, the same results were found; ATG-T was the main predictor of competitive A-state and no other cohesion variables added a unique contribution to the prediction.

Second, there were some potential confounding variables for the relationship of cohesion to competitive anxiety. Specifically, experience and age ranges were wide in the current sample, and both have been found to be correlated to competitive A-state (Gould et al., 1984). Older and more experienced participants may have less competitive A-state at recreational competitive level. Even though participants noted a fairly high level of importance of the competition, the level of importance for recreational sports is different from professional sports and may have differently affected the level of anxiety experienced by participants. This could have affected the findings of this study. Sample size did not allow for control of age and experience in the current research, but it is suggested that experience and age be controlled in future studies. Although this study renders better understanding of a specific sport group and the sample used in this study was purposefully chosen, the findings of this

study might not generalize to populations with different characteristics, such as age, skill level, experience and gender. Such personal attributes might alter cohesion-anxiety relationships.

Third, some dimensions of cohesion had fairly low reliability. In particular, ATG-S (Study 1, $\alpha = .37$; Study 2, $\alpha = .32$) was lower than acceptable and so removed from further analyses. GI-S (Study 1, $\alpha = .59$; Study 2, $\alpha = .67$) was low, but kept for further analyses as it was close to acceptable reliability. It should be noted that the Cronbach's Alpha results in the present research were similar to those reported by Prapavessis and Carron (1996). Cronbach's Alpha of ATG-S ($\alpha = .40$) was lower than adequate and removed from further analyses in Prapavessis and Carron's (1996) study. Salminen and Luhtanen (1998) also reported low internal consistency values. But, as Carron et al. (2002) pointed out, low reliabilities on some dimensions of cohesion are not all unexpected flukes because cohesion is a dynamic multifaceted construct. Nunnally (1978) suggested that acceptable reliability is around $\alpha = .70$ and the Cronbach's Alpha values in our study are close to $\alpha = .70$.

Fourth, it is obvious that the present study cannot infer any causal relationship between cohesion and competitive A-state. Despite the clear association between cohesion and competitive A-state, the research did not address how cohesion variables impact subcomponents of competitive A-state. Therefore, future research should employ experimental designs to examine whether manipulated team cohesion influences subsequent levels of competitive A-state. For instance, it is possible that a cohesion intervention could be used to lower competitive A-state, and in turn, foster continued participation in sport. Moreover, longitudinal designs may help researchers find out potential mechanisms for the effects of cohesion on individual anxiety.

Future research may further explore the complex relationships of cohesion and a wider range of affect states. Terry et al. (2000) found a positive association between cohesion and vigor and a negative association between cohesion and depression, anger, and tension. Also, it has been proposed by some researchers that anxiety may include a wide spectrum of affective states with some potentially positive aspects of anxiety (Cheng & Hardy, 2016; Cheng, Hardy, & Markland, 2009). Finally, Eys et al. (2003) found that high task cohesion is associated with positive interpretation of pre-competition symptoms.

Conducing follow-up interviews in future research may provide more in-depth understanding of the role of cohesion in individual anxiety among recreational athletes. Some researchers have used qualitative methods to advance understanding of complex phenomenon of anxiety and stress in the context of competition (Mellalieu, Neil, Hanton & Fletcher, 2009; Neil, Mellalieu, & Hanton,

2009). Given that the features of cohesion and anxiety that are ever-evolving and dynamic make it difficult to study, observing processes of athlete's experience may contribute to fuller understanding of cohesion-anxiety relationships.

Despite the limitations, the findings from this study have important implications. Cohesion was related to competitive state anxiety beyond the prediction of competitive trait anxiety. The results of this study show that task cohesion has a negative relationship with competitive A-state in recreational sport level participants. Additionally, ATG-T predicted a significant proportion of competitive A-state beyond the contribution of competitive A-trait, indicating that ATG-T was the only relevant variable to competitive A-state at a recreational competition level. The findings of this study suggest that amateur soccer players who perceive high ATG-T experience lower competitive A-state. Additionally, the current findings extend our understanding of the relationship between cohesion and competitive anxiety beyond elite athletes to recreational athletes. Most recreational soccer athletes participate for fun, competition, and social interaction. It is likely that individual goals are satisfied with high perception of ATG-T, which may reduce competitive A-state.

The findings provide an important stepping stone for research on recreational athletes. Research on cohesion and anxiety has often pertained to performance. Given the larger number of people engaging in recreational team sports over the past few years opposed to slightly decreasing number of participants in individual sports (Physical Activity Council, 2016), more attention should be placed on individual experiences in recreational team sports. Cohesion has been found to be associated with adherence behavior in sport (Spink & Carron, 1993). It has also been found that negative affect leads to drop out or burnout (Smith, 1986). Thus, if competitive anxiety diminishes fun, which in turn results in dropout, then cohesion may help recreational athletes have fun and stick to sports. Future research on the relationship of cohesion interventions to competitive A-state may help clarify models and potential mechanisms for the correlation of cohesion with pre-competition anxiety responses, and thus enhance our understanding of group dynamics in sport.

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Tables and Appendix

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviation, and Reliability Results for All Variables

	Study 1		Study 2	
	M (SD)	Reliability	*M (SD)*	Reliability
ATG-T	28.30 (6.91)	.76	29.88 (6.20)	.76
ATG-S	22.72 (5.52)	.37	28.22 (6.22)	.32
GI-T	25.02 (5.42)	.62	31.44 (6.72)	.64
GI-S	23.28 (5.79)	.59	21.43 (6.50)	.67
Cognitive A-state	17.26 (5.64)	.87	16.56 (5.51)	.89
Somatic A-state	16.19 (5.20)	.85	15.75 (5.79)	.92
A-trait	18.51 (4.54)	.82	17.20 (4.69)	.79

Table 2

Pearson Correlation Results for All Variables

	ATG-T	ATG-S	GI-T	GI-S	Cognitive A-state	Somatic A-state	A-trait
ATG-T	-	.43**	.57**	.46**	-.28	-.37**	.09
ATG-S	.36**	-	.35*	.51**	-.12	-.08	.20
GI-T	.56**	.38**	-	.48**	-.09	-.12	.27
GI-S	.22*	.55**	.34**	-	-.27	-.32*	.10
Cognitive A-state	-.35**	-.10	-.23*	-.05	-	.71**	.32*
Somatic A-state	-.29**	-.08	-.24*	-.05	.72**	-	.41*
A-trait	-.17	-.07	-.24*	-.01	.61**	.77**	-

**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

Study 1: above diagonal/ study 2: below diagonal

Table 3

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results for SCAT, GEQ-CSAI – Study 1

Cognitive A-state regression model
Step1: A-trait only
Model: $R = .32$, $F\ (1, 45) = 5.28^{*}$
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .32$, $t = 2.30^{*}$
Step 2: A-trait + ATG-T, GI-T and GI-S
Model: $R = .45$, $F\ (2, 44) = 5.51^{**}$
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .35$, $t = 2.61^{*}$
Predictor: ATG-T: $\beta = -.31$, $t = -2.29^{*}$
Somatic A-state regression model
Step1: A-trait only
Model: $R = .41$, $F\ (1, 45) = 9.14^{**}$
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .41$, $t = 3.02^{**}$
Step 2: A-trait + ATG-T, GI-T and GI-S
Model: $R = .58$, $F\ (2, 44) = 10.98^{***}$
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .45$, $t = 3.63^{***}$
Predictor: ATG-T: $\beta = -.41$, $t = -3.29^{**}$
Predictor variables: A-trait, ATG-T, GI-T and GI-S

$^{*}p < .05$.

$^{**}p < .01$.

$^{***}p < .001$.

Table 4

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Results for SCAT, GEQ-CSAI – Study 2

Cognitive A-state regression model
Step1: A-trait only
Model: $R = .61$, $F(1, 86) = 51.05^{***}$
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .61$, $t = 7.15^{***}$
Step 2: A-trait + ATG-T, GI-T and GI-S
Model: $R = .66$, $F(2, 85) = 32.85^{***}$
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .57$, $t = 6.86^{***}$
Predictor: ATG-T: $\beta = -.26$, $t = -3.09^{**}$
Somatic A-state regression model
Step1: A-trait only
Model: $R = .77$, $F(1,86) = 121.72^{***}$
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .77$, $t = 11.03^{***}$
Step 2: A-trait + ATG-T, GI-T and GI-S
Model: $R = .78$, $F(2, 85) = 67.05$***
Predictor: A-trait: $\beta = .74$, $t = 10.76^{***}$
Predictor: ATG-T: $\beta = -.16$, $t = -2.39^{*}$

Predictor variables: ATG-T, GI-T and GI-S

$^{*}p < .05$.

$^{**}p < .01$.

$^{***}p < .001$.

Appendix

Modified Competitive State Anxiety Inventory-2 (CSAI-2)

Instructions: Please read the scenario below. **Use this scenario and try to put yourself into the situation** to answer the following questions.

Soccer competition scenario

Now imagine you and your teammates are getting ready for the most important competition. You look around the field and see that some of your teammates are wearing soccer cleats while others are passing the ball around. The opponent team players are warming up at the opposite half of the field. While you are warming up, one of your teammates asks "Are you ready for the game?" The referees are walking to the center circle and the opponent team is gathering to the center of the field. The game is now about to start. **Think about how you feel in that situation, right at that moment.**

Instructions: A number of statements that athlete use to describe their feelings before competition are given below. Read each statement and then circle the appropriate number to indicate how you feel **in the above situation right at that moment, in the most important game**. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any one statement, but choose the answer that best describes how you feel right at that moment.

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¿Por qué jugar? Sport socialization among Hispanic/Latina female NCAA division I student-athletes

Lindsey Darvin[1] Alicia Cintron[2]
Meg Hancock[3]

[1]*University of Florida*
[2]*University of Cincinnati*
[3]*University of Louisville*

Participation of Hispanics/Latinas in intercollegiate athletics is scarce. During the 2014-2015 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) athletic season, only 2.2 percent of all female Division I student-athlete's identified as Hispanic or Latina (NCAA, 2015). This low percentage of Hispanic/Latina female participants calls into question how these young women become involved in athletics and sustain their involvement within sport. While previous research has examined the socialization processes of youth athletes and parents of youth athlete participants, there is little research aimed at examining these processes for elite-level athlete participants (Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2015; Greendorfer, Blinde, & Pellegrini, 1986;). Thus, this study examined the potential factors that contributed to consistent sport participation for an elite group of Hispanic/Latina female athletes throughout their youth and collegiate careers. Participants for this study identified as current NCAA Division I Hispanic/Latina female student-athletes. Results showed that family, specifically parents and siblings, contributed to socializing Hispanic/Latina athletes into sport, while family and coaches contributed to the persistence of their athletic endeavors. Findings also show a sense of cultural indifference, youth coaches who invested in the participants long-term, and a significant involvement of the patriarch of the family in their athletic success.

Hispanics/Latinos are currently the largest and fastest growing ethnic minority in the United States, comprising 17 percent of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Similarly, in higher education,

Hispanics/Latinos represent 16.5 percent of undergraduate and graduate level students enrolled in colleges or universities in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Considering the population of Hispanic/Latino college students nearly mirrors the Hispanic/Latino population in the United States, one might expect to see similar representation in intercollegiate athletic participation. Instead, only 4.6 percent of all Division I student-athlete's identified as Hispanic/Latino during the 2014-2015 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) athletic season (NCAA, 2015). For female Hispanic/Latina participants, this representation drops to a meager 2.2 percent. Further, Hispanic/Latina women represent just 4.5 percent of the total population of female Division I student-athletes (NCAA, 2015). Given that the Hispanic/Latino enrollment percentage within institutions of higher education nearly mimics the overall population (16.5%), presumably athletic programs should subsequently aim to represent similar percentages.

While there has been a tremendous increase in athletic participation opportunities for girls and women following the passage of Title IX, the low percentage of Hispanic/Latina female student-athletes suggests that varying demographics of women have not benefited equally from federal policy changes. Although reports have indicated a steady increase in the total number of NCAA Division I women's programs through 2014 (e.g., Acosta & Carpenter, 2014), it is evident that Hispanic/Latina women have not experienced the same levels of advancement within intercollegiate athletics as women within other racial groups.

There is room to improve upon the opportunities presented to this population of athletes given the percentage of Hispanic/Latina Division I student-athletes is drastically lower than both the population growth and college enrollment statistics. For this reason, researchers should examine the experiences of youth Hispanic/Latina athletes (e.g., Dawes, Modecki, & Gonzales; 2015; Dorsch et al., 2015; Erkut, Fields, Sing, & Marx, 1996; Erkut & Tracy, 2002; Greendorfer et al., 1986), and also aim to uncover the potential factors that may have contributed to Hispanic/Latina student-athlete success in their sport endeavors. Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative investigation was to analyze the sport-related experiences and subsequent socialization processes of current NCAA Division I Hispanic/Latina student-athletes. Specifically, the small percentage of female Hispanic/Latina Division I student-athletes warranted an examination focused solely on this demographic.

Through an analysis of both amateur and professional athletes, previous research has utilized a similar socialization framework to investigate the overall motivations of Hispanic/Latino athlete participants. Findings have indicated that several factors including peers, parents, and coaches play critical roles in the

socialization, motivational and persistent participation processes (Camacho & Fuligni, 2015; Duffy, Lyons, Moran, Warrington, & MacManus, 2006; Keegan, Harwood, Spray, & Lavallee, 2013). Additionally, qualitative analyses have also been utilized to investigate the retrospective experiences of athletes in order to determine coaching style preferences (e.g., Horn, Bloom, Berglund, & Packard, 2011). Thus, this current study employed a similar framework as the researchers aimed to investigate the socialization processes for elite-level Hispanic/Latina athletes.

The importance of such an examination stems from the current gap in the literature aimed at retrospectively examining the success and persistent sport participation of intercollegiate Hispanic/Latina female athletes. Further, while previous research has examined the socialization processes of Hispanic/Latino youth athletes and youth athlete parents, there is little research aimed at examining these processes for elite-level athlete participants (e.g., Dawes, Modecki, & Gonzales; 2015; Dorsch et al., 2015; Erkut, Fields, Sing, & Marx, 1996; Erkut & Tracy, 2002; Greendorfer et al., 1986). Therefore, this current investigation will provide researchers and practitioners with evidence of successful socialization processes that can be encouraged in order to generate more meaningful and more consistent sport participation among Hispanic/Latina women in the future. Additionally, the researchers were specifically concerned with the socialization agents (e.g., parents, coaches, peers) that may have assisted Hispanic/Latina female athletes in reaching an elite-level of sport participation. In determining what contributes to these patterns of sport involvement, perhaps the current racial gaps that exist within NCAA Division I athletics can also begin to diminish.

Review of Literature

Sport Socialization

Social scientists have become increasingly concerned with children's participation in competitive sport and the outcomes from such experiences (Greendorfer et al., 1986). These investigations have established that children are introduced to sport through a socialization process defined as one "whereby individuals learn skills, traits, values, attitudes, norms, and knowledge associated with the performance of anticipated social roles" (McPherson & Brown, 1988, p. 267). Further, the sport socialization process has been conceptualized as containing three components: 1) socialization into sport, or the social and psychological influences (such as prevalent attitudes and values within the family or peer group) that shape an individual's initial attraction to sport; 2) socialization via sport, or the acquisition of attitudes, values, and knowledge as a consequence of sport involvement; and 3) socialization out of sport which involves those influences that contribute to an individual discontinuing his or her sport

participation (Brustad, 1992). For the purposes of the current study, the first and second components were considered as this investigation aimed to examine how elite-level (e.g., NCAA Division I) Hispanic/Latina female athletes began to play their sport and how participation has been maintained throughout their lives. If we can better understand these socialization processes, perhaps new generations of Hispanic/Latina participants may benefit from added encouragement and understanding of their sport selection and success. Further, given the trajectory of continuous Hispanic and Latina growth throughout the United States in coming years, practitioners (e.g. coaches) may benefit from a knowledge of the sport-related experiences of this population.

Previous investigations have determined that socialization into sport has been linked to a number of external factors. For example, Greendorfer and Ewing (1981) found mothers, brothers, sisters, and peers influenced African-American children towards sport. The same study found African-American girls were more influenced by teachers and sisters than their male counterparts (Greendorfer & Ewing). Additional research within this same scope has determined that peers are an important agent for stimulating interest in specific sports, while the family generates interest in traditional spectator sports (Kenyon & McPherson, 1973, 1974). According to Brustad (1992), these socialization influences are integrally related to a child's sport involvement. More specifically, socializing influences have been linked to sport involvement, self-perceptions of ability, and affective consequences of sport engagement.

Further, previous research has successfully applied the framework of socialization in order to examine the patterns of sport involvement (Brustad, 1992; McPherson & Brown, 1988). Interestingly, and also consistent with the need for additional examinations, differing socialization processes and social influences impact sport participation for people in varying demographic groups (Baeten, Claeys, Lameire, & Penninckx, 1978; Patriksson, 1979; Stensaasen, 1976). For example, Belgian sport participants tended to be influenced by parents, family members, peers, and teachers, while Norwegian sport participants were strongly influenced by socioeconomic factors (Baeten et al., 1978; Stensaasen, 1976). These examinations suggest differing socialization factors may have impacted, and may continue to impact, Hispanic/Latina female athletes who now compete at the NCAA Division I level.

Outside of the competitive sport context, socialization processes have been investigated throughout both leisure and recreational sport participation as researchers have focused on the importance of a healthy lifestyle through consistent engagement with physical activity (Hohepa, Scragg, Schofield, Kolt, & Schaaf, 2007). In general, it has been determined that factors

such as parental and peer influences play a role in the decision-making process of physical activity and sport engagement for adolescent participants (Brustad, 1996). Findings have also indicated that encouragement from friends, siblings, parents, and school related officials are all factors in consistent physical activity engagement (Hohepa et. al., 2007) . Thus, it would appear that regardless of the type of activity, competitive or recreational, similar processes of socialization are important determinants in adolescent engagement.

Examinations of socialization processes throughout varying levels of sport have also been linked to sport participation motivation for adolescents. Similar to the initial socialization processes that introduce adolescents into sport, findings have indicated that several factors including peers, parents, and coaches play roles in the motivational and persistent participation processes (Camacho & Fuligni, 2015; Duffy, Deirdre, Moran, Warrington, & MacManus, 2006; Keegan, Harwood, Spray, & Lavallee, 2013). The overlap among the socialization processes that aid in the introduction, selection, motivation, and persistence within sport participation suggest similar findings may be present across varying ethnic and culturally diverse sport participant groups.

The importance of the aforementioned socialization investigations can be better understood through the many positive outcomes that have been associated with adolescent sport involvement. For example, previous research has found in both childhood and adolescence, participation in organized activity (including sport), has been associated with positive academic, psychological, and social adjustments (Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2007; Fredricks & Eccles, 2010; Simpkins, Eccles, & Becnel, 2008). Specific to the current study, for Hispanic/Latino youth, participation in organized activities has been linked to outcomes such as school bonding and retention (Diaz, 2005). Further, Latino youth participation in extracurricular activities, including sport, has been shown to enhance self-esteem, social behavior, emotional regulation, and ethnic identity, which are all important aspects used by Latino youth to cope with negative experiences such as discrimination (Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012; Umana-Taylor, Vargas-Chanes, Garcia, & Gonzales-Backen, 2008). In order to ensure all individuals have access to such positive outcomes, it is important that we better understand how socialization processes contribute to persistent organized activity involvement (i.e., sport) for Hispanic/Latina individuals.

Hispanic/Latina Sport Socialization

Examinations of interest levels in extracurricular activities (i.e., sport) for Hispanic/Latina youth and young adults are rare and little is known regarding the trends in participation for Hispanic/Latina sport participants (Camacho et al., 2015; Dawes et al., 2015). More specifically, knowledge of participation consistency and drop off rates

for these participants is currently underdeveloped (Dawes et al., 2015; Simpkins, Delgado, Price, Quach, & Starbuck, 2013). Moreover, the factors that facilitate participation for Hispanic/Latina youth and young adults have not been sufficiently investigated (Fredricks & Eccles, 2010; Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012).

