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LOCATING THE STADIUM ON THE WAY TO THE SCHOOL: THE EDUCATIVE ROLE OF SPORT IN AN URBAN AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL.

DISSERTATION

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

By

Clive C. Pope, Dip P.E., Dip T., M. Ed.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1998

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The role of sport in the lives of adolescents has come under renewed scrutiny. Many of the claims regarding the benefits of sport to youth have been built on myth (Miracle & Rees, 1994). A significant number of adolescent youth disengage from sport during their high school years. Withdrawal or non-participation from sport is compounded for urban youth (Poinsett, 1997). This study explored and described the sport experiences of urban youth from one American high school.

Ethnographic inquiry drew on the tenets of phenomenology to ascertain how sport relates to the life worlds of urban youth. A 195 item Sport Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) was administered to 300 students in grades 9 through 12. Non-participant observation was conducted at several relevant sites. In depth interviews (N=20) were conducted with sport participants, non-participants, coaches, or administrator's. The practices, meanings, and possible educational outcomes they derived or believe could be derived from sport experiences were explored.

Analysis of data revealed that urban youth in this study base their meanings of sport heavily on their personal experiences. Such meanings are also strongly influenced by the contexts where sport is experienced thereby promoting narrow meanings many youth held toward sport. There was little understanding of or attention to sport as a form of leisure.

For the youth in this study the high school was the dominant venue where sport participation occurred. Player commitment required for interscholastic sport, transportation to and from venues, cultural preferences of youth for part time work and social activities
have together contributed to the exclusion of sport from their lives. Opportunities to participate in free gym times are restricted by the dominance of skilled, male basketball players. Narrow sport interests of youth were also discovered.

While sport holds considerable potential as an educational vehicle for the development of youth, the collective constraints promoted by contextual, structural, and attitudinal factors have removed or restricted the place of sport in the lives of many urban youth.
Dedicated to Jill
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Maori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand have an expression:

He toa taki tini taku toa Ehara i te toa taki tahi

My strength comes from friends past and present.

During my time at Ohio State I have had the privilege to meet, interact with, and learn from many people. Collectively those people have given me the strength to complete this journey and this challenge. I am indebted to each and all of them. While my program has been satisfying and profitable, it is the people both within that program and beyond that have contributed significantly and given richness to my experience. The brevity of these words do not reflect the extent of their support and encouragement.

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sport pedagogy has been an inspiration to me. Daryl has reminded me that whatever the
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My friends and colleagues at The University of Waikato and my friends and family
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Finally to Jill, my wife and soul mate. I am indebted to the sacrifices she has made to enable this experience to take place. She has overcome challenges that life has placed before her and kept the smile that has such significance for me. Her tolerance, unselfishness and support have allowed this to happen. Together.

He aha te mea nui o te ao?
Maku e ki ake
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata

What is important?
I will say
'Tis people, 'tis people 'tis people
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PUBLICATIONS


FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education
Concentration on Sport and Exercise Education

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If education is to result in an involved, concerned, humane society, learning must include coming to know the meaning of the experience (Phillips, 1975, p.94).

Sport at the high school level is entering a crisis of legitimation and justification (Hummel, 1997; Smith, 1990). From a developmental perspective the character-building properties of sport have been challenged by critics who argue that sport venues are not sites for healthy practices and any claims to the contrary are based purely on myth (Kohn, 1992; Lasch, 1978; Miracle & Rees, 1994; Ogilvie, 1971). American sport has been described as the opiate of the masses (Baker, 1967). Only 3.7% of the United States population are unaffected by sports (Miller Lite Brewing Company, 1983), a large proportion of whom consume the ubiquitous images of sport every day. The year round presence of professional sport saturates the major television and cable networks serving as a major revenue source for those who deliver sport as well as those who deliver the images. Professional sport has also commanded large live audiences who regularly choose to allocate their discretionary hours and money to viewing elite athletes in an environment created to serve the needs of a demanding public. Although professional sport has economic value, non professional sports are based on separate values. The issue is how such values could and should be distinguished. Such is the case for sport that involves younger age groups.
Participation trends

The role of sport in the lives of young people is currently undergoing renewed scrutiny (Poinsett, 1997; Tye, 1997a; Tye, 1997b) An estimated 35 million youth participate in youth sport programs. Sport provision for youth has become increasingly dominated by agency-sponsors. Such organizations are dominated by untrained personnel of whom 90% are males (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1996). A recent report to The Carnegie Corporation estimated that between 17,000 and 20,000 national and local youth-serving organizations operate in the United States. However they "do not adequately provide opportunities for about one-third of young people especially those at risk who stand to benefit the most from the support and guidance these organizations can give" (Poinsett, 1997, p. 3). Recent attention by scholars to 'underserved' youth (Martinek, 1997) has highlighted the need for resources which reach a greater proportion of potential sport participants. While the number of organizations offering sport programs to youth has increased so to has the associated cost of participation, costs which exclude many youth from choosing agency-sponsored sports as a viable option. For example, Seefeldt, Ewing, and Walk (1992) report that only seven of seventeen national sport associations make provision for low income participants and all but three have a fee-for play policy.

An increase in agency-sponsored sport can be compared with the opportunities for sport participation by youth in America's high school programs. About six million youth are enrolled in school sponsored programs. While the number of girls participating in high school sport has increased since the passage of Title IX, their participation numbers are fewer than for boys (Ewing, Seefeldt & Brown, 1996). For many youth, in particular those who are viewed as underserved, the school may be the only outlet for the pursuit of sport as an active participant. For these youth, there is often only one team to try out for in a chosen sport (McEwin & Dickinson, 1996). Gilroy (1993) and others have argued that professional educators can offer sport to young people in a caring and safe environment that
is guarded from the perils of many adult agendas. However, the pressure of reduced budgets and transportation difficulties has prevented most schools from offering the range of sports and the number of teams that characterize many of the agencies now delivering sport.

The decreased range of opportunities for many youth in sport appear to have promoted two related trends. The first trend, fueled by their continued interest in sport, is the shift by youth toward more passive forms of sport participation (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 1996). Because they are unable to be players many, like their adult counterparts, subscribe to sport in the more passive role of spectator. Kenyon (1969) describes this role as a 'status secondary' involvement in sport referring both to its consumption and production forms. For these participants their relationship with sport resembles one of dependence on the larger and admired icons of American sport: professional leagues, symbols, images, labels, emblems, artifacts, role models, and endorsements.

The second trend, supported by the increasing choices available to today's youth (Carnegie Corporation, 1992, 1995; Tinning & Fitzclarence, 1992), is a growing conflict of interests among adolescents. Time demands emerge between academic pursuits, part-time work, and indulgence in at-risk behavior as an alternative to the demands of many sport programs. While both trends appear to be symptomatic of many adolescent youth groups, particularly urban youth (Ponessa, 1992), it is not known to what extent either trend has influenced participation in school sport. On a generic level Ewing and Seefeldt (1996) believe "the organizational structure of sport in the United States - and not a lack of interest on the part of potential enrollees - is primarily responsible for the reduction in participation at age 14 and beyond" (p. 4). Their claim is supported through research by Duda (1981) and Roberts & Treasure (1993) into the status enhancing properties of sport team membership among the peer group.
Withdrawal from sport

Clearly, there is a need to ascertain whether specific groups of adolescents are leaving sport because of contextual constraints, cultural diversions, or both. Many unanswered questions remain regarding the decreasing trend in participation by youth during the years that span high school enrollment. However, what is known is that these same youth have registered low levels of physical activity in their leisure time (Shamir & Ruskin, 1984). Such a trend has some disconcerting implications about the health and lifestyles of today's youth.

Activity levels appear to be decreasing across adolescence during this decade (Services, 1996, p.190), a trend that is more marked among females (Pate, Long & Heath, 1994). Although more active than their adult counterparts, Pate and colleagues report that many adolescents appear to have already settled for the risks associated with a sedentary lifestyle. Such a trend is disconcerting because physical activity has important effects on the health of adolescents (Sallis & Patrick, 1994) and decisions made during adolescence may serve as indicators of future life possibilities (Mann, Harmoni & Power, 1989). Youth disengagement applies to sport (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1990) as well as other activity forms.

Withdrawal from sport programs is regarded by those connected with youth sport as the most important issue requiring attention (Gould, 1982). Each year just over a third of youth sport participants withdraw (Gould, 1987a). However, less is known about the reasons why young people chose to leave sport. For example, many youth leave one sport to join another are categorized as 'sport specific' drop outs (Hodge, 1991). A player who leaves sport all together is referred to by Hodge as a 'sport general' drop out. A large proportion of young athletes withdraw from sport because of negative experiences (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1989). Moreover, there is a need to ascertain why young people are withdrawing from sport (Coakley & White, 1992). This recent area of research has been explored (Gould, 1987b; Gould & Eklund, 1996; Gould & Petlichkoff, 1988; Petlichkoff,
but there is still a need to examine specific groups (particularly later adolescents) in specific contexts (particularly urban) and in a way that gives voice to the specific group's members.

A lack of opportunity to play is symptomatic of many school programs that only support one team for each sport while fewer schools support two or three teams for less experienced players. While a variety of sport opportunities may be possible for suburban youth, for inner city students the school may be the only opportunity for participation. The socio-economic status of urban youth has reduced the opportunities that many urban youth receive. The experiences available to inner city youth are often hobbled by access and provision. While some participation options exist, most are beyond the reach of many urban youth (Ewing et al., 1996). The presence of a sport delivery structure that should cater to urban youth has resulted in an an unfortunate paradox: "the general response to a growing concern about at-risk youth in the 1990s is to make school sport less accessible through the institution of pay-to-play plans" (Siedentop, 1996, p.272). The result is a decline in youth sport among urban adolescents.

Sport for youth under scrutiny

The increased sophistication of sport delivery invites examination. The growing body of youth sport research ought to be harnessed to reach younger people in a way that may best use private and public funds. When interscholastic sports, the dominant version of sport in American high schools, is scrutinized on a cost-benefit basis, skepticism is raised as to their educational value (Miracle & Rees, 1994) as the pay back on the investment benefits only a few students (Swift, 1991).

Benefits are historically grounded in the attributes of personal development. As a derivative of English public schools, sport was seen as a vehicle to promote school spirit, foster identity, and create student cohesion (Rees, 1990). Further, sport success is largely visible in the wider community and is often seen as a means of enhancing the reputation of
the school (Hendry, 1978). Coleman (1961) commented that a visitor to an American high school might well suppose that more attention is paid to athletics by teenagers, both as athletes and as spectators, than to scholastic matters. He might even conclude... that the school was essentially organized around athletic contests and that scholastic matters were of lesser importance to all involved (p.34).

Although Coleman (1990) placed sport at the center of school culture the potentially captive characteristics of sport have not been utilized within the formal curriculum by those in positions of power. Sport has remained outside the formal curriculum. The only exceptions are the traditional school wide breaks for pep rallies and homecoming. Such rituals associated with school sport have promoted the myth that 'sport builds character' through the cohesive drive required of the entire school to defeat the next opponent (Rees. 1990).

The structure of sport for high school aged youth has been viewed as problematic. William Sadler (1977) argues that sport often mirrors America's highly competitive and tightly structured society where "what usually counts is the final result, not the quality of the experience" (p. 88). Drawing from the work of John Talamini. Sadler argues that the ideology of human values and positive outcomes of sport for high school students is often far removed from the realities that are created by some adult personnel. The outcome is that for many young people "the orientation of school sports is towards work rather than play" (p. 88).

Considerable commentary on the educational value of sport portrays it as an educational experience. However, the relationship of sport and education has become convoluted and confused. In his brief but provocative commentary physical educator Lawrence Locke (1973) signaled the need to disentangle the multifaceted status of educative sport. This includes deciding the exact relationship between sport and education. In particular, Locke asked "is sport education?", and do we really mean if sport "could be," or even "should be," educational. Locke concluded by asserting
sport is neither successful nor unsuccessful as education, because sport is not a tool or an instrument, a vehicle to expropriate for ends, be they noble or ignoble. Questions about educational outcomes are irrelevant, because sport, in any meaningful sense is human experience (p. 90).

Locke’s declaration has recently been endorsed by Seefeldt & Ewing (1997) who remind us that "whatever advantages or liabilities are associated with sport involvement, they do not come from sport per se, but from a particular blend of social interactions and physical activities that comprise the totality of the sport experience" (p. 8).

It would seem that the challenge ahead is ascertaining the suitability of participant experiences in certain sport forms in meeting the developmental and social needs of young people. Any effort to enhance the sport culture should include paying credence to the experiences youth or adults have with sport. To date few answers can be offered because:

research on the everyday experiences of boys and girls in youth sport programs is scarce. We need to know more about how sport experiences are integrated into the lives of young people, and how the meanings associated with those experiences overlap or vary for girls and boys (Coakley, 1994, p. 126).

There is little known about how young people consciously experience sport. Moreover, expressions of their needs have seldom been communicated directly to adults. The criteria young people adopt to evaluate their involvement in sporting experiences is often dependent on changing life situations (Brettschneider, 1990a). While context is an important variable for analysis of the sport experience attention should not occur at the expense of the immediate 'local' factors that influence youth and their sport participation. In other words, the focus should be the adolescent within selected contexts and what that adolescent feels about each of the factors that act on him or her. Therefore, "if we want to gain an insight into adolescent sport involvement, we have to analyze the relevant contexts of the everyday-life of adolescents" (Brettschneider, 1990a, p.116). Consideration should be accorded, as suggested by Brettsneider, to a person-process-context concept.

Therefore, to learn more about the educational value of high school sport we need to examine youth and sport at a micro-analytical level. More specifically, it is necessary to
learn more about the social, historic, and cultural features of the youth culture and adolescents relationship to sport. Grupe and Kruger (1994) argue that there is also a need to "be concerned with the discussion of values, ethics, and moral problems of sport and sport education" (p.20). To enter into such discussion it will be necessary to examine the role of sport within the current value system of today's youth. Moreover it is prudent to examine what norms and values about sport are transmitted to today's youth by coaches, teachers, and administrators.

**Sport as human experience**

Roberts & Treasure (1992) argue that the sport experience is a valued domain for young people and the quality of their sport experiences determines the outcome for the participant. Investigation of human experience is rooted in the field of phenomenology which "asks the simple question, what is it like to have a certain experience" (Van Manen. 1990, p.44). Inoue (1984) argues "the phenomenological approach exploring and developing individual meaning in involvement in sport is useful not only to study sport phenomena but also to find educational significance" (p.6).

The goal of phenomenological research is to "produce clear, precise and systematic descriptions of the meaning that constitutes the activity of consciousness" (Polkinghorne. 1989, p. 45). Understanding of adolescents who participate in sport our has been limited because the voice of the participants has been absent and "most work in this area, admittedly sparse, has failed to capture the full, multidimensional flavor of such elusive, subjective experiences" (McInman & Grove, 1991, p.333). Human (in this case adolescent) experience must be clearly understood before the delivery of sport can be expanded or improved.

It is true that young people's voices have been missing from research on youth sport. Yet, in educational contexts young people can be thoughtful, critical, and reflective about their experiences (Corbett & Wilson, 1995). Research in education that has included the voice of adolescents has produced fruitful results. While there may be differences
between sport and formal education contexts (Cheffers, 1997a) there seems to be sufficient
reason to support the inclusion of youth as a potentially rich source of information. Any
investigation about adolescents and their sport experiences must therefore consider the
participants as primary contributors.

Problem Statement and Purpose of the Study

To obtain a better understanding of why young people choose to participate, to
remain or withdraw from sport as a lifestyle choice it seems befitting to: 1) pursue the voice
of youth and discover how they feel about their status as sport participants and non-
participants and 2) observe the contexts where their sport experiences occur. While the
youth sport context has been placed at the center of research (Strean, 1995), the voice of
young people is conspicuously absent. Examination of youth sport practices, settings, and
policy appear to have ignored the very people who are the direct consumers of sport. Such
accounts have not figured in the burgeoning youth sport literature and the time is ripe to
acknowledge a more prominent status. Young people appear to have been the most
underestimated component of the sports milieu. Therefore, to advance our insight into how
youth sport programs can be enhanced, adults need to recognize and acknowledge the
perspectives and subjective experiences of youth. This requires gaining an understanding
of how youth perceive or feel about the things that immediately influence their experiences.
Such experiences give sport its intrinsic meaning from the perspective of the participant.
That perspective can only by conveyed through their voices. There is a need for first-person
accounts by youth of their experiences with and about sport.

The purpose of this study was to examine the sport experiences that youth at one
urban high school in a Mid-western city have had and how those experiences contribute to
their education or miseducation. While the students who participated in this study were
based at one high school, it should be emphasized that their sport experiences went well
beyond the school gates. The focus of this investigation was on the sport experiences of
high school youth and not merely high school sport. In addition, it examined to what extent their previous sport experiences influenced their current sport participation. Finally the study attempted to ascertain the opportunities and constraints that influenced the experiences of the youth participants.

Research Goals and Questions

1. What meanings, and possible educational outcomes do urban adolescent youth derive or believe can be derived from sport experiences?
   1.1 What values, beliefs, and assumptions influence the meanings urban adolescent youth hold toward sport? In particular, based on their experiences, how do they define, and interpret sport?
   1.2 What do urban youth base their meanings and interpretations of sport on?
   1.3 Based on their experiences, what do urban youth see as the benefits, and drawbacks of sport participation?

2. What contextual factors influence the sport experiences of urban adolescent youth?
   2.1 Which sports do urban adolescent youth experience and where do they experience them?
   2.2 What sport experiences do urban adolescent youth seek?
   2.3 What factors promote or inhibit sporting opportunities of urban adolescent youth?

3. What does sport mean to coaches and administrators and what educational contribution do they believe sport involvement can make to urban youth?

Significance of the study

Recent years have seen the accumulation of research and interest in youth sport. Attention has focused on the multifaceted nature of youth sport. However, virtually none of that work has captured the voice of the participants and how sport has been experienced
through their subjective worlds. Insufficient attention has been allocated to this important component of the youth sport milieu and as a consequence little is known about how youth receive, regard, define, and experience sport. By acknowledging the voice of participants this study may give a better understanding to the relationship between sport and youth. It may also shed light on the types of phenomena that have influenced youth sport experience and what steps can be taken to improve policies, structures, and contexts.

**Delimitations of the study**

Ethnographic studies typically generate a lot of information from a small number of individuals. To supplement that material a significant amount of information can be gleaned from the survey administered to over 300 youth as well as twenty in-depth interviews. The survey details what urban adolescents have experienced but it cannot specify how those sport experiences have been interpreted by each participant. Therefore, our insights about the experiences of urban adolescents will be limited to the degree to which descriptions can be "described, explicated, and interpreted" (Patton, 1990 p. 69) because of their developmental capabilities or their willingness to share experiences with a relative stranger. The interviews were restricted to what each young person knows and could describe about his/her selected experiences. Those students who were interviewed are not necessarily representative of their peers thereby restricting generalization from this study to other contexts.

The survey is a modification of two existing instruments and structured to help answer the questions that guide this investigation. It asked a sample of youth in one urban Mid-west high school to describe the characteristics of their sport involvement, motives for participation, reasons for non-participation, and reasons for their change in status as a sport participant. The phenomenological interviews were open-ended and adapted to individual sport experiences.
The observation data were limited by my ability to observe and record appropriate actions and events. My observations were influenced by my experience as well as my attentiveness as an ethnographic researcher. While observation cannot reveal the complete extent of an adolescent’s experience (Erickson & Shultz, 1992) it can provide clues that may serve as symptoms for any subsequent inquiry of the young person through interview.

**Definition of Terms:**

- **Extracurricular activity:** activities that do not form part of the formal school curriculum.
- **Game:** a rule-bound goal-directed activity that has agreed upon rules that limit the permissible means of goal attainment.
- **Sport:** In the adult world sport is often defined in quite a tight sense. To illustrate how adults often define sport I have selected the following definition of Jay Coaklay which states: Sport is an institutionalized competitive activity that involves vigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation is by a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Coakley (1990, p.15). However, sport as defined by adolescents, is unknown and therefore part of this investigation. I would, at this point, prefer to leave any alternative definition open as I intend to pursue what sport means to young people as reported in chapter IV of this dissertation.
- **Youth sport participant:** A young person between the ages of 13 and 19 years who is a member of a team that has a coach, attends regular practices, and competes regularly in scheduled games.
Youth sport team

A sport team sponsored by a school system, corporate, or community organization.

Chapter Summary

The years spanning high school are a time when young people formulate many thoughts and behaviors that can have an enduring impact on the ensuing years of their lives. They are years which are often marked by drama, complexity, and growth. For today's youth, adolescence is a time to seek excitement and experience the many options and images they are bombarded with every day. Many of their experiences will help shape the decisions they will make about who they are and what they want from life. Adolescence is a time when attitudes and behaviors can be shaped by people and events they receive into their personal life worlds. Because it is an important part of many young peoples lives it is appropriate to learn more about how sport is interpreted based on the experiences they have had. To seek what impact, meanings, and inferences have resulted from adolescents' contact with such a substantive part of our culture is the challenge that has been laid down.
The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with viewpoints that relate to the major concerns of this study. This is a selective literature review which will delineate and examine information that has assisted me to prepare and contextualize the theoretical framework of my research questions. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section addresses the role of sport in American society. The second section explores sport and the adolescent and, in particular the sub-culture of the urban adolescent. The outcomes of sport participation for youth are the focus of the third section. Finally, section four investigates the sport experience itself.

Role of Sport in America

Sport is one of the most significant aspects of contemporary American society. Its pervasiveness extends into many aspects of our culture including the arts, politics, the media and, in particular, human lifestyle. Sport receives the largest audiences through the mediums of the media and live performance. Many people are inundated by the sport phenomenon and a degree of involvement "is almost considered a public duty by Americans (Eitzen, 1984, p.9). Sport has become "an institution of considerable importance and reflects some of society's values, belief systems, and needs as well as prescribes acceptable behavior patterns for attaining and fulfilling these values and needs" (Wilkerson & Dodder, 1979, p.50). It is the extent and degree of influence that sport has had on society that has caused attention.
Scrutiny of sport by sociologists, cultural anthropologists, and educators has fallen somewhere along a continuum. At one pole advocates for sport have extolled its contributions towards health, personal fulfillment, enjoyment, and community integration (Wankel & Berger, 1990). At the other pole critics have condemned it for its excessive examples of violence, competitiveness, and exploitation (Brohm, 1978; Ogilvie, 1971). The degree of disparity regarding how sport is perceived was described by the ex President of Yale University and past Commissioner of Major League Baseball, Bart Giamatti:

At its worst, sport is the pointless, if widely enjoyed, detritus of an industrial society - a kind of non toxic pollutant, junk food for the spirit, without nourishment, without history, without serious purpose. At its best, sport is a remnant of an Edenic world, now gone, mere may pole dance without the may pole, - fun, redolent of nostalgia, and probably because of the physical exertion required, good for your heart or maybe your character, but no longer for serious folk, except, of course, as occasions to moralize (Giamatti, 1989, p. 26).

The fact that such words were offered by a Commissioner of a professional sport is pertinent because professional sport has had the most impact on the delivery of all sport in the United States. Many sports have assumed a professional status marked by high player salaries, private ownership, television contracts, intense competition for high stakes, and varying degrees of entertainment that attract public dollars. It is the professional model and its associated characteristics that dominate much of the sports news and it is public attention toward professional sport that has attracted much of the criticism.

Many of the watchdogs of sport have advocated that the professional influence has eroded or eliminated many of the benefits sport can offer to the participant. To these observers sport became increasingly rationalized allowing providers to distance it from its historical character. The objectification of sport has meant that for a player at the top level "it has become much easier to be mercenary, offering his [sic] services to the highest bidder" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p.4). This 'selling out' combined with the rationalization of sport has caused "the loss of the inner dimension of physical performance. When this happens, sport helps to impoverish human life, instead of enriching it" (p. 4). The change
of status has resulted in the loss of many of the sport-like aspects of sport which collectively have been regarded as the soul of sport and that a loss of soul may be akin to loss of life (Brinkhoff, 1995; Grupe, 1988). The inference is that any inherent value of sport is mutated or corrupted (Arnold, 1992) when it becomes a professional endeavor.

Examination of sport using a binary good versus bad is probably inappropriate because such attention fails to account for the process as well as the outcome or product of participation. However, it is the degree to which emphasis is placed on the products or external goals of sport over the process or personal benefits that has created some degree of concern (Chelladurai & Danylchuk, 1984). For Arnold (1992) the result has been that the ethos of what constitutes sport as a culturally valued practice is likely to fall short of its own ideals, morals standards, admired traditions and educationally worthwhile possibilities when (1) external goals come to be seen as more important than internal goals; and (2) perhaps as a result of this, an undue emphasis is placed upon winning so that the result of competition is held to be more important than the process of struggle and challenge (p. 245).

The focus on outcomes or external goals has led to the pursuit of sport for inappropriate gains. Such pursuits are not only promoted by the athletes and sport franchises but as physical educator Lawrence Locke (1973) confesses:

we have used sport as an agent for less than noble motives... We have used sport as a vehicle for vacuous, moralizing pedagogy: boxing to build manly courage; team games to build cooperative spirit; push-ups to build mythical muscle tone. We have used sport to bend children to the habits of conformity to rules and acquiescence to adult authority (p.88).

Nearly all who are associated with the sport culture have endorsed the adoption of sport for external reasons. Such responsibility could be directed to all levels of sport. While the Olympic ideal still exists and is often quoted, the Olympic exercise has been re-routed through a new economic system. Kidd (1996) calls for a return to Olympic values and ideals many of which have been systematically eroded in part by contemporary society and also by the nature of professional sport. His view is that anybody associated with a bid to host the modern Olympics will "learn from their experiences that the Olympic project is about intense competition and frenzied marketing, little else" (p. 87). There may even be
some connection between this perspective and delivery of other sport versions. Certainly many professional and collegiate sports would serve as illustrations to such outcomes. The change of focus on how and why sport exists means "it is of course unlikely that sport will ever be practiced the way it should be. Too many chauvinistic and socio-economic pressures militate against this. Nonetheless, from a pedagogic point of view it is necessary to attempt what ought to be the case" (Arnold, 1994, p. 79).

Arnold's caution is relevant because as well as sport being a spectacle it has also had a long relationship with education (this will be discussed later in this chapter). The power of the professional sport model in America was demonstrated in the 1960's when that model became accepted as the template for youth sport (McPherson, 1986). Subscription to such a system also meant accepting the associated philosophy, beliefs, norms and practices about sport. Public acceptance of such characteristics has ignored developmental considerations. From a policy perspective little change has occurred to the way in which youth sport operates and by and large the delivery has gone unquestioned. It would appear that a link has been created between professional sport and sport for youth. From a financial perspective professional sports have commanded the attention of youth, their parents, and "a lot of money and prestige is generated by sports in this country, but very little of that has come back to organizations focusing on sports and youth development" (Poinsett, 1997, p. 25).

From a developmental perspective strong support of sport by athletes and their parents is tempered by concerns for harmful effects. For example, in a Nation wide survey 86% of all parents believe that there is too much emphasis placed on winning and inadequate attention allocated to physical and psychological development of athletes (Miller Lite Brewing Company, 1983). The underlying assumption of many parents (as well as many others) is that participation in sport will contribute in a positive way to the development of youth. The nature and structure of sport means that young people have
participated in a version that does not subscribe to what Brinkhoff refers to as 'the social
duty of sports' (Brinkhoff, 1995). The attraction of sport at this age should be the inherent
qualities and opportunities for participants to engage in the practice of sport which "not
only requires an understanding of the rules of sport, but an understanding of its skills,
standards and excellencies as well as its traditions, customs and conventions" (Arnold,
1994) p.79). Such assumptions have often retained the place of sport in programs for
young people from childhood to adolescence. Any examination of youth sport programs
should begin by situating sport within social, structural, and historical contexts (Sage,
1986). The evolution and delivery of such programs will follow.

Historical influences

The turn of the century saw the provision of sport through a variety of agencies,
particularly schools and national youth organizations. Boy's were directed towards sport
where they could be inculcated with norms and values considered attractive by their
program providers. The perceived values of sport as a character builder were imported
from the playing fields of English public schools to a young country keen to bestow the

Rapid growth of the YMCA movement spearheaded the emergence of the Muscular
Christianity movement which recognized the debilitating influence that urbanization was
having on youth. The movement, supported the notion that team sports "provided an ideal
opportunity for adults to develop in boys self-control, loyalty, obedience, selfishness, and
other character traits rapidly vanishing from the increasingly industrialized American
society" (Wiggins, 1996, p.17). As a result the YMCA's underlying philosophy, games
and sports programs grew throughout the country.

The Muscular Christianity movement had a significant impact on youth and their
sporting pursuits. More recently Overman (1995) has argued that the American sport ethos
has been linked to the Protestant ethic which gives sport in this country its character,
meaning, and guiding beliefs. Such an ethic, if supported, confirms the strong theme of moral asceticism that has marked the American sports culture. The ubiquitous presence of sport in public and private institutions gave strength to claims of sports character-building properties. Such claims continue to be both challenged (Brohm, 1978; Kohn, 1992; Lasch, 1979; Miracle & Rees, 1994; Ogilvie, 1971; Rees, 1990; Rees, Howell & Miracle, 1990; Shields & Bredemeier, 1995) and endorsed (Cheffers, 1997a; Danish, Petitas & Hale, 1990; Devrye, 1987; Giamatti, 1989; Jeziorski, 1994; Novak, 1976).

Early high school interscholastic competition was not supported, or controlled by school authorities. The attraction of such contests for players and the wider public resulted in greater acceptance and intensity of sport contests (Wagenhorst, 1926). Yet professional educators did not organize or offer sport to young people. Their principle concern was the harmful effects that intense competition driven by emerging sport leagues could have on young bodies and minds (Wiggins, 1996). The void created by such a gesture was filled by non-school agencies and business organizations. Forsythe and Keller (1977) documented the evolution of high school athletics based on four periods:

1) **The period of opposition** saw rising numbers playing sports that were facilitated by outside organizations but player identity was often associated with their affiliated school. However, the popularity of sport contests forced school administrators to reluctantly exert their influence.

2) **The period of tolerance** was marked by gestures of attention by educators to try and control some of the more undesirable characteristics of intercollegiate sport. Controls were instigated to counter abuses of eligibility and decorum.

3) **The period of recognition and capitalization** in which educators acknowledged that sport could be adopted as a vehicle for the promotion of
desirable outcomes. The creation of outcomes justified the inclusion of bigger and more sophisticated sport structures.

4) The period of exploitation saw the adoption of school athletics for recognition, advertising, and fundraising. More recently attempts to reduce such practices through effective policy have met with minimal compliance.

Later, the place of athletics in schools was justified by educators as a means to address the rapidly growing stream of crime and delinquency in urban centers. Sport was in part adopted in the education system as a means to ameliorate an acknowledged moral decay. According to Spring (1974) the place of athletics within secondary schools (as well as colleges and wider society) was based on what appeared as a series of interwoven arguments which gave play and athletics a major role in curing the ills of an urban, technological democracy. These arguments included a concern with juvenile delinquency, adolescent sexuality, the social problems of urbanization, leisure time, social unrest, industrialization, and economic individualism (p. 486).

What was referred to as the "athletic problem" (Educational Policies Commission, 1954) signaled concerns that the potential educational worth of sport was not being realized by parents and school personnel. This condition was complemented by a concern that established gains "may be lost if uncontrolled evils lead to radical reduction of athletic activities" (p. 5). As early as the 1950's warnings were offered to address abuses and 'false' values that were jeopardizing the educational value of sport. False values included overemphasis on winning, glorification of star athletes, disparaging the non-athlete, and use of school sport as public spectacles. Moreover, schools were distorting educational programs by placing an overemphasis on varsity teams, lowering academic standards to retain athletes on eligibility lists, scheduling games in the evenings to boost gate taking's, and neglecting girls sport through their distorted attention and money to the sporting needs of their male classmates. The Educational Policies Commission (1954) predicted that
"athletics will be what they are made to be by schools and communities" (p. 13). Many of the trends and issues were directly affected by the presence of the collegiate sport system as well as the more lucrative and systematic professional athletic philosophy (Forsythe & Keller, 1977)

**Collegiate sport influences** The place of sport at the collegiate level has been subjected to ongoing debate. Although housed within universities, collegiate sports have traditionally been public property. Stadiums have been financed by public money to endorse sport as a spectacle for countless fans who witness live games. In addition, numerous television channels compete for the right to cover high rating games that are consumed by a demanding public. The degree of direct and indirect exposure to the public has made college sports vulnerable to the needs and desires of a public who have realized that the walls built around the athletic program are not as high as those that encircle university academe. Public contact with the collegiate sport system has seen athletes and some sports become commodities whose destiny lies at the whim of the accountant’s pen.

One perspective offered by Bailey & Littleton (1991) state:

Only in the United State of course, have athletics assumed such a close and representational identity to higher education. But almost from the time that intercollegiate sports first appeared, they have never escaped the charges that their self fulfilling character, their inherent professionalism, and their primary purpose of providing entertainment have made their presence contradictory to the educational goals of the university (p. 7).

By the 1920’s several universities had built stadia, had active alumni and were recruiting athletes to their institutions to draw attention to their schools and programs (Snyder, 1978). College programs continued to grow and by the 1970’s they had reached alarming levels. Sports had been metamorphosed into mega-sized bureaucracies characterized by an abundance of rules, rigid structure, and a hunger for the elusive dollar. The successful formula became winning teams, high profile coaches, and disposable capital for active recruiting. The new sport machine soon permeated the campuses of numerous states.
The most lucrative trait of this sport system is the presence of sport scholarships. For many athletes the winning of a sport scholarship is their opportunity to attend college. While such an opportunity is both valued and utilized by many athletes, for a few, gaining a college education is sometimes overshadowed by the attraction of professional sport. The lure of big dollars and high profile professional careers receive greater attention from student athletes in some college sports. Completion of academic courses by some athletes has created interest, particularly the graduation rate for college football and male basketball players which is a mere 30% (Sanoff, 1996). Some critics of college sport have accused it of being merely a feeder system for professional sport. The pressure on many institutions to produce winning teams and successful programs has meant increasing codification by the NCAA and external attention from The Knight Commission to reduce or prevent reported occurrences of corruption and unethical practices (Bailey & Littleton, 1991; Byers, 1995; Chu, Segrave & Becker, 1985; Funk, 1991; Gibson, 1993; Sage, 1990; Sperber, 1990; Telander, 1989; Telander, 1994; Weissberg, 1995).

In a sports world dominated by institutions, the only thing is the maximization of profits, more and more money from the toys of the wealthy, not craftsmanship or the practice; not the internal goods. Practitioners can be corrupted by the power of the institutions views to the point that when players take the field with the sole intention of winning, they will violate the rules, opponents, team-mates, themselves and the practice itself. All are mere obstacles to be overcome in the drive to achieve external goods (Gibson, 1993, p.105).

The position taken by Gibson endorses the focus on sport as a product and not as an educational process. It is likely that such a debate will continue as to whether sport belongs on the collegiate campus. Supporting the status quo Simon (1991) argues "athletics belongs on campus rather than off campus in alternative institutional frameworks, because it is an educationally desirable element of the university community" (p. 52). His argument is based on two premises: first, sport is one of the few if not the only arena where excellence can be achieved without the role of student as apprentice. Second, unlike many other subject areas excellence in sport performance can be appreciated by many, which
allows a community of spectators and players. Such a gathering would be untenable for
calculus. Sport thus becomes supported by many, valued by many, and based on the
talents and skills of participants whom the public can recognise. The pursuit of excellence
can consume the players while spectators may enhance their appreciation, understanding,
or membership by attending an event. It would appear that the pursuit of excellence, one of
the tenets on which education is based, could complement a similar academic ideal and
thereby help justify and maintain the place of sport on university campuses.

It should be noted that investigation into the literature about collegiate sport can
produce an abundance of material about Division I university sport which has dominated
the aforementioned discussion. The 650 Division II and Division III institutions
throughout this country appear to have attracted a disproportionally minute degree of
attention in the literature. In his summary of programs other than Division I Jay Coakley
(Coakley, 1994) states "no data exist on how these programs influence campus social life,
the way the students view the world around them, and the educational achievements of the
athletes themselves" (p. 397). It would appear that unlike their Division I counterparts,
these institutions are run closer to a high school intercollegiate model. This attention to
collegiate sport is pertinent because it has many characteristics that can be found in the high
school interscholastic model. Frey and Massengale (1988) argue that "the system seems
to function under a model that has trickled down from the professional and college levels"
(p.42). Moreover, the authors contend such a model has "compromised the virtuous status
of school sports" (p. 42).

Sport in High Schools

Murdoch (1990) asks two important questions about this issue. The first is "what
is the place of sport in education"? And second; "What is the role of education in sport"?
(p.67). Two forms of argument have been posited for the educational value of sport. The
first heralds back to the ancient Greeks and presents athletics as intrinsically educational.
The second can be connected back to the British public schools of the last century. The genealogy of sport and education is described by the late A. Bartlett Giamatti who states:

the Greeks saw physical training and games as a form of knowledge, meant to toughen the body in order to temper the soul, activities pure in themselves, immediate, obedient to the rules so that winning would be sweeter still. The English ideals, on the other hand, aim beyond the field to the battle ground of life, and they emphasize fellowship, sacrifice, a sense that how one will later behave; they teach that victory is ultimately less important than the common experience of struggling in common (Giamatti, 1980, cited in Simon, 1991, p.47).

High school athletics developed as a result of changes in American public education (O'Hanlon, 1980). Sport was seen by educators as a means of inculcating qualities of citizenship in youth. This perspective was supported by Schafer (1974) who presents two contrasting functions. The first is enculturation. Through this view sport acts as a vehicle to help prepare students for the existing social structure. Participation by students in the wider sport culture acts to expose them to the dominant values, beliefs, and behaviors of mainstream society. A second perspective holds that the primary function of sport is to foster maturity in the participant so that he / she may grow to become an autonomous and responsible member of society capable of independent thought and action. This perspective aligns with educators beliefs that for youth to achieve in the twentieth century they would need a strong sense of cooperation, loyalty, and a need to subordinate personal interest for the needs of the group.

Many educators, while supporters of competition, expressed concern at the degree of emphasis placed on winning in interscholastic athletics. The education system began to rank students both in the classroom and on the playing field. Students soon learned that status and rewards were bestowed on those who succeeded. O'Hanlon (1980) notes interscholastic athletics appear to have contradicted any original justification for their place in high school education. Activities such as sport "reinforce one of the 'cardinal' principles of twentieth century schooling, namely that unequal social benefits are the justifiable result of fair competition" (p. 103).
Towards the end of the twentieth century the place of sport resembles a template which demonstrates minimal deviation across the country. Such uniformity can be attributed to the cultural norms ascribed to high school sport. At the individual level the position of sport is an aspect of the school's culture and probably depends on community norms and values as well as the relative power of the principal, coaches, and teachers, who strive to promote certain ideas. The sport culture of a school undoubtedly affects student participation (Fejgin, 1994, p.222).

Schafer believes that high school sport reinforces the enculturation perspective. Interscholastic sport becomes the domain for the elite who assume the role of participant while all other students become spectators or sport consumers. Schafer's stance is supported by others (Eskenazi, 1989; Frey & Massengale, 1988; Smith, 1990) who consider the dominant purpose of high school sport is to act as a feeder system for the college system. Such a status could be likened to the feeder role of college sports for the professional system.

There is a difference of opinion concerning the reasons for the inclusion of sport as part of the school program. The development of a balanced individual is often seen as justification for including sport as part of the school programme. For example, Saunders and Jobling (1983) propose four reasons for its inclusion: first, there was a perceived obligation to educate the 'whole' child paying attention to the physical, social, and emotional aspects of development. Second, sport can be embraced as a learning tool to enhance understanding of concepts of language and numeracy. Third, sport itself can also be employed as a strategy to promote social and moral learning. Finally, physical activity is an aspect of culture and schools have an obligation to reflect that culture by the promotion of sport and physical activity. As illustrated in their explanation, sport is promoted as an aspect of education that can enhance the social, cognitive, and physical development of the individual. This is the most common justification by those who advocate sport as a balanced part of the school program.
The third and last reasons offered by Sanders and Jobling have probably received the most support from school sport personnel. It is also timely to remember Murdoch's (Murdoch, 1990) two questions: "what is the place of sport in education"? and second; "What is the role of education in sport"? (p.67). If sport has the potential to teach then perhaps education must make sure that sport is used for sane, exciting and fruitful means. Luschen & Sage (1981) posit:

the institution of education may have an impact on sport, and given the rapid expansion of sport in modern life, education needs to be increasingly concerned about it. This responsibility of education is seldom recognized, but in light of a situation where the communicative, entertainment dimension of sport is getting increasing attention, education has to address itself to enlarging the understanding of sport in society as a whole, especially to educating people towards a life-long active involvement in sport as a leisure activity (p.7).

Stanley Eitzen (Eitzen, 1973) has argued that the universality of sport in high schools must attest to the fact that sport must accomplish educational objectives. His questioning of the value of school sports signaled a challenge to the reason for the retention of interscholastic sport because "the pressure to win is foremost and when taken to an extreme, runs counter to the stated goal of athletics - to foster the optimum physical, mental, emotional, social, and moral growth of the participants" (p. 199). Eitzen lays the blame for the 'win-at-all-costs' attitude at the feet of administrators who have tolerated and at times, encouraged such a sport philosophy. The outlay of resources for such a sport delivery system is, according to Eitzen, questionable.

The popularity of sport among young people would seem to hold significant potential to enhance their learning process. Some programs have tapped that potential. The Life Development Intervention Program is one initiative that adopts sport as a vehicle to teach life skills (Danish & Nellen, 1997; Danish, Nellen & Owens, 1996; Danish et al., 1990). This intervention program aims to assist athletes to develop their lives through empowerment and enhanced efficacy. The program has reported positive results for many urban youth. Danish (1983) recounts:

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Sport has taken on new meaning for many individuals as they discover new meaning in the experience of participation. Sport need not be a place where one continues to have to prove oneself, it can be a place where one begins to know oneself. When knowing becomes as important as proving, sport becomes an essential vehicle for developing personal competence (p. 237).

The Promoting Achievement in School through Sport (PASS) program (American Sports Institute, 1995) is a year long high school course that "uses positive aspects of the sport culture to enhance academic achievement" (p. 2). Students in the PASS program were compared to a control group. After three years of the study, 58% more PASS students than control group students improved their grades. The American Sports Institute reports that in light of their findings "there needs to be an increased, not a decreased, [as argued by some lobby groups] emphasis on the appropriate study and practice of sport" (p. 10). These programs address the increasing pressure being placed on schools to promote social competencies for adult life in addition to traditional academic outcomes (Johnson, Jason & Betts, 1990).

While these program examples are commendable, the dominant sport delivery model in American high schools is the interscholastic program. The principle focus of such programs are sport competition. However, Schafer (1974) contends "interscholastic athletics serve first and foremost as a social device for steering young people...participants and spectators alike into the mainstream of American life through the overt and covert teaching of 'appropriate' attitudes, values, norms, and behavior patterns" (p. 6). Schafer views the principle role of interscholastic athletics as one of enculturation, as discussed earlier, rather than a more desirable function of student maturation.

Schafer (1974) further argued that interscholastic athletics reinforce dominant American views toward sport: young people learn early that you participate if you are good enough to make an elite team or you become a spectator. For the not so talented or those seeking social sport forms there is often little opportunity available. Any choice regarding participation in sport has often been made for such young people who inevitably become
vicarious participants. This perspective has not diluted with time. The dominant interscholastic model often means that aspiring athletes have the opportunity to make one team and if unsuccessful they must look beyond the school gates. The injustice of interscholastic sport has recently been addressed by Seefeldt & Ewing (1997) who assert:

sports in America represent a highly exclusionary process, with only the elite performers accorded a share of the spotlight. The headlines fail to account for the millions of young people who seek to participate or who would continue in organized sports were it not for the restrictions that are inherent in the adult version of highly-organized competitive sports for children (p.3).

Other commentators on this topic have adopted a similar stance. Schafer (1974) maintains many youth like to compete at a high level of quality and intensity, have the talent, and should be given the chance to do so, but not at the exclusion of the broad-based opportunities for informed, low-keyed participation for fun, enjoyment, and good health (p.13).

All students should have the opportunity to engage in the sporting activities of their choice to the highest level of their ability, both at school and in the community. Such a statement is codified in the UNESCO International Charter of Physical Education and Sport which states in the introduction to sport:

The role of the school is to ensure that opportunities are provided for children, regardless of their abilities, to participate in sport. It should offer opportunities in addition to the physical education programme. The school should also liaise with sports bodies and individuals in the community to assist those students who wish to continue their participation in sport outside school hours, and for whom no voluntary coaches make themselves available (UNESCO, 1956).

The evolution of interscholastic sport would appear to have only observed this recommendation in part. The exclusion of many young people from sport participation has meant that the meager allocation of time to physical education at the high school level is the only opportunity some students may have to experience sport. The UNESCO recommendation for liaison between school and community has mostly passed unheeded by teachers, coaches, and administrators. Oversight by said individuals and agencies means some of the population are experiencing something worthwhile while others miss out. Alternatively any inertia demonstrated may represent the value some adults ascribe to
the present sport system beyond a core of selected participants - it's a good system only if you're a good athlete.

