Sociology

of

Sport

and

Physical Activity

Third Edition

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Edited by:

George B. Cunningham and Marlene A. Dixon

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Stacy Warner is a Professor of Sport Management at East Carolina University. Warner earned a Master's degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. Her research has primarily focused on the roles that sport and sport culture play in the lives of individuals through communities, families, social networks, and work environments. Additionally, Warner has acquired work experience in many facets of the sports industry. She often utilizes these experiences to critically examine sport and consider how sport *can* have a positive impact on the life quality of individuals.

Jon Welty Peachey is Associate Professor of Sport Management in the Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He teaches courses in management of sport organizations, critical issues in sport, facility and event planning, sport finance, and organizational behavior at the undergraduate and graduate levels. His research agenda centers upon sport-for-development and social change, organizational change, and developing effective and inclusive leadership strategies for sport organizations. He is a Research Fellow with the North American Society for Sport Management, serves as Associate Editor for the *Journal of Sport Management*, is on the editorial boards of *Sport Management Review* and *Event Management: An International Journal* among others, and is a frequent invited speaker and consultant internationally on leadership and sport-for-development. He has published more than 75 scholarly articles

and book chapters, and given over 100 presentations at academic conferences around the word. Prior to his work in academia, Dr. Welty Peachey served as a senior administrator in the international sport-for-development field for a decade.

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PREFACE

Sport and physical activity are wildly popular worldwide. Simply go to a university's recreation center on any given evening. Inside, you will witness hundreds of students exercising on treadmills, lifting weights, playing pickup basketball games, challenging one another in squash and racquetball, climbing rock walls, running on the track, participating in spin classes, swimming laps in a pool, and practicing yoga. Outside, you might observe people playing water volleyball, participating in a game of beach volleyball, or taking part in any number of intramural contests—ranging from flag football to Frisbee golf. Or, as another example, drive by athletic fields on a given weekend, and you will likely see children—both girls and boys—participating in soccer, baseball, flag football, or other contests. Not only are the children participating, but their parents, siblings, friends, and neighbors are oftentimes cheering for them on the sidelines.

As these examples illustrate, sport and physical activity are central parts of our daily lives. Not only do people actively participate in sport and physical activity, but we are also inundated with information about such activities in newspapers, the Internet, in magazines, and on television. The primacy of sport and physical activity has resulted in the academic study of those endeavors, including the management of, psychological dynamics associated with, and sociological analysis of sport and physical activity. The focus of this book, *Sociology of Sport and Physical Activity* (3rd ed.), is on the latter academic pursuit.

We have expanded this edition of the book, including a variety of chapters authored by scholars from around the world. The first several chapters focus on introductory material, with a discussion of the foundations of the sociology of sport and physical activity (Cunningham and Welty Peachey), sociological theory and research (Cunningham), and the intersection of sport and social class (Cunningham). We then move into examination of sport and physical activity in society, with chapters concentrating on sport and health (Edwards and Casper), sport and the economy (Sparvero and Dixon), international sport (Brown, Kang, and Lee), the environmental impact of sport and physical activity (McCullough), sport for social change and development (Cohen and Welty Peachey), and deviance (Waltemyer). This section is followed by chapters focusing on sport and institutions, including sport and community (Warner), youth sport (Dixon, Burden, Newhouse-Bailey, and Anderson), and intercollegiate sport (Nite). In the final section, the authors investigate the relationship among sport, physical activity, and culture, including chapters focusing on race (Bopp and *Vadeboncoeur*), gender (Sartore-Baldwin), and religion (Nite and Hutchinson).

The book is intended for upper-level undergraduate and graduate students. We also expect, though, that coaches, administrators, fitness instructors, physical education teachers, and any other person who is involved in sport or physical activity will benefit from the text's information. Each chapter has several features that should aid in the learning process. These include (a) learning objectives at the beginning of each chapter, (b) discussion questions that instructors can use to stimulate conversations concerning the chapter topic, and (c) supplemental readings, which people can consult to gain a deeper understanding of the chapter content.

We are thankful to the many colleagues who agreed to write chapters for the book. Not only have they been a joy to work with, but their keen insights and insightful analyses of sport and physical activity make for engaging reading. We are also thankful to the many students with whom we have worked over the years. Not only have we enjoyed our interactions with them in the classroom, our offices, and labs, but we have learned much from them. These interactions have certainly informed our writings in this book.

George B. Cunningham and Marlene A. Dixon
Editors

CHAPTER 1

FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY[1]

George B. Cunningham and Jon Welty Peachey

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Define sport, physical activity, and sociology.
2. Differentiate between sociology and other related disciplines.
3. Identify the ways in which sport is a microcosm of society.

INTRODUCTION

Sport and physical activity are deeply embedded in American society. People routinely engage in these activities, either as participants, by talking about them with friends and family, or by watching them as spectators. Sport's cultural significance in the US is perhaps best illustrated by examining people's behaviors during mega-events, like the Super Bowl. According to Jamie Ballard (2019), over half of Americans watch the contest, and one-in-seven attend parties related to the event. Many people skip work the following day, likely as a form of recovery from the previous night's activities.

As this example illustrates, sport and physical activity represent some of the most pervasive cultural phenomena in North America, and they represent the focus of this book. Specifically, we adopt a sociological focus to critically examine the role of sport and physical activity in society and the role they play in people's lives. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a foundation of that discussion. In doing so, we define key constructs, outline the utility of adopting a sociological lens to study sport and physical activity, and close by discussing the ways in which sport and physical activity represent a microcosm of society.

KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Sport and Physical Activity

People oftentimes have their own implicit definition of sport. By this, we mean that though they might not have formal classification schemes in place, they have a general understanding of what activities they consider sport. After all, sport represents a prominent institution, and people engage in, read about, discuss, or view it on a nearly daily basis.

Despite this general understanding, few people have a formal definition of sport. Because of this, disagreements often emerge concerning what is a sport and what is not. For instance, while most people consider soccer a sport, the water becomes murkier when considering other activities, like horseracing, racecar driving, or professional wrestling. In a recent exchange in an academic journal, scholars offered perspectives on whether e-sport was a sport (Cunningham et al., 2018; Funk et al., 2018; Hallmann & Giel, 2018; Heere, 2018). To add to the equivocality, television channels devoted to sports news and programming, like ESPN, will televise events that few might consider sport, like Spelling Bee competitions.

So, in what process does one engage to demarcate some of these activities as sport, but others as something else? For that matter, if soccer is considered a sport, is this true across all contexts? Certainly, one would consider elite soccer competitions, such as those that occur at the FIFA World Cup, as sport, but what about 5-year-olds kicking the soccer ball in their back yard?

Questions such as these have prompted scholars to develop formal definitions of sport. According to these authors:

- Sport is "an institutionalized competitive activity involving two or more opponents and stressing physical exertion by serious competitors who represent or are part of formally organized associations" (Nixon, 1984, p. 13).
- Sport is "a competitive activity involving at least two competitors, requiring physical skill, following formal rules, and occurring within a formal organizational framework" (LeUnes, 2008, p. 5).
- Sports represent "physical activities that involve challenges or competitive contest" (Coakley, 2015, p. 6).

We can draw several points from these definitions. First, sport is physical in nature. It involves physical exertion and participants demonstrating physical skill. This requirement rules out some activities that might be observed on sport-focused television programming, such as playing chess or competing in a spelling bee. Second, sport involves at least two people. Thus, a woman who runs 6 miles each morning before starting her day is not engaging in sport because she is not competing against others. Third, and related to the previous point, sport involves competition. This element not only excludes the woman who starts each day with a morning run, but it also excludes non-competitive forms of physical activity, such as professional wrestling. Fourth, sport is bound by formal rules of competition. The types and universality of rules might vary, ranging from guidelines set by international governing bodies to those set by a local parks and recreation department for their leagues. In either case, the rules and policies shape the nature of participation and provide boundaries for appropriate behaviors. This means that persons competing in the adult kickball league sponsored by the Austin Recreation Center are engaging in sport, while children casually kicking a ball to one another in their front yard are not.

In addition to considering the definition of sport, it is also instructive to examine other forms of movement. Consider the following:

- Physical activity refers to "any body movement produced by skeletal muscles that requires energy expenditure" (World Health Organization, n.d.)
- Exercise represents "a form of leisure physical activity (as opposed to occupational or household physical activity) that is undertaken in order to achieve a particular objective (e.g., improved appearance, improved cardiovascular fitness, reduced stress, fun)" (Lox et al., 2010, p. 4).

Inclusion of these terms allows for a broader investigation of how people are physically active and how doing so impacts their lives. That is, rather than limiting the examination to formal, competitive physical activities involving two or more people (i.e., focusing exclusively on sport), considering physical activity and exercise allows for examination into a variety of ways in which people are active. This includes teenagers playing a game of pick-up basketball, a girl swimming laps in the evenings, or an older adult who participates in Pilates three times a week. All of these represent certain forms of physical activity and warrant sociological analysis. As such, the chapters in this book evaluate the influence of both sport and physical activity in society.

Prevalence of Sport and Physical Activity
Sport is one of the most popular institutions in American society. As one illustrative example, consider the media attention devoted to major sport events, like the Super Bowl, Olympics, and World Cup, among others. According to the Nielson Company, an organization that tracks how many Americans watch different televisions shows, seven of the 10 most-watched television programs in 2018 were sports related. The prevalence of televised sport is seen elsewhere, too: multiple television stations are solely devoted to covering sports, and the major broadcast stations in the US (ABC, CBS, FOX, and NBC) all dedicate much of their weekend programming to sports.

But television represents just one element of sports' media reach. Thousands of Internet websites focus exclusively on an array of sport and physical activity topics, including official team information, player profiles, education (e.g., swimming techniques, coaching strategies), college recruiting, and fantasy sports, to name but a few. As a testament to the popularity of these sites, there were over 59 million fantasy football users in 2017, and the industry generated over $7 billion (Rodriguez, 2017). Finally, large portions of print media are committed to sport and physical activity. As one well-known example, the *USA Today*, which has the largest circulation in America, reserves a quarter of the news coverage to sport and physical activity.

Not only is the media coverage substantial, but so too is the amount spent on sport and physical activity. Plunkett Research (n.d.) estimated the US sport industry to be $519 billion in 2017. The figure grows to $1.3 trillion when considering the sport industry worldwide. As if this statistic was not impressive enough, Plunkett also offers data about the growth of sports. Since 2007, the size of the industry has grown 32 percent (see Exhibit 1.1). Most of the economic activity comes from physical activity and exercise endeavors, or what Chelladurai (2014) refers to as participant sport. The latter point further illustrates the importance of considering the influence of both sport and physical activity in society.

Exhibit 1.1. Size of US Sport Industry, 2007-2017
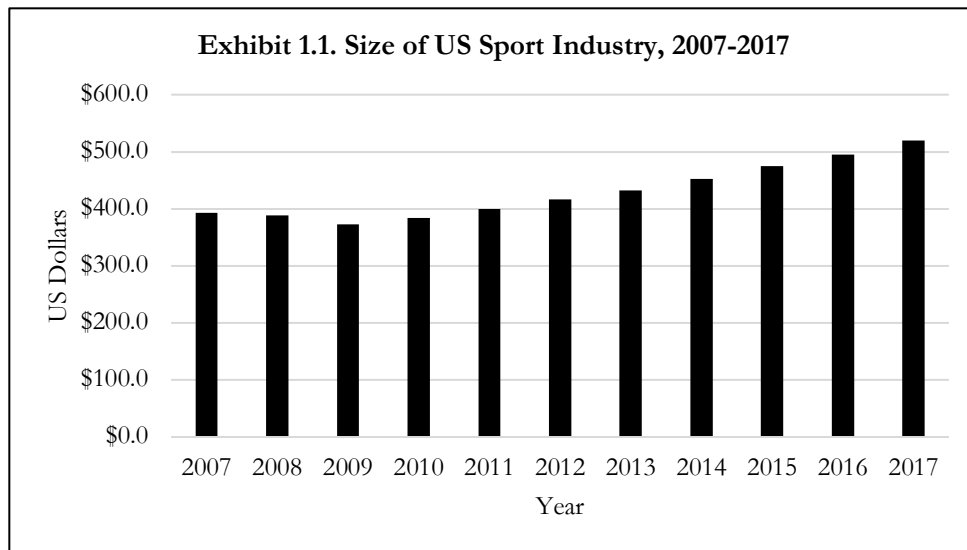
Sociology
The focus of this book is to examine sport and physical activity from a sociological perspective, and therefore it is important to define "sociology." Available definitions include:

- Sociology "is the systematic study of social behavior interpersonally, in groups, and in organizations" (Sage & Eitzen, 2013, p. 4).
- Sociology "is the study of social worlds that people create, organize, maintain, and change through their relationships with one another" (Coakley, 2015, p. 4).
- Sociology "is the analysis of the structure of social relationships as constituted by social interaction" (Abercrombie et al., 2000, p. 333).

Several themes appear in these definitions. First, sociology is an academic discipline aimed at scientifically studying phenomena. Second, sociologists examine people and the institutions these people create. By institutions, we are referring to the practices that are continually repeated, that are shaped by prevailing norms, values, and standards, and that have special meaning to those in a particular context. Finally, and

related to the previous point, researchers adopting a sociological lens primarily study social issues and the manner in which people engage and interact with one another.

Sociology is distinct from other, related scientific disciplines, such as biology and psychology. Biologists frequently focus on people and their behaviors but do so by examining factors internal to the individual, such as their genetics or physiological makeup. Psychologists, on the other hand, also examine people, their attitudes, and behaviors, but do so by focusing on mental processes and how these influence people's attitudes, values, and actions.

To better understand the nature of these differences, let us consider how biologists, psychologists, and sociologists might study a common topic in sport: sexual orientation. The biologist might examine this topic by considering how genetic and physiological factors are associated with one's sexual orientation. For instance, Hamer et al. (1993) observed that DNA markers on the X chromosome genetically influenced men's sexual orientation. Psychologists might approach the topic by focusing on people's attitudes and different mental processes. For instance, some researchers have argued that conceptualizing sexual orientation as only reflective of one's sexual partners is overly limited and does not consider other, meaningful factors. Instead, they suggest that one's sexual orientation is multidimensional, consisting of behaviors, attractions, fantasies, and self-image (Savin-Williams, 2016). Finally, unlike biological and psychological examinations of sexual orientation, with a focus on factors internal to the individual, a sociological approach would draw attention to cultural, environmental, and societal factors. For instance, Sartore and Cunningham (2010) observed how an organization's culture, policies, history, and leadership all served to stigmatize lesbians and heterosexual women presumed to be lesbian.

To better understand the nature of sociology, consider the three basic assumptions that undergird sociologists' outlook toward the world (Sage, Eitzen, & Beal, 2018). First, sociologists view people as social beings by their very nature. Consider that children enter the world completely dependent upon others for their survival and that throughout time, people have routinely found it more advantageous to cooperate with one another in order to provide basic functions, such as defense, food, and shelter. Second, sociologists maintain that people are largely socially determined, as they are products of their social environment. Various socialization agents, including friends, family, the church, and the media, among others, shape people's attitudes and their behaviors. Third, sociologists suggest that people create, shape, and challenge the social contexts in which they are situated. That is, social groups of all types, such as families, corporations, and societies, are formed by their members. As the group members interact with one another, they continually sustain and, through human agency, change their social environments.

Sociology of Sport and Physical Activity

Given this background, we can define the *sociology of sport and physical activity* as a subsection of sociology that studies sport and physical activity as social phenomena. Research in the sociology of sport and physical activity seeks to answer a number of questions, including:

- Why are some sports valued and promoted, while others are not? How does this vary by society?
- What are some of the ethical issues associated with sport and physical activity? How do these issues impact subsequent participation opportunities?
- What is the economic significance of sport and physical activity, and how does sport serve to reinforce classism?
- How do the media shape people's perceptions of sport and physical activity?
- How do sport and sport participants affect the environment, and what can they do to lessen any negative impact?
- What is the influence of being physically active on people's development, health, and well-being?
- How does sport and physical activity impact one's notion of masculinity and femininity, sexual orientation, class, race, religion, and politics?

These questions, and others like them, are more easily addressed by considering sport and physical activity as social constructions, or "parts of the social world that are created by people as they interact with one another under particular social, political, and economic conditions" (Coakley, 2015, p. 8). By adopting such a lens, one comes to see that participants, spectators, coaches, administrators, and all other persons involved collectively shape notions of sport and physical activity. How people think about sport and physical activity is not static; instead, these notions are created and recreated within a particular cultural milieu and, thus, intersect with other portions of society.

In short, studying sport and physical activity from a sociological perspective requires people to thoughtfully and critically analyze these social phenomena. It means moving beyond simply analyzing box scores or win-loss records to consider how sport, as a social construction, shapes people's lives and influences their well-being. It also means identifying prevalent issues within sport and physical activity and considering the controversies embedded in this context. In doing so, people can be better informed about the impact of sport and physical activity on society.

Adopting such a lens, while fruitful, is not always comfortable. Sport and physical activity are highly valued in society, and in many ways, represent microcosms of society—a point we highlight in the following section. People are also strongly attached to sport, and this means that they might see the articulation of sport's faults or shortcomings as a personal affront.

As an illustrative example, there is considerable evidence that, relative to boys and men, girls and women are under-represented in sport, receive fewer resources for their athletic endeavors, and are trivialized in the media, with an emphasis on their physical appearance rather than their athletic talents (for an overview, see Cunningham, 2019). These patterns suggest that structural changes are needed: not only should girls and women receive more resources and participation opportunities, but perhaps more importantly, people's beliefs about who should and should not participate in sport and physical activity require alteration. This position, while embraced by some, is frequently dismissed by men. After all, sport was created by men, for men, and men have historically had the most power and privilege in this context. Thus, it is hardly surprising that men will oftentimes point to alternative explanations (e.g., women have little interest in sport and physical activity) to justify the current structure and distribution of resources.

As the previous example illustrates, adopting a sociological perspective can spur controversies and debate. But while sometimes making people feel uneasy, these discussions are fruitful, as they bring to light the social implications of sport and physical activity and how these activities influence participants and spectators. In the following section, we continue this dialogue by considering the ways in which sport and physical activity serve as a microcosm of society.

SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AS A MICROCOSM OF SOCIETY
As we previously mentioned, sport is a microcosm of society. By this, we mean that sport is a window into, or a mirror which reflects the underlying values, beliefs and assumptions of a cultural group. Sport shows us what we as a society are committed to, and what our motivations are (Fahey, 2008). As an institution, sport provides a convenient laboratory, in many ways, for researchers to examine societal values, socialization, bureaucracy and other structures and processes that exist at the societal level. Whether examining the attitudes and behavior of professional sport fans, or the behavior of parents at youth soccer league matches, the types of sports, the way in which they are organized, who participates and who is excluded, all offer clues about the nature of society (Eitzen & Sage, 2009).

Sport and Societal Values
Sports are an integral aspect of the social and cultural contexts in which people live, and they engage more people in a shared experience than any other institution or cultural activity today (Coakley, 2015). Since the 19th century, academicians have contended that modern sport is infused with societal values and that sport then promotes and reinforces these value systems (Breivik, 1998; Digel, 1988). Values are "the criteria

people use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people (including the self) and events" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 1). They (a) are beliefs that transcend specific situations, (b) pertain to desirable end states or behaviors, (c) guide selection or evaluation of behavior or events, and (d) vary in terms of relative importance (Schwartz, 1992). They are what we deem to be worthwhile, interesting, excellent, desirable and important (DeSensi & Rosenberg, 2003).

Essentially, the moral values that are the constitutive elements of sport are expressions and reflections of the basic moral values of society (Simon, Torres, & Hager, 2015). Our values are a social construction of reality, whereby our value systems are not independent and eternal, but ever changing, and created by human interaction in societies (Berger & Luckman, 1966). It follows that individuals in a society are then socialized through sports, as the structure and values of sport influence individuals' development and moral attitudes, for good or bad (Nucci & Young-Shim, 2005). As such, the sociology of sport and physical activity is important because people use sport to reaffirm ideas and beliefs that are important to them and widely held by others (Coakley, 2015). Because of this, an attack upon sport is often viewed as an attack upon society itself (Sage et al., 2018).

Our focus here will be on the predominant American values that are mirrored in sport, consistent with Sage and colleagues (2018). These values are success, competition, valued means to achieve, progress, materialism, and external conformity. It must be recognized that values are culturally derived, and sport will mirror values reflective of the society in which it operates. In other words, the American culture places a high degree of value on competition and materialism, which are not emphasized as much in more cooperative Asian cultures such as Japan and Korea. Thus, the values which sport mirrors may be different in America than in more cooperative societies.

We must also note that because sport reflects society, society and its values will influence sport in both good and bad ways (Breivik, 1998). Both good and bad actors and actions will be found in sport as they are in society. For instance, as will be described below, one of the negative consequences of American society's high value on competition is the win-at-all-costs mentality that pervades sport at all levels, resulting in deviance and various illegal activities and scandals. This win-at-all costs focus is at the root of the scandals involving performance enhancing drugs in professional sport, the recruiting and ethical violations in collegiate athletics, and the highly competitive professional sport model that is infiltrating youth sport resulting in parental misconduct and youth burnout. Nevertheless, for good or bad, sport is a microcosm of society, and because of this, the sociology of sport and physical activity is vitally important.

Success
In a competitive culture such as the U.S., society frames success and excellence as aspects that must be displayed and measured in the constant pursuit of human excellence (Russell, 2007). We value the self-made person, or the individual who has achieved money and status through his or her efforts in a highly competitive system (Sage et al., 2018). The metrics we use to gauge success are often economic in focus, such as income, personal wealth, and the amount of possessions that we attain. We idolize self-made figures in the business world such as Warren Buffet, Oprah Winfrey, and Sam Walton, or National Basketball Association (NBA) athletes such as LeBron James and the all-time great Michael Jordan, who have parleyed success on the field or court into material gain (e.g., luxury homes and cars, expensive jewelry). In fact, the most striking aspect of American culture could be that we identify standards of personal excellence with competitive occupational achievement (Williams, 1970).

The focus on competition and success is also seen in sport, where there is a preoccupation with winning (Woods, 2007). Americans want winners, whether they are in school, politics, business, sport, or any other endeavor, and this aim to win is reflective of society's value system (Russell, 2007). Thus, in sport, most persons who participate glorify winning. We oftentimes consider athletes and coaches who fail to win the "big" one as failures (Woods, 2016). Do we really ever remember who the runners-up were in a given year in the Super Bowl, World Series, or National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) men's and women's

basketball championships? Coaches and sport administrators, then, make it a priority to socialize their athletes with the value of winning, and reinforce this with rewards, status, praise, honor, and "perks" (Sage et al., 2018). This demand for winners is found at all levels of sport, from professional to grass roots community recreation leagues for children and youth, as evidenced by the mammoth attention given to the Little League World Series, the Gatorade "Punt, Pass, and Kick" contests, and other national sport competitions for youth.

Competition
Going hand in hand with success, American society values competition as a means to succeed and achieve. The moral values associated with competition support, stand for, and express familiar values in all institutions that exist to promote human excellence, and hence reflect societal values (Russell, 2007). Competition infuses almost all aspects of American society, from the corporate world to schools to the Boy and Girl Scouts to our sporting pursuits, resulting in a "survival of the fittest" mentality. Competition selects out those not perceived as fit to succeed or achieve, and thus, becomes synonymous with American society. Within this environment, there is subsequently a tendency to evaluate individuals based on their accomplishments, rather than on their personality, character and other more human qualities (Sage et al., 2018). Competitive sport, as it evolved in the 20th century, came to embody our society's competitive spirit and values, which then had bearing on how sport in North America was organized (Breivik, 1998).

However, as a result of the competitive process and the "survival of the fittest" approach to life and sport, people oftentimes reward winning disproportionally. When winning thus becomes the end all and be all, when winning becomes everything, coaches and players can turn to forms of cheating and deviance to achieve success and consequently take advantage of others in order to win, just as individuals and businesses outside of sport engage in illegal activities fueled by the drive to win-at-all-costs (Sage et al., 2018). This win-at-all-costs philosophy distorts our sense of values, and individuals believe that the ends justify the means. When this happens, we see athletes tempted to use performance-enhancing drugs to gain a competitive edge, coaches engaging in illegal recruiting practices to sign the star prodigy, and parents pushing their children beyond what is normal to succeed so that they can secure that college athletics scholarship. Thus, in a competitive society, competition is what drives us in life and sport, and because we have difficulty coming in second, we often engage in illegal and inappropriate activities to ensure that we do indeed finish first.

The Valued Means to Achieve
A third manner in which sport mirrors societal values is that sport embodies the characteristics and mechanisms reflecting the desired means to achieve that permeate a given society. For instance, in American society, there are three related and highly valued means to succeed (Sage et al., 2018). The first is the Puritan ideal of hard work. We value individuals who are industrious and make something of themselves out of nothing, such as the American story of an immigrant who came to this country with nothing and then through hard work and sacrifice, became a wealthy individual. On the other hand, we denigrate those who do not. Americans tend to believe that poor people deserve to be poor because they do not work as hard as middle- or upper- class individuals. Secondly, American society believes that a pathway to success is through continual striving for excellence. We believe that one should never give up, and that economic success is always possible (i.e., attainment of the American dream). Finally, deferred gratification is also valued as a means to achieve in American society. By this, we mean that individuals have a willingness to forsake immediate pleasure for the promise of later rewards. A successful individual in the U.S. is thus one who has the drive to stay in school, work two jobs, or go to night school for the prospect of attaining future rewards.

Sport, then, mirrors these societal values of means to achieve, as athletes presumably obtain individual achievements in sport through hard work, perseverance and sacrifice. Essentially, the American work ethic is the sport ethic (Sage et al., 2018). Sport embodies the most powerful principles of achievement-oriented, competitive societies. As Digel (1998) asserts, "The principle of achievement as it exists in the realm of

sport permits an almost utopistically pure presentation of competitive achievement such as cannot be found in any other spheres of life" (p. 180). Sport symbolically represents both individual motivation and achievement, and it is this principle of achievement and continual striving for excellence, which is the mechanism for the distribution of rewards, both in society and in sport (Digel, 1988; Woods, 2016). The top performers in sport are fueled and rewarded by the societal demand for increased achievement, and coaches promote the conservative American values of hard work, discipline, perseverance, and respect for authority (Woods, 2016). As such, competitive sport is a window into the valued means to achieve in a society.

Progress
Another way in which sport reflects societal values is through its emphasis on progress. Societies will differ with regards to their focus on the past, present, or future. American society places paramount importance upon the future. While not totally devaluing the past or present, Americans give greater emphasis to the future and progress, to obtaining a better job, a brighter future, a bigger home in a nice neighborhood, a college education for the children, and the like (Sage et al., 2018). Americans are not satisfied with the status quo, and continually strive for growth (i.e.., bigger is better). However, while progress connotes change, there are some aspects of society which many people feel should not be changed, such as the political system, economic system, and fundamental American values. Thus, many do not favor radical changes in the system.

Within the sport context, coaches, athletes, fans, the media and other stakeholders place a high degree of value on progress. Athletes and teams strive for continual improvement and progress towards goals, through setting records, winning more games and championships, or mastering new techniques to enhance performance. Society deems those who do not progress as failures, and thus we see coaches fired routinely for failing to have a winning record, or athletes traded because of poor performance in a given year. Therefore, the values of the sport system are rooted in society's focus on progress and on the rewards attainable to those who succeed and achieve.

Materialism
A fifth societal value mirrored in sport is the overwhelming emphasis on materialism. Americans believe that hard work and effort should result in increased economic standing, income, and in the acquisition and consumption of goods and services exceeding our basic needs of nutrition, medical care, shelter, and transportation (Sage et al., 2018). All of this indicates measures of success in the competitive struggle, and are aspects of what Americans consider to be the "good life." The acceptance of materialism is synonymous with the American dream (McDorman et al., 2006). Thus, the goal for many is to accumulate possessions that bring status and provide for a better way of life. This is realized in several ways, including our choices of homes, clothing styles, boats, prestigious neighborhoods in which we live, season tickets, and country club memberships, among others (Sage et al., 2018).

Sport, then, embodies this emphasis on materialism, is integrally tied to the material and economic conditions of society, and reinforces these materialistic value systems (Breivik, 1998). In the 19th and 20th centuries, as sport became more businesslike, the corporate model began infiltrating the organization of sport franchises and governing bodies (Woods, 2016). We see this evidenced by the fact that college and professional teams are driven by money concerns, such as lucrative television deals, professional teams relocating to more economically viable cities, and by the focus on profit as the bottom line. Within college sport, there is an arms race for bigger and better facilities. Athletes are also motivated by material considerations, and accumulating more money, perks and other rewards seems to be the mercenary motivation of many athletes rather than a pure love of the game or loyalty to the team and fans (DeSensi & Rosenberg, 2003; Sage et al., 2018). Free agency has resulted in multi-million-dollar contracts, and the appeal of materialism for athletes is expressed in symbols such as contractual bonuses and huge television endorsements. The problem here is that these large payouts may cause athletes to lose perspective on the meaning of money and even complain about their "meager" salaries as compared to others (McDorman et al., 2006). Fans, too, are not immune to the trappings of materialism, as we are attracted to plush stadiums with the latest

amenities (such as the $1.5 billion Mercedes-Benz Stadium, home of the NFL's Atlanta Falcons), and by athletes and teams playing in contests with huge sums of money at stake. As such, materialism is all pervasive, in American society as well as sport.

External Conformity
Finally, sport also mirrors society with regards to the value the institution places on external conformity. Societies cannot tolerate total freedom by individuals, so to avoid disorder, societies socialize individuals into acceptable beliefs and practices (Sage et al., 2018). As individuals strive to be successful in the eyes of others, they seek validation through shared standards of achievement or conformity. Society, then, expects conformity, and not deviance. We can segment conformity in American society into two levels. On one level, Americans conform to the official expectations of the nation, state or community through the customs and laws. Deviations from these expectations are punished. On another level, individuals conform to expectations of closely-knit groups, such as families, peers or work groups. However, the bureaucratic trend in American society also forces individuals to conform. Bureaucracy is rational and values conformity to rules and procedures in order to accomplish organizational objectives. The interests of the organization supersede those of the individual. In fact, the values that emerge from this hierarchal form of organization have become core values of American society.

Within the sport context, conformity is highly valued. Coaches expect behavioral conformity of athletes to promote team unity and achieve team objectives. Coaches demand that players dress and speak in certain ways, behave in certain ways, conduct themselves appropriately in front of the media or on social media outlets, and expect the subordination of the self to team success, just as in all bureaucratic structures which reflect society's value on external conformity. In addition, athletes and players are expected to accept the authority of the coach without question. Those who challenge the coach's authority are labeled as insubordinate and are soon traded or dismissed from the team. This is another aspect of external conformity found in sport (Sage et al., 2018). Athletes should not challenge the systems, rules, and power structures of a coach or of sport in general, or they are considered deviant. Athletes are, in essence, viewed as instruments to achieve organizational goals, as a means to an end.

The Power of Sport to Shape Values and Change
Before concluding, we must recognize the fact that sports also have the potential to affect and change societal values. The social environment shapes members of society, but they can also change that environment. This process of human agency occurs when individuals actively shape social life by adapting to, negotiating with, and changing social structures (Sage et al., 2018). Sport and its value systems can influence society in both good and bad ways (Breivik, 1998), and sport can be a platform to point for the need for change in society (Woods, 2016). For instance, there is evidence that sport can foster the development of social capital, or "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that can facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995, p. 66). Bonding social capital occurs when individuals form relationships with similar others (e.g., with peers, neighbors, individuals of the same social strata), whereas bridging social capital is when relationships and networks are formed with dissimilar others (e.g., with individuals from different social strata). An example of bridging social capital is when the homeless individuals playing on a soccer team through an intervention designed to use sport to help them get back on their feet, form close friendships with their volunteer coaches. These bridging relationships then help link the homeless players to other social services, such as housing, education and jobs (Welty Peachey, Borland, Lobpries, & Cohen, 2015).

Sport can increase the social capital of homeless soccer players in the Homeless World Cup (Sherry, 2010), and among participants in running events in the U.S. to stimulate community development (Zhou & Kaplanidou, 2018). In addition to developing social capital, sport has been used in Northern Ireland to promote interaction and break down barriers between Protestant and Catholic youth (Woods, 2016); with the World Scholar-Athlete Games to help with prejudice reduction among its youth participants (Welty

Peachey, Cunningham, Lyras, Cohen, & Bruening, 2015); in Israel to foster cross-cultural acceptance between Palestinians and Jews (Sugden, 2006); in Cyprus to foster peace and understanding between Greek and Turkish Cypriots on this divided island (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011); in Sri Lanka to work at peace building between different ethnic groups (Schulenkorf, 2010); as a way to foster women's and girl's empowerment (Seal & Sherry, 2018); and as a vehicle to combat urban unrest and juvenile delinquency in the U.S. and England (Coakley & Dunning, 2004). Thus, sports and sport interventions have the potential to influence social worlds and value systems if strategically designed and managed toward targeted outcomes (Coalter, 2013), which is another reason why the sociological study of sport and physical activity is so vitally important.

As has been shown, the American value system influences the structure, operation, and performance of sport, and sport in turn reinforces and mirrors these values. Sport also reaffirms our beliefs and ideas about gender, race and class, and can also serve as a site to challenge dominant ideologies and values of a given society, pointing to the need for change. Therefore, because sport is a microcosm of society and also a potential site for change, the sociological study of sport and physical activity is of high importance to academicians, students, practitioners, and all stakeholders involved in the production and consumption of contemporary sport and athletics.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of the sociology of sport and physical activity. To do so, we first defined and discussed key terms, including sport, physical activity, and sociology. We then discussed how sociology differs from other disciplines, including biology and psychology. The chapter next turned to an analysis of how adopting a sociological lens to study sport and physical activity, while challenging at times, can provide novel insights. In the final section, we provided an outline of how sport and physical activity oftentimes serve as a microcosm of society. To do so, we focused on several values particularly salient within U.S. culture: success, competition, the valued means to achieve, progress, materialism, and external conformity.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. How do you define sport, and how does this definition impact whether you consider certain activities as sport?
2. Do you differentiate between sport and physical activity? Why or why not?
3. We provided several definitions of sociology. Which definition do you prefer and why?
4. How does sociology differ from other disciplines also aimed at understanding people's behaviors, such as biology and psychology?
5. In what ways do sport and physical activity serve as a microcosm of society?
6. Are there aspects of sport and physical activity that are unique to that context and not necessarily observed in other segments of society? If so, why is this the case?

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CHAPTER 2

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND RESEARCH[1]

George B. Cunningham

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Define theory and discuss its applicability to the study of sport and physical activity.
2. Summarize the major theories used to understand sport and physical activity in society.
3. Identify the different research methods for examining sport and physical activity in society.

INTRODUCTION
Social and behavioral scientists who study sport and physical activity in society are, in many ways, different from other people with an interest in the topic. They engage in a specialized form of inquiry called *research*, and in most cases, they draw from and seek to contribute to theory to help them better understand phenomena. The process in which they engage is more specialized than that of a journalist or reporter (who might also conduct research for an article) and also moves beyond common sense. Rather, researchers participate in science and scientific inquiry.

Kerlinger and Lee (2000) articulated five ways in which science and common sense differ:

1. *The use of theory.* To be sure, non-scientists commonly use theories to explain behaviors, but their theories differ from those scientists employ. Lay theories are frequently based on unfounded explanations not subjected to scrutiny. Scientists, on the other hand, systematically build theories subjected to scrutiny and systematic evaluation. Of course, some non-scientists (e.g., Gladwell, 2005) sometimes implicitly use theory, but this is the exception rather than the norm.

2. *Systematic and empirical examination.* Non-scientists test theories in selective fashion and against their own hunches and established beliefs. In this case, a supportive anecdote represents evidence, while they dismiss disconfirming evidence as an anomaly. Scientists, on the other hand, test predictions and theories in laboratory settings or field research, and others scrutinize their findings through the peer review process.

3. *Alternative explanations.* Scientists try to rule out factors that can provide alternative explanations for their findings. They might achieve this through the study design (e.g., conduct an experiment with a control group and an experimental group) or empirically (e.g., by statistically accounting for possible extraneous factors in their analyses). On the other hand, non-scientists will generally accept information in accord with their views and dismiss other factors. For instance, if they believe Blacks are genetically (naturally) more athletic than Whites, they will ignore or dismiss instances where this is not the case.

4. *Relationships among factors.* Social scientists are concerned with understanding and explaining how factors are related to one another, and as a result, they deliberately and systematically examine and scrutinize those relationships. Laypersons might also be interested in relationships, but they do not investigate them in any sort of controlled or precise fashion.

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5. *Explanations of observed phenomena.* Scientists examine readily observable factors and are not concerned with metaphysical explanations. For instance, to suggest that someone wins a boxing match because of God or that it is wrong to express a particular view is to speak metaphysically. They shy away from such discourse because these sentiments are neither testable nor observable. Non-scientists are not concerned with these limitations, and thus, frequently advance such proclamations

As these examples illustrate, social and behavioral scientists explore issues differently than do other persons. These distinctions are largely a function of theory and scientific research. As such, the purpose of this chapter is to explore these issues in greater depth. I start with an explanation of theory and why it is important in the sociological study of sport and physical activity. I then move to a discussion of the prevailing theories scientists use to understand sport and physical activity in society. In the final section, I offer an overview of the different approaches to conducting research and the steps scientists take to conduct their studies.

THEORY
Definition
Theory represents "a statement of constructs and their relationships to one another that explain how, when, why, and under what conditions phenomena take place" (Cunningham, 2013, p. 1; see also Cunningham, Fink, & Doherty, 2016). Several elements of this definition warrant more attention.

First, theory consists of constructs and propositions. Constructs are approximated units that cannot readily be observed, while propositions represent the expected relationships among those constructs (Bacharach, 1989). For instance, suppose a researcher investigates prejudice toward people with disabilities and the degree to which spending time with those individuals helps reduce the negative attitudes toward them. In developing the study, she thinks that context matters, such that interactions spent while participating in sport will be especially useful in lessening prejudice (see Exhibit 2.1 for an illustrative summary). In this example, prejudice, context, and interactions represent constructs. The relationships among the constructs represent propositions.

Exhibit 2.1: Relationships among Interactions, Context, and Prejudice
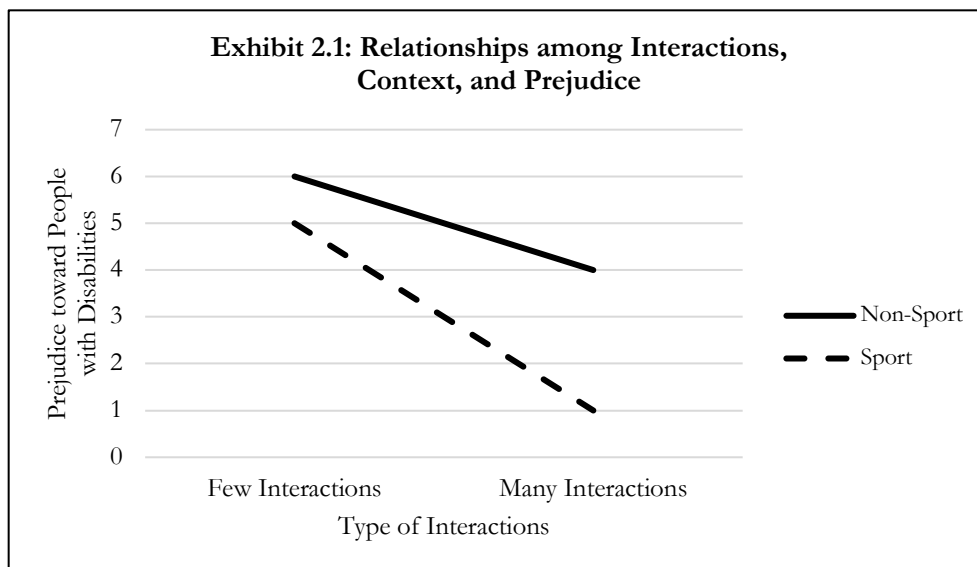
Articulating constructs and their relationships with one another is just part of the story, though. Theory is concerned with explaining *how*, *when*, *why*, and *under what conditions* different activities take place. Drawing from the previous example, the researcher might explain that interactions with people who are different allow people to learn about others, thereby coming to see them as individuals. As a result, anxiety about interacting with people who are different—the very anxiety strongly linked with prejudice—should diminish (Paolini, Harwood, Hewstone, & Neumann, 2018). Further, she might intimate that interactions in sport spur a camaraderie and fellowship among people that other types of interfaces do not. Thus, context matters, maybe more so than the interactions themselves (Morela, Hatzigeorgiadis, Sanchez, & Elbe, 2016).