The few studies that have examined sport participation among Hispanic/Latina female athletes have focused primarily on Latina girls and their engagement with middle and high school level sports, while ignoring persistent sport participation for young adult and elite-level competitors. Such research has indicated that Latina girls were as likely to identify sports as an activity that made them feel good about themselves, similar to girls from other racial/ethnic backgrounds (Erkut et al., 1996). On the other hand, Erkut and Tracy (2002) later found that within Latina subgroups (i.e., Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican), girls actually reported lower involvement in sport activities, lower self-esteem, and lower scores on physical well-being than did boys. Though both studies show opposing findings, it is important to note the shift in how sport participation was being perceived by Hispanic/Latina girls. Similar studies, though not specific to Hispanic/Latina females, have investigated sport involvement for young Hispanic/Latino boys. Faircloth and Hamm (2005) determined that Latino boys participate in sport due to its focus on peer relationships and the development of friendships. Additionally, Gonzales, Jackson, and Regoli (2006) found Latino boys have often been socialized to believe their involvement with sport can provide educational and economic opportunities. Through further examinations of Hispanic/Latina elite-level sport participation, perhaps additional and subsequently more consistent socialization influences will be revealed.

Beyond competitive sport environments, socialization processes specific to Hispanic/Latino youth have also been found to impact motivation towards physical activity engagement (Arredondo, Elder, Ayala, Campbell, Baquero, & Duerksen, 2006). Specifically, parents that utilize positive reinforcement tactics have been found to positively influence this specific demographic of youth in their physical activity and well-being engagement (Arredondo et. al., 2006). Additionally, research aimed at investigating the physical activity motivation and engagement of Hispanic/Latino youth has examined patterns of engagement from a cultural perspective (Evenson, Sarmiento, & Ayala, 2004). Findings have indicated that Hispanic/Latina females who enter the United States prior to the age of 25 are more likely to participate in physical activity (Evenson et. al., 2004). Further, it has been determined that first generation Hispanic/Latino individuals with higher levels of English language mastery were more likely to participate in physical activity (Evenson et. al., 2004). These findings are indeed impactful given that Hispanic/Latina

females report some of the lowest levels of physical activity engagement across varying demographic groups (Larsen, Pekmezi, Marquez, Benitez, & Marcus, 2013).

Overall, investigations of both sport and physical activity socialization processes for Hispanic/Latina youth are minimal, and investigations of sport socialization processes for Hispanic/Latina elite athletes are nonexistent. Therefore, research should be extended to examine sustained sport involvement for elite-level female athletes. Based on the current gap within the literature, this study examined sport socialization of female Hispanic/Latina athletes through the guidance of three distinct research questions:

Research Question 1: How do NCAA Division I Hispanic/Latina females develop interest in playing a sport?

Research Question 2: What specific factors influence the selection of a sport for NCAA Division I Hispanic/Latina athletes?

Research Question 3: What factors contribute to persistence in sport participation for NCAA Division I Hispanic/Latina athletes?

Method

Research Design

The purpose of this study was to investigate the sport socialization process for Hispanic/Latina NCAA Division I student-athletes. The central question guiding this investigaion was, how do Hispanic/Latina NCAA Division I student-athletes discover and sustain playing sport throughout their youth and collegiate careers? This study utilized a qualitative design and a phenomenological approach which "describes the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon" (Creswell, 2013, p. 76). The focus of phenomenological studies is to describe what all of the participants have in common as they experience a common phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). The phenomenon under investigation was related to how Hispanic/Latina women began playing sports and how they maintained a level of participation that afforded them an eventual position on an elite team. More specifically, a hermeneutical phenomenological approach was emphasized in this study as it focused on the lived experiences of the participants and interpreted the "texts" of their lives (Creswell, 2013). The structural description found in a phenomenological approach also helped answer the "how" of the phenomenon, which was the central question of this study.

Qualitative research implies a few important philosophical assumptions: 1) qualitative researchers assume multiple realities are formed (ontological) or dependent on the subjective experiences of the people studied (epistemological); 2) qualitative researchers proceed from the ground up collecting and analyzing data inductively (methodological), revealing their values and biases on their way up to a greater theory which would encompass all the findings (axiological) (Creswell, 2013).

Therefore, it is crucial for the researchers to recognize their philosophical assumptions as they broached this sensitive topic of race, ethnicity, and familial life of a collegiate student athlete. To address these assumptions and to account for trustworthiness of the data analysis, the research team consisted of three women, two of which are former NCAA student-athletes, and one who identifies as Latina. The inclusion of three researchers on this project aided in the limitation of biases and provided three different perspectives to the data.

Sample

After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), participants were recruited for this study. Participants were selected using a homogenous sampling technique (Patton, 2002), as the researchers looked to examine the Hispanic/Latina NCAA Division I intercollegiate female student-athlete subgroup, specifically. Thus, participants had to identify as a female of Hispanic or Latina decent. According to the United States Office of Management and Budget, a person of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity is "a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race" (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d., para. 2).

Study participants had to have participated in an elite level of play. For the purposes of this investigation, the elite level of sport participation was defined as competition at the NCAA Division I level. Given that many professional women's sports leagues are in their infancy, female athletes who compete at the intercollegiate level are often considered an elite class of athlete. For example, while a little over 3.2 million girls participated at the high school level during the 2014-2015 school year, only 1% of those same athletes competed at the NCAA Division I level in any sport (NCAA, 2016; NFHS, 2016). Therefore, the small percentages of Hispanic/Latina female athletes who have reached this level of sport competition are considered elite and successful in their sport endeavors. Thus, this population of athletes provided great insight into the socialization processes that have assisted a small number of Hispanic/Latina athletes to thrive in sport.

As previously stated, Hispanic/Latina represent less than 5 percent of all female student-athletes competing in NCAA Division I athletics (NCAA, 2015). Therefore, the sample for this study was challenging to identify and collect. For example, the sample population at one university utilized in this study had a reported 16 female student-athletes who identified as Hispanic/Latina, out of roughly 650 total student-athletes. After a number of participant recruiting tactics (e.g., sending emails, contacting academic advisors and assistant coaches), a final sample of seven athletes agreed to take part in the study. Incentives were provided to

the participants after they were interviewed to thank them for their assistance.

The final sample of participants varied in age, sport, and background. The participants played basketball (1), soccer (4), softball (1), or rowing (1). The participants were between the ages of 18 and 20, with an average age of 19.1 years. Three of the participants attended an institution in the southeastern United States that is a member of the Southeastern Conference (SEC), three of the participants attended an institution in the mid-west United States that is a member of the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), and one participant attended an institution in the mid-Atlantic United States that is a member of the Atlantic Sun Conference (ASUN). Participants self-identified as Mexican (n=3), Puerto Rican (n=1), Cuban (n=1), and mixed ethnicity (Puerto Rican and African-American; Cuban and Brazilian) (n=2). Four of the seven participants were first generation college students. Only one of the participants was born outside of the United States. Please see Table 1 for participant demographic information.

Data Source

Participants took part in semi-structured interviews that explored sport participation from childhood to college, factors influencing participation, and factors influencing persistence in sport participation. An interview protocol was developed based on a review of relevant literature. The protocol was designed to contain broad, open-ended questions allowing the participant to discuss their experiences as freely as possible with little to no guidance (Creswell, 2013). Initially, the interview protocol was tested through a field test where five NCAA Division I student-athletes who attend an institution in the SEC filled out a questionnaire that listed the initial interview questions. The interview protocol was adjusted per the feedback given during the initial field test. After the initial field test, a pilot study was conducted. The pilot study included two female NCAA Division I student-athletes who were interviewed in person. Per Creswell (2013), pilot test subjects were selected based on "convenience, access, and geographic proximity" (p. 165), as they were enrolled at the home university of one of the authors. The pilot study participants were interviewed using the adjusted protocol to refine the interview questions and procedure (Creswell, 2013). The pilot study protocol included questions such as, "Was sport the most emphasized activity in your life growing up," "Please describe the learning process of the skills used in your current sport," and "How did teachers, friends/peers, coaches, and/or neighbors influence your sport experience growing up." The interview protocol was once again adjusted per the pilot study, and was finalized based on the interviews and how the questions were understood, processed, and answered by the interviewees. The final protocol included open-ended questions designed to elicit more detailed responses

from the participants such as, "Describe how it was to be a child in your home growing up," "During your youth, was there a specific individual(s) that pushed you to continue playing the sport," and "Tell me about your early experiences with sport." Please refer to Appendix A for the final full interview protocol. Participants were given pseudonyms for the purpose of anonymity.

Data Analysis

Once the interview cycle was completed, the data was transcribed through a third party transcription company and reviewed by the researchers for accuracy. The researchers coded the data in order to examine the phenomenon of Hispanic/Latina female student-athlete socialization into sport as well as persistence through sport to college participation. Because this was a phenomenological study, the data analysis focused on what the participants have experienced and how they experienced it (Creswell, 2013).

Initially, a deductive approach was used in first cycle of coding, where the researchers relied on the research questions to guide the process (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). The data analysis began with a narrow view of the interviews and data, focusing on significant statements which lead towards the research question onto a broader approach in order to get a sense of "what" the individuals have experienced and "how" they have experienced it (Moustakas, 1994). The data analysis also took an inductive approach, allowing for patterns to emerge naturally as to not limit the analysis solely based on the research questions. A second cycle of coding involved thematic construction.

Trustworthiness

A number of strategies were employed to ensure trustworthiness of the data. First, the research team consisted of three people, two of whom are former NCAA student-athletes, and one who identifies as Latina. The inclusion of three researchers offered three different perspectives to the data. Further, the research team established trustworthiness through verbatim transcription (Creswell, 2013), triangulation across researchers (Patton, 2002) and peer debriefings in order to increase the quality of findings from the data analysis. The research team attempted to capture the unique and shared experiences of Hispanic/Latina females through thick description derived from the verbatim transcripts. The transcripts allowed the researchers to portray the voices, feelings, and lived experiences of the study participants (Patton, 2002). The research team also collected data from multiple sources to aid in the triangulation of data. Triangulation "is the act of bringing more than one source of data to bear on a single point" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). For this study, data sources included interviews and transcripts, field notes, and previous literature. Finally, peer-debriefing conversations aided the research team in viewing and interpreting the data from

multiple perspectives, which also reduced bias in the coding process.

Results

Research Question 1

The first research question asked how Hispanic/Latina female student-athletes developed an interest in playing a sport. Overall, the participants spoke extensively about the relationships with their families, parents, and siblings, and the impact these relationships had on the development of their interests in playing sports.

Familial relationships. Each participant talked about having strong familial ties within their own family unit as well as through extended family members. Each participant grew up in a nuclear family, where both parents remained married throughout their childhood and beyond.

In general, the participants' family was very supportive of their initial athletic endeavors. Brooke, Kara, and Maria each spoke fondly of how their grandparents, aunts, and cousins were a very big part of their lives growing up, either living in the same household, or in the same neighborhood. Kara talked about her entire family being supportive, stating:

> My parents were really supportive. And my whole family basically. We're all really close, so they all helped me out and always told me that I was going to be the one that helped out the family or did something big for the family, and they just encouraged me.

Here, Kara's parents and family saw great skills in her at a young age, and encouraged her to continue to play her sport, potentially to help take care of the family in the future.

Parents. Parents were a focal point in many of the participants' introduction into sport participation. Interestingly, many mothers and fathers of these participants played sports in high school, and some reached various elite levels of play in their youth. In general, it appeared parents allowed the participants to grow their own love for sports and foster their own identities as they discovered their athletic ability.

Tara talked about how her parents signed her up for any and subsequently all sports she expressed an interest in, as long as she chose the sports on her own. It was clear Tara's parents did not want to influence her sport participation decisions. Mary spoke about being raised in a family of athletes. She stated:

> Basically my family loved sports. I think we always involved sports in everything, and just growing up, it was just my dad playing soccer, so we always go to his soccer games. My two brothers decided to continue that, so they started playing soccer, so I started to go to all their games. It was mostly involved in sports and everything. My dad just decided to, because I was the only one who wasn't playing any sports at the time when I was six or probably five years old, my dad told me to go try out, just play for fun, for my brother's team. I was

> playing with the guys when I was seven years old and everyone else was 13. I got the whole experience of playing co-ed and being one of the girls there just playing soccer. That was the fun part of growing up, copying my brothers [sic].

Siblings. Sibling relationships were very crucial to the participants' introduction to and persistent participation in sport. Interestingly, each participant has at least one sibling. These siblings, mostly older, held very important positions in the participants' introduction into various sports because the participants modeled their behavior after their older sibling(s). Brooke spoke about following her sister's actions at a young age:

> My older sister, she did karate. I have two sisters, so me and my little sister, we obviously looked up to her and followed her. We started doing karate. She wanted to change and do soccer and we were like, that's just weird. I don't know where it began but she started playing soccer at 11 and my parents were like, one or the other. We all just started playing soccer. I was about five when I started playing, and it basically because I was following my sister because I wanted to be like her.

Brothers also had a vital role in how these athletes developed an interest in playing a sport. Isa reflected on how her older brother influenced her and how she had a desire to do what he could do. Isa's older brother influenced her interest in sports based on a longing to show him she could be better than him. Isa discussed how her brother was one reason she became interested in sports:

> I could remember going to his baseball practices and watching his soccer games, and I loved watching him play. I think he might have been the one who got me to even try the sports out in the first place. He [sic] is always someone I can look to for help if I ever need help.

Research Question 2

Research question two inquired about factors that influenced the selection of sport for the participants. When it came to selecting a sport to play, the participants relied on familial ties and influence as well as their siblings.

Familial influence. Many of the participants talked about familial influence such as parents and cousins when selecting specific sports. Maria discussed that her mom was a former competitive swimmer and she found her love of the sport after her mom suggested she should try it. Melanie, the only girl of the family, was placed in ballet as a child. She talked about her transition out of ballet and into soccer:

> … I'm the only girl in my family. My brothers, my cousins, everybody is male. It was kind of weird, so I'm growing up and all these boys want to play sports. They want to do this, and at first I was doing ballet and then I realized, I want to skip this. I want to play with them. My cousins on my

> mom's side, they were really good at soccer, so I ended up playing with them all the time and following in their footsteps. That's what got me to start playing soccer and then basically where I am now.

Not only were parents and siblings an influential factor in socialization, extended family played a part role as well.

Siblings. Siblings also played a critical role in influencing the selection of the sport for the participants. Many participants talked about influential older sisters and following in their footsteps when it came to sports. With brothers, many of them spoke of competing or establishing themselves differently from their brothers.

Tara talked about how her sister was a direct influence on her decision to participate in sport. She stated, "I would watch my sister's games, and I would be like, 'Oh, I want to be just like her.' That's what made me decide, 'Hey, I'm going to go into sports, because of my sister.'" Brooke and her younger sister also followed her older sister when she transitioned from karate to soccer.

Mary spoke about competing with her brothers, and attempting to separate herself from them,

> Growing up with my brothers, I always felt it was a big challenge. I was always the one to be with them. My oldest brother, he went to try out professionally and I have some footsteps to follow. It's just me always trying to be better. They were the greatest motivation.

Mary also spoke of how soccer was at the core of her relationship with her brothers. She stated, "all they did was play sport. I was always part of that training. I was always training with them, playing, and everything was always soccer. I guess soccer will always be involved."

Research Question 3

The final research question examined factors contributing to the athlete's persistence in sport participation and each participant discussed a number of factors that contributed to their persistent sport involvement. The participants maintained interests in their particular sport through internal motivation and their family. Coaches and special interest relationships with coaches also played a vital role in their persistence.

Internal motivation. Some of the participants spoke about internal motivation as a key to their success. Isa spoke strongly about being her best motivator. She often would show up to practice early to run or workout before her teammates were there. Isa stated:

> I think first and foremost, it just came within myself. I always took initiative and I always told my parents I want to go here and I want to do great things for my sport, for myself. I got trainers. I trained on my own. I always ran. I took care of my body. I think what a lot of players don't realize is that it's a mental

> game as well. I always try to just mentally prepare myself and always get myself stronger. Even if it's a practice by myself.

Brooke also spoke about the moment that she recognized she could be great within her sport – through watching her new team during a practice and realizing she might be good enough to play in college. Maria, who spoke about how her mom influenced her to swim, also took pride in the fact that she kept up with swimming on her own accord, not because of her parents. Additionally, Tara mentioned that her motivation to continue to play softball was due to her reaching a pinnacle level of play within NCAA Division I. Kara reflected on her time as a youth athlete and her goals of playing collegiate basketball. Overall, it was evident that each of these athletes recognized a form of motivation within themselves, which pushed them to excel.

Mary also discussed how she pushed herself in order to be able to care for her family, and so that she would be given an opportunity to go to college. She stated:

> The first time I ever played soccer, I felt my dream was to play at the highest level, whether it be professionally or in college. I feel that the only thing that has kept me going is, I don't know, I feel soccer has taken me a long way and financially helped my family out. Basically the reason, I don't think I would have gone to college without soccer so that motivated me a lot to go to college. I would be the first one to go to college out of my family. Just me pushing myself to make it to the next level.

Mary's internal motivation was not limited to a desire of playing at the highest level in her sport, but also due to her ambitions of being able to assist her family financially in the future.

Family. Not surprisingly, family was found to contribute to the persistence in sport participation. Brooke spoke in detail about how her father was involved in her sport growth during her youth. Brooke said of her dad's involvement:

> I think my dad spoke about college, and if I wanted to go to the next level at that point. If I wanted to go to the next level, I would have to get better, play on a better team so that coaches could look at me. It was my dad and my decision, but I was pretty young so I think my dad was mostly doing it. At that time, we realized that I was improving so I could play on a higher level team.

Brooke described her father as her trusted counselor, as he guided her through her athletic career. Tara also discussed how consistent parental support positioned her to become a great athlete. She stated, "They put me in the right programs with weight training, practicing. They put me on the right teams. I always wanted to be on the better team. That kind of pushed me too." Mary also talked about how her oldest brother has been able to try out for a professional team, and she now has "some footsteps to follow." She further explained

how she is just trying to get better, and her brothers were her greatest motivation.

The role of family also took a heavier toll on some of the participants as a few of them spoke of a greater motivator in the possibility of helping their families financially. Mary and Kara discussed their goal of being able to alleviate any impending financial issues such as paying for the participant's college tuition. Mary stated, "Financial [sic] with my parents, it's just a big exploration or a big motivation to keep going and try to make it to the top and help my family financially." Whether it was family who pushed them to stay with their sport, or family as their motivation to continue to play, the participants were heavily influenced by this factor as they continued to pursue their athletic endeavors.

Coach. Coaches also played an important role in the athlete's persistent sport participation. For example, Isa had a coach who developed a personal and lasting relationship with her and her family. This coach pushed her to join a better club team so she could continue to make progress. Brooke also spoke about how her coach aided in her development as a player and in the recruitment process. Brooke stated,

> …A couple of years after I moved to club, a guy from Texas came around and he took over the club, so he was the head of the clubs…. he was the one who pretty much groomed me as a player. That's who I am today. He was the one that did the whole recruiting process with me, and he was my club coach for about five years, I would say.

We found that these athletes were often led by coaches who were able to see their potential at an early age. At times these coaches even pushed the participants to join more competitive teams so that they could have access to the best opportunities, even if it was at the cost of losing them to another organization.

Special interest relationships. While coaches were often a big factor in the longevity of the athletes' sport career, in a few cases this relationship shifted from coach to a much more invested relationship. The athletes became what we deemed as "special interests" given that some of the athletes discussed a particular coach who would continue to check in with them years after their time playing for him or her. In more than one instance, these coaches had a huge impact on the athlete in terms of recruitment, scholarships and financial support for the athlete and her family.