Fraleigh (1990) questions which values should receive priority in sport in the context of a high school education. His perspective is that it should be those values that are "most compatible with the purposes of education" (p. 79). Any attempt to succinctly represent such values is a daunting task as behind each stated value is the need to consider the underlying philosophies, contested perspectives, and systems that often dictate which values will be addressed. Many sports will be supported because of the values assigned to each sport, perhaps by the players or by others. Attention to these values, meanings, and purposes are addressed by Fraleigh through the adoption of Jewett and Bain's (1985) five curriculum orientations: disciplinary mastery, social reconstruction, learning process, self actualization, and ecological validity. The value of sport from a disciplinary mastery orientation may focus on learning new skills and the success and motivation associated with such achievement. By contrast, in the learning process orientation the value of sport would concentrate on how we learn as opposed to what we learn. Attention to strategies and tactics may be enhanced through teacher or coach adoption of a problem solving process (Griffin, Mitchell & Oslin, 1997; Thorpe, 1991) for the players.

Following a systematic review of each orientation Fraleigh concludes that "appropriate value emphases in sport in education differ according to the dominant purpose of the educational context" (p.88). Moreover contextual factors should be considered in tandem with sound justification for whatever decisions are reached by those who make decisions about sport opportunities and experiences. Fraleigh does not examine the issue of context and value derivation. Nor does he question the dominant educational context and how it is determined. For example the emphasis of this investigation is placed on urban youth. From a pragmatic stance we know little about what values urban adolescent youth hold regarding sport and or whether such values are compatible with those who are the
purveyors of sport. The benefit of applying Jewett and Bains value orientations would lie in determining if one orientation is more suited to an urban high school culture than others and if that orientation is currently facilitated within sport programs.

Scottish sport philosopher Peter Arnold (Arnold, 1994) considers the process versus the product or internal versus external goals of sport in educational contexts. In his view sport "in education should not be conceived as being used for moral purposes, but rather as a valued practice in which the virtues have a necessary and vital part to play" (p.87). The focus from his perspective is that sport should not be pursued for values or morals but rather the pursuit of sport will require observance of certain values if that sport is fully pursued and practiced (MacIntyre, 1985). Thus the inherent qualities are subscribed to by the player and it is not necessary to import moral training as an external strategy provided the process of teaching the sport is done correctly. If a complete pursuit and practice of sport occurs then sport could have a greater educative role in the development of youth.

Community Sport

An estimated 35 million youth participate in youth sports programs compared to about 6 million enrolled in school sponsored programs. Therefore many young people who participate in youth sport do so under the guise of agency sponsored forms. Sixteen top sport agencies were examined by Seefeldt, Ewing and Walk (1992). Of these seven provided for low income youth and three did not have a fee to play (Seefeldt et al., 1992). There has been a growing trend toward corporate provision for after school activities (Adler & Adler, 1994). To date, little has been documented on how these organizations are run, on what philosophies they are based, or to whom such organizations are answerable. The suburban mushrooming of private sports providers can be contrasted to the lack of similar programs in the city areas (Seefeldt, 1995; Tye, 1997a; Tye, 1997b; Tye, 1997c).
Seedfeldt (1995) reported that less than 10% of inner-city Detroit youth were involved in sports programs during 1993-94. Moreover, recreational services were reduced by 53% between 1968 and 1993. A similar story is told in Boston where 20% of urban youth participate in sport programs compared to 80% of young people who live in the suburbs (Tye, 1997b). The disproportionate degree of access to sport for urban youth coupled with a significant rise in youth delinquency and crime has prompted the Mayor of Boston to convene a youth congress to address the issues and suggest strategies to ameliorate the current dilemma facing city youth.

Probably the greatest barrier to participation in sport by urban youth are the characteristics often linked with low socio-economic status. These include family support, transportation, and access to fewer facilities, and programs. There is a growing concern for "the devastating decline in youth sports in America's inner cities" (Ewing et al., 1996, p. 27). Ponessa (1992) reports that user fees are becoming more evident in extracurricular activities with costs ranging from $21 to $600 per student. Hendry (Hendry, 1978) argues the 'cash nexus' or the ability to pay as determining the type of experience many young people are receiving in sport. Ewing (1996) cautions that:

the widely used stratagem of having participants pay for the privilege of playing sports is not effective in most urban areas, nor can residents be expected to provide their own transport to the fields, courts and pools beyond their own communities. Therefore, schools must play a major role as safe havens for children's sport and leisure during non-school hours (p.28).

An examination within the state of New Jersey revealed that urban students are receiving fewer offerings and fewer teams than their suburban neighbors (Ponessa, 1992). Discrepancies in facilities are confirmed in many school buildings, lucidly illustrated by education advocate Jonathan Kozol who asks:

What does money buy for children in New Jersey? For high school students in East Orange, where the track team has no field and therefore has to do its running in the hallways of the school, it buys a minimum of exercise but a good deal of pent-up energy and anger. In mostly upper-middle-income Montclair, on the other hand, it buys two recreational fields, four gyms, a dance room, a wrestling room, a
weight room with a universal gym, tennis courts, and track, and indoor areas for fencing (Kozol, 1991, p. 157).

Mixon (1981) described the equality of opportunity between inner city, urban, and suburban youths at fifth and eighth grade levels in a large mid-western city in the 1980's (N=124). Mixon's findings revealed a diversity of activities available to youth in all three zones. Suburban youth had higher membership rates at private sports clubs than their inner-city and urban counterparts. The neighborhood recreation center was where the majority of inner city, urban, and suburban subjects played sports and the use of agency-sponsored facilities increased with age. Mixon also found that urban eighth-grader's participated in more interscholastic sport than inner city or suburban youth. Although the sample used in Mixon's study is younger than the target population of this investigation some interesting trends are exposed. Examination of the sport experience by Mixon focused on the influence of "significant other" such as parents and coaches in the youths sporting experience, but did not elicit students' interpretations of their experiences.

The fact that urban neighborhoods often miss out on sport provision is unfortunate because as Karp and Yoels (1990) suggest, sport provides urban people with a sense of subjective community identification. According to Karp and Yoels (1990) such a state is based not on territorial criteria but rather on urban places, objects, events, and institutions. Once this has been recognized it is then possible to see "the extent to which many urbanites equate pride of place with pride of local sports teams" (p.99). While their observation is aimed at adults and the wider community there is no evidence to support or reject the claim when applied to youth and institutions such as schools or community centers.

The expansion of agency-sponsored provision of the after-school period has become marked by community centers, recreation centers, YMCA's, or specifically established organizations who have responded to a niche in the market. This upsurge of providers has been fueled by the advent of the 'latchkey generation', the increase in the number of women entering the workforce, and the reduction in resources available to
schools to provide programs (Poinsett, 1997). The need for supervised activities for young people has also been prompted by heightened sensitivity for public safety in many neighborhoods. As a result parents have embraced the notion of organizational leisure or what Berlage (1982) terms the "homogenization of organizational America". The outcome is that many organizations have fundamentally institutionalized the after school experiences of young people. Hendry (1990) warns that the propensity of youth sport providers to emphasize "organization and structure in leisure may run counter to the perceived needs of young people and may hasten the flight into alternative youth cultures" (p. 70). It is appropriate therefore to examine adolescents sporting needs as a sub-culture of society.

Sport and Urban Adolescents

Adolescence is a time of the lifespan that often resembles a roller coaster ride. The many changes that occur during the teen years test the capabilities of many individuals to deal with changes in their physical, emotional, social, and biological status. It is a period of potential excitement, freedom, uncertainty, risk, identity, exploration, and stimulation. Traditionally it has also been a period that has invoked the attention of adults who project varying degrees of tolerance toward their younger counterparts. Calloway (1991) provides an example of how many adults view today's adolescent generation:

A significant number of today's youth are technologically over stimulated, over nourished, spiritually bankrupted and emotionally isolated from any support system that could help them understand today's complex problems. Today's youth show less emotion, devalue life and are lonely, fearful and anxious. They seek life-threatening adventures and events which excite and stir the human spirit. Lesser challenges will not do. Lacking enthusiasm for life, moral values and ethical character, youth people are left to interpret the world around them without input from experienced others. The result is immoral, selfish behavior. (p. 57).

Despite the seriousness of many points made by Calloway the implications of such claims appear to have been dismissed by older generations. Any attention to the world of adolescents must also address those who have created much of that world, namely adults. The traditional struggle between adults and adolescents continues at the change of the
millennium but the nature of the world within which such a struggle occurs has also changed. Analysis of the adolescent world must take into consideration this condition but has frequently failed to give it credence. Giroux (1996) recently asserted:

> the relations between youth and adults have always been marked by strained generational and ideological struggles, but the new economic and social conditions that face youth today, along with a callous indifference to their spiritual needs, suggests a qualitatively different attitude on the part of many adults toward American youth - one that indicates that the young have become our lowest national priority (p. 31).

His concerns are supported by McLaughlin and Irby (1994) who ask "where is the soul in a society that allows so many of its young people to live without hope? The despair expressed by youth of inner-city America bespeaks the collapse of America's social compact with its young" (p. 306).

Adolescence is marked by mixed messages and multiple expectations that are often placed on today's youth (Goldberg & Chandler, 1989). Such expectations are placed by parents, coaches, teachers, and peers. Young people are encouraged to participate in sport by parents and peers but, because of the altered nature of the nuclear family they can no longer rely on traditional ties that support access to sport (Brett Schneider, 1994). The messages about sport that a young person receives from parents, friends, and others are, however, often inconsistent and lead to confusion and contradiction (Coleman, 1990). With the frequency and intensity of such expectations comes multiple pressures or crises. There is also a likelihood that young people will maintain a number of interests at one time (Tinning & Fitz Clarence, 1992) and at any point sport will be given a different priority. In times of increasing economic demands, access to sport is beyond the reach of some young people (Wilson & Dupuis, 1992). The issues of access, definition, motive, and adherence to sport by adolescents have led Brett Schneider (1994) to advise that:

> Sport is disintegrating. The change is evident at the level of the participants, the kinds of sport activities, the underlying configuration of motives and the integration of sporting activities into an individual lifestyle. These changes have paved the way for a broader understanding of sport. We must take leave of the myth of a unified
sport culture and we must recognize that sport has become a highly diversified phenomenon (p.30).

While sport retains the status of an important part of many young people's lives, its inclusion is becoming increasingly problematic. Any claims that sport may be beneficial (Jeziorski, 1994) for guiding youth through the period of adolescence may now only apply to those who can gain access to such virtues. Furthermore, different interpretations and meanings can vary from one environment to another. A high school player may experience two entirely different versions of basketball if he or she plays for a high school team but also enjoys "ballin" on the blacktop in his or her neighborhood. Sport thus holds differing identities. Any adolescent player establishing his/her own identity must also address the potential multiple identities that many sports may now hold and decide which versions are more appropriate.

According to Erikson (1968) there are eight potential psychosocial crises during the lifespan. Between the ages of 15 and 18 adolescents are faced with the crisis of identity. It is during this period that many youth ask and seek questions about who they are and what they will be. Self identity can be fashioned from many potential sources. The work of Mead (1934) first examined the significance of 'the other' in the formation of identity. The outcome of this theory is that an adolescent will subscribe to the attitudes of significant others. Potential significant others can include peers, family, teachers, coaches, musicians, and sports people. The mixture of any of these or other people who could be influential will often determine the adolescent culture, identity, and perhaps direction in life.

Cultural influences are often inculcated into the peer group through gender specific values experienced in extra-curricular sport. Eder & Parker (1987b) found that the provision of extra curricular opportunities does not change the peer culture. The passage of title IX legislation led researchers to believe that there would be similar male and female opportunities for peer status in sport. However, although male athletes continued to have high peer status it was found that female cheer leading (at male sport contests) was still the
most salient and prestigious activity for females. Eder and Parker (1987) argue "culturally significant activities set the frame for and constrain interpersonal behavior in line with traditional gender roles" (p.202). Cultural status is connected to high visibility at key school social events. Although teachers could address the peer-status structure within the school through appropriate advocacy it would appear that the status quo has generally prevailed.

Adolescence is a time when self-image is at a precarious state. Young people explore options, make decisions, and establish behaviors that are often indicative of the ensuing years. The physical, cognitive, and social changes that mark adolescence contribute to the reevaluation of identity (McCabe, 1991). The physical changes that occur during adolescence can have a negative experience for young people as a new body image is established, often against the norms created by society. How adolescents see themselves will often be compared to mechanisms such as the media. The closer their perception to an "ideal" body type, the more positive their self-concept. For girls in particular, the sport experience is often related as a positive contributor toward body appearance and thinness. For males, excellence in performance is the main motive for participation (Nixon & Frey, 1997). The reasons for engaging in the sport experience often differ between male and female adolescents (Borman & Kurdek, 1987; Eder & Parker, 1987a).

Kirk & Kirk, (1993) surveyed Division I schools and discovered that athletes who had entered college were characterized by social immaturity, less attention to lifelong goals, drug and alcohol abuse, and unstable social relationships. This finding was particularly prevalent among males. The authors suggest the need for enhanced sport counseling that caters to the needs of adolescent youth. Kirshnett (1989) discovered that males were far more aggressive, competitive, and result driven, behaviors generally condoned by their parents. By contrast female satisfaction in sport was marked by having fun or pursuing social relationships and seeking appropriate leisure forms. This outlook was supported by
parents. Perhaps Kirshnet's major finding was that female athletes extracted considerably more enjoyment from their sport experiences than males. There is considerable room for further inquiry on this subject. Perhaps a feminist perspective of sport participation that focusses on personal enjoyment and consideration of others is more appropriate for many more young people.

High school students' participation in active leisure forms (such as sport) are determined largely by what they are interested in which is in turn influenced by the availability of suitable resources (Garton & Pratt, 1987; Garton & Pratt, 1994). Furthermore "at the high school level, the prevalence of sport is best characterized by its influence in the everyday life of students" as evidenced by "the continued salience of sport in the value structure of the adolescent sub-culture" (Bradshaw, 1976, p. 44). Young people gain acceptance by excelling in something that is valued by peers (Evans & Roberts, 1987). For today's youth valued activities have expanded and sport is now competing with computers and technological pursuits, new 'extreme' sports such as skateboarding and mountain biking, infering a re-definition of sport. But membership on sports teams remains a highly desirable aspiration (Carnegie Corporation, 1992; Duda, 1989). Success in physical performance has been a strong indicator for peer recognition as well as enhancing self perception (Duda, 1981). Duda's findings reinforce the work of Coleman (1961) who noted that within the youth culture good sport performers were often prominent associates of the "leading crowd".

Youth interest in sport (like many other aspects of life) is based on personal subjectivity which can be strengthened through their recognition of and appreciation of its potential value to them (Chen, 1996). Chen notes the recent focus on 'situation interest' which he describes as "a person's subjective perception of an activity's appealing characteristics" (p.424). In a study of 35 college age students Chen examined two forms of interest: catching; which refers to the students' perceived appeal of an activity, and
holding; which refers to the retention or holding effects that the activity may have for the student. Following student reflections on their physical education experiences Chen identified four patterns of holding interest that affect the degree to which a student holds an interest in a physical activity (sport): fitness, socialization, activity variation, and self expression. His results confirmed that student holding interest is based on individual subjective meaning therefore inviting a match between person and activity to sustain participatory interest.

Csikszentmihalyi, Larson & Prescott (1977) had twenty five adolescents randomly fill out self report forms following prompts from a one-way radio communication between the hours of 8 AM. and 11 P.M. The activities reported by the students fell into eleven broad categories. Sports and games accounted for 4.4% of reports with boys reporting 9.9% compared to girls 2.0%. School was the predominant setting where sport and games occurred. The researchers discovered that "of the eleven primary activities the ones that provide the most positive experiences for boys and girls were playing games or sports (in which subjects perceived themselves as being most strong, active, free, excited, and sociable - although relatively hostile), and talking with peers" (p. 291). The method of experiential sampling offered great potential for understanding the experiences of adolescents. The challenge for educators and providers is to offer an environment and a curriculum that will arouse and support the interests of youth (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984, p.241).

David Hamburg of The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development stresses that for adolescents to make the transition to adulthood they will require "respectful contact with responsible, caring adults. And they need an array of stimulating, constructive opportunities throughout their waking hours - both in school and beyond" (Hamburg, 1997, p.11). The invitation is for teachers and coaches to find appropriate solutions to the requirements of adolescent development and effective antidotes for their vulnerability to
anti-social or risk behaviors. However, such a challenge is compounded by an acknowledged problem of insufficient qualified coaches (Odenkirk, 1986) to provide positive experiences for youth.

There is also a concern for sport providers at what Tinning & Fitzclarence (1992) describe as "the apparent disjunction between school [sic] and the lives of adolescent youth" which requires attention from educators and administrators working within the youth sport culture. The ubiquitous presence of images, in particular how sport is portrayed to young people through things such as clothing, language, and behavior, are collectively having an affect on youth impressions, actions, and decisions about sport participation.

A further issue that deserves attention is many young people are staying in school longer placing greater pressure on them to achieve financial independence (to pursue the many materialistic goods that cannot be resourced by an increasing number of lower or single income families) and constraining their adolescent experiences because of the need to work part time (Giroux, 1997). The cost of access to some sporting pursuits may preclude adolescent participation. Furthermore, access may be curtailed by transportation. The role of the school or community club as a provider of sport or leisure options may have to undergo change to enhance the aspirations and opportunities of such young people who wish to pursue a more physically active lifestyle. In addressing this change, Johns, Lindner, and Wolko (1990) suggested:

Between school, part time work, extra curricular activities and the competing status cultures...found among teenagers, time becomes precious and its expenditure is carefully considered. Belonging to a status culture that is rooted in the popular culture is an alternative that may well compete with sport (p. 167).

The changing contexts associated with the youth sport culture has implications for how sport can and should be delivered or more importantly how it has been delivered in the past. If youth are to be presented with options for participation then the options must be viewed as viable, attractive, appropriate, and enjoyable. Reflection on adolescent lifestyles reveals a deteriorating generation that has slipped towards a sedentary lifestyle. In an effort
to address the problems facing today's adolescent. The Surgeon Generals Report on Physical Activity and Health (Department of Health and Human Services, 1996) allocated a significant portion of the report to the escalating nature of sedentary lifestyles of today's adolescents and the associated health risks. The report notes a marked decline in the physical activity levels of this age group as half of all adolescents are not vigorously active on a regular basis. Furthermore, one fourth reported no vigorous physical activity involvement. These figures are even higher for female adolescents and even worse for African American, many of whom would be urban students. The report acknowledges this age period as a pivotal time for the prevention of sedentary lifestyle habits and the real need for appropriate, diverse, and innovative programs. The issue is that "more needs to be learned about what helps individuals change their physical activity habits" (Physical Activity and Health: Executive Summary, Foreword). Examination of the provision of sport to adolescents may illuminate where changes need to be made and where questions remain unanswered.

Sport provision for adolescents

Recently Great Transitions, the Carnegie Council's report on adolescent development (Carnegie Corporation, 1995) posed questions such as 'what kind of experiences during adolescence are "enormously helpful" in the shift from childhood to adulthood?' To answer such a question the Council convened a special meeting to ascertain how sport could play a role in the development of youth (Poinsett, 1997). One of the most pressing concerns of the Council was "an ambitious scaling up to a nationwide network of robust, self-functioning organizations and institutions meeting a range of...adolescent needs" (p. 4). The two traditional providers of sport (community agencies and high schools) have overseen the period of adolescence which is marked by large scale disengagement. The disconcerting results have resulted in a reassessment of how sport can be delivered or what must be done to make sport a more attractive physical activity option.
for adolescent youth. Ponessa (1992) advocates the need for school based youth service programs to be expanded in urban districts to provide a more comprehensive service for students' sport and leisure needs.

While many young people approach sport as an attractive option their collective energies are often diverted by a system that will allow only a few to continue the pursuit. Sport takes on different meanings as young people move from one context to another and from one level to another. As their sporting world unfolds they establish attitudes and ideas about the values and purposes of participation. The initial playfulness of early games and sport becomes transformed into a more work-like approach at the interscholastic sport level. Many of the formalized characteristics of professional sport are often in evidence at the high school level. For youth who embrace sport as a worthwhile component of adolescent life there is the lure of extrinsic rewards that lie beyond the years of high school.

Significant growth of sport from collegiate to professional level has created a climate of perceived advancement within sport for aspiring high school athletes. Many athletes see professional sport as an attractive career option (Lee, 1983). While ambition and endeavor are commendable qualities, Lee warns that less than 2% of high school athletes make it to the professional level. The slim odds are probably more disconcerting when couched within the figures offered by Simon (1991) who rates the chances of African American aspirants making the professional ranks as 1 out of 18,000 (p.55). The chances of gaining a collegiate scholarship are also very limited. In 1992 the percentage of high school athletes who gained scholarships to play at collegiate level in basketball, football, and baseball was 2.2%, 4.0%, and 4.2% respectively (Coakley, 1994, p. 283).

This perspective of sport has created a hierarchy in schools which has meant that you do not play unless you are very good at the sport. Any egalitarian delivery system that originally surfaced such as intramurals has been cut with ever-shrinking budgets and reduced facilities (Coakley, 1994). The downsizing of sport into specialized and exclusive
structures has also meant a more competitive outlook on interscholastic sport. Nixon and Frey (1997) report on a study where the biggest concern expressed by athletic directors in Illinois high schools (N=80) was the degree of specialization required to be successful in competition. Furthermore, 80% of those surveyed believed that the major source of pressure was from coaches. This is a reflection of the criteria often imposed on institutions that must be successful: produce revenue, win loss record, number of sports offered, and the number of participants.

The imposition of highly specialized and highly competitive leagues has led to many social and emotional issues in the educative role of sport (Weiss, 1996). This trend is not unique to the United States. From an international perspective Deknop, Engstrom, and Skirtstad (1996) have recently collated reports from over twenty countries that have addressed concerns on youth sport. The major areas of concern focus on the nature of access (particularly an overrepresentation of middle-class white males), the increasing degree of specialization, and the loss of the intrinsic values of sport participation. These major concerns are endorsed by (Weiss, 1996) in her report on American youth sport. Weiss' concerns are supported by a plethora of examples and research results. Rather than capitalize on the many captive qualities that sport can promote the present system appears to have dug itself into a deep hole.

Eder and Parker (1987b) highlight the potential impact schools can have on adolescent's values and behavior through extra-curricular activity. They offer three reasons. First, unlike the structured nature of classroom contexts (Cusick, 1973) extra-curricular activities hold the potential to become social events marked by interaction and meaningful participation. Second, the social dimension of extra-curricular activities hold potential for interaction with the opposite sex. Third, student visibility is elevated amidst the peer group during many extra-curricular activities. This enhanced status can in turn intensify membership within the peer culture. However, to capitalize on benefits of extra-
curricular activities it may be necessary to scrutinize how and why they are offered to students. Penny and Harris (1997) have recently called for a re-examination of the nature and delivery of extra-curricular activities in Great Britain's schools. They claim that the present system is marked by inequity and, in particular, caters primarily to those of ability while others are excluded.

Unless many of the English findings are taken on board sport for many adolescent's will retreat from their lives because of exclusive factors that are beyond their control. The adolescent pursuit of sport can be lost in other ways. Csikszentmihalyi (1990) suggests sports are expensive "up-front", initially requiring larger outlays in energy, planning, and making a start. He offers the notion of the "costs" of sport as a reason why some people (including young people) decide not to participate. A specific concern was the convenience to young people of being able to 'flop down in front of the TV screen and turn the set on' compared to the demands to 'summon up the energy to attend a sports club after school, or to call up some friends for pick up games' (p.5).

Initial enthusiasm and support for sport, apparent at the age when young people begin their high school careers is often diluted, transferred, or eliminated by the time the same people are ready to leave high school. Should educators, administrators, and policy makers be concerned about such an outcome? The environment that Csikszentmihalyi describes is not a solitary representation. Calloway (1987) portrays today's adolescent as a product of a system characterized by the conditions to which Csikszentmihalyi refers.

It is the vital symbiotic relationship between youth and sport cultures that is needed to promote sport as an attractive adult pursuit. Agencies (particularly schools) must acknowledge the link between sport and youth popular culture. Sport has been used to form a coalition between urban youth and teachers. In an ethnographic study of a single-sex boys inner city school Walker (1987) investigated youth cultures, attitudes toward school and the significance of sport in the formation of a youth cultural hierarchy. He
found that while sport provided an opportunity for consolidation within school populations against a common opponent, sport also reinforced a pre-defined cultural hierarchy within the school as well as compromising some school multi-cultural objectives.

Contexts within which young people experience sport can have varying effects. Chalip, Csikszentmihalyi, Kleiber, and Larson (1984) adopted The Experience Sampling Method (ESM) by using pagers allocated to 75 adolescent students who were randomly alerted during the day. At that time each respondent had to complete a self report about their social situation and subjective state as measured by eight variables. The researchers compared and contrasted formal, informal, and physical education environments. Higher than average challenges were found in all three settings while moods were significantly above average in informal sports and physical education class. Finally, sense of skill and motivation rated significantly higher for informal sport. They posited that "part of the attractiveness of informal sports for adolescents may be the perceived consonance between demands and skills (p. 114). This study highlights how context can mediate the subjective nature of physical activity.

From an earlier study of a similar nature Csikszentmihalyi concluded "The lack of productive activities in the lives of these teenagers does not seem to be compensated for by what school has to offer" (Csikszentmihalyi et al., 1977, p. 292). In sharing his concern for the evolution of interscholastic sports Sage (1986) laments that sports coaches and physical educators have been too uncritical of youth sport choosing instead to watch its transformation into a commodified form marked by sponsorship, television contracts and booster clubs. The resemblance to adult collegiate versions of sport has juxtaposed with adult imposed values and norms. It is at this point where social opportunities are lost. As Sage (1986) highlights "Social competence must be learned, and it is learned through social experiences" (p. 23). Social outcomes must be linked to social relationships to allow a connection between the experiences that youth have and the environment within which
those experiences occur. If youth are denied those experiences then they must look elsewhere to learn social competencies. There is a need to recognize the importance of the peer group and the emerging independence from the adult purlieu desired by young people.

From a sample of 10,000 Hendry, Shucksmith, Love, and Glendinning (Cited in Benton, 1981) conducted a longitudinal study to examine the lifestyles of young people in Scotland. Their findings revealed the significance of leisure time and what individual outcomes emerge from personal lifestyles. The researchers report that participation in sport revealed a marked drop-off between the ages of 13-14 and 15-16 years. The principle reason given for the reduction in youth participation was the reduced influence of parents toward decisions about participation. They also recommended the need to understand more about young people. In particular they state "we lament the lack of an ethnography of adolescent life which would explore the ways in which young people use and perceive their leisure environments" (p. 185). The study called for a more systematic examination of sport and leisure provision and in particular the adult - adolescent interaction process. A similar response is made by Csikszentmihalyi (1977) who concludes:

it is our belief that a systemic approach is necessary to understanding adolescents. Such an approach requires an ecological mapping of activities and experience. Only by knowing where adolescents channel their attention and what kinds of feedback they receive from the interaction can we begin to understand the evolution of behavior patterns (p. 293).

The underlying concern of these developments is the effect it is having on the people who are at the heart of this system: youth. The notable absence from such discourse is the voice of adolescents. To further understand both the sport and the youth culture of the next decade it is imperative that researchers seek and acknowledge the voices of young people. Only then will it be possible to ascertain the interests and needs of youth and how the sport culture might be enhanced to fulfill their needs.
The Outcomes of Sport Participation

This section examines the consequences of participation in sport: why adolescents do it; their motives behind participation, the claimed benefits of participation, the negative outcomes that may result from participation, what prevents participation, and the reasoning behind why youth should be encouraged to pursue sport.

Arnold (1992) argues that sport, along with other aspects of human learning, is important because it constitutes part of what is considered worthwhile to society and should therefore be retained for succeeding generations. However the nature of sport has changed from many of its intended purposes. As Grupe and Kruger (1994) observe, many of the changes have not been for the best:

Today however, the realisation of the authentic meanings and possibilities of sport is often threatened by negative developments: examples are excessive competition, discrimination of the less successful, overemphasis of winning, success, and record, tacit approval of aggression, the clandestine tolerance of rule infringements and performance manipulation, utilisation of sport as a media spectacle, dependence on political and one-sided economical interests. In all these cases, sport is losing a part of its authentic potential (p. 23).

Once involved in sport a young persons decision to remain is often shaped by positive or negative reinforcers that operate within the sport environment (Hendry, 1978). One of the biggest negative reinforcers is the emphasis placed on winning by adults, and in particular by coaches. Orlick (1972) discovered that 80% of the mothers he interviewed expressed a strong dislike for the degree of emphasis placed on winning. His findings are supported by the Miller Lite Brewing Company Report on American Attitudes Towards Sport (Miller Lite Brewing Company, 1983) which revealed that 86% of parents surveyed believed that organized sport for young people placed too much emphasis on winning. Eighty two percent of parents also believed that amateur coaches took sport too seriously. Although coaches may assume that the demonstration of ability and the experience of winning are important aspects of enjoyment in youth sport neither are critical elements of enjoyment (Brustad, 1993; Brustad, 1996; Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984;
Csikszentmihalyi, 1975a; Csikszentmihalyi, 1975b; Gill, Gross & Huddleston, 1985; Scanlan, Carpenter, Lobel & Simons, 1993; Wankel & Berger, 1990; Wankel & Kreisel, 1985; Wankel & Sefton, 1989). Adult lust for winning has obvious consequences for youth as well because "when success in sport is defined as winning in competition, children are given few opportunities to define their experiences positively" (Roberts & Treasure, 1993, p. 12).

By the time youth reach high school, many have anchored themselves on a relative popularity scale already established at the middle school level. Eder and Kinney (Eder & Parker, 1987b) examined the effect of extracurricular activities on adolescents' popularity and peer status. They reported that 'star male athletes, cheerleaders, and their close friends were considered to be the "trendy" crowd in the school. Other students sought high visibility membership to subcultures such as "headbangers" (heavy metal music fans). Eder & Parker (1987b) found that the influences of peer status established at middle school have long-term effects on social image and status and important implications for high school extracurricular provision.

The type of sport participated in can also determine the extent of social status accorded to an adolescent. Holland and Andre (1987) examined social status among high school (N=412) and college (n=319) athletes. They found that the greatest status was granted to sex-appropriate sports for males and sex-inappropriate sports for females. Sex-appropriate referred to participants' perceptions of which sports were appropriate for each gender. Football was regarded as sex-appropriate for males while volleyball was considered sex-appropriate for females. Some sex-inappropriate sports such as basketball or softball, which veered from traditional feminine expectations, were found to cause greater role conflict. While sport participation continues to support stereotypical male expectations the findings of Holland and Andre suggest that approval for participation in
sex-inappropriate sport could be interpreted as a departure from traditional values, beliefs, and behaviors.

Many of the espoused values of sport are recognized as inconsistent with feminist principles (Whitaker, 1991). Rather than traditional hostile and dehumanizing attempts to subdue opponents, Whitaker advocates a more humanistic approach that is "consistent with feminist values of self-actualization and empowerment, mutual respect and affirmation, and emotional and expressive freedom" (p.81). Her perspective is that sport has great potential for self actualization, empowerment, affirmation, and enjoyment because of inherent properties such as drama, sensuousness, cooperation, risk taking, personal expression, and cognitive complexity. Whitaker's call for attention to the opportunities for personal growth that are offered by sport experiences but appear to have been ignored in favor of traditional intellectual learning pursuits.

While finding little relationship between athletic participation and sociability, academic achievement, or elevation of self-esteem, Melnick, Van Fossen, and Sabo (1988) argue that the lack of significant cause and effect between the properties of sport and personal development of young women "does not in any way negate the value of an athletic experience". Moreover they maintain "there is sufficient justification for the inclusion of wholesome physical activity in the school curriculum if the participant enjoys what she's doing because of the intrinsic pleasure and satisfaction derived therefrom" (p. 32). There is perhaps an argument to evaluate sport participation beyond the utilitarian perspective that is often adopted by researchers. Such a stance would require greater emphasis on the process of participation rather than the outcome.

For many young people the sport experience ends with withdrawal. This aspect of sport participation has received recent attention (Burton, 1988; Coakley, 1992; Coakley & White, 1992; Gould, 1987b; Gould & Petlichkoff, 1988; Orlick, 1975; Petlichkoff, 1993; Petlichkoff, 1996; Sapp & Haubenstricker, 1978; Weiss, 1989). In the most recent
summary of withdrawal from youth sports, Petlichkoff (1996) reports that 35% of young people withdraw from organized sport each year. Further, the withdrawal rate increases as adolescents get older.

Using a British sample of 254 respondents Boothby, Tungatt & Townscend (1981) documented reasons why people cease participation in sport. The authors concentrated on the subjective experience gleaned from interviews with each individual. The responses fell into five broad dimensions based on either personal constructs (such as pregnancy, increasing age, tired of the sport) or wider social linkages (such as no time to spare, lack of facilities, left youth organization). For younger members of the sample "leaving a youth organization" was an important category. For many youth this meant the severing of social networks as well as any assistance the organization could offer. The authors support the notion that rich experiences during adolescence (Emmett, 1971; Leigh, 1971) can be a critical influence on future sport participation (Rodgers, 1977).

While the withdrawal figures are disconcerting, consideration must also be given to the trial-and-error process and that some young people may be involved in sampling other options. Many young people are left with fewer options as they get older so it is no surprise that by the time they reach 17 years, 80% of youth have withdrawn from organized non school sport (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1989). In general there is a need for closer examination of the withdrawal process to clarify how and why youth leave sport and to what extent their decisions are based on their experiences or their developmental needs at this stage of life.

A derivative of the withdrawal process is the condition of burnout. Failure for the young athlete to identify him/herself as somebody they desire is a recognized symptom of burnout (Coakley, 1992). After conducting informal interviews with 15 adolescent athletes Coakley found that burnout could be traced to the social organization of high performance sport. The social organization often associated with high-performance sport and the
experiences that athletes have as a result of their (often limited) interactions with significant others has the potential for burnout which in turn may constrain identity formation of young athletes. This is a condition Coakley recommends must be avoided.

The pressures placed on adolescents by adults have called into question the relevance of sport in settings such as high schools (Miracle & Rees, 1994; Ogilvie, 1971). Inoue (1984) claims "sport has taken a part in the school program as one of the main subjects because of its educational value. The educational value of sport is generally recognized for its instrumental function through which people achieve some objective or result" (p. 6). The assumption made by Inoue is that sport and physical education are the same thing as sport per say is not a subject but rather a peripheral component of the school day. While sport may be a predominant component of many physical education programs, the two have often enjoyed the status of "strange bedfellows." By this term Stothart (1987) purports that while bunched together sport and physical education are not the same.

However, in some parts of the world such as the Antipodes (Where Stothart heralds from) sport and physical education hold quite different meanings when compared to Europe or the United States. Although there are some commonalities, the distinctions between sport and physical education will vary according to the part of the globe where both terms exist. In America high school physical education programs will often be dominated by sports and in particular team sports. Although evidence to support such a claim is scarce there are examples of research that has examined high school programs and confirmed such a claim (Bain, 1989; O'Sullivan, 1994). Further evidence is often manifested through the content of many curriculum content textbooks. A further indicator is the resources that are produced by the subject's professional affiliate; The American Alliance of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance.

Fejgin (1994) used a nationally representative sample of 10th graders from the follow-up of the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 to examine the net

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effects of athletic participation on student outcomes. She found that positive sport participation had positive effects on grades, self-concept, locus of control, and educational aspirations as well as a negative effect on discipline problems. Fejgin's results also revealed an unequal distribution of participation across gender and socioeconomic groups. Those advantaged were males, students from socio-economically advantaged homes, students enrolled in private and smaller schools, and those previously enrolled in private or school sports. Although not fully convinced Fejgin does state "it appears that the repetitive experiences associated with competitive athletic activities may have some character-building qualities" (p.223). However the process by which such qualities are delivered is unclear.

Melnick, van Fossen, and Sabo (1988) examined the educational effects of participation in high school interscholastic sport on African American and Hispanic students. They reported that sport participation had a positive effect on final year academic grades for both suburban African American and rural Hispanic athletes. However, the small number of educational benefits for young people of color has raised several unanswered questions regarding the reasons why so few benefits are associated with athletic participation. Using a similar data base to Melnick and colleagues, Marsh (1993) examined some character-building effects and sport participation. Marsh concluded that "participation in sport has many positive effects with no apparent negative effects and these positive effects are very robust." Furthermore, "participation in sport leads to an increased commitment to, involvement with, or identification with school and school values" (p. 35).

In a longitudinal study of 1200 males and females Spreitzer (1992) followed-up on high school sophomores and seniors who began high school in 1980 and participated successively in 1982, 1984, and 1986. He found that varsity sport participants were disproportionately represented by students who were economically privileged, had above average cognitive abilities and academic records, and higher self-esteem scores. Spreitzer claimed that such qualities were not attributable to sport participation but rather the selection
process used in youth sport which is marked by adult decision-making. He also warned that any analysis of youth sport participation should attend to 'antecedent social background characteristics'. Spreitzer suggested that sport programs should focus on intrinsic rewards associated with the sport experience and avoid unsubstantiated beliefs about the character building qualities of sport.

The educational benefits of sport are to many largely fallacious. There is evidence to support certain benefits of sport in certain contexts but generally there is "little or no empirical evidence to support" (Arnold, 1992, p. 244) the belief that 'sport builds character' which has been carved into the stonework of the pillars that support Western education. Arnold adds that "this however, does not necessarily mean they are not to some extent true" (Arnold, 1992, p.244). Arnold's second affirmation is endorsed by Miracle and Rees (1994) who recently published *Lessons of the Locker Room* which examines the myth of high school sports. The authors conclude that "the traditional mythology concerning the role of sport in character-building and educational functions has been shown to lack scientific support" (p. 195). What is missing from their text however is the voice of the athlete. Rather, Miracle and Rees chose to search the empirical evidence and project why adults have condoned high school sport but there is no mention of the athletes themselves, the very people who are directly effected.

For those who have subscribed to the educational axiom of sport builds character there is a need to pursue alternative justifications. The strength of the axiom is couched in the words of Stevenson (1975) who stated that "In the final analysis, it is the rationale of 'character building,' of moral development, of citizenship development, of social development, that justifies the existence of physical education and athletics in educational institutions" (p.287). However, the adoption of character development as an outcome of sport participation is not the root of the problem as "According to both players and behavioral scientists, competitive sports are seldom structured to promote character
development" (Coakley, 1994) p.97). Attention should be directed towards how personal and moral development could be developed through sport.

Kleiber and Roberts (1981) carried out an exploratory study with 36 children aged approximately eleven years during a two-week soccer 'world series'. During this investigation they attempted to examine the impact of the sport experience on the development of social character, in particular, cooperation and altruism. They found some evidence that sport competition can have a reducing effect on the prosocial tendencies of children and the effect can vary between boys and girls. However, this initial research really highlighted the complexity of this topic and the level of sophistication required of any research into the area of sport and character or its derivatives.

To address the psychological and social benefits of sport participation, Wankel and Berger (1990) proposed a model based on four types of outcomes: personal enjoyment; personal growth; social harmony and; social change. Personal enjoyment is recognized through enjoyment, fun, and flow. Personal growth could include physical health and its subsidiaries as well as psychological well-being. Social harmony includes socialization factors, inter group relations, and community integration. The final category, social change addresses educational attainment, social status and social mobility. Wankel and Berger point out that all four categories have the potential to benefit youth but such outcomes can only be realized if the participant is in an appropriate program. Recent research has examined many of the four categories that collectively have assisted in increasing our understanding of the sport experience.

Physical activity is recognized as a popular coping strategy among adolescents (Frydenberg & Lewis, 1993). Access to active leisure forms are often determined by a combination of external and internal factors (Hendry, 1983). External factors include: gender, age, ethnicity, socio-economic status and school location. The internal factors

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1 Flow is described as an intrinsically rewarding or autotelic experience [see Privette, 1983 p.1362]
center on behavior or attitudes such as interest. What is not known is the degree to which each factor restricts or reinforces the leisure options available to young people. We do know that socio-economic status impacts young people's access to active leisure or sport forms. Accordingly, there needs to be a place where interesting programs are available to those who seek health and enjoyment through sport. The high school offers great potential for the provision of appropriate programs because almost all young people attend high school. However history would reveal that high schools have been largely unsuccessful at offering such programs.

In their recent review Ewing, Seefeldt, and Brown (1996) conclude that sport participants "earn higher grades, show better deportment in school, develop better interpersonal skills and drop out of school less than non-participants" (p.18). However, the authors point out that "one of the unsolved problems relates to the low involvement of urban youth in sports, especially those who are physically unfit and sedentary because of their socio-economic status" (p. 18).

Ewing et al.'s results support work involving Belgium youth by Theeboom, De Knop, and Wylleman (1990) who examined the role of two high school sports programs organized by the University of Brussels and the local sports federation for underprivileged youth. The programs covered soccer, swimming and martial arts. Following interviews with participants, teachers, and sport instructors, the authors noted a decrease in absenteeism, that relationships between pupils improved, and sport became a topic for study in other subject areas. Participants endorsed the program and expressed a desire to maintain interest both within school and during their discretionary leisure time.

**Constraints to Sport Participation**

For many young people sustained sport participation is not always possible. There are often factors that prevent participation in both school and agency-sponsored sport. Recent attention has concentrated on what constraints affect participation and how youth
negotiate through such constraints to successfully participate in active leisure forms (Jackson & Rucks, 1995). Constraints can be experienced as early as middle school and the period of adolescence can often be devoted to overcoming obstacles to participation that will enable the continued pursuit of activities. For example, adolescents' sport experiences are often curtailed by transportation (McMeeking & Bandana, 1995). Garton and Pratt (1994) asked 1248 adolescents to nominate up to three activities that they would like to participate in but could not and state why they couldn't participate. The nominations of interest were then compared to the external constraints or pressures that effected access. Their findings show that what adolescents do as leisure activities is largely determined by gender and the interest in activities is determined by access to available resources. Their study highlighted the complexity between adolescent interest and participation. This study highlights the traditional forces that effect leisure patterns and what needs to be done to overcome such constraints. Physical and social influences seem to influence leisure selection and will continue to do so unless appropriate intervention programs are put in place to broaden the options available to youth.

Iso-Ahola and Mannell (1984) identified three psychological constraints to leisure experiences that can influence adolescents: the first was perceived incompetence which may lead to withdrawal; the second was attitudinal variables including motives and needs; the third was socio-cultural factors for instance some leisure activities are transformed into work like settings dominated by extrinsic rather than intrinsic motivation.

Reasons for Participation

Enjoyment Adolescent sport enjoyment has also received the attention of sport scholars. Some researchers have argued that determination of the enjoyment factors that enhance the sport experience is the key to continued involvement in sport. Scanlan and colleagues have argued that the pursuit of fun and enjoyment are crucial to obtaining a participant's commitment to sport (Scanlan, 1993; Scanlan et al., 1993; Scanlan, 1993).
Task orientation and perceived competence can be significant sources of sport enjoyment for high-school aged youth (Boyd & Zenong, 1996).

The work of Csikszentmihalyi has addressed the construct of enjoyment. His model bases enjoyment on a state referred to as flow. In the 'Flow Model' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975a) enjoyment acts as a fulcrum between two poles. One pole represents anxiety which is present when a task is perceived as too difficult for the performer. The other pole is represented by boredom which is manifested in activities perceived as being too easy. If a balance between task demand and performer qualities is balanced then an optimal state of flow is attained and enjoyment can be experienced. The flow state can be achieved during work or play (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975b).

Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1984) discovered that adolescent's who were asked to provide their interpretation of enjoyable activities strongly endorsed active leisure forms. Using electronic beepers, each participant (who was paged randomly) had to respond and write down what they were doing and their thoughts and feelings about the activity. The seventy five students mentioned 51 different activities as being most enjoyable. One thing was immediately apparent. Practically all the items listed in the table were leisure related activities: talk, sports, hobbies or recreation. These findings bring into question whether the lifestyle of contemporary adolescents are receiving what could be termed playful pursuits which appear as more sophisticated and diverse versions of pre-adolescent play forms. A miscellany of social pressures and parental supervision on today's adolescents may have forced many young people into adulthood prematurely.

The results of the studies selected in this section would indicate that although sport has the potential to deliver many positive outcomes for adolescent participants the evidence to support such outcomes is at best meager and at worst contradictory. Certainly for many individuals participation in sport has been both uplifting and enhancing (Jeziorski, 1994).
At a time when many adolescents are searching for something to identity with sport should be utilized better because sport has the elements that produce, for many individuals, the stimulus necessary to extend themselves further than they do in many other aspects of their lives, surely if we understand more about these great moments we would be able to help athletes experience more of them and get more out of them (McInman & Grove, 1991, p.348).

To understand the great moments it is necessary to examine the actual sport experience. This includes what sport means to the individual and what subsequent effect the experience has on how something is interpreted or portrayed. The final section of this chapter will examine the sport experience.

The Sport Experience

Has the American sport spectacle somehow missed the boat? The festivity associated with many sports are accepted as part of the game. The traditional rituals of the Olympics have been revered and retained since their renaissance in 1896. Professional football, probably America's greatest spectacle, would be the closest in likeness to an Olympic ceremony. Mandell (1984) reflects on a comparison of these two occasions:

I, who went to the Olympic Games of 1972 quite purposely as a cynical sports critic, recall my deep, near mystical transports which I experienced during the long and varied opening ceremonies at that magnificent stadium on a cool sunny afternoon in August 1972. I subsequently learned that everyone on the site felt comparable, nearly ecstatic, emotions. The obvious (though we deny it) silliness of the half-time ceremonies at American professional football games assuredly heightens the pleasure of the spectators. Clearly festivities need not be rooted in tradition or even well done in order to be satisfying. Lots of room for further creativity here (p. 298).