Applicability
Theory's utility is widespread, as it has the potential to influence research, teaching, service, and practice (Cunningham et al., 2016). Theory is the cornerstone of good research. In fact, Kerlinger and Lee (2000) suggested that theory represents the fundamental aim of science. It is both useful and testable (van Knippenberg, 2011) and allows researchers to frame their research questions, develop their research methods, analyze their data, and interpret their findings. Some scholars have persuasively argued that without theory, one's ability to advance scientific understanding is questionable (Sutton & Staw, 1995).

Theory's utility is not limited to research, though. Rather, it has the potential to inform teaching, service, and practice (Doherty, 2013). Kurt Lewin perhaps best illustrated these sentiments when he wrote, "there is nothing more practical than a good theory" (1952, p. 169). Good theories help people make sense of the world around them. Rather than seeing each phenomena as a unique case or adopting a trial and error approach to solving problems, people can use theories to help understand activities they observe or phenomena that occur within their sport organizations. For instance, people have used theory to help them effectively deliver major sport events (Byrers, Hayday, & Pappous, in press) and use sport for community development and peace-building purposes (Schulenkorf, 2017), among many possible examples.

One way scholars effectively utilize theory is in their relationships with industry professionals (Irwin & Ryan, 2013). Specifically, researchers will sometimes partner with practitioners to solve industry-related problems, and in doing so, the researchers bring their scientific expertise and knowledge of theory with them so they can better address the issues at hand. This partnership benefits sport managers, as they are able to draw from the most recent scientific advances to combat the issues facing them. But, the relationship is not one-sided; instead, the researchers also develop keen understandings of new troubles facing the industry, as well as the limitations of their existing theories and research methods. As a result, the researchers can then take this new knowledge with them to refine and reformulate their theories to better encapsulate what is taking place in the sport industry.

USING THEORY TO UNDERSTAND SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN SOCIETY
Given this background, I now provide an overview of the predominant theories used to understand sport and physical activity in society. Most sociologists and sport sociology textbooks focus solely on sociological theories. In this chapter, while I will address the most common sociological theories, I also include social psychological theories and theories found in the physical activity and community health literature. Doing so allows for a more robust understanding of people's experiences in the sport and physical activity context. For an overview, see Exhibit 2.2.

Sociological Theories
Sociological theories focus on societal factors, such as structural determinants, power, politics, status, and conflict, and how these influence groups and individuals. There are many such perspectives applicable to the study of sport and physical activity in society. However, rather than reviewing them all individually, I aggregate them into four large groups: functionalism theory, conflict theory, critical theory, and interactionist theory.

Exhibit 2.2. Theories Relevant to the Sociology of Sport and Physical Activity

Sociological theories focus on societal factors, such as structural determinants, power, politics, status, and conflict, and how these influence groups and individuals. Prominent theories include functionalism, conflict theory, cultural theories, and interactionist theory.

Social psychological theories focus on interpersonal relationships and the manner by which identity is associated with attitudes and behaviors. Prominent theories include the social categorization framework and the similarity-attraction paradigm.

Physical activity and health theories focus how structural, community, group, and individual factors combine to influence-related health attitudes, behaviors, and opportunities. Prominent theories include social ecological theory and the sport-for-health model.

Functionalism Theory

According to Sage and Eitzen, (2016), functionalism holds that various institutions in society work together to maintain the whole social system. There is a focus on unity, working together, and perseverance in the face of hardship. Note the consistency with other systems, like the human body, where parts (e.g., cells, tissues, organs) work with one another so the whole can function properly.

Sport and physical activity are seen as parts of this system and serve to bring about positive change in society. People adopting a functionalist viewpoint see sport and physical activity as positively contributing to society and benefiting participants through the development of better health and wellness, character development, and the ability to learn life lessons.

As one example, the National Federation of State High School Associations (see www.nfhs.org) published a document outlining potential benefits of participating in high school activities, including athletics. According to the report, high school athletics (and other extracurricular activities):

- Support the academic missions of the schools;
- Are fundamentally educational in nature;
- Are associated with later life success;
- Represent a valuable part of the overall high school experience;
- Have a positive association with academic success in other areas, such as grades;
- Help fulfill basic student needs and minimize dropout rates; and
- Teach important life lessons.

As another example, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention list several benefits of regular physical activity, including:

- Weight control;
- Reduced risk of cardiovascular disease, Type 2 diabetes, and some cancers;
- Strengthening of bones and muscles; and
- Improved mental health, one's ability to engage in everyday activities, and the probability of living a long life.

As these examples illustrate, several people and agencies adopt a functionalist approach when discussing the role of sport and physical activity in society. Whereas they might acknowledge the potential detriments associated with sport and physical activity participation, they either dismiss these shortcomings or argue that they are outweighed by the benefits.

Conflict Theory

Whereas functionalism focuses on the benefits of sport and physical activity to society, conflict theorists examine the social processes that result in disharmony, social discord, and conflict (Sage & Eitzen, 2016). Drawing heavily from philosopher Karl Marx, conflict theory puts a primacy on power, status, and privilege, and holds that people tend toward competition, not cooperation. Consequently, the struggle for resources results in unrest in society and between groups. Conflict theorists argue that people use their resources and privilege as ways to secure their standing in society, ultimately subjugating others; hence, conflict theory highlights social structures and class differences. This reproduction of status and privilege is sometimes achieved explicitly, such as through force. In most other situations, though, the means are more implicit in nature. Here, media images and social institutions, such as churches and schools, reinforce the social structures that privilege some and disadvantage others. The use of social institutions to promote specific ideologies is particularly effective because people will adhere to those ideological tenets even if they are contrary to their best interests. Marx referred to this as *false consciousness.*

As one example, consider the structure and funding of schools in the US—something that affects spending on student learning initiatives and their extracurricular activities, like athletics. In most states, property taxes are used to finance schools, and this creates a system of "haves" and "have-nots." To illustrate, suppose two districts have the same number of students, but one is in a largely affluent suburb, while the other is a dilapidated inner-city setting. The property values in the suburban district are likely to be higher than those in the inner-city setting; thus, taxed at the same rate, monies-per-student will be higher in the former district relative to the latter. Poorer districts can choose to increase revenues by increasing tax rates, but this doubly hurts the residents in that area—people who might already have difficulty meeting the taxation needs. Thus, the prevailing school financing system—one seen throughout most of the US—serves to privilege the wealthy and penalize the poor. Some states have developed "Robin Hood" systems to share money from richer districts with poorer ones, but such systems are largely panned by residents as unfair or, in other cases, have been ruled as unconstitutional. In either case, this form of institutional classism is maintained (see also Desmond, 2016, Putnam, 2015).

Cultural Theories

Social and behavioral scientists also employ cultural theories (Sage & Eizten, 2016) to understand phenomena. Like the theories previously discussed, critical theories also focus on power and power relations. But, unlike those grand theories, which put an emphasis on societal norms and structures, cultural theories also focus on human agency, or the choices people make. Researchers adopting a critical lens frequently employ one of three theories: hegemony theory, feminist theory, or critical race theory.

In drawing from conflict theory, *hegemony theory* focuses on social class and power, but in doing so, also highlights issues of ideologies and culture. Hegemony theory focuses on the steps the powerful elite take to ensure that their privilege is maintained. As Sage (1998) noted:

> A critical social perspective invites us to step back from thinking about sport merely as a place of personal achievement and entertainment and study sport as a cultural practice embedded in political, economic, and ideological formations. Relevant issues involve how sport is related to social class, race, gender, and the control, production, and distribution of economic and cultural power in the commodified sport industry. (p. 11)

As one example, consider popular methods of funding sports arenas and stadiums. Historically, individual team owners and groups financed their stadiums and arenas. However, in recent decades, taxpayers have contributed more monies to these venues, such that public-private partnerships are now the norm in terms of stadium financing (Kellison, Sam, Hong, Swart, & Mondello, in press). In this case, private owners split the costs of multi-million (or even billion) dollar stadiums with the host community.

There are certainly some benefits to having a major league franchise in a city (Crompton, 2004), and having a quality stadium in which to play is a key ingredient in keeping and attracting teams. Nevertheless, these financing partnerships are largely one-sided in favor of the wealthy owners. In most cases, the city does not reap any of the monies generated from the venues, such as revenues from luxury boxes, personal seat licenses, and the like. Yet, it is the taxpayers in that area who provide half of the construction funds. Furthermore, even though taxpayers foot half of the construction bill, high ticket prices often preclude them from attending sporting events at the venue. The cost of attending all home games for a particular season accounts for 7 to 24 percent of the average American's annual income, thereby pricing them out of attending the games (Cunningham, 2019). Thus, the current stadium financing structure is consistent with hegemony theory tenets: wealthy owners develop structures and processes that advantage them while subjugating less affluent and less powerful citizens.

Another perspective requiring a critical lens is *feminist theory*. Two fundamental assumptions undergird this theory. First, people's experiences in their life, whether at a place of worship, in the workplace, or while participating in sport, are gendered in nature. In the context of the current discussion, this means that sport and physical activity represents a site more welcoming to boys and men than to girls and women, and where activities, skills, and values considered "masculine" are praised and esteemed, while "feminine" ones are devalued and demeaned (Birrell, 2000). Second, because girls and women are continually devalued and subjugated in sport and physical activity settings, there is a need to change the underlying structures and processes. In doing so, women might become more empowered and thereby alter their social surroundings.

Social and behavioral scientists adopt a feminist approach to study a number of issues, including the depiction of women in the media (Fink, 2015; Thorpe, Toffoletti, & Bruce, 2017). Researchers have shown, for instance, that women receive less coverage than do men across a variety of media forms, including newspapers, magazines, television, and the Internet. When they do receive coverage, it is frequently in less desirable locations (e.g., back page of the sports section) or their pictures are smaller. More fundamentally, though, how women and men are depicted also differs. The media regularly focuses on men's athletic accomplishments, photographs them during competition, and highlights their masculine characteristics and ruggedness. It is a much different story for women, though. In this case, the media are more likely to focus on their personal lives, such as their husbands or children (though rarely their partners in the event that the athlete or coach is lesbian or bisexual). When photographed, women are more likely to be posing or in supportive roles than they are to be engaged in athletic competition. Similarly, the stories about women, when compared to those of men, are less likely to focus on their athletic accomplishments. Finally, the types of sports that receive media coverage also vary. For instance, Olympics coverage is more likely to focus on sports where women's femininity is accentuated, such as figure skating or beach volleyball, than on sports where this is not the case, such as crew or hockey.

Finally, researchers might also adopt *critical race theory* to study sport and physical activity in society. According to Hylton (2009), this theory is guided by five central tenets, the first of which is that researchers centralize race and racism in their analysis of systems, processes, and individual behaviors. Second, critical race theorists question the legitimacy of meritocracy, color-blindness, equal opportunity, and racial equality. Third, researchers adopting this paradigm have a commitment to social justice, including a belief in egalitarianism and liberation. Fourth, critical race scholars seek out and centralize people who are otherwise marginalized and have had their voices silenced. Finally, critical race theorists embrace a multidisciplinary approach to their scholarship. In addition, other critical race theorists stress the principle of interest convergence, which notes that "the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites" (Bell, 1980, p. 523).

Critical race theory can be applied to the sport setting in a number of ways, including coaching (Rankin-Wright, Hylton, & Norman, 2016), media depictions (Lawrence, 2016), and youth sport (Dagkas, 2016), just to name a few. Other researchers have drawn from critical race theory to interrogate social justice movements, such as the integration of various sports (see Exhibit 2.3).

Exhibit 2.3: Critical Race Theory and Sport Integration

Branch Rickey was the Brooklyn Dodgers owner who signed Jackie Robinson to a professional contract, thereby breaking the "color barrier" in baseball. From one perspective, Rickey is a pioneer and forward-thinking leader who bravely helped integrate Major League Baseball. From a different perspective, critical race theorists might suggest that Rickey might be forward-thinking, but his primary motivation was likely the good of the baseball club, not social justice. That is, if Robinson were not an exceptional player who could meaningfully help the club (he was Rookie of the Year, after all), then he would not have been signed, even with the social benefits of racial desegregation (for further discussion, see DeLorme & Singer, 2010). Such a position is consistent with Donnor's (2005) use of interest convergence (see the previous paragraph, Bell, 1980), and others who have presented similar arguments with respect to Paul "Bear" Bryant and Adolf Rupp integrating their collegiate sport teams (Ladson-Billings, 2004).

Interactionist Theory
Unlike many of the previous theories outlined in this chapter, interactionist theory focuses chiefly on how people interact with their environment to give meaning to their lives. As Sage and Eitzen (2016) noted, people attach meanings to the symbols, behaviors, and attitudes of others with whom they interact in their environments. This process, which is on-going, helps people to make sense of their social worlds and develop their identities, as coaches, athletes, exercisers, and the like. In doing so, they socially construct their reality, while also forming, creating, and recreating their social identities.

A number of researchers have drawn from interactionist principles in their analysis of sport and physical activity, with a focus on topics such as the social construction of race (see Adair, 2011) or the experiences of women who coach (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007). Anderson (2008) provided an intriguing analysis of how heterosexual men who are cheerleaders socially constructed sexual orientation and masculinity. While some people maintain that men who sleep with other men are gay or bisexual, these cheerleaders rejected such notions. Rather, they constructed same-sex behaviors as either a form of sexual recreation or as a means of also engaging in sexual behaviors with women. Consistent with an interactionist perspective, these men constructed their sexual identities based on their social surroundings, others' behaviors, and the feedback they received from their cheerleading peers.

Social Psychological Theories
As previously noted, most sociological texts and chapters focus on functionalism, conflict theory, critical theories, and interactionist theory, but do not address social psychological theories. This is an unfortunate omission for a number of reasons. First, while it certainly has psychological roots, social psychology is a sub-discipline of sociology. Second, social psychological theories can help explain people's behaviors in the sport and physical activity context. Finally, including social psychological theories brings a focus to the intersection of the individual within social contexts, and thus, with the possible exception of interactionist theory, provides a more inclusive understanding of how people operate in social settings than do other theories. Two theories are particularly relevant to the current discussion: the social categorization framework and the similarity-attraction paradigm.

Social Categorization Framework
Two theories contribute to the social categorization framework: social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987). These theories hold that people classify themselves and others into social groups based on salient characteristics. These might include one's race, sex, religion, sport fandom, and the like. Thus, they come to see the self and others in terms of a social identity. When the particular diversity dimension is salient and personally meaningful (among other factors), people

will use these differences to evaluate the self and others. People with characteristics similar to the self are considered in-group members, while those different from the self are considered out-group members. *Ceteris paribus*, in-group members are liked more, receive more help, and garner more positive evaluations than do out-group members. Furthermore, these differential evaluations are likely to transfer from one situation to the next, thereby generating stereotypes.

The social categorization framework is useful in analyzing people's experiences in sport and physical activity. Consider, for instance, the case of people choosing an exercise club to join. The social categorization framework suggests that people will be more likely to engage in situations where they feel like they are an in-group member, or where they are surrounded by similar others. Thus, a novice exerciser is unlikely to join a fitness club that emphasizes bodybuilding, just as a woman might prefer to exercise at women-only clubs (like Curves). Reflective of these dynamics, Woods and I have observed that most people, irrespective of their gender or exercise habits, feel they fit better with exercise gyms that emphasize health and wellness, as opposed to an appearance focus (Cunningham & Woods, 2011). Pickett and I observed similar patterns among people considered overweight and their physical activity preferences (Pickett & Cunningham, 2017, 2018). Thus, the notions of fit and preferring to be around similar others impacts a number of decisions, including where people exercise.

Similarity-Attraction Paradigm
Another social psychological theory is the similarity-attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971). From this perspective, people who are similar to one another are likely to also be attracted to and express liking toward one another. The similarities they share, particularly on visible characteristics (e.g., age, gender, race) might also lead them to assume that they share other commonalities, such as shared life experiences, congruent values, or similar world views. For instance, people who are the same age might also believe that they have common attitudes toward life or experiences (e.g., struggling through the Great Depression). Of course, these underlying similarities are not always present, but the perceptions of such likeness is important, as it is associated with greater interpersonal attraction, helping behaviors, and overall affect. Thus, while the underlying processes differ from the social categorization framework, the end result is the same: similarity breeds attraction and positive affect.

Researchers have used this theory less frequently than the social categorization framework, but there is evidence of its utility in understanding people's attitudes and behaviors in sport. For instance, I conducted a study of college students enrolled in physical activity classes to determine how being different from others in the class impacted their overall satisfaction with the class (Cunningham, 2006). Consistent with similarity-attraction paradigm predictions, I found that students in the class perceived a link between demographic dissimilarity from others and subsequent differences based on values, attitudes, and beliefs. That is, if they thought they were different from others based on their race (for instance), then they were also likely to believe that they differed from others in the class based on more deep-level characteristics. The latter judgments were particularly important because the more people thought they differed from others based on values, attitudes, and beliefs, the less satisfied they were with the class. Thus, the similarity-attraction paradigm helps explain, at least in part, students' satisfaction (or lack thereof) with their physical activity experiences.

Physical Activity and Health Theories
Most theories related to physical activity and health adopt a psychological approach. This is likely because of the notion that the amount of physical activity in which one engages or one's overall physical well-being is largely a function of personal choices, attitudes, and behaviors. Increasingly, though, researchers have recognized the need for multilevel perspectives to understand health behavior. That is, one's attitudes and behaviors related to being physically active are shaped by individual factors, such as personality or motivation, but also by other elements, including their family, neighborhood, workplace, and community in which they live, to name a few.

I outline two such perspectives in this section: the ecological approach to physical activity and health, and the sport for health model.

Ecological Approach to Physical Activity and Health
Ecological models recognize that individuals, their social environments, the physical environment in which they live, and policies set at the local, state, and national levels all influence people's attitudes and behaviors (McLeroy, Bibeau, Steckler, & Glanz, 1988). As Sallis and colleagues have noted, "Rather than positing that behavior is influenced by a narrow range of psychological variables, ecological models incorporate a wide range of influences at multiple levels" (p. 299).

The ecological approach helps researchers to better understand what factors shape behaviors and also inform policy-makers decisions regarding physical activity interventions (Anderson et al., 2019). That is, the most effect interventions are likely those that (a) target one's community spaces to ensure that they are safe and convenient places for exercise, (b) activate motivational and educational programs aimed at improving one's attitudes toward being active, and (c) use various means, such as the mass media or community-based initiatives, to change the norms and values related to being active (Sallis et al., 2006). Kahn et al. (2002), in their impressive review of physical activity interventions, recognized as much in advocating for physical activity interventions that took into account individual factors (e.g., motivation) with more macro-level factors, such as community-wide education campaigns, school-based physical education interventions, and capacity building activities in the community.

Let us consider one example of how social ecological models might be used to understand physical activity in society. Demographics can frequently help predict physical activity behaviors, such that racial minorities, the poor, and the elderly are all less active than are their counterparts (Cunningham, 2019). Psychological models would focus solely on issues related to motivation or their desire to be active. However, a social ecological approach would recognize that inactivity is due to both personal factors, such as those previously mentioned, and environmental factors. For instance, because they are more likely to work multiple jobs and have less autonomy in their work, the poor have less leisure time available to engage in exercise than do their more affluent counterparts. They are also less likely to have access to worksite physical activity programs—something that can meaningfully impact how frequently they exercise. Because their peers also experience similar constraints, social norms for physical activity are likely to be low. Finally, active living environments might also impact activity rates, such that well-lit, safe, attractive neighborhoods needed for leisure time physical activity are likely to be in short supply. As this brief example illustrates, social ecological models offer an encompassing perspective for understanding physical activity.

Sport for Health Model
Other researchers have focused on the ways in which sport managers can design programming and interventions to promote health and well-being (Edwards & Rowe, 2019). Research from around the world shows that sport and sport-for-development programs (see Chapter 1) can improve health outcomes among Indigenous women in Australia (Stronach, Maxwell, & Pearce, 2019), refugees in the Netherlands and Germany (Anderson et al., 2019), and men engaging in a grassroots program in the US (Warner, 2019), just to offer a few examples.

Schulenkorf and Siefken (2019) drew from their considerable work in this domain to develop a theoretical model. Their focus was on ways in which sport managers could use sport to promote health. They argued that to realize health goals, managers must focus on the design, management, implementation, and assessment of the programs. They further outlined five areas that warranted specific attention:

- Sociocultural context, which includes listening to local experts and being adaptable when designing the sport-for-development program.
- Health promotion, as sport managers should adopt a broad approach to health, emphasizing the physical, psychological, and sociocultural domains.

- Sport management, such that managers should plan and deliver culturally relevant programming, leverage health promotion activities, and monitor the success (or lack thereof) of the programs.
- Policy, with an emphasis on designing inclusive sport and physical activity policies that are specific to the local context and the health needs of the population.
- Sustainability, or ensuring that any immediate health-related changes achieved through sport can continue over the long term.

Schulenkorf and Siefken's model thereby emphasizes the need designing sport programs so they are specifically careered to the target population. This method means that the sport manager considers the needs and preferences of the preferences, as well as the history, constraints, opportunities, and sociopolitical context of the broader community.

RESEARCH METHODS

Having reviewed the primary theories used to understand sport and physical activity in society, I next turn to research methods. That the two topics are presented in different sections might suggest that they are completely distinct from one another. This is not the case; instead, the most effective researchers use theory to guide the entire research process, including how the data are collected, what questions are asked, the manner in which the data are analyzed, and the interpretation of the results. Thus, theory informs and is interwoven into every element of the research process (Cunningham, 2013; Cunningham et al., 2016).

Exhibit 2.4: Researching Sport and Physical Activity in Society

Researchers can employ a number of techniques to gather information about sport and physical activity. These include participant questions, observation, and secondary data. Their use varies depending on whether the researcher employs quantitative or qualitative data collection techniques.

Participant questions:
Quantitative: Participants complete questionnaires or other measures where the data are recorded in numerical units. Examples include survey research involving questionnaires and experimental studies.
Qualitative: Participants respond to open-ended questions posed by the researcher. Examples include in-depth personal interviews and focus groups.

Observation:
Quantitative: The researcher observes the activities of others and then concerts the observations into numerical units. Examples include observing a video of participants in an experiment or observing coaching behaviors at practice.
Qualitative: The researcher is deeply embedded in a social context and records others' feelings and behaviors. Examples include ethnographic research and autoethnographies.

Secondary data:
Quantitative: The researcher retrieves quantitative data from existing sources to explore research questions. Examples include using Census data to explore physical activity patterns or drawing from longitudinal datasets.
Qualitative: The researcher retrieves qualitative data from existing sources to explore research questions. Examples include conducting a content analysis of magazines or analyzing internal organizational documents.

As Coakley (2009) noted, broadly speaking, researchers employ one of two research methods—quantitative and qualitative—by either observing people, asking people questions, or analyze existing documents (see Exhibit 2.4). I explore these possibilities in greater depth in the following space. In doing so, I present ways in which researchers could address a single research question—the under-representation of women in

coaching and leadership positions—by employing any of the six research methods (see also Cunningham, 2016, for another example).

Finally, while I present the different approaches separately, it is important to remember that (a) some researchers employ mixed methods approaches, where they conduct both quantitative and qualitative analyses, and (b) other researchers will use multiple forms of a particular research method within one study, such as when scientists conduct interviews, observe the workplace, and conduct textual analyses of workplace documents.

Quantitative Research Methods

Social and behavioral scientists using quantitative research methods collect information about people in the sport and physical activity context, convert the information into numerical data, and then use statistical analyses to examine the relationships among the variables. Quantitative research usually entails large datasets with many people, or when experimental designs are employed, smaller datasets are used but with tighter control over possible extraneous variables.

One way of conducting quantitative research is by asking participants questions, either through surveys or experiments. As one example, Burton et al. (2009) asked participants to rate what type of characteristics were important for various jobs in an athletic department. Participants indicated that masculine roles (e.g., delegating, managing conflict) were most congruent with the athletic director position. These assumptions disadvantage women because, even though they can and frequently do engage in "masculine" behaviors, people frequently think that they cannot. Thus, when personnel directors think about who might be well suited for an athletic director role, they frequently envision people who stereotypically exude masculine characteristics: men.

Another way of conducting quantitative research is through observing participants, although this type of quantitative research occurs infrequently. As one possible example, researchers could videotape people discussing the pros and cons of different coaching applicants. They could then review the recordings and tally the number of positive or negative remarks made about women and men applying for leadership positions. von Rueden, Alami, Kaplan, and Gurven (2018) used observation to examine gender differences in leadership, though the context of their study was outside of sport.

As a third possibility, scientists can also draw from existing data sources to examine issues of interest. Secondary data analysis represents a popular method. Colleagues and I gathered data from all the studies related to occupational turnover—people's decision to leave a profession—in sport (Cunningham, Ahn, Anderson, & Dixon, in press). We then statistically aggregated the findings through a process called meta-analysis. We found that women planned to leave sport sooner than men did. Women also had comparatively poorer experiences and lower aspirations for career advancement. Thus, the meta-analysis painted a picture of why women are underrepresented in sport leadership roles.

Qualitative Research Methods

When using qualitative research methods, social and behavioral scientists collect information about people and then analyze the data for emergent trends and themes. Relative to quantitative research, the sample sizes in qualitative research are usually smaller, with as few as 3 or 4 participants in the study. However, the method of inquiry usually allows for thicker, more in-depth description of the phenomena at hand.

Researchers frequently ask participants questions in qualitative research, such as through personal interviews or focus groups. As an illustrative example, Norman (2010) conducted interviews with six women coaching major sport teams in the UK, asking them about their background, their experiences coaching, the obstacles they encountered, and ideas for the development of future coaches. The interviews lasted between 60 and 120 minutes. Participants in Norman's study believed that many factors contributed to the under-representation of women in coaching, including the trivialization of women's accomplishments, the

marginalization of women through the existing organizational and institutional structures, and various forms of prejudice.

In addition to conducting interviews, scientists can also observe people in the sport and physical activity context. Ethnography represents one way to achieve this end. Here, the researcher is immersed into the social setting and thus conducts observation and interviews while living "in the field." As an example, a researcher could spend extensive time (sometimes up to several years) as an athletic department employee. During that time, the researcher would attend meetings, engage in conversations with coworkers, and observe the day-to-day interactions and social processes of the workplace. Doing so would allow the researcher to better understand the lived experiences of the study participants.

Finally, social scientists adopting a qualitative approach might also analyze documents, artifacts, or media. As one example, Shaw (2006) examined the social processes within sport organizations that served to privilege men and disadvantage women. In addition to conducting personal interviews and observing workplace interactions, she also read through internal organizational documents. This data collection effort helped her better understand how subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) activities legitimated men's power and privilege in sport.

CHAPTER SUMMARY
The purpose of this chapter was to explore theory and research methods commonly used to understand sport and physical activity in society. Theory is "a statement of constructs and their relationships to one another that explain how, when, why, and under what conditions phenomena take place" (Cunningham, 2013, p. 1). Its applicability extends to research, teaching, services, and practice. The discussion then moved to the primary theories used to understand sport and physical activity in society, including sociological, social psychological, and physical activity and health theories. In the final section, I discussed different approaches to conducting research, including quantitative and qualitative analyses. Thus, the chapter provides a broad overview for understanding how social and behavioral scientists engage in the practice of scientific inquiry to better understand people's experiences in the sport and physical activity settings.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. Using your own words, how do you define theory?
2. Why is theory useful in understanding sport and physical activity in society?
3. Which of the theories reviewed in this chapter do you most closely identify? Why?
4. With which of the theories reviewed in this chapter do you most disagree? Why?
5. Provide an overview of the different research methods social scientists can use to understand sport and physical activity.

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CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL CLASS AND SPORT[1]

George B. Cunningham

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After studying this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Define social class and socioeconomic status.
2. Define class relations and how they influence sport participation.
3. Summarize the chances for social mobility through sport.

INTRODUCTION
Americans love success stories. As outlined in Chapter 1, many of the values embedded in American society perpetuate the notion of meritocracy, or that people who try hard enough can be successful. Another example is the championing of the US as the Land of Opportunity. School curricula, books, movies, workplace structures, and lessons passed along from parents, among other examples, all serve to reinforce these sentiments.

Sport is a space where these ideas are also firmly in place. Consider the case of LeBron James, who was born in Akron, Ohio, to a single mother. Living in poverty, he moved repeatedly during his childhood, often from one rundown dwelling to the next. But, as the story goes, basketball saved him. Through hard work and skill, he was able to hone his skills, and the Cleveland Cavaliers ultimately drafted him with the first pick of the 2003 National Basketball Association (NBA) draft. He has since parleyed his success into lucrative playing contracts and various endorsement deals. In 2018, Forbes estimated James' net worth as $450 million (Kleinman, 2018).

How reasonable is it, though, to expect that sport can serve as a mechanism to move people from one social class to the next? According to economist Seth Stephens-Davidowitz, not very. He analyzed data from the NBA and found that growing up in a more affluent household was a strong predictor of making an NBA team. This was true for Blacks and for Whites. Further analyses showed that top performers were less likely to be born to a single mother or to a teenage one, like James was (Stephens-Davidowitz, 2013).

These data highlight two points. First, sport is not necessarily an equalizer. Stephens-Davidowitz showed that people from the most affluent households were most likely to reach the NBA, and we see similar patterns in broader society. Having financial means makes it more likely someone will be successful in other ventures, whether those activities involve dribbling a basketball, starting a business, performing in school, and the like. And, lacking resources makes success all the more challenging. Second, these dynamics make Lebron James' case all the more exceptional, as people from lower social classes, even when extraordinarily gifted, are unlikely to move up the social class ladder through their sport participation.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore issues of social class and sport in greater depth. I begin with a discussion of social class and socioeconomic status, differentiating between these terms. I then move to an analysis of class relations and how they influence sport participation and consumption. Finally, I analyze social class mobility, including the myths associated with sport participation and the ways in which sport might allow for such social movement.

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SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND SOCIAL CLASS

Discussions of money, opportunity, standing, and power frequently include one of two concepts: *socioeconomic status* and *social class* (APA, 2006; Smith, 2010). Journalists, students, and scholars will sometimes use these terms interchangeably; however, they have distinctly different meanings, as outlined in Exhibit 3.1.

Exhibit 3.1. Socioeconomic Status and Social Class

Socioeconomic status: a focus on material possessions and resources, including one's educational attainment, occupation, and income.
Social class: a focus on power and privilege; includes discussions of income and occupation, but emphasizes the power, political action, and socially constructed realities that advantage some people over others.

*Source*s. American Psychological Association (2006), Smith (2010)

Socioeconomic status emphasizes one's income, educational attainment, and occupation. In many ways, income is the variable people consider when discussing opportunity and socioeconomic status, and for good reason. It is measurable, most people have experience generating income, and various agencies use income to determine aid. In the US, the Department of Health and Human Services determines poverty levels based on income and the size of the family. As seen in Exhibit 3.2, in 2019, the poverty level for a single person household in the US was $12,490. For a family of four, this value increased to $25,750. These figures are important as they frequently help determine the amount of aid individuals or families receive from the government.

Source. https://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty-guidelines
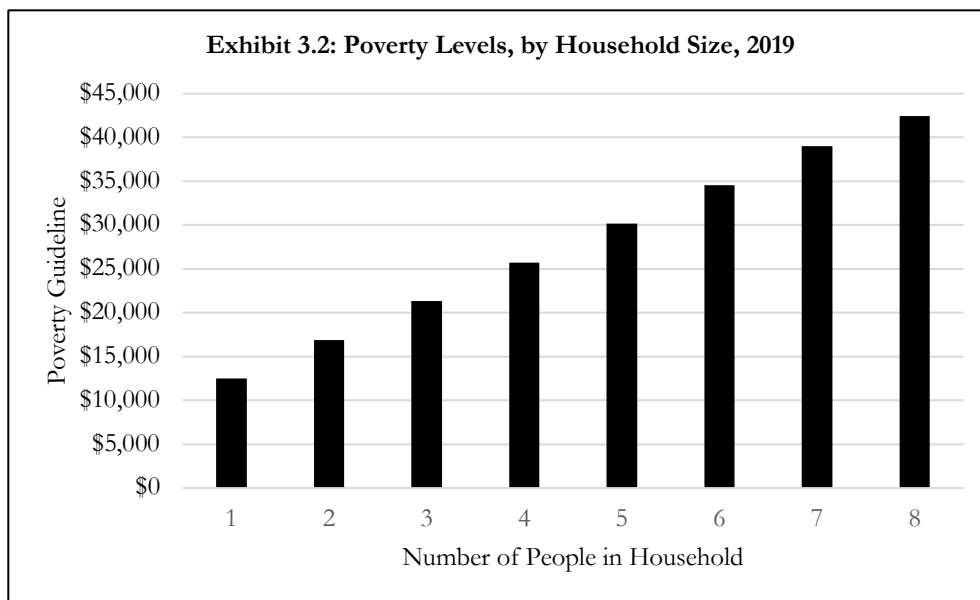
Educational attainment is the second dimension of socioeconomic status. In general, as educational attainment increases, so too do desired life outcomes. For example, in a large-scale study in the Netherlands, Ilies, Yao, Curseu, and Liang (2019) collected data from over 3,000 participants. They found a significant,

positive association between education and life satisfaction. This relationship was due, in part, to the better jobs, financial situation, and health of better educated people, relative to their peers.

It is important to note that the relationship between education and life outcomes are discontinuous. That is, there are gains once people cross certain thresholds, such as earning a degree. Absent such credentialing, however, the increases are minimal. For example, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (http://www.bls.gov), people who earn a bachelor's degree earn 64% more than do those with a high school degree ($1198 *v.* $730, per week). However, people who go to college but do not finish earn just 10% more than their peers with a high school diploma ($802 *v.* $730, per week). People generally take on debt when they attend college in the US, and for college completers, the increase in salary might offset this financial burden. However, non-completers have the added debt but only a marginal increase in earnings; therefore, they are in a doubly precarious situation.

Finally, occupation is a good predictor of success and life chances. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has a classification scheme for US occupations, with 867 designations. The classification is helpful in knowing how many people are in a particular occupation, the need for additional people in that field, and their earnings, among other outcomes. For example, the Employment Development Department in California (http://www.labormarketinfo.edd.ca.gov) uses the occupational guidelines to identify employment trends, describe occupational profiles, and offer additional data about various occupations. According to this source, coaches and scouts make about $46,000 per year in that state, compared to athletes, who make over $127,000.

Though many people and government agencies rely on the socioeconomic status perspective, it is not without its limitations. First, set guidelines do little to account for regional differences. An annual income of $15,000 (above the poverty level for a single-member family) will have more spending power in Bryan, TX, than it will in New York, NY. Government agencies largely do not account for these differences (with the exception for Alaska and Hawaii, which have different poverty levels than do the contiguous 48 states).

Second, there are considerable differences in earning within a given occupational category. In fact, in the previous example, coaches and athletes are both within the larger Bureau classification of 27-0000—arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations. Yet, athletes in California earn, on average, about three times what coaches and scouts do.

Third, and most importantly, socioeconomic status does not consider differences in power, prestige, status, and political action. Smith (2008) commented:

> Creating class divisions according to [socioeconomic status] sidesteps the issue of re-
> lationship to (or distance from) sociocultural power and carries with it the implication
> that class-related experiences and oppressions are similar for all people who fall within
> the same numerical [socioeconomic status] classification. (p. 902)

Responding to these criticisms, many scholars have turned to a social class approach, where a person's class "reflects the social context he or she occupies, as defined by the resources that he or she holds and his or her subjective interpretation of that context (Loignon & Woehr, 2018, p. 62). From a social class perspective, oppression and inequality are a function of income, occupation, and education, *and* of privilege that some groups enjoy, as well as the accompanying power and subsequent domination of others (Cunningham, 2019).

Consider, for example, that US Senators and members of the House of Representatives are considerably more likely to be millionaires than are other US citizens. In fact, the median wealth of Republican Senators in 2018 was $1.4 million (Hawkings, 2018). Or, consider that the average chief executive made *347 times more* than their average employee in 2016. At Nike, the average employee makes about $25,000 a year—just

a fraction of chief executive Mark Parker's salary of $9,467,460. That is an income ratio of 379-to-1 (Destefano, 2018).

Some might argue that differences in income are reflective of productivity. Head coaches, chief executives, and other leaders deserve more money because they generate more resources. However, this argument ignores the fact that US productivity and hourly compensation have not increased at the same pace, as shown from data from the Economic Policy Institute (see Exhibit 3.3). From 1948 to 1973, hourly compensation and productivity increased at the same pace. After that time, however, productivity far outpaced the subsequent increases in hourly wages. Note, it was during this same timeframe that chief executive income ratio increased from 40-to-1 (1983) to 347-to-1 (2016). Thus, productivity increased and chief executive pay increased, but hourly compensation—the compensation for the people generating the increases—largely remained stagnated.

Exhibit 3.3: Hourly Compensation and Productivity, 1948-2017
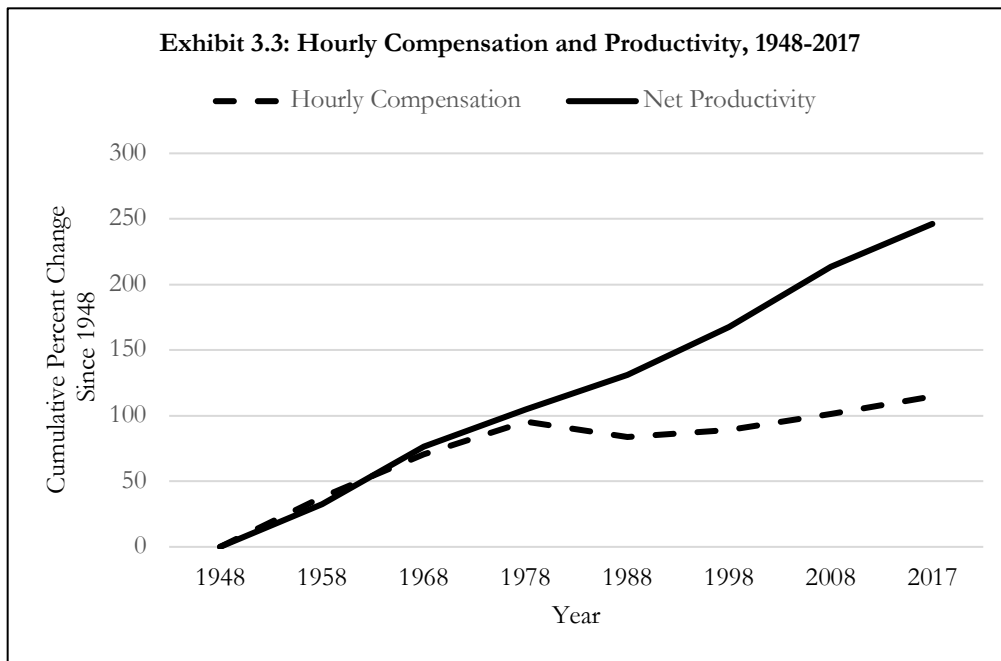
Source. Economic Policy Institute

These data, and others like them, show the importance of considering subjective perceptions alongside the objective measures of socioeconomic status. Therein rests the importance of a social class perspective—one adopted throughout the remainder of the chapter.

CLASS RELATIONS
Class relations refer to "the ways social class is incorporated into the organization of our everyday lives" (Coakley, 2015, p. 266). Sociologists typically focus on institutions, norms, and societal values; however, social class can impact people in a number of ways and at various levels (Cunningham, 2019). At the broader, societal level, value systems, educational systems, and housing can all influence the opportunities people enjoy. In sport organizations, the structure of the workplace, biases among decision makers, and sport delivery all shape people's opportunities and experiences. Finally, demographics and psychological characteristics are factors specific to the individual that can shape their life chances and those of others.