Melanie talked about a coach she had in kindergarten who saw her potential and who continued to check up on her athletic success as she progressed. She indicated that she continued to speak with him as she embarked on her college athletic career. Mary also discussed a coach she had in her youth who recruited her to play at a young age, which would have required the family to relocate across the country. The coach went above and beyond to help Mary's family by offering her father employment

upon their relocation. Once the family relocated, the coach continued to help her:

> I was there for like two years or three years, and then when I was like 13, I'm guessing, I got this guy [redact], he told me, 'hey, we like how you play,' and that was when my family was having financial problems, so he also helped my family more financially. He gave my dad a job and everything. The thing was, he lived here in [redact]. So when I was 13, I moved across the country to [redact], and I still played soccer here for that team and from there I just played soccer here until now I'm in college.

Additionally, Mary credited her special interest relationship as the reason why she was given an opportunity to attend college. She stated:

> I know if I wouldn't have met [redacted], I don't think I would have gone to college because my academics were not great, but I felt that me not having the finances motivated me more to play at the highest level and keep that level high.

Both Melanie and Mary had coaches who were extremely invested in their development and future success. Due of this type of relationship, Mary was able to continue to play her sport. Additionally, while Kara did indicate that her coach provided motivational support, this motivation occurred after she had left the team, shifting his role from a coach to a special interest relationship. She stated, "one of my coaches always told me I was the first Hispanic athlete in [redacted] and he kept telling me, keep pushing yourself because you're going to be like known for this." Further, Brooke indicated had it not been for her relationship with her club coach, she may not have gone on to play at the collegiate level.

These special interest relationships also extended past the role of head coach. Mary gave a great deal of credit to her special interest coach, who beyond helping her family, also connected Mary to collegiate coaches and pushed her throughout her academic endeavors.

> Financially, I know my parents were struggling really hard with that, so [the coach] actually helped my family. He influenced me with the whole education part, too, and he was just like a second dad. The whole thing that happened, I'm grateful that he got me to this school. He got me the connections. He got me into the academics. He helped a lot.

While coaches did play a role in sport persistence and motivation, these experiences indicate that these relationships also evolved over time for some of the athletes. For a few of these participants, their previous coaches continued to influence their sport careers well beyond a more traditional player to coach dynamic.

Findings/Discussion

Overall, in accordance with previous investigations of sport socialization, the

participants were greatly influenced by family members and coaches throughout their athletic careers (Baeten et al., 1978; Camacho & Fuligni, 2015; Duffy et al., 2006; Greendorfer & Ewing, 1981; Keegan et al., 2013). Additional findings from the current study included the socialization influences of extended family member involvement, special interest relationships, access, as well as a lack of peer influence. Additionally, several similarities to previous findings within youth sport socialization emerged including, familial relationships such as parents and siblings, as well as coaches (Camacho et. al.; Baeten et al.; Stensaasen, 1976).

Based on the results, family played a vital role in helping the participants develop an interest in sports and encouraging them to maintain participation. The family unit, including parents, siblings, and extended family such as cousins, aunts, and grandparents, proved to be essential to sport socialization (Baeten et al., 1978; Greendorfer & Ewing, 1981). This extends the previous body of literature as these familial relationships remained factors beyond the adolescent years within a Hispanic/Latino family unit (see Mindel, 1980; Olsen & Skogrand, 2009; Sabogal, Marin, & Otero-Sabogal, 1987; Vega, 1990), despite inconsistent findings in this area (Toth & Xu, 1999). Results of the current study suggest that a participant's family may impact a child in developmental areas such as athletic interest. Further, the familial unit is highly valued within the Latino culture (Mindel; Olsen & Skogrand; Vega). Each of the participants in this study came from nuclear families, which also supports the idea of highly valuing the family. In addition, fathers and brothers were important factors in socialization into sport participation and persistence, despite the Latino cultural norm of *machismo*. This finding suggests that the role of Hispanic/Latino fathers in the United States may be shifting towards a more supportive one (see Leavell et al., 2012).

Findings also indicated special interest relationships were crucial for several of these athletes throughout their playing experiences and beyond. These relationships often began as coach to player, but once women were no longer playing for a particular coach, the relationship remained. Previous research has not yet associated these special interest relationships with sport participation persistence. Instead, research has indicated current coaches are influential in sport motivation (see Keegan et al., 2014).

There were other notable findings that deviated from previous studies. These findings were significant, as they bring attention to some of the cultural differences for Hispanic/Latino families in the United States. Therefore, the following section examines sport socialization implications, in relation to the findings from this current study. Several of these particular findings were also outside the scope of the intended research questions, making them not only unexpected findings based on the previous

literature, but also critical findings to the overall aim and significance of the current study.

Cultural Influence/Difference

Previous literature suggests conflicting perceptions of sport participation for Hispanic/Latina females., Literature has determined that Latina girls, similar to girls from other racial/ethnic backgrounds, were as likely to identify sports as an activity that made them feel good about themselves (Erkut, Fields, Sing, & Marx, 1996). Conversely, an additional study found that cultural influences do appear to effect Hispanic/Latina girls, as a number of girls within a Latina subgroup (i.e., Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican) reported lower involvement in sport activities, lower self-esteem, and lower scores on physical well-being than did boys (Erkut & Tracy, 2002). Conflicting studies elicited a review of the data to determine and identify if cultural influence was a contributing factor to sport participation and persistence.

Our findings suggest that when it came to cultural influence, there was a notion of indifference from many of the participants. A number of participants played on Hispanic (and often co-ed) teams during their early athletic endeavors, but did not feel it had an effect on their athletic careers. For example, as a young girl, Melanie played on a Hispanic only co-ed team in a heavily Hispanic/Latino populated community, and then transitioned to an all-female, mostly Caucasian team as her skills developed. Melanie stated, "I feel like somebody's background has nothing to do with making it to a higher level or not. I feel if you have enough passion and drive to get somewhere, then you should be able to do it."

Brooke's cultural experience appeared to be the opposite. Though she played with a few Hispanic/Latina girls during her youth, the Spanish language was never spoken on the field, so it was not something she focused on. Instead, she began to see more diversity as an athlete in her college career. She stated:

> I feel that coming from not too much but coming to college was a major change for me because they usually recruit, there was not a lot of diversity here. Before this last class, there was all American girls. Coming in, I think there were five or six Hispanic girls or girls that are not American. This was probably the biggest change for me. My roommate is Mexican.

The experience of playing on mostly Caucasian teams was different for Mary. She spoke about how her brothers taunted her to "stop trying to act so white." Mary defended herself stating, "Obviously I was around that culture and you are going to change and stuff. I don't know. I didn't really live the Hispanic everyday. I made sure I wasn't into the culture and I was trying to be equal." Mary seemed to struggle with balancing her familial culture along with her ability to fit in with her teammates.

While this notion of cultural influence did not seem to affect the participants on

the surface, there was an underlying theme of the importance of family, a key quality of the Latino culture. The family unit is highly valued within the Hispanic/Latino culture and is seen as a source of social, emotional, and financial support as needed to promote a unity amongst family members (Olsen & Skogrand, 2009; Vega, 1990). This finding has also held true when compared to Caucasian families (Mindel, 1980). Additionally, it is not unheard of for the extended family, including close friends of the family, to also be embedded in the immediate family unit (Olsen & Skogrand, 2009). Though the participants in this study may not have spoken about the cultural influences directly, the steady discussion of the familial influence is consistent with general Hispanic/Latino values of family. Further, consistent with previous literature (Gonzales et al., 2006), the findings suggest Hispanic/Latina female athletes believe their participation in sports will bring them additional educational and economic opportunities. A number of the participants discussed this as relieving parents and families from paying their college tuition as well as setting themselves up to assist their families in the future, thereby realigning their focus back on the family unit.

In addition to the familial role in sport socialization, the participants sometimes held a role in leading younger family members. For example, Kara talked about how she became a role model to her younger cousins. She stated,

> When I was playing, all my cousins look up to me. They all want to play basketball. They want to go to college to play basketball. That's really the only thing that kind of motivates me now a days, it's just them looking up to me.

Kara's discussion about being motivated by her younger cousins also supports the importance and value of family within the Hispanic/Latino culture.

Male Figures

Though the literature suggests female influence such as mothers, sisters, and friends have a role in sport socialization, we found male figures (e.g., fathers, brothers, coaches) held influential positions in the participant's socialization into and through sport. This was also inconsistent with some of the literature on the patriarchal role in Hispanic families, considering the concept of *machismo*, or the power or rights Latino men have over women in relation to decision making in the family (Olsen & Skogrand, 2009). For example, Toth & Xu (1999) found Hispanic men approach fathering based on a traditional value of family, and were found to be more involved in their approach to parenting when compared to their Caucasian counterparts who were found to approach it as a duty. Leavell, Tamis-LeMonda, Ruble, Zosuls, and Cabrera (2012) found that although Latino fathers still have a general feeling about traditional gender roles, they engaged more with standard care-giving activities such as child care and household chores

when compared to their Caucasian counterparts. Both of the prior studies lend evidence to a potential shift in the United States in which Latino men and fathers are becoming more egalitarian when it comes to traditional roles within the family (Leavell et al. 2012). The current study supports this notion of a shift in gender roles for Latino men, as the fathers held a strong position in the development of athletic interests in the participants.

When asked "who or what do you think had the greatest influence on you as you progressed through the levels of your athletic career," Mary talked about her father being tough on her, but also how she wanted to establish herself on her brother's level. Mary stated:

> My dad was tough because he always felt that I could do better. Even if I thought I did great, he would be like...obviously he would be proud of me but he never would be like...he wouldn't show it because he knew that I could do better.

Brooke spoke profoundly of her father's influence and role in her athletic career thus far. Brooke described how soccer was the biggest thing she had in common with her father, and how she cherished the shared moments with him. For example, Brooke and her father would watch soccer together on Sunday mornings. She said, "I had fun spending time with my dad and whenever we would do anything, we would watch soccer. That was amazing. Just being with my dad constantly…"

In addition to fathers, brothers were also a common factor in the participant's socialization into and through sports. Isa discussed her relationship with her brother, how she loved watching him play, and gave him credit for introducing her to sports. Though Isa stated her initial introduction into sport was through her brother, their relationship was very competitive. She relished the days where she would "show him up" when her dad would take them to the park and hit ground balls to them. Mary was also motivated to play soccer through her innate competitiveness with her brothers. As such, based on these experiences of the participants and despite the role of *machismo* within the Latino culture, both fathers and brothers played important roles in the socialization of their daughters and sisters into sport.

Friends and Peers

While parents and families' roles in sport socialization was somewhat consistent with research, the role of peers and friends was lacking in the current study. Peers and friends were not found to be prevalent for the participants' socialization into, or their persistence within, sport (see Faircloth & Hamm, 2005). Mary, Melanie and Tara spoke briefly about playing with their best friends on the same team. Mary spoke about the connection she developed with a teammate because the coach had a special interest relationship with both of them and helped both of their families financially. In contrast, Isa spoke about how friends were

never an influence on what she did. Beyond this, there was no mention of the role of peers and friends in the sport socialization process for the participants. Perhaps friends and peers are not as vital to sport socialization as previously suggested (e.g., Baeten et al., 1978; Camacho et al., 2015; Greendorfer & Ewing, 1981), or the role of the familial unit has become so strong, external influences are less substantial to the overall sport socialization and sport persistence process.

Access

Beyond the relational aspects of the sport socialization process, access to the sport itself was also a factor that appeared to influence sport participation and persistence. For example, Brooke discussed her first experiences with her sport, and how her community did not have a girls' program. Instead, Brooke began playing her sport on a co-ed team. She stated, "It was co-ed my first few years so I was playing with boys and girls." Mary had to play on her brother's team because her area also did not have a girls' program available. She stated, "Basically I played on my brothers' team's from when I was seven to 11. It was this Hispanic league called [redacted], and there was all guys and it helped me a lot." Additionally, Melanie discussed how her first experiences playing soccer were not organized or within a recreational program. Instead, she developed her initial love of the game through unstructured modes of play. She stated:

> Actually, the first time I played, we were playing outside and we would use basically recycling bins that looked like mini goals. We used to put them outside in our front yard and play 2-on-2 with the recycling bins being goals. That's basically how I first ever touched a soccer ball.

These findings suggest that the participants may not have had easy access to organized team environments. Rather, these participants were forced to find other ways to begin playing and develop an interest in their respective sports. Therefore, access was shown to be an additional factor of the sport socialization process for several participants. Surprisingly, it appears as though the lack of access did not hinder their interest or persistent involvement within their respective sports.

Limitations and Future Research

This investigation was not free from limitations and therefore creates an opportunity for future research. First, given the nature of the proposed examination, the small population of Hispanic/Latina Division I female student-athletes made the recruitment of participants a more difficult task. While a diverse set of participants were selected for this study, future research could aim to include NCAA student-athletes from all three divisions to increase the potential sample size. Second, while this investigation focused on the socialization

processes of these specific student-athletes, these experiences may not be similar across additional sports, regions, or age groups. Future research could aim to include participants from additional sports, regions, and of varying elite-level sport age groups (i.e., professional female athletes). Third, the researchers did not include Hispanic/Latina athletes who have not had success in reaching the NCAA Division I level. An examination into the current population of successful athletes also warrants an investigation of the barriers to athletic success for Hispanic/Latina females who may not reach this elite level of sport. In conjunction, these future research avenues would strengthen the knowledge of Hispanic/Latina female athletes' socialization processes and assist practitioners in understanding the barriers these athletes may encounter throughout their athletic endeavors.

Conclusion

The current study aimed to explore the sport socialization process for Hispanic/Latina NCAA Division I female student-athletes. This examination served as the first to explore the sport socialization processes of this specific ethnic group of elite female athletes. Based on the lack of research conducted within this specific segment, a better understanding of the sport socialization processes for elite Hispanic/Latina female athletes emerged. Overall, these results shed tremendous light on the socialization processes for elite-level Hispanic/Latina female athletes. Several new insights were found based on these participant's sport experiences including strong special interest relationships, extended family member involvement, and access to their respective sports. Our results may provide practitioners (e.g. coaches) with a better knowledge of the sport related experiences of this specific population and may aid in the opportunities within sport for Hispanic/Latina females. Given the trajectory of Hispanic and Latina population growth within the United States in the years to come, our results aim to increase diversity and access efforts as well as assist athletic success and opportunities for these females in the future.

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Tables and Appendix

Table 1

Participant Demographic Information

Name	Age	Sport	Ethnicity	Mother Educational Level	Father Educational Level
Kara	19	Basketball	Puerto Rican	Less than high school	High school
Mary	19	Soccer	Mexican	Less than high school	Less than high school
Melanie	19	Soccer	Cuban/ Brazilian	College degree	High school
Brooke	18	Soccer	Cuban	High school	High School
Maria	20	Rowing	Mexican	Some college	Masters
Tara	20	Softball	African American/ Puerto Rican	High school	High School
Isa	19	Soccer	Mexican	Masters	Some high school

Appendix A

Interview Protocol

1) Describe how it was to be a child in your home growing up.

2) How many different sports did you participate in prior to intercollegiate competition? How would you describe your level of enjoyment in each of these sports?

3) Did you participate in activities outside of sport?

4) How did you first get into playing your sport?

5) How do you think you got to this level of play (college athletics)? What factors helped you gain the skills necessary to play at the college level?

6) During your youth, was there a specific individual(s) that pushed you to continue playing the sport? If so, in what ways did they push you to continue playing the sport?

7) During your youth, was there a specific individual(s) that deterred you from continuing to play the sport? If so, in what ways did they deter you from continuing your participation? How did you overcome this?

8) Who in your immediate or extended family has participated in or continues to participate in sport?

9) Why do you think you have stuck with playing this sport?

10) What are your future intentions in regard to your involvement with the sport you play/played?

Demographics:

- Age
- Nationality/place of birth
- Race
- Sport played/level achieved
- Parents' education level

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Examining Social Media Adoption and Change to the Stakeholder Communication Paradigm in Not-For-Profit Sport Organizations

Michael L. Naraine[1] Milena M. Parent[2]
[1]*Deakin University*
[2]*University of Ottawa and Norwegian School of Sport Sciences*

The purpose of this study was to examine social media adoption within not-for-profit sport organizations to illuminate the impetus for change, the type of change undertaken, and change resistance. Using a contextualist approach depicting the external and internal forces as well as the change process, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten Canadian national sport organizations (NSOs) representing varying degrees of social media presence. The findings suggest that, although social media is espoused as a radical, transformational vehicle, NSOs have only made incremental adjustments to their stakeholder communication and have situated social media within their extant organizational condition due to capacity constraints and resistance from staff and reticent stakeholders. Adopting social media in light of limited organizational capacity thus diminishes the utility of the communications tool. Theoretical and practical implications include how to improve social media-related capacity and the importance of continuing the social media and sport domain's organizational theory agenda.

With fluctuations in human resources, new programs and services developed and offered, and innovations in organizational design archetypes (to name a few), sport organizations are subject to change decisions affecting their routines and operations (Slack & Parent, 2006). Sport organizations may desire or anticipate change, or have it simply thrust upon them due to internal or external pressures (cf. Amis, Slack, & Hinings, 2004a; Kikulis, Slack, & Hinings, 1995). Change is also thought to ensure sustainability in highly competitive marketplaces, although organizational inertia and stability in

routines and practices can also provide optimal outcomes (Yi, Knudsen, & Becker, 2016). With technological innovations and strategies gaining notoriety (cf. Caza, 2000), examining change to structures, processes, and/or mechanisms is important for the effective management of sport organizations (Cunningham, 2002).

One of the more recent technological innovations to emanate and subject sport organizations, especially those in the not-for-profit sector, to change has been the emergence of social media. These organizations, including national sport organizations (NSOs), have identified the importance of social media and have begun to develop and maintain social platforms (e.g., Abeza & O'Reilly, 2014; Thompson, Martin, Gee, & Eagleman, 2014). The adoption of social media as a stakeholder communication tool is of particular interest given their many challenges (cf. Misener & Doherty, 2009), including a lack of exposure by traditional media sources (cf. Eagleman, 2013). Indeed, with a specific focus on NSOs, scholars have also noted an inability to diversify the range of content published on social media, succumbing to coercive, mimetic, and normative pressures (e.g., Naraine & Parent, 2016). This is a particularly unique approach given the variance amongst social media usage by for-profit sport organizations (cf. Armstrong, Delia, & Giardina, 2016; Pronschinske, Groza, & Walker, 2012; Wang & Zhou, 2015). Moreover, it remains unclear why NSOs (specifically) would choose to adopt social media and change the means by which they communicate with stakeholders given previous attempts to communicate and enhance stakeholder relationships online (i.e., using the World Wide Web) do not appear to have been fully realized (cf. Girginov, Taks, Boucher, Martyn, Holman, & Dixon, 2009).

Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine social media adoption and change to stakeholder communication within the context of NSOs. Specifically, this study illuminates the overall impetus for change, the type of change undertaken (i.e., radical or convergent, evolutionary or revolutionary), and any (if at all) resistance to the change (given change is often difficult to achieve, as per Skinner, Stewart, & Edwards, 1999). Although a collection of scholarship exists pertaining to change and sport organizations (e.g., Legg, Snelgrove, & Wood, 2016; O'Brien & Slack, 2004; Welty Peachey & Bruening, 2011), there remains a dearth of understanding reflecting and relating to contemporary technological advancements in online communication (e.g., social media) and change to sport organizations. Understanding the nexus between social media and organizational change in NSOs is relevant given the influence these organizations typically have on sport systems (particularly in terms of long-term athlete development), and the aforementioned constraint on resources often found within these organizations.