Like professional football, ceremony has permeated youth school sport. Many of the traditional parades and pep rally's are emulated every year throughout the high schools of this country. On a more cynical note Mandell borrows Pierre de Coubertin's view that to allow some to pursue their sporting desires others had to be "seduced" by music, parades, flags, and oratory. Those who experience such ceremonies could be collectively seduced or like Mandell's Olympic experience they could extract meaning and membership.
through their subjective experiences. Attendance at such events is usually high. The event
is often staged during the sanctioned hours of the school day and one wonders what
response would occur if such an event was offered outside normal school hours. There are
many questions about young people’s views and experiences regarding ceremony for high
school sport and largely these questions remain unanswered.

The subjective states of well-being that shift every hour of every day are influenced
by the experiences people have within that time. Some of the most important, positive
states are reported by people who indulge in sport participation (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).
The subjective state of people (including adolescents as a specific sub-group) has attracted
considerable interest from Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues because "how we feel about
what we do is what matters most in life" (p.14). Moreover, participation in sport activities
will have the most benefit to the participant if that individual feels better for having done it.
The extent to which sport can make people feel good is illustrated in a study which
concluded that, of 46,56 self-reports to electronic paging, only making love and socializing
received a higher score than sport participation (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

The flow experience sheds considerable light on why people pursue many sport
activities. Following several investigations into sport participation in swimming,
basketball, rock climbing, solo, long-distance sailing, and similar pursuits
Csikszentmihalyi concludes that "since the activity did not seem to be motivated by
external rewards, it is safe to assume that it is the quality of the subjective experience itself
that motivates the behavior" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 17). These sports provided few,
if any extrinsic rewards like money or recognition. The quality of the subjective experience
therefore held considerable potential for motivation and adherence.

Inoue (1984) adopted Kleinman’s 'open concept' of the sport experience using
experiential description and analysis of over 100 personal accounts of student sport
experiences collected over a sixteen year period. Inoue attempted to identify and clarify
both the methodological features and the experiential descriptive versions of the sport experience. She argues that these two approaches; experiential description and analysis offer "an alternative way to understanding the significance of the sport experience" (p.100).

Examination of the student sport experiences revealed ten categories pertinent to lived experience were proposed: 1) spatial and temporal awareness, 2) awareness of others, 3) body or self awareness 4) oneness with others, 5) transcendence of body, 6) aesthetic feeling, 7) existential feeling, 8) decision making, 9) self identity, 10) pursuit of possibility. These categories help to illuminate the significance and diversity associated with the sport experience. While this research was drawn from personal written accounts there is also the potential to examine experience through verbal contributions of participants.

Focus on the internal benefits of sport participation has been investigated by others. Battista (1987) examined the intrinsic reward hypothesis, which, according to Battista, is based on the conviction that a sporting activity is enjoyable and self-fulfilling. Battista's notion is illustrated by Giamatti:

For the sport's participant, it is an experience of the constant dialectic of restraint and release, the repeated interplay of energy and order, of improvisation and obligation, of strategy and tactic, all neatness and ambiguity affirmed by the incredible power of the random, by accident or luck, by vagaries of weather, by mental lapses or physical failure, by flaw in field or equipment, by laws of physics that operate on round or oblong objects in their own way, by error in all its lurking multiplicity (Giamatti, 1989, p.34)

Giamatti's interpretation of the sport experience sheds light on the variability such a phenomenon can have. His thoughts are supported by Seefeldt who describes how "these sport experiences differ greatly in competitive level, length of season, cost to competitors, qualification of coaches and officials, and the skill levels of athletes" (Seefeldt & Ewing, 1997, p.1).

Sport is a highly valued leisure activity for young people and plays an important role in their lives (Clough, 1993; Coleman, 1961). Therefore, it is not surprising that a
greater number of people experience sport during their youth than at any other stage of the
life cycle (Eitzen, 1993). Sport as a leisure pursuit is often considered by youth.

Siegenthaler and Gonzalez (1997) examine the positive and negative implications of youth
sport using Stebbins six qualities of serious leisure: personal effort, perseverance, career,
subculture, identification, and long-lasting benefits. They report that although sport can
provide what youth want from 'serious leisure' it can only be a positive option "when the
determination of seriousness is made by the participant rather than the parent or coach" (p.
311).

Siegenthaler and Gonzalez's findings are supported by Alderson and Crutchley
(1990) who assert "individuals should be able to relate their experiences in different
activities to their own abilities and to the sense of satisfaction they personally derive from
participation"(p. 52). While adolescent experiences of leisure have been examined through
activity patterns (Hendry, 1983) , therapeutic milieu's (Hultsman & Kaufman, 1990) , and
participant perceptions (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984; Kleiber, Larson &
Csikszentmihalyi, 1986), examination of adolescent sport experiences has attracted little
attention.

Wankel and Kreisel (1985) surveyed 822 youth sport participants to investigate
factors underlying enjoyment. Intrinsic factors rated highest by participants were;
excitement of the sport, personal accomplishment, and improving one's skills. Extrinsic
factors were rated least important; pleasing others, winning, and rewards. Situated
between these two categories were social factors; being on the team, being with friends.

Wankel and Kreisel recommend grouping participants by skill level to enhance their sport
experiences. Programs should be based on the intrinsic needs specified in this study such
as enjoyment, involvement, and skill development. Conversely youth sport programs that
are based on extrinsic rewards should be discouraged. This suggests young people need to
experience success when performing sporting skills and if possible this should occur with
friends. Such a message should provide a clear signal for those adults who facilitate the provision of sport for young people. Wankel and Kreisel (1985) suggest "rather than focusing on the health outcomes from a program, perhaps focusing upon the enjoyment attained or the quality of the experience might prove more effective" (p. 276).

Retention of adolescents in sport has attracted recent attention. One example for this line of research is the work of Scanlan and colleagues into sport commitment (Scanlan, 1993; Scanlan, 1993). According to the model's designer's, sport commitment is determined by sport enjoyment and involvement alternatives. The presence of increased sport enjoyment, personal investments, social constraints, and involvement opportunities and less enticing involvement alternatives were predicted to elevate levels of sport commitment. Following their testing with 95 girls and 83 boys Scanlan and colleagues recommended a better understanding of what makes the sport experience enjoyable. It is pertinent to learning more about commitment to sport participation by youth.

Snyder & Spreitzer (1979) offered five determinants of commitment of sport participation:
1. Intrinsic enjoyment of the activities
2. Anticipation of some external reward
3. Skills or ability of the participant to perform a task
4. Avoidance of failure, perceived sanctions, stigmas, or loss of status
5. Attitudes and feeling toward another participant

Gerber & Morgan (1979) argues that the sport experience is often the result of a mutual influence "because sport demands a certain fullness of commitment and extended effort from its participants, it, in turn, extends to them a meaningful experience". His argument would appear to be based on the thesis that the more you put into something the more you get out of it.
The most frequently cited desired experience of sport participation offered by young people is fun. Fun is often associated with enjoyment and involvement (Wankel & Kreisel, 1985). Recently, Scanlan and colleagues (Scanlan et al., 1993; Scanlan, 1993) have investigated the construct of enjoyment so that participant sport experiences can be enhanced through appropriate provision. Using correlational analyses and stepwise regression the researchers found that sport enjoyment and personal investments were dominant predictors of sport commitment in their sample taken from a little league program. Humphries (1991) sought opinions of elementary, middle, and high school sport participants and non-participants about youth sport. For many of the respondents their principle reason for quitting sport was that it had ceased to be fun for them. This status was promoted by not getting to play and a coach's over-emphasis on winning.

Kleiber and Kirshnit (1991) have suggested the need to move away from sex-role prescriptions of sport that influence which sports should be played and the motives for participation and look for an alternative framework from which to examine sport experiences. Such an orientation would break away from existing prescriptions and allow greater focus on the participant's personal development. By encouraging participants to interpret sport differently through personal meaning and participation motives, it may be possible to extract more of sports potential as a vehicle for human growth and development. One option could be to focus on the 'process-oriented' aspects of sport that are often couched within a feminine perspective based on expression with a de-emphasis on the masculine 'product oriented' version (Duquin, 1978). Such an approach would require considerable change of focus on the sport experience but it may provide a better balance than the present male-dominated version. The challenge for coaches and educators would be to determine what such a version would look like in a context such as an urban high school or community center.
Through the use of feminist theory and a cultural studies approach, Birrell and Richter (1987) interviewed and observed women's sport experiences in slow-pitch softball in two leagues over a four year period. The players in their study recounted that their motives for playing were based on development and expression of skills, playing hard, and challenging games but did not want an overemphasis on winning, power relationships between players and coaches, social or skill-based elitism, a climate of risk or endangerment, or any degradation of opponents. These preferred experiences revealed a preference for process rather than outcome orientations, and a desire for social needs such as support, inclusion, and care. While these findings relate to adults they raise some interesting issues regarding whether such needs are sought by adolescent youth.

Coakley (1992) interviewed 15 athletes between the ages of 15 and 19 years to investigate their views on dropping out of sport. All but one of the athletes were from individual sports, nine were young men, and six were young women. Coakley reports that "what I noticed in these conversations was that as these young people described their past, they talked of little except their experiences" (p. 274). The inference was that many of the decisions made by adolescent youth are based on the experiences they have had. These results highlight the need to ascertain to what extent the sport culture of youth is structured or determined by personal experience. From these interviews Coakley was able to offer the argument that for these athletes [and perhaps others] stress was not an individual thing based on character but rather a social thing based on organization. The implications for these findings were the need for a re-examination of the structure and organization of sport and the relationships that often exists in high performance or elite sport. The experiences that many athletes had were too narrow and encroaching on other life experiences they should have had.

Coakley and White (1992) interviewed 34 young English men and 26 young women ranging in age from 13-23. The interviews concentrated on their sport experiences
and how they were interpreted by the participants. The researchers found significant differences in the way experiences were defined and interpreted by males and females. The occurrences that had manifested from school sport teams and physical education formed a basis for what respondents expected for future sport experiences. The majority of experiences were classified as negative marked by boredom, feeling incompetent, receiving negative appraisals from peers, and limited opportunities through lack of choice. The authors concluded that "sport participation (and non-participation) is the result of decisions negotiated within the context of a young person's social environment and mediated by the young person's view of self and personal goals" (p. 34). Coakley and White concluded by emphasizing the need for research to focus on the decision making process of young people. Priority should be given to experiences of participants that encourage personal reflection and commentary.

Chapter Summary

The literature presented in this chapter would question the claim that "Sports provide an ideal environment in which...highly individualistic personally empowering experiences can emerge" (Glassford, 1991, p.227). For the experience to occur Arnold (1992) suggests the presence of two prerequisites:

First, it must demonstrate that it has distinctive internal goals in the form of skills, tactics, strategies and exemplifying standards. Secondly, it must demonstrate that it proceeds in a morally acceptable way within a framework of rules (p.244).

The pursuit of a sport experience is also confounded by what adolescents define as sport. Brettsneider (1990b) argues that "adolescents no longer accept the institutional meaning of sport, but attach great importance to their subjective understanding of sport" (p.541). Such a position may be supported by the increasing evidence that high school age youth are becoming less interested or disenchanted with sport (Eitzen, 1976). What Eitzen has not addressed is whether youth are disinterested in what or how sport is offered in specific contexts or are they disinterested in sport totally. The increasing numbers of youth who
subscribe or have subscribed to agency-sponsored sport would probably support the former option. For high school [read interscholastic] sport there is a need for further examination of: how sport is addressed, and what sport is addressed.

While sport sits predominantly outside the formal curriculum it can still act as a forum for educational experiences. The importance of the experience is foremost because "What is learned in high school, or for that matter anywhere at all, depends far less on what is taught than on what one actually experiences in the place" (Friedenberg, 1966) p. 89) Because of the apparent ambiguous status of sport in education the examination of sport from a social and educative perspective is needed. There has been a gulf created between the manifest and latent functions of sport within many institutions, particularly high schools Copeland (1974) believes high school sport requires a re-analysis and redirection of current practices. As McCormack & Chalip (1988) inquire "If there are unique effects of sport, one way to locate them is to examine the experiences, interpretations, and social interactions which sports provide, and then to compare those experiences, interpretations and interactions obtainable elsewhere" (p.90). It is the context of the sport experience that determines what is valued or learned (Kleiber, 1983) rather than the sport itself. In addition "the developmental potential of sports does not depend on what is done, but on how it is done; the social context determines what aspects of the activity are valued and attended to" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 24). The task is to ascertain what the sport experiences of youth are and how the context of their experiences shapes and is shaped by what young people do or say. Hodge (1989) laments that

as sport scientists and physical educators it seems we have been negligent in our efforts a) to empirically identify the positive and negative aspects of the sport experience and b) to educate those in sport leadership roles ... with respect to enhancing the developmental benefits of participation in sport (p. 25).

It is fifteen years since Siedentop (1982) observed that "the health of the sport culture and the role of the sport culture within the larger fabric of society is an enormously serious matter, given the importance that institutionalized sport has assumed in current
times" (p.139). There is a need to examine sport contexts as a priority for future public policy (Lipsitz, 1991). It is important to examine to what extent context shapes the experiences of youth as described by youth. Moreover, attention should be directed toward how urban youth relate to the many social and educational issues that effect them. The final part of that process must recognize the voices of youth about their sport experiences, voices which until now have been underrepresented. The following chapter will outline how the experiences of youth will be sought and presented.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

But, as well-founded interventions and pedagogical measures in the field of sport can only be undertaken by someone who really knows and understands adolescent sport, the first step must be a precise analysis of the present juvenile sports culture (Brettschneider, 1990b, p. 537).

This research study was designed to examine the sport experiences adolescents have, seek, or have had during their high school years and the impact that their urban context has on those experiences. In particular it sets out to examine what adolescents have learned through sport participation, what sport means to them, and to what extent sport may or may not be educative.

To accomplish the purpose of the study the methodology drew from qualitative and quantitative paradigms. The chapter describes the research framework of the study, subjects and setting, instrument development, data collection, data analysis, and includes personal statement related to my own subjectivity in this investigation.

Research Framework of the Study

Rationale for ethnographic research

Ethnography has been employed as a means of presenting information gathered from looking, listening, talking, and note taking in a systematic and complete description (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In early ethnography's, the voices of
those who were studied were seldom represented. Ethnographic research now focuses on
how the participants' real worlds may be represented (Van Maanen, 1988). Ethnography
can "shed light on the social construction of individual lives" (Gubrium & Holstein, 1995)
p.46). Specifically "an ethnography is a written representation of a culture (or selected
aspects of a culture)" (Van Maanen, 1988, p. 1). As well as the culture there is the
contribution of the ethnographer who conducts the fieldwork so

Ethnography joins culture and fieldwork. In a sense, they [culture and fieldwork] sit between two worlds or systems of meaning-the world of the ethnographer (and readers) and the world of cultural members ... ethnography's are documents that pose questions at the margins of the two cultures (Van Maanen. 1988. p.4).

Ethnography can be utilized to investigate the human experience as it is experienced through the senses. The researcher reproduces experiences that embody meanings and cultural understandings that operate in the "real" world (Denzin, 1997, p.32)

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) explain some of the issues behind investigation of human experience:

There is no clear window into inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity. There are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of the observer and the observed. Subjects, or individuals, are seldom able to give full explanations of their actions or intentions; all they can offer are accounts, or stories, about what they did and why. No single method can grasp the subtle variations in ongoing human experience (p. 12).

Kreiger (1985) acknowledged that as individual researchers "we bring idiosyncratic patterns of recognition [thereby creating a degree of proximity] to the data. We are not, in fact, ever capable of achieving the analytic 'distance' we have been schooled to seek" p. 309). Rather there is an exchange between voices of the contributing parties whereby

The voices of the other and the voices of the researcher, come alive and interact with one another. These accomplishments have a prior life in the context in which they were produced-a life and a form that can never be fully recovered (Denzin, 1997, p.33).

Denzin's perspective is pertinent as the researcher attempted to identify both with the sport experiences and with adolescent youth so as to connect to the voices of the students in this
study. My background as a sport participant, high school physical education teacher, and a university lecturer helped such an association.

Ethnographic methods are given a certain degree of freedom by social scientists, particularly anthropologists, because of their suitability to seek and find the nature of meaning (Gaskins, Miller & Corsaro, 1992). However, the task in contemporary ethnography is for researcher's to "relinquish their obsession with obvious and mundane, and become exegetical, must excavate layers of intention and experience which antedate and live below the text which is daily life" (Pinar, 1981, p. 177). To pierce the outer layers of daily life and experience it, it is necessary to adopt a framework that examines human experience in depth - such a variation has been termed phenomenology (see (Kvale, 1996, pp. 52-58). For this research it was necessary to explore the depth of adolescents' experiences of sport to gain a full understanding of what sport means to these young people and how their meanings of sport have been influenced by what, where and how they have experienced sport.

Rationale for Phenomenological research

Phenomenology "supplies a deeper and clearer understanding of what it is like for someone to experience something" (Polkinghorne, 1989, p.58). Delamont and Atkinson (1995) rightly point out that "phenomenology is not a research method in the conventional sense of the term. Rather it is a highly diverse and internally differentiated philosophical movement" (p. 203). There is no prescribed research method attached to it. Moreover it does not require a particular form of data collection or analysis of data. More importantly "The aim of phenomenologically informed research is to produce clear and accurate descriptions of a particular aspect of human experience" (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 44). For this investigation sport was that particular experience. The focus of this form of research is the nature and structure of past and present experiences of urban adolescents (in this case with sport) and not the characteristics of a particular group who have had the experience
Furthermore, "Phenomenology recognizes the experiential reality of meanings as well as concrete particulars. A meaning remains constant in spite of factual variations of experience of its particular manifestations" (Polkinghome, 1989, p. 59). It is therefore appropriate to glean not only the concrete particulars through survey and observation, but also the experiential meanings by interviewing selected youth sport participants and non participants.

**Rationale for mixed-method research**

The tools of research have generally fallen under two paradigms: quantitative research and qualitative research. However, there is also a third paradigm which combines the two other versions in what has recently been advocated as mixed-method research (Creswell, 1997). Research that falls under such a paradigm applies to "a study where the researcher uses at least one quantitative method and one qualitative method to collect, analyze, and report findings in a single study (Creswell, 1997, p. 3). This research paradigm was considered appropriate for this study because information gained from quantitative as well as qualitative methods could be converged to help answer the questions that drove this investigation. Moreover, the data gleaned from one research method could be enriched through the utilization of another method housed within a different paradigm. Finally, because research instruments could be administered concurrently, it was considered appropriate to address the stated research questions using quantitative, qualitative, or combining methods of both paradigms. Such a strategy could assist the confirmation of findings process.

**Subjects and Setting**

**The research setting**

Shady Woods High School is an urban city school with a diverse population of students, 60% of whom are on the free or reduced lunch program. The staff of Shady Woods has acknowledged the need to address the health, lifestyle and access issues facing
many adolescents by establishing a special focus that targets adventure based learning, career exploration and training, and education (ACE). This initiative is the result of a collaborative effort between the school staff and four members of The Ohio State University: Dr.'s Mary O'Sullivan and Deborah Tannehill, Nancy Knop, a fellow doctoral student and myself. The collaboration has operated at Shady Woods High School since 1995. The ACE initiative places a strong emphasis on critical thinking and problem solving related to aspects of sport, leisure, lifestyle, and school culture.

This curriculum is attempting to help the nearly 800 urban high school students become more physically active by having them design a personal development plan leading to a healthier lifestyle, engage in regular physical activity, use problem solving and critical thinking skills, and develop an appreciation for lifelong participation. Recent years have seen growth in the number of students attending Shady Woods High School (740 in 1994-95, 757 in 1995-96, 784 in 1996-97). In addition, the number and percentage of students who have earned a place on the Honor Roll has increased from 27% in 1994-95 to 31% in 1995-96 and to 40% in 1996-97).

Personal fitness A recent collaborative curriculum initiative has been a personal fitness elective course delivered by Nancy Knop of the Ohio State University research team during Autumn 1996 to one class of grades 10, 11, and 12 at Shady Woods. She created materials to support this curriculum and provided guidance to the physical education teachers who are now delivering this program at the school. The intent of the course was to motivate students to participate in a daily regimen of physical fitness, provide them with the opportunity to understand how fitness can be achieved and to expand their knowledge of fitness. As a result of teaching this course over an eleven week period the instructor noted improvements in both student fitness and student adherence to the workout regimen.

Perhaps most exciting was that students chose to adhere, and in some cases, enjoyed participating and learning about fitness activities. This was evidenced by a
decrease in absenteeism, a decrease in tardiness, and an increase in student participation throughout the 90 minute class. The students who made fitness gains, for the most part, were the same students who had chosen to adhere to the fitness regimen. Further interest in the class content was exhibited by a number of students who expressed a desire to continue their fitness pursuits out-of-class (i.e., running, lifting, walking, road racing, lifting competitions) or sought more specific information about their own personal fitness. The elective was refined and presented in 1997/98 with a focus on empowering students to work collaboratively towards achieving specified fitness goals. Shady Woods staff has taken ownership of this program and are currently implementing and expanding it themselves with support from Ohio State University.

Sport Education. Beginning in January (1997), I collaborated on the planning and delivery of a sport education (Siedentop, 1994) season for grade 9 students enrolled in physical education. In sport education students are included in the design, monitoring, and evaluation of selected sporting experiences. Through the nature of their participation in sport education, students are able to promote the objectives of the Columbus Public Schools physical education curriculum in particular, enhancing their understanding and physical skills as well as personal qualities like self-esteem, cooperation, and self-knowledge. The primary objective of sport education is to help students become competent, literate, and enthusiastic sports participants.

The extended nature of sport education seasons reduces the number of sports that are experienced by students at Shady Woods but this reduction is balanced by a more concentrated and diverse examination of the wider culture of the selected sports. Research on the impact of the sport education model focused on one teacher and the personal culture of his world, the changes in beliefs and assumptions he had to confront, and the

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2 Material discussed in this section has been gleaned from a series of reports written by The Ohio State University research group (O'Sullivan, Tannehill, Knop, and Pope) over the course of the last 26 months.
development of a new pedagogy that was required to assure the successful implementation of sport education (Pope & O'Sullivan, 1998).

During the time spent at the school considerable attention was given to establishing how sport functioned in its existing form. Informal and formal interviews with the athletic director, coaches, and players revealed issues pertaining to the structure, nature, and justification for sport at Shady Woods (Pope, 1997). This learning process also included an examination of relevant literature about extra-curricular activities and in particular sport. My pursuit of and interest in this investigation was triggered by informal discussion with students during the sport education research. Many of the students in the grade nine class had received quite limited and constrained contact with the sport culture. It became apparent that to understand more about what young people had experienced or wanted from sport it would be necessary to establish a concentrated form of inquiry. Snyder and Spreitzer (1979) assert "We need to delve deeper into the explanations for participation in sport; further examination of the meanings and values associated with the context of sport may contribute to a greater understanding of why people become committed to the sport role and conversely, why others show little continuing interest" (p. 59).

There is merit to learning what adolescents' perspectives are about sport, particularly what this age group believes they have learned from sport if we are to deliver relevant and meaningful sport experiences. Moreover, it is germane to examine what the coaches, teachers, and administrators believe is learned through sport participation and if there is any agreement between such views and the views of players and non-players.

Subjects and Informants

Survey The sport experiences survey was completed by 302 students who all attended Shady Woods High School. Subjects represented grades 9 though 12. Of the 302 students who completed the survey, 34.2% were freshmen, 30.3% were sophomore, 10.9% were junior, and 24.6% were senior. The gender distribution was 49.7% female,
and 50.3% male. Those who completed the survey identified themselves by the following ethnic groups: 65.1% as African American, 25.2% as Caucasian, 3.1% as American Indian, 1.2% as Hispanic, 1.6% as Asian American and 3.5% as other.

**Interviews** Nineteen informants were interviewed for this study, 14 were students at the school, three were coaches based at Shady Woods, one was an athletic director, and one a youth sport coordinator for the local city parks and recreation department. Students represented grades nine (N=8) and twelve (N=6), eight were female, six were male. Their participation status was either; current participant (N=7), or non/ex participant (N=7). The nineteen participants are introduced by pseudonym and characteristics as follows:

**Erica** is a 14 year old freshmen of Caucasian decent. She participates in softball, tennis, and volleyball for teams in her community. She has no involvement with sport at Shady Woods. One of the community teams she plays on is sponsored by an adult. She has also played soccer when she was younger.

**Laura** is a senior student of Caucasian ethnicity. She has had no involvement in sport at any time in her life. Laura plays in the school band and therefore sees many of the school football games. She is a single parent who enjoys swimming when she can get the chance.

**Amanda** is also Caucasian and a freshmen. She is not and will not play sport while at high school. As a middle school student she played basketball. She also enjoys volleyball but playing is not as important to her as working.

**Shane** is a grade 9 African American who plays on the freshmen basketball team and belongs to a fee paying Taekwondo club which his mother supports. Shane has also played football, baseball, and soccer before coming to Shady Woods. He often plays basketball in the gym during free time in the lunch hour.
Josh is a non participant and had virtually no experience with sport other than an occasional pick-up game at home. He is a member of the school performance group and is considering wrestling as a pursuit.

Kate is an African American ninth grader who plays basketball for the school. She has also played for her local recreation center team but is now too old for that competition. She lives on the opposite side of the city to Shady Woods. Kate occasionally plays ball at lunch time, during open gym sessions.

Bryan is a senior African American student. He is a successful wheelchair athlete who enjoys playing and coaching basketball. He has also participated in football and track and field. Bryan is a political force at Shady Woods who manages to pack a lot into his days.

Traci is a senior African American who is no longer involved in sport but has previously been a track and field athlete and represented her school. She also played softball, basketball and volleyball in ninth grade.

Tim is a Caucasian freshmen who is not participating in any sport this year but hopes to play baseball and football for the school next year. He played football and baseball at the community level before coming to Shady Woods.

Hope is a ninth grader who plays on the girls softball team. She has no other sporting involvement but is a member of the school band. Hope is Caucasian.

Jenna is a senior African American who presently does not play any sport. She has played basketball and ran track and thrown the shot put for the school. Jenna played soccer for her middle school and hopes to get back into sport next year.

James is an African American senior who presently does not play sport but has played football and basketball at the school. He sometimes participates in lunch hour free time. He was a reluctant communicator.
**Latisha** plays for her school as a senior. She has played volleyball throughout her time at Shady Woods and hopes to continue playing sports at college. She is also a cheerleader for her school.

**Kim** is a participant for her school in tennis which she also plays with some of her friends at their local courts. She is a freshmen of Caucasian decent. Kim is also a member of the Shady Woods drill team.

**Administrators**

**Scott** is the athletic director at Shady Woods. He participated in sport at high school and college levels. Scott has held his present position for ten years and tries to involve as many students in extra-curricular activities as he can.

**Bill** holds the position of youth sport coordinator for the city parks and recreation department. He has held that position for four years. Bill has a background in physical education and was a varsity athlete at high school. He has had experience at operating programs for youth at one of the city’s recreation centers.

**Coaches**

**Lisa** is the girls volleyball coach. She is the only female African American coach at the school. Lisa has coached her sport at Shady woods since 1990 as either the reserve or varsity level coach.

**Mike** is the varsity football coach at Shady Woods. He has taught for 24 years and is the second football coach that Shady Woods has had. Mike is Caucasian and supervises a team of six varsity football coaches.

**John** is a basketball coach at Shady Woods. He has many years of experience at coaching the game. John, a Caucasian, is in his fourth year at the school and coaches boy’s basketball.
Instrument Development

The intention of this investigation was to allow ethnographic and quantitative data gathered through a descriptive survey to be complimentary and cross-fertilized. Descriptive research should systematically describe the characteristics and facts that apply to a selected population. Survey instrumentation was considered appropriate for this study because it allowed access to information on youth sport experiences from a large population, and the opportunity to compare the results with previous normative data. The underpinning consideration for the choice of methods was based on how best to learn about the sport experience of urban adolescent youth at this high school. Learning more about sport and adolescents is attractive because "the vitality and fulfillment that such moments produce is surely a unique and rich source of human phenomenon waiting to be unearthed by research" (McInman & Grove, 1991, p. 348). The research tools selected provided degrees of depth and breadth to the answers I was seeking.

Survey development

The primary function of the survey (see appendix A) was to seek descriptions of the sport experiences adolescent youth have had and wish to have before, during and after their high school years and why they have or do not wish to participate in sport. The instrument outlined the objectives of the research, requested demographic, and historical data, and information that related to sport in the lives of the sample group. The principle objectives of the survey were to:

1) determine the sporting needs of these urban adolescent youth and in particular which sports they would like to be involved in and at what level of participation
2) ascertain sport experiences they currently have or have had and where such experiences have occurred
3) obtain students' opinions on what they believe they have learned or failed to learn from sport participation

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4) seek their perspectives on why they participate and what they gain from that participation
5) examine what constraints or opportunities have effected their sport experiences and
6) ascertain what would have to change to promote their return to any sport context if they no longer participate.

After determining of the objectives for the questionnaire attention was directed towards an appropriate instrument. Only two viable instruments were found:

1.) The first was part of the Joint Legislative Study on Youth Sports Programs (State of Michigan, 1978a; State of Michigan, 1978b) conducted by The Youth Sports Institute at Michigan State University. This three-stage project was a descriptive investigation. In phase II questionnaires were administered to a random sample (N= 1162) of athletes and non-athletes (N=611) between the ages of seven through twelve. The questionnaire was pilot-tested with a group of 20 subjects who were not included in the original sample.

2). The second instrument pertinent to the questions I was asking was also developed at Michigan State University. Ten years after the Michigan Joint Legislative Study described above, faculty at the Youth Sports Institute conducted a survey for the Athletic Footwear Council of The Sporting Goods Manufacturers Association (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1989). This survey was administered to 8000 youth based at 17 randomly selected regional sites. The youth were between the ages of 10 - 18 years of age, 51% of whom were female and 49% male. The Sport Participation Questionnaire II contained many sections that related directly to the questions that guided this study.

The instrument designed for this current study (The Sport Experiences Questionnaire) was based on the Sport Participation Questionnaire with modifications and additions from the State of Michigan survey and material deemed relevant by faculty members at The Ohio State University and myself. Modifications were made to reflect
appropriateness of questions for urban adolescents and the changes in adolescent interest in sporting activities over the last two decades.

**Piloting** The Sport Experiences Questionnaire was piloted with a group of grade nine students through convenience sampling (Patton, 1990). The convenience of this form of data collection should provide a "stable, consistent, and uniform measure, without variation" (Sarantakos, 1993, p.159). Selection and inclusion of data gathered from the survey helped address "a danger that research methods and approaches that solely reflect personal experiences and emotions lead to self-indulgence and narcissism rather than to enhanced understanding and useful ways of viewing the world" (Packwood & Sikes, 1996, p. 335). The hope was that the questionnaire would provide some profiles of the adolescents' views and behaviors regarding sport.

**Reliability and Validity** Content validity was established by scrutiny of the instrument by a panel of faculty and graduate students at The Ohio State University. Further scrutiny was sought from the Survey Research Unit of the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at The Ohio State University. Any recommendations, deletions, additions or amendments were discussed and finalized before the final instrument was administered. Following validity checks the instrument was be scrutinized for reliability. Reliability was established through administration of a test-re test of the questionnaire on a sample of 20 students from a population within the same school district over a period of 10 days. The objective of administering the test-re test pilot of the instrument was to achieve a correlation coefficient of .70 or greater (Litwin, 1995) for each section of the questionnaire. Analysis by section of the pilot instrument using T tests in Microsoft Excel produced results ranging between .73 to .84. Some sections were edited and reduced as a result of the test-retest. The threat to validity was addressed through the degree of replication extricated from the two previously described surveys constructed at Michigan State University and the very large sample sizes that marked both instruments.
Interviews

Considerations for interview protocols. The interviews set out to examine the sport experience itself, and to gain the participants' interpretation of any experiences each student could recall (Polkinghorne, 1989). The interview is appropriate in light of the questions being asked because "The adolescent experience reflects to a large extent the values of an individual's culture" (Kovach, 1983, p.39). As Fine and Sanstrom (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988) observe "perhaps the major obstacles to understanding the world of the adolescence derive, not from age, but from class, ethnicity, and culture" (p. 70). However, their observation should not act as a deterrent to the pursuit of specific groups.

A second consideration is that many young people seldom consider the significance of previous events or possible future directions. Reflection or attention of such matters can often be disregarded for more immediate or meaningful life situations (Murtaugh, 1988). There is a tendency to deal with the present at the expense of the past or the future. While such a disposition is perhaps discouraging it must be remembered these people are adolescents and they are still interpreting their world and what that world may mean to them. They must, wherever possible, be encouraged to perceive what is happening and derive meaning from their life worlds.

According to Moustakas (1994) the primary source of experience in phenomenology is perception. Every perception that the individual can share provides new information about the experience. That new information can supply new knowledge. Such knowledge is however, not final. It can be extended with further experiences and consciousness (Husserl, 1970). If multiple sources are tapped then the knowledge gained can be enhanced. The number of interviewees selected should be sufficient to present a range of experiences because as Gerber and Morgan (1979) argue "there is no such thing as a universal experience and, hence, no possibility of saying that the meanings inherent in the experience are universal" (p. 201).
Phenomenological interviewing conveys an assumption that there is a "structure and essence" to the shared experiences of a subculture that can be resolved (Patton, 1990). Patton outlines three phases to phenomenological inquiry: Epoche, phenomenological reduction, and structural synthesis. *Epoche* is the period where the researcher must complete an examination of personal biases and expunge all traces of personal involvement in the phenomena under investigation. However, I do not believe complete objectivity is possible in this or any other form of research. I will however provide a personal statement (see later in this chapter) declaring my own subjectivity in relation to this investigation. *Phenomenological Reduction* requires the researcher to identify phenomena in their "pure form, uncontaminated by extraneous intrusions (Patton, 1990, p. 408). Data can be grouped into themes or sets that identify the textual portrayal of those themes. Finally, *Structural synthesis* involves the presentation of the core of the experience of the phenomenon including a representation of the depth of its structure.

**Protocol development** The aforementioned considerations drove the construction of three separate interview protocols for this investigation. A protocol was established for sport participants, one for non participants, and one for coaches and administrators. Attention was accorded to the research questions for the study, descriptive information that could not be extracted from the survey, and regard for the developmental characteristics of urban youth to interpret and respond to stated questions.

A search was conducted for existing protocols used with adolescent youth. Few examples were located. However, a study completed for the British Sports Council was helpful (White & Coakley, 1986). The authors asked English youth about making decisions to participate in sport based during in-depth interviews. A co-author, Dr. Jay Coakley at The University of Colorado was contacted regarding the instrumentation for their study. He provided copies of the protocols used in the British study. While their
topics were quite different to this study the structure of their protocol provided a good framework.

For the Shady Woods students, two protocols were constructed. The participants protocol posed 57 possible questions relating to each student's background, their world view of sport, and their experiences of sport (see appendix E). The non participant protocol used a similar structure of 46 questions with appropriate questions omitted or altered (see appendix F). The third protocol was prepared for coaches and administrators. Twenty nine questions were used to gain background information, an interpretation of the meaning and role of sport, and their opinions on some of the issues that relate to access and participation in sport by youth (see appendix G). The adult protocol was trialled through collaboration with Dave, a teacher and coach at the school. Part of the all three protocols included a short statement reminding each participant of their right to decline to answer or withdraw from the interview at any time.

Data Collection

Survey

Shady Woods High sanctioned the administration of a survey to a sample of the school as part of this investigation. Initial contact was made with the Assistant Principal who approved and facilitated this initiative. Permission was also granted to speak at a faculty meeting. A 40 minute Powerpoint presentation described collaborative curricular developments that had occurred to date, how those developments related to the school's special focus, the nature and purpose of my investigation, and its impact on the daily life of the school. The staff were informed of the research questions I and methods to answer those questions. The assistant principal designated classes and allocated class times to complete the survey over a three day period. Grades nine and twelve were assigned one day each for data collection while grades 10 and 11 were combined into one day. The number of classes allocated for the survey was evenly distributed by grade level however,
the number of students within each class created a differential response rate by grade level. The survey was completed during one class period by the grade twelve students, while the other three grade levels answered during a 30 minute 'academic assist' time that backed onto the lunch hour. Part of the lunch hour was used by some classes. Proctoring and administration of the survey was done with the support of personnel from The Ohio State University.

**Interviews**

Purposive sampling (Patton, 1990) was adopted to obtain information-rich cases. More specifically, Patton's derivative version of 'intensity sampling' was adopted to seek "excellent or rich examples of the phenomenon of interest, but not in unusual cases" (p.171). Staff and coaches were asked to assist with selection of interviewees (see appendix C) who could be information rich examples (this included degree of intensity at play, attitude toward games and practice, aspirations for sport participation, social status within the team and the school, involvement in sport outside the school environment, and ability to articulate their views to a reasonable standard).

Several hours were spent during the winter term of 1998 prior to the data collection working with a physical education teacher at Shady Woods, and getting to know her grade 9 students. This class met for 83 minutes each day for five days a week. After three months of contact with this class I was able to select informants who were either not involved with sport or involved in interscholastic or community-based sport or both. My attendance at home and away games as well as visits to local recreation centers aided in selecting potential respondents from grade twelve. The informant lists I compiled were combined with staff nominations. Once appropriate candidates were designated they were asked to complete human subject informed consent form with an appropriate parent or guardian signature (see appendix D). Upon completion and return of the human subjects form, a time was arranged for each interview that was convenient for student, staff, and
myself. The underpinning criterion for selection was informants from whom the greatest amount could be learned.

All interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis. Each student was interviewed once at Shady Woods High during the Spring term. Most of the interviews occurred during the lunch hour while others were held either during a study hall period or during part of a student's scheduled class that a teacher had approved. Student interviews lasted between 40 and 75 minutes. The discrepancy in duration is merely a reflection of how much each respondent talked. The interviews took place in the school cafeteria area or in one of the music department's practice rooms.

All but one of the adult interviews also took place at Shady Woods. John, a boys basketball coach, was interviewed in early Spring while the other three Shady Woods personnel met with me during the summer vacation. Their interviews occurred in the cafeteria area, the coaches' office or their personal office. Each meeting lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. Bill's interview occurred at his office in the city. The athletic Director was interviewed twice while the other adults met with me only once.

Informal interviews were also conducted with an administrator of the Ohio High School Athletic Association and members of the Columbus Department of Parks and Recreation. These two meetings served as information gathering exercises early in the data collection process. The latter of these two meetings was also attended by Dr. Mary O'Sullivan from Ohio State University.

Non-participant observation

Ethnographic investigation can rely on varying degrees of participant observation. Moreover the term itself can be divided into four acknowledged derivatives: complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, complete participant. Each branch of the typology is assigned to the most appropriate cultural context. The nature of this investigation required more than one form of participant observation and likewise more
than one context. There was a need to venture into multiple methods to gain a better understanding of both the immediate social circle and the wider cultural environments of these urban youth. The aim of participant observation was "a commitment to adopt the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experiences" (Denzin, 1989) (p. 156). Wherever possible such commitment included the perspective of the participant through that participant's voice. Such an approach has attracted recent criticism from Atkinson and Hammersley (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994)

> embodying a hierarchical and therefore undemocratic relationship between the researcher and researched, it is the former who makes the decisions about what to study and how to study it, and whose voice is represented in the written ethnography (p.254)

To fully ascertain the nature and meanings of sport experiences to urban youth a holistic ethnography was required that incorporated the most appropriate form of participation that the context commanded. The participants in the observation aspect of the ethnography were Spring sports' participants on softball, tennis, baseball, and track and field. The observation period also included the last two games and play-offs involving the boy's basketball team. The girls team had concluded their season by this stage.

I attended two tennis games at Shady Woods. Tennis games often clashed with track and field as well as my teaching commitments. Three home track meets were observed in part as well as one away meet and one relay competition. Three track and field practice sessions were also attended. I was also able to observe two pre-season softball practices, four in-season practices, and six games. Four of the six softball games were scheduled at the same time as the baseball which allowed me to observe both sports. The last interscholastic event attended was the annual city schools three point shoot out and slam dunk competition which is hosted by an East city high school.

**Lunch hour observation** I attended free lunch time sessions at the Shady Woods gymnasium on twelve separate occasions. Each visit involved positioning myself on the top row of the bleachers or around the edges of the basketball courts. The former strategy
was to gain a "birds eye" view of the dynamics and behavior of whoever was on the floor, while the latter strategy focused on particular students groups, or to listen to the conversations and interactions between students. The free time sessions occurred between 10.30 and 11.30 every day. A teacher allocated five of six basketballs and then positioned him or herself at the doorway of the gymnasium. Student attendance varied by day depending on who was playing on the floor, the status of the weather, or what else was taking place in the building. On average, between 80 and 130 students occupied the gymnasium. The numbers would fluctuate during the hour and would usually increase toward the conclusion of lunch time. Occasionally I would talk with a student I knew or a staff member who was present, but most of the time my role was purely as an observer.

**Recreation centers** In the Sport Experiences Questionnaire, students indicated where they played non school sport. Three community recreation centers were identified. One center was quite close to the school and many of the students from that part of the city frequented the center. The "Northtown" center was visited on six different occasions. At the time when field work was conducted for this study, there were no league competitions running for students above the age of fifteen. The only activity that took place was 'pick up' basketball which usually occurred in the afternoon between 3.00PM and 5.00PM. On each of the days this center was visited I observed from the bleachers of the gymnasium and mingled with young people from the local area in the gymnasium foyer.

The two other recreation centers provided similar scenarios. The "Northeast" center was visited three times, an frequented by a smaller number of youth in comparison to Northside. At the time of my visits there was an evening basketball league running that consisted of adults and youth from the local area. I was unable to identify any Shady Woods students as participants in this league. Pick-up basketball also appeared to dominate afternoon sessions at this facility. The "Eastside" center appeared to be attended
more frequently by middle school youth than the other two centers. This center was only visited twice.

Field notes At each of the venues field notes were taken. This would either involve talking into a micro cassette recorder or writing in a small notebook. The method of note taking depended on the context. If my presence was unobtrusive I used the cassette recorder because it allowed me to obtain a better record when there was a lot going on. If I was close to other people or if it was not possible to record observations, I wrote them into the notebook at the earliest convenient moment. Comments were also made on the recorder after I returned to my car or while driving between venues.

Observation entailed constant scanning from the periphery of a venue and "observing out loud" (Allison, 1988). In situations where large numbers and multiple activities were occurring it was not possible to note all the serendipitous behavior that occurred thus a complete picture at any of the venues was not possible. Rather, it was a matter of focusing on quite general things at first before familiarity allowed more concentrated attention. Initial observation would ask: who was there; what age and gender were they; what were they wearing; who were they interacting with; what were they doing; how long did they do it for; how were they arranged? Wherever it was possible I would revisit sites with new and more focused questions. However youth who visited many of the venues varied significantly each day which often changed the ecology thereby restricting how some questions could be answered. It was also difficult to develop continuity with observations of sporting events as the venues often changed by day according to each team's draw.

The final component of the observation process involved making entries into a log kept on my home computer. This log became a repository for ideas, events, hunches, and issues. Each page of the log was divided into three columns: observational notes, personal
notes, and theoretical notes. Entries made in the log would be reread regularly before returning to observation sites.

**Document collection**

The community and school had numerous documents to assist my understanding of the youth sport culture, particularly when the insider or "emic" perspective was not available and the "etic" or outsider perspective had to be sought. Documents obtained from Shady Woods included: The athletic directors handbook for interscholastic sport, team eligibility lists, season schedules for Spring term sports, programs from the boy's basketball play-offs, and current copies of "Impressions", the Shay Woods student paper. In addition, Dr. Debbie Moore at the Ohio High Schools Sports Association provided: The Ohio Athletic Association 1997-98 Handbook of Bylaws and Regulations, copies of The Ohio School Athlete periodical, and a brochure on the OHSAA structure and function.

**Data Analysis**

**Survey**

All the Scantron bubble sheets completed by the 302 respondents who answered the Sport Experiences Questionnaire were checked for completion before being scanned and loaded onto a mainframe computer. The data was then downloaded into SPSS, for analysis. Analysis of the sport experiences questionnaire (SEQ) incorporated descriptive statistics. Each question of the SEQ was reported by frequency and percentage (see Appendix A). The percentages were reported as cumulative and valid. The result also presented the number of missing cases for each question. The data were also analyzed by grade (grade 9 and grade 12), gender, and ethnicity. The results were then assigned to the seven research questions and reported in conjunction with qualitative data or, where appropriate they were presented separately, if the significance of the finding was sufficiently robust.
Ethnographic data

The interview transcripts, recorded field notes, and documents were analyzed inductively. All fieldwork notes were analyzed, interviews transcribed verbatim, and documents scrutinized for common threads that appeared pertinent to the questions guiding this study. The phenomenological basis of the interviews conducted called for a less structured, thematic search of transcript content. The two principle procedures of phenomenological interpretation are bracketing and hermeneutic circle. For the purposes of this study the former method was adopted. For the process of bracketing I often had to suspend "theoretical beliefs, preconceptions, and presuppositions" (Pollio, Henley & Thompson, 1997, p.47) to a level as minimal as my subjective consciousness would allow. The objective was to describe human experience at any particular point in time without making judgments beyond what was seen directly through observation or indirectly through the voice of 'the other'.

Field note and interview transcripts were read several times before being loaded and analyzed using NUD*IST (a qualitative data analysis program) (Qualitative Solutions and Research Center, 1998). All ethnographic data (interview transcripts and field notes) were then formatted as text with line breaks and loaded into a Document Manager. The transcripts were then divided into sub headings using coding assigned from the interview protocols. For example, a response from about a personal meaning of sport by a current sport participant was coded as QP5. String searches were then conducted that grouped all the answers to QP5 and the section of transcript that continued until the next sub heading. This process occurred with the 135 questions taken from the three interview protocols. Each of these sections became nodes. Each node was attached to a branch of a 'tree' that depicted three levels of branches for the questions, sub-questions, and components of the sub questions. If a node did not match a branch or branches then it was saved as a free node. The final tree had 204 nodes that evolved from several hundred text searches of the
A report was then made of each branch of the tree that signified a subquestion of a research question. It was then printed off and analyzed inductively for themes or patterns. This part of the analysis incorporated manual searches as well as text searches to confirm or disregard hunches or patterns. The emergent themes and patterns were then applied to each of the seven research questions.