Societal Factors
Societal factors are those that operate beyond the individual, specific groups, or organizations. Sociologists will frequently focus on institutions and *value systems,* such as the previously discussed notion of meritocracy. Consider the film *Hoosiers*, which relays the story of a boy's high school basketball team in Indiana. The team faced uncertainty and long odds. But, by working together, persevering, and working diligently, they were able to win the state championship. The depiction of the team's success is consistent with functional theory outlined in Chapter 2.

Meritocracy has three underlying assumptions (Daniels, 1978): merit is well-understood and measurable; people have equal opportunities to demonstrate their merit; and accordingly, any differences in success or standing are a function of corresponding variations in merit. Thus, those who reach the top are simply more meritorious than others.

While well known, not all people accept these three principles. Therein rests the importance of critically interrogating these frequently taken-for-granted assumptions. Scully and Blake-Beard (2007) noted that those with power are the ones who determine what is meritorious and what is not, as well as how to measure merit. Second, factors other than individual merit are actually better predictors of life success. Family class background is one example. Finally, the link between hard work and life success is tenuous, at best (Abrego, 2014). Millions of people work industriously using specialized skills that require considerable training and apprenticeship; nevertheless, they do not earn wages commensurate with their peers in other social classes.

School funding is another societal factor that influences class relations (Putnam, 2015). Property taxes are a primary mechanism to fund schools, but this arrangement serves to perpetuate class differences. Two communities—one rich and one poor—could have the same tax rates, but because of the differential property values, the revenues generated in the richer district would far outpace those in the poorer. To accommodate for such differences, it is possible to increase tax rates in the poorer district, but this approach is largely regressive, as people without means have a higher tax burden than do their richer counterparts. Another alternative is for richer districts to send monies to the state, which then redistributes those dollars to poorer districts. Lawmakers frequently refer to the "take from the rich and give to the poor" approach as a Robin Hood plan. In Texas, for example, this funding mechanism has been in place since 1993, but many constituents resent their tax monies used in other portions of the state (Swaby, 2019).

Despite the courts consistently ruling that states must provide quality education for all children, irrespective of their economic and social class backgrounds, inequalities persist. Putnam (2015) has shown that richer schools offer more advanced coursework and extracurricular activities than do their poorer counterparts. In fact, the differences are threefold. This means that, simply as a function of where one lives, students have different opportunities to nurture their talents, experience new activities, face challenging coursework, and ultimately succeed, both on and off the court.

Housing is another societal-level factor that influences people and their opportunities. Shelter and safety are fundamental needs that all people have (Maslow, 1943), yet they are commonly in jeopardy among people in lower social classes. Consider, for instance, that the median monthly rent of a two-bedroom apartment in the US was $1149 in 2018 (Out of Reach, 2018). Most financial experts recommend spending no more than 30 percent of one's income on housing. To do so, one would need to earn over $22 an hour, working 40 hours a week, each week of the year. Three adults within a given household could work full-time at the national minimum wage ($7.25) and still not reach this mark. It is hardly surprising, then, that many working poor spend close to half of their paycheck on housing or experience homelessness (Desmond, 2016). Note, too, that these figures do much to dispel the myth that the poor or those in poverty do not work. Most do, but simply cannot make the necessary resources to support their families.

Housing affects class relations through displacement, as well. This occurs when poor and vulnerable individuals are removed from their homes so other structures can take their place. As shown in Exhibit 3.4, poor individuals frequently experience displacement when a city hosts the Olympics.

Exhibit 3.4: Displacement during the Olympics

Politicians, sports officials, and community organizers will frequently praise the Olympics as contests that benefit a community. International exposure, increased revenues and tax dollars, and more jobs—these are just some of the purported benefits. While these claims may or may not be accurate, one thing is clear—the Olympics routinely wreak havoc on the lives of lives of poor individuals.

The 2016 Summer Games held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, is one of many examples (Waldron & Maciel, 2016). Consider the small fishing village of Vila Autódromo, home to over 600 families when the International Olympic Committee chose Brazil to host the Games. By 2016, just 20 families remained. In their place were new roads, enabling fans, athletes, and officials to access the Olympic venues. About 90,000 people were displaced by government officials in the name of hosting the Games.

And, Brazil was not alone. Between 1988 and 2008, six Olympic Games were held, and 2 million people were forcibly evicted or displaced from their homes.

It is not just any person who faces displacement. Waldron and Maciel noted, "The neighborhoods that find themselves in the path of pre-Olympics bulldozers are almost always populated by low-income families. The neighborhoods that replace them are often see significant reductions in public housing that is replaced with higher-end homes geared toward people with larger incomes."

Recognizing these trends, some community members have advocated for their cities to bypass the chance to host the Olympics. In Boston, for example, the activist group called "No Boston Olympics" argued that hosting the Olympics was too expensive and hurt the poor. Chris Dempsey, a member of that faction, commented, "If you're going to do Olympic development, you're going to displace poor people." Their protests, and others like them, were ultimately successful, as Boston withdrew its bid.

Organizational Factors

Organizational factors can also influence class relations. *Organizational structure* is one such mechanism. Occupations linked with middle and owning class workers enjoy higher prestige and corresponding autonomy, benefits, stability, and pay (Loignon & Woehr, 2018). Consider, for instance, athletic directors and grounds crew workers employed at an intercollegiate athletics department. The two positions are likely to have the same health and retirement benefits given that they are situated within a university or school setting. However, the athletic director, relative to the grounds crew worker, probably enjoys greater autonomy to complete her tasks, has a higher salary, and enjoys more stability. The large income ratio of chief executives today is reflective of these disparities (Destefano, 2018).

Interestingly, even though income ratios and similar class-related disparities have increased over time, Americans largely prefer other class structures. Norton and Ariley (2011) gathered information from over 5,000 study participants. They presented information about three countries with the name of the country withheld, and asked which ones the participants preferred. In the first, the top quintile of earners controlled 84 percent of all wealth, a pattern similar to that found in the US. In the second country, the top quintile of earners controlled 18 percent of the wealth (similar to Sweden), while in the third, all five groups of earners controlled the same portion of wealth. The researchers found that most participants (92 percent) preferred the income distribution reflective of Sweden over that of the US. In another part of the study,

the researchers asked participants (a) how much wealth they thought the top quintile of earners in the US controlled, and (b) how much would be ideal. Results showed that the respondents under-estimated the income inequality in the US, suspecting that top earners controlled 59 percent of all wealth (compared to 84 percent they actually controlled). They also preferred the top earners to control 32 percent of the wealth, or roughly a third of what they currently do. The findings suggest that Americans underestimate income inequality in the US and prefer for more equitable distribution of resources.

Bias among decision makers represents another important organizational factor shaping class relations. For example, people frequently hold negative stereotypes about the poor, including notions that they are deceitful, maladroit, promiscuous, and seeking handouts from others (Volpato, Andrighetto, & Baldissarri, 2017). People are also likely to dehumanize the poor, associating them with wild animals (Loughnan, Haslam, Sutton, & Spencer, 2014) and garbage (Fiske, 2007).

In other cases, bias takes the form of classism, or the negative attitudes people in power hold toward those who lack power, capital, and social standing (Lott, 2012). Classism can be explicit in nature, such as when people make derogatory comments about the poor. It can also be implicit, whereby people profess to hold egalitarian, fair-minded attitudes, but nevertheless unconsciously harbor negative sentiments toward the poor. Implicit bias is particularly injurious because those who express it are not aware of their own prejudices.

Bias can also take the form of discrimination, which is the behavioral component of bias. In sport organizations, decision makers might be reluctant to interview or hire poor job applicants because of the aforementioned stereotypes and prejudices. Even when they are hired, the poor are likely to be placed in low-pay and low-prestige positions, such as parking lot attendant or custodial staff (Loignon & Woehr, 2018). Thus, they experience occupational segregation.

The structure of *sport systems* represents a final organization factor influencing class relations. Exercise, sport, and other activities generally take two things—time and money. Middle- and upper-class individuals have both resources in greater supply than do their poorer counterparts. It is hardly surprising, then, that sport participation is higher among people who are highly educated, who work in jobs with high prestige, and who have considerable income (Sagas & Cunningham, 2014).

Data from Healthy People 2020 (http://healthypeople.gov) illustrate similar patterns for physical activity. This organization presented data for the proportion of US adults who meet activity guidelines: 150 minutes of moderate aerobic activity, 75 minutes of vigorous aerobic activity, or a combination thereof, each week. As seen in Exhibit 15.5, there were considerable differences based on the family income. People from families below the poverty line (i.e., percent poverty threshold < 100) were unlikely to meet activity guidelines, with only 37 percent doing so in 2017. At the other extreme are people whose family is far above the poverty threshold (600 +), and they are about twice as likely to be active at the recommended levels (69.5 percent).

The structure of sport and sport systems represents a possible explanation for these trends. From childhood, participation in sport costs money. Even city-sponsored recreational leagues have participation fees, and club sports can cost several thousands of dollars each year. But entry fees tell just part of the story. Other costs include uniforms, shoes, and other equipment; travel to and from practices multiple times a week; travel to and from games; tournament fees, related travel, and accommodations; and private lessons. These costs, which used to be only for elite athletes later in their career, are now commonplace for children as young as 6 years. And, while public schools offer extracurricular athletics usually starting at Grade 7, thereby potentially mitigating the class-related effects, budget shortfalls and other cuts have forced many to start charging participation fees (Cunningham, 2019). The end result is a class-segmented sport system that privileges children from families with means.

These trends are important because health-related habits developed in childhood and adolescence carry over into adulthood. Thus, when one segment of the population (the poor) effectively is denied access to sport and physical activity as children, they are unlikely to then start those activities as adults. The patterns depicted in Exhibit 3.5 are illustrative of these outcomes.

Exhibit 3.5: Physcial Activity and Family Income

Source. http://healthypeople.gov
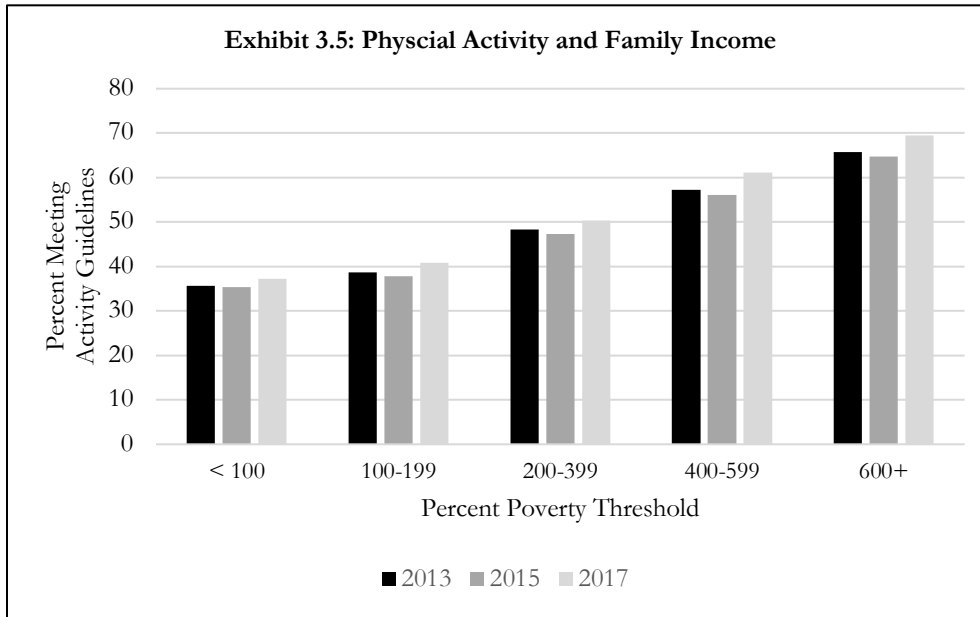
Individual Factors

Finally, individual factors can influence class relations, including *demographics*. In this book, authors have written about various demographic and personal characteristics, including religion, gender, and race. Each of these can uniquely influence a person's opportunities and life chances. But, there is also considerable evidence that people's personal characteristics and identities can interact with one another. Scholars refer to this as intersectionality (Dagkas, 2016). For example, social class might influence physical activity patterns, but class and gender might also intersect to create unique patterns, whereby poor women have fewer opportunities than other women or men.

A number of factors intersect with social class to influence people's opportunities and experiences, including their race, gender, disability, sexual orientation, geography, and age (Cunningham, 2019). For example, in Texas, Whites represent 42 percent of the population but only 22 percent of those living in poverty. On the other hand, Latinos constitute 39 percent of the state population and 51 percent of those who live in poverty (Ura & Wang, 2018). Texas children are about twice as likely to live in poverty, relative to the statistics for the entire state. These differences are highest in border communities, like McAllen and Laredo, but they are present elsewhere, too, such as in Bryan and College Station (Ura & Wang, 2018). As these examples illustrate, focusing solely on social class would only tell part of the story; instead, it is instructive to consider how other identities relate with social class to affect class relations.

Psychological characteristics also influence class relations. For example, Claro, Paunesku, and Dweck (2016) examined whether people's psychological mindset influenced the effects of poverty on academic performance. People with a fixed mindset believe that personal characteristics are largely stable, while people with a growth mindset hold that skills and attributes can change and be nurtured. Claro and colleagues collected data from Chilean students. They found that across all income levels, a growth mindset was predictive of

academic performance. People who think that improvement and change is possible do better in school. Others have found that cultivating a growth mindset can increase academic motivation, especially among girls in rural communities (Burnette, Russell, Hoyt, Orvidas, & Widman, 2018). These results suggest that mindsets interact with social class and structural determinants.

In other cases, psychological characteristics might shape how people respond to and view others from different classes. For example, some people support social hierarchies and offer justifications for class differences. These same individuals are likely to oppose government interventions designed to reduce income inequalities (Rodriguez-Bailon et al., 2017). Such perspectives could potentially relate to sport in several ways. For example, some sport organizations will offer differential participation fees based on income, with athletes from higher income families paying more. Others might cap a leader's pay as a way of reducing the income inequalities previously discussed. Both of these steps are likely to be met with resistance from people who support social hierarchies.

SOCIAL MOBILITY THROUGH SPORT

In the final section, I discuss social mobility through sport. As the opening scenario illustrated, there are instances where such progression occurs, such as with Lebron James. In other cases, though, people remain in their social class, even when they are exceptionally skilled. Why do these differences exist?

Sage and Eitzen (2013) identified a number of myths about sport and social mobility, offering evidence to debunk many of them. These include:

- *Myth 1*: *Sport is a way for athletes to receive a free education.* Some high school athletes go on to receive a full scholarship to play intercollegiate athletics. But, this is rare. About 3 percent of high school basketball players play on a college team, and this is the case for girls and boys. The numbers increase for baseball, soccer, and football players, but only to 6 percent. Further, few intercollegiate athletes receive full scholarships; instead, most receive partial support, ultimately paying at least a portion of their college bill.
- *Myth 2: Participation in sport leads to a college degree.* While many college athletes do graduate, more than 50 percent do not. The figures are even lower for racial minorities and for people who plan on playing professionally following their college careers. The inordinate time demands placed on athletes, being ill-prepared for a college curriculum, and failing to take advantage possible academic supports all contribute to the low graduation rates.
- *Myth 3: High school and college athletes are likely to have professional careers.* Many athletes believe they will play professionally. In one study from the Center for the Study of Sport in Society, about two-thirds of African American boys age 13 to 18 anticipated playing professionally. But these beliefs stand in stark contrast to national statistics. Just 3 in 10,000 boys who participate in high school basketball will play professionally, and 1 in 5,000 girls will do so. To put these numbers in perspective, people have a 1 in 3,000 chance of being struck by lightning during their lifetime.
- *Myth 4: Sport raises athletes out of poverty, especially among African Americans.* Despite representing just 13 percent of the US population, African Americans constitute over 70 percent of the participants in women's professional basketball, men's professional basketball, and football. Playing in these leagues can be lucrative, especially in the men's leagues. Thus, for these several hundred athletes, sport has provided a mechanism to leave poverty behind. What is problematic, though, is the false promise of professional sport for the millions of other African Americans. Sage and Eitzen noted that the false promise is harmful because "the odds are so slim—rendering extraordinary, sustained effort futile and misguided for the vast majority. If this effort (was) directed at areas having better odds of success, then upward mobility would occur for many more" (p. 287).
- *Myth 5: Women now have opportunities to use sport for social mobility.* As discussed in Chapter 14, girls and women participate in sport now more than they ever have before. These shifts are due to legal mandates, changes in cultural expectations, increased monies and resources devoted to women's

sports, and increased interest. Though participation figures have increased, social mobility through sport remains largely stagnant. Women have fewer opportunities than men do to play sport professionally, and the pay is just a fraction of what men earn. In some cases, these discrepancies exist despite women clearly outperforming men on the national and international stages, such as with the US Women's National Soccer Team. The sports where women can earn a substantial sum—tennis and golf—also require considerable investments during early participation years. Thus, financial rewards are reserved for those who are likely already from middle- and upper-class households.

- *Myth 6: Professional athletes have lifelong financial security.* Some professional athletes earn enough to last them for a lifetime—and then some. Lebron James' net worth of $450 million (Kleinman, 2018) is one example. But, even among professional athletes, long-term financial security is not a certainty. Average playing careers are short and few athletes have the financial planning background to effectively manage their resources. Following their playing days, sport-related jobs include coaching, consulting, and announcing, among others, but these jobs are in short supply. Finally, beyond that financial considerations, athletes must also cope with transition from being a star athlete generating a large weekly paycheck, to a former athlete. They lose their identity, status, source of income, sense of community with their teammates, and what they have focused on for much of their lives. The transition, then, is a difficult one.

Sage and Eitzen (2013) painted a sobering picture of the relationship between sport and social mobility. But, does debunking these myths mean that social mobility is not possible? The evidence does not support this contention. Athletes in high school generally perform better academically, get into less trouble, are less likely to get pregnant, and are more likely to persist. Athletes reap benefits beyond high school, too, as they have better jobs with more pay than their non-athlete counterparts (Kniffin, 2014).

How do people reconcile this potentially conflicting information? Surveying the existing evidence suggests sport participation is likely to lead to improved life outcomes under certain conditions. Or, to use the theory parlance from Chapter 2, there are moderators that influence the relationship between being an athlete and subsequent life outcomes. Sport participation is likely to lead to the best outcomes when it:

- Is safe and does not result in major, lasting injuries. Serious injuries occur with alarming frequency, particularly at elite levels (Soligard et al., 2016). When the effects of these injuries carry over past their playing careers, athletes' health-related quality of life is likely to suffer.
- Allows for the development of lifelong physical activity habits. Many athletes stop participating in any sort of sport or physical activity following their careers. In some cases, continued participation in the sport of interest is not feasible (e.g., continued field hockey engagement). Ideally, though, athletes would develop other habits and practices they could maintain for a lifetime, ensuring their health and psychological well-being. These might include an understanding of what constitutes a healthy diet, the practice of regular exercise, and the like.
- Allows the athlete to earn a degree. Most college athletes do not earn a college degree. The figures drop even further among racial minorities and those in sports with a possibility of a lucrative professional career. The problem, as highlighted previously in this chapter, is that most athletes do not play professionally. Absent a college degree in hand, lifelong earning potential drops precipitously.
- Affords the athlete with the chance for a meaningful education. Academic clustering is common, where athletic academic advisors 'encourage' the athletes to pursue a limited number of majors, thought to be easy. Neither outcome serves the athlete well in the long term, nor are they likely to result in meaningful social mobility.
- Allows the athletes to increase their social capital (Carter-Francique, Hart, & Cheeks, 2015). Athletes who learn how to navigate difficult academic and social situations, and who develop strong social networks with athletes and other professionals are likely to realize increased success in life.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate the relationships among social class, sport, and social mobility. I started with a discussion of social class and socioeconomic status, differentiating between these terms. I then moved to an analysis of class relations and how they influence sport participation and consumption. Finally, I analyze social class mobility, including the myths associated with sport participation and the ways in which sport might allow for such social movement.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION
1. What are ways in which social class differs from socioeconomic status?
2. What are the pros and cons of focusing on social class instead of socioeconomic status?
3. List and explain the three broad categories of factors that impact class relations. Which of the specific categories within each factor do you consider most influential, and why?
4. The chapter included several viewpoints on whether sport can serve as a source of social mobility. Which viewpoint do you consider most persuasive, and why?

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Krugman, P. (2007). *The conscience of a liberal.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company. (A provocative book from the Nobel Prize Laureate, providing an overview of economic inequalities in the United States and possible solutions to the problem.)

Putnam, R. D. (2015). *Our kids: The American dream in crisis.* New York: Simon & Schuster. (A remarkable book from award-wining researcher and scholar; offers extensive data and analysis related to social class, education, opportunity, and access in America.)

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CHAPTER 4

SPORT AND HEALTH[1]

Michael B. Edwards and Jonathan M. Casper

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Summarize different sociological perspectives of the study of sport and health.
2. Paraphrase the complex and often-contradictory relationship between sport and health outcomes.
3. Identify the ways in which different socialization processes and constraints in adolescence restrict access to many of sport's health promoting benefits for some social groups across the lifespan.
4. Articulate strategies for organizing and promoting sport to develop positive health outcomes.

INTRODUCTION
Of the many suggested individual and societal benefits attributed to sport, one has been its ability to promote health. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity" (World Health Organization, 1946, p. 2). Physical health refers to the overall functioning of the human body. Mental health includes self-efficacy and self-esteem, coping with stress, and ability to work productively and successfully contribute to society (World Health Organization, 2018a). Social health has been conceptualized from many different perspectives, but largely it relates to how individuals interact with others and function as members of a community (Durkheim, 1966; Renne, 1974). An individual's health status is theorized as a continuum, with death at one end and maximum well-being on the other (Patrick, Bush, & Milton, 1973). Rather than being an objective set of measures, health represents an ideal state where individuals make judgments about their functional status as informed by social and cultural norms.

A 2017 index by the insurance company Blue Cross Blue Shield listed hypertension (i.e., high blood pressure), depression, high cholesterol, coronary heart disease, and Type 2 diabetes as the five conditions most likely to lower the quality of health in Americans (Morgan, 2018). A 2012 Mott poll suggested that not getting enough exercise, childhood obesity, and stress were among the top concerns for children's health (C.S. Mott Children's Hospital, 2012). In terms of global health, the World Health Organization has identified ischemic heart disease (i.e., disease that restricts normal blood supply) as the leading cause of death worldwide (World Health Organization, 2016). They also suggested that eight risk factors (alcohol use, tobacco use, high blood pressure, high body mass index, low fruit and vegetable intake, and physical inactivity) account for over ¾ of the likelihood of developing heart disease (World Health Organization, 2009). What is notable about the WHO's report for the study of sport is that they suggested physical inactivity is as important of a risk factor as smoking. The question is what is the efficacy of sport to promote physical, mental, and social health and to mitigate some of the risk factors associated with health concerns?

To examine this question, we take a sociological perspective to examine the relationship between sport and health. Sociologists attempt to understand how different social institutions and social interactions affect health behaviors (Hyman, 1967). Many sociologists are also interested in understanding how social structures and social problems create inequality in health benefits and access to health promoting resources and, relatedly, what socio-economic groups benefit and suffer in this process (Hyman). The influence of community and social environments on individual health and well-being has been a common theme in sociology

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[1] Edwards, M. B., & Casper, J. M. (2019). Sport and health. In G. B. Cunningham & M. A. Dixon (Eds.), *Sociology of sport and physical activity* (3rd ed., pp. 41-60). College Station, TX: Center for Sport Management Research and Education.

since Durkheim's (1966) analysis in the late 19th century of the roles of social structures to influence differences in suicide rates (Lee & Ferraro, 2007). This concept informed social ecological views of health and social behavior that emerged in the 1990s to examine how individuals interact with their multiple environments (e.g., social, physical, natural) and how these environments either facilitate or constrain healthy behaviors (McLeroy, Bibeau, Steckler, & Glanz, 1988; see Chapter 2). This movement reflects an overall approach of social sciences to move beyond individualistic perspectives that suggest, for example, that poor health is a result of individual choices and behaviors, to an orientation that examines the influences of structural environments on shaping those choices and behaviors (Edwards, Jilcott, Floyd, & Moore, 2011; Macintyre, Ellaway, & Cummins, 2002).

In this chapter, our approach to examining the efficacy of sport to promote health blends multiple sociological approaches. First, we use the functionalist approach to health advocated by Parsons (1951), who emphasized illness and poor health is dysfunctional to society. In this sense, sport is positioned as a beneficial part of the social system. It should be noted, however, that criticisms related to functionalist approaches to health suggest this perspective fails to critically examine the role of legitimate institutions of health and issues related to power and social inequality. In this sense, definitions of health and the status of "acceptable" institutions that determine treatment and prevention strategies are socially constructed and may exclude marginalized perspectives. Even the WHO's definition of health comes under criticism in this way (Callahan, 1973). Therefore, we also incorporate an examination of sport from a conflict perspective advocated by Starr (2008) and Sage (1998), among other. From this perspective, social institutions like sport are seen primarily as serving as a mechanism for social control and reproduction where benefits and dominance of some groups come at the expense of others (Starr). Rather than being universally positive, sport may instead be a site of exploitation and coercion that undermines its assumed benefits (Eitzen, 2016). It should be noted that while we address sport in different ways, based on the relative low rates of sport participation among adults, the emphasis on sport participation in this chapter will often focus on youth sport. See Chapter 2 for an overview of the functionalist and conflict perspectives.

HISTORY OF SPORT AS A HEALTH REFORM TOOL

The perception of sport's ability to provide positive health outcomes has provided the primary justification for the subsidization of sport by governmental authorities as well as the continual promotion of sport as a societal good (Eitzen, 2016; Hoekstra et al., 2018). This belief traces its roots back to the ancient Greeks and the writings of Plato (1902) in particular. Plato held that participation in sport and physical activity was necessary for building healthy bodies and the development of moral character in Athenian elites. While historical sport served other utilitarian roles as well, particularly in military-related skills (e.g., archery, jousting), proponents of the *Muscular Christianity* movement in 19th Century Britain and the U.S. were important in the promotion of sport as a health tool (Dunning, 1971). This movement rejected the anti-leisure narrative of Puritanism to advocate for constructive use of leisure time. Leaders of the *Muscular Christianity* movement argued that sport participation was important to develop a balance of physical and spiritual harmony (Putney, 2001). Their ideology resonated with Industrial Revolution-era social reformers who argued sport participation would help improve the quality of life for the urban poor by making them stronger and more physically healthy (Dunning, 1971). Sport was also seen as an important mechanism to help assimilate immigrants to U.S. cities and to promote community interaction (Riess, 1991). These arguments provided the catalyst for public space to be set aside for parks and the creation of public and private recreational sport programs (Riess).

Critics of the health promotion legacy of sport argue that sport during the industrial-era reform period was used more as a means of social control and for promotion of capitalist ideology than to improve the population's well-being. Social reformers of this era were concerned about promoting sport to maintain order by providing a constructive alternative to perceived deviant and unsupervised leisure activities among working class urban dwellers that supposedly threatened moral values and civic political structures (Riess, 1991). Coakley (2017) also points out that the promotion of sport to improve fitness and physical abilities was largely related to increasing economic productivity. In addition to increasing the ability of workers to handle

their often poor working conditions, some argued that particular sports (often the ones promoted for public participation) could teach workers the production-oriented values of obedience, punctuality, dependability, self-sacrifice, and the value of hard work as the means to success (Miracle & Rees, 1994).

It is also important to note that sport was organized exclusively as a masculine domain. Females were excluded from full participation in organized sport. Physicians warned that sport participation could reduce women's abilities to conceive and bear healthy children (Coakley, 2017). Luther Gulick, a physician regarded as one of the pioneers in the recreation movement, believed sport was harmful to women's minds and bodies, saying, "Athletics do not test womanliness as they test manliness" (cited in Riess, 1991, p. 160). While occasional sporting opportunities existed for women, critics are right to point out that the historical marginalization of women continues to affect the inclusion of females in sport and the beliefs about physical benefits of sport for women, even after the passage of Title IX.

HEALTH BENEFITS OF SPORT

Physical activity is "bodily movement produced by skeletal muscles that results in energy expenditure" (Caspersen, Powell, & Christenson, 1985, p. 126). The enduring popularity of sport's promotion for health benefits is largely based on the increased levels of physical activity realized by its participants. The promotion of sport participation as a central means of increasing physical activity has intensified since growing global concerns about population health and the economic costs of public health issues have increased awareness of the importance of physical activity to maintaining health (Coakley, 2017; World Health Organization, 2003). One important health concern related to levels of physical activity has been increasing obesity rates, particularly among children and adolescents, which tripled since the 1970s. Nearly 1 in 5 school aged children in the US were obese as of 2015-2016 (Fryar, Carroll, & Ogden, 2014; Hales, Carroll, Fryar, & Ogden, 2016). With significant decreases in occupational physical activity (i.e., physical activity on the job) in developed nations occurring with increases in workforce automation and service sector careers, increased attention has been placed on increasing leisure-time physical activity in these countries (Kaczynski & Henderson, 2007).

Lack of leisure-time physical activity is a direct antecedent to obesity (Cawley, Meyerhoefer, & Newhouse, 2007) and strong associations exist between obesity rates and rates of physical inactivity (Brock et al., 2009). However, physical inactivity serves to combat public health issues beyond obesity (Floyd, Bocarro, & Thompson, 2008). While obesity itself is a risk factor for most identified health concerns, increased physical activity has been shown to decrease health risks independent of weight status (Blair & Brodney, 1999; World Health Organization, 2003). A report by the United Kingdom's Department of Health (2001) suggested that regular physical activity can decrease cardiovascular mortality; reduce high blood pressure; improve bone health, increase cognitive functioning; reduce risk of cancers; reduce risk of depression; and provide positive benefits for mental health, including reducing anxiety and enhancing self-esteem. Sport is not only believed to increase physical activity in participants, but it is regarded as a more enjoyable, satisfying, and motivating way to be physically active (Right to Play International, 2008).

Based on this position, organized sport programs remain an important mechanism to promote physical activity worldwide (Marques et al., 2016; Moore & Werch, 2005). In fact, the World Health Organization (2003) suggests that participation in sport programs is an essential part of a healthy lifestyle. This proposition has received support in research showing individuals who participate in sport average more weekly physical activity than those who do not participate in sports (Phillips & Young, 2009). Additionally, evidence suggests that physically active children grow up to be physically active adults (Green, Smith, & Roberts, 2005; Kjønniksen, Anderssen, & Wold, 2009). Getting involved in sports in childhood is important to staying involved as a teenager and pursuing physical activity as an adult. Researchers have found that joining youth sports at an early age and continuation through adolescence appears to increase the likelihood for physically activity for young and middle-aged adults (Perkins, Jacobs, Barber, & Eccles, 2004). For example, women who participated in team sports in their youth are more likely to be physically active, and as a result

they have decreased risk factors for heart disease, including healthier weight and body mass index (BMI) (Alfano, Klesges, Murray, Beech, & McClanahan, 2002).

Physical activity is the primary direct health benefit associated with sport participation. Beyond the suggested increased levels of physical activity, sport may provide multiple secondary health benefits based on participation as well as using sport as a communication platform to promote health. Connections have been made between sport participation and improved social, emotional, and mental health as well as decreased risks of engaging in presumed risky health behaviors. Most frequently, this association has been examined with youth sport participants. Compared to non-participants, adolescent sport participants consume higher levels of fruits and vegetables (Pate, Trost, Levin, & Dowda, 2000) and report lower use of cigarettes (Palomäki et al., 2018)) and hard drugs (Pate et al., 2000). Many of these healthy habits of youth sport participants carry into adulthood (Palomäki et al.). Adolescent girls who participate in sport are also less likely to engage in risky sexual behavior or have an unwanted pregnancy (Kulig, Brener, & McManus, 2003; Miller, Melnick, Barnes, Farrell, & Sabo, 2005). Sport participation is also associated with lower anxiety and depression and higher levels of self-esteem and social competence (Babiss & Gangwich, 2009; McHale et al., 2005).

In terms of increasing social health, sport is portrayed as a source of social connectivity that creates opportunities for individuals and communities to come together (Edwards, 2015; Hoye, 2015). Regular participation in organized sport provides opportunities for social interaction, and is associated with increased social connectivity among co-participants (Hoye). Youth sports also allow families not only to bond with each other through their different roles in playing, spectating, and organizing teams and leagues, but also families can develop relationships with other sports families (Trussell, 2009). Finally, spectator sports are perceived to increase collective experiences among fans (i.e., sport participants in a different context) that lead to more social cohesion across communities, ethnic groups, and economic classes (with the notable exceptions created through racism, hooliganism, and sectarian violence; Smith, 1988; Stieler & Germelmann, 2016).

Sport may also provide indirect health benefits through the entertainment appeal of elite athletes and sport organizations. Here, these entities serve as a mechanism to deliver health education information and support health initiatives (Edwards & Rowe, 2019). For example, the National Football League in the US has launched a campaign, "Play 60", to promote youth physical activity and play (Bamesberger, 2011). While critics have suggested initiatives like Play 60 have little evidence base to ensure successful health promotion (e.g., Sparvero & Warner, 2019), leveraging the popularity of high-performance sport to raise awareness of health issues and behaviors is increasing. English soccer clubs have become increasingly active in promoting men's health issues (e.g., prostate cancer and mental health) to spectators with public awareness campaigns and themed matches (Curran, Drust & Richardson, 2014; Summers, 2018). US sports leagues and teams have also frequently focused on breast cancer awareness by holding themed promotions with pink uniforms (Feinsand, 2011). The demonstration of sport's effectiveness as a health awareness tool was also seen in the prominent role of basketball star Earvin "Magic" Johnson to change public perceptions about HIV/AIDS and push for increased research for the disease following his HIV-positive diagnosis (Casey et al., 2003). This aspect of sport's role in promoting positive health outcomes may be worth exploring in the future, although sport seems to deliver its main health benefits through direct participation.

CRITICISMS OF THE SPORT – HEALTH RELATIONSHIP

The benefits of regular engagement in leisure-time physical activity are obvious. This relationship has been central to arguments made by advocates for increased expenditures on and promotion of recreational sport since antiquity. However, this advocacy approach often fails to distinguish between the benefits of broader physical activities and sport more specifically (Robson, 2001). Sport, of course, is a specialized form of leisure-time physical activity, but not all leisure-time physical activity is sport (see Chapter 1). Particularly in the US, sport is organized to emphasize competition, specialization, and rule structures (Coakley, 2017). While, to a point, the physical activity and training required of sport participation is beneficial, this may not

be an intentional outcome of participation in competitive sport (Eitzen, 2016). Indeed, even Plato insisted that competitive sport was not a suitable source for health-promoting physical activity, citing that its focus on winning encouraged training regimes that were ill-designed to foster comprehensive physical fitness.

This position has also received increased attention in research. For example, Walters, Barr-Anderson, Wall, and Neumark-Sztainer (2007) found that while former youth sport participants remained more physically active than non-participants in adulthood, physical activity levels dropped more significantly among youth sports participants in adulthood. In their longitudinal study, these researchers also suggested that socio-economic status and gender was an important moderator of the retention of physical activity levels into adulthood among youth athletes, with lower socioeconomic class male youth sport participants showing the most significant declines in physical activity. Additionally, the U.S. childhood obesity crisis has occurred despite dramatic increases in youth sport participation (Louv, 2005). Thus, organized, competitive sport may not deliver recommended levels of physical activity to enough participants in comparison to unstructured sport or non-competitive physical activities (Kanters, Bocarro, & Edwards, 2011).

The evidence of sport to deliver positive health outcomes has been inconsistent and it may depend on how sport is delivered (Edwards & Rowe, 2019). The Healthy Sport Index, a web-based tool from the Aspen Institute's Project Play, looked at many of the most popular sports played in US high schools and suggested that some sports provide better health outcomes than others in terms of physical activity, risk of injury, and psychosocial benefits (Lee, 2018). Therefore, when examining the relationship between sport and health outcomes, the specific setting, rules, and culture of a sport should be considered. For example, to maximize performance at some positions, American football players may be encouraged by coaches to become overweight or obese (Kaplan, Digel, Scavo, & Arellana, 1995; Matthews & Wagner, 2008). Bat and ball sports (e.g., baseball and softball) may also provide fewer opportunities for physical activity than other sports (Bocarro et al., 2014; Floyd, Spengler, Maddock, Gobster, & Suau, 2008) perhaps due to the games' requirements for more sedentary time (e.g., sitting in the dugout waiting to bat or standing in the field). Conversely, Ainsworth et al. (2000) found that participants in sports which encourage more continuous play (e.g., handball, rugby, soccer, racquet sports, and swimming) recorded higher levels of physical activity.

In addition to questions about the efficacy of sport to universally deliver recommended levels of physical activity, many scholars have argued that sport may be as likely to provide poorer health outcomes as positive health outcomes. Injuries are common to sport participants. Many former athletes are able to quickly point out nagging aches and pains that remain from their playing days. For example, many retired players from the National Football League report living with chronic pain and musculoskeletal disabilities due to the extreme physical contact endured in that sport (Schwenk, Gorenflo, Dopp, & Hipple, 2007). Some have suggested that injuries are so common to sport that they have been normalized as an accepted part of the culture of playing games (Curry & Strauss, 1994), especially in many historically male-dominated contact sports (Coulter, Mallett, & Singer, 2016). Athletes are even celebrated for "playing hurt" or returning to games too quickly after a serious injury, even if the decision to continue participation increases the likelihood of more permanent disability (Nixon, 1993). Additionally, the nature of many sports encourages violence that is both legitimate (i.e., within the rule of the game, like hard hits in football or body checks in hockey) and illegitimate (i.e., outside the rules of the game, like fighting). These acts heighten the risk of injuries to participants. Coaches and sport leagues encourage much of this violence and aggressive behavior as ways of intimidating opponents and increasing the excitement of the sport performance, respectively. Some research has even suggested that when coaches encourage aggression and violent behavior, athletes have an increased likelihood of being aggressive or violent off the field (Wagmiller, Kuang, Aber, Lennon, & Alberti, 2006).

There have also been dramatic increases in sport injuries to children. Over half of all youth sport participants have experienced injuries due to their participation (Fabricant et al., 2016). In one study, children in Portugal who played sport at any level were significantly more likely to suffer injuries than children who did not play sports (Costa e Sliva et al., 2017). What may be most troubling is that the most common

injuries to adolescent sport participants are musculoskeletal overuse injuries due to increased and specialized training regimens designed to assist these young athletes reach elite status (Hawkins & Metheny, 2001; Stracciolini et al., 2013). Intense training routines for sport are also responsible for another condition described as the "female athlete triad" (Birch, 2005). This condition refers to three prominent risks to female athletes who exceed healthy levels of physical activity in their training programs: Amenorrhea (i.e., premature cessation or delay of menstruation), anorexia athletica (i.e., eating disorders associated with weight control for training and sport performance), and osteoporosis (i.e., loss of bone mineral density).

There have also been questions raised about sport's ability to promote mental and emotional health, particularly high-performance sport. Too often the focus on winning and getting to elite levels changes the meaning of sport and discourages participation. Many individuals stop playing sport due to low self-competence, that is low evaluation of themselves compared to peers (Hedstrom & Gould, 2004). Instead of being a place to encourage self-esteem and promote self-confidence, sport often has the opposite effect for less skilled athletes. Additionally, one of the most common negative resultants of high-performance sports is increased stress resulting in burnout. Competitive sport places excessive levels of stress on athletes, particularly children, who often burnout as a result. Some of the most common factors associated with sport burnout are: high expectation, a win at all cost attitude, parental pressure, long repetitive practices with little variety, inconsistent coaching practices, overuse injuries, excessive practices and time demands, social support displayed on the basis of winning and losing and perfectionism (Wienberg & Gould, 2003). These factors suggest that sport has the potential to also negatively impact socio-emotional and mental development.

Finally, critics have examined sport's ability to promote healthy social interactions among participants and spectators. Dyreson (2001) argued that trash talking, which is often racist, misogynistic, and homophobic in nature, often permeates interactions on the court or playing field, calling "in-your-face rather than face-to-face communication" (p. 23). Far from Putnam's (2000) ideal of sport as a fountain of bridging social capital, Dyreson argues that playing sport often fosters an "us" versus "them" mentality. This sentiment, frequently fueled by media glamorization, has elevated many groups of players and spectators to violent acts against each other.