To address this study's purpose, the contextualist approach to organizational change was employed as the theoretical framework. Initially conceptualized by Pettigrew (1987), the contextualist approach is composed of three primary dimensions: content, context, and process. Here, content (not to be confused with social media content) refers to *what* aspect of organizational change is taking place (e.g.,

products, structure, technology). Context refers to both the environmental and intra-organizational elements influencing the change process, revealing *why* change occurred. Finally, the "process" elements reveal insights from the change to depict *how* the change manifested in the organization. Although there are various perspectives on organizational change, including resource dependence (e.g., Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978), life-cycle approach (e.g., Kimberly, 1980) and even Cunningham's (2002) model incorporating multiple dimensions of organizational change, the emphasis on the interrelationship between environment, internal structure, and human agency in depicting organizational change underscores the suitability of the contextualist approach for the present study. Simply put, the contextualist approach marries both the internal, external, and circumstantial factors which explain change processes. In doing so, this undertaking occupies a unique space within the extant literature, adhering to Filo, Lock, and Karg's (2015) call to advance social media and sport research using organizational theory frameworks. Moreover, the study provides important implications for practitioners in similar circumstances an opportunity to reflect upon how social media adoption occurs, the degree to which social media may change organizational actions, and the type of resistance that may be experienced as a result of the adoption process.

Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework

In this section, we provide an overview of the organizational change literature, including the types of change and why change is resisted, and the theoretical framework of interest, the contextualist approach, along with identifying the study's specific research questions. However, we preface this section with a brief review of the pertinent literature on social media and sport organizations.

Social media presents sport organizations an additional avenue by which to connect to their publics online in a synchronous and asynchronous manner (Williams & Chinn, 2010). For some organizations, this has enabled additional marketing ploys to develop, allowing for greater relationship building to occur (e.g., Hopkins, 2013; McCarthy, Rowley, Ashworth, & Pioch, 2014; Waters, Burke, Jackson, & Buning, 2011). However, others have viewed social media as a strategic communication tool, downplaying its abilities to leverage and activate sponsorships (Eagleman, 2013). This can be perceived as a potential flaw or inability to utilize these platforms to their full potential, particularly given the desire of stakeholders to want to consume and engage with organizations via social media (cf. Mahan, 2011). In fact, Gibbs, O'Reilly, and Brunette (2014) revealed fans of sport organizations not only seek information from social media, but desire promotional and interactive content. Part of the rationale for this desire stems back to the passion and camaraderie social media provides to this stakeholder group (Stavros, Meng, Westberg, & Farelly, 2014). Nevertheless, there remains a significant appetite for social media content from sport organizations by its stakeholders (e.g., fans).

The desire to consume social media and sport content has also led to an evolution in how content is presented. As Armstrong et al. (2016) found, organizations are introducing an animated, earnest persona to interact with fans, as well as competing sport organizations. Yet, concurrently, sport organizations like NSOs remain reticent to evolve their social media strategy to this extent or even simply to build stronger relationships (Abeza & O'Reilly, 2014). This inability to adjust their strategic use of social media to align with competitors and others in their operational environment raises questions about why social media has been adopted altogether, leading to the purpose of the present study.

Organizational Change

Organizations are often subject to environmental disturbances and internal influences which stimulate change. Even if a so-called comfortable level of stability – where comfort level is defined by the organization itself – is achieved and the organization has enacted a course of inertia, rapid changes in the organization's environment (e.g., technological innovations) may force the adoption of change (Slack & Parent, 2006). In some cases, the external turbulence is attributable to political (e.g., Girginov & Sandanski, 2008; Zakus & Skinner, 2008) or social (e.g., Skirstad, 2009; Stronach & Adair, 2009) stimulants. From an internal perspective, change may manifest itself as a result of an anticipated need to change to remain competitive and make the organization more efficient (Slack & Parent, 2006). Irrespective of where the pressures of change originate, organizations still retain the ability to moderate the impact of change processes (e.g., products/services, technology, human resources). Greenwood and Hinings (1996) denoted two types of organizational change: radical and convergent. Radical change refers to major, transformational change which significantly alters the organization's operations, while convergent changes are slight, minor modifications to existing practices and routines. In the context of sport management, scholarship has focused primarily on radical change (e.g., Amis, Slack, Hinings, 2004b; Legg et al., 2016), though both types of change are difficult for organizations to manage (cf. Skinner et al., 1999).

Resistance to change. Part of the explanation for change being difficult to manage is the resistance organizations encounter. For Jaffe, Scott, and Tobe (1994), resistance is linked with the concept of denial, as agents exhibit a lack of trust and belief that change is necessary. As a result, employees may withhold their participation in the process, exhibit defensive behavior about the change, or even go so far as to persuade managers and other staff not to support the change. As Isabella (1990) suggested in her analysis, even in the aftermath of a change, pessimism about the change may persist. In such circumstances, staff may actively voice their displeasure or distrust of the adoption. Resisting change is not solely attributable to distrust however; agents may disagree with change based upon their own self-interest, differing assessments of change consequences, and the costs associated with enacting change (Slack & Parent, 2006). When change occurs, there is the potential

for some agents within the organization to lose resources, prestige, or professional competence; opponents of change are self-interested and looking to preserve the power they have within the current organizational dynamic (Ybema, Thomas, & Hardy, 2016). Beyond the intrinsic motivations to resist, agents may also worry about the unintended consequences of change. For instance, an organization adopting a new service or structure may be restricted from future changes as a result of expended resources, poor results, or simply fatigue (cf. Burgelman, 1991). As a result, while change in itself is not necessarily challenged by certain staff, the possibility of change may be problematic and challenge an organization's ability to adapt should modifications be required. Finally, individuals or groups within the organization may perceive the adoption as an inefficient use of the organization's (limited) resources (cf. Hannan & Freeman, 1984; Suddaby & Foster, 2016). Regardless of the type of resistance, managers may re-evaluate, pivot, and/or choose not to enact the proposed action based upon the resistance they receive (Slack & Parent, 2006).

Evolutionary and revolutionary change. Given the threat change may bring to reliable, predictable operations (cf. Miller, Greenwood, & Hinings, 1997), the various types of change resistance may also instigate organizations to seek inertia, providing stability to their present form and processes (Yi et al., 2016). This is especially true of older and larger organizations which tend to have well-established hierarchies, policies, and routines considered normative operations (Shimizu & Hitt, 2005). However, resisting potential changes to the dominant organizational condition is not always possible, especially when environmental trends dictate organizations align themselves accordingly (Boeker, 1997).

With the prospect of change, but a desire to maintaining stability, organizations may opt for evolutionary change. These incremental adjustments to the organization's routines allow change to be adopted, but mitigate possible incongruence (Tushman & O'Reilly, 1996). Similar to the concept of convergent change, evolutionary changes are slow and continuous, enabling the organization to preserve the integrity of their design and structure, while incorporating minor changes. In essence, evolutionary change balances resistance with the need to change to reflect current trends. However, evolutionary change is not always possible, as environmental stimuli may warrant a larger, more impactful change. The resultant revolutionary changes are swift and often discontinuous, as the organization attempts to respond to major external developments. For instance, the institutionalized pressures to radically shift an organization's form from a simplistic to a professional bureaucratic structure to secure revenues would constitute a revolutionary change (cf. Slack & Hinings, 1992).

Despite advances in organizational change scholarship, particularly those in a sport organization context (e.g., Legg et al., 2016; Zakus & Skinner, 2008), our understanding of new communication and technological developments in these organizations remains weak. As Burgers (2016) noted, the implementation of new communication technologies and developments can be considered within an

organizational change framework, particularly given these changes could be incremental (i.e., convergent, evolutionary) or immense (i.e., radical, revolutionary). As such, while scholars have discussed social media usage by sport organizations, especially those in the not-for-profit sector (e.g., Naraine & Parent, 2016; Thompson et al., 2014), the context of adopting this change to their stakeholder communication remains unclear. By understanding the context in which this change has been adopted, the impetus and type of change can be illuminated, in addition to discussing the presence and basis for change resistance.

Contextualist Approach

Examining organizational change is difficult to explain without articulating the actions and processes which impact the adoption and implementation of change (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999; Pettigrew, Woodman, & Cameron, 2001). Pettigrew (1987) conceptualized an approach that sought not just to illuminate *what* the change was, but also *why* change was occurring and *how* that change impacted routines and operations. The result (i.e., the contextualist approach to organizational change) was a set of three interconnected elements: content, context, and process. The first element refers to the areas and elements subjected to transformation. The content of change addresses *what* specifically has changed in an organization. Thus, content may refer to changes in human resources personnel, products and services offered or, in the case of the present study, technological advancements. The second element focuses on the *why* of change. The context of change explores environmental factors in which change is occurring. Pettigrew (1987) noted there are both internal and external contexts which explain the impetus for change. Within an organization (i.e., inner context), structure, culture, number of staff, types of leadership, and staff opinions can affect the change process. By contrast, the outer context refers to the broader circumstance (e.g., economic, social) affecting change. For instance, changes in best practices or turbulence in the operating environment may influence how an organization perceives its competitiveness and relevancy, and how the organization initiates the change process (e.g., Girginov & Sandanski, 2008). The third and final element is concerned with the *how* of change. The process of change suggests actors, actions, and activities are key conduits in adopting change, as they can enable or inhibit the implementation of new or modified practices (Pettigrew et al., 2001).

Although Pettigrew's model has remained relatively unchanged (with regards to the interconnected elements), Dawson (2003) advanced a refined version of the framework. In this update, considerations were made to identify the type and scale of change (e.g., radical or convergent), while the process element incorporated the politics associated with change vis-à-vis resistance and conflict. Using the original approach with these refinements, the change literature is able to move beyond identifying the outcomes of adopting change towards *why* and *how* outcomes are shaped by contextual processes (cf. Wells, 2016).

An important part of the contextualist approach to change is situating the notion of time. As Pettigrew et al. (2001) proposed, research on organizational change should be cognizant of the challenge of studying change processes longitudinally while depicting change as it happens concurrently. Although the former sentiment (i.e., change over time) adopts a chronological interpretation of change, the latter sentiment emphasizes the factors causing change in the interim. As such, applying a contextualist approach can be done in both considerations of time, which is helpful given the present circumstance where social media adoption has occurred in a short timeframe (cf. Eagleman, 2013; Thompson et al., 2014).

Although there are other ways to conceptualize change in organizations (e.g., Resource Dependency Theory, Life-Cycle Approach), the contextualist approach offers a logical, simple framework which has been supported by previous sport management research, particularly studies focusing on not-for-profit sport organizations in various geographical areas such as Canada (e.g., Thibault & Babiak, 2005), Bulgaria (e.g., Girginov & Sandanski, 2008), and Norway (e.g., Skirstad, 2009). Thibault and Babiak (2005) applied the approach to the Canadian sport system, documenting change from a bureaucratic to athlete-centered system longitudinally; Girginov and Sandanski (2008) examined Bulgarian NSOs over time to assess changes as result of political, economic, and social transformations the jurisdiction experienced moving from socialism to democratization; Skirstad (2009) utilized the contextualist approach to illuminate the gender imbalance of the Norwegian General Assembly of Sports over the course of three decades. However, it is Caza's (2000) work which sets a precedent to apply the contextualist approach in the present study. Caza's examination of technological change vis-à-vis implementation of computer scoring, as well as a new method of ranking athletes, highlight key aspects of receptivity related to the context of change (e.g., effect of leadership, goals and priorities, environmental pressures). The ability of the contextualist approach to illuminate catalysts and stimulus for the adoption of technological innovations, in particular, is thus a useful guide for the present study.

Here, the contextualist approach is applied to examine *how* and *why* social media has been adopted by NSOs, but does so with a slight departure from past scholarship. Due to the rapid increase of social media usage in a short period of time, the present study is not concerned with change longitudinally; rather, it is concerned with the change experienced by NSOs as it has occurred. Second, while others have utilized the approach to document the content, context, and process of change (e.g., Girginov & Sandanski, 2008; Thibault & Babiak, 2005; Skirstad, 2009), the content of change in this circumstance is already known (i.e., social media adoption). As such, the contextualist framework is applied here to draw out the additional elements of change (i.e., context and process) to complement existing knowledge.

Research Questions

As the purpose of the study is to examine social media adoption and change to stakeholder communication within the

context of NSOs, and being informed by the literature and framework noted above, the following research questions are advanced:

RQ1 – What internal and external forces have enabled social media adoption by NSOs?

RQ2a – What type of change was experienced as a result of social media adoption by NSOs?

RQ2b – What resistance, if any, was experienced by NSOs in the adoption of social media?

Method

A qualitative design was implemented to uncover the experiences of individuals confronted with social media adoption within NSOs. Specifics on the participants, as well as data collection and data analysis techniques are provided below.

Participants

Drawing upon Naraine and Parent's (2016) work, a purposeful sample of eight Canadian NSOs were initially used. Although 61 NSOs in the Canadian sport landscape are currently funded by Sport Canada, the sample represented a balance of summer and winter sports and a range of social media presence (as defined by their followership – with the presumption being high followership would indicate larger, salient, and potentially more resourceful organizations). Preliminary contact was made with the same eight organizations via e-mail to assess availability and willingness to participate. Since two NSOs indicated they would not be participating, they were replaced with organizations with the same sport seasonality and similar social media presence (cf. Naraine & Parent, 2016). Once data collection ensued, two additional interviews were deemed appropriate to confirm theoretical saturation achievement (cf. Charmaz, 2014), which resulted in a final sample of ten organizations (see Table 1). Participants representing these NSOs (with staff sizes between three and 30) consisted of actively employed personnel who organized, controlled, managed, and/or oversaw the social media operations within their organization. Based on these criteria, participants had various roles including chief executive officer (n = 2), director of marketing and communications (n = 4), communications and media relations manager (n = 2), and manager specifically in charge of digital content (e.g., websites and social media) (n = 2). All participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identities while reporting the results to adhere to this study's ethics certificate guidelines. Moreover, additional consideration was given to protect participant identities, including not explicitly reporting job titles of participants, linking those titles to the selected organizations, and/or revealing the number of staff working at the organization during data collection.

Data Collection

The lead investigator conducted semi-structured interviews with each NSO representative via phone conferencing given geographic distances. Interview questions (see Appendix A) were devised based upon the characteristics of the sample noted in Table 1 and previous literature on social media in sport (e.g., Armstrong et al., 2016; Gibbs et al., 2014; Stavros et al., 2014),

including those specific to NSOs and social media (e.g., Abeza & O'Reilly, 2014; Naraine & Parent, 2016; Thompson et al., 2014). The contextualist approach framework was also utilized in the development of the interview guide. . Through careful probing, the lead investigator was able to provide an opportunity for respondents to reveal unique insights and unanticipated sentiments related to their organization and the adoption of social media (cf. Charmaz, 2014). Each interview lasted approximately 60 minutes; interview sessions were voice-recorded, transcribed (maintaining anonymity of respondents), and returned to participants for verification. Only two interviewees requested changes to their applicable transcripts, wishing to clarify some concepts or redact names of colleagues or perceived defamatory comments.

Data Analysis

Data were deductively coded using Pettigrew's (1987) three-pronged framework and the refinements made by Dawson (2003). The sorting of data fragments into deductive elements provided an initial opportunity to align the present findings with the specified research questions, adhering to the approach of others who utilized the contextualist approach (e.g., Skirstad, 2009). However, subsequent coding was performed inductively to reveal additional insights or concepts not necessarily fitting into the conceptual model but addressing the study's purpose and research questions, akin to Legg et al.'s (2016) procedure. To perform these actions, all data were imported and analyzed using the NVIVO 10 computer software program, which can facilitate data fragmentation and coding. Findings were discussed between the authors to ensure coherence.

Findings

Interviewee sentiments were grouped into the categories derived from the contextualist approach (i.e., outer context, inner context, and process), and organized based on the organization's social media presence (i.e., "high", "mid-high", "mid-low", and "low") to elucidate similarities and differences in the change experience. The findings' implications regarding organizational change are presented in the discussion section.

Outer Context

NSOs' impetus to adopt social media seemed to emanate from the need to engage with stakeholders, specifically fans of the sport, members (e.g., athletes), and even sponsors (to a lesser extent), as well as maintain the guise of a credible, modern organization in a competitive operating environment.

In the case of the high social media presence organizations, both respondents communicated the need to adopt various social media platforms to engage their stakeholders, but with slight differences in who those stakeholders actually were. Change to their stakeholder communication was deemed necessary and attributable to the environmental shift away from traditional media by other organizations. Yet, for Curling Canada, there was also a distinct focus on connecting with fans as opposed to other stakeholder groups:

> I mean, it's rare that an organization doesn't have social media presence. I think it just is reflective of the demographics, and reflective of today's society. Traditional media, traditional ways of communicating are out the window. Cable television and newspapers just don't reach people the way that social media do, and that's the way the world has evolved. [Organizations] want to get things done. They want to reach their fans. (Anthony, Curling Canada)

When probed about wanting to "get things done" and reaching fans, Anthony explained his organization had "a very loyal fan base that love to engage on social media platforms," requiring Curling Canada to adopt a social presence to ensure those fans remained loyal and engaged. The other respondent in this grouping, Linda (Tennis Canada), expressed a similar response, indicating that adopting social media was "definitely just a reality" of the current environmental landscape: "I would think it was strange for sure if [organizations] weren't investing at all in the social space." However, Linda also indicated the expectation to adopt social media extended beyond fans to include teams and athletes, creating "a bit more personal connection" than traditional communication media can provide with those specific stakeholders.

The mid-high social media presence cohort also conveyed similar sentiments about the external context in which NSOs adopted social media, honing in on stakeholder expectations, as well as perceived success. Jade, a Canadian Freestyle Ski staff member, noted the "real responsibility that organizations have when it comes to social media" in that it serves as "the first point of contact for a lot of people in and outside the organization." In this sense, adopting social media within NSOs was deemed critical based upon stakeholders' expectations. Jade extended her thoughts about other organizations adopting social media, stating: "A lot of people and organizations define themselves and the success of their organization based on the number of followers they have…so I would question the credibility of an organization if they weren't on social media." In this respect, adopting social media moves beyond simply an expectation of stakeholders towards organizations being perceived as more credible and successful. Although he did not make a direct link with this idea, Jim (from Softball Canada) explained sponsors have contacted his organization to remain apprised of the growth and reach of their social media following. The recognition of stakeholder expectations beyond simply fans and athletes was also noted by Bill at Canada Snowboard: "I think everybody's engaging with so many different businesses now that I think it's almost a necessary evil that you have to have now in order to connect with your followers." Bill's characterization of social media as a widespread tool utilized in multiple industries supports the idea of NSOs being pressured into adopting new processes in order to maintain credibility with stakeholders and operate within the expected norms of a modern organization.

Organizations characterized as mid-low in their social media presence expressed similar environmental factors in their adoption of social media (e.g., stakeholder expectations), but downgraded the notion

of perceived success. Carla, a Sail Canada staff member, commented hers and other organizations have "all come to realize that [social media] is not a fad, it's not going away. We need to keep up with the times." The notion that organizations adopt social media as a means to adhere to the status quo was also advanced by Carla: "I think we're just going with the flow." Similarly, Corey at Bobsleigh Canada, remarked: "Everyone knows it's there, everyone understands we need to be part of it. And I bet you could poll a lot of people out there that say they do social media for the sake of doing social media." Yet, although this opinion was shared by the respondents in this category, both Corey from Bobsleigh Canada and Andrew from Archery Canada indicated adopting social media was not a result of perceived credibility or organizational success, or even the expectation of funding partners. "Sport Canada really doesn't care how well you're communicating with your members," Andrew explained. "They're interested in how close you are to an Olympic medal." In essence, staff members representing organizations in the mid-low social media presence category acknowledged the adoption of social media as a basic component of operating in the current time period, but not a component that can overhaul how stakeholders perceive the organization.

The two respondents in the low social media presence cohort also offered similar remarks, citing the adoption of social media as an expectation. Terrence at Luge Canada commented: "I think it's expected now in society that there is that type of, you know, those types of platforms in place. It would look kind of funny if you didn't have it now." While Cassandra at Fencing Canada made a similar comment, she suggested there was an element of adoption as a marker of effectiveness: "[Not having social media] gives the perception that you're not with the times, you know you're not maybe as effective as you should be." While the two respondents agreed that adopting social media is an expectation, there was some division, as Cassandra advanced her attitude towards social media adoption and organizational effectiveness.