The analysis process looked for "key linkages" which is something that "is of central significance for the major assertions the researcher wants to make" (Erickson, 1986, p. 147). The linkages then assisted in the construction of patterns or themes that emanated from the data and could be generalized beyond one source. In keeping with the analysis and presentation of data from phenomenological research the underlying goal was to synthesize data from all sources (including the survey) "to describe the first-person world of individuals as co-participants in the research" (Pollio et al., 1997, p.343).

**Trustworthiness**

While quantitative research falls under the scrutiny of reliability and validity, qualitative research must comply with trustworthiness. This term is defined as "that aspect of an investigation (and its findings) that made it noteworthy to audiences" (Schwandt, 1997, p.164). The criteria provided by Lincoln and Guba (1985) have served as a heuristic for qualitative work. Their four criteria juxtapose with more conventional standards. Credibility (analogous to internal validity) refers to the researcher's interpretation of the voice and or behavior of the respondent(s) and the match of that interpretation to what was actually supplied. The criterion of transferability (analogous to external validity) addresses the degree to which the representation provided by the researcher could transfer to similar examples or cases. The dependability (analogous to reliability) addresses whether the research process can be followed and documented by any outside reader. Finally, confirmability (analogous to objectivity) addresses whether the
interpretations of the researcher can actually be traced to the data and do not resemble a mythical portrayal constructed by the researcher that is unsubstantiated.

The underpinning consideration of trustworthiness is the accuracy of the findings that are presented. Answers to the questions posed should address issues of truth or in the case of this investigation, truths. This includes a complete and balanced portrayal of the world views of the participants in this investigation. To address completeness I adopted research methods that would address my research questions from multiple perspectives. It required not only prolonged contact with the youth and adults who participated in this study, but also an appropriate level of intense contact with selected participants. This created an inversely proportional scenario; a smaller group of youth received prolonged direct attention (interview and observations) while a large group of students received a small degree of attention (survey, observation).

Another aspect of trustworthiness is triangulation (Jick, 1979). Although triangulation has been the traditional answer to validity in qualitative research, it is also pertinent to note Richardson's heuristic of crystallization (Richardson, 1994) because the multiple perspectives and tools enacted in this study represented more than the three sides of the triangle. Richardson advocates this term because "in postmodernist mixed-genre texts, we do not triangulate; we crystallize. We recognize that there are far more than 'three sides' from which to approach the world" (p.522). Accordingly the depth, breadth, and texture of the data gathered in this study will combine to give validity by the "symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach. Crystals grow, change, alter, but are not amorphous" (p. 522). From a phenomenological perspective, particularly an existential derivative, the validity of the data can be enriched by the "degree of depth and direct personal experience in members' worlds as a complement to accounts of their worlds" (Ambert, Adler, Adler & Detzner, 1995 p. 882). Through such a process it is still possible
to see how validation has evolved yet avoid the search for a single, non-existent truth. That single point (the apex of triangulation) does not exist - there are multiple points (representing findings or meanings) which are constantly shifting and being shifted by the participants, the researcher, the tools of analysis or any combination of these. Crystallization must include the reflexivity and subjectivity of the writer, observer, interviewer and the epistemologies he or she brings to the research. To identify and apply the 'rays of researcher influence' it is helpful to identify and present the nature of such rays. This chapter will conclude with my personal history and perspectives that have shaped my subjectivity about the subject of this research - adolescent sport experiences.

I must emphasize that the focus of this study was adolescent youth from an urban high school. I have tried to understand these adolescents' experiences with sport and their reasons for disliking or non-involvement in sport. The challenge was to learn as much as possible about who they are and how their worlds have shaped their meanings and perspectives of sport.

The need for thick description (Geertz, 1973) and prolonged engagement helped give credibility to the voices in this context. Thick description was addressed through my continued presence at the school in addition to my presence at three local recreation centers, high school sport venues, and at Shady Woods during the past 27 months. I have also attempted to address credibility through the presentation of a representative portrayal of all pertinent findings and their associated meanings. Finally, interviewees were asked to complete member checks by reading interview transcripts that were presented to them for confirmation and deletion of any portion they felt was not appropriate. Upon completion of the checking process, each respondent was asked to sign a release form (see Appendix 1). It was my hope that the linear characteristics of a descriptive survey and the shared experiences of young people as seen and told would produce rich, defined, and textured
descriptions that portray colorful interpretations, meanings, and answers to the questions I asked.

A Personal statement

To try and extract and give meaning to the sport experiences of urban youth it is important that I have an understanding of their experiences. Pollio, Henley, and Thompson (1997) observe "since experience is personal, the problem of other minds can be bridged only with the help of some specific other whose experiences are not the issue" (p 29). For this investigation the specific other is me. If there is a commonalty between myself and the other through sport participation or non-participation it was hoped that such commonalty would help create a climate until "a path toward understanding emerges from the common respect and concern of two people committed to exploring the life world of one of them" (Pollio et al., 1997 p. 29).

Seeking and understanding the experiences that urban adolescent youth desire, receive, and avoid was a daunting task. I was perplexed at the thought of having sufficient knowledge of urban American youth, the sports they play or seek to play, what they extract from that sport and, the research methods required to gain the understanding I needed to do justice to what I consider to be an important educational, social and developmental issue.

I have been brought to this point because of my interest in the educational, social and developmental nature of sports for adolescents. My life to date has been marked by my association with sport (and before it play), my passion to learn about other people and how they view the world, and finally how my knowledge and experience could help retrieve the experiences they had pursued and gained meaning from. As a sports person, teacher, and coach, I found a nexus where all such roles may underpin a unique opportunity. That opportunity is this dissertation. To illustrate in part, how and why I have reached this position and the significance of this study in my life I would like to briefly share some of my *Hitori* - my history.
Casting my thoughts back to my earliest memories reveals mostly a cloudy recollection of experiences that dominated the days of my early education. My most vivid and substantive memories are based on experiences involving play or sport. Many of the activities were tentative and resulted in the collaborative construction of rules, teams, and even equipment. There was nearly always a competitive element but it was the activities rather than the outcomes that color my recollections. Whether the task as a six year old was covertly seeking out an opponent's fort ensconced in a stand of pine trees near my home or whether it was implementing a new and complicated play on the basketball court during my college years I was always committed to and derived great satisfaction from sport or play.

At high school I pursued an intense rivalry with two good friends in any type of competitive activity we could devise. Numerous activities would be constructed and implemented to escape from the lethargy and routine of endless school days. The cricket World Series would be played with an 18" cut down bat, on various back lawns with explicit rules created by consensus. Those same lawns would be converted to create putting greens marked by sunken baked bean cans that acted as holes. The three sport fanatics would race home at lunch time to pack a quick nine hole game in before returning to the Grapes of Wrath or quadratic equations. Such recreational versions were supplemented by my participation in inter-high school basketball, volleyball, golf, squash, track and field, cricket, and rugby. My high school memories are flushed by a kaleidoscope of experiences based on many forms of pleasurable exertion. If I wasn't playing sport, I was reading, watching, coaching, or thinking about it.

To extend my high school experiences I attended my country's only university physical education school where I played competitive basketball, volleyball, soccer, and squash. These sports were supported in addition to the
many hours my flat mates [room mates] would spend at the local park playing ultimate Frisbee or touch rugby. University was followed by teacher training and three teaching positions that spanned ten years. My involvement with sport almost reached overdose status as I continued to play, teach and increasingly coach sport. My years as a secondary teacher were marked by a plethora of experiences, mostly positive, that centered on coaching boys and girls volleyball, basketball, girls soccer, track and field, swimming, fencing, squash, and Korfball. I learned so much about the role of sport in the lives of adolescents and the importance of their access and opportunity. I was also able to observe the pleasure and challenge many of those young people extracted from their sporting pursuits. Rarely however, did I ever discuss such derivations with them. On reflection I now lament such an omission.

The reason for this narrative about my aberrant sporting experiences is to present a foundation that illustrates my underlying philosophy toward the role that sport can have in the lives of young people. My years as an educator were initially influenced by the writings of John Dewey and Jean-Jacque Rousseau. In particular two tenets have directed my beliefs. First, the value of learning through experience is paramount, if a person does not experience they do not learn. And second, if youths' experiences are developmentally appropriate then their learning is enhanced. In sport I believe these two viewpoints are crucial to the enhancement of learning and development of the individual. My experience has confirmed that any individual, irrespective of age, gender, or ability can extract considerable good from sport if the opportunity and the environment is right.

Like Michael Novak I have faith in the potential qualities of sport and because of the strong influence sport has had on my thinking I am now conscious that although I can relate to the actions and words of many others, for this project it
is their consciousness that I seek to understand. If sport can or has been meaningful for them, then what is the basis of that meaning? Their subjectivities must not be colored or contaminated by my subjectivity. Sport can serve as the link between myself and others but my experiences should not influence that linkage.

I have now studied, observed, contemplated, and ruminated the area of sport and the lives of young people for several years. I have experienced my country's "sport for all" philosophy and I have had the chance to compare and contrast it to the United States, a country acknowledged as the world's most successful sport achiever. However, it is a separate component of the sport phenomenon that I wish to understand. While many have the chance to seek and seize their potential, others will chose not to pursue such opportunity. Can opportunities be enhanced or redirected? What must be done for this to happen and who will be charged with the task? That is my quest. The answers must begin, I believe, with the perspectives and experiences of these young people.
CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS

This study was designed to examine the sport experiences of youth at one urban high school in a Mid-western city and how such experiences contributed to their education. The focus of this investigation was three fold in that it attempted to explore and describe the sport experiences of high school youth and not merely high school sport. Second, it examined to what extent their previous sport experiences have influenced their present sport participation status. Finally, the study attempted to ascertain the opportunities and constraints that have influenced the experiences of urban youth. Three primary questions and six sub questions directed this study:

1. What meaning and educational outcomes do urban adolescent youth derive or believe can be derived from sport experiences?
   1.1 How do urban adolescent youth define and interpret sport. What values, beliefs and assumptions influence the meanings they attribute to sport.
   1.2 What do urban youth base their meanings and interpretations of sport on?
   1.3 What do urban youth see as the benefits and drawbacks of sport participation?

2. What contextual factors influence the sport experiences of urban adolescent youth?
   2.1 Which sports do urban adolescent youth experience and where do they experience them?
2.2 What sport experiences do urban adolescent youth seek?

2.3 What factors promote or inhibit sporting opportunities of urban adolescent youth?

3. What does youth sport mean to coaches and administrators and what educational contribution can sport involvement make to urban youth?

This chapter presents findings gleaned from data sources as outlined in Chapter 3. The questions and sub questions will be addressed sequentially. The first question asked:

1. What meanings, and possible educational outcomes do urban adolescent youth derive or believe can be derived from sport experiences?

This question was divided into three sub questions, the first of which asked:

What values, beliefs and assumptions influence the meanings urban adolescent youth hold toward sport? In particular, based on their experiences, how do they define, and interpret sport? (1.1)

For the urban youth who participated in this study, defining the term sport was a particularly contested and personal exercise. Over the period of my interaction with the Shady Woods students it became evident that the term sport had few boundaries and little consensus on what sport meant. Many of my interactions with youth included asking them where, what, and which sports they played. Playing basketball with a couple of friends on the blacktop at a neighborhood park was considered to be sport. So too was shooting baskets at the local recreation center. Several students I spoke with informally described their pick up games during school lunch hours as playing sport.

While setting limits or determining a precise meaning for the term sport proved to be problematic, participants were quite adamant about what sport meant to them. At an individual level sport was what they had experienced directly through participation or indirectly through watching or reading. For many of the young people in this study there appeared to be two quite pronounced themes that were associated with sport. The first was
competition. If participants were trying to beat others or even compete against themselves, such a forum was considered to be sport. Second, sport required the gathering of people either within a formal or social context. Participation in a game of badminton at a family gathering was determined as sport by Jenna who describes her perspective:

Clive: Can you tell me about your weekend sport?
Jenna: Well my uncle, he's the assistant pastor and he's 63...64 and he comes out and plays and his wife comes out and they play and you know and its like everybody plays, kids and its just like a big family thing.

Eric also shared an example of one of his most enjoyable sporting experiences of playing baseball with his brother:

there was a big field across from my house and he would pitch the ball to me and I would hit it and he would get on me if I didn't use the right swing if I didn't keep my eye on the ball, or if when I missed I threw the bat down ... we would play for hours.

Although Eric, a grade 9 student, had stated that he played baseball, his sibling contests were his only involvement in the game. He did point out however that "it was just a thing to occupy my time but I might try out for the team next year".

The only sport in Kim's life is tennis:

Yeah, most of the parks I go to have tennis courts there..but I have at the Y, [YMCA] they got tennis courts there and I go there sometimes to play with my friends after school.

Physical education was also considered a derivative of sport. Josh, an ex-participant was asked what sports he had played. He reeled off that he had played volleyball, flag football, and touch football in gym at Grandville Middle School. In addition he said "I've done archery too cos we're doin that now in gym with Ms H. and its fun".

What was defined as sport by youth also had an impact on how the Sport Experiences survey was completed. Of the 300 respondents 32% stated that they had participated in the sport of weight lifting. Shady Woods has a weight training room that is used by physical education classes and sports teams in training and these two outlets would probably account for the high response rate. None of the local recreation centers or YMCA's visited had a weightlifting league that adolescent youth could participate in.
Because only 3% of students indicated that they participated in non school sport mostly at a sports club, there are few other options that would account for their participation rate in weightlifting.

A similar situation applied to swimming. Nearly 39% of respondents indicated they participated in this sport. However, there are very few swimming clubs situated within the catchment areas for Shady Woods students. One private club is located adjacent to the school but very few students competed for them. Although there were 15 students who competed in swimming for Shady Woods at an interscholastic level, such a number would account for only a small proportion of the 39% of participants. Moreover, the staff at Shady Woods indicated that the swimming level of students was quite low. Scott, the athletic director stated:

> We have a private swimming pool next door and in the Summer we take our football players over there and ask if they can swim and you know a lot of those players have never been in a swimming pool and they can't swim. So we have to be careful. And the pool has a very shallow end and they can get in the pool and they don't know how to swim. The majority of our high school kids probably have not gone to a swim pool. That's a staggering fact I know...

Analysis of available sports compared to what they stated they have played indicates that for many youth sport involvement was defined as an activity they had participated in even if only in physical education class or in a neighborhood park. It was sport regardless if played as competitive sport, sport as leisure, or sport as recreation. Students did distinguish between doing and playing sport. It would appear that doing sports means trying them out in any form, while playing sports applies to competing in a structured league. The inflated participation levels in the survey may be attributed to students claiming they have 'done' an activity, even if it was on one occasion, in a leisure setting, with family members.

The young people's interpretations of sport were gleaned from several sources and I will address each in turn. All of the young people who were interviewed were asked to
give three words that described sport for them (see appendix E). Their responses indicated the highly personalized meanings each student had toward sport. For Shane a current participant, sport meant "...enjoyment...its fun, ... and you get a good workout ". For a grade 9 student Shane had already acquired an avid interest in sport. He had played football, basketball, soccer, baseball and taekwondo at competitive levels. He was a member of the Linden Eagles, a local football community league team for middle school-aged players. Shane had also participated in a Nike basketball league in California before moving to the Mid-west. He was currently a member of the Shady Woods freshmen basketball team and had been competing in a church basketball league before coming to high school. Shane has been a serious taekwondo participant for a private club for six years. Sport is something that Shane holds in high regard.

Kate, a grade 9 participant, described sport as "fun, you can learn from it ...you can go places". Kate could probably be described as a basketball fanatic. In addition to being a member of the Shady Woods junior varsity girls basketball team she also belonged to her local recreation center league team and worked in the center after school and she could "go in and ball whenever I want to." Her life was dominated by basketball except for a brief excursion to the sport of ice skating. However her participation didn't last as "I didn't stick at it cos I couldn't get the coordination together". So basketball has become a big part of her life. She would join friends at the center near her home and play pick-up games, often until the center closed at 10 o'clock. Her commitment to the game is reflected in part of our interview:

Clive: What sort of meanings does sport have for you?
Kate: I love the game...
Clive: Can you tell me why?
Kate: Well I don't know...I see that I'm good at it so I'm gonna pursue it and keep going until...I don't know I just like it...
Clive: Is there anything else is it the fact that you can be successful is the main thing, or is there anything else about sport that you like about it?
Kate: Yeah my idol plays it ...Katie Smith [Laughs]
Clive: Is that important...to have some sort of idol or role model that...
Kate: Yeah to keep me going.
Clive: So does that mean you are also going to try and get to college and play basketball there?
Kate: Yeah I was tryin to go to college and get a full scholarship to go on after here straight up there and I'm startin workin on it now cos since I am a Freshmen I have time to do that.

Bryan explained that sport meant fun and competition

Well I mean fun for the simple fact that I have always enjoyed sports you know I've been around it and I've always been a competitor cos my family are competitors - I mean my Mom competes at cards, so its a competitive family and that was the fun part for me and being around these people and opportunity to make something from that...

For Laura, a senior non-participant, sport meant "Ahm physical activity, exercise, having fun with people you know and who like sports as well, the competition, that kind of thing". Throughout her high school years she had not participated in any form of sport. Moreover, when asked to reflect back on her involvement she added "No I wasn't involved in sports in middle school but as a kid I did a lot of swimming, that was about it, Rollerblading... it was just you now like a hobby type thing".

Jenna, a senior ex-participant, reflected that for her, sport was " I guess it is just a time when I can relax, and just don't worry about stuff that I'm dealing with in my life...I can just like to have fun...just shut it all out". Although she had not played interscholastic basketball in her final year Jenna still played in her church recreation league and would still shoot baskets during lunch hour free time at Shady Woods. Her reason for not leaving her sport altogether was in part because "It's fun, I mean that's why I keep playing". Because she had other commitments she could not attend practices but often traveled with the varsity team to their games. Her accumulated years had given her time to consider why fun was important to her as a player:

if I go out there and I give it 110%...you know its fun... you know if I see everybody in my team is doing their best, you know we're having fun, even if we did lose.
When Jenna was asked to give any other explanation for fun she added:

> competition cos you know its no fun to play a sport when you don't have any competition, you know you don't want to always be dominating all the time then its no fun. But if you got some competition and the game is going back and forth the whole time then that's fun.

**Value of Sport Participation** Sport served as a vehicle for many of them to estimate their self worth. There were numerous examples of students sharing why they believe sport is an important part of their lives and in some cases, the lives of others. For many of the grade 9 students who were in their first semester of high school, sport held considerable potential for enriching their lives. Jason had mixed perspectives of what sport could do for him:

Jason: it keeps you out of the streets ... and it can help you with school ... if you keep your grades up.

Clive: How important are those two things to you?

Jason: Well to play sport I have had to keep my grades up ... so its important.

Clive: Do you think that your grades would slip if you didn't have that?

Jason: No ... I'd still have good grades.

However he was quick to point out that although sport helped in some ways it was not a panacea:

Jason: Yeah I know a lot who would be like that ... but they gonna be on the street no matter what ... just cos you play basketball they still gonna be on the street cos what you gonna do when you aint gonna be playin basketball you gonna be on the street.

The important thing for Jason was that sport was there and it could be part of his life, something at which he could be successful. From his perspective sport could help in life such as "it can get you into college ... you get a lot of recognition ... and you can better yourself ... like some sports teach discipline and stuff". Jason, like many of the grade 9 students with whom I talked, saw sport as a vehicle to take him somewhere in life. He
believed sport could help him get a full scholarship "maybe to [College] cos its the biggest college or California State cos they got a lot of girls there".

As a sport non-participant, Amanda held a similar assumption to Jason about sport. When asked what did she believed participants derive from playing sport she asserted "well they can get funds for it, hopefully they get scholarships if they're good enough ... I don't know ...they probably learn how to cope with different situations too." Although Amanda was also a grade 9 student she had not participated in any sport since grade 7 and could not remember when she last watched live or televised sport.

By contrast, the senior students who were interviewed were a little more circumspect about the value of sport. Bryan, who has had considerable success in his sporting pursuits, considered that sport has helped him attend to the many hurdles that present themselves such as

Oh how to handle pressure situations, how to deal with people ...all my sport has taught me how to handle people cussing at you and yelling at you...that type of thing and you know...'you know you can do better'...it has taught me how to manage myself, manage time between practice and friends and family and sports and all that kind of thing... so it's taught me a lot

Erika, also a senior, believed that she had seen the need to adopt a different approach toward sport than her younger classmates. Erika's perspective was realistic and signaled her awareness of what many of her younger classmates were relying on to get on in life. Her advice was

Yeah, you know they shouldn't be just dreaming of a sports scholarship, they should be working on their academics...some of them do, some of them don't, they sleepin on their academics, they are just like smart but they act like they're dumb as rocks.

Question 1.2 asked: What do urban youth base their meanings and interpretations of sport on?

Each interviewee was asked to share memories of experiences that helped them discover what sport is all about. It will also draw from observations collected during the
many hours of observations at school and community sites that helped to paint a picture of the urban youth sport culture. The observations will be presented as vignettes. The meanings ascribed to sport by the Shady Woods students fell into five themes: commitment, competition, excitement, teamwork, and excellence.

**Commitment**

The principle form of youth commitment to sport was time. For the young people of Shady Woods, playing sport meant giving up time to something worthwhile. In most cases the allocation of sufficient time to their chosen sporting pursuit meant that each participant worked around their other commitments to retain sport as part of their lifestyles. In addition to adjusting to high school, Hope also participated as a band member and played on the girls softball team. Because there were only enough players for one team Hope had to work to improve her skills to the levels of some of the other girls who were up to three years older than her. This has meant extra practice on her own as well as with her Dad. Despite playing or practicing every school night during the season Hope also allocated time for practice when "on Saturdays I sleep and then when I get up I do the housework and then I go out and I practice with my Dad at Greenlawn and then on Sunday's I go to the batting cage." Hope chooses practicing softball because "it's fun to get out instead of being at home all the time and all crowded up and stuff. And it's fun to get out and play and meet new people. Such dedication is a shock to this ninth grade student but in her case she decided it is worth the effort.

In addition to playing commitments, Bryan was also involved in coaching. Completion of his senior year has remained the first priority for this wheelchair athlete but he has found time to fit everything in:

> Yeah, I mean I'm starting to coach our youth basketball team at my church and I play. My demands on my time, as far as sports go, are very strenuous. When I'm not studying, I'm working out and when I'm not working out I have a tournament. Like its very difficult to get into a church league because of my other demands.
Bryan was already prepared to give something back to his sport and do all he could to make other young people's sport experiences as rewarding as his. He was enjoying the chance to influence how things should be done in his sport and felt the responsibility was worth the personal demands placed on him.

The decision to give time on a regular basis was often too much for many of the young urbanites at Shady Woods. Signing on for any competitive team meant giving time to practices and games. Many young people had already decided that they did not wish to contract themselves to such obligations. Tim believed that the reason that many young people did not play sport was "because a lot of people don't have the same attitude towards sports as I do." He continued to point out "that's what prevents them from playing, because if you don't have the heart you can't do it" He was making these comments as a current non-participant, intending to pursue competitive sport in the future.

**Competition**

Competing was cited by many of the interviewee's as an important part of their sport experiences. Shady Woods' students viewed competition as an opportunity to see how they would do against their peers and was a fruitful way to assess their potential. For Traci, competing in track and field provided several chances to test her potential:

> when somebody's faster than you they kind of push you along that makes you run faster and stuff

Dealing with the peaks and troughs of winning and losing is also part of competition according to Amanda. Despite her self confessed competitive disposition, Amanda learned to approach winning and losing as part of the sporting process. Amanda explained:

> Well when I played I just wanted to win. I mean it wasn't like a big thing though I just tried hard and if not I just tried harder next time ...or you know the team would have to try harder next time. But we wouldn't get depressed about losing. I mean it is stupid to do that. If it was a game that we should have won and we were just messin around then we would get all upset with each other but that didn't happen that much ...I mean you gotta make it yourself you just gotta do it...I mean the coach might have put you
there but you gotta decide what you gonna do and then you go do it ...you know what I mean ...like if I wanted to blame it on somebody I could but you shouldn't. That's not very... team involvement or whatever...

As well as dealing with competition on an individual level attention toward what impact your competitive approach may have on others was also important. Amanda had quite a relaxed approach to the competitive process although she had not participated in structured sport since seventh grade.

The process of competition was considered to be an important part of learning about yourself and others by many of the students. Tim represents the perspective of other male athlete informants when he linked the competitive process of sport to life in general. He learned "that life is a sport" which means you can do a lot of things and come out on top but some days you might lose and you just have to build yourself up so that you can win again." Tim believed that "you have to be competitive in everything" using as an example his involvement with the performing arts group at Shady Woods where "we have competitions, and competitiveness, like we got killed by Independence High at the [City] invitational. They just outdid us from the start." Tim also believed that competitiveness was helpful for things like "Ahhh getting jobs..."

Excitement

These urban youth were asked to talk about the emotions they associated with sport participation, or in the case of non participants, any emotions they associated with watching sport or observing other people play. The most common thread initially was to talk about fun. When such an interpretation was offered, the proposer was invited to explain what the word fun meant to them. Again, their response was strongly effected by their personal experiences as opposed to any attempt to examine fun from a wider conceptual perspective. Such a pattern was indicative of nearly all of those whom I interviewed. Although some students spoke about their teams' excitement, their initial attention was drawn to how or why stated experiences were exciting for them at an individual level.
Bryan, a senior who described what ignited many of the feelings he associated with excitement. He exclaimed that "wow it's the whole range ...happiness, sadness, anger, excitement, ahm ... weariness...a lot of different ones.... The catalyst for such emotional experience was:

Just playing itself, once you get into a game you just feel great you and you automatically feel excited. If you get a foul called against you gonna be angry, most of the time or sad... or if you miss a lay up or the last shot of the game is missed you know you gonna be sad that you let your team down. I mean its just playing itself and the situations that lend themselves to the sport to draw the emotions out.

Bryan believed that the emotional aspect of sport is what attracts many people. This did not only apply to those who participated directly in sports. It applied to many others as well:

You look on TV the arm chair quarter backs who can't play - they're more excited than the people on the field and I mean emotion is sports that's what sports are to get a rise out of somebody or making them angry or doing this or doing that and that's what sports in this country was built on...in the world for that matter.

James, a senior who has played a lot of basketball in his 'hood' could remember a specific example of what it meant to get excited during a game. He recalls:

When I had a fast break when I got the ball I thought I could dunk it cos I was pumped but when I got up there I found I can't cos it seemed like it was different like when you practicing it seems like you can't jump as high but when somebody in front of you or trying to tell you. You just seem to be able to do it faster...and higher...

Although his desire to play for the Shady Woods varsity basketball team was curtailed by a GPA that dropped below the required 2.0. He was now focusing on getting his grades back up. In the interim he still played with his friends at the park near his home.

Jenna, a senior who no longer plays sport, could remember some of the things that she associated with playing. Although it was over four years since she had played any competitive sport she was still able to share her reasons for why she felt good about playing:

Ahm excitement, happiness, the fact that we're doin good but we actually doin our teamwork out there and doin what we are supposed to and stuff
Stuff like eager, eagerness, I've had eagerness ... determination to do something ... determined to win and not give in and stuff like that...

Josh endorsed the perspective of 'just being there'. Although neither of us knew much about the intricacies of American football we could both relate to the bigger picture:

Clive: Anything else about that game that you can remember? Any other memories from your flag football?
Josh: I remember I played tight end.
Clive: Now you have to tell me what that means cos I've got no idea.
Josh: Neither do I [both laugh] ...I just stood at the end and I guess I was supposed to catch the ball ...I never touched the ball.
Clive: So ...
Josh: Oh I still enjoyed it, it was fun being with them [team mates]

Josh's enjoyment derived from being with the other players meant more to him than understanding the intricacies of football. The presence of others was indicative of many recollections that these young people shared. Yet, some students it was more than just being together. Their focus was more on the dynamics of working as a group; the next theme.

**Teamwork**

The fourth theme focused on the importance of contributing toward a team goal. That goal was usually winning but sometimes it included sharing your feelings with team mates or receiving support from those who cared about you. For most of these young people teamwork and success were inseparable. The chance to win a particular game was often a daunting task that required the resources of all team members. Latisha viewed working together as an important part of player etiquette and teamwork was

Oh just a lot about sportsmanship. If you don't have that you don't have that cos if you are not together you will not win anything. The way our mind works is not the same so you have to try to make use of everything we have

The latter part of her statement indicates her acknowledgment that to overcome obstacles it is often necessary to draw on the ideas and strengths of others.
Dealing with pre-competition anxiety was only one area where the social presence of others could enhance a sport experience. The need for cohesion was also acknowledged during the actual event where the cohesion of the team would be tested. Sometimes the player's would answer to the challenge as Jenna recollects:

I think I was in the 8th grade my cousin was at [Eastside Middle School] and that was the day that we had to play [them]. We got out of school early and you know a bunch of Guys from [Eastside] were standing out in front of [her school] and they were like 'our team is undefeated'. And we said 'well we are too' an they said 'well somebody gotta lose' and you know they just standing out in front of school and going on and on and on and on and we just came together as a team. And it was like tough. Like the first half it was no score and then we came around in the second half we won like 5-1 or 4-1 or something like that.

The collective process is not always a positive one and doing something to lift the efforts of others is often part of the role of being in a team. Getting heavy handed is sometimes part of the process. Erica shared "I can be angry at times like at my team members". The reason for her frustration was

I know they can do better but they're not doing their best and like it can get aggravated cos you just want to tell them to do it and they won't listen to you and its like okay....like you want to be their Mom for one second [laughs]

The game at issue was a league final and Erica knew her team had a good chance to win it but the occasion had got to some of her team mates and while she too was influenced by the big crowd it was important that they perform to a level they would be pleased with. This encounter was to have a lasting impact on how she would deal with crowds in the future:

Yeah, cos like I said we were scared. I think that was one of the reasons we were scared, cos if we had messed up in front of all those people, but the fact that we actually got up there and did what we were supposed to do in front of all of those people made me...Now in most places I'm not afraid to do that or mess up or anything in most places but I'm not perfect so...

For Josh, a very quiet freshmen, participating in sport was a chance for him to get to know other people. Being on a team was an opportunity to interact with his peers which he had difficulty with:

Clive  Okay...What are the things that you like best about playing sport?
Josh Being around people ... playing...
Clive is being around people the best thing for you?
Josh Yeah cos I'm not very social...
Clive Are you a shy person?
Josh No I just sort of stick to myself
Clive Are you happy to be around others
Josh Yeah

The chance to be brought into contact with others was regarded by Josh as something that only occurred beyond the classroom. His participation in the school drama club was his only outlet and he was keen to expand his opportunities to meet new friends and call on the company of others. His interest in joining the school wrestling team was based on that motive although he confessed that persuasion from his Mom also had something to do with it.

Having friends and peers embrace you as part of the team membership compensated for a lack of playing time. This was the case for Hope. She found little pleasure in being a non-starter in all of her games and was beginning to convince herself joining the team was not a good idea. However, her perspective turned around through the actions and attention of her team mates at a recent practice:

Ahm, I would say [at] our last practice, I wasn't doing very good and I wanted to quit and I felt like I didn't have no friends on the team and then I sprained my ankle and it was like everything changed. I mean like I noticed that I had friends because if they weren't my friends then they wouldn't have stayed there and they wouldn't have helped me and I guess that's when I learned I shouldn't quit. I shouldn't talk about quitting because I have friends and I have friends that want me to play. They need me.

Being concerned about yourself rather than your team mates was also a perspective shared by Shane. Although he confessed to being very competitive when his team lost "It wouldn't bother me - I'd just work harder to get the team better." He also confessed that he had been disappointed "not disappointed in a game but disappointed at someone within a game who messed up." However, he also included himself in that category because as a quarterback:
I used to run and hold the ball with one hand and sometimes if we were winning no one would strip the ball but it seemed like if we were losing then I tried to run like that it seemed like it always happened.

Excellence

The opportunity to develop as a performer was a strong reason for participation. Some participants talked about individual success while others referred to their team success. The experiences associated with 'excelling' varied. For some, success was associated with mastering a particular skill while for others it was pulling off an upset win. The rewards ascribed to being successful were also varied. Traci enjoyed the after effects of running a good race and what confidence could do for subsequent events:

Oh yeah like after you run your event you's like if you win the nervousness is gone and you go like hyper - you know what I'm saying ...even if you had another event, you wouldn't be nervous again.

Confidence was a reward she valued. There was always a hope that such a feeling could be pursued, attained and experienced. Although winning was the catalyst for Traci, for others it was knowing you could do well. Tim's last season as a football player was described as "not good because the losses outweigh the wins but I really don't care. I look at it as if you play good, and you know you played good, you won..." Tim added that "just to know that you achieved it. Atleast one win is enough for me"

One of the enjoyable things about participating in sport for Latisha was having an outlet where her abilities could be realized. Looking back as a high school senior she reflected:

I like learned about all these talents that I have that I have just like been hiding away which were kind of like waiting to get out and it was basically like what I learned cos everybody has got a lot of hidden talents that they don't know about you know

Bryan believed that the chance to excel was something many of his peers pursued:

they want to do the best that they can do and they want to be the best they can be. Like when I came here and my uncle was on the hall of fame so I said okay 'I'm gonna be in the hall of fame' - Its the max....to see how far I can push the envelope. Can I set a record, can I do this, can I do that, you know what I mean? That's what I think attracts a lot of adolescents...
Shady Woods was an established football power in the city and attending this school could help Tim go as far as he could with his football. Tim's views about the football team were endorsed by Bryan who elucidated

the football team will be one of the best every single year. I'm sure you saw the trophy cases and the things down in the weight room.

Playing on the football team and going on to college or further was a desirable outcome for several of the students with whom I talked informally. Such an opportunity was considered feasible by the freshmen in the grade nine class. However, this perspective was not shared by others. For example, Erica was quick to point out that most of the football players had their options all wrong because "I think most of the boys think that they are automatically going to become somebody if they play a sport which ain't always the case but most of them can't get that through their heads..." Her disapproval was not just directed at the football players however. She gave an example of those who played "ball" in the lunch hour

...I can't say like for most of the athletes though cos the footballer's and stuff like they have to get good grades so but if you see people in gym [lunch hour free time] and stuff playing and they're just playin fair to best I think that's what it is, they have to say woh I have one thing goin for me which is playing basketball so...you know

Erica likened one of her community volleyball teams' results to the Shady Woods football nemesis [St. Michael's] whom they had not beaten for the last six years. Although her opponents were as difficult to beat. The degree to which her volleyball team performed was beyond her expectations:

cos it was like our school football team against [St. Michael's] and we haven't beaten them in like six years and we still haven't beat them. So but it was kind of weird knowing that about our school and then my volleyball team came up after that and we beat somebody that we hadn't beat before. Whow, I mean we had some people crying ...I mean it's not like it was the big championship thing that we did ...but they were just like so happy.

While Erica's memory of doing well focused on an entire game, other examples often involved a small part of a game, a specific move or a memorable gesture. For example,
Hope recalls that one particular instance that made her season was "when he [the coach] took me out of the outfield and played me at second base...Hope's reaction to her coach's action was " I was real surprised and I was somewhat scared but I stuck through it " Giving Hope the opportunity to do well had a marked effect on how she viewed the game. Hope viewed the defeat as a win. She explained: "and we won, no well we won to ourselves but we lost to them [opponents]."

In addition to a particular skill, Bryan recalled how important the context was where the event occurred. For him the entire occasion was still etched in his mind over two years after it had taken place. The degree of detail and the thrill in the tone of his commentary highlight the importance of being able to perform particular tasks:

We played probably the biggest game of my life in 10th grade because this is when we were first starting a program and everybody was like wondering what it was about. And we had the whole school here. - Half of the gym was full, 400 people, my Mom, my uncles, everybody ...Man it was like wow. I remember going into the gym you know before warming up and the coach was like 'run the lay up drills' so I'm doin the lay-up drill and I get passed the ball and get the rebound and throw it out to my friend and I look up and there's my mom, there's my friends I go to class with. There's so on and so forth and in the first couple of plays in the game, actually the first play I got dunked on and I committed a foul and you know, whatever. ... Second play we go down the court on offense and Pete tears off down the court and I'm right behind him ...He throws the ball up in the air and I catch it and I look at my Mom and my Mom's like ... I shoot it and it goes in and you know that was the most vivid memory I can remember. I only scored two points that game but I had about like six blocks and five rebounds, four assists. You know I played a great game and we played that game and won...And there was like all of these people and they come up to me and said 'yeah great game great game [Bryan]' Its just ... just. I don't think I ever experienced something like that. Where something I'd done or started. And people started to ask and to get into it ...[Wheelchair basketball]. That's my most vivid experience in sports...

The detail of Bryan's description was quite impressive. Performing in front of such a crowd, many of whom Bryan knew, had a big impact on what such an experience meant to him. For some of the young people interviewed, people on the sidelines were part of the picture.
The sport culture through an outsider's eyes

To highlight the sport culture that effects these young people's worlds it was important to go out and spend time in it. Two points should be signaled at this time. The first is the dominance of basketball in the culture of these urbanites. The second is the influence that Shady Woods has on their sport experiences. Both these perspectives will be addressed in greater detail as answers to other research questions. The following vignette's attempt to describe the sporting aspect of that culture for some of the urban youth involved in this investigation.

A game at Shady Woods

On a cold December evening I made my way through the main doors toward the gymnasium. It was ten minutes before tip off for the boys varsity game against Powell High a rival from the west side of town who were highly ranked in the city league. As the junior varsity game finished the players formed a double line at one end of the bleachers. There was a low turnout of parents and especially students. Adults outnumbered students 2:1. The bleachers were about a quarter full. A group of female students congregated at one end of the bleachers and indulged in continual conversation that took them away from the game. Several of the girls had their backs to the court as they kept up with their discussions. Once both teams arrived on court and completed their warm up routines, everybody was welcomed over the public address system and asked to 'stand and honor America'. The cheerleaders froze on the spot and stood at attention with an arm across the chest. Several of the Shady Woods staff were present. Coach Jones and his assistants were dressed in suit and tie's and making last minute checks of their players and the opposition.

Shortly before tip off, a young man struts into the gym, dressed in a green ski jacket and surveys the crowd. As he walks down the sideline he calls to one of the players.
who have now congregated on court, "save some energy baby, ...save some for after the
game". The recipient of his message smiles and returns his concentration to center court.
The new arrival finds a place and drapes himself over the bleachers. He surveys the
players and the crowd while the player's are being introduced alternatively from the two
schools. The Powell cheerleaders quickly assume a position on court in front of their fans
and begin chanting and moving in synchrony. The Shady Woods group responds but they
are a little disorganized. Five Shady Woods cheerleaders look meager in their attempts to
be heard compared to the eleven from Powell.

The starters are ready for the encounter. They have exchanged handshakes with the
opposition and among themselves and take up their position around the tip off circle.
Every player on court is African American as are all but one of the Shady Woods bench.
They all dress in lose fitting tops and long, baggy shorts. The trend for the players is to
wear black high tops and black socks that barely show above the boot. One of the Shady
Woods players does not look like he wants to be there. He is the friend of the spectator in
the green jacket. The player is lethargic on court and his demeanor is quickly spotted by
the coach who invites him to sit on the bench - he would have little court time this evening.

The game is frenetic and quite aerial, particularly around the basket. The ambition
for many of the players is to perform a slam dunk on the opposition. The style of play is
illustrated by the ripping of the Shady Woods goal net which is left dangling from the rim.
The referees suspend play. All of the players walk off the court to their respective benches,
ailing to offer help to the coach and athletic director who must now find a replacement net.
What little buzz that was emanating from the crowd has now subsided and the entire gym is
calmed as the players begin to cool down, most of them are seated and staring into space.

After five minutes the new net is attached and the calm is broken by the shrill of the
referee's whistle. The Shady Woods coach uses all of his bench at the end of the first
quarter - their time on court is barely enough to get warmed up but they have at least had
some game time. As both starting teams re-enter the game number 44 for Powell attempts an alley-oop off a team mates' pass. As he glides through the air his flight is stalled by the Shady Woods center who fouls the shooter. Finally the crowd ignites and the cheerleaders wake from their daze. The response from the crowd has an almost immediate effect on the players who lift their levels of intensity. At the other end of the court number 35 for Shady Woods drives to the basket but he is also fouled. He begins 'trashin' with his opponent as they both run up the court. Several words are exchanged and their confrontation seems more important than what is going on around them.

On the next play 35 heads straight at his opponent and is immediately called for an offensive foul. The coach calls for a substitution and the long frame of the home team center retires to the bench. He ignores the words of his coach and the hand offered to him. His team mates hands are also ignored. He remains on the bench to cool off until half time. When time runs out on the clock, the home team leads 33-32. The players leave the gym as do some spectators who seek food and a venue for a cigarette. While the gym is vacated a member of the junior varsity team takes the opportunity to get in some shooting practice. The principal remains posted at the door donned in his Shady Woods jacket. He is joined by Mike the football coach and the school police officer who has also been on the premises since 7.00 AM. While they chat together they watch the lone shooter who has now moved up the court and begun to chat with one of the Powell cheerleaders. They both appear very relaxed until their conversation is broken by a Shady Woods player who wants to borrow a hair brush. The JV player produces a large brush that has somehow been stuffed in his hip pocket of his jeans which are draped well below his waist.

As the second half resumes one Shady Woods player immediately finds himself under the basket uncontested. Rather than take the easy two points he projects himself upward and attempts to slam dunk the ball and pulls the ring down to 45 degrees but the ball has gone from his hands and two certain points go begging. Coach Jones is livid and
stamps his feet on the floor, his hands clenched in frustration. His annoyance is not endorsed by the crowd who erupt at the dunk attempt. The unsuccessful shooter appears to pay greater attention to the crowd. His gesture has fired up many of the public who now become more vocal. The referees become the targets for much of the attention. A local beside me screams "you need to call it both ways ref., he's over the back!" It appears that there are many 'experts' in the crowd. The referees just continue doing their jobs - they will earn their $40 this evening.

During the fourth quarter the game intensity increases. With five minutes to go the Powell team has established a 10 point lead. Coach Jones calls a time out and this time he has the undivided attention of all of his players as they realize that the visitors have probably got away from them. With 2.30 left on the clock a Powell forward gets a runaway lay-up. He slams the ball through the basket and proceeds to swing and hang from the rim. His gesture ignites his team and bench except the coach who is aware of the consequences. An automatic technical foul is called by the referees, the ruling for any such behavior. The official's disdain is met with a rebellious smile by the transgressor and cries of approval from both banks of supporters. It is what this crowd loves, a great climax to what had otherwise been a rather lackluster performance. While Shady Woods take their free throws a team mate indulges in a body slam endorsing his approval of the action. Members of both teams offer hand slaps and nods of approval to the hang time performer. The Powell coach calls him over and places both hands on the player's shoulders while having a brief conversation with the offended. A cameraman from a local television channel had arrived just early enough to record the whole incident on tape about 12 feet from where he stood.

With the crowd now fired-up Powell seal the game with two one-handed dunks that are performed successfully and legally. They beat the home team whose only role now is to line up for the procession of hand slaps and thank you's. Both teams retreat to ruminate.
on the fortunes of the game. It will be after 10 o'clock before most of the players get home and there is school tomorrow. The crowd quickly files from the gym past the police officer who stations himself in the middle of the court. The scorekeepers add the finishing touches to the documentation. The janitors swoop toward the bleachers to begin clean up.

**Lunch hour free time: a cultural caldron**

Everyday between 10.30 and 11.30 the gym is open to all students. A staff member, usually a physical education teacher is stationed at the only door through which students may enter or exit. During this hour the gym is frequented by large numbers of students. The only activity that is pursued at this time is basketball or more specifically what the young people refer to as 'ballin'. This activity is spontaneous, unstable, intense, and very public. The Shady Woods gymnasium is a double court size and with the bleachers retracted it allows students to utilize all six basketball rings. There is usually one basketball available for each basket and the lunch time bell signals a race to acquire one of the balls, thereby ensuring a chance to play at one of the baskets. This venue is a place to gather, to greet friends, to 'hang', and to compete.

Once a student has found a ball he or she will congregate with peers and they will organize a pick-up game. It is usually a small team game such as 3 V 3 or 4 V 4. The other version of ballin is just taking turns at shooting with the shooter retaining the shot if they are successful. The shooting version is a lot more unstable in that the activity can break up at any time or the number of participants can change rapidly. It is also somewhat ad hoc in that some of the participants are not friends but a student who wants to shoot.

On most days there are over 40 students on the floor five minutes after the bell. As the lunch hour ensues the numbers swell, depending on the day of the week and if anything is happening, such as a soc hop, elsewhere in the school. On the floor 90% of the participants will be male and mostly African America [70% of the survey sample indicated they were African American, 10% more than the school population]. When young women
played they always played at the basket nearest the door - this was the least favored venue as games at this basket were often interrupted by students walking in and out of the gym. On several days this basket would be taken over by male students or by some girls who were prepared to stand their ground or who would compromise and allow a mixed game to take place.