Sometimes, this violence transcends sport such as in the case of religious sectarianism that underlies some soccer rivalries. For example, supporters of the biggest soccer clubs in Glasgow, Scotland, have experienced numerous high-profile violent clashes rooted in their historical religious, economic, and cultural animosity (the city's Protestants have historically associated with Rangers Football Club and Catholics with The Celtic Football Club) (Coroniti, 2014; Roadburg, 1980). Other times however, the sports rivalry or culture itself can fuel fan violence leading to severe injury and death. For example, in August 2011, 70 fans were ejected from an exhibition game between the National Football League rivals San Francisco Forty-Niners and Oakland Raiders for violent acts against opposing fans; 12 fans were arrested, two were shot in the parking lot, and one was assaulted and beaten in a stadium restroom (Klemko, 2011).

Many pundits and scholars have suggested that this type of behavior, historically absent from North American sport, is on the rise (Rich & Babb, 2016). Additionally, while research on youth sport violence is limited, it is easy to find numerous instances in the media about confrontational and even violent behaviors at youth sporting events, including acts of aggression by parents toward coaches, officials, and even youth sport participants (Heinzmann, 2002). It seems that when the stakes of winning and losing and the performance ethic in sports get high, emotional stress and anxiety may interfere with healthy social functioning. It is also important to note that the stress of high-performance sport may affect spectators in other unhealthy ways too. While evidence is still inconclusive, there are suggestions that spectator attachment to teams can have a negative effect on cardiovascular health when watching games (Čulić, 2011). For example, a 2008 study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* found that watching World Cup soccer matches more than doubled the risk of acute cardiovascular events (e.g., heart attacks) among Germans during the 2006 World Cup (Wilbert-Lampen et al., 2008).

Overall, the ability of sport to provide expected levels of healthy physical activity and promote mental and social health may be contextual to how specific sports are organized and delivered. The current way many sports are managed and marketed in our society may inhibit sport's direct contribution to health promotion (Chalip, 2006). Sport's efficacy to promote positive health outcomes may only be realized if sport is organized in a way that deemphasizes competitive performance and intentionally promotes health, positive social interaction, and inclusive participation across all population groups (Coakley, 2017).

ACCESSIBILITY OF "HEALTHY" SPORT ACROSS THE LIFESPAN

As previously indicated, one important aim of sociological approaches to health is to understand inequalities associated with differential access to health promoting resources based on wealth or social status (Hyman, 1967). It has been well established that the risk of poor health is not distributed equally across the social hierarchy of populations. For example, disadvantaged socio-economic groups such as the poor, racial/ethnic minorities, women, people with disabilities, and senior citizens are more likely to have poorer health outcomes than advantaged socio-economic groups (Braveman, 2006). Not surprisingly, these disadvantaged groups are also more likely to be physically inactive both in childhood and as adults (Coakley, 2017; Day, 2006; Floyd, Bocarro et al., 2008; Richmond, Hayward, Gahagan, Field, & Heisler, 2006; Young et al., 2007).

Exhibit 4.1 shows differences in youth sport participation by race and gender, and Exhibit 4.2 shows group differences in participating in recommended levels of leisure-time physical activity. As indicated, some groups, particularly racial and ethnic minority females, are more at risk for physical inactivity than others.

Exhibit 4.1: US Youth Team Sport Participation Rates, by Race and Gender

Racial Group	Gender	Participate in Sport
White, Non-Hispanic	Boys	61%
	Girls	50%
Black, Non-Hispanic	Boys	68%
	Girls	51%
Hispanic	Boys	57%
	Girls	47%

Source: CDC HS YRBS 2017

Exhibit 4.2: US Adults Meeting Recommended Activity Levels, by Race and Gender

Racial Group	Meet Recommended Activity Levels
White,	53%
Black	43.5%
Hispanic	43.8%

Source: CDC BRFSS 2017

Sociologists and health researchers have sought to determine how differences in access to supportive environmental resources (e.g., programs, facilities, safe neighborhoods), and differences in social and cultural practices function to either reduce or maintain these health disparities. As an important social and cultural institution, sport has also been examined from this perspective. As we have suggested, sport's health benefits are not necessarily universal and must be intentional to the organization and management of specific sport activities. Therefore, we should examine the ways in which some groups may have better access to participating in the types of sport that promotes health.

As mentioned previously, playing sports across the lifespan may lead to many desirable physical, mental, and social health outcomes. Therefore, continued sport participation across a lifespan is important. Exhibit 4.3 shows sport participation rates in the U.S. based on age. Sport participation rates peak around age 13 and then decline for older age cohorts. The most noticeable decline in sport participation is the older adolescent age group. Researchers have suggested that participation in sport at exactly this stage of adolescence is a critical mediator for keeping young people physically active into adulthood (Curtis, McTeer, & White, 1999; MacPhail & Kirk, 2006). Therefore, the likelihood of maintaining healthy levels of physical activity through sport participation becomes much lower if youth are discontinuing sport at this period in their lives.
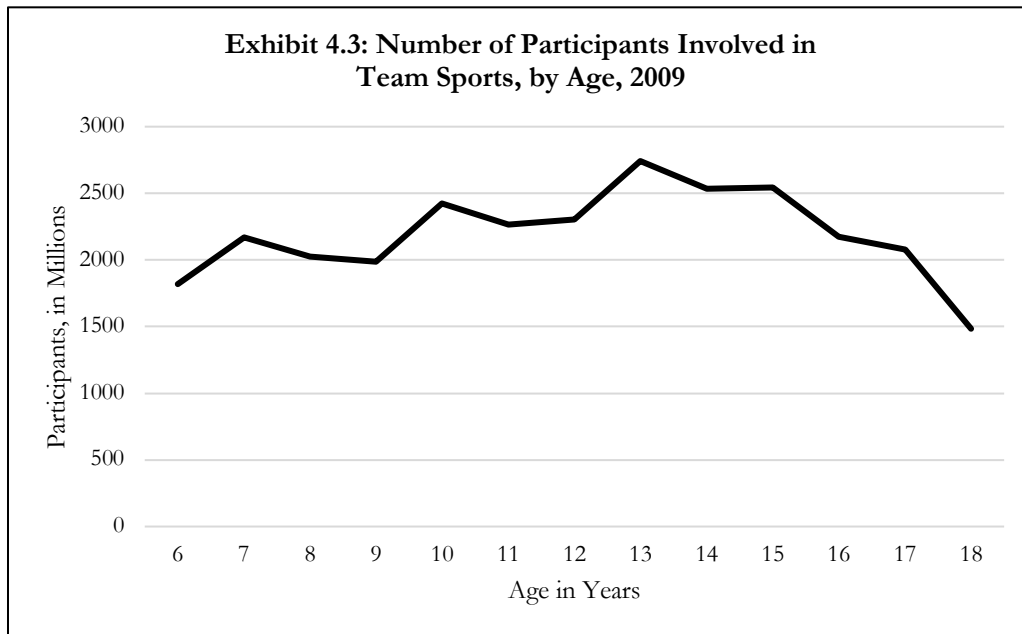
Source. SGMA/Sports Market Research

In addition to age discrepancies with respect to physical activity, the fact that rates of participation in sport and attrition from sport are not the same across socio-economic groups is troubling. For example, girls, particularly those from racial and ethnic minority groups, drop out of sport at higher rates than boys do during the adolescent years (Phillips & Young, 2009; Young et al., 2007). Sport participation over time is often directly linked to economic status because of significant barriers (e.g., increased financial costs and lack of spare time) faced by low income youth (Day, 2006). Youth with physical and mental disabilities also have increasing difficulty participating in sport (Murphy & Carbone, 2008). Additionally, the universal negative effects of aging on preventing participation in sport increases for minorities, members of lower socio-economic classes, and persons with disabilities (Adler & Rehkopf, 2008). To better understand how social inequality may prevent many people from accessing the positive health benefits sport may offer, we need to examine the process by which different groups become socialized into sport as well as understand the constraints different groups experience to participating in "healthy" sport.

Mechanisms for Socializing Youth into Sport
Socialization is fundamental to understanding sport participation across the lifespan. The basic premise is that understanding sport participation requires a social element, arguing that people can learn new information and behaviors by watching other people. Socialization is the process of learning to live in and

understand a culture or subculture by internalizing its values, beliefs, attitudes, and norms (Long & Hadden, 1985). It is an active process of learning and social development and occurs as we interact with others.

Socialization is the cornerstone of the functionalist approach to sociology. Social order is maintained through the process of learning and development that transmits central values and culture of a society to individuals (Rojek, 2005; Ruddell & Shinew, 2006). Socialization involves the formation of ideas about who we are and what is important in our lives. In sport, socialization occurs through contact with socialization agents (e.g., family, peers, and media) from which individuals interpret what is societally approved behavior. Parents serve as the dominant socialization agent for children in these formative years prior to adolescence (Dotson & Hyatt, 2005; Moschis, 1987). Parents are also most likely to introduce their children to sport (Green & Chalip, 1998; Greendorfer, Lewko, & Rosengren, 2002). Children are likely to adopt their parents' beliefs and motivations toward sport (Eccles, 1993). Siblings may also provide an intragenerational influence that becomes stronger in the transition from childhood to adolescence (Cotte & Wood, 2004; Pechmann & Knight, 2002). Because children have indicated that their desire for affiliation, and social recognition is a primary motive for their involvement in sport programs (Weiss & Petlichkoff, 1989), peer influence is likely to be integral in a child's sport behavior. In addition to peers and siblings, teachers and school-specific peer groups also affect the socialization of youth (Moschis, 1987). Lastly, the influence of the mass media may also be especially important in the development of attitudes about participating in sport because of the significant presence of sports on television and video games. For example, the portrayal of athletes as celebrities and actions of athletes promoted in these media may encourage some children to participate in certain sports (Bailey & Sage, 1988). However, this relationship may be far less significant than more proximate and intentional role models that demonstrate and encourage sport participation to young people (Payne et al., 2003).

Another way in which researchers have approached socialization is to examine the sociological factors that encourage participation across parts of the lifespan. In particular, sociologists are interested in social inequality and its reproduction based on three prominent socially constructed contexts for inequality: gender, race, and social class. This research focuses on why some social groups maintain sport and physical activity participation from childhood and adolescence into adulthood, and why other groups are more likely to withdraw from these activities at different transitional points in their lifespan. This approach suggests adults learn their role as a sport participant based upon the opportunities they had to participate during childhood and adolescence. As individuals age, they will seek to maintain some level of continuity in their lifestyle (Atchley, 1989). In order to encourage people to participate in recreational sport throughout their lifespan, they must be provided with the opportunity to participate in a broad range of activities in childhood and adolescence that can be realistically maintained in adulthood (Green et al., 2005). Throughout the lifespan, it is expected that participation in many of these activities will cease, but having a wider pool from which to choose may encourage the continuation of participation in some activities (Green et al.). Therefore, youth sports that can be played across the lifespan are especially important in facilitating physical activity into adulthood. Thus, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) guidelines indicates that community sports and recreation program coordinators can help increase physical activity among youth in a variety of ways including providing a mix of competitive team and non-competitive teams, lifelong fitness and recreational activities.

In addition to exploring the process by which youth engage in sport participation and then maintain participation into adulthood, research has also examined why youth do not engage in sport. Understanding constraints to sport participation could help explain the decline in youth sport participation across different social groups (Casper, Bocarro, Kanters, & Floyd, 2011). Constraints theory suggests that individuals perceive various intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural barriers that inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure activities (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991). Sallis, Prochaska, and Taylor (2000) showed that perceived constraints were the most consistent negative psychological correlate of physical activity among children. The most salient constraints that limit or prevent sport participation include a lack of time, partners, facilities and equipment, and a perceived lack of skill or confidence. While the types of

constraints that often prevent youth from continuing sport participation are similar across groups, socio-economic disadvantage seems to intensify the strength of constraints to prevent participation (Cunningham, 2008). Constraints are especially prevalent in predicting decreased sport participation for girls, Latinos, and youth from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

Socialization and Disparities in Sport's Health Benefits
We have provided some understanding of the ways sport can be organized to increase the likelihood of providing desired health outcomes. Additionally, we have discussed the process that encourages or constrains some individuals from participating in sport from childhood into adulthood. Now, we will use these concepts to better understand how the organization and delivery of sport in our society may serve to reproduce health disparities. In particular, why are many socio-economically disadvantaged groups less likely to engage in some lifetime sports and more likely to abandon sport participation after adolescence and become mere sports spectators (Bourdieu, 1978)? Some authors have suggested that the organizational system in the US promotes participation for elite athletes as age increases and consequently benefiting already advantaged groups while simultaneously discriminating against the disadvantaged (Barr-Anderson et al., 2007; Edwards, 1986). In the long term, the exclusion of certain groups from participation in sports may lead to less leisure time physical activity and more health risks in adulthood. In this case, sport practices may serve to reproduce health inequality among marginalized groups in society.

In addition to requiring a high level of skill, competitive sports participation generally demands a greater commitment of time for practices and traveling to competitions. Kimm et al. (2006) discovered that lack of time was the primary reason girls in this age group dropped out of sport. Adolescent girls also seek out a broader range of cooperative physical activities than are offered in traditional recreational sports programs. For example, Barr-Anderson et al. (2007) found that adolescent girls favored participation in swimming, dance, cheerleading, and gymnastics rather than traditional competitive team sports. Traditional programs of competitive sports may also emphasize socially constructed masculine values such as violence and aggression (Hanson & Kraus, 1999). In communities that promote more traditional gender ideologies, sport and physical activity may be viewed as a male domain. In these contexts, athletic ability and participation in sport and physical activity should only be celebrated among men, and women who participate in physical activities, other than for cosmetic fitness, beyond a certain age may be labeled as 'masculine' (Shakib & Dunbar, 2004, p. 286). Adolescent girls also often model their mother's physical activity behavior (Shakib & Dunbar) and may not perceive adult women as being physically active in sport environments. These characteristics may discourage interest in sport by girls who might view playing sport solely within the context of masculine values historically promoted in sports (Coakley, 2017).

Members of higher socio-economic classes participate in sport, particularly lifetime sports, more and longer than do members of lower socio-economic classes. It is understood that certain economic and structural constrains (e.g., available spare time, transportation, money for equipment) are heightened for members of lower socio-economic classes. Parents' level of education, one of the key markers of social class, continues to be the most significant factor in predicting sport participation (Young et al., 2007), particularly in females (Hasbrook, 1987). Additionally, public and private opportunities that support sports participation (e.g., parks, recreation programs) are less likely to be found in low income and minority communities and neighborhoods (Edwards, Kanters, & Bocarro, 2011; Smoyer-Tomic, Hewko, & Hodgson, 2004). While in Europe, some of the social class differences in participation have diminished (Scheerder, Vanreusel, Taks, & Renson, 2005), community resources for these activities in the US are often distributed unequally based upon social class (Eitzen, 2016). Education budgets have also been cut dramatically across the US. Increasing emphasis is being placed on academic achievement measured through standardized testing leading to a significant reduction in financial resources for physical education and co-curricular physical activities (especially non-revenue sports, intramurals, and non-competitive physical activities). While reduced school-based activities, and its negative effects on health across the lifespan, has been experienced across our society, the most severe cuts have occurred in socio-economically disadvantaged schools with high popu-

lations of low-income and minority populations, in inner cities, and rural areas (Edwards, Kanters, & Bocarro, 2011; Outley & Floyd, 2002). Thus, socio-economically disadvantaged youth are increasingly becoming the least likely to have access to the resources necessary to provide support for public opportunities for physical activity (Sallis et al., 2001).

Some researchers have also attempted to explain social class disparities in sport participation through both structural and cultural conditions using the theoretical framework of Bourdieu (1978). Bourdieu argued that the meaning we attach to socially constructed institutions and leisure activities, like sport, and the appropriateness of how we participate in these activities is shaped by historical and cultural structures. From this perspective, sport may be viewed in the more practical terms of social and financial mobility for members of lower socio-economic classes, rather than for health and fitness outcomes. In this case, sport becomes seen as a setting to sacrifice the physical health of the body for extrinsic gain, rather than a health promoting mechanism. According to Bourdieu, sport participation therefore becomes limited for lower socio-economic classes beyond adolescence based on their concentration in intensive contact team sports (e.g., football) that pay off in status attainment and possible social mobility. Conversely, the upper class tends to participate in sports (e.g., golf, tennis) that offer more health benefits and participation opportunities long into adulthood. These sports, practiced for their functions of physical maintenance and for the social profit they bring, have in common the fact that their age-limit lies far beyond youth" (Bourdieu, p. 837).

The reasons for racial differences in participation in sport are complex (Philipp, 1998). In adolescence, racial identity becomes central to peer group approval of leisure activities (Phillip), and there is evidence that barriers created by racially segregated social groups may create sport culture that is also segregated by race with some individuals feeling unwelcome in sport settings where they are the minority race (Bopp et al., 2017). The interpersonal influences of friends, family members, and other adult role models are critical for getting children to participate in sport (Crossman, Sullivan, & Benin, 2006). Children of racial and ethnic minority groups are therefore often socialized to participate in activities that are culturally appropriate and discouraged from participating in sports in which are not. However, there is some evidence that sport can help break down some racial barriers and encourage cross-racial friendships if different racial and ethnic groups do participate together (Jones et al., 2016).

For many racial and ethnic minorities, sport is seen in the utilitarian terms described by Bourdieu, offering faint hope of a college football or basketball scholarship and social mobility (Eitle & Eitle, 2002). Additionally, sport participation is often considered suitable for males but not necessarily for females within the cultural traditions of many racial and ethnic minority populations. Therefore, culture may explain why racial and ethnic variations in physical activity participation are often found among girls, but not boys (Phillips & Young, 2009). In contrast, other differences in participation are a result of poverty, historic discrimination of minority groups, and neighborhood locations (Washburne, 1978). For example, African Americans have historically been excluded from public spaces for swimming and therefore may be less likely to develop the skills necessary or the interest in participating in swimming activities (Hastings, Zahran, & Cable, 2006). Additionally, soccer gained popularity in the United States as a middle-class suburban sport and therefore middle-class children are more likely to play it (Goldsmith, 2003). Based on their family's socio-economic status or residence within less-deprived neighborhoods, White children have earlier access to swimming and soccer and may be more likely to develop the skills and attitudes toward the sport required to continue their participation.

Overall, sport's ability to provide health promoting benefits across the lifespan requires accessibility to sport programs and facilities, as well as to specific lifetime sports that provide participants with recommended levels of physical activity from adolescence into adulthood. The inclusion of all socio-economic groups into these sport experiences is vital to reducing health disparities and promoting population health. Unfortunately, divergent socialization patterns and cultural constructions of the meaning of sport participation may prevent all socio-economic groups from accessing and being included in sport participation.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The relationship between sport and health is complex. Rather than promoting universal physical, mental, and social health benefits as advocated in the functionalist perspective, sport can also heighten risks of injury, produce emotional stress and anxiety, and encourage violence and social conflict. However, rather than focusing on the negative aspects of sport, as often becomes the case in the conflict perspective, it is more constructive to acknowledge the potential for sport as a site to promote lifetime physical activity and reduce health disparities to seek strategies to improve sport's efficacy in this regard.

According to Edwards and Rowe (2019), sport's efficacy to promote positive health outcomes is maximized when programs focus on community needs and empower participants, when the sport culture adapts and evolves to be more inclusive and focused on health as the primary goal, and sport organizations use partnerships with health-related organizations to ensure best practices of health promotion. This characterization of healthy sport suggests sport must be organized and delivered in a way that reduces the emphasis on high performance and competition and more intentionally emphasizes promotion of physical activity, positive social and mental health outcomes, and the encouragement of healthy lifestyles across the lifespan. Policy and practices related to sport programs would also need to ensure the reduction of cultural and structural constraints that have traditionally prevented the full inclusion of all demographic groups from sport participation.

Given these findings, we offer nine recommendations to increase sport's efficacy to promote maximum health benefits and reduce health risks and disparities.

1. Recreation and school extracurricular programs must increasingly offer and encourage a broad range of competitive sport and non-competitive physical activities that appeal to all interests and abilities and can be continued across the lifespan.
2. Youth sport specialization must be limited, and children and adolescents should be encouraged to participate in many different sports.
3. To reduce some barriers to entry that have developed as youth sport became more competitive and selective, education programs should be implemented to teach youth sport skills and build competence to engage in new sports.
4. Sport programs should also be developed and supported to allow participation across all skill levels, physical abilities, and commitment levels.
5. Financial barriers (e.g., entry fees, cost of equipment and uniforms, and travel) should be reduced at all competitive levels.
6. Within sport programs, opportunities to move and be physically active should be increased, and time spent sitting on the sidelines or standing around should be reduced.
7. Excessive violent contact and physicality should be discouraged at all levels of competitive sport.
8. Sport programs should intentionally encourage positive interaction between opposing players and fans to build a culture of ethics and good sporting behaviors.
9. Continuous youth coaching certification and education programs should be developed and implemented to ensure best practices are promoted and encouraged. These education programs should also move beyond sport skills and game management and include content related to inclusion and increasing health outcomes.

While these recommendations are not comprehensive, they present clear strategies to improve sport's ability to promote positive physical, mental, and social health. As with any imbedded social institution, attempts to change sport in this way will likely be met with some resistance, most notably from those individuals and groups who have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Sport has become a powerful cultural and economic phenomenon that prioritizes the performance ethic and commercialization of the entertainment experience of spectator sports. Additionally, myths related to sport's role in society overstate sport's positive health outcomes and ignores many of the negative aspects of sport. However, sport is socially

constructed and therefore can be changed for the better. This chapter has provided an outline of sport's potential for delivering positive health outcomes, and suggested how sport can be intentionally transformed to promote health to individuals and society.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the relationship between sport and positive health outcomes from a sociological perspective. First, we defined health and discussed two primary sociological approaches, functionalism and conflict, that frame different perspectives about sport and health. We then discussed many of the health benefits of sport participation found in the research, including increased physical activity, reduced risk behaviors, lower anxiety and depression, higher levels of self-esteem, social competence, and social connectivity. Next, we presented criticisms of sport's health efficacy that suggested sport can also lead to increased injuries, higher emotional distress, and violence, particularly when it focuses on elite performance and competition. We then described different health disparities related to socio-economic status and described how levels of sport participation across the lifespan, particularly in sports more likely to encourage healthy lifestyles, are higher for individuals from more privileged socio-economic status groups. These group differences were shown to be based on differences in socialization methods and social, cultural, and economic barriers to participation in adolescence. We ended the chapter by presenting some potential strategies for organizing sport programs in ways that may maximize sport's health efficacy and promote inclusion across all socio-economic groups.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Think back to your own participation or non-participation in youth sport. How were you socialized into specific types of sport participation? What were some of the significant facilitators or constraints to your sport participation as you entered adulthood?
2. Considerable attention has been focused on suggested increases in violence in sport. Do you think violence is an issue in sports today? Why or why not?
3. Some critics of Title IX argue that it has only helped increase sport and physical activity participation for White girls. Is this criticism justified? How can we increase opportunities for girls of color to engage in healthy sport and physical activity across the lifespan?
4. Examine the sport programs in your community (from youth sports up to college and professional sports) from both a functionalist and conflict perspective. Describe the relationship of these programs to promote physical, mental and social health based on each of these perspectives.
5. We presented some strategies to improve the efficacy of sport to promote positive health outcomes across the population. What other strategies can you suggest to improve the ability of sport to promote health?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Aspen Institute (2015). *Project Play Playbook*. This 50-page report aggregates the eight most promising strategies in identifying strategies that can address barriers limiting access to early sport activity that fosters the development of healthy children and communities. The playbook can be downloaded at: https://www.aspeninstitute.org/publications/sport-all-play-life-playbook-get-every-kid-game/

Right to Play International. (2008). Harnessing the power of sport for development and peace: Recommendations to governments. Toronto, ON: Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group. (A United Nations working group report that comprehensively discusses global health and social issues and the ways in which sport can be used to alleviate these issues. It is a very comprehensive examination of sport in this context and provides excellent examples.)

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CHAPTER 5

SPORT AND THE ECONOMY[1]

Emily Sparvero and Marlene A. Dixon

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, students will be able to:
1. Differentiate between the leisure and laboring classes.
2. Apply the relationship between the proletariat and bourgeoisie to labor issues in sport.
3. Explain the commodification of sport and provide examples.
4. Critique the use of public funds for sport stadiums.

INTRODUCTION
Consumer spending on sport and recreation represents a significant part of the domestic and global economy. In 2017, US consumers spent over $56 billion to attend sporting events and another $33 billion on athletic equipment, and $19 billion in gym memberships; this spending totals to more than $100 billion expenditures on sport and recreation over the course of a year (Egan, 2017). In addition, the entire worth of the North American sport industry (for products and services related to sport and physical activity in the US) was estimated to reach $73.5 billion by 2019 (Heitner, 2015). Specific elements of the industry, such as media rights deals, athlete salaries, and recreational sport expenditures provide additional support for the significant role of sport and recreation in the economy.

There has been dramatic growth in the value of media rights fees paid to sports properties. In 1970, television networks paid $50 million to broadcast the NFL. By 2010, the three major network stations (ABC, CBS, NBC) and one cable station (ESPN) paid a combined $2.9 billion annually to broadcast NFL games (Ourand, 2011). Adjusted for inflation, the value of the initial NFL rights deal is approximately $281 million, and the value of the MLB deal is approximately $49.4 million. As of 2011, the NFL deal was worth a staggering 932% more than the deal in 1970. As of 2019, the NFL deal for all five networks reached a total of $7 billion annually, another 141% increase in just eight years (Statista.com).

Examples of broadcast rights deals for other sport properties involve less dramatic but still substantial sums: CBS/Turner Broadcasting Network pays approximately $1 billion per year for the right to broadcast the NCAA men's basketball tournament (Tracy, 2016); CBS and NBC pay $491.7 million for rights to broadcast PGA tour events (Ourand, 2011); and ESPN, Fox Sports, and Univision pay a combined $90 million annually for the rights to MLS games, up from $17.9 million in 2011 (Ourand & Botta, 2014). There has been a significant increase in the value that media place on the rights to sport events, and that the increase in media rights deals cannot be explained by inflation.

Athlete salaries in the professional sport leagues have also skyrocketed in recent years. In 1990, the average salary for an NFL player was $354,000, and the median base salary was $275,000. By 2010, the average NFL salary was $2 million and the median base salary was $906,000. In MLB, the average salary in 1990 was $598,000, which increased to over $3 million by 2010 (US Census Bureau, 2011). In 2018, the average salary for an NFL player was $2.7 million, with the highest paid players making upwards of $20 million per year (Renzulli, 2019). Similar trends are seen in niche sports like professional rodeo. In the last 20 years, the number of professional rodeos has decreased, but the total prize money has more than doubled, from

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$18.2 million in 1990 to a total of $1 billion in 2018 (Renck, 2018). The economic significance of sport is not limited to professional or spectator sport. In 2017, the youth sport industry in the US was estimated at $15 billion (Gregory, 2017), a rise of 55% from 2010.

The figures presented here do not represent the entirety of sport consumption in the economy; instead, they indicate the magnitude of sport-related spending in recent years. It is clear that sport is an important economic institution. Yet, sport is also an important social institution. Sport consumption and sport participation both affect and are affected by the social systems in which they are embedded. In this chapter, we examine the relationship between sport and the economy, and in doing so, present three sociological approaches: the theory of the leisure class, commodification and Marxist critiques of sport, and political economy/growth coalition theory. These theoretical and conceptual approaches provide the foundation for understanding the decisions made at an individual level (i.e., sport consumption and participation) and at the community level (i.e., public subsidization for private sport).

THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS

Consider the following: you are a sport management student and golf enthusiast who is working at the pro shop of a neighborhood country club to earn money to help pay your tuition. While taking a short break during your shift, you see a man get out of his Mercedes and remove his Louis Vuitton Damier Geante golf bag (retail price $8400). He is a regular customer of yours, and you know that his golf bag includes top-of-the-line Majesty Prestigio clubs (retail price over $10,000) and Tourstage V10 Limited balls (retail price $55 a dozen). As he walks by, you notice his custom-made John Lobb golf shoes (retail price $5000), his Oakley sunglasses (retail price $375), and his J. Lindeberg golf shirt (retail price $165).

So, what conclusions can you draw about the individual you just observed? Maybe you felt a bit of jealousy, as you thought about the high-end equipment and accessories your customer had. Could you make a reasonable guess about his annual income? Net worth? Social class? Family background? Based on his possessions (and your mental tally of what those possessions cost), you might assume that he is someone who is either wealthy himself, or that he is someone who comes from a wealthy family. In addition to his possessions, the fact that he is a member of the country club and is able to spend time playing tennis in the middle of a workday provides clues to his social class and status. People communicate their social status to others by their possessions and the ways in which they spend time. This example illustrates the basic idea behind the theory of the leisure class.

At the turn of the 20th century, Thorsten Veblen published *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. Veblen was trained as an economist, but he believed that economics did not allow for an understanding of the social causes and effects of economic change. Prior to the publication of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, consumption was viewed in the context of neoclassical economic theory. Individuals were seen as rational actors who would act in a way to maximize their utility (i.e., satisfaction received from the consumption of a good or service). Veblen's theory of the leisure class was one of the earliest attempts to understand economic behavior in the context of social relations and social class rather than strictly through the lens of normative economic science.

In order to understand the theory of the leisure class and how it applies to sport consumption and participation, a definition of leisure is required. Leisure is the non-productive consumption of time. Individuals have a finite amount of time available during the day, and they will allocate their time to either leisure or labor. The way in which individuals choose to allocate their time determines the status of individuals, and as a result, two distinct classes emerge – the leisure class, which is the superior pecuniary class, and the laboring class, which is the inferior pecuniary class. In the golfer example described above, we saw two individuals. The first was an employee of the pro shop and needed to work in order to earn money that could then be used to cover expenses. The second individual was seemingly free from this pressure to work.

This highlights the key characteristic that distinguishes the leisure class from the laboring class. Members of the leisure class are exempt from employment necessary for the accumulation of goods (i.e., useful employment). Historically, members of the leisure class pursued occupations including public/government service, the military, the priesthood, and in some cases, sport. These occupations were distinctly non-industrial and were considered honorable and worthy. Unlike the leisure class, the laboring classes cannot avoid productive employment, and laboring is the accepted mode of existence for lower classes. In order for the laboring classes to accumulate goods, they must engage in productive labor, which provides the means for such accumulation.

The accumulation of goods is important as evidence of an individual's social class. Return to the example at the pro shop for a moment, and imagine that you saw your customer at a thrift store, without the pricey sunglasses and clothes. In this case, there would be little to signal his status. In order to establish leisure class bona fides, individuals have to be able to display their wealth and power, which can be done through conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure.

Conspicuous consumption is lavish expenditure on consumer goods or services. Luxury goods belong to the leisure class, and consumption of luxury goods (e.g., cars) is evidence of the leisure class's pecuniary or economic superiority. According to Veblen, "it becomes indispensable to accumulate, to acquire property, in order to retain one's good name." (1899 [1994], p. 29). Whereas conspicuous consumption refers to the possessions that an individual acquires, conspicuous leisure refers to how an individual spends her or his time. Conspicuous leisure is participation in extensive and visible leisure activities to display social status. Conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure demonstrate that individuals in the leisure class are able to "waste" their money on inessential goods and "waste" their time on inessential activities. The luxury of being wasteful provides evidence of the wealth and status of the leisure class (Trigg, 2001).

The ability of members of the leisure class to accumulate belongings and spend time engaged in nonproductive activities (e.g., golf) confers an honorable status on these individuals. As a result, members of the lower classes want to imitate the consumption behaviors and activities of the members of the leisure class, a condition that Veblen calls pecuniary emulation. If individuals accumulated possessions for the purpose of fulfilling basic needs, there would eventually be an end to the accumulation. However, because individuals strive to increase possessions in order to obtain the status of the leisure class, the pressure to "keep up with the Joneses" continues ad nausea.

Sport Participation as Conspicuous Leisure/Consumption
Members of lower socio-economic groups are less physically active than members of higher socio-economic groups. The Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) conducted by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) provides data on various health-related behaviors, including exercise and physical activity, for individuals in the US. When asked whether or not they had exercised in the last 30 days, 75.4% of respondents indicated that they had exercised in the last 30 days. If the responses to this question are viewed by income level, it becomes apparent that individuals with lower socioeconomic status exercise less than individuals with higher socioeconomic status. Only 55.9% of individuals who earn less than $10,000 reported exercising in the last 30 days, whereas 87.2% of individuals earning more than $75,000 reported exercising. The BRFSS also asked adults whether they met the recommendation of 30 minutes or more of moderate physical activity five or more days per week, or vigorous physical activity for 20 minutes or more three or more days per week. The responses to this question provide additional support that more individuals with higher socioeconomic status meet the national guidelines for physical activity than those with lower socioeconomic status. For the national sample, over half of the individuals earning $75,000 or more met the guidelines, whereas only 38.1% of those making less than $10,000 met the guidelines. Exhibit 5.1 provides a complete breakdown of physical activity by socioeconomic status, and the topic is discussed further in Chapter 3.

This pattern is not unique to the US. Sport England, the organization that is charged with the promotion and provision of grassroots sport in England, found similar results in its nation-wide Active People Survey. The sports participation measure counted the number of adults who participate in at least 30 minutes of moderate intensity sport at least three times per week. From November 2016 to November 2017, 71% of individuals employed in managerial and professional occupations indicated sport participation. Only 49% of individuals who were employed in low supervisory/technical occupations, semi-routine and routine occupations, students, and the unemployed indicated sport participation at the recommended level. This finding, in particular the inclusion of the unemployed, provides support for the theory of the leisure class and suggests that the decision to participate in sport is not solely a function of having time available to participate.

Exhibit 5.1: Adults Meeting Physical Activity Guidelines, by Income

Income Level	Meet PA Recommendations	Not Enough PA	Sedentary Lifestyle
< $10,000	38.1	34.1	27.8
$10,000 - $14,999	37.2	36.2	26.6.
$15,000 - $19,999	39.7	37.3	23.0
$20,000 - $24,999	44.2	37.3	18.5
$25,000 - $34,999	46.1	39.4	14.4
$35,000 - $49,999	49.0	39.7	11.4
$50,000 - $74,999	52.2	39.3	8.5
> $75,000	55.9	37.4	6.7

Source. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The theory of the leisure class has application beyond participation numbers. There are certain sports (e.g., skiing, golf) that confer greater status benefits than others because of the wealth necessary for participation (Edensor & Richards, 2007). Skiing takes the form of both conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption. In order to participate, an individual must be able to afford all of the equipment (e.g., skis, boots, lift tickets) that constituted a $533 million segment of the sporting goods industry in 2010. For most adults, skiing also requires travel to a ski resort, which requires the means to afford the cost of travel and the time engaged in unproductive employment. Not surprisingly, individuals who earn more than $100,000 per year accounted for almost two-thirds of all skiers in 2015 (Belin & Belcher, 2015) In golf and tennis, high-earning individuals ($75,000 or more) accounted for over half of the participants.

Similar status gains can be observed through the simultaneous conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure associated with youth sport. However, in youth sport, the participation and consumption of children reflects the status of the parents. For children, sailing, surfing, and skiing are classified as glide sports, which are practiced in specific environments and are commonly provided through profit-oriented businesses (Taks & Scheerder, 2006). In order for a child to participate in these glide sports, the parents must have the means to provide participation opportunities. In the case of aspiring elite figure skaters, parents can spend as much as $50,000 a year on skates, coaching, choreography, costumes, and ice rental, in addition to dedicating their time to their children's daily practice sessions (Grenfell & Rinehart, 2003; Mulhere, 2018).

So, all sport participation is not equal. While participation in the expensive sports previously listed do confer status on their participants, other sports have become the province of lower classes. These sports that are associated with lower classes include boxing, rugby, bodybuilding, and football (Bourdieu, 1978). The association of sports with either the upper class or the lower class can be explained by economic capital, cultural capital, or a combination of the two. According to Bourdieu (1978), cultural consumption requires appropriate preferences and tastes as well as skills and knowledge. He calls this concept cultural

capital. Cultural capital varies by social class, so individuals in the leisure class would develop appreciation for certain activities, including sport, and individuals in lower classes would develop appreciation for other activities, depending on the norms of the class. Economic capital also plays a role, as sports that are preferred by the lower classes tend to be inexpensive.

Sport Team Ownership as Conspicuous Consumption/Leisure
The ownership of professional sport teams can also be viewed as a form of conspicuous consumption and leisure. In 2018, the value of professional sport franchises in North America ranged from $5 billion (the Dallas Cowboys) to $290 million (the Phoenix Coyotes). For many team owners, ownership of a sports team is a very visible form of conspicuous consumption and leisure. The escalating values of sport teams make the purchase of a franchise a possibility for only the very rich. A 2018 list of the richest Americans includes several individuals with ownership stakes in sport. Larry Ellison is the co-founder of Oracle and has a net worth of $62.5 billion. An elite yachtsman in his own right, he purchased the BNP Paribus Open and the Indian Wells Tennis Garden facility. Paul Allen, the founder of Microsoft with a net worth of $17 billion, owns the Portland Trailblazers and the Seattle Seahawks and is part owner of the Seattle Sounders.

Given that an individual must already be wealthy in order to purchase the team, team owners do not rely on the financial success of their team to continue their accumulation of wealth. Many sport team owners have either inherited their fortunes or made their fortunes in non-sport enterprises. Because of this, their role as owners of a sport team is a form of conspicuous consumption. Consider the example of Mark Cuban, the owner of the NBA's Dallas Mavericks. Cuban made his fortune when he sold Broadcast.com to Yahoo for $5.7 billion in 1999. Cuban's management of the Mavericks suggests that he is not motivated by a desire to maximize profit; rather, he has shown a willingness to spend whatever is necessary to produce a winning team. As a member of the leisure class, Cuban is willing to spend in a way that reflects conspicuous consumption. During the championship celebration in Miami, Cuban reportedly bought a bottle of champagne worth $90,000 and paid for a celebratory parade when the city of Dallas cited budget pressures as a reason they would not be able to do so.

Socioeconomic status can serve as a proxy for one's social class, but annual income or net worth does not automatically determine whether an individual is a member of the leisure class. Recall that leisure is the non-productive use of time. For members of the leisure class, their wealth allows them to dedicate their time to unproductive activities. Consequently, while many professional athletes are rich, their sport participation is not reflective of their status as a member of the leisure class. Rather, in this context, there has been a fundamental transformation of elite sport into productive employment. Whereas athletes previously engaged in sport without expectation of pecuniary gain, sport today is seen as a productive occupation (rather than conspicuous leisure).

Forbes magazine compiles a list of the most powerful individuals in the entertainment business each year. The individuals on this list are evaluated based on their entertainment-related earnings, among other variables. In 2010, this list included 19 athletes, with combined annual entertainment-related earnings of $647 million. By 2018 there were 33 athletes with combined earnings of $3.8 billion. This list includes professional boxers, golfers, tennis players, international soccer stars, racecar drivers, as well as representatives from the five major professional sports leagues in North America. A complete list from 2018 is provided in Exhibit 5.2. While these athletes' earnings (and their celebrity lifestyles) put them in the highest socioeconomic groups, their sport participation is quite different from the concept of sport as conspicuous leisure advanced by Veblen.

COMMODIFICATION OF SPORT/MARXIST CRITIQUES
Take a moment and make a list of all of the goods and services you have consumed in the past month that are related to sport and recreation. Did your list include any of the following: fantasy sport teams, gambling, tickets to spectator sports, all-league broadcast packages, gym memberships, donations to your college athletic department, internet sport sites? Were you surprised by how many ways you can spend money on

sport? As sport and recreation become increasingly commercialized, there are more and more opportunities to spend money to enjoy sport as a leisure activity.