Coinciding with NSOs adopting social media because it is an expectation of their stakeholders (ranging from fans to sponsors depending on the respondent) is the idea of adoption of social media platforms as a means of connecting with a younger demographic. Across all ten organizations, respondents indicated adopting social media was attributable to its acceptance by younger individuals, particularly as a new generation of athletes begin to compete in their respective sport. As Carla put it: "If that's the way it's going with a younger demographic, we need to keep up with that and make sure that we're staying somewhat relevant."

Inner Context

Whereas the outer context revealed an environment in which NSOs are expected to adopt social media communication as a stakeholder-based normative behavior, pre-existing communications infrastructure, limited capacity (i.e., human and financial resources), and NSOs' core focus were prominent internal factors impacting the adoption.

Both respondents at Curling Canada and Tennis Canada explained that, despite their organization's standing amongst other Canadian NSOs, they, too, experienced capacity constraints. Anthony from Curling Canada put it very bluntly: "We don't have the money behind [social media]. Let's get that straight." Although Anthony estimated his organization had over 100 employees and interns, only four individuals were devoted towards the communications function, only one of whom was a full-time staff member, and tasked with media relations, website creation, and e-mails (among others). As such, contrary to their position as an organization with a high social media presence, social media adoption was added to Curling Canada's small, but functioning communications team. Linda at Tennis Canada also expressed similar capacity concerns: "Everyone's pretty stretched and it's a relatively new thing to be focusing on." In an organization similar in staff size and composition to Curling Canada, Linda explained Tennis Canada had already utilized digital properties (e.g., website, e-mails) as well as traditional communications activities (e.g., telephone calls, newsletters, face-to-face meetings) to interact with stakeholders and, thus, adopting social media for her organization was complimentary to the already established digital presence.

Softball Canada and Canada Snowboard provided similar experiences with capacity constraints, though Canadian Freestyle Ski has some slight deviations in their response. As Bill from Canada Snowboard explained: "We're just trying to keep our heads above water. It's just getting the resources, the human resources to execute." Bill's comments were amplified when he mentioned there were roughly a dozen full-time staff members within his organization. Similarly, Jim at Softball Canada indicated his organization only had one person charged with handling communications (out of eight reported staff members), indicative of a human resource shortfall. However, despite the deficiency in capacity, Jim noted it was important for his organization to focus on its task to communicate programs and information to athletes, fans, and provincial softball associations. In the case of Canadian Freestyle Ski, whose reported focus was elite athlete development and high-performance, there was no direct mention of a lack of financial or human resources. Indeed, the challenge for Jade and her colleagues was not the initial adoption of social media to communicate with stakeholders, but rather managing social platforms as they grow, evolve, and cause "bandwidth issues."

A lack of capacity was also evident amongst Sail Canada, Archery Canada, and Bobsleigh Canada. Within Sail Canada and its reported staff of eight, Carla acknowledged her organization was not alone in this experience: "I think we suffer very similar struggles that other NSOs have which are capacity issues. That's always been our struggle." With one person in her organization managing all communications aspects (e.g., e-mails, phone calls), it would appear unlikely to add additional communications tasks onto that individual. Yet, as Carla mentioned, adopting social media aligned with Sail Canada's values of communication and accountability, thereby explaining why such a change would occur.

This was also the case for Archery Canada; Andrew noted his organization was committed to serving its stakeholders, and social media enabled such service despite minimal staff (i.e., two full-time, one part-time). For Bobsleigh Canada, driving interest and awareness of the sport and athletes was reported as the primary focus of the organization, and all messaging reflected this focus. Indeed, Corey commented: "The opportunities are endless, but it all comes down to a capacity issue and what are the priorities, and you've got to deal with the priorities first." As such, Corey acknowledged that adopting social media could help drive interest and awareness, but argued the lack of capacity had significant implications on the degree to which it was utilized.

Not dissimilar from the other groups, both Fencing Canada and Luge Canada espoused their limited organizational capacities for social media adoption. Cassandra revealed her organization was incredibly lean (i.e., two staff members) and did not boast a physical office, which had already placed a strain on Fencing Canada's operations. However, she also noted her organization was focused on serving its community (e.g., athletes, provincial associations) by "keeping people up to date." Nevertheless, when asked about adopting social media, Cassandra highlighted the lack of capacity ultimately affected her organization's ability to utilize it to a great extent. Terrence at Luge Canada communicated a similar sentiment, but went so far as to suggest the reality at some NSOs may be different than his organization's own experience: "I find a lot of the other NSOs probably have someone paid doing [social media]. Where us, we kind of try to do as much as we can, but there are certain things we can't, and [social media] would be one thing." With a reported staff of six individuals, Terrence commented his organization was "very rudimentary" and could not allocate financial resources towards social media. Although Luge Canada did have centralized communications with one person managing e-mails and website activities, social media was considered an afterthought as the focus was and would always be on high-performance success, as Terrence reported.

Process (Politics of Change)

In discussing social media adoption, two prominent themes emerged: the politics of communication (for Canadian NSOs) and resistance experienced, whether internal (i.e., from staff within organization) or external (i.e., from outside stakeholder groups).

There was a clear division in the responses between Curling Canada and Tennis Canada when it came to understanding the process of adopting social media. When raising the issue of language and content, Anthony mentioned adopting social media aided in promotional marketing and sharing multimedia, but the tool itself raised significant language concerns, specifically the tone and type of content and the issue of bilingualism.

> We paint with a pretty broad brush. We're conditioned to the fact that we have corporate partners who need to be respected, and may not want to be associated with someone that pushes the envelope…posting out a couple of tweets about [an athlete] hitting on

> showgirls might not be something that the little old ladies in Saskatchewan would be down with. (Anthony, Curling Canada)

Indeed, it was suggested a professional tone was necessary to maintain organizational legitimacy amongst its stakeholders, specifically sponsors and older demographics who have demonstrated a hesitance towards adopting social media themselves. Translating Curling Canada content from English to French, an official language of Canada, was also reported to be problematic, as it took additional resources (e.g., money, time) for content to be translated and negated the expediency of using social media altogether. Conversely, Linda did not experience major resistance within the organization or from its stakeholders, but did note the difficulty in justifying a large social media presence without identifying the return on investment. Moreover, with two bilingual staff members working on social media based in Toronto and Montreal respectively, managing content in both official languages did not appear to pose a problem for Tennis Canada.

Striking a balance between English and French content was also reported to be an issue for Canadian Freestyle Ski, Softball Canada, and Canada Snowboard, while the latter two organizations also explicitly documented the internal resistance to adopting social media altogether. Jade at Canadian Freestyle Ski indicated bilingualism in all communication was paramount for her organization to ensure funding from government partners (e.g., Sport Canada) remained in place. Though her organization had French-language employees to populate content, she mentioned outsourcing of translation services created additional costs. At Softball Canada, Jim reported his organization was capable of handling the bilingualism issue, as the individual responsible for social media was bilingual, but did reveal a tendency to focus mainly on English language content, because the overwhelming majority of stakeholders were English first: "You can get lazy sometimes and put more in English and kind of ignore the French." Bill at Canada Snowboard summarized the bilingualism issue as it related to adopting social media:

> Oh, it's a massive issue. It's something that, you know, we do have some obligation to with being a bilingual country, but also our – some of our funding is tied to making sure that we're communicating in both languages with athletes that are, you know, primarily French or bilingual. The struggle that we've found is investing in that and the return on it. You know we've done a lot of analytics, posting in French and then posting in English or vice versa, or posting in both languages, and I would say that probably 90-95% of our following is at least English first, if not English primary.

What exacerbates the bilingualism requirement is the organizational resistance these organizations incurred simultaneously. As Bill suggested, it remained a challenge to get staff within Canada Snowboard to consider social media as a worthwhile investment, as opposed to devoting resources towards high-performance objectives. Jim expanded on this point,

indicating the resistance from organization staff came from a specific subset: "Older administrators don't seem to see the value in [social media]."

While Sail Canada's insight on the politics of social media adoption was similar to those of Canadian Freestyle Ski (e.g., having a bilingual social media curator, limited organizational resistance), both Archery Canada and Bobsleigh Canada depicted a struggle with the bilingualism and resistance to adopting social media. Andrew claimed Archery Canada worked diligently to have a balance of English and French posts, but the delay in French translation meant refraining from communicating for up to 24 hours in some cases, plus the high costs for such a turnaround. At Bobsleigh Canada, Corey did not choose to divulge the extent to which his organization maintained a bilingual social media presence. However, he did offer a comment pertaining to the resistance in adopting social media; within the Bobsleigh Canada organization, there was a recognition that athlete success was the most important priority and resources should be devoted to hiring coaches, trainers, and associated activities. Andrew agreed with this sentiment, but also reflected upon Archery Canada's stakeholders: "We have a little bit older, different generation who are very reticent to move onto [social media]." As such, Andrew believed it would be an inefficient use of his organization's resources to expand their social media presence when their stakeholders would not be utilizing those platforms.

The hesitance in committing significant resources towards social media as a result of internal or external resistance and the issue of bilingualism was also expressed by Fencing Canada and Luge Canada. Cassandra from Fencing Canada communicated the presence of "an age drop off," whereby certain age brackets would not be engaged with the organization on social media platforms. Beyond this resistance, she also expressed concerns regarding bilingual communication: "We have a strategy to try and post in both official languages, but we don't always succeed in that. [Sport Canada] audits us for bilingualism; it's a big issue." This notion of a communications audit from a significant funding source illustrates Fencing Canada's reservations regarding social media adoption. Along a similar vein, Terrence at Luge Canada revealed his organization's cynical view of social media: "I don't think anyone sees the importance of it. We're at a stalemate, where we've got enough to do with what we're doing right now, and there's no argument in place by anybody to spend more." He expanded upon this point further through his $30,000 example: if Luge Canada were to receive $30,000, and had the option of hiring a high-performance coach or a dedicated social media curator, the former would be chosen, as it would contribute directly to athlete success, consequently increasing funding. As such, although the organization adopted social media, Terrence concluded it was an afterthought relative to Luge Canada's other priorities.

Discussion

The impetus to adopt social media within NSOs appears to be predominantly motivated by stakeholders' expectations and by pre-existing communications

infrastructure. In the current business environment in which these organizations operate, incorporating social media is necessary to remain competitive given the recent shift in digital technologies (Kaplan & Haenlien, 2010). Moreover, the acknowledgement by respondents in the present study that their stakeholders expected organizations to have a social media presence reflects this trend. This finding explains why many of these organizations succumbed to coercive, mimetic, and normative pressures with their social media presence (see Naraine & Parent, 2016). The logic of adopting social media in order to remain competitive is exacerbated by the perceived legitimacy and relevancy such actions are believed to offer. As explained in the findings, there was a tendency for some to attribute the integration of social media into their organization as an act of demonstrating modernity. The evidence provided also depicted the decision to adopt a social media presence as being affected by the current process of communication with internal and external parties. Communication is important for these organizations to demonstrate accountability and transparency (thus securing funding from government partners), and NSOs have shown a willingness to develop new platforms, especially in a digital setting, to conduct these activities (cf. Girginov et al., 2009). Thus, it is not unsurprising that a new communications tool such as social media would be adopted by the organizations under study; as new platforms emerge that foster enhanced communication (e.g., instantaneous, expedited), NSOs attempt to develop their presence and integrate the additional tasks alongside other ongoing communication activities (e.g., e-mails, telephone calls, newsletters).

Although the motivation to adopt social media would indicate an increased importance of adopting new communication approaches (given stakeholders' expectation) and few challenges (given the integration with other communications activities), the organizational capacity issue helps explain NSOs' subdued social media presence. It should come as no surprise that capacity is cited as having a significant impact on these organizations' ability to develop and maintain a social media presence; this issue has been previously identified as a key factor in the operations of sport organizations (e.g., Amis et al., 2004a; Misener & Doherty, 2009), and the findings here suggest capacity constraints affect the operationalization of social media as well. Specifically, the lack of human and financial resources hinders the ability to offer a diverse presence (on multiple platforms) with dynamic, engaging content as sport development-expenses are prioritized over social media-related expenses. Whereas a for-profit sport organization may have the ability to expend resources to develop a presence on a variety of platforms including incorporating new, emerging sites, not-for-profit sport organizations are cognizant of their inability to offer a high-quality social media presence to communicate to their stakeholders. What is perhaps most remarkable about this finding was that the lack of capacity drew a consensus across the four groups of social media presence (i.e., high, mid-high, mid-low, and low). Despite

the varying degree of commercial viability and professionalization amongst this cohort (cf. Girginov et al., 2009), all NSOs seem subject to similar resource constraints which inhibit their adoption of change. Indeed, the findings suggest capacity limitations can stymie the extent to which social media is adopted and advanced within an organization.

Along this vein, the challenge of balancing bilingual communication and resistance from staff members and stakeholder groups (e.g., older constituents) also impacted how NSOs adopt social media. Although these organizations are accustomed to the bilingual communications paradigm existing within the Canadian landscape, there remains an inability for these organizations to reconcile the expedited nature of social media communication (e.g., populating and translating content for English and French accounts in a timely fashion). The findings allude to the capacity issue once more, with few bilingual staff members tasked with communication, and/or an inadequate budget for translation. Concurrently, NSOs are faced with resistance from internal staff members looming over their adoption of this new form of communication. Despite the espoused benefits NSOs may receive from adopting social media, including alleviating a lack of traditional media coverage and increased marketing promotions (Eagleman, 2013), some within these organizations do not appear to ascribe to these espoused benefits, and contend that such communication merely diverts resources away from core objectives (e.g., elite athlete development) (cf. Hannan & Freeman, 1984). Indeed, there exists a lack of recognition of the potential for increased partnerships and unique sponsorship activations that could yield additional revenue to apply to athlete development. The resistance within NSOs is also fueled by the perceived unwillingness of older demographics to communicate on these new platforms. As such, social media can become a chore with a limited function. Social media is not perceived as a resource to increase the organization's capacity; rather, it is used to expedite communication with certain stakeholders. This reasoning also helps explain why there was little variance between the messages conveyed by these organizations on social media (cf. Naraine & Parent, 2016). Based on this premise, administrators are content to deploy limited resources towards their social media presence, and do so while maintaining a level of doubt about the potential benefits of such communication (cf. Isabella, 1990).

Considering the application of Pettigrew's (1987) contextual approach in this circumstance, the findings not only uncover *why* and *how* social media has been adopted as an additional medium to communicate with stakeholders, but underscores social media as an evolutionary, convergent change mechanism, rather than a source of radical, revolutionary change for NSOs. The external forces pressuring NSOs to adopt social media, the resistance begot from reticent staff and older stakeholders, and the limited organizational capacity were not enough to preserve organizational stability (cf. Boeker, 1997). However, the findings depict social media adoption as an incremental shift, incorporated into the existing communications paradigm, and

mitigating the potential for incongruence with organizational stability (cf. Tushman & O'Reilly, 1996). Social media adoption can also be considered as a type of convergent change. Developing and sustaining a social media presence has not affected major, transformational change in these organizations (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996); rather, change offers a slight, minor modification to the organization's communication with its stakeholders. This is an important consideration given the degree to which social media is championed as a paradigm shifting vehicle (e.g., Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Waters, Burke, Jackson, & Buning, 2010). Although the emergence of social media has shifted NSOs away from a state of inertia, its adoption remains a minor change with minimal impact on the day-to-day operations. Given the above, we posit that the degree to which social media adoption can affect change is mediated by capacity and resistance (from stakeholders and staff members). This proposition should, however, be tested in other settings.

Implications and Contributions

From a practical standpoint, the findings provide new insight that may help managers and staff within similar organizational contexts. More precisely, understanding *why* and *how* social media has been adopted can enable other not-for-profit sport organizations who have hesitated or delayed this change in communicating with their stakeholders. Practitioners should be conscious of the challenge of, and resistance to, adopting social media, namely negotiating between multilingual content and clearly communicating to staff the intended purpose and goals of utilizing this vehicle. Reflecting upon the results, not-for-profit sport organizations in a similar linguistic circumstance may wish to consider making multilingualism imperative for tasks associated with social media (and traditional media) communication with stakeholders. Whether in the form of providing language training for communications staff or hiring bilingual staff, organizations can reduce the capacity strain (e.g., costs associated with translation). While the Canada's bilingual circumstance may seem unique, practitioners in other jurisdictions may still wish to reflect upon how their organization incorporates official or de facto second (or more) languages, reducing the potential alienation of stakeholder groups. For instance, organizations in the United States should be concerned with English and Spanish language stakeholders, Belgium with Dutch and French, and perhaps Germany with its growing Turkish contingent (to name a few). Ensuring staff understand how the adoption of social media can benefit the organization is also important to ensure resistance does not lead to change fatigue (cf. Burgelman, 1991) or belief their position is in jeopardy (cf. Ybema et al., 2016), the latter especially with older and/or unilingual employees.

For scholars, the findings presented here add to the current, fluid understanding of social media within sport, particularly in not-for-profit sport organizations. With social media continuing to gain prominence, it is plausible more organizations will continue to adopt this method of communication. However, the findings also suggest it is likely this change will be minor and not radically shift an organization's

condition. This notion has important implications within the social media and sport domain, including helping to explain how not-for-profit sport organizations come to exhibit isomorphic tendencies in their social media presence (cf. Naraine & Parent, 2016). The reported impact capacity has on the adoption of social media also serves to advance the theoretical foundation of social media in sport. As social media is espoused as a tool with significant abilities (e.g., Eagleman, 2013; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Waters et al., 2010), it is critical to recognize the influence capacity can have on its utility. In the present circumstance, low capacity resulted in diminished utility once social media was adopted. While this concept is simple and straightforward, it raises an important consideration for scholars: the inverse (i.e., high capacity resulting in increased utility) may not necessarily be true. Given the elite athlete development focus by these types of sport organizations, it is unclear whether an organization with significant capacity would deploy more resources to their social media presence. With calls to continue examining social media in sport using organizational and strategic management models (cf. Filo et al., 2015), highlighting how high versus low capacity impacts the adoption, utilization, and maintenance of a social media presence can reveal additional insights and complement the knowledge garnered in the present study.

Limitations

The present study was subjected to (de)limitations, much of which stemmed from the methodological approach. First, while this study focused on not-for-profit sport organizations, the sample was drawn from one jurisdiction (i.e., Canada), which affects the generalizability of the results. However, some of the results can still be adapted in other contexts (e.g., balancing multilingualism). Second, the findings were limited to the responses of the individuals representing the sampled NSOs; responses were assumed to be an accurate representation of the experience of their respective organizations, but respondents may have chosen to withhold information or provided an account differing from those communicated by their colleagues. Finally, the context of adopting social media was limited to one data source (i.e., interviews), and it is unknown whether data ascertained from additional sources (e.g., meeting documents, websites, e-mail exchanges) would have yielded new information.

Future Directions

This study offers a basis on which future research may continue to build. Scholars should continue pursuing qualitative approaches to enhance the social media and sport research agenda, including uncovering the experiences of practitioners dealing with the phenomena. However, future studies may consider shifting the context from North America (e.g., Canada, United States) towards the Global South (e.g., India, China). Given the capacity issues cited in this study, understanding how change to stakeholder communication is adopted (or not) from these perspectives can enhance the findings of the current study. Scholars may also wish to reflect upon how stakeholders perceive the adoption of social media in a given organization; the present study isolated

focal organizations adopting the change, but future studies may wish to explore how stakeholders react to the change process. Finally, although social media is still emerging and evolving, researchers may reflect upon this change to stakeholder communication once the process has matured, taking a longitudinal approach and juxtaposing the results with those found in the present study.

Conclusion

Although social media is lauded for its ability to help organizations connect with stakeholders instantaneously without spatial limitations, it does not seem to have triggered the immense change previously postulated (cf. Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Using Pettigrew's (1987) contextualist approach, this study's findings note adopting social media results in an evolutionary, convergent change to the stakeholder communication paradigm within not-for-profit sport organizations. The findings reinforce the notion of organizations changing for change's sake (i.e., to meet stakeholder expectations and maintain relevancy/legitimacy) instead of choosing inertia due to their limited capacity. Moreover, as new innovations and advancements occur in the operating environments, not-for-profit sport organizations are likely to incorporate this change without maximizing its utility.