The geography of this venue would alter each day according to whom was present. A power structure was obvious. Certain students determined who played at what baskets and how much space they had to play their game. If certain male athletes decided they wanted to play then they would often take one of the two small courts to play a game in front of a reasonable size crowd. Occasionally they would set up a game on the main court, forcing other players off the floor or confining them to a very small area under the four side baskets. These players were often junior or senior members of the school basketball teams. If they began a game it would attract several spectators. On occasions some students refused to give up their game space on the side baskets and would endure players running through their area.

Although the number and type of games varied from one day to the next the personnel remained quite constant. Those young people who frequented the gymnasium fell into loosely defined groups. Each of the groups contributed to my understanding of what was going on in the gymnasium. Altogether there were seven groups:

1. *Bully's* were always male, usually senior, and often skilled performers. They often dictated what could be played and where it would happen. Their games usually resembled more of an exhibition in slam dunking with virtually no mid court action. The larger the number of spectators, the more intensely they performed. As the intensity of their games increased they would spend more and more time dribbling the ball at the top of the 'key' and just trash each other, exchanging jibes for several minutes before beginning a new play for the basket. Their best performances were often on days when the basketball
team members were not involved in interscholastic competition. If they were not playing they often positioned themselves beside another game and 'trashed' the players on court. This behavior was particularly popular as several Bully's often fed off each other as they trashed their selective targets.

2. **Jouster's** consisted of a small group of males who concentrated on disrupting as many of the games as they wished to risk. The would often steal a basketball and run to another basket with it. This gesture was often performed on any girls who might be playing a game. In addition, these participants would intrude during a game and often try to slap the ball out of a player's hands. Another fancied behavior was to stand right under the basket in the middle of a game thereby forcing some form of confrontation or retaliation. The final behavior that the jouster's enjoyed would involve selecting a player and just punch them a few times or kick at them to get a response. Some of the jouster's would use these tactics to get into a game and, if they were unsuccessful, they would move around the baskets like nomadic disturbances.

3. **Poser's** were males, who seldom participated but rather used this forum as an opportunity to show their peers their physique and what they could do. This group usually numbered less than 10. A favorite of several of the Posers who worked out in the weight room was to strip to the waist and walk around the gym with their top draped around their waist. Their upper bodies would often be adorned with one or more gold chains. Some of this group would also perform pull ups on the basketball ring while games were in progress. Other macho-like behaviors included punching the mats on the walls vigorously several times or kicking any ball that strayed in their direction. Occasionally a Poser would dress in a particular way to get the attention of people on the floor. It was not uncommon for a player to pull a pair of red sweat pants on and roll up one leg then proceed to walk around the floor. Whether or not such an action was gang connected was unclear.
4. *Benchies* included some females but were usually male. On most days there were between 30 and 40 students in this group. They would be hopeful of getting into a game but would often spend the entire lunch hour leaning against the wall or bleachers waiting for a chance to play. They would usually congregate directly under the basket to make sure the players were aware of their intentions. *Benchies* would not adopt the usual 'who's got next' approach and set up a team when the on-court game had been decided. Instead they would wait to be invited on court or they would drift onto the court when pick ups were occurring and hope to be included to make up the numbers. They would sometimes have friends or classmates who were on court. Members of this group usually arrived early and changed into their basketball high tops or stood holding them in case they would be called onto court.

5. *Hangers* were evenly made up of males and females and they would turn up to the gym just to see what was going on and who was there. They often congregated by the doors and would often drift in and out during the lunch hour. This group utilized the gym as a place to meet friends and chat. Food or drink would often be brought into the gym and shared with friends during their conversations. *Hangers* would usually frequent the gym if there was not a lot happening elsewhere in the school. If a good game was occurring they would somehow get the message and enter on mass. A confrontation between players would also ensure the arrival of the hangers. Part of this group merely used the gym as a place to chat or read a book in the company of many others.

6. *Venerators* were almost all females and often in 9th or 10th grade. For this group the gym was a place to check out other people, particularly male athletes, and make their presence felt by walking up and down the sideline or selecting a performer and spending time trying to catch their attention. This group would often be very well dressed. The more confident *Venerators* would often try to start a conversation with a player or if that failed they would begin baiting them with selective jibes or quips. The most common
characteristic of this group was that they usually worked in groups of two to four. If the selected target did not acknowledge their attention they would often get louder and more conspicuous in their behavior.

7. **Contestants** were those who just got on the floor and played basketball. With the exception of three or four female students, this group was all male. They ignored all around them and chose instead to become engrossed in their pick-up games. These participants were skillful players. They took their competition seriously and played with intensity. **Contestants** played by agreed rules and usually remained on court right to the bell. They were often quite vocal both on the court and off. Most of the group were confident and extremely competitive. Although they usually played in 4 V 4 games they would often indulge in 1 V 1 plays within the game. Their goal each lunch time was to be able to play a good [read close] game.

Virtually any person who entered the gym at lunch times could be linked to one of these groups. For many of the students, playing in this forum was very public and quite risky. It was however an acknowledged proving ground for players who entered. The two underlying messages that evolved from this venue were: first, this is a male domain and males adopted several tactics to have people where they wanted them. Second, if you wanted to be noticed by your peers, whether it be how you looked, what you were wearing, or more importantly, what you could do on the court then this was the place to do it.

The dominance of basketball and of male players was endorsed when I was invited to play in the staff versus senior students basketball game. This was an annual event which was played in the late morning of a school day. The students team consisted of 15 players, all of whom were male, while the staff team had one female player, Beth, a physical education teacher. This game was well attended by many of the student body and taken quite seriously by both teams. The frequent substituting by both teams in the first half kept
a relatively social flavor to the game which acted as a fitting precursor to the half time show.

Shortly after the half-time hooter about 16 of the female faculty members assembled at the main entrance dressed in black and proceeded to perform their drill team number. Their polished performance was welcomed by the crowd, particularly the girls, who saw many of their teachers in another light. Half-way through the number all the women reached into their pockets and donned black shades causing an eruption from the gallery. It was the only time the crowd got into the event. The music did not subside after their performance. The entire second half was played to rap songs.

The second half was an extremely physical, fast paced encounter and the more competitive it became the more the crowd responded. The tone of the first half diminished to become a contest between the 'real' basketballer's on both teams in the second half. No female appeared on court in the second period. The students retained a narrow margin to win the game much to the crowds' delight. At the conclusion of the game the rap music continued and about 100 students congregated under one of the baskets to soak up the sounds. The distortion from the PA system forced many of the adults from the building or turned their heads sideways to avoid the sound waves.

Open gym period at Shady Woods is similar to what occurs at the local recreation center where students indicated they hang out. The after school program starts shortly after 2.30. Prior to this time the older members of the community use the facility to play bingo. By 2.45 the gyms begins to fill. It also has two courts and six baskets. There are six basketballs available and the new arrivals race to claim their ball. I am recognized by several of the youth who arrive at the center. "What you doin here?" they asked. The majority of them are dressed in shorts, T-shirt and high tops. The center appears to be a place to hang as several of the kids congregate on the only row of the bleachers that is not retracted.
The coordinator brings in the clock console and plugs it in. A twelve minute countdown begins. The presence of the clock sends more younger players toward the bleachers. A 4 V 4 game begins on the second court between some of the older kids. On the second court the coordinator joins in on a game with seven older males. He controls the game, coaching the players as well as playing himself. The seven girls in the gym have all retired to the bleachers. The kids on the bleachers converse amongst themselves about who did what or who should have done something else. The 'big' game is very physical and played at a fast pace. The gallery increases in size and a new arrival calls "who's got next?" as he surveys who is in the gallery.

My note taking catches the attention of a young women who asks "are you NBA?" I smiled at her and asked if she was going to play to which she responded, "No they don't let girls play ...they sexist!" and she took another swig of her Mountain Dew. She refocused to the main game which was now close to a decision. The final score is 12-10 and a player asks straight away "who got next". The player who was marked by the coordinator voices his concerns that he has been pushed around by his opponent who is taller and considerably bigger than him. The young player's protests are met with "you cryin all the time ...you cry baby ...hey we beat you by two ... we beat you by two." The next four players wander onto the court to challenge the winners. The losers retire to the foyer to get a drink. A foyer cabinet displays trophies for teams that have been successful in the city league between recreation centers. Such leagues are available to the younger kids but for the high school-aged youth scrimmages such as this are often their only opportunity to play.

A similar picture is painted across town at a center that also has Shady Woods students in attendance. The center is on the other side of the city and those attending are nearly all African American. They organize pick-up games between themselves while a supervisor sits at the doorway and monitors behavior. She warns them that "the next cuss
word means you are all out of here." Her warning is heeded. The center remains open until 10.00 PM. Games dissolved into shooting contests or were transformed into another game almost without warning. Unlike their observer, the players seem to know how the system worked. The young people advise me that they usually only play basketball and participate in the sport for most of the year. Basketball is cool.

1.3 What do urban youth see as the benefits, and drawbacks of sport participation?

This section presents the benefits and then drawbacks of sport participation from the perspectives of the urban youth respondents from this study. Several of the emergent themes were inter-related. It was not uncommon for a particular theme to be both a benefit and a drawback. Where applicable the qualitative data will be blended with the descriptive findings from the Sport Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). Finally, sport participants responses to SEQ that are relevant to this sub question will be reported.

Benefits

A place to be with Friends. For the youth interviewed in this study, the most recognized benefit of sport participation was related to being with friends. This is not surprising as friends are an important part of personal and social development for youth. Time spent beyond the home, classroom, and work was often characterized by the presence of friends. My observations at the numerous sites confirmed that sporting events were often occasions where young people would link up with friends, spend time together or 'hang'. Of the 300 respondents to the SEQ, 87% indicated that 'hanging with friends' was an activity they would participate in this year. This pastime and 'going to the movies' were the two highest scoring activities. Only 4% indicated they would not hang out with friends this year.

During Shady Woods open gymnasium sessions and at the local recreation center, many youth would spend time with one or more of their friends either playing or watching sport. Groups of same sex friends would often 'hook up' with opposite sex groups.
There were numerous examples where what was happening at the chosen site was of lesser importance than who was there. The spasmodic attendance by Shady Woods students at many of the venues observed made it difficult to interpret what was going on at each site. Both gymnasia were attractive targets to check out their peers and what they were doing. The only other venue that attracted such interest was at a sock hop in the school auditorium.

Many of the students interviewed stated that they had made their friends through playing sport. Laura commented that "my best friend would be Amy. We met like four years ago on a sports team." She had known Amy longer "for like seven years but I didn't like get to be really good friends with her until about four years ago, when we played volleyball together." Laura was one of two interviewee's who still participated in sport outside school. She had made many friends from a variety of sources including school, community, and sports. Like Amy, friendships with other girls had followed a similar trend because "well most of the others I didn't meet through sports but they all play sports with me - so that makes our relationship mean more." When questioned on why she thought such friendships had evolved, Laura's response was "maybe because of how we have to do the teamwork and stuff. It's probably through that, and we can trust each other and stuff."

Latisha held a similar view about the influence of sport on relationships namely, "you meet new people, you make new friendships." When asked if sport was the only place where she made friendships she replied "basically yeah, or through school, but my really close friends are through sports." Kate told a similar story but focused on how membership on her new team created the opportunity to cement many new friendships:

Yeah everybody cos when I came here I didn't know anybody and when I started playing basketball I started to know em and I started making friends and stuff and met people that was on the basketball teams and they introduced me to their friends.

Her biggest concern was the lack of time she was able to spend with her best friend. Their contact outside school was minimal "unless she comes over on the bus" because "we live
no where near each other but she kind of gets over every once in a while so we go down
[to the rec.] and play." Like many other students at Shady Woods, the two friends head
home after school in different directions to other parts of the city "hmm hmm ...yeah they
just split out."

For 9th graders like Kate and Erica sport participation was an important time to
establish relationships. Shane also had 'teamed up' with his freshmen basketball team. By
the end of the season he had become friendly with most of the group namely " Mike,
Colleef, Ben, Damien, another person named Mike, Ishmail, and there's one dude like I
forgotten his name...I think it's Akheem." Shane also had limited opportunities to spend
time with these friends beyond game time and practices as many of them traveled from
different parts of the city.

Amanda hadn't made many friends at her new school, " in the past year no... but in
like middle school... yes...and that's where all my friends were. Although she is a non
participant she believed that having and making friends was important to her because "I
mean you need your friends to play sports to give you the support." Her sentiments were
supported by Traci whose advice from a senior's perspective was "I would like to
encourage them [to play sport]... its like fun to also meet people also you know, make
friends and everything ...its real good."

Students who completed the Sport Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) and defined
themselves as participants were less certain about the roles of friends in their decisions to
play sport. The three most important reasons the young people at Shady Woods gave for
playing sport were: to be with friends (42%), and to meet new friends (28%). Sixty per
cent of the respondents also indicated that sport helped them to get along with other people.

**Tangible outcomes** The most tangible reward for sport participation was considered
to be a college athlete scholarship. Of those interviewed, the hope of receiving a
scholarship was prominent among several of the grade nine students (Shane, Tim, Kate,
Erica) but for those in grade twelve (Bryan, Jenna, Latisa, Traci) the reality had already set in. Very few scholarships go to students at Shady Woods and in the year this study was conducted only one football scholarship had been awarded to attend a Division II school. This did not seem to detract from the hopes of many younger students of winning a scholarship and going further in sport. Shane regarded the biggest benefits of playing sports to be "college and maybe professional sports." His ultimate dream was to go as far as he could because "I play cos I like it and I can't wait and if I do go [to] NBA. Then I gonna break a lot of people's records..."

Kate held a similar goal of "tryin to go to college and get a full scholarship to go on after here straight up there and I'm startin workin on it now cos since I am a Freshmen I have time to do that. She had just completed a successful season and had realized that "because before basketball well we was just playin around and I knew that I had the talent in the game and I could see where I could go." Her enthusiasm for competitive basketball was not endorsed by her class mates which resulted in "this year we didn't have enough Freshmen that wanted to play so we just had a JV and a varsity [team]." This is surprising considering the degree of interest in basketball signaled by students.

Jenna acknowledged the possibility of scholarships but a more important perspective for her was "I think sports is what gives the school a good name." Her view was that a sporting scholarship was the better option for her younger peers because the academic option did not appear to receive the same attention. Specifically the latter option was seldom achieved because "you get the academics and the attendance and everything else like that but you know most of the scholarships come basically from sports...like they [peers] sleep on academics." Sport scholarships were difficult to get but students were prepared to pursue them, whereas they didn't bother to try for academic scholarships.

Other incentives varied markedly. Erica confessed "well for most of the things that I play for, if we do a good season then we get trips to go places with the friends and stuff
and we like really look forward to that cos that's always fun." The fact that the trips are a time when she can be with her friends compounded her enthusiasm. When asked was it the trips or being with the friends that was the incentive to play she replied "I think its both, because I don't want to sound all in out conceited and I only like it because its an award." Erica wanted to make sure I knew how she felt about each outcome.

Responses to the SEQ showed a spread of support "for the rewards such as trophies and recognition" as a reason for participation. Specifically, very important [23%], important [19%], somewhat important [22%], slightly important [15%], and not at all important [21%] highlight the diversity of participant agenda's at this stage of their development.

Learning about themselves: The biggest return for Tim was how playing sport had influenced his confidence. After playing in middle school he realized "I can do almost anything". Although the word scholarship was not mentioned, Tim shared that in the future "I'll probably go to college and play football and baseball." His hope was to continue his interest in the school production group and return to interscholastic sport next year. He had also learned that his accomplishments helped him realize that it was important "to know you can get better." Finally Tim valued the opportunity to "take all my anger out" that playing sport allowed him. He considered this important because "the better that I play it helps me to feel better and release my anger." Tim had discovered that in such situations "I feel more relaxed ... I need that ... its just who I am." Playing sport provided Tim with opportunities to learn more about himself.

As a senior, Bryan had more time to think about what the benefits of participation meant to him:

I mean when you think about accomplishing things in sports, people think about awards and plaques, and that type of thing but you can build your character around sports. Learning what you can handle and can't handle, learning how to handle the opposition, to face the opposition, to face challenges cos a challenge in life is like a challenge in basketball.
Bryan subscribed to the belief that sport builds character because he could relate it to his own experiences and this was sufficient evidence for him. He shared an example stating "if somebody says 'you can't have this job' then you want to make yourself better ...not only in work situations but in sport and the community and that's a good mind set."

Josh also drew from personal experience and shared the example of his brother who had got himself into trouble. Participation "keeps people off the streets ...and doing something." When asked if he had actual experience of this happening Josh conceded "my brother, he's big into sports and he's...when he's doing basketball he seems to be getting less in trouble..." Although not a sports person himself, Josh could see the value of having a brother involved in something that acted as an antidote to social vulnerability.

In the SEQ, sport participants were asked to rate the influence of sport participation on "learning about themselves". Just over 84% indicated that sport was somewhat positive or very positive in helping them learn about themselves. Only 11% indicated that it detracted from learning about them selves.

A chance to compete seriously and develop talent. Improving as a player was also supported as a motive for remaining in sport. Participation as a means to "to go to a higher level" was considered very important or important by almost 70% of respondents.

Countering and unhealthy lifestyle. Two items that were rated highly as reasons for participating in sport were 'to stay in shape' (80%) and to gain physical conditioning. Of those who no longer participated 53% indicated that 'participation was not improving their physical fitness' was a very important reason that they left.

Hope viewed sport as a means to pursue physical activity. She believed that sport participation had the potential to counter unhealthy lifestyles because "it's good for everybody to get out and play something cos it gets you motivated. Like if you sit on the couch you get fat and lazy and that's not good. That brings down your health and its real bad." Jenna also considered sport to be a good way to stay healthy and "I'll just play even
for the fun of it, even if I don't play in college cos I just like playing. I just even like sweating..."

Laura stated "you get the exercise that you need, that way you know you are healthier and you can stay fitter and you know you won't have as many problems in the future unless you have injuries." Looking into the future she hoped "I don't want to feel so run down when I am older that I don't feel like I can do anything." Kate wanted to remain in sport because "it keeps me in shape to and keeps me going... cos I don't want to get fat and have to run that court like that...[laughs]"

In addition to the physical benefits that sport participation could have to their health, there was also some support by these youth for the relaxing qualities that sport could offer. In the SEQ "To release tension" was offered as a reason for participation. More than half of the respondents said sport was 'very important' [21%], or 'important' [31%], way to release tension.

Although she had trouble explaining her view, Erica commented that she played sport "to be energetic, to do something, to get my hyperness out." There were other means of getting away from it all "like listening to music does. I'm a big music person." However, when Erica was asked if music was a better option for her, she replied:

I really would have to say sport because I mean anything else it will just like come back. I will try and get my mind off it but, while I am doing sports I have to stick longer and I have to concentrate on what I'm doing more.

Drawing on her previous experiences and her present pick-up participation, Jenna also talked of how she could temporarily shut out the rest of her world when she was playing. For her, a game was a way to relax and prepare herself for other challenges:

every time that I play basketball or soccer or softball or whatever it is, you know then I just block out everything else that is going on in my life. Like if I was taking finals tomorrow I would probably go out and play basketball tonight and that way I can get my mind off this place and not worry about the final and then when I got finished playing basketball I would come home and study and spend a couple of hours studying before... because it clears your head.
Contributes to academics. Most students currently playing sport felt sport participation was a 'somewhat positive' [27%], or very positive [59%] influence on "My grades at School". The requirement of a 2.0 GPA to play interscholastic sport was an incentive for some students to work at their grades. This was an important consideration for Shane who gave equal attention to school grades and good behavior. His view was that sport "keeps you out of the streets ... and it can help you with school ...if you keep your grades up." For Shane, this was important because "well to play sport I have had to keep my grades up ..so its important."

Jenna believed there was a carry over between how you worked in the classroom and the way you participated in sport.

It's like if you were playing a sport and you are dedicated then they are going to do well academically because they will want to do the same in the classroom because they want to put that same performance from the classroom out on the court or vice versa.

Grades were also an important consideration for Traci. Her advice to any freshmen taking up a sport was to "do your school work cos here you have to like really make good grades to be like respected around here". Looking ahead from a freshmen's perspective, Hope was confident she could fit her sport and school work commitments into her life and if there was a need for compromise she knew where that would be made:

As I get on into the upper grades I will get more homework and less time to participate but I don't think that will interfere because if it comes down to it I am going to play softball because it helps me bring up my grades - if I can keep my grades up then I can play the sport. But if I had like a big report due I would tell him [coach] that I couldn't come on such and such a day because I have a report and it's got to be done and I think he would understand.

Drawbacks

Too few female coaches. A concern raised by some of the youth interviewee's was the proportion of female coaches available to coach. Only two of seven female sports had women coaches at Shady Woods. This was regarded as an issue from Latisha's perspective. She concluded that to get more girls involved it was important
to have teachers like to tell them that it is important to play sport not just boys, make em feel like its nice for a girl to play sports because it's not only boys that supposed to play sports. And I mean some teachers like at here at [Shady Woods] boys are more important than girls for some reason. I mean they care more about the boys than they would about the girls because of I guess its a sport school and all and its like that boys are more likely to play them than girls. And I guess they show more [attention] towards them than the girls who are playing

Hope also preferred a female coach but acknowledged that for her softball team, women coaches were not always available.

Too few good coaches Hope also had a concern that her coach was not catering to why she and others wanted to play in the first place:

I feel that we need a coach. Some of the girls think we don't because our head coach don't understand us but I feel that we need a coach that cares about us. Not just a coach that is conceited and thinks about himself and his little rep[utation]... He's more worried about if we win or if we lose. It's not about that. It's about the girls having fun.

Her feelings appear to be supported by other youth. In the SEQ, non-participants were asked to rate their reasons for leaving their preferred sport. From the twenty reasons offered for leaving a preferred sport, 'My coach was a poor teacher' ranked highest with 58% indicating it was an important or very important reason for leaving. Moreover, the third ranked reason for leaving a sport was "I did not like the coach." Half the respondents rated this reason for leaving as important or very important. These results suggest that many youth's decisions to leave a sport are coach related.

Coaches also figured in attracting youth back into a sport. Non participants or ex-participants were given sixteen criteria that could influence their return to a sport. Sixty six per cent of respondents indicated that "the coach was a better teacher." was a very important [47%], or important [19%] reason they would return to sport.

Place of competition This theme was multi-dimensional but the distinctions within the theme were either by degree or by time. The temporal dimension encapsulated past and present experiences that had contributed to the significance of this theme. For some of the
youth their present participation status had been influenced by earlier experiences. Jenna contrasted early and more recent experiences:

I mean you know when I was younger we really didn't care about competition cos we was just going out there and playin and we won we won we lost we lost and as I got older and the sport becomes a little bit more serious and that will make you work that little bit more harder just to win.

For Jenna things got more serious when she was able to see how far her team could go.

Because when you're younger, you are at the age where you are just kind of care free and then you like in high school and you like have State championships and you be like wanting that stuff and you be like watching the news and you think to yourself 'you know that could be my team', but you know we got to work at it.

For many of the Shady Woods participants the seriousness of the rituals associated with competitive sport was demonstrated when I attended the city boys basketball play-offs. The school contested the final against Central High, a middle class school situated in an economically privileged and established part of the city. The venue was a large arena situated in the city's fair grounds. The winner of this game would go on to the regional State play-offs. Like most sporting contests the schools supporters were divided between two sides of the stadium. Central High outnumbered the Shady Woods supporters by 4:1, including a strong adult turn out. Most of the Shady Woods adults were school staff. The parental support was meager.

Shady Woods held a narrow but consistent lead throughout the game and at the final whistle they held on to win 57-54. The Central High crowd had reached a crescendo of support as their school edged closer to their opponents but the stadium fell quiet as the game was decided. It was a first city title for Shady Woods since 1983. The award ceremony began almost immediately after the game. Three television cameras covered the game and presentations. After shaking hands the Central High players began to receive their runner's up medals. By the time the Central raised their trophy for second place there
were virtually no supporters left to congratulate the team. Their supporters had exited. The Shady Woods players and supporters were left to celebrate.

**Level of commitment** Although some participants play and enjoy interscholastic sport, Hope believes the intensity of the season is too much for some. She said "well some people like to play every day but that gets tiring and you get worn out and you get bored and you resent the game and it makes you quit because you begin to lose interest." James does not participate in interscholastic sport but enjoys a game with his friends in this neighborhood. As our conversation depicts, he gets frustrated playing, especially:

- **James**: Ahm a lot of the rules ...[laughs]...some of them are stupid and I can't have fun with those rules and the fun is being what sports is about for me ... having fun
- **Clive**: Do you think it is too serious
- **James**: Yeah I do...
- **Clive**: Can you give me an example when you have thought that?
- **James**: Well I was playing one on one with [my friend] and I didn't know that what rules were like I didn't know that you had to check in I didn't know that they pushed me really bad and I just wasn't having any fun

My numerous visits to venues confirmed that taking the game seriously seemed to attract male youth to organized and recreational sport more than females. The intensity, physicality, and degree of 'trashing' that occurred in many of the games observed confirmed that the players often treated their games as though there was a lot at stake. This depiction was evidenced at neighborhood parks, recreation centers, and at Shady Woods during the lunch hours. This illustration was confirmed by Amanda who related her conversations with male friends who 'played ball'. She expounded:

They tell you like if they didn't do good or beat anybody then they're not good enough for themselves so they get mad with themselves. And they sometimes try blaming it on other people when it's really their fault. I mean they just have to accept that they can't and they have to do better.

The intensity that sometimes evolved from sporting encounters was not restricted to the boys. Jenna's concern was
there is a lot of people who take the games too serious and them's the ones you got to watch out for because they're the ones that will want to start a fight with you, want to pick a fight...but that's basically it.

When I asked Latisha if she would recommend sport to her nephews she said "If they knew how to play, yeah. If they didn't know how to play I wouldn't." When I asked her why, she elaborated "Cos they wouldn't be able to win, they wouldn't like it, especially if they didn't know how to play." Winning was an important part of the sport experience in her view. By contrast Erica offered this advice about sport for neophyte participants:

The fact that like if they do bad, not to put themselves down for that, because I know I have done that before and it's not worth it, it's not like their fault, it's maybe that's not what they are good at but they can still try and not push it off

Traci's explanation for the low numbers of young people who remain in track and field was because "track is a hard thing and you have to practice everyday all the time so a lot of people can't get into it..."

Finally, Jenna addressed the spasmodic commitment she often assigned to her sport experiences. She contrasted her approaches saying:

You know a lot of the time I just play for fun and I just don't care and be just out there goofing around but sometimes we'd be playin in there in lunch and I'd be serious and I'd be just as serious if I had a whole crowd in front of me

Detracts from academics The compatibility between sport and academics was a contested issue. While some students believed sport helped their academics, others felt it hindered it. Of those SEQ respondents who had left a sport, needing more time to study ranked as one of the top three reasons for their departure. This issue was a sensitive topic for Jenna. She was asked "has schoolwork ever interfered with the sport you would like to do?" Her response was "I don't think schoolwork has interfered with sport work but I think sports has interfered with school work." My response was to ask her to tell me about that.
Cos you go to practice even though you in school like seven hours a day. I mean you got to practice after school and the first thing you want to do when you go home is you want to go to sleep. You know you got a book report that's due in tomorrow but the first thing you gonna think about is going to sleep or just watching TV. Even like here I know that you need to get focused for a game and some people you know they sit back over there and put their headphones on and do their homework and then other people will be out here [in the cafeteria] talking, running around, playing cards or something like that. I think it's more like sports interfere with the schoolwork.

Jenna was most concerned with the issue of time management and how many of her peers had not learned to deal with it:

Like a lot of people before basketball games they have maybe two or three hours before the game and they just sit out here [in the cafeteria area] and do nothing, nothing and their book bags are probably sitting there under the table.

Consideration of school work was also an important incentive for returning to sport by those students who had left a sport. Specifically, 62% of respondents indicated that it was very important or important that "practices and games did not conflict with homework." Criteria for returning to sport will be addressed in detail in question 2.3 later in this chapter.

Of those students who still participated in sport, support for the value of sport on their grades was positive. However, by comparison the degree of support was less pronounced than many other factors. Table 4.1 illustrates how the value of sport participation on school grades was supported less than eight other factors. The results illustrate how physically related outcomes (skill and conditioning) rated highest, affective outcomes (such as effort, and getting on with others) rated next, and cognitive related aspects (learning about myself, school grades) was the third grouping. A small number of participants stated that participation had some negative influence on their sportspersonship or their grades.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Positive</th>
<th>Somewhat Positive</th>
<th>Somewhat Negative</th>
<th>Very Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My skill level</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My physical conditioning</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My self confidence</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting along with other people</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effort in how I perform</td>
<td>59.3</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of my feelings and emotions</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My sportspersonship</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning about myself</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My grades in school</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Value of Sport participation: All Participants by Frequency

Analysis was also conducted by grade level, gender, and ethnicity. In addition to the responses on a four point scale as shown in Table 4.1, the mean was also calculated for each factor. Thus a mean result fell between 1.0 (for very positive) and 4.0 for very negative. The presentation of mean figures appear in table 4.2. Three factors were consistently rated lower by the Shady Woods sport participants. The most strongly supported factor was the influence of sport on 'my self confidence' which ranked third or better in all seven student groups. There was slightly less support for 'control my feelings and emotions'. The third factor that received consistent support across student groups was 'getting along with others'. These three categories relate to social or emotional factors. This table also depicts contrasts between student groups. For example, the mean scores for African American youth were lower (more positive) than those of Caucasians for every factor. The distinctions between gender and ethnic groups were less pronounced.
Table 4.2: Value of Sport participation for Grade level, Gender, and Ethnicity Calculated by Mean. Range between 1.0 (very positive) and 4.0 (very negative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Gr.9</th>
<th>Gr.12</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Af.Am</th>
<th>Cau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My skill level</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My physical conditioning</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My self confidence</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting along with other people</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effort in how I perform</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control of my feelings and emotions</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My sportspersonship</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning about myself</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My grades in school</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **What contextual factors influence the sport experiences of urban adolescent youth?**

Data to answer this question was gleaned the Student Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) that address this question. The results are displayed as representations of the complete sample according to the respondents eligibility to complete each section of the SEQ. Where applicable, results are also presented in table format by grade level, gender, and ethnicity.

This question contained three sub questions. Question 2.1 asked: Which sports do urban adolescent youth experience and where do they experience them? Table 4.1 presents which sports the students of Shady Woods have experienced. The three most frequently played sports were basketball [47%], bowling [43%] and tackle football [41%]. Only eight activities were participated in by more than one-third of the students. All represent traditional physical education curriculum of team sports.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football (tackle)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badminton</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football (flag)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseball</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Softball</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weightlifting</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track &amp; Field</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table tennis</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Sports Experienced by Shady Woods Students by Frequency in % By Total, Gender and Ethnicity. [Frequencies >33%]

Some significant contrasts are apparent. Greater numbers of African American students have participated in more sports than Caucasian students. There were also examples of sports that had exhibited a predominance of participation according to ethnicity. The two most significant examples were track and field for African American participants and soccer for Caucasians. Basketball had nearly 20% higher participation of African Americans than Caucasians. This trend was reversed for baseball although the difference was only half as pronounced.

Gender differentiation of the results produced the traditional contrasts between football and baseball (dominated by boys) and volleyball and softball (dominated by girls). Beyond these sports there were some significant differences in participation levels. Boys
registered nearly 10% more participation in basketball. However, girls participation levels were considerably stronger in tennis and swimming. Participation levels for bowling were also higher for female students. All three of these sports are individual and regarded as lifetime sports.

The Athletic Director at Shady Woods provided eligibility lists for the 1997 year. Because data collection fell at the beginning of winter the 1998 figures were not completed. A caveat should be inserted here as some of the issues raised and numbers cited may refer to participation trends that occurred after the 1997 figures were amassed. Scott compiled a summary of the participation numbers for 1997. These figures represent the number of player positions under each sport. They do not account for those students who play in more than one sport. Although the total sport participation number was 296 for that year, Scott estimated that the number of students playing interscholastic sport was 198 (Interview with Shady Woods Athletic Director).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPORT</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseball / Softball</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>197</strong></td>
<td><strong>99</strong></td>
<td><strong>296</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Number of Students Involved in Shady Woods Interscholastic Program: 1997/98
Sport experience contexts

The second element of the urban youth sport experience addressed where such experiences occurred. The following tables present the nature of sport contexts for SEQ respondents as well as venues where sport experiences occurred. Table 4.5 outlines the characteristics of contexts specified in the SEQ by all respondents. Nearly one quarter of students indicated that they had never participated in any sport irrespective of type or level of competition. This proportion was consistent across grade, gender and ethnic levels. Of those who did play, the predominant form of sport participation was social or pick up versions with friends and or family. Over three-quarters of respondents had experienced such a sport form. There was a noticeable difference in participation by ethnicity and grade level. Twelve percent more African American respondents played social sport than Caucasians. The difference between grade 9 and 12 was also nearly 20% in favor of the senior students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport participation status</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Af</th>
<th>Ca</th>
<th>G9</th>
<th>G12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have never participated in any type of sport at either a social or competitive level</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have played sport with friends or family on a social or 'pick up' level</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have participated in at least one sport in a community recreation league</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have participated in an agency-sponsored sport league (YMCA, YWCA, Select League)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have participated in a high school interscholastic league in at least one sport</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: Characteristics of Sport Experiences for Shady Woods Students by Frequency (%) For Total, by Gender, Ethnicity, and Grade Level

A marked difference in competitive sport participation occurred between genders. Females had participation levels that were more than 20% lower than males in community
A marked difference in competitive sport participation occurred between genders. Females had participation levels that were more than 20% lower than males in community recreation, agency-sponsored, and interscholastic sport. The latter two sport forms revealed that the participation rates of males were close to double those of their female counterparts. Just over 40% of respondents had experienced interscholastic sport. This figure is significantly higher than the results presented in Table 4.5.

The second element of the experience addressed where they occurred. Students were asked to nominate the venue where they experience most of their sport. Table 4.6 presents the frequency and percentage of primary venues selected by SEQ respondents. This table includes non responses and those students who indicated they did not utilize any of the available venues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I play most of my sport at:</th>
<th>All Respondents (%)</th>
<th>Participants Only (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School / Shady Woods</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home or local park/ neighborhood</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation Center</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Club</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response / no play</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.6: Venues utilized by Shady Woods Students by Frequency (%) For All Respondents and Sport Participants Only

The school was the dominant sport participation venue for Shady Woods students. Over half of sport participants who completed the SEQ stated that the school was their predominant sport venue. As a venue, the school was twice as popular as local parks and
neighborhoods. Very few participants stated that recreation centers, churches, and sports clubs were the places where they played most of their sport. The sports club was the least supported venue.

Question 2.2 What sport experiences do urban adolescent youth seek?

To address this sub question, the SEQ asked sport non participants to select sports that they would like to play. Each respondent was asked to give their first, second, and third choices from a list of 38 sports. The following tables represent the choices of Shady Woods students that scored high than 5%. Table 4.7 represents all responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Grade 9</th>
<th>Grade 12</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Afr. Am.</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R (%)</td>
<td>R (%)</td>
<td>R (%)</td>
<td>R (%)</td>
<td>R (%)</td>
<td>R (%)</td>
<td>R (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>1 23.3</td>
<td>1 22.2</td>
<td>1 41.0</td>
<td>1 19.3</td>
<td>2 28.9</td>
<td>1 24.2</td>
<td>2 17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football</td>
<td>2 15.9</td>
<td>2 16.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 30.8</td>
<td>2 15.2</td>
<td>1 19.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>3 6.2</td>
<td>3 8.3</td>
<td>3 11.4</td>
<td>3 6.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 12.5</td>
<td>3 4.1</td>
<td>3 9.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track &amp; Field</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 7.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 5.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.7: Sports non-participants Would Return to by Choice Presented by Rank (R) and Frequency (%).

Shady Woods endorsed basketball as a preferred sport. Caucasian males were the only group who did not nominate basketball as their first choice of sport. Grade 12 students indicated the strongest support for basketball as over 40% of respondents rated it as their first choice. This figure was nearly 20% higher than the total for all respondents. Grade 12
students' sport preferences were also quite distinct to other groups. Two individual sports completed their top three likings after basketball.

Swimming received consistent support across groups despite the presence of a pool at the school. It was also only one of four sports (basketball, football, volleyball, swimming) to receive more than 10% support as a sport of choice for non participants.

Traditional team sports dominated the other choices.

Passive experiences

In addition to the participative experiences that urban youth expressed an interest in, the SEQ also provided information on the types of sport experiences urban youth want to see. Shady Woods students were asked to nominate their participation levels pursuant to sport spectating. This category had two components: television viewing, and attending games. The following tables represent the which forms of televised sport the SEQ respondents experienced and how often they experienced them. In Table 4.8 the types of sport viewed are contrasted by group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men's Pro</th>
<th>Women's Pro</th>
<th>Men's College</th>
<th>Women's College</th>
<th>Sports News</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Af. Am.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.8: % who watched Televised More Than Twice a Week

146
The most watched sports programs were Men's professional sport and sport news. These two options are also watched significantly more by males than females. Three times the number of males than females watched men's professional and college sport or the sport news. The difference in viewing patterns between males and females for Women's professional and college sport is comparatively small. Almost half of the male respondents in this study stated they watched some form of televised sport more than twice a week. This result compares to less than one-quarter for all females.

African American youth in this study watched considerably more televised professional and college sport and news sport than Caucasians. Across all sport options, 13% more African American students stated they watched televised sport more than twice a week.

Viewing patterns also varied between grade levels. While Grade 12 students showed a clear preference for male sports and sports news, their Grade 9 counterparts watched more Women's professional and college sport. Nearly one-third of both groups watched some form of sport more than twice a week.

Special events

In addition to the traditional sports available to youth on television, two events occurred at the time the SEQ was administered. Respondents were asked two questions. The first question stated: Did you watch any television coverage of the Nagano Winter Olympic Games? The responses in total and by the same divisions appear in table 4.9.

Viewing patterns for the Nagano Winter Olympics produced dissimilar results than professional, college, and sports news programs. Nearly half of all respondents stated they had watched the Nagano Olympics on television. More female respondents watched this special event than males. This result is also quite contrary to professional, college, and sports news coverage. A similar reversal in viewing interests was produced between ethnic
groups. Sixteen per-cent more Caucasians viewed the Nagano Olympics than African American students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Yes [ % ]</th>
<th>No [ % ]</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Yes [ % ]</th>
<th>No [ % ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All respondents</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.9 % of Respondents who Watched the Nagano Winter Olympics

The second question asked: Did you watch any television coverage of the Extreme Games? The responses in total and by the same divisions appear in table 4.10. Twice as many males watched the Extreme Games. This form of sport also appealed to Caucasian students, half of whom had watched some televised coverage compared to just over one-third of African Americans. The Extreme Games also attracted a greater amount of attention (17%) from Grade 12 students than their younger counterparts. While the proportion of students who watched the Extreme Games was less than the Nagano Olympics, there was a significant level of interest demonstrated by Shady Woods Students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Yes [ % ]</th>
<th>No [ % ]</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Yes [ % ]</th>
<th>No [ % ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All respondents</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.10: % of Respondents who Watched the Extreme Games
Live sport viewing

The following two tables present the attendance of Shady Woods Students to school sports events (Table 4.11) and community sports events (Table 4.12).

Nearly one-quarter of Shady Woods stated they had never attended a school sport event. By contrast, 22% of respondents stated they attended school sport events more than ten times per year. The patterns of attendance were evenly spread by frequency and grouping. Just over half of all respondents stated they attended school sport events less than three times a year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Less than three times a year</th>
<th>4 - 6 times a year</th>
<th>7 - 10 times a year</th>
<th>More than ten times a year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Am</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.11 % of Respondents' Attendance at school sports

Student attendance at community sport was lower than school events. Almost 40% of students had never attended a community sport event. Half the Grade 9 students had never attended community sport compared to over one-third of grade twelve students. Otherwise, the patterns of attendance were spread evenly between groups.
Table 4.12: % of Respondents’ Attendance at community sports.

Attractive sport

The most vivid example of what sport experiences many urban youth enjoy as spectators is represented in the following vignette compiled from my field notes:

I attended the city three point shoot out and slam dunk contest. This is an annual event hosted by one of the city schools. The attendance at this event contrasted with everything else I had seen. After paying the $5 entry fee I sat on the top row of bleachers with my wife. The gymnasium seated nearly 2000 people and there was barely room to move. The crowd was predominantly African American and mostly high school age. A sound system played rap music just below my threshold of pain. A metal handrail set in concrete was next to me and it vibrated and hummed throughout the night. On the floor of the gym a table supported twenty assorted trophies, in front of which a trolley held 24 leather basketballs. A similar trolley was placed under a basket at one end of the gym. The evening began with the 3 point shoot outs. There was one competition for junior players and one for girls. These two female shooters were the only female contestants.

After the public address system announced the school and the names of the competitors, the Rap music returned. The crowd’s enthusiasm increased as the 20 male competitors squared off in two’s, each having 20 shots within the 60 second time limit. The
top eight were reduced to four and then to two until a winner was decided. The last pair displayed amazing skill evidenced by the 14-13 final score. By this time the atmosphere was electric. It was 10.00PM and the youth were on their feet dancing. The slam dunk section was still to come.

Forty male youths dressed in their school sweat suits cascaded down onto the floor to quickly practice their aerial stunts. One player after another attempted to defy the laws of physics, by sailing through the air and blasting the ball through the basket. Each successful attempt ignited the crowd, especially those who were there to support their school mates. A similar elimination by pairs format was adopted but this time the clock was replaced by three judges who scored every shot. The shots became more and more spectacular. The music grew louder with the announcer yelling it. The last shot I watched involved a younger and shorter athlete who walked onto the floor with a friend. They conferred for a short time before one of them knelt down three feet from the basket and in the path of the would-be shooter. The spectacular was not over. Just before commencing his dribble toward the basket and his companion, the shooter pulled his sweatshirt over his head, and proceeded to dribble at speed, clear the human obstacle without contact, and thrust the ball through the hoop. How could you beat that? How could I endure any more of the distorted loud music. Unlike 95% of the crowd I decided it was time to leave. My movement was only noticed by two police officers who had retired to the foyer. Both observed my departure. Their body language indicated their envy that I was able to leave.

Question 2.3 What factors promote or inhibit sporting opportunities of urban adolescent youth?

This question was addressed through quantitative (SEQ) as well as qualitative data (interviews). The quantitative findings are presented first. Factors that promote the sporting opportunities of these young people are presented first. All respondents were asked to indicate what they wished to gain from their sport experiences.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>very important</th>
<th>important</th>
<th>somewhat important</th>
<th>slightly important</th>
<th>not at all important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To improve my sport skills</td>
<td>67.3</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have fun</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To stay in shape</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the excitement of competition</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To do something I'm good at</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To win</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To go to a higher level of competition</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To learn new skills</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To play as part of a team</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To meet new friends</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have something to do</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the coaches or teachers</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the rewards such as trophies and recognition</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the travel that goes with being on a team</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To release tension</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents or close friends want me to participate</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone I admire played this sport</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To feel important</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be with my friends</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be popular</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.13: Reasons for Participation for all Sport Participants by Frequency (%)

Table 4.13 gives the reasons that all participants wanted from their sport experiences. The inference from this section was that if respondents considered a reason to be very important, opportunities for that factor to be experienced could promote sport participation.
The eight highest ranked reasons for participation focused on improvement, competition, and excitement. Extrinsic reasons such as rewards and trophies, travel, or gaining popularity fell in the bottom half of participant choices.

The three highest rated reasons for participation as 'very important' were also compared by grade level, gender, and ethnicity. Tables 4.16 compare the results between these three groups.

To have fun was the most favored reason for participation for four of the six groups. The three most favored reasons across all groups were consistent, requiring only four different options. Improving skills was the top reason for both ethnic groups, male, and Grade 9 students while having fun was the most favored by female and Grade 12 students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Grade 9 R %</th>
<th>Grade 12 R %</th>
<th>Female R %</th>
<th>Male R %</th>
<th>Af. Am R %</th>
<th>Cau. R %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To improve my sport skills</td>
<td>1 75</td>
<td>2 55</td>
<td>2 75</td>
<td>1 75</td>
<td>1 75</td>
<td>1 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have fun</td>
<td>2 63</td>
<td>1 71</td>
<td>1 64</td>
<td>2 66</td>
<td>2 63</td>
<td>2 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To stay in shape</td>
<td>3 56</td>
<td>3 47</td>
<td>3 56</td>
<td>3 56</td>
<td>3 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the excitement of competition</td>
<td>2 61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.14 Three Most Important Reasons for Participation for Sport Participants By Rank & Frequency (%) According to Grade level, Gender, & Ethnicity

To ascertain what factors would promote the return to sport by youth who had withdrawn from participation, respondents were asked what would have to change to enhance their sport experience or retain their interest in some type of sport. Sixteen factors
were given and each was rated between very important and not at all important. Table 4.15 reveals how all respondents rated the 16 factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>very important</th>
<th>important</th>
<th>somewhat important</th>
<th>slightly important</th>
<th>not at all important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the coach was a better teacher</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with homework</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I could play more</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with my work schedule</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practices were more fun</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there were more leagues so the other players were closer to my ability</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there were less emphasis on winning</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the sport was offered to my age group</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my parents stopped pushing me</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with social life</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>games and practices were scheduled at different times</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we practiced less</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would not get hurt</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there were closer facilities</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the equipment was not so expensive</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I could play in co-ed leagues</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents were not allowed to come to games</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.15: Factors promoting a return to sport for all non/ex participants (%)

To contrast grade, gender, and ethnic results, the three highest scoring factors rated as 'very important' or 'important' were selected and ranked. Rankings and Frequency appear by group in Table 4.16.
The need for coaches to be better teachers was signaled by all groups. This reason received first or second ranking from all student groups. There was also a clear need for sport to be offered at times beyond employment commitments if a return to sport was to occur. The third reason requiring consideration concerned the need for returning participants having the opportunity to play more. Three groups ranked 'I could play' more as their most important reason.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Grade 9 R</th>
<th>Grade 12 R</th>
<th>Female R</th>
<th>Male R</th>
<th>Af. Am R</th>
<th>Cau. R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the coach was a better teacher</td>
<td>2 68</td>
<td>2 70</td>
<td>1 83</td>
<td>2 53</td>
<td>2 70</td>
<td>1 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with homework</td>
<td>1 69</td>
<td>3 62</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with my work schedule</td>
<td>3 62</td>
<td>3 63</td>
<td>2 79</td>
<td>3 62</td>
<td>2 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I could play more</td>
<td>1 73</td>
<td>3 64</td>
<td>1 57</td>
<td>1 73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practices were more fun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.16: Top Three Items Combined Very Important and Important by Rank and Frequency (%) by Grade Level, Gender and Ethnic Group

The SEQ also provided information that addressed what factors could or have inhibited sporting opportunities for urban youth. Non participants were asked to rate factors that could have contributed to their sport participation status. Table 4.19 presents a ranked list of factors that were rated as very important by percentage of respondents. Contrasts between grade level, gender, ethnicity, and all participants, are listed.