Whereas Veblen believed that the relationship between the labor and leisure class was one characterized by emulation, Marxist theory views the relationship between the two classes as inherently antagonistic. The bourgeoisie is the ruling capitalist class that controls the factors of production. The proletariat comprises the workers who provide labor for the bourgeoisie. These two classes are engaged in constant struggle as the ruling class exploits the laborers to maximize surplus value (i.e., profit). In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels offered the following criticism of the bourgeoisie who control the factors of production:

> The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand…has left no other nexus between people than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned out the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom -- Free Trade. (1848 [1992], p. 5)

Exhibit 5.2: Celebrity Athletes on the Forbes Celebrity 100 List, 2018

Rank	Athlete	Sport	Earnings
1	Floyd Mayweather	Boxing	$285million
8	Lionel Messi	Soccer	$111 million
10	Christian Ronaldo	Soccer	$108 million
12	Conor McGregor	Mixed Martial Arts	$99 million
13	Neymar	Soccer	$90 million
17	LeBron James	Basketball	$85.5 million
23	Roger Federer	Tennis	$77.2 million
24	Stephen Curry	Basketball	$76.9 million
29	Matt Ryan	Football	$67.3 million
36	Matthew Stafford	Football	$59.5 million
43	Kevin Durant	Basketball	$57.3 million
47	Lewis Hamilton	Auto Racing	$51 million
51	Russell Westbrook	Basketball	$47.6 million
56	James Hardin	Basketball	$46.4 million
62	Canelo Alvarez	Boxing	$44.5 million
66	Tiger Woods	Golf	$43.3 million
67	Drew Brees	Football	$42.9 million
69	Sebastian Vettel	Auto Racing	$42.3 million
70	Derek Carr	Football	$42.1 million
72	Rafael Nadal	Tennis	$41.4 million
73	Alex Smith	Football	$41.4 million
74	Phil Mickelson	Golf	$41.3 million
75	Jordan Spieth	Golf	$41.2 million
79	Damian Lillard	Basketball	$39.2 million
80	Anthony Joshua	Boxing	$39 million
82	Rory McIlroy	Golf	$37.7 million
87	Trumaine Johnson	Football	$37 million
90	Jimmy Garoppolo	Football	$36.2 million
91	Kyrie Irving	Basketball	$36.1 million
93	Giannis Antetokounmpo	Basketball	$35.5 million
95	Blake Griffin	Basketball	$35.5 million
96	Ryan Tannehill	Football	$35.2 million
97	Von Miller	Football	$35.1 million

Source. Forbes.

The goal of the bourgeoisie is capitalist accumulation. In order to continue capitalist expansion, new markets have to be created and goods and service distributed within them. Within these new markets, the laborer exchanges labor for wages and then exchanges wages for goods and services that meet his or her leisure needs. This expansion of markets is enabled by commodification. Commodification is the transformation of goods, services, or relationships into commodities that are bought and sold in market-oriented exchange.

As commodities produced for exchange become the dominant objects in a leisure activity, the leisure activity itself is transformed (Butsch, 1984). We see this in the transformation of play into sport. According to Frey and Eitzen (1991), play is:

> an activity where entry and exit are free and voluntary, rules are emergent and temporary, fantasy is permitted, utility of action is irrelevant, and the result is uncertain. Play has no formal history nor organization; motivation and satisfaction are intrinsic; and the outcome does not have serious impact beyond the context of the activity. (p. 508)

Play is explicitly unproductive, which is consistent with Veblen's description of leisure class occupations. Over time, the commodification of play and games resulted in the organization of sport that we have today. The consequences of commodification are revealed in the changes made to games to make them more media-friendly and more appealing to consumers. Examples include the introduction of the shootout by the NHL and the shot clock and 3-point shot by the NBA. At the college level, fans' passion for their team turned into a commodity. Students are encouraged to join supporter groups as evidence of commitment to the team and the university. At Temple University, the Wild Cherry Owl Club "encompasses all students who desire a closer connection to Temple's athletic programs." Students can purchase this "closer connection" for $110 per year. Finally, Olympic sport and its associated ideals (peace, excellence, skill, friendship) are turned into commodities that are sold to sponsoring corporations.

As sport organizations are commercialized and commodified, the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie exhibited in issues related to the distribution of profits between the two classes. While the term proletariat is associated with the working class, we see the conflict over profits even when the laborers are not impoverished. Because of their economic significance, the NCAA and professional sport leagues provide recent examples of this conflict.

NCAA
The primary purpose of the NCAA is "to initiate, stimulate and improve intercollegiate athletics programs for student-athletes and to promote and develop educational leadership, physical fitness, athletics excellence and athletics participation as a recreational pursuit" (NCAA, 2011). The cornerstone of the NCAA is the idea of amateurism, which prohibits an athlete from receiving any pecuniary reward in relation to his or her athletic participation.

The NCAA is a nonprofit organization, and nowhere in the organization's mission statement or expression of core values is there any indication of extent to which college sport has been commodified or the financial status of the organization. According to the organization's tax filings, in 2017, the NCAA generated total revenues of over $1.06 billion, including over $761 million from television rights fees. As a nonprofit organization, the NCAA is prohibited from generating "profit." There are no "owners" to whom profits would be paid, yet the president of the NCAA received compensation totaling $2.4 million, a rise of 42% from his base salary in 2015. The NCAA's total reported surplus was over $104 million in 2017, up from $38 million in 2009.

The NCAA has frequently been criticized for the commodification of college sport. The NCAA's response is that the amateur ideal pertains only to the athlete, not the "enterprise" ("NCAA.Commercialism," n.d.). In a March 2011 column, a syndicated sports columnist wrote, "smart people need to figure out a way to financially compensate the football and basketball players who generate the cash…this is America. The people who produce the profits are supposed to benefit from those profits" (Whitlock, 2011). If this comment were viewed through a Marxist lens, one could argue that the capitalist system of America is what contributes to the perceived inequalities and unfairness of the system. The NCAA exercises complete control of the college athlete and college athletics, and the surplus accrue to those who control the sport system.

The exploitation of the labor of college athletes also generates surplus value for universities and their athletic departments, as illustrated by the case of the University of Texas at Austin. In 2018, the football team generated $144.5 million in revenue, up from $63.8 million in 2008. This includes the sale of $32 million of Longhorns merchandise, which accrued to the athletic department (Berkowitz, Jan 2019; Gwynne, March 2010). In this case, the athletic department has commodified the athlete-laborer by selling a jersey with the athlete's name on the back, and the athlete is expressly prohibited by the NCAA and its amateur ideal from reaping any of the financial gains made possible by the athlete's performance and success.

Professional Sport

The situation in professional sports is influenced by the same sense of exploitation and alienation of labor. The league establishes the rules, the owners control the means of production, and athletes generate substantial profits for the professional sport ruling class. The fact that professional athletes are paid for their services does not change the fundamental relationship between the athletes and the league and team owners; it only changes the magnitude of the financial profit involved. The perceived exploitation of professional athletes is revealed in recent comments made by host Bryant Gumbel (2011) during an episode of HBO's "Real Sports":

> [Stern's] comments were typical of a commissioner who has always seemed eager to be viewed as some kind of modern plantation overseer treating NBA men as if they were his boys…his moves are intended to do little more than show how he's the one keeping the hired hands in their place.

In both the 2011 NFL and the NBA lockouts, one of the contentious issues was the distribution of league revenues. In the NFL, both sides eventually agreed to a deal in which players would get 48% of league revenues, and the owners would keep 52%. In the NBA, the owners and players also had to determine how $4 billion in league revenue would be split. In both cases, several other issues in the CBA were in dispute, but the split of revenue highlights the conflict between owners and labor – a conflict that is created and maintained by the dominant capital accumulation logic.

Sport as an Opiate of the People

While professional sport provides the medium for the conflict between those who control capital and those who provide labor, sport can also be used to stabilize the dominant capitalist system and reinforce the social hierarchy. In his Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of the Right*, Marx suggested that religion created illusory happiness for the masses. As "the opium of the people," religion prevented the people from seeking true happiness, which would be possible only through the abolition of the capitalist system. It has been suggested that sport has replaced religion, as it can be seen as an "ideological tool, misleading the masses to sustain bourgeois control" (Giulianotti, 2005, p. 32).

In the early industrial period, factory owners encouraged their workers to form sport teams in order to build loyalty and create a norm of teamwork (Budd, 2001). Several of today's professional teams have roots in the factory teams of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Workers at the Royal Arsenal, an armaments manufacturer, originally formed the British soccer team Arsenal. The modern-day Chicago Bears were originally located in Decatur, Illinois, where the team was known as the Decatur Staleys and

consisted of employees of the A.E. Staley food starch company. As employers provided organized sport for laborers, the laborers could be distracted from the ongoing class struggle. In addition to providing a distraction or amusement, sport reallocates resources (e.g., time, money, critical thought) away from the class struggle to sport. This is the case for sport spectators as well as sport participants. As early as ancient Rome, entertainment was used to placate and distract residents from the unpleasant realities of their condition, and the result was citizens who longed for only "bread and circuses." Today, spectator sports function as the "circuses" that reinforce the cultural and social order.

SPORT STADIUMS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

A Marxist interpretation suggests that sport is organized to maximize the gains that accrue to those who control the mode of production. Thus far in this chapter, the commodification of sport and the struggle between those who own the mode of production and those who labor for others' benefit have been discussed. The struggle between classes is also relevant to the political economy of sport. Political economy "interrogates economic doctrines to disclose their sociological and political premises" (Maier, 1987, p. 3).

An issue that is particularly relevant to the political economy of sport is the way in which gains are privatized but costs are socialized. The increasing commercialization and commodification of sport has created a condition in which many sport products and services are monetized in the capitalist system. In spite of the fact that the bourgeoisie at all levels of sport realize the profits from the production and exchange of goods and services, the associated costs are socialized in various ways. For example, when someone purchases a professional sport team franchise, she or he may be able to deduct the cost of the team from their income taxes. The team owner realizes profits from the team, but the taxpayer bears an implicit cost of foregone income tax receipts from the team owner. Similarly, because the NCAA is incorporated as a nonprofit organization (as mentioned earlier in this chapter), it is exempt from federal, state, and local income taxes, state and local property taxes, and state and local sales taxes. This is another form of implicit subsidy provided by taxpayers.

The development of a new sport stadium provides a more explicit example of socialized costs and privatized benefits. During the period between 1990 and 2006, 82 new professional sport facilities were built, at an average cost of $250 million. The cost of state-of-the-art sport facilities continues to rise, and in recent years we have seen the advent of the billion-dollar stadium (e.g., New York Yankees stadium in Brooklyn, Dallas Cowboys stadium in Arlington). In fact, the new stadium in Inglewood, CA that is home to the Rams and Chargers is currently projected to cost $2.6 billion. This sport facility trend is not limited to major league facilities in major urban centers. According to *Street and Smith's Sports Business Journal*, 78 minor league sport markets had completed construction on at least one new or substantially renovated facility between 2012 and 2017.

If these facilities were built with private funds, their sociological importance would be as evidence of (a) conspicuous consumption by team owners, or (b) the increasing commodification of spaces for sport. However, because these new stadiums are rarely financed entirely by the team owners, the decision to undertake a sport facility project is a reflection of how these projects socialize costs while privatizing benefits.

With few exceptions (e.g., Minneapolis's Target Center, Milwaukee's Bradley Center, Boston's Fleet Center), new sport facilities are financed through a public-private partnership. In a public-private partnership, the sport team provides part of the funding for the project and the government provides the rest. An estimated $17 to 24 billion of public (i.e., taxpayer) funds have been spent on these sport projects since 1990 (Long, 2006). While the cost of the facility is typically shared between the public and private sectors, the same is not true of the facility's revenues. New stadiums are designed to maximize revenues by transforming food and drink, socialization, entertainment, and the relationship with the team into commodities. Team owners almost exclusively capture the revenues derived from these facility enhancements.

Historically, sport stadiums were completely private ventures. In the early 20th century, team owners constructed eponymous stadiums with their own money or resources (e.g., Comiskey Park, Ebbetts Field). Through this commodification of the game and the sporting space, team owners were able to increase their own profits by excluding any potential spectators who were unwilling to pay the entrance fee. By the 1970s, the public provided nearly all of the funding for new sport facilities. Eighteen of the 22 sport facilities built between 1970 and 1984 were completely financed by local governments, and two other facilities received public funds that covered 90% of facility costs (Crompton et al., 2003). In the ensuing decades, the public's share of facility financing has decreased, but because of the increasing cost of construction, taxpayers are paying more real dollars than at any other time in history.

The first issue to address is why the public would become involved in the finance of a private enterprise. Elected officials face pressure to deliver economic growth and revitalization in the areas that they serve. Stadium supporters claim that economic benefits such as job creation, increases in resident income, and area redevelopment would result from the presence of a sport stadium. Academic research on the economic impacts of sport stadiums has overwhelmingly found that sport facilities have either a negligible or negative impact on employment and income in host communities (Siegfried & Zimbalist, 2000). Additionally, public opposition to subsidization of sport stadiums has grown as citizens become more knowledgeable about supporters' claims. Public funding of stadiums is commonly viewed as a form of corporate welfare. In fact, a primary argument against providing public subsidies to finance sport projects is that team owners are millionaires or billionaires with access to well-developed capital markets. Still, in spite of this, public subsidization of sport facilities persists.

If a rational economic approach were used to make decisions about public subsidization, a cost-benefit analysis would be conducted at the community level. A project would only be pursued if it produced net benefits for the community (i.e., the total societal benefits were greater than the total societal cost). Few sport facility projects would be able to demonstrate net benefits, and it would be unlikely that a community would provide the funds for construction – if that was the only basis for the decision. However, economic decisions are subject to social and political influences and are not determined only by economic factors. Thus, economic reasoning provides a normative analysis of public subsidization that does not reflect what actually happens.

A return to Marx and Engels provides a theoretical context for understanding this issue. They wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*, "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (1848 [1992], p.9). This means that government officials are a tool of the bourgeoisie and will make decisions that maintain the capitalist system. While the Marxist interpretation is consistent with the issue of the class struggle already discussed, this issue can also be considered within the American urban context. There are various interests and agendas among community elites in American cities. However, these stakeholders share a common goal of economic growth, and in order to achieve this goal, they are willing to come together to develop pro-growth strategies (Molotch, 1976). Such a growth coalition may include any citizen who is dedicated to the growth agenda and has resources to contribute. Typically, though, growth coalitions that mobilize behind sport projects include the community elite—business owners and executives, land developers, politicians, representatives of non-governmental organizations including chambers of commerce and convention and visitor bureaus, sports team executives, and local media. These members of the coalition are able to influence political decisions, and they are incentivized to do so because of the social, economic, and cultural benefits that they expect. Growth coalitions often have different priorities than the general population, and they are able to use their power and access to the community elite to produce their favored outcomes (Delaney & Eckstein, 2007).

Having provided an explanation of the process, we can now turn our attention to the social consequences of public subsidization. As governments allocate public funds to sport facilities, they may neglect other community concerns. Governments have limited resources to invest in public projects and services, and expenditure in one area typically means that there is less money available for other areas. Concerns over

opportunity cost, or the value of the next best alternative, are amplified when governments have to make budgetary choices that negatively impact the lower classes. In Hamilton County, Ohio, elected leaders spent an estimated $454 million on a new stadium for the Cincinnati Bengals. At the same time, one in seven people live beneath the poverty line and there were county-level cuts to schools and emergency services. Delaware County, Pennsylvania provided $10 million for the Philadelphia Union's new soccer stadium. The weekend before the stadium opened, the mayor of Chester – the host city so economically depressed that it lacks a grocery store – declared a state of emergency after four murders were committed in one week. A more detailed description of one community's experience with public subsidization of professional sport is provided in the case of Corpus Christi, Texas, in the following case study (see Exhibit 5.3). This case illustrates how a growth coalition can play a major role in securing support for the baseball team. Additionally, the case provides evidence of the unintended social costs that can result from a project intended to encourage economic development.

Exhibit 5.3: Case Study of Corpus Christi, Texas

Corpus Christi, Texas, is the eighth largest city in Texas, with a population of approximately 280,000. The city is located halfway between Houston and the US/Mexico border and prides itself on its natural beauty and location on the Corpus Christi Bay. Like most large cities, the city faces challenges related to economic development and "smart growth," education, and retention of the workforce. In particular, the city has struggled economically. The Port of Corpus Christi is the sixth largest port in the United States, and its operations involve agricultural and petrochemical products. In the late 1990s, the Port began to explore ways to expand into tourism and recreation projects.

In 2000, a group of community leaders formed "Forward Corpus Christi," a growth coalition that was formed with the intention of promoting economic growth and improving the quality of life for residents of Corpus Christi. Forward Corpus Christi included representatives typical of an urban growth coalition: the Port of Corpus Christi, the Corpus Christi Regional Economic Development Council (CCREDC), the Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB), business executives, and local media. This coalition represents the community elite, which created the impression that the community was being run by a handful of powerful residents.

Forward Corpus Christi experienced its first pro-growth victory in November 2000. Prior to that time, Corpus Christi residents had not held a bond election (i.e., referendum in which residents approve a bond issue for public projects) in 14 years. This means that the city went over a decade without additional public money for capital improvements, which resulted in failing infrastructure, education, and other public services. In 2000, however, Forward Corpus Christi mobilized the support necessary to pass the bond issue, which would provide funds for improvements to the seawall, streets, parks, and a new sports arena to replace Memorial Coliseum, a multipurpose arena built in 1953.

Encouraged by its success with the 2000 bond issue, Forward Corpus Christi set its sights on a bigger prize – an affiliate minor league baseball stadium. In May of 2002, Hall of Fame pitcher Nolan Ryan announced his intention to bring a minor-league baseball team to the city. In order to bring a team to Corpus Christi, the city would need to provide a stadium. It was then up to the growth coalition to get the issue on the ballot and communicate its pro-growth message to the voters. Forward Corpus Christi raised over $170,000 from community leaders and had a substantial funding advantage over stadium opponents. The only significant opposition to the project was Forward ALL Corpus Christi, who managed to raise only $10,000 to be used to defeat the ballpark proposition. The stadium bond issue was passed by a 55-45 margin, with high voter turnout in the wealthier precincts. To emphasize the funding advantage of Forward Corpus Christi -- they spent $5.19 for each pro-stadium vote, and Forward ALL Corpus Christi spent only $0.37. The monetary advantages of the growth coalition are consistent with the status of its members.

Exhibit 5.3 (continued)

The justification for spending over $32 million on a sport stadium was primarily economic, which is to be expected from a growth coalition. Ultimately, the stadium did little to change the economic conditions of the community. The team began play in 2005, and according to a 2006 survey, only 2% of visitors to Corpus Christi reported attending any sporting event. Macro-level economic data also provides support that the presence of the team did not help the community's economic problems. When the stadium opened in 2005, unemployment was 5.3% and reached its zenith in January of 2011 at 8.7%. It was unlikely that the sport stadium (with fewer than 35 full time employees) would have a significant effect on the economy of a large city, despite what the growth coalition would have voters believe. The more profound consequence is that Corpus Christi continues to pay a significant amount toward debt service on a stadium that is delivering little economic benefit to residents. Meanwhile, the owners of the team are able to keep the revenues from the team and facility operations.

Because the city was committed to providing funds for the stadium, there was less money available when other public needs arose. This situation became worse in the recession of 2008, when cities were seeing fewer local tax dollars and less financial support from the federal government. Local residents questioned the priorities of city leaders, as evidenced by the following Letter to the Editor in the Corpus Christi Caller Times: "How come we have all this money for Whataburger Field and there's no money for poor employees? There's no money on the budget for this, none for that. But there's money for the field. How come? Everything else is forgotten because of the field. Let's get real. This is our money." While public funds were indeed the people's money, government officials – largely influenced by the local growth coalition made the decisions about how that money was spent.

The stadium also intensified class conflict. The stadium was located on the Port land near the Northside neighborhood. This area was a historically low socioeconomic area, and the presence of the stadium resulted in the closure of a neighborhood school. One resident noted the inconsistencies of claiming the stadium as a growth engine while changing the institutions of the neighborhood: "[Closing the school] was the last straw. It's a historical place. They are tearing [the Northside] down slowly." The resident continued, "They say closing [the school] was for the better, but it's not. It's better for the economy, it's better for the tourism. We have a right to be here, just as much as that baseball field. Every event they have, we have to listen because we're neighbors. We've got kids that would like to go, but we can't afford it."

The growth coalition successfully passed a ballot initiative that enabled Corpus Christi to attract a minor league baseball team. However, the expected economic growth did not materialize. Instead, the decision to invest in the stadium (at the expense of other public priorities) served to reinforce social class divisions.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, we provide a sociological context for issues related to sport and the economy. The theory of the leisure class helps us to understand the association between social class and sport participation and the consumption of sport/recreation goods and services. Marxist critiques of the commodification of sport provide context for the role the sport industry plays in capital accumulation and the conflict between those who control the mode of production and those who provide labor. Finally, the public subsidization of sport is examined in the context of American political economy. The examples presented in this chapter provide evidence of the interrelatedness of sport, social relations and norms, and the economy.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What factors influence an individual's choices regarding sport participation? Select a sport or recreation activity not mentioned in this chapter and explain what effect social class has on participation in your selected sport.

2. How do fantasy sport leagues represent the commodification of sport? Explain your answer and specify what is being commodified.
3. Do you agree with the idea that sport acts as the opiate of the people? Explain your answer using specific examples from either recreational or spectator sport.
4. How does a growth coalition affect a community's decision to subsidize a sport project? What is the value of a growth coalition? What problems do you see with the influence of growth coalitions?

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INTERNATIONAL SPORT[1]

Brandon Brown, Chanho Kang, & Woojun Lee

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Explain key changes that occurred in international sport from 1900 to the present time.
2. Summarize how the history of international sport has influenced present day sport.
3. Paraphrase the current state of international sport business.
4. Describe how international sport events are developed and established.

INTRODUCTION
In 2005, celebrated author Thomas Friedman released his international best-selling book, *The World is Flat*. Friedman concentrates on the unification of the world's political and technological capabilities and how businesses have seen an increase in international trade, capital flow, technology, and more. He asserts an increase in unification, technology, and communication have led to a reduction of barriers from one country to another, thus enabling the global business world to be without obstruction, or, as Friedman would have it, a world that is flat. The notion of the world being "flat" has suggested to entrepreneurs that an investment in global business affairs may be meritorious. Not surprisingly, the sport industry has followed suit in international commerce.

Those in the sports world have reiterated Friedman's (2005) sentiments toward international exchange. Over the last few decades, sports have seen an increase in the creation of leagues, the attendance of spectators, and the amount of business conducted globally (Allison, 2005; Bairner, 2005; Zhang & Pitts, 2017). Not only have individuals migrated to distant countries to play sports, but also sport organizations have gone overseas to conduct business with foreign conglomerates. But how did this start, and where does international sport stand today? What have been the major causes of such a transition to international sport business? In this chapter, we address these issues, as well as detail the current state of international sport business and the development of international sporting events.

THE HISTORY OF GLOBALIZING SPORT
The aforementioned concept of countries collectively conducting business can be amalgamated to define globalization, or the consolidation of the world into a whole space (Robertson, 1992). Globalization includes the movement of labor, knowledge, and technology across borders. In its core history, sport globalization was not derived from a desire to introduce other countries to new sports; rather, it originated from a desire to impose culture upon other countries. The notion of establishing dominance by imposing one's culture upon another country is known as imperialism (Brain, 2006).

In the past, imperialism was a main contributor to new sports' introduction to foreign countries. For example, in the 1700s the British Empire sought to achieve colonial expansion (Fletcher, 2011). In doing so, they were able to apprehend colonies across the world, displace their systems of rule, and replace them with new British systems (Fletcher, 2011). In the process of such take over, the new inhabitants were able to impose their culture, and in particular, their likings. Because cricket was widely respected and treasured by Britain, the sport was therefore imposed upon the newly subjugated colonies (Sandiford, 1983). Such

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was the case in South Africa, the West Indies, and other territories, where Britain was able to impose its British culture upon these territories. Today, in such places as South Africa and the West Indies, cricket is widely regarded as a national pastime.

In 1888–1889, Albert Spalding took a group of professional baseball players on a "tour" around the world to promote Spalding sporting goods and baseball (which at the time was widely popular in America). The tour included stops in Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, Egypt, Italy, France, and England, and became known as the "Spalding Tour" (Zeiler, 2006b). On the surface, the tour may have seemed as a mere marketing campaign for the Spalding product or the sport of baseball; however, many scholars see Spalding's expeditions as an attempt to compel other countries to accept an American culture that was prime for expansion (Zeiler, 2006a). Spalding was not simply promoting sporting goods and baseball, but was publicizing the features that enabled America to thrive – free enterprise, progress, racial hierarchy, and cultural virtue. As Zeiler (2006a) stated, "Albert Spalding linked baseball to a U.S. presence overseas, viewing the world as a market ripe for the infusion of American ideas, products, and energy" (p. xi).

These examples showcase the notion of imperialism as a main contributor toward the growth of sport internationally. Baseball and other American sports such as basketball and football were expanded more globally not simply because the world needed new sports, but because of America's desire to introduce other countries to the dynamics that characterize the country itself (Zeiler, 2006b). In these cases, sports serve as a prime introductory vehicle to showcase a country's cultural undercurrents. That is to say sports (and their ability to encompass cultural values) were often showcased as a means to represent a country's cultural characteristics. Such examples represent the initial growth of international sport. Nevertheless, it is within the modern era of sport where the majority of international sport business evolution took place. According to Bennett (2008), the growth and evolution of modern international sport took place during three generations: the Monopoly Generation (1900-1949), the Television Generation (1950-1989), and the Highlight Generation (1990-present). We outline each in the following space.

The Monopoly Generation (1900-1949)
The Monopoly Generation of international sport took place during 1900 through 1949. Prior to this period, sporting events were largely unstructured, with many organizers simply creating ticket prices and advertisements without justification or reason. It was not until around 1900 when entrepreneurs took notice of the demand for sport and started creating business plans in accordance to the demand (Bonde, 2009). The generation is aptly named the Monopoly Generation because of its exclusive limitations. This was a generation in which there were a small number of sports, very few consumption options for spectators, and a limited number of individuals who were in charge of these businesses. Owners and league officials held the majority of power over most leagues and therefore left the players with very little input (Bonde, 2009).

During this period spectators were limited to live events, radio, newspaper, or magazines. Furthermore, many nations were seeing a rapid population growth that caused a corresponding demand for sports (Coakley, 2007). Because demand was high, and entrepreneurs were starting to take notice, more structure was invoked in both the marketing aspect of sport and in the formation of policies. The Monopoly Generation saw an increase in the number of sport facilities that were built and an influx in the amount of formal leagues that were created.

As early as 1901, the "American League" entered into Major League status for baseball, thus laying the foundation for Major League Baseball ("Baseball History," 2019). In 1916, the Professional Golfers Association (PGA) was created, and in October of the same year, the first PGA Championship was held with a total purse of $2,500 (Aumann, 2017). The American Professional Football Association was created in 1920, and eventually changed its name to the National Football League (NFL) in 1922 ("NFL: History," 2019). The Basketball Association of America was founded in 1946. Then, in 1949 after merging with the National Basketball League ("NBA History," 2019), it became the National Basketball Association (NBA).

The creation of these leagues represents a period of growth and structure for the international sports world. Nevertheless, one sport league, compared to others, truly exemplifies an international conglomeration of different countries: the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Founded in Paris in 1904 ("History of FIFA: Foundation," 2019), this international soccer league originally consisted of only European associations up until 1909, when South Africa joined the Federation. In the years following, Argentina, Chile, and the United States joined the league to make it the first of its kind (Bennett, 2008). FIFA is an important example of international sport not only because of its success, but also because of its ability to foster social harmony across borders. Some may say that more than any other league, FIFA has become a league that brings together different regions, people, and nations.

The expansion and formation of these leagues became harmonious with the growth of sport business. Accordingly, in 1950 a famous quote surrounded the sport business world: "Baseball is too much of a sport to be a business and too much of a business to be a sport" (Seymour, 1960, p. 4). It was clear that at the end of the 1940s, sport was not simply a business, but a profitable one at that. It was a perfect time therefore to have advancement, leading to a new stream of sport business.

The Television Generation (1950-1989)
The time frame from 1950 through 1989 is aptly named the Television Generation due to international sport becoming popular through the medium of television. Though television was invented in the early 1900s, it was not until the mid 1900s when television became a commodity, and the majority of households in the United States owned a television set (Hilmes & Jacobs, 2008). Due to a vast increase in the amount of television being watched, the world's culture started to change. For many, watching television served as the first time people in one country could watch events that were taking place in another country. Whereas in previous years individuals would read or hear about the happenings in foreign countries, the infiltration of television marked the first time in history where these individuals could actually see what was happening.

Society was changing, and sport organizations had to cater to a new consumer. Consequently, sport organizations would have to redefine how they would market their products towards a new audience. Sports that were reliant upon live, in-person spectatorship, such as horseracing, boxing, and traditional wrestling, were now replaced by sports that were considered aesthetically pleasing and therefore more suitable for television viewership (Hughson, 2009). During this era, the popularity of sports such as basketball and football increased greatly (Hughson, 2009). Sport programs became specialized and saw an increase in marketing, communication, and advertising.

Newspapers and magazines had to change their styles in order to compete with television. This process eventually led to a sequence of patterns that concluded with a shift in the power structure between owners and players. As newspapers and magazines began changing their approach to reach a different type of audience, they began to emphasize personal story lines for players instead of focusing on in-game action. The campaign brought success to the newspaper and magazine industry, but also brought an increased amount of attention towards the players themselves (Lambie, 2010). Players, realizing their significance, sought representation to capitalize on their newly discovered star power. This led to an increase in the number of players seeking personal representation, and thus led to the creation of player management groups or agencies. In 1960, Mark McCormack signed American golfer Arnold Palmer. In doing so, he created one of the first sport agencies, which eventually expanded globally, the International Management Group or IMG (Futterman, 2016).

Agencies such as IMG were able to promote players and events to world-wide audiences, emphasizing their abilities. Such emphasis on player abilities enabled fans to become accustomed to high skill levels, and cleared a path for the next generation of international sport – the Highlight Generation.

The Highlight Generation (1990-Present)
As technology increased, so too did the world's attraction to sports. Starting in the 1990s, the world had evolved into an ever-changing information society. The Highlight Generation features traditional sports, but reconfigures the sports so they are heavily reliant upon short clips (i.e., highlights), and therefore the individuals in these short clips. During the 1990s, the world was taking full advantage of the Internet, and countries were able to obtain more information about other countries than ever before (Friedman, 2005). Leagues witnessed an increase in the number of players and coaches coming from overseas (Thibault, 2009).

The 1990s witnessed an overall growth of individualism in the United States. From a consumer perspective, this echoed throughout the sports world as highlights of individuals were (and still are) at an all-time high. Individual sports, such as extreme sports, started to gain momentum in the 1990s, and in 1995 the first X-Games tournament was held in Rhode Island (Pickert, 2009). The X-Games featured athletes from around the world, and once again exemplified the idea that sport was still able to bring together individuals from all over the world to unite in competition.

As even more attention was being given to individuals, many sports players found themselves with a unique opportunity. Whereas owners and league officials once had the majority of power over sports, players could now make demands because of their highly-touted star power. For the first time, the Highlight Generation showed that athletes were no longer considered to be mere laborers. Instead, the athletes were widely recognized and were able to have significant influences on society.

Such influence only increased with the onset of social media. As social media became popular amongst common consumers, so too did it become popular with premier athletes. Sports fans, for the first time, were not only able to interact with each other through various social networks, but were able to interact with their favorite teams and/or athletes regardless of global region. Furthermore, fans were now able to procure snippets of international sport content at will. And, while social media was able to change the ways consumers interact with content, it's influence upon the sports-cape also represents the vast power shift in the owner/player relationship. The onset of social media marked the first time athletes were able to possess personal platforms for which they could directly broadcast personal opinions (Futterman, 2016). What was once a landscape dominated by the input of a few owners, has since shifted to a landscape dominated by athletes who have the ability to influence millions due to their massive social media following.

While the history of sport globalization has been filled with various inventions, developments and happenings, one sport segment that has greatly influenced international sport history is the Olympics. In the following section, we detail the fundamental aspects of the Olympics and their impact on international sport today.

THE OLYMPIC GAMES
As many know, the Olympic Games are a group of worldwide events featuring summer and winter sports. Both the Summer and Winter Games take place every four years, and host thousands of athletes from various parts of the world. Athletes represent their country as a testament to the capacity of sport for fostering togetherness (Torres, 2006). The Olympic Games have come to be known as the world's primary sport competition involving athletes from multiple countries (Torres, 2006). While the first modern Olympic Games were held in 1896 in Athens, Greece with 14 nations and 241 athletes, much has changed. For example, the Rio Games of 2016 featured 206 nations and over 10,000 athletes.

The Olympic Games characterize the very meaning of international competition, and also serve as precursors for change inside and outside of the sports world. The Olympics have impacted the way sport business is conducted, and have impacted society itself. Here, we provide examples of how the Olympics have accomplished such feats.

The Olympics Impacting Sport Business
The Olympics have impacted sport business in notable ways throughout history. The 1984 Olympics provide an example as to how these events have altered sport business. The 1980 Olympics saw the United States and other countries boycott the Games in protest against the Soviet War in Afghanistan (Crossman & Lappage, 1992). Because the boycott caused the Olympics to lose a vast amount of money and popularity, the subsequent hosting city (Los Angeles, California) had a number of financial and marketing concerns. The Organizing Committee was therefore determined to ensure the 1984 Games would bring in enough revenue to help the city of Los Angeles, and uphold the Olympics' brand name. Olympic coordinator Peter Ueberroth conducted a plan to use at least some existing venues from around the area, and to have these venues sponsored by widely known corporations (Dyreson & Llewellyn, 2008). His plan was a success; the Games went down as one of the more popular Olympic Games due to the unique combination of revenue and sponsorship acquisition. Not only did the Levi Corporation give ten million dollars in cash and in-kind to the Games and to the participating athletes, but also corporations such as Seven-Eleven and McDonalds built facilities as part of their sponsorship deals. These sponsor partnerships, along with other business dealings, brought in hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue, and were the first of their kind (Dyreson & Llewellyn, 2008). The success of the 1984 Games served as a blueprint for other sport organizations. In the 1980s, sponsor partnerships with sport organizations were at an all-time high and are still a main source of revenue for sport businesses today (Dyreson & Llewellyn, 2008).

The Olympics Impacting Society
On more than one occasion, the Olympic Games have been used as a platform to promote societal justice (see also Cunningham et al., in press). In 1968, during the Mexico City Olympic Games, track and field athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos won first and third place in the 200-meter dash. While on the victory stand, accepting their medals, both athletes wore black gloves, and raised their fists representing a symbolic salute to underrepresented minorities (Parks et al., 2002). The athletes did so to bring attention to America's civil rights movement, which they believed had not sufficiently eliminated the injustices that Black Americans were facing. Though they faced considerable criticism for their actions, Smith and Carlos' salute had a lasting effect on racial equality in sport. For example, soon after the Mexico City games, African nations boycotted the 1976 Montreal Games over South Africa's policies towards Apartheid.

Though these demonstrations were for a peaceful outcome, there have been other instances where the Olympic Games have witnessed violent outcomes. In 1972, spectators of the Munich Olympics witnessed a horrible act, as 11 Israeli Olympic athletes and coaches were murdered by Palestinian terrorists. The incident was over 20 hours and was watched by over 900 million viewers (Parks et al., 2002). The catastrophe permanently changed security procedures for the Olympics, and left an everlasting memory which has since tarnished Munich's reputation for hosting the Olympics (Parks et al., 2002). Such examples serve as illustrations as to how powerful sport can be on an international scale, a power that seems to continue to grow. In the following section, we will discuss the current state of international sport from a business perspective.

INTERNATIONAL SPORT BUSINESS
According to Parks and Quarterman (2003), "The international sport industry in the beginning of the 21st century has shifted from being perceived as a niche in the sport marketplace to representing the foundation of the sport enterprise" (p. 376). Defining the term international as having an influence on two or more nations, currently, international sport business entities operating in the global market influence each other across national boundaries. Countless amateur and professional athletes are playing internationally (Masteralexis, Barr, & Hums, 2015). For example, according to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), around 20,000 international student-athletes representing over 170 countries are enrolled and competing at NCAA institutions (NCAA, 2019). As North American major professional sport leagues, such as National Football League (NFL), Major League Baseball (MLB), National Basketball Association (NBA), National Hockey League (NHL), and Major League Soccer (MLS) continue to grow internationally, these leagues are being more globalized than ever.

Advances in transportation, information, and communication technology have allowed professional sport leagues to strategically expand their global presence over the last several decades. These major professional leagues play actual games outside the United States and Canada (Masteralexis et al., 2015). MLB teams have played through international events (e.g., Japan Opening Series, MLB London Series, Mexico Series) around the globe (Major League Baseball, 2019). The NFL has played numerous international games including NFL regular season games in London. NBA and NHL teams have also played preseason and regular season games outside the U.S. and Canada. International sport fans are watching major league games broadcast on television and the internet.

Even though television still remains the most popular method of watching sporting events or competitions around the world, a growing number of sport fans are using their mobile devices (e.g., smartphones, tablets, laptops) to view live-streaming online sport contents. For example, English Premier League Association Football is televised in 152 nations (Falcous & Maguire, 2006). The 2017 NBA Finals on ABC were the most-watched NBA Finals since 1998, capturing a total live audience (television plus streaming) of over 20 million average viewers in 215 nations and territories in 50 different languages (National Basketball Association, 2017).

Environment of International Sport Business

In the environment of sport business in the global marketplace, market share and international investment in a given sport product or service are currently measured on a worldwide basis rather than national basis (Macintosh, Bravo, & Li, 2019; Parks & Quarterman, 2003). Although there will be some attempts to protect domestic industries from foreign competition, Parks and Quarterman illustrate that "the future in the early decades of the 21st century portends an almost seamless integration and movement of goods, services, and personnel on a grand global scale" (p. 376). In the context of worldwide trends in sport, wide-ranging sport programs involving youth will likely also continue to grow by reducing international trade and exchange barriers. As most sports have strengthened the exchange of internationally talented people or sport programs at all levels, major international trade agreements have begun to directly influence the sport industry (Macintosh et al., 2019; Parks & Quarterman, 2003). National and international sport federations have challenged professional sports leagues and franchises for the global market share of their revenues and profits from the licensing of trademarks, merchandise, and broadcasting rights. Furthermore, these sport federations and their major sporting events will profit from growing broadcasting rights (Parks & Quarterman, 2003; Smith & Stewart, 2010). The revenues and profits made from these rights come from several sources, including deregulation of worldwide cable, expanded Internet access agreements, and stretched access through satellite broadcasting (Parks & Quarterman, 2003; Smith & Stewart, 2010). Moreover, sport teams, celebrities, superstars, and branded sport products are globally recognized. Parks and Quarterman (2003) argue that the conglomeration of these aspects will bring new challenges to the global sport industry, which will be compounded by cultural differences, national laws, and traditions.

Global Sport Business

More than ever, sport governing bodies, corporations, and sport franchises have attempted to increase popularity and revenue in the global sport market (Masteralexis et al., 2015). Technology, particularly with respect to the broadcasting of visual images, significantly enhances the ease with which sport marketers or practitioners can introduce and sell their products to foreign markets (Masteralexis et al., 2015). Corporations have attempted to benefit from this trend by sponsoring international sporting events in an effort to increase the distribution tools for their products and services (Jozsa, 2009; Parent & Slack, 2007). Moreover, major professional franchises have also endeavored to utilize the shrinking global market to increase exposure for their sport leagues in an effort to increase their profits (Jozsa, 2009; Pitts & Stotlar, 2002). Masteralexis et al. (2015) argue that professional sport leagues and corporations have both attempted to improve the global market share for their products.

With technological advances, such as satellite broadcasting technology and high-speed Internet service, sport fans have access to a variety of major international sporting events. Corporations are therefore utilizing sport to sell their products to customers in other nations (Masteralexis et al., 2015). Such activities can be categorized into two aspects: (a) international marketing efforts by sport organizations to distribute their products or services globally while attracting and obtaining a large number of prospective customers, and (b) sport sponsorship efforts by non-sport-related companies utilizing sport to promote and sell their products or services in the international marketplaces (Masteralexis et al., 2015).