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Table and Appendix

Table 1

Organizational Characteristics

Organization	Interviewer Pseudonym	Season	Social media presence[a]	Twitter followers[b]	Facebook likes[b]
Tennis Canada	Linda	S	High	29,418	37,964
Curling Canada	Anthony	W	High	27,470	52,365
Softball Canada	Jim	S	Mid-high	8,827	7,116
Canada Snowboard	Bill	W	Mid-high	7,438	13,223
Canada Freestyle Ski	Jade	W	Mid-high	5,602	10,677
Sail Canada	Carla	S	Mid-low	3,626	2,885
Bobsleigh Canada	Corey	W	Mid-low	2,834	1,568
Archery Canada	Andrew	S	Mid-low	2,570	2,481
Luge Canada	Terrence	W	Low	1,417	1,106
Fencing Canada	Cassandra	S	Low	996	4,245

a. Based on Naraine and Parent (2016)
b. As of November 15, 2016.

Appendix A

Interview Guide (without prompt questions)

General information

1. What is your role within the national sport organization?
2. How long have you served in this role? Have you performed other duties within the organization?
3. How does your role allow you to communicate to others within the organization and external to the organization?

National Sport Organization design

1. What is the primary function of your organization? Who does it serve? Why does it exist?
2. What is the mission of the organization?
3. What are the organization's vision and values?
4. How many staff work in the organization?

Social media

1. How would you describe the social media presence of your organization compared to traditional modes of communication?
2. How does a social media presence align with your organization's mission, vision, and values (if at all)? Do you use social media to advance these at all?
3. What is the greatest strength and challenge to your organization in using social media?

Isomorphism and credibility

1. Are sport organizations more credible if they have social media platforms? Less credible if they don't?
2. How would you compare your organization's use of social media compared to other national sport organizations in Canada?
3. Do you mimic or adopt practices of other NSOs with respect to social media? If so, which ones and why? If not, why?
4. How does your organization differ from other similar organizations with its social media?

Future

1. Will social media become more important, less important, or remain the same for your organization? Why?
2. How does the emergence of new, salient social media platforms affect your organization?
3. Does the emergence of new social media trends or platforms affect your organization's strategy? Why?
4. Is there more your organization can do to connect to stakeholders via social media? If so, what?

Final question

1. Is there anything else you would like to mention in regards to what we've discussed today?

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Investigating the negative fan behaviors of a branded collegiate basketball student section

Brian S. Gordon[1] Jeremy Arney[2]

[1]*University of Kansas*
[2]*University of Wisconsin – La Crosse*

Branded collegiate student sections (e.g., the Cameron Crazies at Duke University) have been identified as the most committed supporters of the team. The marketing benefits of these groups have been documented yet the potential negative consequences have gone unexplored in the literature. This study aimed to understand what types of behavior fans in this context engaged in, why they engaged in these actions, and attempts to link some of these observations to relevant theory on fan violence. A multiple method design was employed in order to obtain both breadth and depth of the phenomenon as well as for data triangulation. Ten members of a large, collegiate basketball fan group participated in in-depth, semi-structured interviews and extensive fieldwork of the fan group was conducted over the course of a season. Finally, 197 members of the same college basketball fan group responded to a survey questionnaire. The results of this study indicated there are negative consequences linked to the behavior of members of the branded student section. University officials should be aware of the potential danger of these branded student sections and strengthen relations and authority over these groups to minimize the likelihood of negative fan behavior.

According to the National Summit on Civil Disturbances (2005), sporting events account for over 25% of convivial event disturbances on college campuses. Even more, previous research that has focused on fan violence has lacked a universally agreed-upon definition of the phenomenon (Spaaij, 2014). Negative sport

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*This version of the article was revised to acknowledge this data was also used as part of an article by Rudd and Gordon (2010) on sportsmanship.

fan behavior encompasses more than just physical acts of harm toward other fans and players as well. It has been well-documented, and glorified under the auspice of "home advantage," that acts of verbal aggression directed at opposing players and fans are a common aspect of sporting events (Burgers, Beukeboom, Kelder, & Peeters, 2014; Grove, Pickett, Jones, & Dorsch 2012; Wann, Carlson, & Schrader, 1999; Wann, Schrader, & Carlson, 2000). Thus, the aim of this study is to use an immersive multiple methods approach to more holistically examine the construct of negative sport fan behavior.

The authors relied on a broader, more inclusive conceptualization of negative fan behavior to frame this inquiry. The conceptualization proposed by Branscombe and Wann (1992) that encompasses both aspects of negative fan behavior was used as a baseline definition in developing interview and observation guides. Branscombe and Wann (1992) viewed spectator aggression as, "the motive to harm another who does not wish to be treated in such a manner" (p. 1015). Further, we were drawn to Young's (2012) description of sports crowd violence whereas it was described as "acts of verbal or physical aggression (threatened or actual), perpetrated by partisan fans at, or away from, the sports arena that may result in injury to persons or damage to property" (p. 42). While this may sound simplistic, this definition emphasizes a more holistic approach to aggression and can be interpreted to include both physical and verbal instances of aggression.

In addition to spectator aggression, this study also wishes to expand on the social psychological notion of collective action. Numerous psychological theories have been applied to the group context to explain collective violence. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) explains how the group dimension installs itself in the minds of individuals and influences and shapes fan behavior. An individual's social identity is the self-perception that is derived from their membership within a particular group and this perception leads the individual to discriminate in favor of their group in comparison to a rival group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals have a strong desire to maintain a positive social identity as well as a high level of self-esteem and this is reflected in the types of comments fans make about behaviors by in-and out-group members (Burgers et.al, 2014; Wann, 1993). As Wright (2009) stated,

> The psychological study of collective action has been dominated by an interest in determining when and why individuals will (and will not) engage in collective action…A group member engages in collective action any time she or he acts as a representative of the group and where the action is directed at improving the conditions of the group as a whole. (p. 860)

In all, the behaviors and actions of participants in this study were viewed

through this broadly defined lens of aggression and collective action outcomes.

Before the relevant theory is discussed, it is imperative to understand the current climate surrounding fan violence. As an example, The National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has formed special committees, enacted legislation, and convened a summit of academicians and practitioners in 2003 to address this issue. Furthermore, many incidents of violence have been committed by fans in response to the outcome—win or loss—of a sporting event. These incidents have caused considerable property damage, led to countless arrests, and taken innocent lives as a result.

Recently, Kansas State basketball fan Nathan Power was issued a summons to appear in court for a disorderly conduct charge after he rammed into University of Kansas player Jamari Traylor after a home upset win of the Jayhawks (KSN TV, 2015). Power apologized to KU admitting to letting "my emotions get the best of me in all of the chaos", and Kansas State University president Kirk Schulz sent out a letter to everyone on the campus reminding them of the importance of making a better impression of the "Wildcat Way" than what was nationally witnessed on television by thousands of viewers across the country (KSN TV, 2015). In addition, 31 people were arrested in close proximity to the University of Kentucky campus for disorderly conduct and public intoxication after mass rioting broke out in response to the Wildcats loss in the Final Four to the University of Wisconsin last spring. Police in riot gear fired pepper balls and employed a street sweeper to break up the crowd of over 1,500 fans who gathered to protest the stunning loss (The Associated Press, 2015). Finally, the University of Michigan's Athletic Director released an open letter urging fans to avoid "thoughtless comments" after a punting mistake cost Michigan the October 17, 2015, game against Michigan State (mmc-news.com, 2015).

As an indication of the importance of this issue, the NCAA has taken several steps to better understand fan violence and has also initiated policy in an effort to prevent future occurrences. In response to fan violence concerns, the NCAA has offered sportsmanship seminars at its annual convention. Additionally, it has proactively encouraged its respective institutions to draft uniform guidelines and standards regarding negative fan behavior. Finally, it has offered leadership conferences for student-athletes in an effort to set an example for younger fans ("NCAA President", 2006). At the conference level, steps have been taken to ensure fan safety in response to incidents of fan violence. In the Big Ten, the University of Wisconsin and University of Minnesota have increased security and installed immovable barriers that prevent students from storming the field. This is in response to an incident at the Madison campus that critically injured six students and sent 73 to the hospital. In

accordance with NCAA recommendations, the University of Minnesota has installed collapsible field goal posts to prevent rowdy fans from tearing them down (Gruca, 2005). These administrative reactions illustrate some of the outcomes that negative fan behavior can have on sporting events. The consequences of fan violence and subsequent actions taken by the NCAA demonstrate the significance of this issue in intercollegiate athletics. Furthermore, it is essential to understand the theoretical explanations of fan violence in order to study the problem more thoroughly.

Review of Literature

Previous Fan Behavior Frameworks

Prior studies of crowds at sporting events have highlighted numerous characteristics of the crowd composition that may contribute to the precipitation of fan violence. According to Simons and Taylor's (1992) Psychosocial Model of Fan Behavior, de-individuation—which is related to anonymity—can lead to an "abandonment of personal responsibility and a weakening of personal and social restraints that normally guard against socially unacceptable behavior" (p. 216). In the realm of a sport stadium, a feeling of anonymity can lead an individual to believe that his or her actions will not result in social or legal repercussions. However, the idea of anonymity has been challenged by research showing that people in crowds typically assemble with friends or family, and therefore, people who come in groups are more likely to act collectively than as anonymous individuals (McPhail, 1991; Schweingruber & Wohlstein, 2005). Nevertheless, previous research has shown that individuals tend to act differently in the confines of a group as opposed to normal circumstances (Branscombe & Wann, 1992; Goldstein, 1989; Mann, 1979; Mustonen, Arms, & Russell, 1996; Wann & Dolan, 1994). There are many theories of collective behavior that attempt to explain how the various notions of "group-think" affect individuals who comprise these groups (Hart 1998; Janis 1972). For example, Contagion Theory, first introduced by French theorist Gustav Le Bon (1895), explains that behaviors and attitudes may be disseminated and unanimously accepted by a crowd and this creates a chain reaction of elevated arousal throughout the group as a whole. In essence, Le Bon asserted that emotions such as fear and hate are contagious in crowds because people experience a decline in personal responsibility and do things collectively that they would never do when acting alone. For example, an individual's arousal level may be raised by a precipitating event (bad call; taunts from rival fans) and this individual affects others within the group thus raising the arousal level of the group as a whole. Because of this, "crowd behavior is volatile and spontaneous" (Schweinberger & Wohlstein, 2005, p. 144). Nonetheless, the persistent problem of relying upon Contagion Theory as an explanation of crowd behavior is the fact that there has

never been a systematic study documenting the "collective mind."

Convergence Theory, which rejects Contagion Theory's explanation of the crowd transforming individual members, argues instead that people in a crowd act similarly because of their predispositions—similar values and beliefs—that brought them together (McKee 1969; Simons and Taylor 1992). Due to these similarities, deviant group behavior may be accepted without critical thought by individuals and transferred indiscriminately throughout the entire group. However, McPhail (1991) has pointed out that similar to Contagion Theory, Convergence Theory assumes and attempts to explain crowd behavior by convincing the reader "that everyone in the crowd was continuously engaged in unanimous or mutually inclusive behavior—which is weak in supportive studies" (p. 71).

Unlike Contagion and Convergence Theories, Emergent Norm Theory emphasizes the importance of social norms in shaping crowd behavior. Drawing upon the Symbolic-Interactionist perspective of sociology, Turner and Killian (1972) asserted that crowds develop their own definition of a situation and establishes norms for behavior that fit the occasion. Emergent norms occur when people define a situation as highly unusual or see a longstanding situation in a new light. Sociologists using the Emergent Norm approach seek to determine how individuals within given collectivity develop an understanding of what is going on, how they construe these activities, and what types of norms are involved. For example, in a study of audience participation, Clayman (1993) found that members of an audience listening to a speech applaud promptly and independently but wait to coordinate their booing with others, indicating they do not wish to boo alone. In addition, according to Emergent Norm Theory, once a crowd reaches some agreement on the norms, the collectivity is supposed to adhere to them. If crowd members develop a norm that condones booing or verbally taunting others, they will proceed to cheer for those who conform and ridicule those who are unwilling to abide by the collectivity's new norms.

Perception Control Theory

The previous theoretical frameworks used to depict crowd disorders focus solely on the group's behavior, and alleged "mass consciousness" of the crowd. Whereas McPhail's (1994) perception control framework allows us to look at both levels (and units) of analysis via the theoretical concepts of outcome violence (group behavior) and intended violence (acts specific to an individual and/or instigating leaders of the group). Therefore, Perception Control Theory is a much more holistic and informative theoretical framework than the previous ones we briefly outlined in our literature review and offers an alternative "processual" explanation throughout. According to McPhail (1994), when violence occurs in riots and other

gatherings, it may take one or more of several forms including vandalism, looting, arson and assault. Perception Control Theory suggests two ways in which individual or collective violence could develop.

Outcome Violence. The first, "outcome violence", occurs when an individual or group of individuals have a nonviolent goal such as getting together to throw a large party. The idea is that they will do anything to achieve this goal, including defying the authorities if the authorities attempt to squelch their party plans. When they encounter resistance or disturbance, they attempt to circumvent, overcome, oppose or eliminate that disturbance—but it frequently persists, as do their efforts to overcome the disturbance. In the ensuing struggle between disturbance and purposive resistance, the outcome is violent even though the original purposes were not.

Intended Violence. The second path, according to McPhail, is "intended violence", in which an individual's intentions are violent from the beginning and they match their perceptions of the situation to achieve this violent end. An example of this would be British soccer hooligans who go to games intent on beating someone or those who participate in celebratory riots and from the beginning have the objective of vandalizing and burning property. They act to make their perceptions match their goal of violating—intimidating, assaulting, injuring or killing—another human being. McPhail mentions the research of Dunning, Murphy and Williams (1986; 1988) who make a persuasive argument that these working class males grow up in families in which they witness physical violence, in which they are recipients of physical violence, indeed in which they are often coached in violence by parents, older siblings and by peers to become skilled in violent actions and to enjoy the successful practice of violence which the British often call "aggro." Further, McPhail (1994) has explained the target of this aggression by stating:

> Hooligans' targets are typically the supporters of rival football teams but can be anyone who talks or looks or acts "different." It is a matter of "we" versus "them" not unlike the stereotypical categorization of members of one racial, language, or religious community by members of another (McPhail, 1994, p. 23).

Furthermore, in his article concerning football violence, Finn (1994) has pointed to the "flow (or peak) experiences" of those fans that attend soccer games, as well as those who participate in hooligan activities outside of the venue. Reflecting on his own research, he stated, "in studies of optimal or peak experiences individuals reported their subjective experiences that the activity was rewarding in and of itself: they experienced 'flow'; they were at one with the action" (Finn, 1994, p. 106). In Finn's discussion of Scotland's soccer "casuals" (sharply dressed hooligans), the pursuit of the "carnivalesque" has led some supporters to

abandon the game and its outcome, and focus more on creating their own flow (or peak) experiences (Finn, 1994). More recently, Cleland and Cashmore (2016) point out how modern technology has allowed for the creation of hooligan-operated websites that help "expand and facilitate informal and transitional networks by glorifying violence through either videos, pictures, or a narrative description of violent engagement…enhancing the adrenaline rush and emotional arousal experienced by the hooligans" (p. 132). This is similar to what other North American scholars (Eitzen, 1981; Lang, 1981; Lewis, 1972) have written referencing to sport taking place in a "carnival-like" atmosphere. Eitzen (1981) wrote, "festivals allow the individual to participate in relatively unstructured and spontaneous behaviors. At sporting events, spectators can deviate from society's norms (within reasonable limits) without penalty" (p. 401). Nonetheless, recent attacks on English football fans by well-organized ultra-violent Russian hooligans led to the possibility of penalizing both the English and Russian soccer federations with expulsion from the 2016 European Championships by UEFA because of their fan-based violence (Ough, Morgan, & Criddle, 2016).

Additionally, the majority of studies regarding this topic have been conceptual in nature. Numerous theories and models have been proposed in an attempt to understand the complexity of fan violence. Additionally, in the realm of sport literature, many of the research endeavors have examined the relationship between a specific variable (i.e. team identification) and its impact on individual's likelihood to commit acts of aggression. However, the literature is nearly devoid of in-depth examinations of these groups to determine the extent to which the above-mentioned theoretical frameworks apply in this situation. Consequently, a qualitative inquiry in a specific sport context would fill this considerable gap in the literature. Therefore, the results of such a study could make a considerable contribution to a larger study of fan violence. This study is primarily focused on addressing the following question:

> **R1**: *What type of collective behaviors do participants in a student-led cheering section engage in and how do these observations relate to either intended or outcome violence as purported in Perception Control Theory?*

Methods

This case study employed a multiple methods approach to examine fan behavior. According to Yin (2009), the case study is a most appropriate method to use when asking "how" and "why" research questions. Case studies are also advantageous to a qualitative researcher when they have the ability to directly observe contemporary events unfolding, and the ability to gain access to the actors immersed in such events (Yin, 2009). The Institutional Review Board at Author One's university granted approval for this study and the multiple methods of data collection.

First, Author One acted as an observer as participant (Gold, 1958) of a branded student fan group at a major Southeastern university during six home men's basketball games. The purpose of the observation was both direct data collection and to inform the questions asked in the subsequent interviews and open-ended questionnaires. During observation, Author One noted both the presence and void (based on past literature) of behaviors and characteristics by means of field notes. The access garnered allowed for observations to occur at multiple locations within the arena, including directly within the group and from adjoining sections. These multiple perspectives allowed for a more rich description of the orientation and behavior of the member students in the section. In fact, relying on a "triangulation" of research methods is an important foundation for when a researcher is staking their claims based on studying only one case (Yin, 2009). In all, the primary location of the observation was in the vicinity of the student group to allow for the verbal behavior to be documented.

The second method of data collection involved face-to-face interviews which were audio recorded with 10 members of the branded collegiate student group. The use of these ten respondents was deemed acceptable due to the small membership in the branded student cheering section and the achievement of data saturation. Data saturation is the point "where any further data collection will not provide any different information from what you already have, that is you are not learning anything new" (Gratton & Jones, 2004, p. 153). To further this point, the authors could have interviewed more student fan group members yet deemed it unnecessary since interviewee responses were similar. Eight males and two females were interviewed, which included two freshman, two sophomores, four juniors, and two seniors. The protocol for the interviews was semi-structured using an interview guide (Johnson & Christensen, 2008) with questions derived from previous literature and the aforementioned observations (see Appendix A for interview protocol). With this approach, "the researcher adopts a flexible approach to data collection, and can alter the sequence of questions or probe for more information with subsidiary questions" (Gratton & Jones, 2004, p. 141). As an example, one series of questions focused on the level of group solidarity that was present among student group members. Previous theories of collective behavior have suggested that the more members of a group identify with each other and feel a shared connection, the higher likelihood that group action directed towards an out-group may be initiated. A second question line examined the explicit physical and verbal behaviors that were witnessed and initiated by group members. Additionally, questions were asked surrounding the organizational characteristics of the student section. In many cases, this information did not directly relate to their behaviors at

games. Rather, the degree of organization is related to the strength of connection or level of "group think" that may be present among members.

The last method of data collection occurred through open-ended questionnaires emailed to the roughly 1,200-student group member list (n=198). Prompts included, "Why did you choose to become a member of the [student fan group]?" and, "Please describe the types of cheering you do. What kinds of things do you say to the players and opposing team?" Additionally, descriptive survey questions were included gauging the respondents' frequency of attendance, interest in the team and sport, and general views on sportsmanship by both players and fans (the sportsmanship results can be found in Rudd & Gordon, 2010).