The most supported reason for non participation was respondents were too involved in other things which was ranked first by all groups. The time demands of sport were also a
significant reason for non involvement. Beyond these two reasons, other factors provided by respondents were spread among the groups. Only two groups (Grade 12 and African Americans), ranked 'I was never interested in organized sports' as one of their top three reasons.

The two most significant contrasts between groups concerned availability of sports and perceived skill level. Whereas 23% females cited that the sports they were interested were not offered, only 13% of male non participants supported the same reason. Only 9% of Grade 9 students believed they were not skilled enough to play compared to 23% of Grade 12 non participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Gr 9</th>
<th>Gr 12</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Af. Am</th>
<th>Cau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was always involved in too many other activities</td>
<td>1 25</td>
<td>1 35</td>
<td>1 29</td>
<td>1 26</td>
<td>1 23</td>
<td>1 26</td>
<td>1 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports are too time consuming</td>
<td>2 22</td>
<td>2 29</td>
<td>2 24</td>
<td>1 18</td>
<td>3 22</td>
<td>2 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I didn't want to get injured</td>
<td>3 19</td>
<td>3 27</td>
<td>3 19</td>
<td>2 20</td>
<td>3 22</td>
<td>1 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports I like best were never offered</td>
<td>19 26</td>
<td>9 3</td>
<td>22 13</td>
<td>1 20</td>
<td>2 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was never interested in organized sports</td>
<td>18 17</td>
<td>2 25</td>
<td>1 16</td>
<td>2 20</td>
<td>2 24</td>
<td>1 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports are too expensive</td>
<td>17 18</td>
<td>2 25</td>
<td>1 12</td>
<td>1 23</td>
<td>1 15</td>
<td>2 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends never participated</td>
<td>16 15</td>
<td>2 23</td>
<td>1 11</td>
<td>1 23</td>
<td>1 16</td>
<td>1 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was not able to get to practices or games</td>
<td>15 21</td>
<td>1 14</td>
<td>1 16</td>
<td>1 14</td>
<td>3 22</td>
<td>1 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was not skilled enough to play</td>
<td>14 6</td>
<td>1 23</td>
<td>1 17</td>
<td>1 17</td>
<td>1 18</td>
<td>1 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents didn't want me to play</td>
<td>14 16</td>
<td>1 17</td>
<td>1 15</td>
<td>1 12</td>
<td>1 18</td>
<td>1 7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.17: Never Participated in Any Organized Sport as a Very Important reason by Frequency (%) and Rank For All, by Grade, Gender, and Ethnicity

In addition to collecting reasons for not participating, the SEQ also asked all respondents to answer which activities they liked to participate in beyond their normal
school day (see Appendix A). Twenty one activities could be evaluated as something that each respondent participates in, no longer participates in, or if neither applied to them. Ten pertinent activities were selected by rank to illustrate what Shady Woods youth participate in during their spare time. Analysis by frequency as percentage was conducted for all students. Additional analysis was conducted according to student grade level, gender, and ethnic group. Table 4.18 exhibits the results of that analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Gr 9</th>
<th>Gr 12</th>
<th>Fem</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Af.Am</th>
<th>Cau.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Going to movies</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanging with friends</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watching TV</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dating</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chores at home (lawn mowing, etc.)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid part-time employment</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer games</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport team not sponsored by my school</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musical instrument or vocal lessons</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth clubs (Scouts, Boys or Girls Clubs)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.18: Activities I Am or Will be Doing This Year By Group (%) For All, Gender, Grade, and Ethnic groupings.

The three most popular activities students engaged in involved the movies, friends and watching television. All three activities scored higher with grade 12 students than their younger counterparts. Watching television was preferred by 90% of African Americans compared to 83% for Caucasians. There was also a significant difference in membership of youth clubs. Twenty seven per cent of African American youth stated they were involved with youth clubs while the number for Caucasians was 7%.
Dating increased from 65% for Grade 9 students to 86% for students in Grade 12. There was also a marked increase in part-time employment between Grade 9 (57%) and Grade 12 (80%) students.

Sport team membership outside the school was 18% higher for Male students than females. There was a similar reversal in participation difference for musical lessons between females (36%), and males (17%).

**Qualitative findings**

Analysis of interview transcripts, field notes, and the SEQ revealed three broad factors that inhibited sport involvement; access, attitude, and insufficiency. Each of these three factors had sub-factors. Virtually all of the sub-factors appeared to contribute to inhibition rather than promotion of opportunities for urban youth. While opportunity was provided in the interview protocol and the SEQ, for respondent's to address what might promote or inhibit their sporting opportunities, most of their responses addressed how their sporting opportunities were hindered. The three factors with subsequent sub factors follow.

**Access**

Access to sporting opportunities for the students at Shady Woods was influenced by three sub factors: work, transportation, and choice.

**Work** Over two-thirds [68.1%] of the students who completed the SEQ indicated they were working some form of part time job. In addition, over three quarters [76.5%] of them indicated they performed chores at home. None of the student interviewee's currently participating on a competitive sport team held a part time job. Conversely, all but one of the non participants or ex-participants were working part time in paid employment. The only exception was Tim who reported that in addition to trying out for the football team next year "I'm going to get one [job]." When he was asked how he will do both he replied "I'll have to work around it. "

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For Amanda there was not enough time in her life for sport because of "work...Monday, Tuesday, and Saturday's...and then I go to church on Wednesday's and Sunday. So I have like Thursday and Friday [left]." She considered playing sport specifically "I would play volleyball, but that's the thing I mean I can't practice all those hours ....I gotta work" She added that "I would rather work than play volleyball" however, because "I like the money I guess ...[laughs]. I need the money...I have to buy all my clothes." Finally, Amanda was asked if money was not the problem would she play volleyball to which she retorted "Oh yeah! definitely ."

Jenna had also opted to work in her senior year. Her sport participation was put on hold because there was not enough time for basketball, track and field, school work and her part time job. Her view was "its a good job and it pays good." To gain some perspective on her job commitment I asked Jenna if it required many hours to which she replied "No, I work about 25 hours a week." My surprise to the extent of her employment drew her response that "lots of kids do them hours."

Scott illustrated that for some youth, sport is not an option because the lifestyles of some of the Shady Woods students allow no room for sport. He drew on an example of one young person whom he had spoken to recently:

some of the kid's are lethargic. It's because they're working until 11.30 at night and then they have to get up at six in the morning. That's probably the biggest thing we [adults] do wrong [assume they are lethargic]. But then the employers out there, when they get a good employee they work her for four nights a week. I was talking to a little girl here and she works Wednesday night, Friday night from I think five till nine and she works Sunday nine till five. So, she comes here Monday and she's tired. I said why do you do that? She's a sophomore and she said well I need the money. And I said now be honest and she said well my parents won't give me money because they can see that I can work. So, if I want to buy things I have to work. That's the sad commentary of the American family situation. She's a nice young lady but she's very moody because she's working those hours. And she's tired. And we see her here as though she is a bad kid. She's not a bad kid. She's a tired kid, she's physically tired.

Josh was also working. Every day after school he was "baby-sitting for my aunt" requiring him to ride one of the buses to her home every night after school. Although he
was able to continue with the school performance group, he was unable to try out for wrestling which "my Mom would like me to do." He wanted to keep his present arrangement because he was saving ". to buy a car." This was an interesting response as he had earlier stated in the interview that getting to school performances was no problem because "I only live a half a mile away from the school."

Scott, the Athletic Director contrasted the difference between his generation and those who attended Shady Woods as students:

You see in our era our job was school. Now these kids you know, some of them are in situations or circumstances where they really need to work but I really think the vast majority of them work because they have to support that car. But that is a choice that they have made.

Transportation had created problems for students and coaches at Shady Woods. Shady Woods' open enrollment policy had drawn students from 24 different zip codes and this meant a high number of students commuted to and from the school on school buses. For these students sport participation was problematic for a number of reasons. The distance from her home to the school and the time riding the buses had forced Kate to reflect on her decision to attend Shady Woods. She was asked how long did she sit on the bus:

Oh a loonnggg time [drawn out] but I think I probably should have picked a little closer to home so I could get goin for the rest of the day. But the way that route goes we get out at 2.30 and I don't get there [home] until 4.00 or 4.30 and its like all day on the bus.

Riding the bus was only an option if she did not have a practice or a game, in which case she would stay at the school unless somebody at home could bring her back. Having to rely on her Mom who worked meant that private transport was not always available. The bus was often the only option for the young freshmen.

A similar situation affected Hope's participation on the softball team. Toward the end of the season she was asked what had been difficult for her to play:
Transportation is a problem but I guess that well next year I should be able to drive myself. So it's just right now that the transportation is a problem because my Dad works and I have no other way of getting here. So for right now it's a problem. In the future I don't think it will be a problem.

Hope's attention to how she could overcome the transportation problem in the future was contrasted by Traci who remembered the problems she incurred when she used to compete and how her options were cut during track season:

my Mom doesn't let me have the car to drive. How am I gonna get home you know cos they stopped the activities bus like in the middle of the season and a lot of people depended on that so it was like all we had. So it was our friends and not everybody drives cos a whole bunch of them are under classmen you'd be stranded and you don't want to be... stuck up in here and all that... it is a real problem.

Her team mates had to rely on their teachers to get them home safely because the bus would only get them back to the school after their competition:

Actually its like we get out of here at 1.30 and then we go there [to the venues]but some people drive or they drive with the teachers because the buses wouldn't bring us back so that's how we get home. [Traci]

Although Erica played for her local community, she had not considered interscholastic sport because " well see I live like really far so like doing all the sports here is like really hard, so that's why I don't play none here." This applied not only to playing but also to supporting school teams. As a freshmen she was unable to drive across town. Although she enjoys watching sport could she get to a big game?

Not usually. If it is I just won't come but then I got friends you know that would want me to come so they would come and pick me up and bring me here.

During the Winter and Spring terms, many activities were held late in the afternoon. Nearly all of the softball games began at 5.30. The basketball games usually began at 7.30PM. Track and field and tennis would usually begin between 4.00PM and 5.00PM. The games had begun earlier in previous years but, as Fay recalls that had changed recently:

because of transportation problems they set the matches back to 5.30 because we can't get buses until 4.15 or 4.30 so that was really a major problem last year because we had to figure out now what are we going to do
with these girls on days from 2.45 until 4.15 whereas previously it wasn't any problem we would go to the other school, we would get the match in and we would be home, people would have time to eat dinner at a reasonable hour and they had time to study or do homework and it wasn't a problem.

Having to rely on buses was not even possible for the football team. Mike and his coaching staff would drive around the city picking up players for practice throughout the summer. This was something extra the coaches did to ensure players could get to practice. It was a frustrating task because "they don't have to do that, there's nothing on our contract that says we have to go out and drive these kids here. Nobody else does it. " [Mike].

Mike's big dream was to have:

A bus ...two, and make it available that all my coaches had an immediate CCL license and the union wouldn't bitch that I'm driving it because they're getting cut out of dollars. And if it broke down it would be repaired ...you know. And then I would have the opportunity to pick up these kids and drop them home at night.

Choice Although the interscholastic sport system was available to all students at Shady Woods, selection was sometimes influenced by youth interest. The degree of support for certain sports by students restricted the levels of competition that could be offered. Scott explained how the lack of levels became problematic:

if you were on soccer there could be a JV team but most of our schools don't have enough athletes and so we only play one level. So our freshman are thrown in, sometimes unfairly into the varsity competition because we just don't have the numbers of participants.

His perspective was supported by Faye who added that in addition to the level of competition, student interest in playing had also restricted which sports could be played. From her perspective it was difficult to offer much more within the current system as there were not sufficient numbers to support expansion:

Well we're really spreading ourselves pretty thin right now. I don't know that we could offer anything else right now. For example we offer girls soccer and girls volleyball so we're competing for the same girls and there are other schools in the system that don't offer girls soccer so they have a lot more in terms of numbers for the volleyball. So I think we have kind of spread ourselves kind of thin already. And that's where you see a girl doing two or three different things in one season and I don't think we need
to go much thinner than that. It would be preferable if they only participated in one activity I think.

In Lisa's view, offering more sports would not draw more students to sport but rather set up clashes as existing participants committed themselves to more activities. The time students were required to give to their sport also made supplementary activities difficult. This applied to activities beyond sport. As well as playing softball, Hope was a member of the school band and this created some conflicts. A clash between an upcoming game and a band performance meant that "I'll probably play half of Brookside [game] then go home and take a shower and come back here and play in the band." While she was keen to retain both her interests Hope was not sure if such options would always be available to her:

I can do them[band and softball] now but later on I don't think I could do both. When I'm older and starting on the team they [coaches] may not let me go, so I'll have to do one or the other

Even attending activities was not always possible. Tim's desire to attend a big boy's basketball game was not possible because "I wanted to but ...drama got in the way of that "

The degree of choice appeared to be determined by the number of students who would support each sport. As a consequence only nine interscholastic sports were available to male students at Shady Woods and ten for females [see question 2.1 discussion]. In several of those sports there was only one level of competition available. Student interest appeared to determine which sports and which levels could be offered. This is contrary to Tim's view that "we need more ...more options to play."

Playing outside their level The most disconcerting drawback discussed by the interviewee's was the restricted opportunities to play. This issue was more prevalent among the girls. Examination of the structural opportunities available to many of these young women shed some light on why exclusion occurs. For example, there are no team sports for girls at Shady Woods that offer three levels of competition; varsity, junior varsity and freshmen. Kate's earlier example of playing her first year in a junior varsity team in
her freshman year, and Hope's membership on the only softball team as a freshmen highlights the developmentally challenging obstacles that are placed before some of these young people. It should be pointed out however, that the lack of teams is a result of student interest and not the school's willingness to provide additional levels.

As a member of the only girls softball team, Hope had to compete for a starting position with girls up to four years older and more experienced than her. Although she possessed a great desire to play softball, her enthusiasm was often stifled by numerous games where she sat on the bench. Hope's frustration is evidenced in her comments:

Sometimes I get tired of not playing I just get tired of sitting on the bench game after game and he, and I tell him [coach] about that and he'll like play me but he'll only play me one game and then the next game I'll sit out again and I'll sit out again and again until I tell him about it again and that it [quitting] went across my mind all the time...I know I should quit because I don't like the coach but then it runs through my mind and I think I shouldn't quit because I have a responsibility.

Her status remained precarious as the season ensued. Attending most of her games I saw her enthusiasm and commitment erode. She would often have to be comforted by her Dad while she sat on the bench. She began to question the purpose of membership on a team she didn't get to play for consistently. Hope became frustrated that despite her attendance at so many games and practices she still remained on the bench:

I dedicated my time to this sport so I like will stick to it. I get tired of sitting on the bench because that is where I am most of the time. I sit on the bench and cheer on my team. I don't mind doing that but that's taking time out of my day and if he's not going to play me I think I shouldn't show and so...but I show to support my team and in case he does need me. I'll be there. But I mean a game every day that's not called for. They should separate it. Because some of us get tired and it makes us hate the sport.

Hope did remain on the team for the entire season now looks forward to greater opportunities next year. The prospects for playing should be better but if only one team can be offered again next year, Hope and perhaps other keen freshmen may have to stand in line to get on the diamond.
Sitting on the bench is something that many of these youth at Shady Woods feared. Although a competent performer, Shane warned that the biggest fear he and his friends had was "a possibility that they might not start or get any playing time?" If he was placed in such a position Shane remarked:

...I'd be out of there...I'd probably leave not just like to leave but I'd probably leave and probably work harder and then the next year I'd play cos there aint no use to sittin on the bench and not gettin into the game ...its like embarrassing just sittin there and you aint even breakin a sweat or nothin.

As a senior who had time to learn about her peers, Jenna believed that the risk of not starting or being subjected to ridicule was why "there are people who sit out here [in the cafeteria] who could play basketball but they don't play..." To avoid playing "they'll make up some kind of excuse like I don't want to play for the school or I don't like the coach or just something..." Jenna did not include herself in this group. Her reasons for no longer playing were influenced by work and lack of transportation.

**Attitude**

The availability of sport to urban youth, how it was supported, and the reasons for its present status, influenced the attitudes of those people who were associated with it, namely students and adults. These two groups will be addressed as sub- factors.

**Students** The small numbers of students who participated in competitive sport could be attributed to several factors but the interviewee's believed that a major reason was youth attitudes toward playing sport at this level. Having had the opportunity to work with urban and suburban youth, Bill had noticed a distinction in attitudes between the two groups:

It's funny the different attitudes you have in the city schools as compared to the suburban schools out where they have got some boys volleyball, they have a lot of different sports for the girls, field hockey, fast pitch softball, and there's so many more opportunities out there and they want to get involved so I don't know how you change those attitudes in the inter city. At the rec centers all they want to do is play basketball. In the fall we played volleyball and flag football before they got to basketball so we almost kind of forced them to do it and once we got them in it they enjoyed playing volleyball.
Bill's observation was supported by Mike who is a resident in one of the suburbs of the city. He believed that many youth, particularly girls, were not interested in sport because their peers were not interested in participating. This was contrasted by what he had seen in the suburbs:

> It is so hard to get so many of these girls involved and yet we'll flip it over and if we take it to the suburbs they will be fighting to get in, they'll have complete teams. Many of them are using it for different reasons its what their clique does, its what their family does.

In an attempt to diversify what the school could offer, the physical education department conducted trips for students to a bowling alley that was close to the school. The degree of interest expressed toward sport by Shady Woods' students is illustrated in Scott's comments:

> we've got the Palace Bowling Alley and we'd have a bus come over the kids would have to pay, I mean for $2 they could bowl as many games as they wanted to. Well we had to quit that because none of the kids wanted to go there and bowl. They just wanted to go there and use the video games and eat, eat, and eat, and play video games.

Sports currently offered have difficulty retaining some youth. Part of this trend was attributed to their perception that they should only remain in a sport if they were on the way up. The goal for most athletes is to make the varsity team and if their progress toward such a goal was halted, many students would not consider playing on a "lower" level team:

> What happens is that as you go farther along in high school a student says "I'm a junior I can't play JV any more, I'm going to sit the bench in varsity and it's not worth it for me and so I will not do that, I will not come to practice every night, I will not do what the coach demands, I'll go out and work, I will not hang in there". That's why we lose a lot of kids.[Scott]

As a result, the student will create a reason for leaving his or her chosen sport. As Scott observed, the most common defense is getting a part time job.

> if a kid wants and sees he will make the team and play and fore go the job. If he's not gonna play, he will quit and say I'm quitting because I need to work. That's the reason. The reason he's quitting is because he will not play.
Work is not the only attraction. For some students the need to socialize with peers is more important than playing sport. Although sport involvement was quite strong in her early years at Shady Woods, Traci now enjoyed other things as our conversation depicts:

Clive What do you do now instead of playing sport
Traci Shopping ...mostly. Oh yeah apart from the phone...mostly I'm over the phone
Clive Do you have a part time job
Traci No ...I just work during the summer
Clive What about after school and on weekends
Traci Oh yeah I hang with friends ...mostly, go to parties ...
Clive During the week ...
Traci No party on the weekends. That's what we do is party and go and see the movies
Clive And again that's [the movies]with your friends usually?
Traci Yeah with my friends

Kate was only in her ninth grade year and had high hopes for her future in basketball. Her perspective was that basketball and schoolwork were inseparable

It would make me work hard...well I already work hard and cos I know I have to graduate...but the basketball is what will keep me going and keep my grades up cos if I don't get them up then there's no basketball

Kate acknowledged that few of her peers had her attitude toward life. She believed that for others their decision was already made before they reached high school. Although she had a positive outlook toward the future, she could sympathize with other's approaches:

Yeah probably I know if it was me and I didn't do anything at middle school I'm not going to come here and do what they said if I haven't done back then but I also participate so it's not the same

Dealing with student's approach toward sport was something that required adult attention.

For Erica, the answer was double edged because

In a way I think teachers should be more strict about that and the fact of the girls but I mean you can't force someone to do something they don't want to do...

While for Latisha the answer was simpler:

Maybe like make it like fun. Like for example drill team. I know when I first came here it was so fun everybody tried out the next year but they had a new director and everything just went blah. Nobody tried out for it after that...except for now this year we made it more hip hop and now everybody
fired up again. You know what I'm saying...just make it fun and interesting and everybody will try

In addition to making things fun, Laura believed that getting other youth involved required "Basically just encouragement, I mean you have to be encouraged to do things." For Traci it was about "if the coach is like rude I wouldn't play" [Traci].

Adults. The views and behaviors that adults convey toward sport were seen by the students as a possible influence on their sporting opportunities. Adults and youth who participated in this study shared their opinions about the attitudes of adults who filled the roles of parent, coach, or teacher. Laura believed that parents can have an impact on the attitudes of youth. She commented that "sometimes there might be a parent influence. There are a lot of parents out there that literally won't do anything and you know the kids learn it from them." More significant however was the direct influence that parent attitudes had on a sport context.

The presence of parents sometimes created an antagonistic environment. Their views on who should be playing or how rules should be interpreted often challenged teachers and coaches running sport events. As athletic director, Scott often had to deal with such conflicts. His perspective on why this happened was

Because most Americans think they know more than everybody else. You know all my coaches, well every parent knows more than my coaches, and that's the truth. I mean jeez! Have you played I ask them? No, they say. Have you coached before? No. Oh okay. But they'll say 'but I know the game', so I'll go, oh okay.

I always tell parents who complain 'my son should play' And I said, okay I want you to find a child on that team and you go to their parents and say 'my son's gonna play and your son is not and they'll agree to it' I said they won't do it. I said I understand your son should play, I don't make those decisions, I would want my son to play. I guess I wish we could but I don't know whether we could ever do that in the United States, [until we] get away from that win at all costs.

The approach of parents toward their children's sport experiences was highlighted by one incident at a girl's softball game which is illustrated from my field notes:
A pitch hits a Shady Woods girl on the foot. The umpire immediately gives her a walk to first base. A [male] parent of the opposing team's backstop leans out over the fence and calls to the umpire that the action [walking the batter] is not allowed as the batter did not make an attempt to avoid the ball. He [parent] then proceeds to pull out a rule book from his hip pocket ...he is not impressed - his arms are waving and he mutters continuously. He finds the appropriate rule in the book and then heads to the coach and carries out a lengthy conversation with her. After no success he then returns the book to his hip pocket and stomps back to his position. Veins protrude from the man's neck. The coach notes the protest but does nothing more about it. The players' expressions indicate they are embarrassed by this gesture. Their eyes search for other's responses as well as avoiding the vociferous interjector. The umpires ignore him and continue their jobs.

Bill, the Parks and Recreation Director has observed adult involvement with sport for youth for many years. Bill had come to the conclusion that:

It seems like the adults have taken over the youth sports and there's some good things that have come out of that and there's some bad things and I mean you don't see kids just playing a pick-up baseball game any more. You can still see it but I have friends that live up in the suburbs and their kids don't know anything other than when's practice and when is the game and the coach is gonna call me and tell me when this happens and that's when I do it.

The many hours I spent observing sporting venues confirmed the dominance that adults held over younger people. All practices and games were run totally by adults. At no time did I observe a game or practice when a young person was given some form of leadership role. The exception was Lisa's tactic of having her players teach each other. However, the girls volleyball season was not included in the observation period. The intensity of adult involvement was evidenced during many softball and baseball games that were observed. Decision-making was almost entirely conducted by coaches. This extract from my field notes is one example:

Several of the parents wear the team regalia. They are a small but vociferous group. Many of the players head straight to the parents when they leave the field. Coaches make the calls, players learn to look to the coach to do what is "best". The hitter is struck out. She walks into the dug out and throws her helmet onto the ground. The Shady Woods coach usually gives between 10 and 12 signals with his hands to the batter ... in one constant movement he touches his cap, wipes his mouth, taps his right shoulder, grabs his left elbow, and on goes the ritual.
Bill also believed that adults perpetuate youth infatuation with basketball. After sharing with him what I had observed at recreation centers he commented:

I think too many times we... people just roll the basketball out there and I know they love basketball but maybe there's some other things that maybe we could do. And maybe twist their arm and get them interested in them [other things].

Adult involvement in sport has also had a positive impact on some of the Shady Woods students. In the case of Bryan this had not only included his Mom but also his teachers and coaches at Shady Woods. Looking back on his experiences over the last four years he commented:

I have always had support. if something is wrong I can go to them and say what's wrong with my shot and they'll help me ... or say don't lose your confidence, just keep shooting.

For Josh, a reluctant sport participant, his only enjoyable experience had occurred in a family context. His parents had both been sport participants, "my Dad [played sports] in high school on the basketball team, and my Mom played but not now ...they're too busy with work. " However, they're present participation status had not reduced their enthusiasm to play sport, especially " my Mom cos she always talks about how she loves to play volleyball and badminton and all that stuff." The product of their interest in sport provided a solitary annual experience for Josh:

every 4th of July we go up to Virginia sometimes and my other Aunt she has a 4th of July celebration and they play volleyball there and I play with them.

Shane had learned that his Mom considered sport to be a privilege that could be removed if I get in trouble or something ...she probably wouldn't let me play then... like if a sport starts she [Mom] would probably keep me away for like two weeks and then go from there. So it would be hard for me to make the team.

Insufficiency

In this theme, attention was paid to the lack of support that had affected the sport opportunities that Shady Woods youth could experience. The level of support was often
inadequate. There were three sub-factors of insufficiency: parents, financial, and community.

**Parents** Although less than a quarter of Shady Woods students participated in sport, the amount of parental support was significantly less. The largest number of players were involved in football [80 of 198] and while this sport drew the biggest crowds, the number of parents who attended to support their son's was an embarrassment for the school. Scott explained the extent of their embarrassment:

> I will have athletes where a parent will never see them play a game. Or we have senior night where we honor our seniors and we'll have seniors that no one will show up for that night...no parent no guardian. Nobody will show up, 5,6,7 ...we try not to embarrass the kids. I've had parents here on senior night we introduce the parent and the athlete, they walk on to the football field and the parent leaves and doesn't stay for the game.

Although a small group of parents do come to games, the majority chose not to come and he has considered several reasons why such behaviors occur:

> We have parents who come to every game, they never miss. But they are a minority and I don't know exactly why that is. Some parents are working, they are a single parent and they can't make it because they are doing two jobs and I understand that. Sometimes they could see your son or daughter play but they don't. We have a very small core who come to every game. We have a booster group that is made of parents that help support our athletic programs. I have three families that essentially run our booster group. Now I have almost 800 students and three families that run that booster group.

The same concern was expressed by Mike. The proportion of parents who attend the games from his estimates would be near 20%. Mike commented:

> I would dress 50 kids. I am not going to say sets of parents, but a representation of say a kid to a parent, I would say that there won't be more than 10 kids represented by parents. Much of it is economical, they can't get here maybe. There's no bus going to pick them up. The old car won't work, or they're working or they're tired, or they don't care.

Scott has also considered that the lack of support could in part be cultural:

> we beg, we plead, we call, but the people who live out in those 24 zip codes, don't really see that as this is their school and if they work they say 'I don't want to drive all that way up to Beechcroft at night. And a lot of
our athletes are black and our boosters are all white, so they say 'hmmm I don't think so'

For Mike, the lack of support has been frustrating. Student interest in football is evidenced by the student numbers but the same cannot be found from parents. The coaches and administrators have tried to secure support in several forms but

We don't have any monetary support from them or any physical support from them. That's what we don't have. They're not involved, they're apathetic, they're not there.

Parental support was even lower for other sports. The basketball, softball, baseball and track and field venues that I attended were replete of parents. Most of the games occurred outside normal work hours but even early evening games such as girl's softball never had more than four parents present.

Financial. This aspect was discussed less by youth. Kim reflected on the issue and believed that besides time, the major factor that prevented more young people from playing was

Oh yeah, and another kind of problem is any kind of fee that might come along and they might not be able to afford it but yeah!

Laura also commented on the cost factor, particularly fees. She outlined what she knew about the costs of playing:

Ah fees, there's fees for swimming you have to pay for and your suit, they have a jacket but I don't think you have to pay for that because you have to give it back at the end of the season. Soccer, you have to pay your shorts, your shirts, your socks, your protective equipment. As far as traveling to tournaments goes, they usually get buses for those.

The costs of swimming were also a concern for Scott. Because the school did not have a pool, any youth who wanted to compete as a swimmer had to practice at a pool that was hired by Shady Woods

The hardest sport of them all is probably swimming. None of us [city schools] have a swimming pool so I have to rent a swimming pool. That will cost us almost $2000 to have a pool to swim in. There's no income from swimming. So that's a very expensive sport to operate. Now I have 15 swimmers for $2000. Now that's a big expense, a very big expense.

The costs for softball were not as heavy. Hope explained that:
You really don't need money to play softball, cos you don't have to pay for your uniform - the only thing you really gotta pay for is your turtle neck which you have to buy, your cleats and glove.

Football was an expensive sport to operate. The amount of equipment and the number required of each piece created a large expense outlay. Scott used helmets as an example:

A football helmet costs $100, I have 80 football players and some games I will make $400. Well you can't finance a program on that. You can't do it. In 1996 in our football season, in our JV games and our freshman games my net profit was $6317.50 cents. Now my reconditioning will cost me $4000, (that's where you make sure of your replacements and things like that). So that's not buying anything new for a program. This year I bought 13 football helmets, well that's $1300. So I don't make enough money to fund my program.

The concern for Scott was that because so much expense was incurred it meant that some players had new gear while others had to wear older equipment. It was not possible to give everybody good gear and the younger players usually had to wait. This would not always suffice:

And it gets bad that our kids will steal from each other because we don't always buy the best equipment so somebody else will see someone has stuff so they'll steal it from them because they want better equipment and unfortunately the lower level kids used to get the worst equipment. So they try and steal from the older kids. It's a shame [Scott].

While not all the gear was as new as Scott and the Shady Woods students would like, there was enough. From Scott's perspective, it was important that he was able to balance the books. The program functioned with little support from the city administrator's who covered the cost of coaches salaries, but little else:

I am self supporting. Now that is not exactly true. I don't pay my coaches salaries. I don't do that. But if I want a new rim in the gym, I have to buy it. Money from down town doesn't come here for athletics. They don't do that. If I need new goal posts. I have to buy them. I have to pay for my football field. I have a lawn care service and we have to pay for that. To take care of our football field.
To keep the books balanced Scott has to look to alternative sources of revenue. The most lucrative enterprise was the placement of a pop machine in the school cafeteria area. Such a gesture was necessary because there was insufficient gate takings from sport events to cover his costs

So I don't make enough money to fund my program. We fund our program by pop. I buy a pop machine. All the pop we sell here goes to athletics. I make $9000 off that pop machine per year. I made $6300 off my football games. So I don't get crowds, I don't have enough people. Girls basketball loses $600 per year, each and every year. It makes no money. Baseball makes no money, softball makes no money. Golf makes no money. Most of my athletic programs don't make any money.

The second supplementary revenue earner was an annual venture where "We have a mulch sale...we have fund raisers and our boosters do that and the money goes back to the athletes in uniforms and things like that. So we sell mulch every year." Although there was a lot of extra fund raising, the Shady Woods' finances were in better condition than other city schools. Scott exalted "I am better off than a lot of the schools in the district. Some of the schools... Mayfield is like Oh I would guess, $30,000 in debt in their athletics budget." And while he was pleased with Shady Woods situation he was also frustrated when he had to explain his budget to athletic directors who worked at city schools. He recalls his discussion with his colleagues:

And that's [our annual budget] a lot of money, $50,000 in this school where we don't offer that many sports. The average gate for Columbus, our total net gate for Columbus football is $7000 a year. Dublin, Hilliard, Gahanna, Worthington, Arlington, their average gate per game is $10,000. And they don't believe me. I said 'no my average for the season is $10,000.' The city of Columbus, all 15 high schools gate takings is $10,000. Like this year I have four home games, I don't play St. Michael's so I will probably make about $7000 total this year and they make $10,000 a game. If we don't win then people don't come.

Although there were less sports and less teams in an urban school like Shady Woods, the choice was an issue of concern for Mike who pointed out that as well as having more sports and teams, suburban youth often joined clubs and participated in other
activities that urban youth were not experiencing. In particular, Mike directed his concern
toward the number of urban youth who had access to swimming

   a lot of suburban kids belong to health clubs, cos Mom and Dad did, so
   they're getting the activity at their Athletic club or some other place in town.
I know they have a youth racquetball they teach, or walleyball, or
   something going on, you know. How many of our kids are taking those
   things, how many of our kids can swim?

His other contention was the opportunities that many urban youth had experienced
before high school. The reduction of competitive sport at the city middle school level had
been a cost cutting strategy. Mike blamed the lack of participation at the high school level
on that financial decision. He argued "so what do we do ...for years we had no sport in
middle school. It was financial. Now a kid gets used to not doing anything or living
without it ...you're always going to get that [non participation]."

Community The previous comparisons made by adults between the city and
suburbs was also evident in the discussion that centered on the community. The
community facilities utilized by Shady Woods youth were limited. The recreation centers
operated by the city parks and recreation department provided services to groups of all
ages. The lack of programs for high school-aged youth were very limited. Bill considered
part of the reason was not enough was being done for young people:

Well I think part of the reason a lot of them at the age of 13 is probably a lot
of our problem is that we are not meeting their needs ad we're not offering
what they want to do at the times that they can do it. So we probably need
to do a better job as they are getting out of that 11 and 12 year old league
and developing something that they can continue to do on through and then
finding a place and a time to do it.

Although the youth sport office position in the City Parks and Recreation Division was
only operating a few years, Bill confessed:

   from this office we really haven't had much experience with the high school
   aged kids. We have so concentrated on the age group of 5 to about 13 and
   then sort of depended on the rec centers to deal with the teenage kids out
   there seeing as in this office we don't have a facility or a building that we
   run ourselves.
To his knowledge there had been only one successful program that was offered to city youth aged beyond 15 years. They had piloted a city baseball summer league which had catered to a different ability group. Bill saw potential in such a venture:

The one thing we started a couple of years ago is we found that there was some kids in south side that wanted to play beyond the 15 year old. They weren't good enough to play in American Legion ball or some of the travel team baseball which is basically for varsity level. But they were city league varsity level players that weren't good enough to compete against the suburban players so we put together a 16 to 18 year old league ah Fair oaks High School was one of the High Schools that had a team in - Silkwood Park had a team in, Worthington had a team in, Grove City had a team in. Well that was 16 to 18 and it was more of an intramural type thing they played double headers on Saturday during the Summer cos they can't play till the kids have finished with their season. That's something I can see expanding and getting more of the city league coaches involved in running their own city league summer program

Another strategy that Bill considered to be worthy of consideration was allocating park land for new city youth programs:

I think working with the schools and developing some more facilities that are available. Even taking some of the Park land that we have and tying to get it developed into facilities that the kids could use and maybe moving some of the adults out of existing facility's we have and turning them over to youth

Mike also favored some evaluation of where the Parks and Recreation money was being spent. In his view money could be better spent on appropriate urban youth programs:

the kids want to play but are we doing our best in the urban centers to make play accessible? We're not spending enough money on it. We don't need to spend money on one o'clock basketball to try and keep some druggies... We should be spending more money on picking kids up and getting them out there, ...running a bus and getting them to play

Mike believed that Shady Woods was one facility that could be utilized better by the community. While the opportunities for people to use the school facilities were there, it appeared to come down to money. He believed that opening up the school would allow his students the chance to pass on what they had learned about training to older community members:

this school should be open, we're missing the boat, cos the dollars, somebody's got to pay for them. And maybe our young kids in personal

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fitness in their senior year should be the ones helping them...the internship right here...to learn about another generation, another way.

Although the facilities were not as grand as suburban venues like his own, Mike believed the idea of inviting memberships could also work in urban environments. The idea meant that "you buy like a membership, seniors to little kids, and its open after 7 PM. Now they [my suburb] have the 200 indoor track and they can play three indoor courts, like all the suburban schools do."

**Question 3.0 What does sport mean to coaches and administrators and what educational contribution do they believe sport involvement can make to urban youth?**

The two previous questions addressed what urban youth derive from sport and the contextual influences on their experiences. First, this section describes how coaches and administrator's interviewed for this study define sport. Second, it presents the educational outcomes they believe can be derived from sport involvement. Third, it addresses what the coaches and administrators believe are the barriers to the achievement of such outcomes. Finally, a summary of the perspectives of these adults will be compared to those of youth who participated in this study.

Most of the information that appears in this question is taken from structured interviews with three coaches and two administrators who had direct or indirect association with Shady Woods students. Information gleaned from the SEQ and my discussion with students and staff at Shady Woods revealed that the vast majority of sport participants received their sport experiences through two sources: the school and local recreation centers. This information directed my selection of adult interviewees.

It should be emphasized that the comments made by interviewees relate specifically to their involvement as a sport provider. For example Lisa, the Shady Woods girls' volleyball coach, discussed her involvement with her players in an interscholastic capacity. She did not address what some of the students may pursue in a leisure setting with friends.
or family within their own neighborhoods. Coaches' perspectives refer only to the level of
sport where they are directly involved.

Definitions

In keeping with the structure of the earlier questions, it is appropriate to look first at
what sport means to these coaches and administrators. These initial responses also provide
an introduction to the themes that emerged from the five adults who were interviewed.
Like the student interviewees some of the adults shared specific words they associated with
the word sport. After reflection about the question Mike, the head football coach, replied
that sport was "activity, teamwork, responsibility, but that's probably coming from the
coach's perspective..."

Scott has been the athletic director at Shady Woods for ten years since initially
being asked by his principal to fill the position temporarily for six months. He jests "he
never came back to me and I'm still here." For Scott, sport

is a way to clear my mind, okay. It's an activity that there is no pressure
and its fun and its something I enjoy.

The latter part of Scott's response was echoed by Lisa, who believed sport meant "having
fun, enjoying yourself, yeah... to a limit." For Bill, the community youth sport
coordinate, sport is " a social thing where you meet people and you learn how to get along
and take instruction from others." It was also about "setting goals and having fun."

Educational outcomes

These adults shared their perspectives on the potential educational contributions
sport has for urban youth. Prior to discussing specific questions about sport and
education, each adult was asked to give an overall view on what they believed youth gained
through sport participation.

General perspectives For Mike, sport contributed to the development of young
people. In his view, the classroom was not catering to certain aspects of student growth as
well as the sport context could.
I think [it is] the ability to develop, mentally and to enable a young person to use maturity by participating with other people. The outcome is not as important as the process. The process of working towards a goal be it whatever that goal is or whatever that sport is and depending on other people and having them depend on you. I think it is the first step for young people who move on to the work force. And ah the classroom doesn’t foster that kind of, or provide that many times, that type of activity.

Lisa believed that sport was a place where youth can learn and develop with other people in an environment that differed from academic contexts. It was a means to promote the social and physical development of young people.

Well I guess it’s an opportunity for kids to get together and work together in an organized atmosphere other than something that is academic. It gives them other experiences in terms of working together with a more leisurely type atmosphere. It’s an opportunity for some of them who don’t have good role models outside of school to have and be around role models, more so in school. I guess it’s an opportunity also to work on physical conditioning and that sort of thing.

Bill, the youth sports coordinator of the City Parks and Recreation Department endorsed both these views. Although he deals with youth in a recreational setting outside of school, his views on what youth achieve through sport participation were quite similar to Lisa and Mike:

I think it’s something that kids can do to learn a lot of life’s lessons; the winning and losing, the how to work with others if it’s a team sport, how to set goals and how to have fun and I think that’s what it’s all about and for me and youth.

The Athletic Director believed that today for our kids I think it is an outlet. It’s a chance for them to do something and for many of them to be successful when they haven’t been successful at something else. I think that’s what I see for our high school kids. Sports is a chance for them to be successful in something. Not all of them are. I think they are if they can make the team and practice every day.

The nature of Scott’s job means that he comes into contact with many of his athletes on a regular basis which has allowed him to accumulate a great deal of information about sport, and the lives of Shady Woods students both within and beyond the school gates.
The final adult interviewed was John who has taught at Shady Woods for four years and coaches boy's basketball for another city school. He has been teaching and coaching for eighteen years. During those years he has developed a view of what young people should derive from their sporting experiences:

Well I'm different. I think coaching is more than winning or losing. I want kids to be better as people. I want them to be successful people as well. I think it's about teaching them discipline, how to work together as a group, just doing the right things and making the right choices. Link them together as a group for a common goal...and the work ethic factor... doing the best you can and working as hard as you can, giving it all. I think if you can do that, then you're successful.

John's reason for addressing the winning and losing issue stemmed from an earlier discussion we had about the emphasis placed on winning and losing in interscholastic and many other levels of sport. The emphasis placed on wins and losses by the wider public had, in his view, caused them to lose sight of what the real outcomes of sport participation should be.

Teamwork Coaches and administrators addressed the social and altruistic benefits of being a team member and why it was an important quality to learn in today's society. The need to 'fit in' was an important aspect of teamwork. These adults considered 'fitting in' to be a challenge for many young people. But, creating a fit could be achieved within a sport context. Opportunity to join a small group of young people with a common interest can prove to be a valuable asset for a new Freshmen who is trying to fit in at a place like Shady Woods. Lisa believed participation on a sports team can make things a little easier in particular, one little girl who is first year here, it gives them an opportunity to meet people in a smaller setting, a more condensed setting before the first day of school when they come in here and they are just completely overwhelmed and we have fun [Lisa].

Learning the qualities of teamwork was vital to the success in football. Mike's view was that "I think that's why, in my mind, football is the most educational, because there are so many parts in the motor." He subscribed to 'the whole is more than the sum of its parts' view as evidenced in this statement:
you can have the best running back in the world but you still have to punt, you still need a certain person to get out front and block, it is so different to track and field than wrestling, than golf, even though they are teams from individual sports. This sport more than any other sport that I know of has so many components to it that have to go right in order to have success which I think is very similar to a manufacturing concern.

He further believed that sport created the best forum for young people to learn about group dynamics, pursuing goals, and contributing toward a common good.

Something like teamwork has to be a part of it and that’s what sport is cos they have to learn that. Because I know that things like the computer age has allowed people to be individualists but still the majority of occupations today you have to interact with somebody...deal with them, not like them ...it’s a problem with the teenage work force out there. One person tells them something wrong and they’ll say to ‘hell with you, I’m quitting ...’. especially in our community with the unemployment rate being so low they can quit here and be hired there that afternoon.

so I think the way society is right now, you’re not really going to learn it in the classroom, the teamwork and the working with other people. You’re not learning it in the labor force because they don’t have to, they can go like this [slaps elbow under hand with fist clenched] and get re hired and that can change every week and still work for 52 weeks. But they have got to learn it here [in sport] or else they are gone and if they want to be part of it they have got to give in, they have got to take me yelling at them when they’re hot and tired. Normally in the workplace they’re not hot and tired. And they gotta be able to take somebody getting on their case even if their own parents can’t do it.

From a basketball coach’s perspective John also believed that teamwork was an essential part of the sport scene. For him it was the difference between a successful and a struggling team. He considered it essential that all players learn what teamwork requires:

And I mean normally we are able to point that out ...the kids will see other kids arguing and fighting in their huddle and as soon as that division starts you’re gonna beat em and its hard for a lot of kids today. You saw that when you were here. They’re gonna jump on somebody and they can do anything and I tell them that you know we are all part of that train and, yes somebody’s in the front, but the whole thing is hooked together and we gotta stay together.

John endorsed Mike’s view that teamwork was essential to success in today’s society and was likely to become more and more prevalent.
Like all of the adults interviewed for this section, Scott could draw on his personal experiences as sport participant. As a former competitor in both individual and team sports he learned the values of teamwork from a variety of sources:

I think I also learned in sports that if I didn't do my part on a team I let somebody else down. I played team sports and I played individual sports. I played tennis too. And tennis if I didn't do it as a singles player I let myself down. In basketball, if I didn't do my stuff I let four other guys down, so I think that helped me to recognize that. So I think it gave me a lot of values.

For Scott, altruism was an important part of learning teamwork. He also drew on his experiences with his own children's involvement on sport teams:

I really appreciate that athlete that slugs it out every night, goes there to practice and he's not a star, but he's a contributor. Even if he doesn't play. I think he helped in practice, and that really helped me, cos Linda would say ...my oldest daughter when they took her out of a game she would get angry, and I would say Linda, what's wrong and she'd say jeez I could have scored 30 points tonight and they took me out. And I would say what about those kids on the bench, they practice so hard. And she says 'but I practice hard every night' I'd say 'you start'. She never realized that, Tina my other daughter who played for the same team, brought that home to me, and said 'I work hard and I never play... I never get in the game'. And that turns them off because its an elite group and I think more and more kids could play, but as a coach they get nervous, but in a lot of teams there's not a lot of difference, but if you're winning with five then you're not going to mess with it and let somebody else play cos you could lose the game.