Similar to other corporations in the world, sport related manufacturers have attempted to capitalize on potential foreign markets since the volume of sport products or services in the North American markets has in some ways been maximized. A number of sport related manufacturers have reached a point where the corporations can no longer dramatically increase their sales in the national market. Therefore, sport organizations in a saturated market are required to strategically design, develop, and promote their products or services for international target markets. Previous study has indicated that sport sponsorship programs may provide sponsors with tangible and intangible benefits (e.g., sales growth, increased brand awareness and brand image, overcoming cultural barriers in a new market; Biscaia et al., 2013). Shank (2005) argues: "One of the most basic objectives of any sponsor is to generate awareness or raise levels of awareness of its products and services, product lines, or corporate name" (p. 333). Given the importance of sport sponsorship programs in a new market, non-sport-related corporations have utilized sport to promote and sell their products or services in the international markets through sponsorship of sport events, leagues, teams, or star athletes (Masteralexis et al., 2015).

Examination how major sporting events are developed and established can further enhance the current understanding of international sport business. The following section details the development of major international sport events.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL SPORTING EVENTS

Mega events have become prominent in a few decades (Roche, 2000). More recently, large-scale sporting events have become prominent due to local and national governments concentrating on planning and development. Frequently, committees in charge of local or national development plans consider sporting events as viable catalysts for both short and long-term economic growth. The reasons for this are threefold. To begin, major sporting events are often noted for their perceived ability to encourage and attract a greater amount of foreign and domestic investment. Second, hosting an international sporting event such as the Olympics or the World Cup means that the national infrastructure, such as roads and public transportation, will likely be improved (Muller, 2017). Finally, individual events can cause a surge in hospitality and tourism since they attract a number of spectators and athletes into the hosting nation (Bale & Moen, 1995; Hall, 1992; Baade & Matheson, 2002).

Mega events can bring a number of changes in the host country. However, the impact of hosting a large-scale event is still quite complex. Advocates and opponents often wage heated debates about whether such events will help or hinder the economy. Naturally, most arguments, both pro and con, center on economic dimensions and financial gains. A number of scholars continue to look beyond dollar signs, and instead investigate such aspects as the socio-cultural dimensions of events (Chalip, 2006; Hall & Hodges, 1996; Owen, 2002; Valera & Guardia, 2002). This is an area lacking official discussions between authorities and the consultants they employ (Waitt, 2003). Due to the fact that socio-cultural dimensions are often overlooked in the planning stages of events, the debates of their impact are often unbalanced. In addition, discussions of how these impacts articulate with broader processes of development towards their host cities or countries are lacking a holistic outlook (Smith & Fox, 2007). The very concept of development (i.e., tangible and sustainable improvement in the life situation of a given population) may be thought of as being largely undocumented in the body of research, which has grown substantially (Horne & Manzenreiter, 2006).

Literature on development has recently demonstrated a noticeable shift where there has been an attempt to analyze the effects of these events, and how the events influence the development of a hosting city/country (for a review, see Thomson et al., 2019; see also Byers, Hayday, & Pappous, in press). Within the realm of the Olympic Movement, there have been more concerted efforts at improving sustainability standards. Such was the case when, in 1999, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) adopted a resolution that would have members promote sustainable development through sport.

Nevertheless, there has been little consensus on which particular benefits are gained from hosting sporting events (Jones, 2001). Interestingly, the lack of consensus or empirical evidence has done little to diminish promotors' boasts regarding the potential benefits that come along with hosting a major event (Hall, 2006). The claims seem to have originated in the Global North, represented by the economically developed societies of Europe, North America, Australia, Israel, and South Africa amongst others (Odeh, 2010). In more recent decades however, the Global South, which represents the still-economically developing countries of Africa, India, China, Brazil, and Mexico, among others, has been making strong attempts to host these major events. There are slightly different reasons as to why the Global South is seeking to host international events. While both the North and South are eager to attract foreign capital and investment, Southern hosts (more so than the Northern hosts) want to showcase their accomplishments and display to the world their modernization (Cornelissen, 2008; Van der Westuize, 2007).

Economic Impact of International Sporting Events

Hosting a mega event is a goal many countries strive for, yet it is not without economic impact. There have been numerous studies suggesting that the money spent on preparing the infrastructure of the country for the event (such as repairing roads, building stadiums and improving public transport) may actually outweigh the financial gains the nation may receive (Kazmin, Mokrousova, & Tovkaylo, 2013). While this may be true, the global auditors of Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler (KPMG) reported that the 2010 World Cup held in South Africa had a very positive effect on that nation's economy (Prinsloo, 2010). They estimated that the World Cup contributed to approximately 5% of the quarterly GDP growth in South Africa for 2010. Tourism increased 20% higher than it normally is in July, which led to a positive impact on employment (Prinsloo, 2010). When surveyed, 95% of the visitors to South Africa during the World Cup stated that they might visit the country again and would recommend it to a friend as a travel destination. Furthermore, the 2010 Vancouver Olympics created more than 1500 new businesses from 2003 through 2010 (Vanwynsberghe, 2015). Finally, when Russia hosted the 2018 FIFA World Cup, the government saw the event as an instrument for developing long-term needs of cities and communities (Kazmin et al., 2013).

Social Impact of International Sporting Events

In addition to economic impact, international sport events have also been known to have a social impact. For example, a prominent effect of the 2010 World Cup was that it inspired young South Africans to become international players and induced much needed investments in youth soccer and training facilities in South Africa. This led to a surge in soccer academies in South Africa. More recently, the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympic game played a huge role in the relationship between South Korea and North Korea. After the unified Korean women's ice hockey team played in the 2018 PyeongChang Olympic, reunification between South and North has been a subject of both debate and wishful thinking ever since the World War II (Rothman, 2018). Given that, hosting a mega event can have a huge impact on a host country in a various ways. Conversely, international sport events can also generate some negative social impacts on host countries. Studies have shown that mega events result in social problems such as disruption of quality of life and decrease in the ability of law enforcement to police prostitution and increased crime (Lorde, Greenidge, & Debonish, 2011). Large-scale sport events have thus demonstrated the capacity to impact local and national development in ways that are both sustainable and long lasting. Major sporting events may assist in the socio-cultural development of a nation as a side effect of hosting a major event.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

International sport has many facets that influence its very nature. The history of international sport shows that an introduction of sports to other nations did not come from a desire to introduce other countries to their sports; rather, the notion of imperialism allowed countries to take in foreign culture, and therefore foreign sports. The globalization of sport developed across three distinct, yet important phases: The Monopoly Generation which took place during 1900-1949, the Television Generation which took place during 1950-1989, and the Highlight Generation which took place during 1990-present time. International sport business is currently expanding, with corporations across the globe flocking towards sport for a source of revenue. Manufacturers who see North American markets as saturated are expanding their businesses globally. Moreover, broadcasting, licensing, exhibition games, and marketing foreign athletes are all aspects of sport business that have impacted the globalization of sport. As countries seek to host major international sporting events, they are realizing both the risks and benefits for doing so. International sport has showcased a conglomeration of countries, regions, and people. In doing so, it has echoed a society that is ripe for expansion, growth, and harmony.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. Name the three major time periods of modern international sport, and briefly describe each.
2. Describe how the Olympic Games have had an impact on modern day business and society.
3. In what two ways has the sport product been globalized?
4. How have international offices focused on increasing the popularity of sport across the globe?
5. Why have economies been interested in developing international sporting events?

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CHAPTER 7

SPORT, PHYSICAL ACTIVITY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT[1]

Brian P. McCullough

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Define environmental sociology and explain the tenets differentiating it from sociology.
2. Identify the relationship between the waves of environmental sustainability in sport.
3. Summarize the various threats sport poses to the environment.
4. Explain the evolution of environmental initiatives in sport.
5. Provide examples of initiatives sport organizations are taking to reduce their environmental impact.

INTRODUCTION

> *There, Mother Nature designed the links – grasses on sandy stretches were fertilized by the droppings of breeding seabirds and cut short by grazing rabbits. Bunkers were allegedly formed by sheep and other animals burrowing into the turf. The result: wide open playing areas with random clumps of razed grass, the perfect terrain for thumping a small, hard ball across the countryside.* (Keast, 2001, p 37)

Golf is perhaps one of the most exclusive and expansive individual sports across the globe. It is common to see municipal, semiprivate, and private golf courses everywhere from large metropolitan to rural areas. Despite the popularity of golf, there are environmental effects of designing, constructing, and maintaining the various courses, as well as participation itself.

Environmentalists have voiced concerns over the detrimental impact of golf courses since the 1960s. The concerns arise, at least in part, due to the fact that the average 18-hole golf course requires 75 to 150 acres to build. In America alone, US golf courses amass the size of Delaware and Rhode Island combined (Adams, 1995). Because of the expansiveness of these courses, natural populations of wildlife are oftentimes displaced or perish. After the natural environment is demolished and oftentimes customized to meet the designs of the course developer, nonnative plants are introduced into the landscape, with extreme amounts of water used to sustain them.

Additionally, toxic and environmentally damaging pesticides and fertilizers are used to maintain the pristine expectations that golfers have come to expect (Wheeler & Nauright, 2006). However, golf courses did not first start as artificial wonders of landscape architecture. As the opening quotation exemplifies, golf courses started by embracing the natural environment. Links courses are commonly seen in Scotland, the birthplace of golf. These courses embrace the natural environmental features of rolling hills, thick brush, and oftentimes-sandy costal conditions. Courses were seamlessly connected with nature and nature to sport. Nature was not sterilized and recreated to fulfill a specific image of courses designed like most courses today.

New courses are frequently designed with the golfer in mind instead of the environment and natural landscape. The focus on golfers and their high expectations has caused golf course managers to take these extreme measures to sustain their profits. All the while, the environment suffers. Wildlife populations are

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[1] McCullough, B. P. (2019). Sport, physical activity, and the environment. In G. B. Cunningham & M. A. Dixon (Eds.), *Sociology of sport and physical activity* (3rd ed., pp. 87-102). College Station, TX: Center for Sport Management Research and Education.

threatened. Local water tables are infiltrated with toxic chemicals from pesticides and fertilizers (Wheeler & Nauright, 2006). Natural landscapes are destroyed in order to make room for another golf course without concern for compromising the health of the environment. These threats to the environment happen simply to meet the expectations of their customers and members.

However, there are ways to maintain these high levels of quality on the course. Audubon International has partnered with golf courses around the United States and Canada to promote more environmentally-friendly course management. These programs include education on the necessity of using fertilizers and pesticides and responsible watering techniques. Additionally, Audubon promotes responsibility to the surrounding and displaced wildlife. This firm also offers a certification program for the various course management and wildlife management practices that golf courses should embody to become more environmentally friendly (Audubon, 2010).

As with the management of golf courses, the business practices of other sport organizations have the potential to negatively impact the surrounding environment. As such, examination of the organization's impact on the environment can be quite revealing. These analyses commonly focus on the product life cycle but can also include organizational internal operations, as well. Considering the environmental impact of organizational processes can reduce the organization's carbon footprint.[2]

It is unreasonable and naïve to believe that changes can be made to completely eliminate an organization's environmental impact. However, this does not mean that these considerations should be neglected or ignored. Rather, the stance to ignore and neglect an organization's impact on the environment has fueled a backlash from environmental groups to community stakeholders. These inspired stakeholders encourage organizations to minimize their impact on the environment and move toward more environmentally-sustainable business practices and procedures. Some of the more common sustainable business practices in sport include maximizing waste diversion (i.e., waste that ends up in a landfill) by implementing waste management programs (e.g., recycling, composting), reducing utility usage (e.g., water, energy, gas), and promoting mass transit options to spectators, using renewable energy sources, among other initiatives (see Game. Reducing an organization's environmental impact is an ongoing process. It cannot be limited to a one-time evaluation and modification. The process of becoming environmentally friendly needs to continually adapt to new technologies and be introduced into all aspects of the organization. The organization's environmental impact and ways to mitigate this impact need to be factored into everyday decisions and long-term planning.

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the impact that sport has on the natural environment. Specifically, I provide an operational definition of sustainability and environmental sociology. I then offer an overview of the environmental impacts of various aspects of the business of sport and the various levels of sport. Additionally, I provide background into the social movements that lead to the greening of the sporting world. Lastly, I discuss the progression of green initiatives in sport, as well as future opportunities for sport organizations to engage in the green movement.

KEY CONSTRUCTS
Sustainability
In order to understand sustainability, it is important to first define the term. The following are similar, yet distinct, definitions of sustainability as cited from Gatto (1995, p. 1181):

- Applied biologist definition: "sustained yield of resources that derive from the exploitation of populations and ecosystems"

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[2] A carbon footprint refers to the amount of carbon dioxide emitted as part of the operations of all facilities, event, spectator transportation, team travel, and so on.

- Ecologist definition: "sustained abundance and genotypic diversity of individual species in ecosystems subject to human exploitation or, more generally, intervention"
- Economist definition: "sustained economic development, without compromising the existing resources for future generations"

There are several key points from these definitions. First, sustainability focuses on the exploitation and the overconsumption of natural resources. Second, the abuse of these recourses comes as a result of human activity. For example, the use of natural resources, such as timber, can have negative effects on the environment if clear cutting techniques are used. Third, the overconsumption of natural resources can have detrimental effects on future generations. We see that in today's current climate change debates about the impact of human activity on the natural environment whether from carbon emissions or consumerism (Tollefson, 2017). Damaging ecosystems due to human activity does not necessarily have a quick fix to recover and reestablish environmental responsibility (Sartore-Baldwin & McCullough, 2018). That said, actions are needed to evaluate the degree of environmental damage human activity might cause (Orr & Inoue, in press).

The concept of sustainability extends from the need for the natural environment to provide for future generations. But as personkind and business organizations recklessly consume natural resources, the overall wellbeing of the environment is threatened. People have oftentimes ignored this threat. Discussion over how to neutralize and even reverse our effect on the environment has commonly been avoided or underestimated. It may be simple to see the effects people's activity has on the environment. Simply looking at the skylines of major metropolitan areas to see the smog hovering over these cities can demonstrate these effects. Landfills filling up with post-consumption waste cover our country and the globe. Raw and untreated sewage is oftentimes dumped offshore into the ocean, threatening the health of water sources. Pollution and other results of our insensitivity to the environment show the impact that we have on the environment through our behavior and current ways of life. These behaviors impact the world and its future generations.

Related to the issue of sustainability are debates surrounding the issues of global warming and climate change. One side of the argument tries to establish that climate change has been caused by fossil fuels and human activity. Conversely, others suggest that the Earth is naturally warming itself with little to no effect from people. Positions in these debates oftentimes appear to align with political ties or personal interests. This may be best exemplified by the Trump White House removing the United States from its prior commitment to the notable Paris Climate Agreement. Despite one's political affiliation, it would be difficult to demonstrate that the amount of waste produced, the energy/fossil fuels consumed, and the increased extreme weather events (e.g., Hurricane Harvey in Houston, wildfires in California) and not think human activity has an impact on the environment and its ability to sustain itself.

For years these debates have resulted in calls for environmental reform. New lines of scientific, political, and academic inquiry have been formed. Environmental groups have conveyed the importance of environmental consideration. Conversely, other groups, backed by large environmentally threatening organizations, have formed to defend the actions of corporations that potentially could be deemed environmentally damaging.

The issue of conservation and environmentalism has caused clashes from these perspectives over the wellbeing of an important yet inanimate perspective, the environment. Environmental groups and organizations provide a voice for the environment. This voice conveys the damages that have been apparent and visible to the signs that have often gone unnoticed by the general population. From this perspective, interaction between personkind and the environment has formed into a new branch of sociology called environmental sociology.

Environmental Sociology
From a sociological perspective, environmental sociology recognizes "the fact that physical environments can influence (and in turn be influenced by) human societies and behavior" (Dunlap & Catton, 1979 p. 244). From this perspective, environmental sociologists refrain from the typical sociological "insistence that social facts can only be explained by other social facts" (p. 244). Sociologists have typically distinguished differences among the social and cultural environment from the natural and physical environment (Bernard, 1925). However, traditional sociologists ignore the influences that the natural environment can have on the social and cultural environment. Thus, the effects and consideration of environmental variables distinguish environmental sociology from its parent field (i.e., sociology) and its preexisting theories.

Just as there are different categories to classify people into religious backgrounds or ethnicities, there are similar ways to classify the environmental movements within the United States. Understanding these different groups provides insight into the environmental movement within a sport context and into environmental sociology. Brulle (2009) provides a summary of different environmental groups that manifested through the environmental movements in American history. That is, these groups have different perspectives on the definition of sustainability and what it means to be environmentally responsible. More specifically, these classifications correspond to their response to environmental issues.

From the groups that Brulle (2009) describes, wildlife management, conservation, and reform environmentalism are of considerable interest with relation to sport and the environment. *Wildlife management* was the first environmental movement to form over concern for the natural environment. This movement actually started in the mid 1800s by wealthy sportsmen who wanted to protect the wild game they hunted. From this perspective, excess wildlife is seen as "a crop that can be sustainably harvested" (Brulle, 2009, p. 213).

Later, one of the most politically influential movements began. The *conservation movement* looked at the ecosystem as a machine or parts of a body that are necessary to function properly. Conservationists take a utilitarian perspective striving to "realize the greatest good for the greatest number of people over the longest period of time" (Brulle, 2009, p. 213).

Lastly, one of the longest sustaining environmental movements, reform *environmentalism*, spurred off conservationism in the mid-1960s. Reform environmentalists were motivated by the constant pollution of humankind and depicted the environment as an interconnected system with delicate relationships. This movement depicts nature as the basis for all existence.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS
Sport organizations of all sizes have an impact on the environment. In the following section, I outline various aspects to consider when evaluating the environmental impact.

Facility Construction and Management
As the opening example to the chapter demonstrated, the construction of sport facilities and venues can have a considerable impact on the natural environment. Also, construction is inevitable when older facilities are replaced. Substantial consideration should be given to the construction of new facilities because of the financial investment in construction and the lifespan of sport venues. Investing in environmentally friendly construction practices are commonplace now since many architects are well-trained in sustainable design. These design aspects can include energy-saving lights, low flow water features, and updated HVAC (heating and air condition) systems, considerations for automobile traffic, and public transportation availability, among many other considerations. This initial investment into sustainable design and environmentally friendly features can have substantial long-term benefits, cutting organizational operational expenses and enhancing the fan experience.

Much like Audubon's certification process for golf course and wildlife management, there is a certification for buildings and sport venues as well. The Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design, or LEED

program, is a renowned program developed through the US Green Buildings Council. Through this certification, various environmental aspects are considered. Most importantly building strategies, materials, energy saving, water usage, carbon emissions and consumption of additional resources are evaluated. There are multiple levels of certification ranging from being simply certified to higher levels of compliance including silver to platinum, which is the highest level of accreditation.

Achieving LEED certification is becoming popular among sport facilities. The Washington Nationals were one of the first Major League Baseball teams to achieve this distinction (MLB Advanced Media, 2009). More recently, the Atlanta Falcons new stadium, Mercedes Benz Stadium, achieved the highest LEED certification – Platinum – and is considered the most environmentally sustainable stadium in the world at its opening. Additionally, many higher education institutions are mandating that new sport and non-sport facilities achieve at a minimum silver certification under the LEED guidelines.

Examining the environmental impact of the construction of a sport facility has been given the most attention by sport organizations. This attention is understandable considering the financial investment of such construction projects. For instance, the Cowboys Stadium in Arlington, Texas, cost nearly $1.2 billion to construct. However, environmental considerations were made throughout the construction of this facility, thus increasing the success of environmental programs. The new Cowboys Stadium includes:

State-of-the-art bio composting reactor from Totally Green, a retractable roof that allows a lot of events to be held in natural lighting, retractable end zone doors that allow for natural ventilation, permeable pavement that helps with water drainage and pollution, a comprehensive recycling program, and more. Overall, it has reduced solid waste, energy use, and water consumption considerably due to its green initiatives (Shahan, 2011).

The initiatives that were implemented have been recognized as being one of the most environmentally friendly sport facilities in the country as well as the first facility to be certified by the US Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) National Environmental Performance Track Program (Shahan, 2011). The EPA's certification program has since been dissolved but, the initial planning to include environmentally friendly aspects in the construction of the facility helped the facility not only reduce its impact on the environment during, but more importantly, after construction where environmental impacts may be less recognized.

Transportation
One of the major considerations with any event is dealing with an increase in spectators. Sport venues are used throughout the year and can attract more than 200,000 people per event. Obviously, the more people that attend an event, the more money can be made off an event. However, considerations are needed to manage the increase in spectators and the impact that those people have on the surrounding area. More people attending events mean more cars and eventually more pollution. Transportation to and from an event has a tremendous impact on the overall carbon footprint of a particular event. As discussed later, transportation can contribute about 50% to an event's carbon emissions (Dolf & Teehan, 2015).

Public education campaigns are commonly used and recommended. These programs can educate the public on transportation alternatives. However, these alternatives are only used if they are efficient and are seen as an easier substitute to using private transportation. It is inevitable that a number of spectators will choose private transportation; thus, facility managers are encouraged to have transportation procedures for entering and exiting vehicles.

Additionally, infrastructures are commonly redesigned and adapted to accommodate new sporting venues. Public railways and extensions of freeways and highways are used to ease traffic congestion at new facilities. Improvements to a city's infrastructure are more commonly seen in metropolitan areas. However, for smaller cities that host mega events, parking programs to ease traffic are used to facilitate traffic congestion.

For example, programs offered at Texas A&M University during football games are called "Get to the Grid." This program allows fans to park away from the stadium but close to the highway. Public transportation brings fans from the offsite location to the stadium before and after the game and offers a quick and easy way to get home, all the while decreasing traffic and the impact on the environment.

Foot Traffic
Professional sport facilities and venues, like football and baseball stadiums, are designed to accommodate spectators and increased traffic. However, some facilities are designed for participatory sports, like golf and skiing. That is to say, these facilities are designed to accommodate the people who will be using the facilities for recreational use. When being designed, these facilities may not be considered for hosting a larger event, such as a golf tournament or ski competition. Hosting such events attracts more spectators than the venue may have been designed to accommodate. Increased foot traffic from spectators can ruin the natural landscape and integrity of the surrounding environment.

During ski competitions and golf tournaments, spectators are sometimes granted unlimited access to their respective venues. This free access can threaten the surrounding environment as a result of meandering spectators. Major PGA Tour golf tournaments, like the Waste Management Phoenix Open, can attract upwards of estimated 200,000 spectators per round. The influx of people on the course at major golf tournaments can cause tremendous harm to the already altered landscape. Because of this increased traffic of spectators, these golf courses are normally closed for three months after a major event.

Waste – Landfill, Recycle, and Compost
Along with increased foot traffic, a large sporting event generally draws an enormous number of tailgating spectators, and where spectators congregate waste whether destined for landfill, recycling or composting are sure to follow. Tailgating before and after a game can increase the waste produced. Oftentimes, sport organizations and events are charged for every dumpster of solid waste (i.e., landfill waste). This charge covers the transportation fee and the actual dumping fee the waste management company pays to empty the bin or truck in the local landfill. However, waste management companies charge significantly less, to dispose of recyclable materials because the waste management company can subsequently sell the recyclable materials on the secondary market.

Yet, recycling has become more complicated with countries like China that traditionally purchased these materials on the secondary market have ceased doing so through a policy known as "National Sword." As a result, state and county governments and waste management companies are scrambling to find or create domestic secondary markets for recyclable (specifically plastic) waste (Katz, 2019). From this example, it is clear to see that sport organizations are not immune from global and national issues concerning sustainability. The 'no plastic' movement, sparked by the 'plastic ocean' in the Pacific Ocean and the push to ban single-use plastics (e.g., straws, plastic shopping bags, etc.) also impacts the procurement among sport organizations and events. These larger policy changes can serve as an opportunity for sport organizations to revisit and implement new efficient procedures and improve their environmental sustainability commitments. Thus, a focus on reducing solid waste and recovering recyclable materials can help sport organizations' bottom line.

As an example, Penn State made $58,000 (Environmental Protection Agency, 2010) by selling recyclable materials (e.g., cardboard, glass, aluminum) on the secondary market. Additionally, the San Francisco Giants saved $200,000 over the course of an entire season by implementing a stadium wide recycling and composting program at AT&T Ballpark (Williams & Sherman, 2005). The San Francisco Giants extended their savings by diverting foot waste from local landfills and in turn reduced the amount of waste going into solid waste dumpsters. The Giants diverted 75% of their waste from landfills by 2009. In 2011, with a $50,000 grant from the Office of the University President, Ohio State implemented a zero-waste campaign at their football stadium. Zero waste is defined "as a 90 percent diversion rate of waste material such as food, paper products and plastics away from landfills" (Ricchiuto, 2011). To help in this goal, Ohio State

redefined their procurement, or purchasing, behaviors, and Ohio Stadium facility officials ensured that everything sold inside the stadium was either compostable, recyclable, or biodegradable (i.e., destined for landfill but would decompose quickly). Due to the focused attention given to diversion rates, Ohio Stadium now commonly has diversion rates above 90 percent each football game (see https://ohiostatebuckeyes.com/zero-waste-at-ohio-stadium).

Moreover, the previously mentioned Waste Management Phoenix Open diverts 100% of its waste from the landfill. All waste is sent to recycling sorting centers or is sent to a composting facility. Considering the event attracts over 750,000 during the tournament, this is an impressive accomplishment. Their efforts should be studied and applied to other sporting events, large and small. For example, spectators are not allowed to bring in their own concessions to the event. As the Ohio State example, all concessions or consumer goods at the Phoenix Open were either recyclable or compostable. This is a major accomplishment of the tournament to purchase (i.e., procurement) items and to attain such a lofty goal with that many attendees.

Researchers have also started to examine the recycling behaviors of sport spectators (Casper, McCullough, Pfahl, in press; Casper, Pfahl, & McCullough, 2014, 2017; McCullough, 2013; McCullough & Cunningham, 2011: Trail & McCullough, in press). McCullough and Cunningham's (2010) work in this space indicated the influence of social pressures to engage sport spectators to recycle; as such, athletic departments can take advantage of their spectator's fan identification levels and encourage attending spectators to recycle their waste (McCullough, 2013; McCullough & Cunningham, 2011; McCullough & Kellison, 2016). They can do so by taking several small steps, including: better signage informing spectators what can and cannot be recycled, public address announcements encouraging spectators to recycle, and creative advertisements and public service announcements to appear on the jumbotron before a specific time in the game where spectators will congregate on the concourse (McCullough, 2011; Trail & McCullough, 2018). Implementing such programs can improve the environmental standing of the athletic department and can increase the fan identification of moderately identified fans of the university (Casper et al., in press; McCullough & Cunningham, 2010).

SPORT AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Researchers have previously examined the effects sports have on the environment from the various forms of pollution. I will cover these aspects and also outline the response that sport organizations, leagues, and individuals have taken to decrease their environmental impact. As previously mentioned, organizational behavior and human actions will have an inevitable impact on the environment. It is important to realize these impacts to effectively change or modify behaviors. Before modification can happen, awareness is critical. As part of a social movement, environmentalism and environmental awareness hit mainstream media during the 1960s (Dunlap & Marshall, 2007). All industries, including the sport sector, were criticized for their environmental impacts. The following sections outline various aspects within the sport sector from mega events to individual participation sports like golf and alpine skiing.

Mega-Events

Mega-events are large social or sporting events that are designed to attract large amounts of people and media attention, like the Summer or Winter Olympics and FIFA's World Cup. There is a tremendous amount of research surrounding these events and the economic impact that the participants, fans, and tourists can inject into the local economy (Hotchkiss et al., 2003; Porter & Fletcher, 2008; Preuss, 2004, 2006). It was not until recently that environmental impacts were estimated before or after such events. These impacts are only increased with the size of the events. Events like the Waste Management Phoenix Open attracted 216,000 spectators in one day and a total of nearly 720,000 spectators across the entire golf tournament (Myers, 2019). With this many spectators, the travel required to get to Phoenix and the venue, the resources consumed throughout the event, and the waste generated by spectators, sporting mega-sporting events have a tremendous environmental impact concentrated on one area.

Olympics Takes Charge
The Olympic Games have exploded in terms of the number of athletes who participate and fans who attend each Olympiad. As a result of the increased popularity and a heightened awareness to environmental issues, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has come under fire to improve their environmental reputation. Preliminary studies commonly focus on the economic benefits for the host city and country, but before the 1990s the cost to the environment for hosting such events was not common practice among bidding or host cities. The same is not the case today. In the following sections, I provide an overview of the changes that resulted in a more eco-conscious Olympics.

Pressures to Go Green
Protests developed in North America against Olympic bids in both Canada and the United States, with concerns regarding the environmental implications of hosting the Games. The Olympics began to grow exponentially from one Olympiad to the next, thus increasing the environmental implications for the host community. The first Olympic bid lost because of an environmental protest was in 1966 during the bidding process for the 1972 Winter Games. Banff, in the Canadian providence of Alberta, was figured to be the running favorite as Calgary finished second for the 1968 Winter Games. However, the Canadian Wildlife Association actively protested Canada's bid to host the 1972 Winter Games, mainly because of the relation of Olympic venues in proximity to Lake Louise in Banff National Park (Chappelet, 2008).

Instead, Sapporo, Japan, received the winning Olympic bid for the 1972 Winter Games. The Japanese bid did not win solely because it did not face the resistance that the Canadian bid did. On the contrary, the Japanese bid included many environmental considerations that were typically unseen in Olympic bids. The Japanese town of Sapporo supported and promoted its newly developed infrastructure. This was much stronger than Banff could offer. This infrastructure included "metro, a railway station, new roads, and improved urban heating systems, water supplies, and sewage treatment facilities" (Chappelet, 2008, p. 1889). Another feature that the Japanese bid promoted was the proximity of venues. All venues were within a 35-kilometer (22 miles) radius, a relatively close proximity for Olympic host site standards especially considering the terrain needed for the Winter Games. The close proximity of all the facilities reduced the need for transportation, thereby lessening traffic congestion and increasing usage of public transportation. Interestingly, the one site that was located outside of the 35-kilometer radius, the downhill run for skiing, had to be relocated to The Mount Eniwa in Shikotsu National Park because of necessary gradient of the mountain. After the completion of the 1976 Winter Games, the slopes were removed and trees were replanted on the ski runs developed for the Olympiad.

Within the United States, the Citizens for Colorado's Future was one of the first social groups that successfully politicized the environmental impact of the Olympic Games (Chappelet, 2008). After Denver had been granted to host the 1976 Winter Games, this collective group of Colorado residents protested over concerns regarding the impact that the Winter Games would have on over development of Denver and impact on Colorado's natural environment. There was much debate over the benefits of hosting the Games versus the tangible and intangible costs. As a result, the State of Colorado put a ballot measure to vote on whether the state would accept the Olympic bid. In 1973, 93% of voters overwhelmingly turned out to vote on the measure to keep the Games or reject the offer for the Games. The voters rejected the Olympic bid by a three to two margin. Denver then withdrew their acceptance to be the host city of the 1976 Games. On such short notice, the IOC awarded the Games to Innsbruck, Austria, because they previously hosted the Winter Games.

Further protests surrounded the 1980 Winter Games in Lake Placid with regards to the conditions of the bobsled and luge run. These runs require enormous amounts of ammonia to refrigerate the ice. The use of ammonia is tremendously damaging to the surrounding environment, especially when the runoff from the course goes directly into the ground and into the natural water table. This became an issue as the Lake Placid Games approached. Lake Placid was eventually able to upgrade their facilities to address these concerns. Additional reservations surrounded the use of ski runs used for short and long distance jumping.

These runs were located in a New York state park run by New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, thus leading to conflicts of interest. But, these protests were eventually dropped. One major problem surrounding the 1980 Games was that the infrastructure originally created for the Winter Games that were hosted there in 1932 and the subsequent tourism to the region did not keep pace with the necessities of the Winter Games. The increased traffic to the region could not withstand the increased traffic for the 1980 Games (Chappelet, 2008). That is, the development of Lake Placid did not match the growing popularity of the Winter Olympic Games. This further demonstrates that an increased number of spectators creates a larger environmental impact.

Development of Environmental Policies
Protests surrounding the environmental impact of the Olympics became commonplace since the Winter Olympic Games were hosted in Sapporo, Japan. These protests developed into losing bids by potential host cities based on their poor environmental management. Subsequent bids for the 1976 and 1988 Winter Games were rejected because of the lack of environmental considerations. But even the winning bid cities that hosted the Olympic Games in Sarajevo (1984) and Calgary (1988) did not follow through on environmental promises (Chappelett, 2008). As a result, the IOC decided to focus on developing an environmental aspect to the Olympic charter. As part of this development, the IOC wanted to focus on the legacy of the Olympic Games. This would be demonstrated in Lillehammer during the 1994 Winter Olympic Games. The IOC included the environment as the third pillar of the Olympic movement. This includes incorporating environmental aspects to sport federations, national Olympic committees, and all Olympic sponsored events. The IOC was able to further develop their environmental programs through a partnership with the United Nations. For more information, see Exhibit 7.1.

1994 Lillehammer Winter Games. One of the first Olympiads to incorporate environmental considerations was at the 1994 Winter Games in Lillehammer, an approach subsequent Games incorporated. However, based on the setting of the venues in Lillehammer, it was used as the example to exemplify the new face of the IOC with regards to the environment. The IOC's intentions were exemplified by Norway's Prime Minister saying that the Olympic Games were an opportunity to forward "an ethic of solidarity with our current and future generations, a responsibility to the global balance of nature and an understanding of our role within it" (Mathisen, 1993). These words embodied the purpose and spirit of the third pillar to protect the environment.

The Lillehammer Games were deemed an environmental success. The backdrop of the falling snow in Norway, combined with the early instituted environmental programs, subdued criticism from the media and environmental groups. The Norwegian government invested heavily into the incorporation of environmental aspects to the Games. Additionally, the government opened their doors to environmental groups and worked together to host the "greenest" Olympiad to that point.

Exhibit 7.1: International Olympic Committee & Agenda 21

In keeping with their declaration of the environment being the third pillar of the Olympic Movement, in 1999 the IOC implemented Agenda 21 – Sport for sustainable development. This document has been used by future bidding countries as a guideline to host a sustainable mega-event. Agenda 21 outlines the responsibilities of "different members in implementing action, which respect the concept of sustainable development". The document also encourages the International Federation, National Olympic Committees, athletes, clubs, and sponsors to follow Agenda 21 as a reference for sustainable development (Balderstone, 2001; International Olympic Committee – Sport and the Environment Commission, 1992).

2000 Sydney Summer Games
Though environmentalism was strong in the 1994 Winter Games, the 2000 Summer Games in Sydney were the first Olympic Games to incorporate the IOC's environmental pillar throughout the bidding process and through the completion of the Olympic Games. The Sydney Games featured many environmental considerations, such as cleanup of toxic sites, environmentally friendly construction of facilities, facilitating increased use of public transportation, and the introduction of recycling in Olympic facilities. Despite a partnership with Greenpeace international to formulate environmental considerations, programs and policies, the Sydney Games faced criticism. Critics from other environmental groups claimed that the Games were not truly environmentally friendly and accused the Games of green washing or making false environmental claims (Beder, 1999). Despite the challenges to the environmental programs and initiatives taken at the 2000 Olympic Games, there were considerable strides in hosting a more environmentally friendly event.

2028 Los Angeles Summer Games
The Los Angeles Games mark a new trend with the IOC on how they approach environmental sustainability and event legacies. For example, the IOC now wants bidding cities to align their sustainability and legacy plans with the host cities sustainability goals. This approach is intended to ensure that the Olympic Games serve as a medium to further not hinder sustainable development in the city. In Los Angeles, the organizing committee is planning to forward Los Angeles' Sustainable pLAn focusing on water conservation and mass transit options.

Six Nations Rugby World Cup
While the Olympics garner considerable attention, other mega events also have the potential to negatively impact the environment. Rugby's Six Nations tournament represents one example, as event organizers must consider not only the economic benefits but also the environmental costs of hosting such an event. Researchers at Cardiff University (2007) examined the environmental impact of a 2006 Rugby match during Rugby's Six Nations Tournament. The researchers found that hosting the event required extreme amounts of energy and natural resources. In fact, hosting more than 85,000 fans for one rugby match consumed scores of natural resources and produced massive amounts of carbon emissions. To offset the resources that were consumed and CO2, it would take nearly 3,600 rugby pitches, meaning that the energy and resources consumed at one rugby pitch produced such a large carbon footprint it takes over 3,000 times the land to offset the environmental impact.

Cardiff University encouraged large sporting events like Six Nations to consider alternatives to decrease their environmental impact. Basic elements surrounding the event such as concessions and transportation had the largest impact on the event, totaling 60% and 31% of the carbon footprint, respectively. The study suggested simple solutions such as encouraging the use of mass public transit. If 50% of the spectators took a public or private bus or took the train to the event, the carbon footprint can decrease by as much as 15%. However, many solutions to decrease the environmental impact of sporting events have not been explored or possibly discovered.

Some sport organizations, such as the Welsh Rugby Union, have called upon their fans and followers to help decrease sport events' environmental impacts. Nonetheless, it is clear to see that even one sporting event can have a significant impact on the surrounding environment. Imagine the compounding effects of repeating sporting events of a collegiate football team with seven home games or a Major League Baseball team hosting 81 home games. The environmental impacts of these events are even more significant than a weekend rugby match.

Participatory Sports
Much has been written on the environmental impact of mega events and spectator sports, but little attention has been given to physical activity, or participatory sports. These sports include individual sports and recreation, like fishing, surfing, skiing, and cycling. Participatory sports are important to investigate because they are not regulated as closely as organized sports. As a result of the lack of management, these activities

can be considered a notable environmental threat. In fact, the environmental movement within the United States can be traced back to hunters in the mid 1800s.

The wildlife movement stands as one of the oldest environmental movements within the United States, initially forming in the mid 1800s. This classification consists of wealthy hunters who became concerned with the depletion of the particular game that was hunted. As a result, these hunters formed the country's first environmental groups, like the Boone and Crocket Club and the National Audubon Society, to institute bag limits while fishing and hunting wild game animals (Brulle, 2009). Eventually, restrictions further developed to include hunting and fishing seasons for specific species of wild game and fish.

Later, with populations of the United States growing combined with an ever-growing suburbanized America in the 1930s, habitats for these animals dwindled. As a result, wildlife management was created, establishing habitats and wildlife refuges for animals. This paved the way for population controls and the mindset that "wildlife populations can be seen as a crop from which excess populations can be sustainably harvested" (Brulle, 2009 pp. 213). From a sports perspective, environmental sporting groups are commonly seen today. Groups like Ducks Unlimited and Trout Unlimited actively preserved the natural wetlands and streams that waterfowl and trout inhabit. These two groups also work closely with the Department of the Interior shaping federal environmental policy.

Environmental impact of participatory sports
Additional research has been conducted to evaluate the environmental footprint and carbon emissions from activities surround participatory sports (Chard & Mallen, 2012; Wicker, 2019). These researchers have explored the impact that our common participation in sport can have on the natural environment. This is not to say that sport participation should be prohibited or that it is bad because it has an impact on the natural environment. Rather, it is necessary to understand the areas that our behaviors have a determinantal impact on the natural environment and where there are opportunities to improve upon current behaviors to reduce our impact on the natural environment, because without it access to and our ability to participate in sport will be compromised. That is, sport organizations (e.g., recreational, youth) and participants should examine common practices of transporting athletes to and from practices and competitions (Chard & Mallen, 2012).

Wicker (2019) found that team sports performed better than individual sport participants with regards to maintaining a smaller carbon footprint when comparing activities surrounding their respective sport/activity (e.g., practices, camps, competitions). Interestingly, sport participants involved in nature-based sports had the highest carbon footprint. This could be explained by the distance that is required to travel to such locations. You could draw the parallel of an avid skier located in Texas would have a significantly greater carbon footprint associated with her sport activity than a cyclist in living in the same town. That is, the skier must travel by car or plane to ski resorts in the Rockies or Sierra Nevada Mountains; whereas, the cyclist could cycle in town or travel a short distance to cycle in a rural area. In short, minimizing the environmental impact of individuals, sport activities, or sport organizations is not to say that they must cease all behaviors, but rather each behavior and activity should be examined and considered against more sustainable alternatives (e.g. using mass transit, buying used sporting equipment, choosing local tournaments; McCullough et al., 2018)

OPPORTUNITIES FOR GREEN SPORT
McCullough and Cunningham (2010) discussed the pressures that would lead entities and organizations within the sport sector to implement environmental sustainability initiatives. These pressures included functional (i.e., better ways of doing business), political (i.e., internal or governmental pressures to behave in such a way), and social (environmental movements and societal demands). They outlined possible outcomes for sport organizations that have since been substantiated in subsequent empirical research. These outcomes include cost savings (Casper et al., 2014), competitive advantage (Casper et al., in press), increased goodwill perceptions (Inoue & Kent, 2012), and increase fan identification (Casper, et al., 2017; in press).