Data Analysis

Authors One and Two transcribed the responses from the interviews and field notes. Open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was employed where the utilization of a deductive, or using the established theory, approach was used to identify themes from the three data sources. First, both the authors independently coded responses and observations, based on the a priori themes used to develop the interview guide. Within the deductively identified groupings, emergent themes were proposed based on the responses and observations that differed from previous theory. When disagreements in coding appeared they were discussed between both of the authors until consensus was reached. According to Miles and Huberman (1994):

> Codes are the mechanisms used to retrieve and organize these chunks from data gathered, say from transcribed notes of an interview. The organization of chunks entails some system for categorizing the various chunks, so the researcher can quickly find, pull out, and cluster the segments relating to a particular hypothesis and/or construct relevant to the study. Clustering and displaying the condensed chunks sets the stage for drawing conclusions (p. 57).

In regards to reliability and validity, the five verification strategies posited by Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, and Spiers (2002) were utilized: (1) methodological coherence, (2) appropriate sample population, (3) collecting and analyzing concurrently, (4) thinking theoretically, and (5) theory development. In the following results section, the reader will find summarized results paired with verbatim responses to account for both the voice of the researchers and participants. This is in response to Corbin and Strauss's (2008) assertion that, "though we break data apart, and identify concepts to stand for the data, we also have to put it back together again by relating those concepts" (p. 198).

Results

Based on an analysis of interview transcriptions, email communication among group members, field notes constructed

from six observations, and open-ended survey responses, the results were constructed and are presented in this section. The results of the open coding process generally fell into one of six categories: (1) intent of fan behavior, (2) group communication among fan group members and "cheer sheets" as evidence of intended violence, (3) dehumanizing the opponent, (4) "blasting" referees/rival players/rival fans as evidence of outcome violence, (5) the importance of perceived anonymity, and (6) the important role leaders play in organizing and initiating negative fan behavior. Results are organized below according to theme. Representative quotes are presented in verbatim form.

Evidence of Intended Violence

The most salient theme from an examination of interview transcriptions, email communication among group members and an examination of "cheer sheets" was the pre-disposition of many group members to engage in acts of non-physical (verbal) violence. They came across clearly through an examination of group member emails as well as interview responses. The student fan group has a designated researcher who is responsible for digging up "dirt" on opposing players and disseminating this information to fan group members for the intent of using it against him or her during the game. The following email communication from the fan group leaders to the members clearly illustrates this:

> Many of you know [student fan group researcher name], if we do a chant or a sign about a player on the other team, it is often due to [researcher name's] stellar research. For the game tomorrow, [opposing player name] is returning from injury. [Researcher name] has been posing as a groupie of [opposing player name] and has pretended to be a girl. He has gotten some good information out of [opposing player name] and we can use this information against [opposing player name] at the game tomorrow.

The "dirt" gathered about opposing players is compiled by the student group's researcher and put into cheer sheets that are disseminated to the entire membership via email and at the event site as well. It was clear no topic was off limits in regards to the information utilized against opposing players, and star players are typically the targets. A member of the student fan group shed some light on what information is collected and used against opposing players:

> Some members were talking to [opposing player name] of [opposing school]. His father was [opposing player's father name] who was a former MLB player and drug addict. The people that run it [student fan group] were calling him "crack baby" because of his father's past…..another time, we were playing [school name] and the members focused on a [school name] player because he was Cuban….also, the girls team too…There is a [student

> fan group name] for women's basketball too. Some people will make comments about the opposing team looking like monsters, beasts, and even lesbians.

Beyond the advanced communication to group members and the construction of cheer sheets, many student fan group members also indicated that the purpose of the fan group was to "get inside the opponent's head" as well as provide a hostile environment and home court advantage for the team. They provided specific examples of games where they felt like their relentless heckling and taunting impacted the final score, illustrating the presence of a "collective efficacy" (Bandura, 2000). Further, they provided examples of specific players that incurred their wrath (usually a star player) and suffered from a poor performance as a result. This indicates that these members joined the group with the expressed intent of engaging in negative fan behavior and view the group as the conduit to achieve this goal. Student group leadership furthered this purpose through group emails and cheer sheets that perpetuated this notion that the group had an impact on the outcome and this outcome should be achieved by any means necessary. To further reinforce the role that the fan group plays, the university itself branded this group "the 6th man" and recognized them before every home game.

Evidence of Outcome Violence

From an examination of the interview transcripts as well as extensive fieldwork, fan group members showed a proclivity for "acting in the moment" in response to external stimuli in the environment (i.e. bad call by a referee, taunting by opposing fans, dehumanizing an opposing player who is having success in the game) or a "precipitating event" (Smelser, 1963). For example, fan group members may have flocked to the arena with the intentions of simply enjoying the game, supporting their team in a positive manner and commiserating with their fellow fan group members. Further, many respondents indicated very benign intentions (i.e. support the team, get better seats, meet new people, get a free t-shirt, fun) for joining the student fan group as well as defining the overall purpose of the group. However, their behavior turned abusive (verbally) in response to occurrences at the event site. This was a reoccurring theme in the interviews as well as the open-ended survey responses such as:

> I've crossed the line a couple times. Just get caught up in the emotion of it, so its just like I yell something but I think like, this is really irritating to me, I say something to the effect of you are a fucking idiot, get the hell out of here, get back to the locker room….I try to keep myself composed I think I just get too caught up in what is going on during the game and in the stands……this goes back to what I said earlier about the mob mentality, the us versus them and we need to beat them.

> You know, I get caught up in it sometimes.

Another indication of outcome violence came from the open-ended survey responses. The degree to which fan group members discussed the referees, opposing players, and rival fans as specific targets of their taunting and heckling was apparent. A good representation of their dehumanizing out-group members can be discerned from these statements:

> There are time we will call the other opposing fans faggots, other times we will criticize the refs, say horrible things like "FU" or I hope you die, stuff like that…People will threaten the refs like I will be waiting for you after the game….things like that. It is part of the game.
>
> It happens all the time, I mean there is the "FU" chant, the "bullshit" chant and don't forget about the refs…sometimes they say things about their mothers, its usually who they take their anger out on.

It is important to note the context of some of these comments as well. Although in some cases fan group members intended to target these individuals going into the game (which would reinforce the tenets of intended violence), there was a theme that emerged regarding how their behavior was *in response* to the actions of one of the aforementioned groups. For example, numerous fan group members described how they taunted and threatened rival fans at the event site as a retaliatory behavior to comments made earlier or in response to what was happening on the court. Further, to reinforce the lack of intent in regards to some of this negative fan behavior, some of the fan group members had initially indicated that they did not engage in negative fan behavior or verbal violence. However, when pressed in the interview or provided a situation, some conceded that they would "blast" an out-group in response to a "trigger" in the environment.

Finally, in a related fashion, fan group members also indicated they were engaging in this negative behavior due to their participation in this group context. This was best illustrated with the following comment:

> I probably would not do any of it if I did not have any other people around me doing it. I don't want to be singled out, that is just not my personality, I don't think and if there is no one else around me, I would probably not cheer or yell at the refs and opposing players….I would probably fall back and be a pretty terrible fan (if not for the group membership).

There were many similar comments in this vein. There seemed to be a faction of group members who indicated that they would not engage in the yelling or taunting if not for their membership in the group and the context overall. So, in some respects, it is not just a precipitating event on the court (bad call or opposing star players' actions) or in the stands (response to rival fans) that leads to outcome violence by some of the fan group members but a response among

the individual group member to the reaction of the group they reside in as a whole.

Evidence of Leaders and Followers

Through fieldwork, group email communication, and interviews, it was evident that the student fan group under examination had a hierarchical structure that took various forms depending on the context. The "formal" structure of the group included board members who have clearly defined roles, regular meetings, and were active in organizing and managing the over 1,200 fan group members. Beyond the day-to-day operations of the group, the presence of a leadership structure impacted the behavior of the overall group as well. As previously noted, one member had the role of "researcher" for the group. The researcher dug up information about opposing players that would be used against them at the live event. During interviews and observations, the "dirt" that was uncovered included the names of family members, significant others, any previous legal infractions, or even the racial/ethnic background. Further, the researcher would try to uncover campus contact information or cell phone numbers in an effort to harass the player daily through phone calls to their dormitory room or personal phone. Finally, in some cases, the researcher would be an "imposter" (or a groupie as the researcher called it) on social media and attempt to extract information through this rouse. The most common approach was for the researcher to pretend to be a female admirer. All of this effort culminated in the construction of personal information to use against the star player on game day and it was deliberately collected and disseminated to group members by the leadership of the group.

Another theme regarding the presence of leaders and followers was at the event itself. Typically, the most ardent supporters of the team and of the group would be located in the front row, centered for all group members to see on event day. It was also likely that they would be dressed in eclectic outfits as a way to further differentiate themselves from the group as well as to be highly identifiable. Often, they would be directing uniform chants and cheers (some very benign and support those that were offensive and threatening) as mentioned here:

> Usually, my friend, [friend's name] who stands next to me will start them….he starts a lot of them and another kid, [kid's name] will do that as well; they're usually the instigators that everyone else follow…but that's kind of the way it works, we don't do any like random people to start it.

Not only does the group context have an impact on each individual member of the fan group but also the results here suggest that some individual group members play a significant role in the behavior of the overall group. A number of group members discussed how their fan behavior at the event was significantly impacted by their membership in the group. This theme takes

it even a step further in that it is not only the group that instills itself in the individual but also individuals within the group who help drive and dictate the overall group behavior.

Concept of Anonymity

The idea that student fan group members are "anonymous" among the throng of people in their section did not manifest itself in the manner as previous research on collective behavior would suggest. Many of the student fan group members know each other, travel in packs to the facility for the game, and sit by one another. Further, from interviews and the open-ended questionnaires, meeting new people and building lasting social relationships was considered the main benefit of joining the student fan group by a lion's share of the respondents. Therefore, it can be deduced that it is likely that those sitting in the fan group section are familiar with each other and more than likely, know each other and are friends. These observations contradict the traditional notion of "anonymity" or the "anonymous" crowd.

However, the concept of anonymity manifested itself through a different mechanism. Student fan group members indicated that they could verbally berate or even threaten out-group members (opposing players, rival fans, referees) without the fear of negative reprisal from the out-group members as well as from event personnel. A recurring observation from student fan group members was that nobody from the fan group section had ever been ejected from the facility for negative fan behavior. This fueled the belief that individuals could blend into the crowd and not be singled out by the aforementioned groups. While not anonymous to each other, they were in a sense anonymous to the groups that they were "blasting". This is best evidence by the following observation:

> Yeah definitely…the power of numbers. If you say something and all these guys have your back, you feel like you can say anything to a six ten guy, 295 pound dude, jacked as can be…if we are all saying the same thing, its not like he will single one person out, you feel like there is nothing he can do about it. It's not like you have to worry about the guy waiting in the parking lot for you after the game.

There is the notion that around 1,200 fans have your back and emboldens individuals to act in a manner that they normally would not. The second part of the quote really hammers home the way anonymity manifested itself in this setting. As previously mentioned, it is not as if the crowd members are anonymous actors amongst each other. However, the crowd members feel a level of anonymity in regards to the out-groups that they are "blasting" and event/security personnel who may punish them for their acts of verbal violence and threats.

Beyond the lack of fear of negative reprisal, another anonymity-related theme

dealt with how the group behavior or group "think" influences the individual actor. Some respondents indicated that they were willing to engage in behavior in the group context that they would not normally do if they attended the game, not representing and commiserating with members of the student fan group. That can best be illustrated here:

> Just being in the group, everyone is yelling and you do not want to be the only one not yelling or being involved in it if I tried to think about it. I wouldn't be at a game by myself just standing on the side yelling this stuff.

This ties into the idea that student fan group members in this context have lost their sense of independence, their sense of self, and have surrendered themselves to the actions of the crowd, open to the guided behavior of the overall group.

Discussion

The following section includes a discussion of how the results in this context relate to previous work on fan violence as well as how it contributes independently to the existing literature. Implications for sport administrators from the results of this study are included as well as practical suggestions for how to curb negative fan violence in similar contexts is provided. Finally, a discussion of future research avenues based on the findings is included.

From extensive fieldwork and a thorough examination of the interview data, the most prevalent and reoccurring theme centered on the tenets of perception control theory. There has been a considerable debate in the field of sociology (more specifically, in the area of collective behavior) about the nature of convivial gatherings, urban riots, and social movements. One common conception is collective behavior participants were "transformed by the crowd into irrational pawns of suggestion and contagion…that they were riffraff of society or otherwise perverted personalities predisposed to participate in social movements" (McPhail, 1994, p. 13). Further, collective crowd behavior has been argued to be "spontaneous, unorganized, undirected, and unjustifiable" (Simons & Taylor, 1992, p. 212). Alternatively, our results suggest that collective behavior falls within the other common discourse. Collective behavior is characterized by rational actors who are goal-oriented, participants who are not driven by economic deprivation, and organized through a complex social network and coordinated communication where participants could be recruited with a purpose (McPhail, 1994).

There were many markers of intended violence found among student fan group members. First, this organization of about 1,200 students had a formal board and leadership structure that disseminated information regularly to its members. This information included "cheer" sheets that provided instructions for collective action among its members at the event site. Further, these sheets contained in-depth

information, or "dirt," about opposing players and coaches. The "dirt" included mother and father's names, girlfriends' names, details of arrest records, campus contact information, and even a famous father of one athlete who had a recurring drug problem. This information was compiled, disseminated, and used against the target to "rattle" them on and around event day. It went so far as to even identify where opposing players' parents were sitting and direct coordinated comments at the parents during the event. These observations are evidence of the, "intrapersonal processes of individual and collective actions as well as the complex structures of how action is built, elaborated, and transformed" (McPhail, 1994, p. 16). Further, it is an apt illustration of Harrison's (1974) observation that certain individuals attend sporting events for the express reason of acting out their aggressive tendencies.

There was also ample evidence to suggest that student fan group members also engaged in acts of verbal violence in reaction to environmental stimuli. There were several instances where respondents indicated that they joined the group with a nonviolent goal in mind (support the team, make friends, good seats, student section t-shirt). While they began with an innocent goal, they ended engaging in negative fan behavior at the event site in reaction to a triggering event (opposing player has success, referee makes a bad call, rival fans become a threat). These are ideal examples of what McPhail (1994) would categorize as outcome violence. Stated differently, "In the ensuing struggle between disturbance and purposive resistance, the outcome is violent even though the original purpose were not" (McPhail, 1994, p. 22). The fieldwork and interviews also reinforced the fact that student group members felt a connection with other group members and shared a "oneness" in with the group in some instances. Therefore, to understand outcome violence, it is important to realize that when the group feels a threat to their own collective self-concept, the reaction typically is to derogate the target out-group and to reinforce their own self-concept (Lott & Lott, 1965; McPhail, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Strong support for the processual approach to collective behavior was evidenced here as well as the central role of perception control among student fan group members.

Two related and recurring themes in previous psychosocial literature are the importance of a leader in directing and driving collective behavior as well as the "mobilization of participants" as stated by Smelser (1963). In this particular student fan group, there were a variety of "protagonists" that directed and stoked collective behavior, both at the event site as well as through communication channels. Through observation, it was evident that one or two student fan group members acted as leaders that were directing crowd behavior at the event site. Whether it was positive, group chants to support the team

and implore for better performance or negative chants (such as bullshit or "FU"), the same group members directed the cheering at all six observations. Even more interesting was the leadership and direction that occurred before the event. Especially during high profile and rivalry games, there was a structured, concerted effort to construct negative information about the opponent for utilization of game day. Not only was it accepted by the official board (leadership) for the student fan group but it was also praised repeatedly from an examination of group communication as well as during the interviews. The conduct of the "group researcher" was a tale told over and over again by respondents. By means of social media, official university records, and police reports among other sources, personal information of opposing players was compiled and used as a tool to humiliate the student-athlete on a regular basis, not only on game day but also during the week of the game. All of this behavior sanctioned and praised by the group's leadership. The impact of various leaders on the collective behavior of the group cannot be understated in this context.

The results also suggest very strong support for the concept of "deindividuation", the idea that when you are in the presence of a group with a strong connection, individuals may be susceptible to abandoning personal responsibility as well as losing a sense of self and social restraint (Simons & Taylor, 1992). While it is important to note that fan group members did not feel a sense of anonymity within the section that they sat in, it was evident that they felt emboldened to threaten opposing players or fans and antagonize the referees due to the false confidence they obtained through being in a large group setting. This manifested itself in two ways. First, there was a lack of fear that they would be confronted physically by the out-group member that they were threatening due to this strength in numbers. Next, they did not feel as though they would be identified or singled out of the crowd if they did engage in negative behavior. This was reinforced by the fact that no group member during that season was removed from the premises for inappropriate or threatening behavior. The sense that the crowd would have their back physically and the fact that they could blend in clearly led to more aggressive behavior on behalf of the individual attendee.

Another theoretical lens through which the results can be viewed is by means of emergent norms theory (Turner & Killian, 1972). As Turner and Killian (1972) contend:

> Some shared redefinition of right and wrong in a situation supplies the justification and coordinates the action in collective behavior. People do what they would not otherwise have done when they participate collectively, when they riot, when they engage in civic disobedience, or when they launch terrorist campaigns, because they find social support for that and what they

> are doing is the right thing to do in the situation. (p. 12)

This notion that "right and wrong" behavior is not only coordinated by the group but also is accepted (not by all group members in this context) was evident in the interviews as well as observations. Respondents indicated that their behavior mirrored that of their peers in the group so as to not stand out as an outlier or to feel as part of a whole. Further, many respondents were willing to commit acts of negative fan behavior due to the fact that they were in the group context and it was an expectation of what you should do as a member of the group. Interestingly, some respondents indicated that some of the behavior of the group crossed the line of right and wrong yet they were able to rationalize it because it was "part of the game" or necessary to achieve the group's overall purpose which was to "get inside the opponent's head" or create a hostile environment.

As important as it is to detail what the authors found, there is much value in understanding what we did not observe or find was present. First, in this context, the notion of explaining our results through the lens of convergence theory (McKee, 1969) was highly unlikely. From the interviews and open-ended questionnaire, it was evident that student fan group members joined for a variety of reasons. Further, and more importantly, when asked about the purpose of the fan group, there was a wide variation of responses. This notion that "birds of a feather flock together" was clearly not demonstrated in this context. While their motives for group membership, attending the events, and the overall purpose of the fan group varied, they still engaged in many of the same negative (and positive) fan behaviors. Hence, McPhail (1991) has pointed out that similar to Contagion Theory, Convergence Theory assumes and attempts to explain crowd behavior by convincing the reader "that everyone in the crowd was continuously engaged in unanimous or mutually inclusive behavior—which is weak in supportive studies" (p.71). We tend to agree with this assertion based on the results of this study.

Beyond the lack of support for Convergence and Contagion Theories, we did not find support for a well-established "situational" characteristic that has garnered much support from previous conceptual research as well as the popular press. The role of alcohol in influencing crowd behavior in this particular setting was significantly minimized based on interviews and extensive fieldwork. Interestingly, because the facility was off-campus, alcohol was sold on the premises yet there was nothing to suggest that alcohol played a major role in influencing fan group behavior. Understandably so, this might have been a contextual finding and further work needs to be done to understand the impact of alcohol on negative fan behavior.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

There were a few limitations of the current study. First, this study only

examined negative fan behavior among members of one collegiate branded student section. Further, utilizing case study methodology, the generalizability of our results to a broader population may be limited. As noted by Yin (2009), critics often question the representativeness of a single case study to a particular theory or conceptual framework. These critics are implicitly contrasting the context of a single case study to survey research where a sample is intended to generalize to a broader population. As Yin (2009) points out, "this analogy to samples and universes is incorrect when dealing with case studies…survey research relies on *statistical* generalization whereas case studies rely on *analytic* generalization" (p. 43). With analytic generalization, the investigator is looking to generalize a specific set of results to some broader theory. Second, this particular sample comes from a school that is not regarded as a traditional "basketball school". In fact, the basketball program is positioned in the shadow of an internationally regarded football program. It stands to reason that the results could be different when looking at a "basketball powerhouse" where their student fan group may be more organized, more avid, and the game environment may be more emotionally charged. Finally, the exploratory nature of our study provides prefatory findings that should be viewed in context rather than drawing conclusive denouements.