Opportunity to learn The adults believed sport provides young people an opportunity to learn about: themselves, contributing to a team, the outside world, and how to accept defeat and persevere. These adults believed that sport provides opportunities for young people to learn. A primary consideration was the need for opportunities in school as there were few alternatives in the neighborhood. Provision was the first step. Mike believed sport "should be available." Scott believed it meant that "some kids have never done that so I think if they come to practice every day even if they don't play, sport has been great for them. It's a great opportunity for them." Being able to play sport can be taken for granted but for some of these young people this is their only chance to get involved (as was discussed earlier in this chapter). Other opportunities were discussed:
• Learning about yourself. People are often placed in sporting situations where they see how they respond to success or adversity. It was a chance to test one's limits. Whether it is for an entire game or one small part, just having that moment is all some youth may seek. The volleyball coach recalls last year's championship team and how one player responded to the moment:

we basically had an eight person varsity team. Abbey Wright was one of the setters and she severely sprained her ankle in one of the practices. And Angela Page, who is also a senior, and she had set in her freshmen year and she hadn't set since. She was basically a hitter and the very next match she set for us and it was just the hustle. She just did what had to be done and I'll never forget that match because she made the difference.

Lisa recalls how her team responded to the ordeal and overcame the challenges that were placed before them in particular "just the joy, the nerves at the beginning and we were rolling around on the floor and I've never seen girls do that before, rolling around the floor, hugging each other, it was nice. It was nice."

Scott drew on his personal experiences to emphasize what young athletes can learn:

You learn what exactly you can do and what you can't do... if you are realistic, you really know...here's what I can accomplish, I was never going to play in the NFL and I that was pretty quick I found that out, I knew that. Every kid has a dream of that but I found that out, I was going to a division three school and this is it, you're going to play four years, enjoy them cos that's going to be it. I think I learned a lot about myself when I lost. I don't think people appreciate that.

• Learning how to contribute to a group effort. One of the crucial outcomes the volleyball coach tried to instill in her athletes was how to learn from each other:

... They teach each other also. Because personally a lot of the skills that are involved in the game I can't really demonstrate it at this point I can't demonstrate it. So a lot of the girls who have played we use to demonstrate and we pair them with girls that haven't played and then the older players become the teachers.

Although this was not seen as a universal strategy, Lisa attributed the success of her team in part to this process stating "I would say it works for us. Now it might not work for another group of females. It works best for volleyball at Shady Woods with our personalities. It might not work at Northside High."
• A chance to see the outside world. Mike shared an example of a student who had won a sport scholarship to a Division II college in Iowa. For that player, it was his escape from his neighborhood. Mike found out how insulated and restricted the lives of some of his athletes are:

Ahm this year ...I remember Kelvin, taking him to the airport and I can remember two or three other kids who were scared to death of flying for the first time and I took em to the airport but Kelvin, walking through the airport... you are always teaching even in sport, cos he had no idea that there were more than one plane or one airline. He had never been to an airport. I said now well you're on TWA I think cos St. Louis is their hub. He didn't understand that there was Delta, US Air ...all those others, he'd probably heard all those names but he thought we were going to the airport for his plane so I took him and I showed him who the different companies were and I took him to the arrival and departure thing and showed him how you read it and that number on your ticket by your airline tells you if it's leaving or coming on time and what gate its at.

• How to accept defeat. Mike acknowledged that emotion is a big part of sport. He believed that sport can act as an appropriate venue for athletes to learn about the emotional experiences that are placed before them. Dealing with a loss is one such example:

that's why I say any body's a good winner...that's a joke. It's being able to lose and get knocked down and all these cliché's. If you can get back up from there, you're success is ensured. If there is anything that we do...my hardest job was when we lost the play-off and you know you've done something when you see kids 19 years old who most people think that they don't care about anything laying on a tile floor crying their eyes out like they just lost somebody in an auto accident. Then you know that they worked for something they didn't get.

His illustration highlights the degree of dedication players often give to their sport.

Participation often challenged the values and qualities of the players. The roller coaster ride often associated with a sport season was a significant challenge to maturing adolescents.

Barriers to Educational Values of Sport

There were several barriers to achieving the educational outcomes of sport. These included: egocentrism of young athletes, variable commitment levels, need for visible and
immediate gratification, lack of self discipline, striking a balance between work and play and, pressure on coaches to win.

**Egocentrism of Young Athletes.** The most apparent cause of youth's egocentrism as perceived by adults appeared to be a lack of understanding on the part of players toward their responsibilities as a team member. This was something that they had to learn. A crucial aspect of teamwork was each player acknowledging their role within a team. For the students at Shady Woods this applied to whether they were part of an individual or team sport. Expectations and obligations could be learned from most sport experiences. John drew an example from the sport of golf which was available in 1996/7 but was not offered this year due to lack of student interest:

Many of our other sports though, if you're on golf, you're on a golf team the discipline of coming every night to practice, the discipline of functioning as a team, and that you're a member of a team and not an individual and things like that. The discipline of knowing that somebody counts on you and if you don't do your job the team won't be successful.

These urban youth have had to learn that teamwork was about not fore grounding your own talent but rather fitting in as one of the team and complying for the good of the group. These adults agreed that for many young people there is often too much at stake. There were more than 95 years of accumulated experience between these coaches or administrators. In that time the difficulty young people faced putting others before them was manifested in many situations:

Our quarterback was very good. He got a scholarship to BGU and we featured him that year. During the game the [Shady Woods] kid walked off the field. I was in the stands. He motioned to his Dad. His Dad came down, and the kid walked down the fence line talking to his Dad, which is a penalty if the officials were to have seen him, cos you have to be in that coaching area in football. And I went down and said 'Curtis, you have get back with the team, this will be a penalty for us. This is a close game and we can't do it.' He said 'I don't think I want to play anymore.' 'Curtis this isn't the time, go down there, you need to go down with the team and we'll talk about this' I asked his Dad, Mr. King, I said what's wrong, he said, 'Curtis should be carrying the ball' [Scott].

I do the PA announcements in the morning and I try to do say something about a team from the night before. And I try to get the different kids if I
can or sometimes I'll just say that the soccer team played a great game and they won 1-0 and had wonderful defense. If I miss them or if somebody has three goals one night and I don't mention their name they come to me and say 'you didn't mention my name.' ... But the kids will actually accost me, not always, but that shocked me and I'd never heard of that. I mean I thought I try to be nice here and give them some publicity and encourage them and they get appalled when I don't do it [Scott].

Although teamwork is highly valued as an important part of sports participation, Mike, John, Lisa, and Scott endorsed how difficult it can be for many young people to work consistently as a team member.

**Variable commitment levels.** These adults believed that making the commitment to play and practice is too much for many of these urban youth. Their intentions are not always supported by their actions. This year Lisa experienced how assurances to attend practice regularly made by returning and interested players were not upheld several weeks later when pre-season training began. The coach and athletic director were faced with dropping a successful program. Scott's monody illustrates their frustration:

> Will we really have a team? Now we won the city and everybody was happy you know - she talked to 54 kids about coming out for volleyball. She said 'what am I going to do, like there are so many kids we won't be able to play them all?' Then like six kids show up first day. And some kids said, 'I don't have a physical', she called, other kids say 'well I'm working now'

The perspective signaled by the adults stressed how difficult it is to get many young people at Shady Woods to commit to something over the long term for a sport season. Mike, the head football coach, illustrated the need to register to his players that they will get out of their sport what they put into it:

> What they did know I think was that hopefully hard work pays off, that adversity is going to happen no matter what, no matter how successful you think you are that if you can handle adversity you are going to be a better person for it.

Getting the level commitment they demand from urban youth has become an escalating problem for many coaches. Lisa discussed how she has had to adopt a variety of strategies to bring her players on board:
I think we have had to I don't want to say beg but really I don't want to say harass either but we've really had to follow through in order to continue to encourage the girls to keep coming more so than we have had to do in the past. And that again could be a function of some of those other things but overall we've had to call, and girls have been in bed instead of at practice. And they get up and come and we haven't had to do so much of that in the past and that might be a function of who is at home and that sort of thing.

Once she has players with her, Lisa is then able to stress what she wants them to get from their sport "I tell them we expect them to come out here and have fun and we would like to win but more importantly we want to stress having a good time."

**Need for Visible and Immediate Gratification**  Another adult concern is trying to convince the athletes that all their hard work will pay off. The hours of toil are given up by the players in the hope that there will be some pay off. However, there are no guarantees that the rewards, however they are perceived, will come to fruition. Mike points out that this is something that they must learn in life and it needs to be learned very early in their playing days.

these kids have weight trained. They prepare themselves. They come out here and run. They do a lot of things that I don't even know if I would want to do it. And I still think the biggest thing that culminates on Friday night is that they have to do all of this work and there's no guarantee.

Mike believes that these young people will also encounter this in other aspects of their lives. It is important for them to realize that:

I would like some nights to know that we will win no matter what we do but it's so much like what they are going to face in two or three years if and when they go to college they got to go and work in that classroom...to have no guarantee if it's [class grade] going to be an A or a B. They're going to get a job and there's no guarantee for that raise or promotion so you've got to go ahead and work for it but you may not get it

These adults feared that some student athletes have unrealistic notions of what sport involvement can do for them. This was often referred to as 'living the dream' and it was particularly evident among male athletes at Shady Woods. John shared the extent to which realism is sometimes lost to fantasy by his players:

The trouble is most of the kids think they are a lot better than they are. And in basketball the black kids here they all think they are going to the pro's.
But they have no idea. I mean they think division three basketball is something to laugh at and they would only play Div. I. But they wouldn't even have a clue just how difficult division three basketball is. In fact this year we had a couple of kids on our team who aren’t playing who want us to try and find them a college. I mean we can't go out there and find them a college when they don’t even have the ability themselves.

John has found himself caught between fostering hope among these young athletes and keeping their feet on the ground about the realities of college basketball. He struggled with telling athletes that they are not candidates for some form of scholarship and even when "we say it but they don't listen. They don't take it to heart. I think most of them are pretty unrealistic."

Mike's view reveals that while many youth dream of making it to the big time in their sport, they also will not settle for something that they believe is below their expectations. The football player's love of the game can sometimes be tested when opportunities appear to play on a Division III team.

a lot of the kids are here for the wrong reasons, they think they are going to be the next NBA, NFL athlete. If they only knew ... you can play football after high school if you choose because we have that many opportunities from Division three like Otterbein, Capital, Heidelberg, Ohio Wesleyan, Dennison, Kenyon. I mean you could still play the sport but you're not going to get anything [financially] for it. You are going to play it cos you love the sport ... they don't want to do it cos Division three there's probably less fans than around here for a football night. You play it cos you love the sport and the camaraderie ...

Unfortunately such hopes are not always just those of youth. Many parents also believe that there is a chance that their child will make it.

But I also think in the back of everybody's mind, most of our parents who are involved think that their son is going to be the next Michael Jordan. They think their son is going to be the next Joe Nameth and so they live that dream. A lot of people live the dreams through sports [Scott].

John also believed that the lure of such rewards effects how his players perform during games:

Well I think it's influenced a lot of parents. Everyone thinks their kids are going to get a free college scholarship. And I think it has influenced the way a lot of kids act on the court ... that type of thing.
Although staff recognize a latent expectation, Scott is quick to point out "that's not our job to get kids scholarships. It's to provide an opportunity for kids to enjoy themselves and learn some lessons. It's not to get scholarships, that's a by-product."

Another issue that influences sport participation by these young people is their need to see results for their work. Many participants devote their time and energy in the hope that their win-loss record will look good and thereby enhance their chances for recognition. The quest for victory and recognition is, in the view of the adult interviewees, got out of control.

I think our kids put too much emphasis on winning. In high school sports its gone too far. I think it goes too much on winning, and I think our kids say if you don't win you're not good and it's either you're a bad person, you're a bad coach, you're a bad team and they don't realize that every night half the teams lose and they don't realize that [Steve].

In Mike's view the coaches are just as much at fault as the students. He indicated that coaches' desire to win has lost touch with the real world:

We lose track. Sometimes I think this becomes as important as national security issues, the peace accord in Northern Ireland, you know whatever. Because your focus is no different from some guy selling for IBM or whatever, it becomes so important and for them to step back is difficult.

Lack of self discipline Other coaches and administrators at Shady Woods drew comparisons between the sports field and the classroom. Gaining some form of structure and discipline with these young people is sometimes easier in a sporting context than an academic one. If such outcomes can be achieved the hope is that such habits could be transposed to the classroom. For some youth this is the first time they have had to exhibit sustained hard work. The hope of the coaches and administrators is that the expectation placed on youth as players will also be placed on them in the classroom. However, some young people do not make the connection:

I think they need to learn to be committed to something cos they haven't been. And I think that then if I can get them to commit to football I can tell them 'look you came every night and you practiced, now I need you to go into English every day and practice your English or practice your science. I tell them it's the same thing [Scott].
Transferring work and practice habits from the sports field to the classroom is also an issue for Lisa. During her time as volleyball coach she has noted a reduction in the academic achievement of her players. This recent development has left her perplexed:

I've noticed that the academic level of the girls that we are getting in volleyball isn't as high as it has historically been since I've been coaching. I don't know what accounts for that. [They] may just need a kick in the butt really because they're all capable and they just get lazy.

Lisa also hopes that the attitudes and behaviors of her players will carry over to the classroom because "the kids have the ability." She believes that sport can be the vehicle to enhance student achievement because "they push themselves just that little bit harder just so that the academics let them compete athletically." Like any educator concerned for the welfare of their students Lisa is always looking for ways to lift their achievement. It is a difficult task as many young people are happy to settle for less:

Some kids are going to do just enough to get by now they can graduate from high school and get one point all the way through even though they are better than that and they can do better than that but then if they have to get a two point to do something else then they will have to work that bit harder to get the two point [Lisa].

Encouraging these urban youth to adopt a positive work ethic in the classroom and on the sports field or court is problematic. The requirements directed at youth are often quite new to them. Regular and substantive attention to something is even new to many of the young people who have part time jobs. An abundance of job vacancies has meant that many students can pick and chose which part time jobs they fill. If they don't feel like going to work they don't worry because if they are fired they just move on to the next business seeking help. If employment is that casual then comparisons are made to playing sport if I tell a kid you gotta be here every night, they say 'well I don't think so.' They look at me like 'what do you mean', 'I'm sorry, I don't do anything every night' and I say well you have to be here because not only do we have a commitment to you but you have a commitment to us and they say 'I don't believe so' [Athletic Director].
Scott believed there needs to be greater emphasis placed on capturing youth's interest in sport as a vehicle for other aspects of their learning. He referred to applying 'the hook':

I don't know if it is the best way, but it's a way we can do it. Cos we've got a hook and there might be some better ways but if I talked about English, a lot of them will turn me off right away. If I talk about football I can get 92 boys that will say 'Oh'. I think you have to do this to get out on that field and they'll listen. They won't all do it but at least they will listen to it. Some will hear it and some will do it and some won't do it. And some you're always trying to 'come on come on' you know. ... But I think right now, sports is our best hook to have.

Mike discussed how youth who are reluctant classroom participants and resist the order and objectives of the classroom but some can subscribe to similar rules when in sport

But I have an insight into them that the other classroom teachers don't get. They can't believe it ... They come down here and they're amazed that the building is absolutely silent before a pre-game. Kids that they would beg to be quiet and they won't. My classroom ... I've never written one of those discipline forms in my 24 year career. They will do things for me that they won't do for their parents or their classroom teacher and if I've gained anything out of it other than 86 wins it's been seeing those kids come back.

Mike reiterated that for him there is probably one thing that carries more weight than anything else. He emphasizes:

For kids who are participating in sport I believe the most important thing they get out of it rather than the winning and losing is working for the goal with the knowledge that that goal may never be reached but you still work for it anyway.

As a coach of urban youth, Lisa impressed the importance of establishing a threshold that balanced the desire to achieve results with maintaining student enjoyment.

To achieve that balance her players would sometimes have to work a bit harder:

We have to push our girls so that it doesn't become too leisurely you know. I'm usually basically pretty easy going but. Sometimes I have to have them run laps and that sort of thing just to wake them to show some enthusiasm and consistency.
In addition to doing their best, players also need to know their game. However, by the conclusion of their high school football careers, few player's have learned how the game works. Mike points out that having only a few players on a team that know the game

Very few kids ...you may find this awkward for me to say...very few kids learn the game ... after four years even with me ... I will only have two or three maybe no more than a half dozen a year leave here and know the game...last years team was 9 and 1 and we lost a heartbreaker in the playoff game. I bet I didn't have more than three or four kids who knew the game that I could want them to be out here and help me coach.

**Striking a Balance Between Competing Youth Interests.** The costs of participation can sometimes be too great. Like Lisa's earlier comments, Mike and Scott have also experienced apathy from their athletes. For Scott, the issue is not financial but rather the alternatives, even for underserved youth, are often too compelling. After years of transporting their athletes around the city they have developed some interesting views about students' interests. They believe that many youth would rather be relaxing in a cool home than running on the training field during summer vacation. Scott laments:

Now even in some of our roughest homes, it might look like a dump on the outside but then inside is a cool house with AC. They've got the cable on, plenty of the wrong food and they're watchin and they're not moving!

The low levels of student support for sport and physical activity in general was an issue that concerned all five adults. Scott has become distressed about urban youth's decreased levels of physical activity. In his view, many young people have become blasé about being physically active. He was able to illustrate his concern with a recent example:

We have a kid at the school who's Dad is in line to have a heart transplant , he has to lose a lot of weight, the son, he is very overweight, and it doesn't seem to bother him and I said you know that's hereditary. What your father is going through, all these heart problems, that's hereditary. It's the biggest link. He said 'well I know' but it doesn't bother him and he will not do anything about it. I said well Rick you should be watching what you eat and I said what are your physical activity patterns ? And he said Tm only 15, it doesn't make any difference.' I mean there's hard evidence staring right at you. His father needs a new heart. And still he will not see that reality. I don't understand that.
Participation in sport by Shady Woods students decreases as they pass through the system. By senior year, very few students participate in competitive sport. Scott believes the structure of the interscholastic system promotes this trend:

in basketball we have five people play we had one senior on our team, well in our high school we have almost 150 seniors and we have one male playing basketball. That's a very small number!

When Scott was asked if such a trend was applicable to other sports, he added "yes you find that the longer you go you get less and less kids." However, the trend is not necessarily pertinent for other schools. Scott compared his numbers to a school in the same city to point out that "where as I have 150 athletes participating, Riverside High School [a city school in a more socio-economically advantaged suburb] which is about the same size as we are, had about 450 athletes participating in the Fall."

Pressure on Coaches to Win The whole system appears to have been caught up in the quest for victory. Instilling in young people the need to work hard to be successful in sport is sometimes impeded by the pressure placed on coaches to establish a successful win loss record. Scott discussed how coaches are regarded.

I don't think we stress enough to be the best you can be and whatever that is then we will accept it. And most of our kids don't know how good they can be and I think that's what we don't stress enough. It all comes down to winning. If I have a coach that people don't like very well, if he wins they'll overlook that, they'll say well he's really not that bad, if he's 9 and 1 they'll say, well I really don't like him but he wins and he's good. If he's 1 and 9 and can be caring, really is caring about the kids, really is a fundamentalist, gets the most out of the kids, but he is 1 and 9, he's a bad coach [Scott].

The importance of winning has been stressed, not only from the perspectives of coaches and players but it can also be examined relative to each sporting code. Coaches, players, and institutions are having to give more and more to become winners and it is not only within each sporting code where pressure is placed. There is now a growing competition between sports which has raised the demands on participants:

I think soccer really changed things here when they got so they could play in the summer all the time, that changed Ohio sports. I'd like to see Ohio go
where we say no sports in the month of July. We close down the state and nobody can do anything. Now the coaches would say we can't do that because our athletes would be hurt because Indiana would be playing in July and Michigan would be playing in July and then you're cheating our kids ...[Steve]

It would appear that no sport has escaped the pressure caldron. Steve's most recent encounter was with the Shady Woods cheer leading and drill team's:

Even cheer leading is a win at all costs. When we go to competitions, it's not jeez you did a great job, 'we didn't win' and I'd say but you know you are supposed to have fun, no 'we didn't have fun'. Drill team, we're gonna have a drill team competition and we're not going to enter our own drill team because they don't think they will win it and they don't want to be embarrassed at their own school. I said, who cares, but they do care.

For these young people the risk of losing and peer scrutiny is part of the sport experience. As a coach, Mike finds this issue a difficult one to deal with. He makes a point of supporting his player's efforts and tries to put things in perspective

I always tell them...I tell them they have more guts in many of the other kids in this building cos they took a chance. Now there's other kids in their sports and I respect the wrestlers and I mean nobody more than them, take a chance because they are out there by themselves. But in our game I mean you take a chance every Friday night cos they will be ridiculed if they lose but yet all these other kids are at the pool or at the mall and they're out here at one o'clock on a hot summers afternoon and they're running...

A comparison of meanings and educational outcomes of Shady Woods students and adults

The views expressed by adults in this section present a contrast to those of students at Shady Woods in earlier sections. The following table presents a summary of the meanings and educational outcomes of sport for Shady Woods students and school and community adults.
Table 4.19: Comparison of Sport meanings and Educational Outcomes for Shady Woods Students and Adults.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>What sport means</th>
<th>Shady Woods Students</th>
<th>School and Community Adults</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Being active</td>
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<td>• Being active</td>
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<td>• Fun &amp; enjoyment</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Fun &amp; enjoyment</td>
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<td>• Competition</td>
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<td>• Setting goals</td>
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<td>• Gathering of people</td>
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<td>• Taking responsibility</td>
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<td>• Excitement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Outcomes of sport</td>
<td>• Learn about yourself</td>
<td>• Learn about yourself</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Teamwork</td>
<td>• Contribution to the group</td>
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<td>• Commitment</td>
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<td>• Nurture talent</td>
<td>• Social / physical development</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Tangible products</td>
<td>• Delayed gratification</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Counter unhealthy lifestyle</td>
<td>• Learning compliance</td>
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The meanings of sport provided by Shady Woods youth and adults were quite similar. While being active and fun and enjoyment were offered as meanings by both groups, there was some disparity between the other responses. The students emphasized social and emotional meanings like excitement, competition, and getting together. By contrast, the adults promoted practical and functional meanings such as goal setting and responsibility.

There were also some similarities in the outcomes espoused by both groups. Learning about yourself, learning about teamwork, and commitment were supported by both groups. While students supported extrinsic gains, adults promoted delayed gratification as
gratification as an outcome of sport participation. Students also believed that sport participation was a means to averting an unhealthy lifestyle, a factor not endorsed by adults. While the adults focused more on the outcomes that are pursued or given to achieve the outcomes, the students concentrated more on the things they could get from sport through participation.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, & RECOMMENDATIONS

We shall never cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time

T. S. Eliot

This ethnography is offered as an insight into what sport means to urban adolescent youth. More specifically, it gave certain young people the opportunity to share their views about sport. It also examined how involvement or non-involvement in sport influences the meanings and educational outcomes that urban youth hold of sport. To more fully understand their beliefs and what influenced these beliefs, an examination of the contextual factors that effect what they do, where they do it, what they want, and why they can or cannot experience sport was undertaken. Finally, their interpretations and perceived values of sport were contrasted to those of coaches and sports administrators in the school which they attended.

This chapter will discuss each of the three research questions separately and consider some of the implications regarding the educative role of sport in urban high schools. The chapter will close by drawing several conclusions from this study and offer a series of recommendations for future policy decisions and research.
Sport Through the Eyes of Urban Youth

This section applies to the research question 1 which explored the meanings that urban youth held about sport. The following three issues were identified and will be addressed: self identity through sport, the absence of sport as leisure, and seeking status through sport.

Self identity through sport

The perspectives of sport espoused by these students indicate their understanding of what sport means is based predominantly on what they experience. Some have accumulated an understanding of sport based on some level of participation. Others have formed their understanding on the images and messages from a variety of settings and media. Irrespective of whether contact has been direct or indirect, their views of what sport means are based on personal experience. There appears to be a direct link between context and meaning for many of these students.

Many of the students who were interviewed talked about sport by drawing on their personal experiences. Sport had provided them with an opportunity to establish an authentic relationship and gain a greater awareness of themselves. It was also an opportunity to compare themselves to the world around them including their peers and coaches. Although many are at an early stage of adolescence, their examples of what sport means indicates a heightened awareness they were developing about themselves. The degree to which many youth were able to talk about themselves reflects on their appreciation and desire for personal authenticity. Talking about themselves was something they struggled with yet several of the students I interviewed commented at the conclusion of our dialogue they had found the process an enjoyable and fascinating exercise.

When asked to share their memories of sport experiences they were able to describe instances with precision and detail. Although some of the experiences occurred several years prior to our interviews, their descriptions were often systematic and extremely
thorough. They could recall who was involved, exactly what they did, what emotions they associated with the experience, and how other people responded. However, their recollections were sometimes selectively severed as if they did not wish to retain a memory of the total experience. Often the experience would be described as if a drama, marked by suspense and an uncertain finish. Such description of experiences would often end prematurely but intentionally.

A further characteristic of the experiences shared by the students of Shady Woods was the speed at which they could retrieve these memories. If a student was asked to retrieve a memory of a particular experience they mostly responded with little hesitation. As many of the interviews transpired, it became apparent that several had accumulated a bank of such memories that were stored away for immediate access. Those memories were used to illustrate something they were explaining or defining.

The same recollected experiences appeared to impact their beliefs and values. The interesting aspect of this process was how the meaning of something (in this case sport) had been created by that individual. A similar finding was reported by Coakley and White (1992). Many of the meanings that students shared were quite different to those of their peers. In some cases even the same word had different interpretations. This was the case for "excitement." Amanda got excited in just the game, a similar response to Bryan but he added that for him it meant drawing out his emotions. Jenna based her excitement on the fact that her team was doing well. Although their interpretations of sport varied, these young people appeared to appreciate the chance to release their subjectivities. How similar, but different, these youth were.

The memories of sport experiences that interviewees shared with me were predominantly positive. Tim's recollection of accidentally injuring his best friend at baseball was the only unpleasant memory shared by these respondents. There may be others but they were not memories these respondents chose to share. Nonetheless, I was privileged to
share several wonderful transcendental experiences with the young people I had the opportunity to interact with. Nearly all of them valued the chance to talk about how sport experiences had given them a chance to learn about themselves.

**Sport as leisure**

Although most sport occurred in what could be described as a leisure context, the students at Shady Woods seldom talked about their experiences in a way that implied this connection. The settings that I did visit such as the school gymnasium and recreation centers were usually marked by informal and unstructured games, minimal or no adult presence, and casual groups of spectators who were seldom there for long periods of time. Virtually every site was marked by pick-up basketball games. Each contest was marked by long periods of verbal jousting or 'trashing' while some player walked around and around the periphery of the half court area, waiting for an opportune time to begin to play. Such settings had a strong social ambiance and it was evident that the students knew the roles they could adopt. It was a place to 'hang' with friends and to check who was playing or waiting to play. It was not uncommon for games to disintegrate suddenly and be reconstituted almost as quickly.

These settings were marked by male dominance, harassment, low participation, and minimal structure. Such settings could not be described as inviting for urban youth seeking alternatives to the highly structured, adult dominated interscholastic version of sport. Nevertheless, few alternatives exist for many Shady Woods youth as the community provides few sport-based programs for middle and late adolescents seeking this form of leisure activity. Such programming has not been a priority for the local Parks and Recreation programming director. Although involvement with private sports clubs are an option, money and transport make this difficult.

If the meanings that many youth develop about sport are based on personal experience, then what occurs during free use sessions at the school and community facilities
may not encourage participation. Accordingly, sport as a leisure form takes on a narrow meaning for many youth. Moreover, fostering engagement in sport as a leisure activity could be considered problematic for many youth. While leisure, has escaped absolute definition (Neulinger, 1981), several meanings are worth considering in relation to the findings of this study.

Leisure can often mean freedom (Kelly, 1996), having the freedom to decide what and where something (in this case sport) can take place and the form it takes. It also includes a state of mind derived from involvement in an activity which subsequently contributes to the attitude one forms about participating. Bammel and Bammel (1996) argue that above all else, leisure is an opportunity for personal growth particularly when the individual engages directly in the activity. It could be inferred that the current situation for sport as a leisure activity at Shady Woods High offers few, if any of these meanings for the majority of students. Many do not have access to sport as a 'true' leisure form marked by self determination, personal decisions regarding participation, and opportunity to attain desired experiences central to self. Hence, the pursuit of freedom, personal growth, or the development of attitudes toward sport that may promote adherence are elusive. Because it is not easy to gain access to sport as a form of leisure in this school it is unlikely that many of these young people will ever embrace sport as a leisure activity.

Seeking status through sport

Shady Woods offered two sporting avenues for students to gain personal recognition. The first was interscholastics which was marked by adult leadership, intense competition, significant time commitment, and high expectations. In addition, to pursuing personal goals and having the opportunity to do well, interscholastic athletes received kudos through school newspapers, public announcements, program portraits, and hall of fame positions. In addition, television crews filmed a variety of sporting events throughout the semester. Collectively this attention ensures sport has a high profile and offers the potential
to enhance the identities of highly skilled players. Students learned that the interscholastic system rewards only those who excel, work hard according to the expectations of the coaching staff, and obey the rules and conventions of their sport. Many athletes were held in high regard by students and staff at the school.

Secondly, an alternative means of gaining status was evident within the peer group, particularly amongst the high profile and often most skilled. This has been noted by Coleman (1961) and Eder and Kinney (1987). In addition to gaining the recognition of adults, some of the athletes at Shady Woods exhibited behaviors that were antagonistic for many adults yet clearly applauded by some of their peers. Both the relay runner who turned and taunted his opponent on the line and the basketballer who slam dunked and hung from the ring during a game, challenged the conventions of their sports. Although both players received the admonishment of officials they also gained the attention of peers who endorsed their actions. Such sanctioned behaviors create a dialectical relationship to the expectations of adults, such as coaches, and what youth are taught to do and what peers will accept and commend. It is possible that such demonstrations may serve as 'cool pose' (Patterson, 1997) resistance to or dissatisfaction with parts of the existing sport system in high schools.

Narrow interests in sport

Whether participating or not, for many of the youth at Shady Woods being associated with basketball was like an obsession. Nearly half of the school sample stated they have played some form of basketball. It is the only sport at Shady Woods that has two or more levels of competition for boys and girls. When students were asked to consider what sport they might like to play, basketball was the first choice for Grade 9 and 12 females, and for all African American boys. The only group not to rate it top were Caucasian males. For these students, basketball was rated second to tackle football. Moreover, basketball was consistently the top or second ranked sport for the second and
third preferred sports. By Grade 12 basketball was the preferred sport of 41% of the respondents, nearly double Grade 9 students' percentage.

There was also an inverse trend by grade level which showed fewer students in Grade 12 indicated an interest to play as many sports as Grade 9. The inference could be that as the students got older they became less interested in participating in alternatives to basketball. During the time spanning their high school years the Grade 12 students developed a restricted preference for sports they wished to play. Although reduction in participation has been reported over the years spanning high school (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1990; Hendry, Shucksmith, Love & Glendinning, 1993) the results of this study signal a reduction in the number of sports that are of interest to the Shady Woods students in their last year of high school.

Preference for basketball was illustrated during daily open use gym sessions in the lunch hour. It was the only sport ever played in the gym during the five months I observed at the school. This obsession with basketball, particularly by African American males is mirrored in parts of this country and has been described as a "selective overemphasis of a dominant cultural norm" (Patterson, 1997, p.188). Patterson draws on personal research of African American youth and discovered that "being sports-obsessed, [and sexually exploiting teenage girls] are together the coolest things one can do and be" (p.188). Basketball is 'cool' at Shady Woods. However, it is available only to the few self selected 'cool-pose' (Patterson, 1997) participants who control the situation. As Traci, a senior non participant stated, "nobody is going to say anything. They have their way and its the same thing over and over again. Every day it's basketball, basketball."

Research Question 2: Contextual Influences on Sport Experiences

This question asked what sport experiences these students had, where it occurs, and what they seek. In addition students were asked to explain what promoted or restricted their sporting opportunities are promoted or restricted. There are two general issues are
addressed in this section. The first examines competing for personal interests where the students are faced with decisions about how to occupy their leisure time. The second addresses the barriers they must negotiate if they wish to participate in sport.

Competing interests

Participation in sport is only one of several options available to the students at Shady Woods to fill the hours available beyond school and domestic responsibilities. Just over three quarters of the students indicated they had regular chores at home which reduced their discretionary time. Responses to the Sport Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) revealed that sport participation was significantly less attractive than other alternatives. The three most highly favored options were working, passive recreation, and socializing with friends.

While many of the students who participated in this study were still in their mid-teens, the desire to have a discretionary income was a priority. Nearly 70% of the respondents indicated they held part-time jobs. Not unexpectedly, this number increased between grade 9 (57%) and grade 12 (80%). A further 48% of respondents were employed in babysitting, a proportion significantly higher for females (68%) than males (32%). The world of work is thus very much part of their lives.

Although the SEQ did not ask students to specify the hours they worked, information from the interviews revealed that between 15 and 30 hours of work per week was quite common. Jenna did not consider her 25 hours a week to be excessive because she had given up her two interscholastic sports she could fit work in with her senior studies. Of the students interviewed, only Kate played sport and worked part-time. She had successfully negotiated a part-time job at her local recreation center where she 'hung out' and played basketball. As a worker, her position was also ad hoc. In this study none of the boys who played competitive sport worked, although Shane and Tim were both endeavoring to work part time and play at least one interscholastic sport next year.
The ubiquitous presence of employment has been promoted by the city wide shortage of unskilled labor, particularly in the service industry. The employment opportunities for students at Shady Woods are plentiful, quite typical for many American cities. The results of this study mirror Steinberg's (1997) finding that "approximately 65 percent of high school students work, approximately one-third on any particular day" (p.166). The need to work appears to be driven by students' quest for material gains. None of the students indicated that their part time employment was to save for college or to help out with family commitments. This finding also supports those by Steinberg (1997).

For David, baby-sitting 18 hours a week was a means to buy his first car. Amanda worked because she had to buy all of her own clothes. Clothes were a priority for many students. As Traci pointed out "we're more a fashion conscious people than sports conscious people."

The second alternative to sport participation was passive recreation. Going to the movies was the top rated leisure time activity (87%) for these students. The American Youth Sports Participation Survey (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1990) from which the SEQ was developed, reported the same result. On the SEQ, movie going increased from 83% to 91% between Grades 9 and 12 with little difference by gender or ethnic groups. Watching television ranked almost as high as the movies and depicted a similar ascending trend by grade level. Television was favored more by African American [91%] than by Caucasian [83%].

Socializing was the third influence. 'Hanging' with friends is an important part of "daily ritual" for these young people. Before school, between classes, during lunch hour, at school games, and around the recreation centers, the congregated to enjoy each other's company (Kleiber & Kirshnit, 1991). 'Hanging' was more prevalent among the girls, perhaps because of the power structures that precluded their participation in sporting activities or perhaps the emphasis on clothing and appearance discouraged them from participating in physical activity. Responses to the SEQ section on 'things I like to do' also
indicated that 'hanging with friends' also increases from 84% to 95% between Grades 9 and 12 with no significant differences noted between gender and ethnic groups.

**Barriers to participation**

Many students at Shady Woods encountered barriers to participating in sport. The barriers were characterized as demographic, social, and structural influences with varying degrees of influence on participants and non-participants.

**Transportation** The demographic information gleaned from the SEQ indicated that students who attended this school heralded from 24 different zip codes. The proportion of students who traveled to school by bus reflected the disperse nature of the student body. Getting to and from school imposed a significant barrier to those wanting to play sport at any level. Those who wished to be fully involved had to secure a strategy to ensure their transportation to and from sport venues was arranged around the practice and game schedule. For Hope, her strategy was relying on her father until she was old enough to gain her driving license. Even gaining a driving license didn't ensure access to transportation. Traci had discovered that although she was able to drive "my Mom doesn't let me have the car to drive."

From the coach's perspective, transportation for many of the players created difficulties. Mike, the football coach and his assistants spent many Summer days driving around the city picking up and dropping off students from pre-season football training for football because the school buses were not available. Lisa often kept her volleyball players at school until their evening game because they had no way to get home and back for their game. Transportation was also an impediment to those who wanted to attend games. In the SEQ, "transportation was too hard" was ranked as the second most important deterrent to attendance after "I would rather play than watch." Transportation was more problematic for Grade 9 (32%) than Grade 12 (18%) respondents. Erica relied on school friends to pick her up and drive her across the city to Shady Woods for school games.
In this study it was not possible to ascertain if there was any relationship between distance from facilities and participation. However, the findings do indicate that distance from school has made sport participation problematic for some. Veal (1987) referred to this as "distance decay" which suggests a rapid drop off in attendance at a sport or leisure facility as the distance to that facility increases. Veal (1987) reported that attendance was over 15 times higher if a sports venue was within half a mile than if it was over two miles away. For Kate, spending several hours a day on a school bus was a factor in her decision to enroll at Shady Woods for high school. After one year of commuting her desire to excel in basketball overshadowed the impediments of time and distance. However, few students may not be as enthusiastic or committed to make such a decision.

The open enrollment system that operates at Shady Woods compounded the complexity of transport arrangements that allow students to participate in sport. This has been noted by others (Hultsman, 1993; Jackson, 1991; McMeeking & Bandana, 1995). At a time when these young people are attempting to explore their freedom and address a growing need for independence (Steinberg, 1996), they often find themselves hobbled by mobility and accessibility factors. While independence may increase in the later years of high school the reduction in sport participation figures by older students would indicate that at that time they are reluctant to return to sport.

Social barriers to participation The social factor was a second influence on participation. The SEQ and observation revealed that sport participation was largely experienced in two forums: pick up games with friends and family or interscholastic competition. For those who participated in either form of sport the school became the primary venue. If students were separated because of distance their assemblage at school gave them the opportunity to participate in a pick up game. However, the ecology of the free time sessions in the lunch hour controlled solely by a small exclusive group of students and their pernicious power structure excluded most students from participating.
The lunch time power structure was dominated by skilled, male African American basketball players. There was a clear expectation that anybody who entered this forum conform to the norms of behavior established by this group. Most students were reluctant to challenge this power structure and as a result very few girls and less skilled boys were seen participating on the main courts. Instead they were stationed around the periphery or beyond the gym walls. One suspects this depiction is not unique to Shady Woods.

During open gym periods, basketball games were intense, competitive and public. Anybody who wanted to play had to be good enough to get a place on a pick up team. They then had to deal with attention from peers who were watching. Many of the players on court were subjected to taunts and jeers from their peers. The power structure that has evolved in the gymnasium at Shady Woods has privileged skilled, mostly African American male athletes. As a result, girls and less skilled boys are often excluded. While the issue of gender exclusion has been investigated in physical education environments (Bain, 1990; Carlson, 1995; Kollen, 1981), attention to informal sport settings has been meager. Even females like Jenna, who was a competent basketball player, was reluctant to actively participate in open gym as this involved taking risks. If an environment is perceived as too public and marked by intense peer scrutiny or attention the risks may out weigh perceived benefits of participation. The consequence of such a situation was withdrawal. Although withdrawal by young people from sport participation has been the focus of many studies. (Gould, 1987b; Gould & Eklund, 1996; Gould & Petlichkoff, 1988; Petlichkoff, 1996; Whitehead, 1990; Whitehead, 1993), contextual constraints on participation of high school students have received little attention.

**Structural barriers** In this study few options were identified that promoted sport participation irrespective of the form. The low presence of agency, club, or church sporting venues meant the school was the predominant site where sport could be accessed. Therefore participation often was a choice between interscholastic sport or no sport which
for many was 'no' choice. While this system has long been the backbone of sport in American high schools, it has tended to only cater for a few high performing students. As in many other high schools, Shady Woods' athletes are expected to practice or play almost every day of the week. Therefore any young person considering participating must commit themselves to the practices and games commanded by that respective sport. This is the only option for those wanting to play.

During the year of the study, Shady Woods offered six female sports and nine male sports which collectively involved one quarter of the girls and one third of the boys. Several sports are only available at one competitive level and some teams could not be fielded. There was a predominance of team sports while individual or lifetime sports were poorly subscribed or not offered. This created problems for the Athletic Director who entered a co-educational tennis team to allow a small group of interested students the opportunity to compete. Restricted offerings are indicative of many urban schools compared to their suburban counterparts (Ponessa, 1992; National Center for Educational Statistics, 1996). The limited competitive levels of sport have required many participants to compete for team places with more experienced students. For Kate, Hope, and Kim, (9th graders) it meant competing with older students for starting positions. This outcome ignores the importance of young athletes competing at a level they are developmentally ready for (Magill, 1988; Seefeldt, 1989).

Making the team may also mean sitting on the bench, something that Shane thought was "like embarrassing just sitting there and you ain't even breaking a sweat or nothin". If it happened to him he would be "out of there". Weeks of sitting on the bench challenged Hope's dedication to play for the softball team. Sitting on the bench was something these youth vehemently rejected. When asked what were the main issues that might influence their return to sport "if I could play more" rated third after "practices and games did not conflict with homework" and the top reason, "the coach was a better teacher".
Making Sport Educational: The Coaches' and Administrators' Views

Research question three asked what meanings coaches and administrators hold of sport and what educational outcomes they believe can be derived from sport. This section addresses two issues: the tensions between adult and youth agenda's, and the adoption of sport as a change agent.

Competing agenda's

Benefits the adults in this study ascribed to sport participation were based largely on the experience itself. The value of teamwork was commented on numerous occasions. They believed youth sport experiences served as important contributions to their social development. In particular they emphasized the importance of personal development through participation.

Scott, Mike, Lisa, and John were advocates for the contribution sport could make to help urban youth to be better people. Their collective views of youth sport embody many of the enduring American values. Mike's comment that the most important thing the Shady Woods students get from their sport experience was "rather than the winning or losing is working for the goal." The coaches and Athletic Director discussed to varying extents the importance of teamwork, dedication, discipline, excellence, opportunity and focus for young people. They believed such virtues, developed on the sports field, could be transposed beyond the sports field to serve as a foundation for success in later life. But success often requires hard work and these adults shared the view that player pursuit of success required a commitment from all team members. They defined student athlete commitment as attending every game and every practice, both before and during the season.

Gaining the commitment of sufficient numbers of students at Shady Woods to participate in competitive sport was problematic for the coaches and administrators. To get her players to attend Lisa, who was the volleyball coach said "I don't want to say beg but really I don't want to say harass either." The situation was the same for the coaches of the
Gaining the commitment of sufficient numbers of students at Shady Woods to participate in competitive sport was problematic for the coaches and administrators. To get her players to attend Lisa, who was the volleyball coach said "I don’t want to say beg but really I don’t want to say harass either." The situation was the same for the coaches of the boys. The Athletic Director had been questioned by the new students in Grade 9 had been instructed to be at school for every practice as they saw no harm in missing a couple of preseason training days. The compliance desired of athlete’s was clearly something quite new for some of the freshmen.

Practicing every day for the collective good of the team and learning the virtues of self discipline were not always in accordance with the views of many participants, particularly younger students. Many lacked the self discipline or desire to make such a commitment to competitive sport. Lisa worked hard to get results for her players but confessed "they’re all capable but they just get lazy." The gulf between adult expectations placed on athletes and contributions student athletes are prepared to make appears problematic at Shady Woods. These coaches reported that it is harder for them to obtain student compliance. Part of the reason for this problem is the competing expectations young people receive. As Goldberg and Chandler (1989) reported, today’s youth are often the recipients of mixed messages and multiple expectations which can lead to confused and contradictory interpretations for youth (Coleman, 1990). In this study it was evident that many athletes expected to give a lot less commitment to sport than the adults at the school expected or were prepared to accept.

The desire for immediate gratification through victory, status, trophies, titles and recognition was sometimes contrary to the values and expectations that adults at Shady Woods were attempting to espouse. Retaining more urban youth in sport thus becomes a precarious balancing act between long term goals advocated by adults and short term gains realized by youth. Different expectations for sport involvement have placed the coaches
form of reward for their performance. Their collective years of teaching has assisted the developmental delicacy that such a gesture warrants. There are opportunities, but as Coakley (1994) indicates, opportunities to make it to college and professional sports are extremely limited and should be addressed with reservation.

**Sport as a change agent**

Sport in some form, reaches many youth. The SEQ revealed the majority of students regularly watch sport on television, fewer attend school and community games, while even less participate regularly. Many are interested in sport and it has captured their imaginations to the point where some students might carry it over to other parts of education. Mike and Scott both talked of how they have been able to transpose some of the attitudes and behaviors that athletes are prepared to contribute on the sports field and apply them in the classroom.

The adults at Shady Woods often spoke of wider societal issues that affected what and how they could conduct the business of education. There is little doubt that the boundaries between school and society have become blurred (Preissle & Grant, 1998) even though what has gone on inside the school gates has received considerable attention. Reformers have focused primarily on teachers, administrators, curriculum, and learning processes. However, sport, like other aspects of education, cannot escape the influence of community. Steinberg (1997) posits that the answers to student engagement and academic achievement lie beyond the classroom and the school gates. The need is to address wider society as this is where cultural and social elements often originate before permeating the school environment. Although some of the messages youth receive about sport are problematic, the attention they give to sport signals their approval.