However, moving beyond the benefits of these early adopters, more focus has been placed on understanding the processes that sport organizations go through to implement and maintain environmental sustainability initiatives. McCullough, Pfahl, and Nguyen (2016) examined the progress across the sport sector and characterized this progression as the green waves of environmental sustainability in sport.

Much like waves, McCullough and colleagues (2016) argued that the progression of environmental sustainability would have ebbs and flows, or progress and regression. More or less, there would be two steps forward and one step back especially considering the hesitancy of sport practitioners to implement environmental sustainability initiatives (Casper, Pfahl, McSherry, 2014; Green Sports Alliance, 2016). As a result, they proposed that there are currently three distinct waves of sustainability in sport, which can be applied to the sport sector, in general, and individual organizations, specifically. Organizations advance to the next wave based on organizational learning through a process known and diffusion of innovation. Simply put, an organization can learn through their own experiences and from others on how to advance their organizational best practices. In the sections below, I describe these three waves.

Wave One
The first wave captures organizations within the first steps of exploring or implementing environmental sustainability initiatives whether for strategic reasons (Trendafilova & Babiak, 2011) or responding to institutional pressures (McCullough & Cunningham, 2010). Sport organizations try to generate awareness of their sustainability efforts by conveying messages and educational programs to engage fans to participate in these initiatives. The initiatives themselves are rather straightforward and are typically highly visible. For example, an organization may implement a waste management program by introducing recycling or even composting, which is still limited at sporting events. Although there are many moving parts in a waste management program, making the initial success of the program difficult to achieve, sport organizations opt to implement this initiative because it is highly visible and most often an environmentally friendly behavior that most spectators already do at home. Other initiatives may be to install low flow toilets, urinals, and sinks throughout the stadium. This does not require much effort on behalf of the spectators to be environmentally friendly, but signage can educate fans on the new fixtures in the restrooms and the reason why the organization upgraded them.

Wave Two
Organizations advance to the second wave by advancing the sophistication of their sustainability efforts. This would include increased communication and educational efforts by the organization to engage spectators and inform them about the various program and how to properly participate in these efforts. The organization also starts to evaluate their initiatives seeking to improve the function and efficiency of their efforts. For example, an organization may conduct waste audits, examining if there is cross contamination in the various waste streams. That is, someone examines whether recycling is in the landfill waste bin or vice versa. The measurement efforts may also include tracking the total weight of each category of waste collected throughout the stadium. Some stadium managers even record where and when pickups occur to understand the flow of waste during an event. This information can help sport practitioners increase their educational programs and communications. For example, if there is a high level of cross-contamination of landfill waste in the recycling waste bins, signage, messaging, and even event staff can be placed at the waste receptacles to decrease cross-contamination.

Wave Three
The third wave marks when an organization permanently adopts an environmental sustainability initiative and integrates it into organizational planning. That is, there is strategic planning surrounding the environmental efforts to ensure that these efforts and participation are being optimized. For example, when the University of Washington Huskies went through a major renovation of their football stadium, waste management was a top priority in the redesign of the facility. Waste management collection areas in a stadium take up a lot of space and need to be configured for optimum performance. This area of the stadium, although not seen by fans, contributed to the Athletic Department's increase recovery rates. In fact, the

Huskies adopted a zero-waste mindset and utilize a two-stream waste system only compost and recyclable waste. They do not sell anything in the stadium that needs to be disposed of in the landfill.

Building on the previous example from Wave Two, a sport organization may seek to further advance its sustainability initiatives by engaging more stakeholders. For example, on a college campus, an athletic department may engage the waste management department, the campus recycling department (if they are separate), the local waste hauler, the sustainability office, the transportation office, and others to form a green committee (McCullough, Kellison, & Wendling, 2018). These added perspectives can help further advance the sophistication, efficiency, and outcomes of sustainability initiatives. More or less, the sport organization acknowledges its own limitations and limited expertise and defers to outside help from stakeholders with an invested interest in the success of the organization's sustainability initiatives. The most advanced organizations are in the third wave. The future of environmental sustainability in sport looks to the influence of sport organizations on spectator's everyday lives.

FUTURE TRENDS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

As the sport sector becomes more engaged in minimizing their environmental impacts, new opportunities will be presented for increased revenue and business ventures. Professional sport teams can look to new environmentally friendly companies as new avenues for sponsorships. Existing sponsors who want to promote their environmentally friendly products can have easy access to the sport market. New sporting goods organizations that offer environmentally friendly aspects or other responsible business practices can be tied together to gain market share. As sport organizations upgrade and build new facilities, environmentally friendly aspects can be incorporated to attract new customers and members.

As environmental management aspects become more prevalent and visible in sport various environmental behaviors should encourage fans and spectators to act more environmentally responsible. Smith and Westerbeek (2006) described sports as carrying a "green virus" that can promote social change across populations. The power of sport can inspire more people outside of the sport sector to incorporate environmentally friendly practices into their own lives. Sport has been promoted as the forum to provide social change.

Perhaps most encouragingly as the collective efforts of humankind address the adverse effects of climate change, the United Nations has engaged many business sectors to improve their environmental performance. The sport sector, for example, has been a major focus for the United Nations to not only improve and engage the sector in being more environmentally responsible but to use its social platform to convey the importance of more sustainable behaviors among their fans. The social platform of sport has been used to draw awareness, change attitudes, and advance social causes involving race and gender. The United Nations believes that sport can lead by example and encourage fans to be more environmentally responsible at sporting events and in their everyday lives. In 2018, the United Nations announced at the Meeting of the Parties 24 (COP24) in Poland, the Sports for Climate Action Framework. For more information about the Sports for Climate Action Framework see Exhibit 7.2.

Exhibit 7.2: Sports for Climate Action Framework

In 2017, the United Nations hosted a conference of leading sport practitioners and academics to discuss the ways to engage the sport sector in climate action – or the active effort to reduce carbon emissions resulting in climate change. The fruits of this meeting resulted in the Sports for Climate Action Framework that encourages sport organizations to be models of environmentally responsible business practices and to educate, communicate, and encourage sport fans to choose more environmentally sustainable behaviors. The Framework also includes a pledge that sport organizations can commit to the Framework's guiding principles. More information can be found at https://unfccc.int/climate-action/sectoral-engagement/sports-for-climate-action.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Sport will be forever tied to the environment. As environmental issues become more profound and exposed, sport must respond to the long history of environmental impacts through immediate action. The evolution of environmental sociology will introduce new considerations must be given to the health of the environment and its impact on human interaction. In response to the deterioration of the natural environment, sport has responded to protect its intimate relationship with nature. Modifications in the interactions between humans and sport organizations with the environment occur at all levels of sport, from international events like the Olympics to individual participation in sports. The future of sports' interaction with the environment will be dictated by a collective effort in and outside of sport, but special considerations need to be taken to ensure the viability of the environment to sustain humankind and to support sport.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the differences between the perspectives of sociology and environmental sociology?
2. What are steps that sport organizations are taking to reduce their environmental impact?
3. Several organizations have provided guidelines for sport organizations to follow to become more environmentally friendly. From your perspective, do these programs have a positive or negative impact on the environment? Why or why not?
4. Describe the waves of environmental sustainability in sport. What might be missing from these waves? What wave do you think your favorite team is in?
5. What future opportunities does the "green" movement provide for sport organizations?

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CHAPTER 8

SPORT FOR SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT[1]

Adam Cohen and Jon Welty Peachey

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Define sport for development and briefly explain its historical significance.
2. Provide examples of individuals, non-profit, and professional sport organizations that have used or are using sport in an attempt to affect positive social change.
3. Explain the challenges facing the field of sport for social change and development and its opportunities for future growth.

INTRODUCTION
When many people think about the nature of the sport industry, they are likely drawn to professional sport with its multi-million-dollar contracts and larger-than-life personalities, or to the frenzy and excitement of big-time intercollegiate athletics. For many, sport is considered a business industry and not an agent for social change. People grow up spending time watching professional and college sports, and money on tickets, merchandise, equipment, and other related products. Often, lives are dedicated to following and supporting these massive billion-dollar sports teams and industries. However, a little-known addition to the industry that has gained a foothold is the proliferation of hundreds of organizations around the globe that strive to use sport to make a positive difference in society. Even professional sport franchises and other traditional elements of the sport industry have launched programs to give back to the community and attempt to create positive social change. Furthermore, there has been a growing social movement towards the use of non-traditional sport practices as a vehicle for social change, reaching communities with messages in ways traditional sport practices cannot.

Sport for social change—the focus of this chapter—is the use of sport as a vehicle or platform for transforming the social structure of a social group or society (i.e., a change in the nature, social institutions, social behaviors, or social relations of a society). Sport for social change can constitute a program or initiative aimed at effecting change (i.e., sport for development) or it can be instances where sport is used as a platform to advocate for a social cause or issue. Within the domain of sport for social change lies the field of sport for development (SFD). We can broadly define SFD as the use of sport to exert a positive influence on public health, the socialization of children, youth and adults, the social inclusion of the disadvantaged, the economic development of regions and states, and the fostering of intercultural exchange and conflict resolution (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). The tremendous growth of this field has been highlighted: "150 sport for development and peace organisations were registered with the unofficial SFDP online platform (http://www/sportanddev.org) maintained by the Swiss Academy for Development. Ten years later, that platform features close to 1000 programs" (Sugden, Schulenkorf, Adair & Frawley, 2019, p. 3)

Generally, organizations or groups involved in SFD design and implement a sport-related program or initiative for the purpose of effecting social change. While the social environment shapes members of a society, people also have the human agency to shape social life by changing its social structures (Eitzen & Sage, 2009). Researchers have acknowledged that sport and its value systems have the potential to influence society for both good and ill (Brevik, 1998), and that sport can serve as a platform to point towards the

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[1] Cohen, A., & Welty Peachey, J. (2019). Sport for social change and development. In G. B. Cunningham & M. A. Dixon (Eds.), *Sociology of sport and physical activity* (3rd ed., pp. 103-116). College Station, TX: Center for Sport Management Research and Education.

need for societal change (Kaufman & Wolff, 2010). SFD programs, then, actively work at social change through a variety of mediums, such as using sport to target at-risk populations (e.g., HIV in Africa; peace and conflict in Israel, Ireland, and Cyprus; poverty in India, and obesity in the South Pacific), and develop initiatives to help resolve challenges of "the north" (U.S., European Union) that could potentially transform the focus of traditional sport practices to more human-oriented programs, governance, and functions (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2017).

Given this backdrop, we next provide an overview of the philosophy of SFD, followed by a discussion of sport for social change and development's historical significance, SFD's global influences, and the application of sport for social change and development in the U.S. Throughout, we showcase and provide examples of how various individuals, non-profit, and professional sport organizations are embracing sport for social change and development. Finally, we examine the challenges facing the field of sport for social change and development and discuss future growth opportunities.

OVERVIEW OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT
According to Jarvie (2007):

> Historically, the potential of sport lies not with the values promoted by global sport or particular forms of capitalism for these are invariably unjust and uneven. The possibilities that exist within sport are those that can help with radically different views of the world perhaps based upon opportunities to foster trust, obligations, redistribution and respect for sport in a more socially oriented humane world (p. 422).

Jarvie's statement provides an excellent summary of the philosophy of SFD. He suggests that the true value of sport goes far deeper than the economic impact and that its value lies in the influence that can be had on social and interpersonal levels. Sport has been shown to have numerous impacts upon its participants, including fitness, bonding, structure, and social development (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015; Eccles & Barber, 1999; Eime et. al, 2013; Marsh & Kleitman, 2002; Silliker & Quirk, 1997). For example, researchers have shown that high school athletes earn better grades (Darling et al., 2005; Dyer et al. 2017), have higher educational and occupational aspirations (Darling et al., 2005; Marsh & Kleitman, 2002), spend more time doing homework (Marsh & Kleitman, 2002; Samarasinghe, Khan & McCabe, 2017), and have more positive attitudes towards school (Darling et al., 2005; Eccles & Barber, 1999) than do non-athletes.

Coalter (2007) also articulates five major benefits of sport participation: (a) physical fitness and improved health, (b) improved mental health and well-being, (c) personality development, (d) socio-psychological benefits, and (e) social capital. The last benefit has received considerable attention among SFD scholars. Drawing from Putnam (1995), social capital is defined as the "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that can facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p. 66). In other words, sport has the ability to bring people together and enhance their relationships in a unique way. It can allow members of the community to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives, something that might occur through 'bonding' and 'bridging' individuals into a larger united group (Putnam, 1995). Bonding social capital occurs when individuals from similar social strata are linked together, whereas bridging social capital refers to linking together individuals from different social strata (e.g., linking together marginalized participants in a SFD program with their volunteer coaches). These bridging relationships allow disadvantaged persons the opportunity to access other societal resources to change their life situations.

Sport programs, especially in a team atmosphere, have the ability to maximize social capital, as they build cohesion, bonding, and capacity (Adams, Harris & Lindsey, 2018; Shilbury et al., 2008). Sport also has the capability to provide connections between diverse groups, which potentially would not exist without the medium of sport. Finally, sport can facilitate social capital by developing social inclusion, as it creates an opportunity to make friends and form relationships that can minimize social isolation and solitude (Adams,

Harris & Lindsey, 2018; Sherry, 2010; Spaaij, 2009a). This is something nearly everyone has experienced at some point of their lives. A daughter or son might 'bond' with a parent on a fishing trip or golf excursion. That same child might 'bridge' and gain social capital on a youth sport team with an individual from a different neighborhood or a unique demographic with whom they might not normally share an experience.

As previously noted, beyond benefits on a personal level, sport has been influential within various social justice initiatives across the globe. SFD initiatives include: using sport to create dialogue between different cultures to bridge divides (Schulenkorf, 2017; Sugden, 2008); building social capital among urban youth and in underprivileged communities (Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008; Spaaij, 2009a); using sport to diminish crime and promote awareness and activism (Burnett, 2006; Crabbe, 2000); and utilizing soccer to help homeless participants make positive changes in their lives (Sherry, 2010). We describe examples of initiatives such as these in more detail throughout this chapter.

SPORT FOR SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT'S HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE
The impact of sport and the notion of sport for social change and development can be traced to ancient times when the Olympic Games caused wars to cease and truces to form. In modern society, the Olympics have continued to serve as a platform for athletes to advocate for social causes and social change. For example, Jesse Owens won four gold medals during the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which featured strong Nazi propaganda that touted White supremacy. During a time in America when many African Americans were denied equal rights, Owens' athletic feats rose above racism and served as an inspiration for people around the country. During the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City, sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos made their prominent political statement on the podium by wearing black gloves and raising their fists to represent Black Power. Afterwards, both athletes experienced abuse, received death threats, and were ostracized by the US Olympic Committee for years after their actions. During the 2000 Games in Sydney, Cathy Freeman served as an advocate for Aboriginals, whom had long been victims of racism in Australia, by receiving the honor of lighting the Olympic flame.

Beyond the Olympic movement, sport for social change and development is grounded in the idea that sport speaks a simple, common language that can unite divergent peoples irrespective of religion, race, gender, social background, and nationality. The interest in the field stemmed out of a response to communities in need (Green, 2008), and from the belief that meaningful social change could be enacted through sport in people's daily lives. While SFD initiatives have their roots in events such as the Olympics mentioned above or programs designed to help wounded veterans in World War I (Burnett, 2001), they have become more formalized in the past two decades. Many countries (United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Ireland, Finland, South Africa, U.S.) have utilized sport and recreation-based programs for social outreach intervention, often combined with additional philanthropic efforts to enhance efficacy (Coalter, 2007; Hartmann, 2003; Schulenkorf, 2017).

While it is impossible to list the thousands of moments in sports history that have had a direct impact on society, there have been several prominent occurrences in the last 100 years that deserve mention. One of the most memorable social justice moments in sport happened in 1947 when Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier for the Brooklyn Dodgers. This event transcended far beyond sport and had a direct impact on racial segregation in the United States. Another one of the most recognizable athletes in history, Muhammad Ali, served as a civil rights activist in his opposition to the Vietnam War. This protest cost him his heavyweight title and four years of his career. In defense of his decision to boycott the war, Ali stated in 1966:

> Why should they ask me to put on a uniform and go ten thousand miles from home and drop bombs and bullets on brown people in Vietnam while so-called Negro people in Louisville are treated like dogs and denied simple human rights? (Zirin, 2008, p. 147)

Another relevant sport moment that impacted racial equality was the 1995 Rugby World Cup. This was the first major sporting event in South Africa that took place following the end of its apartheid. Nelson Mandela, who became the first Black president of South Africa after serving 27 years in prison, stepped onto the field wearing the team jersey and presented the championship trophy to the captain of the Springboks (South Africa's national team), who was a famous White athlete in the country. The symbolism of this event was much larger than the South African rugby team's victory on the field, as this moment signified a prominent step toward reconciliation and the unification of White and Black South Africans. The events that transpired over the 1995 Rugby World Cup inspired books, movies, and documentaries including the film *Invictus* staring Matt Damon and Morgan Freeman, which was nominated for many awards.

Billie Jean King, a female tennis player who defeated Bobby Riggs in a "Battle of the Sexes" match in 1973 while an estimated 90 million viewers watched, has been considered one of the leaders in women's rights. In 1974 she founded the Women's Sports Foundation, with a mission dedicated to promoting athletic opportunities for women. King stated, "In the '70s we had to make it acceptable for people to accept girls and women as athletes. We had to make it okay for them to be active. Those were much scarier times for females in sports" (Schwartz, no date).

Even more recently, Colin Kaepernick, former quarterback of the San Francisco 49ers used the National Football League (NFL) platform to protest the treatment of African Americans by police officers. In 2016 he knelt during the National Anthem, a very polarizing decision that would eventually cost him his job. As Kapernick said, "To me, this is bigger than football and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way. There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder" (Wyche, 2016). Kaepernick went on to donate over a million dollars to a variety of non-profit initiatives and still uses his platform to inspire change.

The above examples illustrate a handful of ways in which famous sports athletes, teams, or moments have had an influence on society beyond the playing field, using sport as a medium to advocate for some type of societal change. Although NBA great Charles Barkley stated, "I am not a role model" in a Nike commercial, athletes will always inspire emotions and reactions from the fans they touch. Because of this passion they arouse, they have the capability to serve as change agents simply through their actions on and off the field.

SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT'S GLOBAL INFLUENCE
As previously mentioned, SFD falls within the broader concept of sport for social change. Within the last decade, SFD has received support from many prominent organizations and affiliations. One of the most impactful endorsements came from the United Nations (Kidd, 2007). In 2003, the United Nations (UN) published an article entitled "Sport for development and peace: Towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals" (UN, 2003), which was the first step towards the global promotion of sport as a tool for social justice initiatives. Representing 192 member states, the UN is one organization that encompasses the entire planet and can have a global impact. More recently, the UN has identified sport as a key contributor toward their Sustainable Development Goals (U.N. Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2017). In 2013, April 6th, the UN officially recognized April 6th as International Sport for Development and Peace Day. This announcement only furthered the UN's dedication and promise to use SFD as part of its long-term development agenda.

Kofi Annan, who previously served as Secretary General of the UN, offered further support for the role of sport in working for social change at the Olympic Aid Roundtable in Salt Lake City:

> Sport can play a role in improving the lives of individuals, not only individuals, I might add, but whole communities. I am convinced that the time is right to build on that understanding, to encourage governments, development agencies and communities to think

how sport can be included more systematically in the plans to help children, particularly those living in the midst of poverty, disease and conflict. (UN, 2005a, p. 1)

As Sugden and colleagues (2019) note, there are over 1000 SFD initiatives globally. Attempts to investigate the impacts and effects that these organizations have on their target audiences have only scratched the surface. Some researchers have examined the impact of sport in countries that have suffered through wartime tragedy and violence. For instance, Armstrong (2002, 2004) examined football's (soccer) impact in Liberia, where it has been used as a tool for reconstruction and child protection, demonstrating how the game can be used to build social cohesion. More recently, scholars have examined the many ways sporting initiatives have aimed to address the plethora of issues in the South Pacific such as obesity, domestic violence, and communicable diseases (Sherry, Schulenkorf, Seal, Nicholson & Hoye, 2017). Gasser and Levinsen (2004) looked at an organization in Bosnia, and Herzegovina, examining the Open Fun Football Schools that use soccer to promote social cohesion between otherwise hostile groups. Another organization that uses sport to reach out to different ethnic communities is the Asian-German Sport Exchange Programme (AGSEP). This organization attempts to contribute to overcoming intergroup rivalry and minimizing ethnic boundaries on a community level (Schulenkorf, 2010).

The social movement of sport for development and peace has also had a positive impact in some marginalized societies (Kidd, 2008). A program founded in the slums of Kenya, the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), uses soccer as a method of inclusion in an attempt to create safe space for females and to assist with school retention. The girls wear the MYSA jerseys with a sense of pride, creating a noticeable sign of group affiliation and belonging (Brady, 2005). Hayhurst (2013) investigated the influence of a martial arts program in Uganda designed for young girls as a way to challenge gender norms and provide fitness opportunities for women. The Ishraq program, an initiative in Egypt directed at girls aged 13-15, provides a safe atmosphere for girls to be active and play games such as table tennis or handball (Brady, 2005). This organization has the goal of providing a protective learning environment for girls in an area that normally would not be secure for them. In India, an organization called Magic Bus has an annual positive impact on 375,594 impoverished children in slum communities. It uses sport and recreation "to help children and young people break out of the crushing cycle of poverty. Magic Bus works with India's poorest communities and children using an award-winning activity-based curriculum" (Magic Bus, 2019, para 1).

Olympic Aid and Right to Play are two organizations that reach out to impoverished countries. Established and funded by Olympians around the world, these groups provide coaching and mentoring in African, Asian, and Middle Eastern nations along with attempting to promote healthy child and community development. Another organization that began in 2003 out of Nambia, Physically Active Youth (PAY), addresses the high dropout rate (as high as 50%) that occurs after grade 10 in that country. The initial pilot program, which combined daily sport activity with academic counseling and sex education, resulted in 75% of the students passing the 10th grade.

Sherry et al. (2011) evaluated the impact of the Homeless World Cup, a soccer initiative aimed at helping homeless individuals make positive changes in their lives. In this study, the authors determined that a fan's perspective towards marginalized groups (in this case homeless individuals) could be shifted and changed to a more positive light by attendance at the event. Sherry (2010) also interviewed participants of a homeless soccer team in Australia and determined that homeless players increased their social capital and reengaged with society through the intervention. This work built on previous studies suggesting that social bonding through sport can have an impact on marginalized groups (Collins, 2004; Jarvie, 2003).

Street Soccer USA (SSUSA) is also using soccer to combat homelessness in 16 cities in the U.S. SSUSA attempts to achieve three major goals for participants: building community and trust through sports; requiring participants to set 3-, 6-, and 12- month life goals; and empowering individuals by marrying clinical services to sport programming and providing access to educational and employment opportunities (SSUSA, 2019). Research has shown that SSUSA has not only had a prominent impact on the clients they attempt

to serve, but also on the volunteers who donate their time and energy towards the program (Cohen & Welty Peachey, 2015b; Welty Peachey, Cohen, Borland, & Lyras, 2013).

In Israel, Football 4 Peace (F4P), has a mission that includes: providing opportunities for social contact across community boundaries, promoting mutual understanding, engendering in participants a desire for and commitment to peaceful coexistence, and enhancing soccer skills and technical knowledge (Sugden, 2008). The goals are part of an overarching effort aimed to bridge the divide between Israeli and Arab cultures in Israel that have been constantly teetering on the prospect of war. Through the use of soccer, F4P currently reaches out to over 1,000 children of both cultures and is located within 24 mixed communities.

It is efforts like F4P that highlight the value of sport on a global level in facilitating social change. There are other initiatives that are attempting to fulfill similar missions as F4P. One example is Peaceplayers International, whose mission is to unite, educate, and inspire young people in divided communities through basketball (Peaceplayers, 2019). This non-profit reaches out through basketball in efforts to unite communities such as the Irish Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, the Turkish and Greek Cypriots in Cyprus, and Whites and Blacks in South Africa. Finally, in 2014 the Invictus Games, a new international event inspired by Prince Harry, Duke of Sussex, had its inaugural launch in London. Aimed to "use the power of sport to inspire recovery, support rehabilitation and generate a wider understanding and respect for wounded, injured and sick Servicemen and women," (Invictus Games, 2019) the Games are widely attended and can be viewed in many countries.

As can be seen in these examples, SFD initiatives have the ability to allow sport to transcend poverty, bigotry, and racism (Coalter, 2007; Kidd, 2007). Burnett and Hollander (2003) suggest it is human instinct to want to play, roughhouse, run, catch, jump, and so on. Kids will be kids, no matter the culture or environment that surrounds them, and in turn, their participation in sports and the desire to be active will also translate nearly anywhere. The goal in SFD is to take these natural desires and instincts and harness them into scenarios that "can foster peace and development and can contribute to an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding" (UN, 2005b, p. 1).

CURRENT APPLICATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Whether a transnational corporation committed to corporate social responsibility, an international aid organization pursuing the Millennium Development Goals, or a grassroots non-governmental organization (NGO) seeking to meet the everyday needs of disadvantaged communities in the Global South, it is increasingly common to herald sport as a new engine of development and social development through sport as a new social movement. (Spaaij, 2009b)

Even though SFD is not yet recognized as a well-known area within the sport industry, it is relevant and becoming more widespread in the U.S. and globally. While many aspects of the sport industry focus on financial and marketing issues, the social aspect of the industry and developing a human connection are as important as promoting and selling a product to consumers. Social justice initiatives may commonly be implemented in an effort to engage in corporate social responsibility (CSR), which as Spaaij (2009b) indicates in the above quote, can be considered an aspect of SFD. CSR can be defined as activities aimed at promoting some type of social good, going beyond the economic interests of the organization and its legal requirements (Giulianotti, 2015; McWilliams & Siegel, 2001). Babiak and Wolfe (2009) suggest that "nearly all professional sport teams have established charitable foundations over the last decade and a half" (p. 720) mainly in an effort to build relationships and good will amongst local stakeholders. However, often SFD initiatives are designed and implemented by sport businesses for reasons beyond pure altruistic intentions. For instance, Levermore (2008a) mentions, "Sport-in-development corporate partners may use the schemes primarily to further their own concerns" (p. 63).

Criticisms aside, beyond the social justice and philanthropic benefits that can result from CSR, these endeavors help promote and endorse the sport industry to the general public and consumers. Sports teams develop social links and create emotional associations based around the product. Within this vein, many professional sports leagues in America are embracing a philanthropic philosophy in an effort to immerse themselves in the local community and use sport to help address various social issues. For example, Major League Baseball's (MLB) Reviving Baseball in Inner Cities initiative focuses on introducing baseball to low income areas around the U.S.

MLB designed and implemented this program to engage in CSR and to achieve a positive outreach amongst potential future fans of the sport. This initiative has also produced some famous athletes that have come from urban environments, such as CC Sabathia and Justin Upton, whom were featured in nationwide commercials endorsing the endeavor. One of the NFL's programs, Play 60, has centered on the activity levels and fitness of young Americans and even aired commercials that featured President Obama playing football with NFL players Drew Brees and Troy Polamalu. In addition, the National Basketball Association's NBA Cares initiative was successful in countering the bad will that was created from the Ron Artest melee (where an NBA player, after first being assaulted by fans, ran into the stands and attacked a fan), as the program profoundly influenced fans' perceptions of players in the league (Giannoulakis & Drayer, 2009).

However, SFD initiatives in the U.S. go far beyond the professional sports leagues and the individual players. Nearly every professional sports franchise has a foundation or initiative in which they make efforts to give back to the local community. The same can be said for minor league teams and niche sport organizations. Ranging from the sport of squash (e.g., Squashbusters, a non-profit that uses squash to reach urban youth in Massachusetts) to lacrosse (e.g., Lacrosse the Nations, a non-profit that uses lacrosse to promote education and healthy living), and everything in between, SFD can be found almost anywhere that sport exists. Simply put, the concept of using sport to improve the lives of others encompasses a wide spectrum of endeavors. SFD can vary from as small as a local college soccer team volunteering time to play soccer with under-privileged urban youth at a neighborhood YMCA, to as large as a global Olympic movement which aims to use sport to foster peace and understanding between cultures and countries.

By harnessing people's excitement towards the sport industry, and combining that with philanthropic education and life experience, there is an excellent opportunity to reach out to those who could potentially spend their future working, improving and advancing SFD programs. Showing people a feel-good story, like a veteran losing a leg and continuing on in competitive sports or a homeless person using soccer to get off drugs and off the street, captures their attention and enhances their desire to become involved in SFD in some capacity. This cyclical nature of SFD is one of the major reasons so many initiatives are able to succeed. Not only are people around the world being helped through the use of sport, but the employees, donors, and volunteers of SFD initiatives are also impacted in positive ways.

Like most non-profit organizations, SFD programs involve a painstaking process to become established and effective. It takes far more than simply tossing a ball out onto a field or throwing money at a group of disadvantaged children to achieve positive impact. It is important to note that passion for sport and altruism, while important factors, are not sufficient on their own to drive successful outcomes. If a program is designed poorly is key stakeholder do not properly evaluate results or impact these initiatives could fair to implement change or even yield negative outcomes (Welty Peachey, Musser, Shin & Cohen, 2018). There is a significant amount of work that goes into creating an organization that can have an impact and be sustainable over time. In a growing field such as this, there needs to be constant innovation and research to assess what is successful and what needs improvement. Burnett and Uys (2000) discuss methods to evaluate the impact of SFD programs, focusing on three major themes: (a) demographics of the area targeted, (b) program delivery and management, and (c) individual and social aspects such as community involvement. Similarly, Schulenkorf (2017) emphasizes the importance of realistic goal setting and that "SFD can perhaps only be a starting point . . . for more concerted efforts on advancing community

development" (p. 249). The need for diligent research and efficient program implementation is even more critical than ever in today's strained economic climate.

CHALLENGES

Thus, myriad and varied sport organizations around the globe have begun to implement sport-based initiatives with a social change mandate. As a relatively new field, however, SFD and sport for social change present a number of key challenges that must be addressed by policy makers, researchers and practitioners in order to move the field forward: (a) program efficacy, (b) limitations of SFD initiatives, (c) lack of theoretical frameworks, and (d) fragmentation of SFD organizations.

Program Efficacy

The first challenge is that the efficacy of these programs in achieving impact and long-term, sustainable social change remains in question. While many SFD programs claim significant impact on participants (e.g., enhanced self-esteem, intergroup acceptance) and broader society (e.g., enhanced social capital, active citizenship), in many cases, the sport programs are poorly planned and do not provide scientific evidence about their effectiveness (Coalter, 2010; Kidd, 2007; Levermore, 2008b; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). Many SFD programs do not have the internal capacity to carry out effective monitoring and evaluation, and thus this essential element is often neglected. In addition, there is a poor understanding of the conditions and mechanisms needed for achieving positive outcomes in specific settings (Coalter, 2007; Harris, 2018; Jarvie, 2003). For instance, effective mechanisms and organizational structures for a sport intervention in Ghana could vary greatly from the mechanisms and structure required to achieve the same positive outcomes in Norway. In addition, the strategies used to aid children suffering from malnourishment could vary from SFD techniques that target peace initiatives in war-torn countries. More longitudinal research is needed on both the outcomes of sport-based interventions and on the most effective structures, mechanisms, and processes for achieving these outcomes in specific contexts.

Limitations of SFD Initiatives

Coalter (2010) outlines a second challenge for the field: the recent proliferation of SFD organizations could represent a form of neo-colonialism, with the main strategies for these programs being formulated in the West and then exported to other less-developed nations, promoting new forms of dependency. He cautions those involved in SFD work to avoid forming "overly romanticized, communitarian generalizations about the 'power' of sport for development" (p.1386). In other words, while sport can be an effective intervention tool in certain settings and under certain conditions, it is not the "cure all" that can solve every society's problems all of the time. SFD scholars are challenged to recognize this limitation and look for ways to package sport with other forms of interventions (e.g., arts, music, and education) to most effectively realize the power of sport for social change and development.

Lack of Theoretical Frameworks

Third, there is a lack of theoretical frameworks undergirding sport interventions, which subsequently constrains effective monitoring and evaluation. Ziegler (2007) notes that sport management scholars should strive to develop tenable theory that is encompassing of "sport and physical activity involvement for people of all ages, be they normal, accelerated or special in status" (p. 298). Furthermore, Coalter (2007) explains that SFD scholars should strive to advance theory to understand the conditions, structures, and processes that can promote social change through sport. Recently, several scholars have provided conceptual frameworks that may be useful in advancing SFD and sport for social change theory. In Social Leverage Theory, Chalip (2006) positions sport events as having the ability to build social capital and strengthen the social fabric through two interrelated themes of liminality and communitas. Liminality is the concept that something more important than sport is taking place at an event, and that there is a collective energy and vitality that makes social rules and distinctions less important and which transcends sport. This liminality enables discourse and brings together divergent groups that might not otherwise interact, thereby facilitating the formation of new networks that can have both cognitive and affective impacts. Sport thus creates a safe

space for sensitive issues to be explored, symbolized, and considered. The sense of community that is engendered through liminality is then labeled communitas.

To enable and facilitate the development of liminality and communitas, Chalip (2006) recommends that event organizers can foster social interaction and evoke a feeling of celebration by employing several structural and process elements. Organizers should enable sociability among event visitors, and create event-related social events, such as parades and concerts, to produce a celebratory atmosphere. Organizers should also facilitate informal social opportunities and incorporate ancillary events, such as arts and music activities, as a complement to the sport programming. Finally, organizers should theme widely, using symbols, colors, decorations, rituals, narratives, and stories to "make a visual statement that something special is happening" (Chalip, 2006, p. 117). Chalip then suggests that the celebratory nature of sport events creates the link between liminality and communitas, which facilitates the development of social capital and which can be leveraged to address social issues, build networks, and bring community action leading to social change.

As another example of a theoretically grounded framework, Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011) developed Sport-for-Development Theory (SFDT) to help understand the structures and processes of SFD initiatives that can facilitate impact, produce liminality and communitas, and develop social capital. Using grounded theory methodology, SFDT was developed out of the Doves Project in Cyprus, a SFD initiative aimed at addressing issues of social exclusion among Greek and Turkish Cypriots. SFDT proposes that blending sport with cultural enrichment (e.g., arts, dance, and music) and educational activities (e.g., life skills, goal setting, global issues awareness, and human rights) can provide a platform to help address various social issues and challenges. Much like Social Leverage Theory (Chalip, 2006), SFDT holds that the blend of sport with educational, festive, and cultural dimensions creates conditions of belonging, fosters a creative sense of community, and promotes peak experiences, all of which are essential for personal development and well being. Furthermore, others have emphasized the necessity for further evaluating the impact and effectiveness of these SFD initiatives. Schulenkorf (2012) introduced a sport-for-development framework (S4D) and aimed to "understand and guide the strategic investigation of sport and event projects and their contribution to direct social impacts and long-term social outcomes" (p. 10). Similarly, Coalter (2013) developed a program theory aimed to identify the relationships between sport-for-change programs and their effectiveness.

Fragmentation of SFD Organizations

Finally, a last challenge is the current fragmentation of organizations involved in SFD and sport for social change work. Many of these small organizations operate in a vacuum in disparate regions of the world, with little opportunity to interact and share best practices with other SFD organizations to create a mutual learning community. This fragmentation has hampered the growth of the field, as many well-intentioned organizations and programs are not able to connect with similar organizations to learn from each other. However, strides are being made to build these bridges and reduce the isolation of organizations within the field. Several international conferences are now offered each year that bring together SFD practitioners, policy makers, and researchers to share ideas and formulate action steps.

FUTURE GROWTH OPPORTUNITIES

Despite the challenges facing the SFD field, there remains a number of exciting future growth opportunities. Many governments around the globe are beginning to recognize the power of sport to effect social change and that sport can serve as another engine of development in the 21st century. While SFD is typically associated with sport programs and interventions taking place in low income countries or developing nations, there is a growing recognition and proliferation of programs using sport as a vehicle for social change in higher income nations and more developed countries. The U.K. and Australia, in particular, have embraced sport within policy circles as a necessary ingredient for a development mandate. Within the U.S., there are organizations such as SSUSA and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America beginning to launch sport interventions in the inner cities and rural America. Despite the White House's establishment of the Office

of Olympic, Paralympic and Youth Sport in 2009, an initiative meant to promote the values of the Olympic Movement and support youth participation in sports, the U.S. as a whole has been slow to embrace a SFD mandate. Thus, there is need and a future opportunity in the U.S. and abroad for many more organizations to initiate programs using sport to help address societal ills.

Another future growth opportunity is to develop academic/practitioner partnerships to advance the rigor of monitoring and evaluation of SFD programs and organizations. As mentioned previously in this chapter, a challenge for many SFD organizations is conducting effective monitoring and evaluation due to insufficient resources and capacity (Welty Peachey & Cohen, 2016). Thus, there is tremendous opportunity for academicians, both within sport disciplines and without, to partner with practitioners to construct and implement monitoring and evaluation strategies. Currently, these partnerships are being formulated in a number of countries and with several programs. For example, Sherry (2010) formed a partnership with the Australian Street Soccer team, and assessed the long-term impact of team member's participation in the Homeless World Cup. Many additional organizations, have reached out to academic researchers in an effort to begin ascertaining their impact on the communities they aim to serve. The increase in empirical studies on the topic of SFD in academic journals is reflective of the increased collaborations taking place. In the U.S., in addition to faculty at institutions of higher education becoming involved in monitoring and evaluation of SFD programs, a number of think tanks have become interested in SFD and sport for social change. For example, the Aspen Institute, a think tank in Washington, DC, dedicated to fostering open-minded dialogue on contemporary issues, has added a sports and society component to its organization, with a mission to "convene leaders, foster dialogue, and inspire solutions that help sport serve the public interest, with a focus on the health needs of children and communities" (Aspen Institute, 2019).

Another future growth opportunity for SFD is to cultivate student engagement within higher education institutions. SFD and sport for social change is an area that few college students know much about, and therefore, there is opportunity to educate students about SFD through classes and service learning opportunities. Experiential learning and service learning have become far more prominent in sport management programs. For example, the University of Connecticut has established its Husky Sport initiative with a mission to "collaborate with community and campus partners to support youth and college student development through shared teaching, learning, and practice committed to equity" (Husky Sport, n.d.). In existence since 2003, the Husky Sport initiative has yielded over 200,000 hours of engagement with students and practitioners in the Greater Hartford, Connecticut area (Husky Sport, n.d.). Based upon this example, there would be benefit to other higher education institutions designing courses in SFD and sport for social change where students can actively work in the local communities to translate classroom learning into practical application. Finally, in addition to the need for classes in SFD, another growth opportunity is for students to volunteer and seek employment with SFD organizations. These organizations offer a rich opportunity for students to apply management, coaching, human relations, finance, marketing, and other skills in an environment working for the greater social good, which can be a rewarding and inspiring career track.

CHAPTER SUMMARY
The purpose of this chapter was to acquaint students with the field of sport for social change and development, and to highlight examples across the globe as to how sport is being used to better society. We began by providing an overview of SFD, which was followed by a discussion of sport for social change and development's historical significance and important milestones in its development. We then highlighted a number of individuals, organizations, and initiatives around the world and within the U.S. that have used or are using sport in some capacity to address social problems. Finally, we concluded the chapter by examining some of the challenges facing the SFD field that may hinder its growth, as well as opportunities for future growth and development of the field, including ways that students can become actively involved. It is our hope that students have been challenged in this chapter to rethink their concept of sport and to consider how they may embrace and actively promote the power of sport to affect social change.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do you define sport for development?
2. Explain the origins of sport for development and sport for socialchange, and describe three key moments of historical significance.
3. Describe two sport-for-development initiatives working at a global level and two that are working within the U.S.
4. What are some of the key challenges to the field of sport for development?
5. Where are growth opportunities for the use of sport for development and social change? Could you think of any specific ways a sport for development initiative could positively impact your local community.