From the fieldwork and interviews, a number of avenues for future research were evident. First, as Simons and Taylor (1992) described in their psychosocial model of fan violence, there are a number of "situational" characteristics that warrant further attention. For example, the presence of a rivalry game as well as a high profile matchup (in this case, nationally televised against a historically strong opponent and/or highly ranked opponent) should be examined further in regards to how it influences negative fan behavior. The degree to which intended violence was present was more likely during high profile matchups or rivalry games. Specifically, it was clear that the "cheer" sheets contained much more "dirt" for games of this nature. Further, the vulgarity and use of dehumanization was much more prevalent in this context. Finally, while the use of alcohol was not a prevalent factor in this context (as evidenced by the interviews, observations, and survey questionnaire) scholars such as Ostrowsky (2014) and Scholes-Balog, Hemphill, Kremer, and Toumbourou (2016) have posited the importance of examining this situational factor and its role in spurring negative fan behavior.

There is a very rich knowledge base regarding the impact of team identification on the likelihood to engage in a range of negative fan behavior (see Wann et al., 2005 for an extensive literature review on this topic). While this area is well developed, the impact of fan community identification (Yoshida, Gordon, Heere, & James, 2015) on the likelihood to engage in a range of

negative fan behavior deserves further consideration. A very strong undercurrent of support for this relationship was uncovered in the results of this study. Fan group members indicated a connection to other members, a "consciousness of kind" (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001) due to the fact that they shared membership in the same group, wore the same apparel to games, believed they had similar goals, and were on the same email mailing list. Respondents indicated that they were more likely to engage in negative fan behavior due to the "backing" of other group members as well as the perceived social pressure placed upon them by other group members at the event site. Further, this feeling of group solidarity can be amplified when a threat (perceived or real) to the groups' goals or objectives is identified (Lott & Lott, 1965). The results indicated that this "threat" might come from opposing star players, referees, or rival fans. While the sport marketing literature has viewed fan community identification through a positive lens in regards to the benefits to the organization, it stands to reason based on the results that this type of identification may have a "dark side".

Finally, in response to Wakefield and Wann's (2006) call for more research into individual factors, the findings here do pose some interesting avenues that need further examination. For instance, what makes some individuals more prone to engage in intended violence than others? Further, why do some feel that hostile and/or instrumental aggression by fans towards an out-group is "part of the game"? Essentially, how are these fans different from a psychosocial standpoint? Wakefield and Wann (2006) in response to that call examined fan violence from the perspective of the individual instead of the group explanation. Their results suggest that social identity theory and team identification may not be adequate explanations for the occurrences of fan violence in North America. Instead, Wakefield and Wann (2006) posited that "identification with the team is not the differentiating factor predicting anti-social behavior…..anti-social behavior seems to be a characteristic or pattern of behavior of the *individual* dysfunctional fan" (p. 179). For example, the issue of fan violence has really only been examined from the male perspective. Hooligan scholars have mainly focused on the disruptive behavior of young adult males between the ages of 18-25, framing this behavior as young men acting out their male-specific "aggro" tendencies (Dunning, Murphy, & Williams, 1986; 1988; Finn, 1994; McPhail, 1994). Studies in North America have largely focused on male sport fans thus a significant gap exists in the literature regarding how (or if) this applies to female fans. Taken as a whole, there is much more that we do not know about why fans engage in negative behavior than what previous literature tells us. Thus, this area of research would benefit from a revitalization of examination as well as more empirical work where researchers are looking at the behavior as it unfolds in the native context.

Conclusions

The sport marketing literature as well as most popular press articles considers enhancing fans' identification toward the team a positive endeavor for sport organizations. Specifically, the construction of branded, student-led cheering sections has long been identified as the most committed and rabid supporters of the team. Most of these groups can be distinguished by a catchy nickname and matching apparel. Universities have attempted to capitalize on these groups through coordinated marketing activities such as selling apparel with the group's brand name on it ("Schools Cheer New Branding Effort", 2007). These activities have added a new revenue stream for the university as well as strengthening the ties between fans and the university. The benefits these groups bring to the university have been well documented and some of the groups have become recognized student organizations on their respective campuses.

However, the potential negative consequences due to the formation of these groups have gone largely unexplored in the literature. As the results of this study indicate, the formation of these groups brings together a collection of passionate fans that share a mutual connection through group membership. Furthermore, these individuals are grouped together in the same section of the arena in close proximity of one another and have a feeling of anonymity as well as the lack of fear of negative reprisal. Finally, they are armed with "dirt" on opposing players that they will use against them when the game commences and are directed by leaders who have the intent of creating a "hostile" environment. When these elements are combined, the results can lead to an increase in physiological arousal (as well as frustration) as well as the proclivity for out-group derogation (Branscombe & Wann, 1992). Given the characteristics of the student-led cheering section, if a precipitating event (Smelser, 1963) was to occur (such as a negative call or negative outcome), the chance of negative fan behavior among this group might be more likely.

As a result, sport administrators need to be armed with this knowledge when these groups are present on their campus and attend athletic events. They should consider having direct oversight over the group as well as access to the communication they disseminate. Some universities are doing this by designating these student fan groups as recognized student organizations (RSO's) or delegating the marketing department personnel to have direct oversight over the group. Either way, these student fan groups should not be left to their own devices and allowed to operate without proper oversight including from game day personnel at the event site.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Protocol

1. Why did you choose to become a member of the [fan group name]?
2. Why did you decided to maintain your membership with the [fan group name]?
3. Any other reason for why you enjoy being a member of the [fan group name]?
4. How often do you attend the basketball games?
5. How organized is the [fan group name], do you have meetings or anything like that?
6. What do you believe is the purpose of the [fan group name]?
7. Have you ever been a member or are you currently a member of any other fan groups?
8. Can you describe the types of cheering you do at games?
9. Would you personally make any kinds of derogatory comments to the opposing team?
10. Are there any other members of the [fan group name] that are, make more mean-spirited remarks?
11. Is there any types of cheering that you do in the [fan group name] that you wouldn't do by yourself?
12. For some of those big games like [team name] where you have some of the students make some of the more abusive kind of remarks, what is your reaction to it?

13. Do many of the [fan group name] members drink alcohol?
14. Do you notice much drinking that goes on before the game?
15. Do you feel that being a member of the [fan group name] has impacted the way you cheer at games? Is your cheering different now than how it was before?
16. Are you seated or standing during games?
17. Does your experience at those events differ from your experience in the [fan group name]?

ESSAYS

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A Dying Trend or a Viable Option: Dual-Role Athletic Department Employees

Lawrence Brady[1] Tracy Trachsler[2]

[1] *State University of New York College at Cortland*

[2] *Cazenovia College*

As athletic departments at the college/university level are trying to creatively balance the financial demands of supporting athletic programs with employee satisfaction and departmental needs, the topic of the dual-role employee tends to appear in conversation. The question remains, with all of the demands, in both administration and coaching, is it possible for a single person to successfully accomplish the job obligations in both areas?

The debate over the viability of the dual-role coach/athletic director within college sports is at a critical juncture. In the most recent iterations of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) applications for new membership, specific language has been included to discourage or eliminate dual-role positions. Notably addressed within Division II and Division III, the sentiment is that the dual-role employee can no longer adequately handle obligations that come with undertaking both positions.

Historically, the coach/administrator model was adopted by a number of schools to capitalize upon the knowledge, expertise, and availability of qualified staff who could transition into leadership roles in athletic programs (Judge & Judge, 2009). Many times, it was the head football coach who was viewed as the candidate with the highest potential to assume the head athletic director obligations (Wong, 2014). The head football coach, typically, had the most experience in dealing with large revenue streams and expenses, large operations, and a large number of student-athletes and staff.

It was perceived that these traits would serve the department well when determining who should be the administrator (Belzer, 2015). In consideration of budgets within athletic departments, much of the decision-making on this topic related to the bottom line.

Researchers assert NCAA athletic programs are dominated by an unsustainable commercial model in which institutions are utilizing a cycle of spending that leaves many institutions operating in the red (Bowen & Levin, 2003; Cooper & Weight, 2011; Schulman & Bowen, 2001; Sparvero & Warner, 2013; Tobin, 2005; Weaver, 2011). Still, such spending continues because athletic victories are perceived to generate revenue streams for many institutions, particularly at the Division I level in revenue-generating sports. The revenue streams are intended to be used to further augment athletic programs, which they believe will help generate future athletic success (Getz & Siegfried, 2012; Sparvero & Warner, 2013; Weaver, 2011). Researchers claim that this commercial model, while most evident in Division I, is not entirely unique to Division I (Bowen & Levin, 2003; Schulman & Bowen, 2001; Sparvero & Warner, 2013; Tobin, 2005). Researchers have found similarities in practices across all three divisions of competition. The high stakes tied to athletic victories has fostered an environment where many intercollegiate athletic departments have been granted authority to operate autonomously within the university structure to achieve the desired athletic outcome (Frey, 1994).

In today's high-stakes sport environments, with such financial issues, and associated ethical concerns over improper operations and behaviors (Orlando, 2012), is the dual-role coach/athletic director really still an option worth fighting for as a logical opportunity for cost-saving and operational streamlining? The mounting job obligations of both roles and the accountability within both roles would cause even those who support the notion to honestly question the ability to do it all and do it all well.

Background

Susan Cassidy-Lyke, of Malloy College (NCAA Division II), wrote an article published in Athletic Management in July 2015 making a case for the "Dual Threat" employee (Cassidy-Lyke, 2015). In the byline she wrote, "Can today's athletic director successfully double up as a coach? With an ongoing check of priorities and a solid organizational plan, the answer is yes."

In line with her assertion, there is evidence of individuals still attempting dual-role positions within NCAA member institutions. Most recently, in June of 2015, George O'Leary of NCAA Division I member University of Central Florida accepted the title of Interim Director of Athletics in addition to his duties as Head Football Coach (Green, 2015). In an interview, he was documented as saying that if he felt he was inefficient in either of his roles, he would leave the role (Green, 2015). Sources reported that O'Leary wanted to stay on as athletic director and give up his coaching responsibilities; however, there were concerns over his lack of administrative experience (Wolken, 2015). O'Leary later stated he did not want the athletic director role (Heil, 2015).

Ultimately, O'Leary resigned from both positions in October of 2015, less than six months after assuming both roles, making way for Danny White to become the full-time director of athletics (Green & Bianchi, 2015).

Barry Alvarez of the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Tom Osborne of Nebraska were noted as two other individuals able to manage dual role obligations at NCAA Division I institutions (Green, 2015). Alvarez held the dual role for just one year, in 2004, before stepping away as head football coach. Since then, he has only assumed dual-role obligations on an as-needed basis but has not formally held both positions within the institution. Osborne held his dual-role position at the University of Nebraska for a number of years in the 1970's; however, neither of the positions were as the head coach or head athletic director of the program (Green, 2015).

Historically, in Division II and Division III programs, where departmental budgets are smaller in comparison to Division I, the dual-role was a great option. An example of a Division III athletic director with a dual role was Bob Ward from St. John Fisher College in Rochester, New York. He held the position of both Athletic Director and Men's Varsity Basketball coach for fifteen years. In a personal conversation with him, Mr. Ward indicated that as the athletic department grew, both the coaching position and the administrative position began to suffer because of the lack of time to do both properly (B. Ward, personal communication, March 8, 2016). The NCAA membership, in recent business sessions, has proposed legislation in alignment with this sentiment.

Strategic Elimination of Dual Role Positions

Aside from the employees consciously selecting one position over dual roles, the NCAA membership is working to reduce and eliminate such positions. One of the most visible examples of the issue could be witnessed at the 2015 NCAA Division II business session (Stark, 2015). Athletic directors initially voted in favor of eliminating dual-role positions within the current member institutions. After additional debates within the session, the proposal to eliminate current dual-role positions was then defeated. The primary causes for reconsideration were related to the ability of the colleges to continue to operate autonomously based upon their needs and the increased financial pressures inherent with having to add a new position (Stark, 2015). Some members felt they can handle the obligations – such as Susan Cassidy-Lyke of Malloy College who wrote the aforementioned article. This is just one such example of colleges creatively trying to develop organizational structures that allow for successful operation in sport while still achieving departmental priorities with limited available resources.

In spite of the perception that it can be done, new opportunities for dual-role employment as coach and athletic director in colleges are diminishing. Recently established Division II legislation for any new members requires that, "The institution shall demonstrate that it has personnel to operate the intercollegiate athletics program at the Division II level, including, but not limited to: (1) A full-time director of athletics, whose primary responsibility is overseeing the administration of the

department of athletics and who has no coaching responsibilities…" (NCAA, 2015a, p. 3). At the Division III level, the membership application for 2016 includes the following language, "Although not a requirement, as a best practice it is recommended that the Director of Athletics should serve as a primary athletics administrator and should not have other major responsibilities (e.g., should not also serve as a coach)" (NCAA, 2015b, p. 1).

Personal Challenges Associated with the Dual Role

Aside from concerns over specific job-related indicators of success, many individuals identified personal challenges they faced when trying to balance the responsibilities of both an Athletic Director and coach. Researchers have studied the effects of job-related factors in athletic personnel job satisfaction and burnout (Vealey et al., 1992). The findings suggest that pay and job satisfaction alone are not enough to keep an individual in a position (Ryan & Sagas, 2009). Both coaches and athletic directors have been the subject of job-related stress research and both roles have a number of stressors and demands with which the professionals struggle (Levy, Nicholls, Marchant, & Polman, 2009). Frey (2007) reported that one of the major stressors in Division I coaching was the pressure associated with trying to accomplish too many obligations and responsibilities associated with their job. That stressor and, "physical hardship, wanting more free time, attraction to an alternative activity, interference with family life, losing the passion for coaching, losing consistently, and consistently feeling frustrated or unhappy," (Frey, 2007, p. 53) were associated with the coaches noting declines in concentration, trouble with decision making, and increases in emotional outbursts. Similarly, within the administrative roles, Ryska (2002) found that role demands and the degree to which they are pursued are directly related to the amount of stress perceived by athletic directors. Ryska (2002) wrote, "It has been suggested that the various role demands placed on athletic personnel may produce higher levels of stress than those found in other professions involving a high degree of interpersonal interaction (Horine, 1994; Kelly, 1994)" (p. 196). In spite of Cassidy-Lykes statement that prioritizing and planning can help the dual role employee execute their job functions, researchers and practitioners alike note challenges to sustaining this model.

Organizational Implications of Maintaining the Dual Role

Accountability to an authority figure, along with successful division of work, is to ensure organizational effectiveness (Schein, 1985). While Cassidy-Lykes (2015) presents a compelling case for prioritization and organization in alignment with effective operations, it is only a piece of the puzzle. Division of labor and specialization are also necessary components for effectiveness (Schein, 1985).In examinations of other organizational models, CEOs of corporations are reporting up to boards of directors or some form of ownership. In addition, one study showed that companies with separate CEO and Chairman of the Board roles had significantly higher long-term shareholder returns than companies

with a dual-role (Hodgson, 2014). At a corporate level, the CEOs primary role is to manage the company, whereas the role of the Board is to oversee that management and provide independent insights if any challenges arise. By combining those two roles, the independent view is lost. Similarly, the systems of checks and balances and the direct report function that ensures accountability is compromised in the dual-role model (Hodgson, 2014).By combining those two roles, that independent view is lost, and some resemblance of checks and balances therefore the direct report function to ensure accountability is compromised in the dual-role model (Hodgson, 2014). Structurally, having a dual-position has the potential for disruptive organizational behaviors.

It is seemingly unrealistic to think in this day in age with marketing, social media, fundraising/development demands, that one can successfully devote 100% effort and ability to each of these areas successfully (Belzer, 2015). As Cindy Hartmann, Florida State University's Deputy Athletics Director of Administration stated, "We've gotten so complex... we need people with levels of expertise in a whole myriad of areas we didn't need years ago" (Hobson & Rich, 2015, para. 9). Via an honest self-assessment one would most likely be able to identify an area of job neglect simply due to the normal restrictions of days in the week and working hours. Some may believe it is possible to do it all, but is it possible to do it all well? Someone or something inherently suffers from the decision, and as administrators and coaches can we ensure that our constituents are not suffering from our attempts to "do it all?" In an increasingly competitive collegiate athletic environment, athletic departments must respond to demands within the market, which many times requires hiring additional staff members with increased specialization in order to remain successful (Hobson & Rich, 2015).

Conclusions

Many have found working within athletic departments enjoyable and rewarding, but many also are quick to note the inherent challenges and stresses that accompany such career decisions (Frey, 2007). With the popularity of high-stakes college sports in American culture, college national championships running nearly year round, is there ever enough time to realistically budget to multiple job roles? The demand for sport is so high, that a dual role seems nearly impossible in this day and age if the ultimate goal is quality outputs versus quantity. While Susan Cassidy-Lyke and colleagues may disagree, it would appear that the consensus, moving forward, is that it is better for professionals to specialize and select one role for the benefit of all of those within the athletic department.

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BOOK REVIEW

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Sports Business Unplugged: Leadership Challenges from the World of Sports by Rick Burton and Norm O'Reilly

Reviewed by Peyton Stensland
University of Kansas

Sports Business Unplugged: Leadership Challenges from the World of Sports, written by Rick Burton and Norm O'Reilly, is a compilation of fifty of their most thought provoking columns once published in the *SportsBusiness Journal* (*SBJ*). The columns are separated into four parts containing similar material, 'that felt timeless or consistently worth discussing' (p. XX). These parts contain an assortment of columns that ran in the *SBJ* from 2009 to 2015 during an era where 'the sports world evolved rapidly in response to new ideas, new technology, enhanced competition, and new media platforms' (p. XX). Drawing from years of experience, the authors discussed topics of marketing and sponsorship, gender equity and diversity, collegiate athletics, the Olympics, the global context of sport, and the future of the sport industry. Overall, Burton and O'Reilly should be commended for organizing their most recent columns into a thoughtful 200-page volume involving the industry's most prominent issues.

Even though *Sports Business Unplugged: Leadership Challenges from the World of Sports* discusses noteworthy issues occurring in the sport industry, it is best to be consumed by sport practitioners, students, and those individuals looking for a casual read. As stated at the beginning of the volume, 'the impetus for this book came from industry contacts, *SBJ*, and our colleagues' (p. XX). Thus, readers looking for scholarly peer-reviewed articles with theoretical underpinnings should look elsewhere. The individual chapters are best interpreted as

'opinion or insight pieces on an economic sector', as described by Burton and O'Reilly (p. XIX).

The strongest aspect of the book is the shown through the careful selection of topics and examples incorporated in each individual column. Ranging from two to four pages each, the authors are able to examine prevalent situations through unfiltered insight pieces regarding mainstream ideas and concepts. Utilizing these key ideas and concepts, Burton and O'Reilly separated their columns into four parts. Part 1 discussed various industry examples involving marketing and sponsorship. In particular, these chapters combined marketing and sponsorship with other concepts such as gender equity, sports heroes and legends, and youth impact. Part 2 'The Olympics', provided in-depth pieces surrounding the Olympic Games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), and economic realities impacting host cities. Part 3 contained an especially strong arrangement of columns focusing on the sport industry in Canada and other various countries. Finally, Part 4, 'Making the Sports World a Better Place', incorporated columns relating to the future of the sport industry. Burton and O'Reilly examined this overarching concept through topics surrounding the NCAA, diversity, virtual reality, and increases in participatory sports.

In conclusion, *Sports Business Unplugged: Leadership Challenges from the World of Sports* provided thoughtful insight to prevalent issues in the sport industry. Through their 50 separate columns, Burton and O'Reilly not only illustrated concepts such as marketing and sponsorship, the Olympics, the global industry of sport, and the future of sport, but they also provided the readers with knowledgeable commentary. As challenges continue to impact the world of sports, analyses such as those written by Burton and O'Reilly will be vital to the ever-changing landscape of the sport world.