If sport has captivated many urban youth, then it holds the potential to be a robust vehicle for learning and instruction. Sport has the potential to help youth make the strange seem familiar, conceptually and behaviorally. There were numerous examples in this study
where coaches and administrators adopted what Scott referred to as 'the hook'. Although this device has ameliorated some of the problems that Shady Woods educators face in gaining student commitment to learn and achieve, the utilization of sport as an educational clasp is probably temporarily snagged. In this school the potential that sport holds as part of the educational process has not been fully realized. Nevertheless, it has the potential to impact the teaching learning process but it will need to be embraced by more educators in more contexts.

Conceptualizing Educative Sport

Up to this point the three major research questions have been addressed separately. However, underpinning all three questions is the issue of the educational status of sport from the perspectives of urban youth and their coaches and administrators. The next section will examine the broad notion of educative sport.

Before addressing sport from an educative perspective it is necessary to provide some conception of education. Broadly conceived, education includes teaching and learning, socialization and enculturation, and takes place in formal, informal, and non formal situations (Hansen, 1979). Education can occur in many contexts but the most often cited is the school. Like the functional curriculum, extra curricular activities can be touched by wider societal problems but the impact on extra-curricular activities has received far less attention from researchers and educators. However, research reviews have pointed out that extra curricular participation contributes in vital ways to adolescent development (Holland & Andre, 1987).

Developmental tasks

Steinberg (1996) outlines three developmental tasks that adolescents face in their preparation for adulthood: 1) intimacy and interpersonal responsibility which concerns the need to form satisfying relationships for adulthood, 2) identity and personal responsibility which requires them to develop a lucid sense of their attitudes, values and beliefs so they can
make informed decisions that will promote appropriate behavior and; 3) achievement and social responsibility allowing them to develop knowledge and skills that will enable them to function successfully in society. According to Steinberg (1996) all these can be developed within educational contexts. Some of these tasks are addressed through the traditional or functional curriculum, while others are often claimed by the potentialities of the extracurricular. The review of literature conducted for this study summarized how extracurricular activities can contribute to many of the tasks articulated by Steinberg (1996). As the most prominent extracurricular activity at Shady Woods, sport could be used to better contribute to adolescent development.

The predominance of team sports at Shady Woods provided several opportunities for youth to experience and develop Steinberg's (1996) three developmental tasks. Throughout this study the topics of teamwork, personal expression, excitement or drama, developing talent, competing seriously, and learning about themselves have frequently appeared in both the qualitative data and the SEQ responses. The inference could be that sport holds opportunity to address developmental tasks and if such a process did occur it could justifiably be called educative. However, given the findings from this study, the forum where sport occurs generally is not in an environment that is educative for the majority of students. Before this could happen at Shady Woods, the way sport is provided to youth would need to change.

Learning

It is my argument that much of the learning that young people experience in sporting contexts is restricted. As Marton and Booth (1997) indicate this typically involves increasing one's knowledge, memorizing and reproducing, and applying. While their argument pertains to formal education, similar forms of learning could be applied to sport. Sport should provide opportunities for young people to engage in different learning experiences. However, these forms of learning will not occur in the same way for all
students as they develop and seek to understand the associated meanings to their world. Although strategies are available to coaches and teachers to extend the way students learn (Hellison, 1995; Mitchell, Griffin & Oslin, 1994; Mitchell, 1993; Siedentop, 1994) the use of sport by coaches as an educational vehicle has been largely ignored in practice.

The students I interviewed often expressed a desire to grow as a person through learning in sport. For example, such an objective would support the developmental tasks of Steinberg (1996). It was apparent that as the students in this study described the meaning of their sport experiences, they struggled at times to see how sport influenced their lives. This may have been due to their developmental status or alternatively, they may have been placed in few situations to think about and discuss what sport means to them. Nevertheless, opportunities exist for adults to help young people to examine the meanings of their sport experiences and address many of the personal, social, and moral properties that pertain to their lives both within and beyond sport. Given the attention students in this study give to sport through participating and or watching others on television, it would seem appropriate to use the sporting context to enhance learning in a range of ways.

In a sporting context, the coach usually determines the instructional role and what is to be learned. At Shady Woods many of the students did not endorse the instructional practices used by their coaches and stated this as their primary reason for no longer playing sport. They also indicated that in order for them to return to playing sport the coach would have to become a more effective teacher. While we know that sport is highly valued by youth (Martens, 1987; Roberts & Treasure, 1993), it appeared the instructional actions of coaches can impede rather than promote their enthusiasm to participate. Results from the SEQ indicate that the educators at Shady Woods could do considerably more to enhance the sporting experiences of young people.

The characteristics of interscholastic sport may also contribute to the restricted learning opportunities available to some youth. The high degree of structure evident in
many interscholastic forums is manifested in the controlled leadership practices by many coaches. Community pressure placed on coaches to operate successful programs can also influence coaching practices. By giving autonomy to players, a coach may perceive they have less control over a practice or game, thereby placing their program at risk and incurring the attention of community scrutiny. Thus, any educational opportunities for player growth become eclipsed by a community appetite for success.

The educational goal is an attractive possibility because of the contribution it can make to the social and developmental needs of youth. According to Siedentop (1995), if the educational goal prevailed then sport for youth would be as inclusive as possible, attractive to diverse children and youth, modified physically and emotionally to fit developing bodies and spirits, and administered and coached with the educative benefits clearly reflected.

The two versions of sport at Shady Woods were the interscholastic sport model and the gym free time option. From a participatory perspective, interscholastic sport is not designed to be exclusive (Seefeldt & Ewing, 1997). Yet at Shady Woods many sport teams are not filled because of a lack of student commitment while demand for basketball is greater than places available on first year, junior varsity and varsity teams. Furthermore, students who wish to play sport at a competitive level must commit to the expectations of coaches and administrators who are in turn influenced by a highly competitive and accountable system. The same emotional, physical, and social demands are placed on Grade 9 and Grade 12 students. During the period of adolescence, youth are constantly exploring and evaluating their options and needs. As the coaches and some players at Shady Woods have indicated, making the commitment to interscholastic sport is an exciting challenge to some and untenable for others.

Students are also excluded on the grounds of academic performance. Any participant from the city schools must hold a 2.0 GPA. Lisa (coach) indicated some of her students were at risk of exclusion because of this rule. James had not played in his last two
years at Shady Woods because his GPA had dropped below the minimum score. His playing days were confined to the 'black top' of his neighborhood. Although there has been no evidence to support the view that sport participation impedes academic progress (Steinberg, 1997), this rule has remained an educational axiom. Jenna stated that sports got in the way of her academics when she factored in her part time job which demanded 20 hours per week. Something had to go and she disengaged from sport.

The final aspect of inclusion, that applies to interscholastic sport is the degree to which the voice of the student is included in the decision making and operation of this sport system. The domination of adults in youth sport settings have relegated many young people to passive respondents. Bill (administrator) believed that this was in part due to the propensity of many adults for victory, irrespective of the goals youth may have for their sport experiences. Alternatively, it may be a result of pressure on coaches to have winning teams. Mike indicated that last season he would have perhaps had four players in his squad of 60 who knew the game of football sufficiently to assist with decision making and game calls even though several players had been playing on the school football teams for three or four years.

Adult control of interscholastic sport promoted the view that "the increased emphasis on winning has overshadowed the intrinsic value to the point where many youngsters now regard athletics as serious business" (Vaughan, 1984, p.148). However. Lisa has managed to retain an inclusive philosophy to her coaching and employs peer coaching during many of her practices. This perspective compliments her view that sport should be fun for the players. Despite her efforts and a more inclusive philosophy she still struggled to assemble a volleyball squad for this year's competition. If youth withdraw from a sport team this limits options available to those who wish to remain in sport. When a significant proportion of youth chose one sport (in this case basketball) then it becomes harder to attract sufficient numbers in other sports to field a team.
The second accessible sport form available to Shady Woods students was during unstructured free gym in the lunch hour. The description provided in chapter four describes the ecology that prevails on a daily basis. Like the high school context, urban recreation centers hosted similar activities, with many youth in attendance, but only the highly skilled participate. The power structures and the social stratification that pervades these venues do not support what Siedentop (1995) has described as an "educational goal" orientation for youth sport.

Conclusions

In this study the students were keen to share the meanings and outcomes of their experiences with sport and what this meant to them. For many, sport required them to make more of a commitment than they were prepared to give. The expectations placed on these urban youth are at times too much when balanced against the personal needs of these students. Despite some 'hard top' and informal sporting experiences in their neighborhoods these young people rarely discussed sport as a form of leisure. However, it was evident sport was very much a part of this youth culture and it had an established power structure. Status could be gained through sport participation via the traditional adult sanctioned approach, characterized by interscholastic sport, or by what occurred in the free gym environments, thereby gaining approval from significant others.

The commitment of time to a school sport team was problematic due to conflicting interests. In particular a large proportion of Shady Woods youth have chosen to work part-time and disengage from sport. Sport participation was also subordinated by media influences, particularly television and going to the movies. Socializing also formed a popular alternative to sport participation. Interest in these alternatives to playing sport increased significantly between Grade 9 and Grade 12.

Sport participation was also restricted by contextual factors such as the demographic spread of students away from the school and the need for transport to and from sport practices and games. For a significant proportion of Shady Woods youth, the school was
the only place to participate in sport and the types of sport available to students were limited. Although there was also a narrow range of sports available to these students, the propensity for basketball was overwhelming.

There were conflicting expectations of sport involvement for coaches and students. While the adults subscribed to long term intrinsic, esoteric benefits, youth favored short term extrinsic rewards. However the captive qualities of sport allowed adults to use it as a means to gain student interest and compliance. Sport was also utilized to make some of the learning's of athletes more meaningful.

From an educational perspective, sport held a great deal of potential for the development of young people in this study. However, several developmental tasks that require attention during adolescence need to be addressed through appropriate sport experiences but the current contexts have not allowed such potential to be realized. The instructional component of the learning process in sport has escaped the endorsement of many students at Shady Woods. Coaches figured strongly as a reason for youth disengagement from sport at this high school. Yet coaches are in part influenced by a well established sport system and often unrealistic demands made by athletes and parents. It seemed that the exclusive, albeit unintentional and demanding, nature of sport at Shady Woods has encouraged many urban youth towards more sedentary and materialistic alternatives to sport involvement.

Implications for Sport Providers

This study provides an exploration and description of why urban youth chose to participate, remain in or withdraw from sport. Moreover, it attempted to document the meanings that youth held of sport and how their experiences have contributed to their education or mis-education. Given the findings from this study it seems imperative that strategies are considered to help many urban youth return to sport in a participatory

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capacity. While it is acknowledged many problems beset urban youth, Steinberg (1997) recently highlighted some of the concerns when stating:

although it is less visible, less dramatic, and less commented upon than other social problems involving youth-crime, pregnancy, violence-student disengagement is more pervasive and in some ways potentially more harmful to the future well-being of American society (p.28).

The following are implications arising from this study.

First, as the Carnegie Council report, Great Transitions (Carnegie Corporation, 1995) noted, the enhanced health and well-being of adolescents requires constructive initiatives from agencies such as schools and community organizations. Programs that overcome the issues of exclusion and access should be investigated to stimulate adolescent interest and hope; help youth meet their fundamental responsibilities as young adults; and foster adolescent development. Access to rewarding and appropriate movement forms such as sport would most likely require finding alternative sporting forms than currently exist.

Second, the provision of sport programs that encourage and foster enhanced participation patterns among adolescents are needed. To achieve adherence to physical activity program providers must remove the barriers to participation and recognize the power of such factors as adult support, enjoyment, and confidence in one's ability that sustain the attention of adolescents. If this occurs then the chances of lifelong participation are considerably enhanced (Sage, 1986).

Third, the production of programs marked by a high degree of adult organization and structure seems to contradict the perceived needs of urban youth, resulting in their migration to other less passive forms of activity. The social preferences expressed by these urban youth indicate that if sport is to be a lifestyle choice then it must cater to their social needs. Although one step could be to redirect the focus of schooling to initiatives beyond the traditional school day (Resnick, 1987) it is unlikely private providers will address these issues. The school thus becomes the key agency through which the concerns identified in this study can be addressed.
Fourth, if culturally sanctioned activities like basketball elicit sufficient interest from urban youth then greater opportunities need to be provided for them to participate with due consideration given to student choice, flexibility of time, casual membership, and social networks. It appears that many urban youth need to experience sport in forums other than the interscholastic version.

Fifth, an examination of the return of intra-murals and other sport forms such as sport education (Siedentop, 1994) that invite mass participation or participation based on a social rather than a competitive framework at the high school level should be considered.

Sixth, communities and schools need to devise ways to support better those who provide sport for urban youth in regards to both human and fiscal resourcing. It does not necessarily require getting more money but looking at how best financial resources could be utilized.

Seventh, establish a youth charter (Damon, 1997) between the school and the community that addresses the experiences urban youth seek. This would focus on the educational benefits of participating in new initiatives that help urban youth establish coherent decisions about the role of sport as a form of physical activity in their lives, and to ensure they better understand themselves as young people. These understandings should consider virtues such as honesty, civility, decency, leadership, amicability, and benevolence. While such initiatives have been initiated (Cheffers, 1997b; Cutforth, 1997; Danish & Nellen, 1997; Martinek & Hellison, 1997) there is a need for considerable research and development in this area.

Eighth, consider and address the issues about the place and meaning of sport in the lives of young people through the recommendations outlined by the World Leisure and Recreation Association (1994) regarding the importance of leisure and recreation education in schools and communities.
Ninth, although adults determine the context in which urban youth sport occurs, the results of this study suggest the views of students living in such environments should not be ignored if high levels of participation are desired.

Educators must seek ways to assist young people to pursue healthier lifestyles. This will involve helping them overcome the barriers of perceived incompetence, and addressing the socio-cultural factors and attitudinal variables as related to their situation. They will need to be given an opportunity to find their own way suggesting teachers and coaches recede to more supportive facilitative roles.

Recommendations for Future Research

1. A study with suburban youth that would allow comparison with the urban findings from this investigation. Such a study could enhance our understanding of the opportunities and impediments that effect youth participation in general but also address the differences in understanding, access, and attitude of youth related toward sport participation. A significant issue that could arise from such an investigation is how sport providers could offer sport to youth according to their social, developmental, and cultural needs. To fully understand youth and improve their lives attention must be paid to the increasing diversity and wide-ranging disparity of experiences available to them.

2. In relation to sport provision, it would be to conduct a study that piloted the collaborative provision of sport to youth by community and educational groups. Such an investigation could explore the pursuit of an inclusive model of sport provision based on egalitarian principles and sound educational goals. An integral part of such an investigation would address how youth could play a role in decision making, learning and applying leadership skills, appreciating the conventions of sport, and work with adults who offer care and support. Such a model would be
based on incremental challenges and a diversity of ways they can refine and improve the aforementioned skills.

3. A longitudinal study that followed a representative cohort of students through high school and regularly monitored their participation or non-participation in sport, their views of sport, factors that affect such views, and the impact of lifestyle changes on their sport participation. It would be advantageous to gain an understanding of the evolution of youth ideas and emotions associated with making decisions about sport during early adolescence. Such a cohort could then be traced through the high school years allowing comparison to the findings of this study. I believe such an investigation should also pay special attention to contextual influences on adolescents rather than stereotypical claims and general developmental theory.
Poroporoaki

My involvement with young people and sport has followed an incremental but focused path for 20 years. Like many educators I have had successes and failures as I endeavor to enhance the lives of young people through involvement in school-based sport. I am not only convinced that the process by which it is delivered is vital to promote a greater understanding of the sporting culture but that sport can provide many positive outcomes for all students. It is my belief that good sport is something that all young people should have the opportunity to experience. This study coupled with contemporary research, clearly show that for many youth, the current system is not working and alternate ways to turn them on to sport and physical activity must be sought. The educative role that sport can play in the lives of young people deserves a greater degree of investment than has occurred in the past. My commitment to education, young people, and sport will be part of that investment.

I believe my return to Aotearoa / New Zealand will open new opportunities for me in the teaching and research fields. I am excited about the chance to work with youth and adults in the areas of sport, education, coaching and skill development. In addition, I hope to continue to examine options for improving the curriculum and delivery of sport in education, in particular, at the secondary level. I also have a commitment to examine how coach education can be enhanced within Aotearoa / New Zealand. My learning and experiences at Ohio State have opened many doors which could impact and help improve both my work and the contributions of those with whom I work to further collective understanding and inquiry.

After a repayment of time to my wife Jill, I hope to embrace academia and pursue the standards Ohio State has expected during this program. I thank you for your support and guidance.

Tena koutou katoa
APPENDIX A

Sport Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ)
**Sport Experiences Questionnaire**

**Introduction**

This questionnaire will seek information about your sport experiences. With your help we are hoping to gain a better understanding of what forms of sport experiences adolescent youth have, seek, prefer, or why they may not like sport. This questionnaire is designed to find out what you like about sport, what you don't like and what can be done to improve sport programs for high school-aged students. You have been selected as part of a sample at High School. You have the right to stop participation at any time. Please be assured that the researcher is the only person who will see your answers. We appreciate your cooperation in completing this questionnaire.

**Directions**

1. Your answers should be entered on the scan sheet. You will also need to write a few extra answers on "Answer Sheet B" provided.
2. Most of the answers will only require you to fill the bubble of the preferred answer where it is requested. At certain points you may be asked to add in your own words your answer to specific questions.
3. Use only the pencil supplied to complete your answers.
4. Each bubble that you fill in must be completely filled or the scanner will not read it.
5. If you make a mistake erase your answer and enter another answer.
6. Please take your time to think about your answers and write them in the spaces provided as neatly as possible.
7. Please read the instructions for each section carefully. If you have any questions please ask for assistance.

Everybody should complete the following: Background information Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Also complete:

If you have never played competitive sport: Section 6
If you have stopped playing a competitive sport Section 7, 8
If you have played competitive sport Section 9, 10, 11

If a section does not apply to you, just √ in the ( ) on ANSWER SHEET B that states "this section does not apply to me"

To begin this questionnaire:

Print your name in the boxes of the scan sheet: Last name, space, first name, space, middle initial.

**Background information**

1. Birth date __________(Fill in Month, Day, Year) 2. Sex (Fill in which) Male (M) Female (F)
3. Grade (Fill in which) Freshman (09) Sophomore (10)
   Junior (11) Senior (12)
4. Ethnic Group - Under Special Code Column K (Fill in which)
   African American (1) Asian American (2) Hispanic (3)
   Caucasian / White (4) American Indian (5) Other (6)
5. Your home Zip code - Under "Special Code" Columns LMNOP (Fill in your numbers)
**Section 1: Things I like to do** (This section should be answered by everybody)

On your bubble sheet, please fill (*) in the activities you are participating in or plan to participate in 1998.

Also, fill in (*) those activities that you participated in last year but will NOT be doing this year. If neither apply to you, leave all bubbles blank.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Column A I am or will be doing this year</th>
<th>Column B I did last year but will not be doing this year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Musical instrument or vocal lessons</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cheer leading</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sport team not sponsored by my school</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Paid part-time employment</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Baby sitting</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chores at home (lawn mowing, etc.)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Youth clubs (Scouts, Boys or Girls Clubs)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. YMCA or YWCA activities</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Playing pick-up games</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Dance lessons</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Classes for fun (computer, typing etc.)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. School counsel or governing body</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Drama club or school plays</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sport camps</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. General conditioning (Weights, aerobics.)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Church related activities (choir, classes, teams etc.)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Dating</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Going to movies</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Watching TV</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Computer games</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Hanging with friends</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Section 2: Participation status** - (This section should be answered by everybody)

Sport participation. Below is a list of sports. For each sport please fill in the bubble for the response that you think applies best to you. If none of the four categories fit you then all bubbles blank and move to the next sport.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Have played this sport</th>
<th>I would play at a social level</th>
<th>I would play competitively</th>
<th>No interest in this sport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archery</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badminton</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowling</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycling (Track)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diving (springboard)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fencing</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field hockey</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure skating</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football (flag)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football (tackle)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horseback riding</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice hockey</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karate</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racquetball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rollerblading</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowing (crew)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailing</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting (target)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skateboarding</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skiing</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soccer</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Softball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed skating</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table tennis</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
53. Taekwondo (other martial art) (1) (2) (3) (4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Have played this sport</th>
<th>I would play at a social level</th>
<th>I would play competitively</th>
<th>No interest in this sport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track and field</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triathlon</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volleyball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weightlifting</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestling</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other** *(If you play a sport that does not appear on the above list please write it on "Answer sheet 2" under Section I other)*

A - F If you had a choice which of the above sports (24 - 67) which would be the top three you would like to play that you don't play now. Fill in the bubbles under IDENTIFICATION NUMBER on your bubble page. For your first choice use columns AB. For your second choice use columns CD and for your third choice use columns EF. If you do not want to enter a choice, leave the column(s) blank.

- First choice: From number 22 - 59 (Use column AB)
- Second choice: From number 22 - 59 (Use column CD)
- Third choice: From number 22 - 59 (Use column EF)

**Section 3: Sport participation status** *(This section should be answered by everybody)*

Please fill in a bubble for every level of participation that applies or does not apply to you during the time that you have been a student at high school (during grades 9 - 12 only). Either fill bubble #1 or leave it blank.

- 60. I have never participated in any type of sport at either a social or competitive level (1)
- 61. I have played sport with friends or family on a social or 'pick up' level (1)
- 62. I have participated in at least one sport in a community recreation league (1)
- 63. I have participated in an agency-sponsored sport league (YMCA, YWCA, Select League) (1)
- 64. I have participated in a high school interscholastic league in at least one sport (1)

**IMPORTANT:**

3.1 On ANSWER SHEET B provided name the venue where you play most of your sport
Section 4: Watching televised sport: (This section should be answered by everybody)

Please fill the bubble for the statement that applies to you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Less than three times a year</th>
<th>4 - 6 times a year</th>
<th>7 - 10 times a year</th>
<th>More than ten times a year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>I watch men's professional sport on TV</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>I watch women's professional sport on TV</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>I watch men's college sport on TV</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>I watch women's college sport on TV</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>I watch the sports news on TV</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Did you watch any television coverage of the Nagano Winter Olympic Games?</td>
<td>Yes (1)</td>
<td>No (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Did you watch any television coverage of the X [extreme sports] Games?</td>
<td>Yes (1)</td>
<td>No (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 5: Watching sport: Things I like to do (Answered by everybody)

A. I attend organized school sports as a spectator (Fill in one choice)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Less than three times a year</th>
<th>4 - 6 times a year</th>
<th>7 - 10 times a year</th>
<th>More than ten times a year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. To what extent do the following statements affect your attendance of organized school sports?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Doesn't Apply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73. They are too boring to attend</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. I don't like sports events</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75. My friends don't attend them</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. I would rather play than watch</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. They are too expensive to attend</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. Transportation to the sport is too hard</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. I prefer to watch them on television</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. I attend organized community sports as a spectator (Fill in one choice)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Less than three times a year</th>
<th>4 - 6 times a year</th>
<th>7 - 10 times a year</th>
<th>More than ten times a year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. To what extent do the following affect your attendance of community sports?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Doesn't Apply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81. They are too boring to attend</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. I don't like sports events</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. My friends don't attend them</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. I would rather play than watch</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95. They are too expensive to attend</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. Transportation to the sport is too hard</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 6: Reasons for never playing organized sport - you should answer this section if you have never played on a school, community recreation, or agency sport league (Church, YMCA etc.) during your middle or high school years. If this section does not apply to you please check (v) the box on ANSWER SHEET B and move to the next section.

I have never participated in any organized sport because:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Doesn't Apply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88. I was never interested in organized sports</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. Sports are too time consuming</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. Sports are too expensive</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91. My friends never participated</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92. Sports I like best were never offered</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93. My parents didn't want me to play</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94. I was not skilled enough to play</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95. I was always involved in too many other activities</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96. I didn't want to get injured</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97. I was not able to get to practices or games</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you did take up sport which level would you prefer to participate at (Fill in one choice)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98. Unorganized leisure setting (playground, blacktop, friends or family)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. Physical education elective class (not grade 9)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. Intramural sports (within school leagues)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. Interscholastic sport (Between schools competition)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. Agency sponsored program (AAU, YMCA, YWCA, Community League etc.)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 7: Reasons for leaving a sport: you should answer this section if you have played for at least part of a season on a school, community, or agency sport league during your high school years and then left the sport. If this section does not apply to you please check (✓) the box on ANSWER SHEET B and move to the next section.

Below is a list of reasons why athletes have stopped playing certain sports. Think about each reason and rate how important each reason was for you to stop playing in the school or non-school sport you don't play anymore.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Slightly Important</th>
<th>Not at All Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>99. Too much emphasis was placed on winning</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100. My coach was a poor teacher</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101. I was not having fun</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102. Participating placed too pressure (e.g. worry) on me</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103. I was always on a losing team</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104. This sport required too much time</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105. Participation was not improving my physical fitness</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106. I was getting injured too much</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107. I was not as good a player as the others in my sport</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108. Practices were boring</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109. I was no longer interested in this sport</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110. Players in this sport are too rough</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111. I didn't get to play very much</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112. Games and practices were scheduled at times I could not attend</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113. I did not like the coach</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114. I never got on with my team mates</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115. I wanted to get a job</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116. One of my parents of guardians didn't want me to play</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117. This sport conflicted with other sports I wanted to play</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118. I felt embarrassed by how I looked in the uniform</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119. I needed more time to study</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other  If there are other reasons please list them on ANSWER SHEET B under section 7 "Other"

Section 8: Returning to a sport - you should answer this section if you have played for at least part of a season on a school, community, or agency sport league during your high school years and you would consider returning to that sport as a player. If this section does not apply to you please check the box on ANSWER SHEET B and move to the next section.

If you could start playing this school or non-school sport again, what would you like to change to either make your experience more enjoyable or to keep you involved in the sport? Please rate each statement below as to how important the change would have to be to get you to play the sport again:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>very important</th>
<th>important</th>
<th>somewhat important</th>
<th>slightly important</th>
<th>not at all important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>the coach was a better teacher</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>there were less emphasis on winning</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>the sport was offered to my age group</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>we practiced less</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>I could play more</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>games and practices were scheduled at different times</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>practices were more fun</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>my parents stopped pushing me</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>parents were not allowed to come to games</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>there were more leagues so the other players were closer to my ability</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>I would not get hurt</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>the equipment was not so expensive</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>I could play in co-ed leagues</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>there were closer facilities</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with social life</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with homework</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>practices and games did not conflict with my work schedule</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 9: Participation in high school sponsored sport. (You should answer this section if you have tried out for or played for at least part of a season for an interscholastic sport team while you have been at high school). If this does not apply to you please check (✓) in the box on ANSWER SHEET B and move to the next section. If only one sport applies to you leave all others blank.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Tried out for but did not make the team</th>
<th>Selected or will join</th>
<th>Now play or think I will play mostly as a:</th>
<th>Played one time but will not ever play while at high school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137. Baseball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138. Basketball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139 Cross - country</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140. Football</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141. Golf</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142. Soccer</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143. Softball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144. Tennis</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145. Track &amp; Field</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146 Volleyball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147 Wrestling</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 10: Participation in an agency sponsored sport (e.g. YMCA, YWCA, Community Recreation league etc.) (You should answer this section if you have tried out for or played for at least part of a season for an agency sponsored sport team while you have been at middle or high school). If this does not apply to you please check (v) in the box on ANSWER SHEET B and move to the next section. Only respond to each sport that applies to you - leave all others blank.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Tried out for but did not make the team</th>
<th>Selected or will join</th>
<th>Now play or think I will play mostly as a:</th>
<th>Played one time but will not ever play while at high school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>148 Archery</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) Starter (4) Substitute (5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149 Baseball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 Basketball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151 Bowling</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152 Cross-country</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153 Flag football</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154 Golf</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155 Gymnastics</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156 Ice Hockey</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 Soccer</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158 Softball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159 Swimming/Diving</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 Tennis</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161 Track &amp; Field</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162 Volleyball</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163 Wrestling</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3) (4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other: If you play a sport not listed above please list it/them on ANSWER SHEET B under section 10 "Other"
Section 11: Reasons for participation: (You should answer this section if you have played for at least part of a season for an interscholastic or agency-sponsored sport team while you have been at middle and high school). If this does not apply to you please check (✓) in the box on ANSWER SHEET B and move to the next section. Only respond to each sport that applies to you - leave all others blank.

For each of the following reasons please circle the number that best describes how important the reason is for you participating in sport. Please circle one number for each reason. For example, in question one, if you think that "To improve my skills" is important fill in the bubble (4) on your bubble page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Slightly Important</th>
<th>Not at All Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>164. To improve my sport skills</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165. To be with my friends</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166. To win</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167. For the travel that goes with being on a team</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168. To stay in shape</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169. Someone I admire played this sport</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170. To play as part of a team</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171. For the excitement of competition</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172. My parents or close friends want me to participate</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173. To learn new skills</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174. To meet new friends</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175. To do something I'm good at</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176. To release tension</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177. For the rewards such as trophies and recognition</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178. To have something to do</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179. To feel important</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180. To go to a higher level of competition</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181. To be popular</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182. I like the coaches or teachers</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183. To have fun</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IMPORTANT: Of all the reasons listed above, what is the most important reason for your participating in your favorite sport. Under IDENTIFICATION CODE on your bubble sheet under columns GHI fill in the numbers for the reason that you consider most important.

184. How satisfied are you with your playing experience in your favorite sport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>a little</td>
<td>somewhat</td>
<td>satisfied</td>
<td>very satisfied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

185. How much do you enjoy being an athlete in this sport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>very much</td>
<td>a lot</td>
<td>somewhat</td>
<td>a little</td>
<td>not at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

186. What has been the influence of sport participation on you with regard to the following? (Check [✓] one)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Positive</th>
<th>Somewhat Positive</th>
<th>Somewhat Negative</th>
<th>Very Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>187. My sportspersonship</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188. Effort in how I perform</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189. My skill level</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190. My physical conditioning</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191. Control of my feelings and emotions</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192. My self confidence</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193. My grades in school</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194. Learning about myself</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195. Getting along with other people</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thanks for completing this questionnaire.

PLEASE RETURN THE FOLLOWING:

- your bubble page (named)
- your ANSWER SHEET B (named)
- this questionnaire
- your pencil

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APPENDIX B
SEQ Answer Sheet B
SPORT EXPERIENCES QUESTIONNAIRE
ANSWER SHEET B

NAME..........................................

Section 2:
Other: __________________________
Other: __________________________

Section 3:
I play most of my sport at: ___________________________________________

Supplementary sections:

Section 6
If this section does not apply to you please check (✓) the box
( ) This section does not apply to me

Section 7
If this section does not apply to you please check (✓) the box
( ) This section does not apply to me

Section 8
If this section does not apply to you please check (✓) the box
( ) This section does not apply to me

Section 9
If this section does not apply to you please check (✓) the box
( ) This section does not apply to me

Section 10
If this section does not apply to you please check (✓) the box
( ) This section does not apply to me

Other
If you play a sport not listed on the questionnaire add it below and fill in #1 - 5
Tried out for Selected or Played one time
but did not make the team Selected or I will play mostly
will join I will play mostly
as a: a sport while at high

Sport
______________________  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)
______________________  (1)  (2)  (3)  (4)  (5)

Section 11
If this section does not apply to you please check (✓) the box
( ) This section does not apply to me
APPENDIX C

Staff Nomination Form
To: High School Staff
From: Clive Pope, Ohio State University
Re: Interview candidates
Date: April 6, 1998

Dear colleagues,

At the February 16 presentation to staff the Ohio State University group outlined the collaborative initiatives that have taken place between our two institutions to promote the ACE academy. Part of our investigation involves learning more about the sport experiences students have or seek. I am particularly interested in interviewing grade 9 and grade 12 students. To gain a complete understanding of this aspect of students' lives I would like to talk with three groups of informants:

• those presently participating in sports - either inter scholastically or outside the school
• those who have played sports previously but have withdrawn from participation
• those who are non-participants in sports and would be able to articulate their reasons for not participating

I am also seeking a balance of male and female students from different ethnic backgrounds. If there is a student(s) whom you know meet these criteria and could articulate their thoughts in a personal interview, please nominate that student below. Please return this form to Ms mailbox. Thank you for your assistance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Status (Check which ✓)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Player ☑ Ex-player ☑ Non-player ☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Player ☑ Ex-player ☑ Non-player ☑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Player ☑ Ex-player ☑ Non-player ☑</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Your name....................... (use the back of this page for further names)
Any other comments:
APPENDIX D

Parental Information and Permission Form
To: Parents and Guardians of students at High School

Date: March 20, 1998

As part of the requirements of a doctoral dissertation, we are exploring and describing the sport experiences of high school students. This project is part of an on-going collaboration between High School and Ohio State University. With your help we are hoping to gain a better understanding of what forms of sport experiences adolescent youth have, seek, prefer, or why they may not like sport. To obtain answers to such questions we would like the opportunity to interview selected students about their thoughts and experiences with sport. We ask permission to interview your child. Because sport is part of your child's education at we would appreciate your cooperation with this request.

This research has been approved by the Human Subjects Research Section at Ohio State University as well as Columbus Public Schools. We would like to point out that any person interviewed may:
• Refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time
• Ask any questions about the study that occur to them during their participation
• Request access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is completed

All interviews will be tape recorded and the data will remain confidential to the researcher. In the final research report the authors will maintain participant confidentiality and use pseudonyms to protect anonymity. Interview transcripts will be destroyed upon completion of the final report.

If you can support this request please complete the details below and return this page with your child as soon as possible. Thank you for your consideration to this matter. Your efforts to expedite this intended research is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Dr. Mary O'Sullivan
Professor

Clive C. Pope
Doctoral Candidate

I give permission for my child to be interviewed. I understand that he/she may withdraw from the interview at any time.

Date __________________ Signature __________________
Parent or legal Guardian

______________________________
Student's name

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APPENDIX E

Interview protocol - Participant/ex-participant
Interview protocol - Participant/ex-participant

Background questions

1. How old are you?
2. What has been your sport involvement...can you tell me about it?
3. Do you ever do this sport at other times or other places?
4. What are the differences between doing things on your own and doing them in organized programs?
5. What teams are you on - tell me about that team...any others.
6. Have you played any other sports? - is there any difference between what you get out of each sport?
7. What do you do in your non-school time?
8. Who do you spend your free time with - where?
9. Do you have friends that play sport?
10. Have you made any friendships through playing sport - can you give me any examples?
11. How do you spend your free time after school? on weekends?
12. Has your church or local community center been a place where you play sport?
13. What sports have you played there?
14. Have you ever visited or played in a local church league?
15. What sports have you played there?
Worldview of sport

16 What sought of meanings does sport have for you?

17 If I said the word sport to you - what three words would you select to give that word meaning? What other thing pop into your head?

18 Have those meanings changed at all with time?

19 What do you think impacts how such meanings are established?

20 Would you recommend playing sport to other young people?

21 What would you tell them were the benefits of participation?

22 What do you think needs to be done to get more young people interested in sport participation?

23 Would you share any cautions with them about what to be careful of?

24 What do you like best about sport?

25 Do you prefer organized formal sports or informal sports with friends - what are your reasons for that choice?

26 What sports do you dislike? What are your reasons for disliking them?

27 There are a lot of young people nowadays who do not participate in sport - what do you think would have to happen to get more people involved?

28 Will you want to remain in sport after you leave school? How will you do that?

29 What are some of the things that keep you playing sport?

30 Did you ever think of not going to or dropping out of sport - what prompted those thoughts?
Sport experiences

Past - Memories of sport
31 Can you tell me some of the memories you have about playing sport?
32 What would be your favourite memory about playing sport?
33 Are there any other particular games or practices that really stick out in your mind? Can you share some of them with me?
34 Any others?
35 Why do you think you have remembered those particular things?
36 What do you think you have learned as a result of playing sport?

What enhances or inhibits their performance
37 What do you think are the main attractions of playing sport? What are the main attractions for you?
38 Has school or work ever interfered with your sport participation? How did you feel about that?
39 What did you hope to get out of sport when you began playing? How were those expectations different from what you actually received from sport participation?
40 Are there things that interfere with staying involved with sport participation (time, transport, equipment, money, parents, friends etc.)

Learnings from sport
41 What sort of emotions do you associate with playing sport? How are those emotions ignited?
42 What do you think you have learned about yourself as a result of playing sport?
43 Are you a different person when you play sport compared to other aspects of your life?
44 What is the most important thing you look to get from sport?
45 Has sport taught you anything significant? What do you think it has taught you?
46 Have you learned anything about other people as a result of playing sport - can you give me some examples?

Feelings in a game
47 What sort of emotions would you say dominate your behavior during a game or competition? (May need to think of specific context or conditions)
48 What sort of sporting environment do you enjoy the most - what are your reasons for wanting that sort of environment?

49 During a game - what is the uppermost thought in your mind?

50 During a game or a race are you usually familiar with the surroundings?

51 Over the years that you have played sport - have you noticed any changes in how you think about sport? Have there been changes in the ways other people such as coaches or parents approach how/why you play sport?

52 What is your view of school sport...here at BHS...what do you get out of it?

53 Is there any connection between PE and school sport?

54 Is there any connection between PE and your sport involvement?

• Future

55 What would you do if your team was disbanded or stopped?

56 If you were to continue with sport - what do you think might interfere with your participation?

57 Looking in to the future do you think sport will have an impact on your life and what you are able to do?

Concluding comments

• --------- Thank you for answering my questions. Is there anything else you want to share with me that I may not have asked you about?

• Finally have you got any questions for me?

• Thank you and good luck.
APPENDIX F

Interview protocol - Non-Participant/ex-participant
Interview protocol Non - Participant /ex-participant

Background questions

1. How old are you?
2. What has been your sport involvement...can you tell me about it?
3. Do you ever do this sport at other times or other places?
4. What are the differences between doing things on your own and doing them in organized programs?
5. Have you played any other sports? - is there any difference between what you get out of each sport?
6. What do you do in your non-school time?
7. Who do you spend your free time with - where?
8. Do you have friends that play sport? Has this affected the friendships you have established?
9. Have you made any friendships through playing or watching sport - can you give me any examples?
10. How do you spend your free time after school? On weekends?
11. Has your church or local community center been a place where you could play sport?
12. What sports have you played there?
13. Have you ever visited or played in a local church league?
14. What sports have you played there?
**Worldview of sport**

15 What sought of meanings does sport have for you?

16 If I said the word sport to you - what three words would you select to give that word meaning? What other things pop into your head?

16 Have those meanings changed at all with time? What has influenced such change? Do you think the type of program you participated in has influenced your views?

17 What do you think impacts how such meanings are established?

18 Would you recommend playing sport to other young people? Reasons?

19 What would you tell them were the benefits of participation?

20 What do you think needs to be done to get more young people interested in sport participation? Should we try to encourage more young people to participate?

21 Would you share any cautions with them about what to be careful of?

22 Is there anything you like about sport?

23 Do you prefer organized formal sports or informal sports with friends - what are your reasons for that choice? Which do you think is more beneficial for participants?

24 What sports do you dislike? What are your reasons for disliking them?

25 Will you want to try/return to sport after you leave school? How will you do that?

26 What are some of the things that prevent you from playing sport?

27 Has your level of participation been influenced by parents or family?

28 If / when you played was there support from your family and how was it expressed?
Sport experiences
Past - Memories of sport
29 Can you tell me some of the memories you have about playing/watching sport?

30 What would be your favourite memory about playing or watching sport?

31 Are there any other particular games or practices that really stick out in your mind? Can you share some of them with me?

32 Any others?

33 Why do you think you have remembered those particular things?

34 What do you think you have learned as a result of playing sport?

What enhances or inhibits their performance
35 What do you think are the main attractions of playing sport? What are the main attractions for you?

36 Has school or work ever interfered with your sport participation? How did you feel about that?

37 What did you hope to get out of sport when you began playing? How were those expectations different from what you actually received from sport participation?

38 Are there things that prevented your sport participation (time, transport, equipment, money, parents, friends etc.)

Learnings from sport
39 What sought of emotions do you associate with playing sport? How are those emotions ignited?

40 Has sport taught you anything significant? What do you think it has taught you?

41 Have you learned anything about other people as a result of playing or watching sport - can you give me some examples?

Feelings in a game
42 Over the years have you noticed any changes in what you think about sport? Have there been changes in the ways other people such as coaches or parents approach how/why you play sport?

43 What is your view of school sport...here at BHS...what do you think of it?

44 Is there any connection between PE and school sport?

45 Is there any connection between PE and your sport involvement?
• **Future**

46 Looking into the future do you think sport will have an impact on your life and what you are able to do?

**Concluding comments**

• -------- Thank you for answering my questions. Is there anything else you want to share with me that I may not have asked you about?

• Finally have you got any questions for me?

• Thank you and good luck.
APPENDIX G

Coach Interview Protocol
Coach Interview Protocol

Background questions
1. What sports have you coached?
2. For how long have you coached each sport and at what level?
3. What is your personal experience in the sport(s) that you coach?

Initial questions
4. Can you give me your interpretation of what sport means?
5. Do you think sport is educative? If so in what way can it be so? If not what must be done (if anything can be done) for it to be educative?
6. What would you tell players were the benefits of participation?
7. What do you think young people learn from playing sport?
8. What are some of the things you focus on that make sport participation educative?
9. What are some of the things that you feel you could address better but ....?
10. What do you believe are the educational benefits of sport participation for high school youth? What are the drawbacks?
11. What do you believe is this schools role toward sport provision?
12. Can you share any examples of student experiences in sport that you have witnessed that have stuck out in your mind? Why do you think that example has remained in your memory? Any others - examples of males, females, Freshman, Seniors...?
13. Have you ever collaborate with agencies such as Columbus Parks and Recreation to facilitate students' sport participation needs? Is there a need to investigate such a development? Is the high school the best place to accommodate sport provision? What are your reasons for your perspective?
14. What do you think could be done to encourage more students to participate in sport? What do you see as significant impediments to promoting participation?
15. What do you see as the advantages of having high school teachers as coaches of interscholastic sport? What are the disadvantages?
16. Have you noticed any trends in participation that occur during the time a student attends Beechcroft over four years? Has there been any significant changes in who participates, who withdraws, motives for playing, school successes etc. during your time at Beechcroft?
17. If you were given an open mandate (and check book) what would you like to see happen to sport at Beechcroft? What changes would you make?
18 What do you think needs to be done to get more young people interested in sport participation?

19 Would you share any cautions with them about what to be careful of?

20 Do you think adolescents prefer organized formal sports or informal sports with friends - what are your reasons for that choice?

21 What are some of the things that keep you coaching sport?

**Sport experiences**

**Past - Memories of sport**

22 Can you tell me some of the memories you have about coaching sport?

23 What would be your favourite memory?

24 Are there any other particular games or practices that really stick out in your mind? Can you share some of them with me?

25 Why do you think you have remembered those particular things?

26 What are some of the chief issues that high schools or community groups need to address to enhance sport provision to young people?

27 What is your view of school sport...here at BHS...what do you get out of it?

28 Is there any connection between PE and school sport?

29 Is there any connection between PE and your sport involvement?

Other comments or questions for me?
APPENDIX H

Human Subjects Approval Form
Research Involving Human Subjects

ACTION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

With regard to the employment of human subjects in the proposed research protocol:

9680347  A CASE STUDY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM REFORM INITIATIVES AT AN URBAN HIGH SCHOOL; Mary M. O’Sullivan, School of Physical Activity and Educational Services

THE BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES HUMAN SUBJECTS IRB HAS TAKEN THE FOLLOWING ACTION:

X  APPROVED  _____ DISAPPROVED

_____ APPROVED WITH CONDITIONS  _____ WAIVER OF WRITTEN CONSENT GRANTED

It is the responsibility of the principal investigator to retain a copy of each signed consent form for at least three (3) years beyond the termination of the subject’s participation in the proposed activity. Should the principal investigator leave the University, signed consent forms are to be transferred to the Human Subjects IRB for the required retention period. This application has been approved for the period of one year. You are reminded that you must promptly report any problems to the IRB, and that no procedural changes may be made without prior review and approval. You are also reminded that the identity of the research participants must be kept confidential.

Date: December 5, 1997

Signed: ________________________________

(Chairperson)
APPENDIX H

Member Check Release Form
Dear

Please find enclosed a copy of the transcript representing our recent interview conducted at High School. I would be grateful if you could read through this document and make any comments, deletions, or changes that you feel are appropriate. I encourage you to write on the document should you need to.

The raw data obtained from this research will remain confidential to myself and my advisor, Dr. Mary O'Sullivan at Ohio State University. In the final dissertation participants' anonymity will be protected through the use of pseudonym's. The school where this study is based will also have a fictitious title. It is my hope that the findings from this investigation will help us learn more about the role of sport in the lives of urban adolescent youth and we can enhance their experiences to the point where they decide to include sport in their lives.

The opportunity to compare and contrast student perspectives with yours is a valuable part of this exercise. Your contribution toward this exercise is appreciated. Having read the transcript, and if you approve that it is a true and accurate record of our discussion could you please sign below authorizing your release of the contents for this study. Should you have any concerns please note these or alternatively call me at home (262-1691) anytime. Please leave this page and the transcription with the front office secretary's. Should you wish a final copy of the transcript please advise me accordingly.

Sincerely,

Clive C. Pope
Doctoral candidate
Ohio State University

I have read the transcript and I approve of its release subject to the specified changes and ethical considerations that I have been made aware of.

Signed .......................... Date ..........................
LIST OF REFERENCES


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Center for Qualitative Solutions and Research (1998). NUD•IST (Version 4) [Qualitative Data Analysis]. La Trobe University, Australia: Sage Publications.


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Mixon, L. (1981). An analysis of attitudes pertaining to the equality of opportunity to play sports and sport engagement of fifth-and eighth-grade students in an inner city, urban, and suburban setting. Unpublished Ph. D., Ohio State University, Columbus.