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CHAPTER 9

DEVIANT BEHAVIOR AND SPORT[1]

D. Scott Waltemyer

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES:
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Define and discuss different forms of deviant behavior.
2. Understand deviant-related issues in sport, such as cheating and violence.
3. Discuss the consequences of deviant behavior, and formulate possible ways of controlling it.

INTRODUCTION

"To play this game you have to have that fire within you, and nothing stokes that fire like hate." – Vince Lombardi, Hall of Fame NFL coach

"Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard for all the rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence; in other words, it is war minus the shooting." – George Orwell, author

"I went to a fight the other night and a hockey game broke out." – Rodney Dangerfield, Comedian

American society places a great deal of importance on values such as competition and success, as portrayed in the aforementioned quotes. In fact, some of the most famous quotes from Green Bay Packers legendary coach Vince Lombardi reference, in some way, success and winning. Sports that emphasize these values receive considerable attention from both the media and the public, and play an important role in defining what are acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in sport. People within society, and specific social groups (e.g., sports teams), are expected to conform to and obey rules and norms related to what is acceptable behavior. The actions of those involved in sport, whether good or bad, receive generous amounts of media coverage, and those behaviors reflect back, not only on the individual, but also on the group or organization with which the individual belongs. And as the pressure to win is put on athletes and coaches, the pressure to perform to elite standards dramatically influences their actions and behaviors. The use of performance-enhancing substances, unsportspersonlike penalties, fines, recruiting violations, and improper relationships are among the many news stories covered by the media. These are the images and messages with which society is presented on a daily basis, and because many people believe that sports build character, every case of deviance in sports leads them to be disappointed (Coakley, 2007). Athletes and coaches engage in outrageous behaviors, searching for ways to gain a competitive advantage; all the while the media and fans glorify these behaviors (Eitzen, 2009).

DEFINING DEVIANCE

People who do not conform to social norms, or unquestionably accept them (often to extreme levels), may be labeled as deviant. Deviant behavior refers to actions "departing from an accepted social norm" (Woods, 2011, p. 318). Coakley notes that, "Deviance involves a departure from cultural ideals: the greater the departure, the more disruptive the action, the greater the deviance. Deviance always involves violating a norm" (p. 155). In other words, deviant behavior occurs when individuals, knowingly or not, act in ways

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that go against, are different from, or involve extreme adherence to, generally accepted appropriate behavior within a group or society.

Underconformity and Overconformity to Social Norms

Although most actions fall into a normally accepted range of behaviors, deviance can occur in two different forms: overconformity and underconformity. Underconformity occurs when social norms are ignored or rejected (Coakley, 2007). Many researchers study deviant behavior from the perspective of actions and behaviors that do not conform to normal societal standards (Woods, 2011). Actions that break the law (e.g., assault, stealing, speeding) or break other societal norms and policies (e.g., cutting in line at the store, using employer resources for personal benefit) are considered deviant underconformity. Examples of deviant underconformity in sport include breaking official rules, an illegal hit on an opponent, and taking banned performance-enhancing substances. On the other end of the spectrum is deviant overconformity, or extreme, unquestioned acceptance of social norms (Coakley, 2007). Examples of deviant overconformity in sport include an athlete following a coach's orders even if they are against the rules, coaches and managers spending every waking hour watching film on their opponents, athletes playing through pain (and sometimes even injury), and athletes going through extreme measures to lose weight for competition. Although deviant underconformity often receives more attention and media exposure than deviant overconformity, Hughes and Coakley (1991) suggest that most athlete-related deviance is related to overconformity. They propose that deviant underconformity actions, such as cheating and taking illegal substances, is due to the underlying extreme dedication and striving for distinction and success, that is the mindset of many elite athletes.

Coaches and teammates often encourage elite athletes to overconform to norms and high standards of training and competition (Donnelly, 1996; Howe, 2004; Waldron & Krane, 2005). In a study of competitive bodybuilding and distance running, Ewald and Jiobu (1985) found that men showed many of the extreme characteristics of unquestioned overconformity. Other research has revealed that many elite athletes, including cyclists, gymnasts, and wrestlers, have also shown characteristics of overconformity, such as self-injurious overtraining, unhealthy eating habits, and training and playing sports with serious pain and injury (Coakley, 2007).

Athletes and coaches who underconform to sport norms are typically punished or reprimanded for their actions. However, when athletes and coaches overconform to sport norms, they are often praised and treated as heroes. Most elite and performance sports encourage extreme actions among athletes. The old saying, "no pain, no gain," is a wonderful example of this, in which coaches and trainers motivate athletes to go above and beyond normal limits in their training and competition. The excessive conforming by athletes and coaches, due to placing such a high priority on competition and winning, can put considerable pressure on other social relationships outside of sport (e.g., friends and family), which may result in the unintentional sacrifice of these relationships and other responsibilities.

Issues with Studying Deviant Behavior in Sport

One problem in the analysis of deviance is that so many different actions and behaviors can be defined as deviant, no single sociological theory can explain them all (Coakley, 2007). When sociologists study issues in sport, such as athletes using performance-enhancing substances, off-field violence involving athletes, or coaches violating recruiting rules, they can be examined by a number of different approaches and perspectives, with no clear right or wrong answer.

Another problem is that some actions and behaviors that are acceptable within the realm of sport would be considered deviant in other social realms, and some actions and behaviors that are acceptable outside of sport may be considered deviant within sport. What is normal in sport is often different than what is normal in other social realms. The same type of fights that occur on the ice during a hockey game would not be acceptable in a bar or restaurant. Athletes are often labeled as heroes and tough when they put their physical health on the line during competitions, or play through pain, but teachers who go to work sick are

instructed to go home. However, when athletes and coaches break rules or engage in other deviant behaviors because of an extreme acceptance of sporting norms, the line between underconformity and overconformity can be blurred. Because deviance in sports often involves an unquestioned acceptance of norms, this can lead to a rejection of the same norms.

EXPLANATIONS FOR DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

Hughes and Coakley (1991) found four norms that were especially important to elite athletes, which they call the "sport ethic." These include: (a) extreme sacrifice and dedication to the game, (b) striving for distinction, (c) risk taking and playing through pain, and (d) challenging personal limits in the pursuit of possibilities. With a mindset like this, many athletes are motivated to do whatever it takes to be successful in competition. As Freeman (1998) notes, "You have to be selfish, getting ready for a game that only a handful of people understand. It's tough on the people around you. It's the most unspoken, but powerful, part of the game, that deep seated desire to be better at all costs, even if it means alienating your family and friends" (p. 1).

Legendary NFL head coach Vince Lombardi once said, "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing." For many involved in sport, especially elite sports, the ultimate goal is to win, and as the value of winning increases, the temptation to put moral thoughts aside becomes very seductive (Woods, 2011). As the importance of winning increases among athletes and coaches, due to public praise, status and promotion, and great financial rewards, violence and other deviant behaviors will ultimately ensue in an effort to gain an advantage over the opponent. Lombardi is also credited with making the statement, "Second place is the first loser," and if this is true, and all of the praise and rewards go to the winner, then some in sports will do whatever it takes to be first. Athletes may take performance-enhancing drugs, coaches may illegally scout or recruit athletes, and administrators may alter transcripts so a student-athlete is eligible (Eitzen, 2009). Winning demands commitment and loyalty to goals, and an attitude of "by any means necessary."

This emphasis on competition and success can lead those involved to do whatever it takes to be successful. Lumpkin et al. (2003) suggest, "Often people defend violent and ethically questionable conduct on the premise that 'everyone else does it.' That is, an athlete may believe a violent behavior is justified if opponents are engaged in violent behaviors or cheating" (p. 70). A good example of this mindset can be found in a quote from former Major League Baseball (MLB) player Ken Caminiti, who once said, "It's no secret what's going on in baseball. At least half the guys are using steroids. They talk about it. They joke about it with each other… At first I felt like a cheater. But I looked around, and everybody was doing it" (Verducci, 2002). With such a heavy emphasis on winning in the sporting realm, many athletes (especially elite athletes) struggle with the choice of winning at all costs versus demonstrating good sportsmanship (Woods, 2011). Lance Armstrong went from being the 7-time Tour de France champion to being banned for life from competitive cycling for doping (Associated Press, 2018). Coaches of elite sports, at both the college and professional level, are rewarded handsomely for winning, and because of that, the temptation to break the rules is constantly present (Eitzen, 2009). When national television coverage, conference championships, all-star selections, and million-dollar contracts and endorsement deals are on the line athletes, coaches and administrators are often tempted to do whatever it takes to succeed. Recently, multiple former Adidas employees were convicted in a "pay-for-play" scheme related to the recruitment of many high-profile college basketball recruits, involving numerous big-time college basketball programs and coaches (Schlabach, 2019). And many administrators and managers simply ignore, or overlook, overconformity and rules violations because they benefit from these deviant behaviors.

Coaches place such an emphasis on winning, that many times they will push their athletes to the edge physically, take them out of classes to focus on their sport, and even encourage the use of performance-enhancing substances (Eitzen, 2009). Coaches will also use both verbal and physical abuse to motivate and push players. One example is former Rutgers University men's basketball coach, who was fired after video showing both verbal and physical abuse surfaced (Jones, 2013). Also, because of their authoritative position, coaches can intimidate players, just as many supervisors may be intimidating to their employees

(Lumpkin et al., 2003). Playing through pain or injury is often seen as heroic and a badge of honor within competitive athletics. Eitzen (2009) suggests five reasons why athletes may insist on playing with pain: (a) athletes are socialized to accept pain and injury as part of the game; (b) fear of losing a starting position, or even a spot on the team; (c) wanting to prolong their career as long as possible; (d) pressure from coaches and teammates to play; and (e) wanting to sacrifice themselves for the good of the team.

Administrators, coaches, parents, and elite athletes who engage in deviant behavior are poor role models for young athletes. Whether they choose to be or not, professional and other elite athletes are role models for young athletes, and when kids see behaviors such as trash talking and cheating by their favorite players, it is only natural for them to try and emulate them when they play sports.

TYPES OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR IN SPORT
Cheating and Rule Breaking as a Competitive Strategy
On-field deviant behavior can take many different forms, but primarily occurs when players and coaches break the rules of the game. Some examples of on-field deviance include corking a bat in baseball, a goalie using illegal pads in hockey, faking an injury, and holding in football. Players and fans view many of these occurrences as strategies rather than cheating (Eitzen, 2009). Rather than attempt to match opponents' skill and strategy, coaches and players spend time and effort on seeking ways to "bend the rules" in order to gain an advantage without being penalized (Lumpkin et al., 2003). Whether motivated by external rewards, or laziness, many athletes and coaches will look for ways around the rules to gain a competitive advantage. Shields and Bredemeier (1995) noted that many athletes and coaches interpret rules very loosely during competitions and create their own informal norms or rationalizations, which often bend or break official rules. As athletes reach more elite levels of sport, they have typically been playing for several years, honing their skills and learning the rules, and as they move up the competitive ladder, the action is faster, players are more skilled, and some rules become looser (Woods, 2011). There is evidence that on-field deviance occurs more often in power and performance sports, such as "good fouls" and "cheating when you can get away with it," because these athletes and coaches use cheating and on-field violence as a strategy during competition (Pilz, 1996; Shields et al., 1995). Although more common in the power and performance sports, cheating as a strategy also occurs in endurance sports. In 2019, three Chinese runners were accused of cheating before (falsifying qualifying times), and during (exchanging bib numbers) the Boston Marathon, and were subsequently banned from competing in China by the Chinese Athletic Association (Sweeney & Ellement, 2019).

In sport, there are written and "unwritten" rules. The written rules are the officially published rules for a sport, while the unwritten rules are informal norms that are generally known by athletes and coaches. For example, an unwritten rule in baseball is that if the opposing pitcher hits a team's star player with a pitch, the star player on the other team should expect to be hit on his next at-bat. In hockey, a skater should never intentionally spray ice into the face of the opposing goalie. Athletes will often adapt to what the officials are calling or allowing during the course of a competition, incorporating deviant behavior as a calculated strategy. This might include a player using her hockey stick to slow down an opponent, an offensive lineman in football subtly holding a rushing linebacker, or a basketball player using her hands or physical contact to disrupt an opponent.

One unwritten rule that seems to be broken on a regular basis is faking an injury as a strategy to gain an advantage. In soccer, players fall down holding their head or leg in agony, even if the opposing player did not touch them. Watch the World Cup or a Major League Soccer game, and you will see players "acting" in this way; one can observe similar instances in football, basketball, tennis, and the like. There are written rules against this type of behavior (e.g., delay of game, poor conduct), but if "acting" is not absolutely clear, the referees have no choice but to rule on the side of caution, because they do not know if the player is really injured or not. Most players would say that this form of cheating and rule breaking to gain an advantage goes against the integrity of the game, yet if in the same position, many seemingly choose the advantage.

As an illustrative example, in a 2010 game against the Tampa Bay Rays, New York Yankee star Derek Jeter was awarded first base by the umpire because the umpire thought the pitch had hit Jeter. Replay clearly showed that the ball actually hit the bat, it rolled into fair territory, and Jeter was thrown out. But because of Jeter's acting (waving his hand and holding it like it was hurt), which also involved the trainer for the Yankees to come out onto the field and evaluate Jeter, the umpire gave Jeter the free base. Jeter went on to score; however, the Yankees lost the game. After the game, Jeter made the following comment, "He (referring to the umpire) told me to go to first base. I'm not going to tell him, 'I'm not going to first base.' It's my job to get on base" (Smith, 2010). If players are rewarded, and rarely punished, for cheating behaviors in an attempt to gain an advantage, many will continue to do so.

Off-field Cheating

The use of performance-enhancing drugs is one of the most widely seen form of off-field cheating (although the purpose for this behavior is for on-field performance). We will discuss this later in the chapter. However, when it comes to other forms of off-field cheating, one of the most common places that we see this type of deviance is in the area of intercollegiate athletics. We often hear about colleges and universities getting in trouble with the NCAA for rules infractions or violations, with some of the most common violations being related to academics, amateurism, and recruiting. The University of Minnesota men's basketball program was put on probation by the NCAA for violations related to an academic advisor writing papers for at least 18 basketball players from 1994 to 1998 (Drape, 2000). Florida State University was also penalized by the NCAA for academic fraud (Dinich, 2009), and the University of North Carolina made headlines for sponsoring "fake classes" which benefited student-athletes (primarily men's basketball and football players) by helping them remain academically eligible (Bauer-Wolf, 2017). More recently, the University of Oregon (Caron, 2018) and the University of Missouri (Fornelli, 2019) were hit with NCAA penalties stemming from academic misconduct and impermissible staff participation in coaching and recruiting activities. When you take a deeper look, all of these actions were done to gain a competitive advantage, which would hopefully lead to on-field success.

On-Field Violence within Competition

Violence was practically nonexistent in early sport, when sport was played informally for fun and recreational purposes, but as sport has become more competitive and structured, deviant behavior by coaches and players rose dramatically. As sport became more competitive, and an emphasis was placed on winning, violence became a tool that could be used to intimidate opponents. Athletes use intimidation in an attempt to scare the opponent in an effort to gain an advantage, and it can be a strong motivator for engaging in deviant behavior. Violent behaviors are often learned, and imitated, by athletes based on what they view in the media (Lumpkin et al., 2003). They may not do this with the intent to cause a serious injury, but in an effort to gain a physical or psychological advantage over the opponent. Violence in sport is also often praised in the sport media as "entertainment" (Rowe, 2004), as a hit in football that knocks another player off his feet (often referred to as a "de-cleater") can be re-played over and over. As another example, the fight between NHL superstar Alex Ovechkin and rookie Andrei Svechnikov during the 2019 NHL Stanley Cup Play-offs was re-played for a week on many sport media networks. This behavior is something that does not happen within the norms of most other workplaces. Deviance has become part of the entertainment package that sports brings to fans, often giving consumers the opportunity to vicariously live out the deviant actions without any of the risks or consequences (Blackshaw & Crabbe, 2004).

In non-contact sports, players are rarely rewarded for violent actions; however, this does not mean that violence is not used as a strategy. A tennis player might slam her racquet or yell at an opponent in an attempt to intimidate them. A baseball pitcher might use a "brush back" pitch to scare a batter from standing too close to home plate. However, the use of violence was taken to an extreme level when figure skater Tonya Harding was implicated in an off-ice attack against rival Nancy Kerrigan, during the 1994 U.S. Figure Skating Championships. Kerrigan was unable to continue in that particular competition, but was given a spot on the Olympic team, and came home with a silver medal.

In many contact and collision sports (e.g., boxing, football, ice hockey, lacrosse), players have used violence as deviant overconformity for years. Many performance sports like these demand aggressive and violent actions, such as body checking, blocking, and tackling (Eitzen, 2009). Violence in many of the contact and collision sports is often highly visible, and even celebrated. The media replays hard hits in football and hockey, bench-clearing brawls in baseball, and other aggressive and violent plays over and over. Violent on-field behavior can also validate the self-worth of an athlete or reaffirm an athlete's identity. Hard and violent hits (whether within, or outside, the rules of play) can also be used as a form of intimidation against an opponent. However, the place of violence in sport becomes unclear when actions go beyond the rules of play, but are generally accepted by the players (Woods, 2011). Athletes like Baltimore Ravens' Ray Lewis are renowned for their aggressive on-field play. Hines Ward, wide receiver for the Pittsburgh Steelers, known for his physical play and hard-hitting blocks against defenders, was voted by his peers as the NFL's "Dirtiest Player" in 2009. Ward took this as a compliment, but responded to being called "dirty" by commenting, "When I go over the middle, those guys aren't going to tackle me softly and lay me down to the ground. That's not football. I find it ironic that now you see a receiver delivering blows, and it's an issue" (Deitsch, 2009).

Injuries and pain are part of sport. In fact, sprains, strains, broken bones, and concussions are a regular occurrence in heavy contact and collision sports. This constant physical abuse can have long-term consequences. Athletes participating in contact and collision sports not only risk their current health, but often the outcome of years of physical abuse to their bodies, resulting in lifelong injuries and disabilities. A 1990 survey of 870 retired NFL players found that nearly two-thirds had a permanent disability from playing football (Nack, 2001). In another study of nearly 200 NCAA student-athletes (both male and female from 18 varsity sports), over 75% of the student-athletes reported sustaining a significant injury from competition, and over 45% experienced long-term effects from those injuries (Nixon, 1993). Intensive training programs and violent physical contact in sports have detrimental effects for all athletes involved (Eitzen, 2009). In many cases, athletes playing football, hockey, and other heavy contact and collision sports risk their long-term health for short-term rewards.

Aggressive behaviors and violence in these sports is expected, and often encouraged. Defensive players in football are taught to make the opponent's offensive players "pay the price" for making a play. In 1997, a Kansas City Chiefs player said on live radio that head coach Marty Schottenheimer once offered to pay the fines any of his players incurred for injuring any Denver Broncos player (Schefter, 1997). Research has shown that athletes, particularly male athletes in high-performance contact sports, readily accept certain forms of aggression and violence, even if it results in rule-violating behaviors (Pilz, 1996; Shields & Bredemeier, 1995; White & Young, 1997). For example, in professional ice hockey, players known as "enforcers" are a regular part of the game. Almost every team has a player (or two) who act as the team "bodyguard," and if the star player on their team is physically harassed, the enforcer will go after the violating opponent. In fact, former NHL player Marty McSorley made his living as Wayne Gretzky's personal bodyguard, playing with Gretzky in Edmonton and then following him to Los Angeles when "The Great One" was traded in 1988.

Even the courts often side with sport when it comes to the acceptance of on-field deviant behavior. They frequently rule that athletes who compete in contact and collision sports are voluntarily and knowingly putting their own health at risk, and even deviant behaviors, such as an illegal hit in football or a fight in hockey, are considered an assumed risk. Only when an act is so criminal that it goes above and beyond the assumed risks of a sport have athletes and coaches been charged by outside law enforcement agencies. Two examples of this in the National Hockey League (NHL) are Marty McSorley's high-sticking slash across the head of Donald Brashear in 2000, and Todd Bertuzzi's blindsided sucker punch to the back of Steve Moore's head in 2004. While Donald Brashear was fortunate enough to come back and play after his incident, Steve Moore was not as lucky, as his professional hockey career ended that fateful day. However, over the past century of play for both professional football and ice hockey, one will only find a handful of

criminal charges for on-field deviant actions. Following these incidents, in 2005, the NHL adopted new rules regarding fair play and fight instigation. More recently, in a response to the number of head injuries and an increase awareness of concussions, the NHL has adopted even stricter rules and harsher penalties for blind-sided hits and intentional hits to the head of opponents.

Professional athletes in contact and collision sports knowingly subject themselves to risks of their sports; however, the consequences for participating in these sports are not limited to the athlete's career. The average length of an NFL career is around 3-4 years; yet, players may face physical and mental problems for the rest of their lives. Former players suffer from a number of issues including being permanently disabled, wheelchair bound, cognitive problems, depression, dementia, and anger (Woods, 2011).

Use of Performance-Enhancing Substances
In recent years, one of the most common deviant behaviors discussed in sport has been that of the use of performance-enhancing substances, which are defined as any substance taken to aid and/or help bring about a better performance or outcome, whether the substance is within the rules of play or not. Athletes taking substances to help improve performance is nothing new. As far back as the ancient Olympic Games, athletes have used substances in an attempt to improve their performance (Woods, 2011). What is new is the amount of media attention given to performance-enhancing substances, governing bodies becoming more aware of the use and implementing more aggressive testing procedures, and athletes and scientists developing more sophisticated substances and methods that cannot be detected or that can mask their use (Woods, 2011).

Athletes have taken everything from herbal remedies and vitamins to synthetic drugs. Athletes use and abuse substances for a number of reasons: playing with pain or an injury, a fear of being cut from the team, a need to improve personal performance, and a desire to help the team win, among others. Because of this "do whatever it takes" mindset of many athletes, the temptation to use performance-enhancing substances is even greater, even to the detriment of their own long-term health. Athletes use drugs such as alcohol, marijuana, painkillers and anti-inflammatories to help them mask or overcome injuries, and some use other drugs such as cocaine and amphetamines to give them energy or deal with the anxiety and stress of competition. The culture of performance sports encourages players to "play hurt" or play with injury because it is for the greater good of the team. Coaches and trainers only compound this problem when they allow players to "pop a few pills" in order to minimize pain and get back on the field (Eitzen, 2009).

Another issue related to performance-enhancing drugs is how different teams, leagues, and sports define what is legal and what is not. Many organizations would agree that synthetic steroids and amphetamines should be banned substances, but what about natural supplements and vitamins? What about caffeine and energy drinks? Further, over-the-counter and prescription medications are used on a daily basis by athletes, for reasons ranging from getting over a cold and congestion, to pain relief. Athletes who play with constant pain, and take pain killers to help them function, can be at-risk for becoming addicted to these drugs, as admitted by Pro-Bowl quarterback, Brett Favre in an interview with *Sports Illustrated*'s Peter King (King, 1996). Athletes have taken stimulants for years in an attempt to focus or have more energy. The use of amphetamines, or "greenies," was rampant in Major League Baseball during the 1970's and 1980's. Players played 162 regular season games over the course of six months, meaning players were constantly on the road and, in many cases, playing games six or seven days of the week. They were not getting proper rest and needed help getting ready for games, so they would take greenies to give them the energy and focus needed to play such a demanding schedule. Nowadays, athletes at all levels can buy and use caffeine and energy drinks, although some international governing bodies ban them as well. The use of stimulants is nothing new.

Although the use of steroids is often credited with beginning by being used by former Soviet and Eastern European athletes, North American athletes have been found guilty as well (Woods, 2011). One of the most famous cases was Canadian sprinter, Ben Johnson, who was stripped of his gold medal after testing

positive for anabolic steroids at the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul. American sprinters Marion Jones and Tim Montgomery were also thrown under a cloud of suspicion and eventually stripped of Olympic medals for their implication in the investigation into BALCO Laboratories in California. BALCO founder, Victor Conte, pleaded guilty to distributing illegal steroids and admitted to supplying performance-enhancing substances to other Olympic and professional athletes, including Barry Bonds (Woods, 2011). Although officially Barry Bonds holds the Major League Baseball single season homerun record (after hitting 73 in 2001), it is marred by controversy because of his relationship with BALCO and alleged use of "clear" and "cream" steroids. And more recently, Lance Armstrong, after years of denial, admitted to doping and using performance-enhancing substances during his cycling career, helping him to win the prestigious Tour de France a record seven times (Goldman, 2013; Macur, 2013).

Industry norms help explain why many athletes believe they need to take steroids. As Canadian weightlifter Jacques Demers noted, "To go to international competitions, you have to meet international standards and those based on what the Russians and Bulgarians do. They are the best weightlifters in the world, and they take steroids. So, if I go to the Olympics, I must take steroids." (Rozin, 1995). In fact, a 1995 poll of U.S. Olympians and aspiring Olympians (Bamberger & Yaeger, 1997) asked the following questions, and illustrated the extreme overconformity of many elite athletes:

> Scenario One: You are offered a banned performance-enhancing substance, with two guarantees: (1) You will not get caught; (2) You will win. Would you take the substance?
> - 195 said yes, 3 said no

> Scenario Two: You are offered a banned performance-enhancing substance with two guarantees: (1) You will not be caught, (2) You will win every competition you enter for the next five years, and then you will die from the side effects of the substance. Would you take the substance?
> - Still, more than half the athletes said yes

And the use of performance-enhancing substances is not just restricted to elite athletes. A 2001 survey commissioned by Blue Cross/Blue Shield Insurance Company found that approximately one million adolescent athletes between the ages of 12 and 17 were taking some form of dietary supplement or performance-enhancing drug to make them better athletes (Deam, 2001).

Testing for performance-enhancing substances remains a difficult challenge (Keating, 2005) from both a technological perspective and also a financial perspective. Because different organizations have different lists of banned substances and different policies, it can bring to light many of the issues related to the testing for drug and performance-enhancing substances. For example, MLB and the NFL have instituted strict drug testing policies, and test both during the season and in the off-season; however, the NBA and NHL only test during the season, which leaves the door open for players to use performance-enhancing substances in the off-season when they are training for the upcoming season (Woods, 2011). When it comes to performance-enhancing substances, such as doping, human growth hormone, and steroids, with increasingly better technology comes better performance-enhancing substances (both natural and artificial). This makes it more difficult for drug testing procedures to detect the presence of performance-enhancing substances in an athlete's body, creating what Coakley (2007) refers to as "a seemingly endless game of scientific hide and seek" (p. 180).

Off-Field Violence and Deviant Behavior
In addition to deviance that takes place during athletic competition, there are cases of off-field deviant behavior. This takes several forms, including off-field violence, hazing, and eating disorders.

Off-Field Violence
Many people believe that it can be difficult for athletes who engage in aggressive and violent behaviors within their sport to just "shut it off" when they leave the field. Former NFL player John Niland once

made the comment, "Any athlete who thinks he can be as violent as you can be playing football, and leave it all on the field, is kidding himself" (Falk, 1995, p. 12). Some argue that the use of certain performance-enhancing substances (such as anabolic steroids) can lead to an increase in aggression. In fact, researchers have shown that increased aggression and a heightened sexual drive are side effects of the use of certain performance-enhancing substances, specifically anabolic steroids (Levy, 1993). Others believe that athlete off-field violence is a problem, and suggest that athletes who choose to play contact sports may already be pre-disposed to violent behavior.

In recent years a number of high-profile athletes and coaches have gained public attention for off-field deviant actions. In 1992, boxing sensation Mike Tyson was found guilty of rape and sentenced to prison time. NFL player Adam "Pacman" Jones was implicated in a 2007 shooting in Las Vegas. Former St. Louis Cardinals manager Tony LaRussa was arrested for DUI in 2007. Pittsburgh Steelers quarterback Ben Roethlisberger was charged in 2010 with sexual assault of woman in a Georgia bar. Former Penn State football defensive coordinator Jerry Sandusky was charged for sexual molestation of young boys in 2011. Baltimore Ravens star running back Ray Rice was suspended by the NFL after a video surfaced of him assaulting his (at the time) fiancée (Rosenthal, 2014). He was subsequently released by the Ravens, and never played another down in the NFL.

Eitzen (2009) suggests three reasons why male athletes are more likely than non-athletes to engage in deviant behavior off the field of play: (a) elite male athletes, because of the natural selection process of sports to select those who are more aggressive, dominant, and take risks, are different from their non-athlete peers; (b) athletic teams foster a spirit of exclusivity and solidarity, which encourages exaggerated male bonding and overconformity to fit in with the group; and (c) the celebrity status of athletes results in differential and preferential treatment, resulting in a sense of entitlement. Others, including Woods (2011), also suggest that athletes who go out in public and hang out at bars become the targets for "tough guys," and athletes who must be violent on the field have a difficult time not responding with physical force when they feel their "manhood" is being challenged.

Research examining off-field violence (e.g., violent crimes including assault and rape) involving athletes and coaches compared to the general population is scarce; however, the evidence suggests that although highly publicized, athletes do not commit these crimes as often as the general population (Coakley, 2007). Benedict and Yaeger (1998) found in a sample of NFL players that approximately 21% had been arrested for something more serious than just a minor crime (e.g., traffic violation) at least once since beginning college. In a related study, Blumstein and Benedict (1999) found that about 23% of males living in cities of 250,000 or more people are arrested for a serious crime during their lifetime, suggesting to the authors that the rates of athlete off-field violence are comparable to the general male population. The study also found evidence that the annual arrest rate of NFL players was less than half that of males in the general population. In a Sports Illustrated/CBS special investigation of college football programs, Benedict and Keteyian (2011) found that, of the 2,837 student-athletes on NCAA Division-I (FBS) top 25 teams, 7% of players had a criminal record, and nearly 40% of the 277 criminal incidents uncovered involved serious offenses (e.g., assault, battery, domestic violence, sexual offenses). These incidents can also affect how fans feel about their schools and teams recruiting athletes with a criminal past. Turick, Darvin, and Bopp (2018) found that off-field deviant behavior (e.g. drug use, physical assault) committed by prospective student-athletes negatively impacted fan support for the recruitment of that athlete. Although the number of off-field criminal incidents involving college and professional athletes may be alarming, the research does show that the majority of athletes who compete in contact and collision sports are good citizens and do not continue their aggressive behavior off the field (Woods, 2011).

Though athletes and non-athletes appear to engage in similar levels of off-field violence, media attention related to the behaviors varies. The celebrity status of many athletes means that the media is more likely to report on their criminal activity. As illustrative examples, sexual assault charges against Kobe Bryant in 2004, and the Thanksgiving 2009 outing of Tiger Woods' infidelity garnered a great deal of national media

attention; however, these same issues occur on a daily basis in our society, they just are not made public or played out in the media.

Off-field violence is not just an athlete problem. Spectators and fans can become violent as well. Often, students will "rush the field" at the conclusion of their team winning a big game. This creates a very dangerous environment, in which people may be injured, or even killed, during these mob stampedes. This was the case at the end of the 2011 "Bedlam" football game between the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University. At the conclusion of the game, OSU fans rushed the field after their team beat OU for the first time since 2002, and during the chaos and attempt to tear down the goalposts, over a dozen people were injured, some critically. That same year, fans of the Vancouver Canucks rioted in the streets of Vancouver after their hometown hockey team lost game 7 of the Stanley Cup Finals. Philadelphia Eagle fans are notoriously known for throwing objects at opposing players, including beer, or a battery hidden in a snowball.

Hazing
The National Federation of State High School Associations (NFHS), which publishes rules for 17 different sports and oversees numerous scholastic extra-curricular activities, defines hazing as, "any action or activity which inflicts physical or mental harm or anxiety, or which demeans, degrades or disgraces a person, regardless of location, intent or consent of participants" (NFHS, 2006). Hazing is often a ritual, or rite of passage, for new members of a group in order to be accepted by the rest of the group. Activities can be dangerous, and even deadly.

Athletes, like many other tight-knit social groups (e.g., fraternities, work groups), form strong bonds because they know exactly what each other go through on a daily basis and what it takes to perform at a high level. Due to a want and need for acceptance, new members to sports teams will often overconform and do whatever it takes to be accepted by teammates. Many teams will have some type of initiation, which often involves hazing, in which rookies will overconform and obey the veterans, even to demeaning and painful levels (Alfred University, 1999b; Woods, 2011). As defined by the NFHS and NCAA, hazing activities can include, but are not limited to, excessive consumption of alcohol, excessive physical punishment, food and sleep deprivation, engaging in sexual acts, vandalism, and other violent behaviors (Woods, 2011). Even after performing embarrassing and demeaning acts, many rookies will not report being hazed because of the need for acceptance and approval from veterans.

After a hazing incident involving the Alfred University football team, the university conducted studies of both high school student-athletes and college student-athletes regarding hazing. The studies (Alfred 1999a, 1999b) found:

> Both male and female student-athletes (at both levels) are at risk for hazing, but male student-athletes are at the highest risk.
>
> For high school student-athletes:
> - Approximately 48% said they had been subjected to hazing activities, as defined by the survey; however, only 14% considered it hazing.
> - 30% said they were required to perform an illegal act as part of initiation.
> - 71% reported negative consequences as a result of the hazing,
>
> For college student-athletes:
> - Approximately 80% said they had been subjected to hazing activities.
> - Overall, 49% reported alcohol being involved in initiation activities.
> - The three sports most likely to be involved in hazing activities are lacrosse, soccer, and swimming/diving teams.

- Although men, in general, were subjected to more dangerous, unacceptable initiation activities, women, more often, reported the use of alcohol.

A few university athletic programs have made national news, including the cancellation of the 2000 Vermont men's hockey season and the suspension of the 2006 Northwestern women's soccer season, after hazing scandals were brought to the attention of the universities' athletic administrations. Consequences of hazing can be embarrassment, physical injury, and even death. The death of Alfred University student Chuck Stenzel in 1978, was part of the catalyst for the university's 1999 hazing study, and has stimulated national attention and research into hazing. As of 2011, 45 states have some form of ban on hazing, according to the website stophazing.com.

In another study of hazing in colleges, Allan and Madden (2008) found that 74% of varsity student-athletes, 64% of club sport athletes, and 49% of intramural athletes reported being hazed, typically as an "initiation" activity.

Dietary Dangers and Eating Disorders
Elite athletes are highly competitive and often put their bodies through extreme measures to maximize their chances of success. Coaches and parents can often encourage this. If losing weight or maintaining a more culturally accepted body figure will help athletes' performance, they are likely to do whatever it takes to achieve this end (Woods, 2011). Eating disorders developed by many athletes is the result of deviant overconformity. Athletes in sports that focus on weight limits or physical appearance, such as cheerleaders, gymnasts, figure skaters, and wrestlers, are generally at the greatest risk for developing an eating disorder. Three of the most common eating disorders among athletes are anorexia nervosa, bulimia nervosa, and compulsive or excessive exercise. Anorexia occurs when people starve themselves and greatly limit their food intake in an effort to achieve or maintain an ideal body image or weight. Bulimia is exhibited by binge eating followed by purging. Excessive or compulsive exercise is characterized by people exercising to the point of over-exercising, all in an effort to lose weight or maintain a certain body image (Woods, 2011).

A 1992 University of Washington study found that approximately one-third of female college athletes practiced some form of deviant weight control, and among female college gymnasts, the rate was almost two-thirds (Ryan, 1995). Although eating disorders are more prevalent among female athletes, male athletes do suffer from eating disorders as well (Sundgot-Borgen & Torstveit, 2004). Male wrestlers trying to make a specific weight class perform some of the most extreme weight control methods. University of Michigan wrestler Jeff Reese died after shedding seventeen pounds in two days, by limiting his fluid and caloric intake and wearing a rubber suit while riding a stationary bike in a "sweat room" which had been heated to ninety-two degrees (Fleming, 1998). Although these extreme measures to lose weight by wrestlers has long been the "norm" within the sport, after the death of multiple college wrestlers, the NCAA quickly implemented rule changes related to weight loss methods and the weight-in process before a meet (Eitzen, 2009).

On the flip side, for some athletes, overeating in an attempt to gain weight can be just as much of an issue. This issue is very common in football, especially with offensive and defensive linemen. As the average weight of an American goes up, so too does the weight of athletes. In fact, there were only three players over 300 pounds playing in the NFL in 1980. Jump forward thirty years, and there were 532 players over 300 pounds at NFL training camps in 2010 (Longman, 2011). Coaches encourage lineman to gain weight because being bigger in the trenches can often give a team a distinct advantage. Though this may be an advantage on the field, if weight is not controlled after retirement, it can pose numerous health threats to these athletes. Although research is equivocal, some studies have found that retired NFL players are at a greater risk for high blood pressure, heart disease, diabetes, and stroke, and have a higher mortality rate than the general population (Longman, 2011). Jerry Kramer, a former All-Pro lineman for the Green Bay Packers, once said, "Fat doesn't make you strong and quick. It makes you heavy. We've gotten enamored with the 300-pounder, but give me an offensive guard who's in great shape at 270 or 275 and understands leverage and positioning, and I'll bet he'll whip the fat guy every time" (Longman, 2011, p. 1D). In fact, the

weight issue has even spread to high schools, where some studies suggest that over half of high school linemen are overweight (Longman, 2011). If more coaches had the same mindset as Jerry Kramer, the overeating problem among football players may be curbed.

Eating disorders are dangerous, and can even be deadly, especially among athletes, who need ample fluids and nutrients. Coaches and parents need to understand these dangers, and aid athletes in proper eating and weight control methods, whether an attempt to gain or lose weight.

CURBING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

As long as athletes and coaches emphasize performance and winning and accept the use of performance-enhancing substances as a means to an end, these values will promote risk taking and self-sacrifice in the pursuit of individual and team goals (Coakley, 2007). Owners, administrators, coaches, sponsors, and other stakeholders often benefit from athlete overconformity, so why would they want things to change? Even in other societal realms, such as business and medicine, those individuals who put in the time and hard work are often praised and rewarded, so why should sport be any different? Because of this, controlling deviant behavior, especially overconformity, can be very difficult, and although deviant underconformity seems to be much easier to identify and punish, it still poses problems to controlling it.

Although rule breaking continues to persist in sports, many believe that improved officiating, clearer rules, and video replay will help curb cheating as a strategy (Dunning, 1999). Rulebooks for some sport organizations are hundreds, or even thousands, of pages long. Organizations like the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), and the NCAA continue to add new policies and rules every year to address deviant behavior. As new rules are added each year, the penalties for deviant behavior are becoming more severe. At the high school and college levels, player suspensions are more common (and longer in length); and at the professional level players may face fines of thousands of dollars and possible suspensions. Coaches have been fined, suspended, and even fired for deviant behavior and violating rules. Schools and athletic programs can lose out on huge financial rewards if caught violating the rules (Woods, 2011). Punishment for deviant professional athletes has been the subject of much media attention. Fining a NFL player (who makes millions) $10,000 for an illegal hit will not necessarily discourage the deviant behavior. However, handing down suspensions, and therefore prohibiting their ability to participate in the sport they love, might have a more immediate impact on future behaviors.

The leadership and behavior of the coach is paramount for change to occur when it comes to deviant behavior in sport (Bredemeier & Shields, 2006). Those in authority and leadership positions (e.g., administrators, coaches, parents) need to place limits on athletes, especially children and adolescents. Questions need to be raised about the goals and purpose of sport and its meaning in our society. Coaches should place less emphasis on winning and more emphasis on enjoyment and skill development (especially with younger athletes). Resolving drug issues lies with parents, coaches, managers, and other leaders in sport. A new attitude and creative solutions must emerge for any real changes to occur (Woods, 2011). Administrators and coaches also need to educate athletes and parents about the different forms of deviant behavior, the consequences of such behavior, and develop policies to help control and restrict deviant behavior. Coakley (2007) suggests a few strategies for controlling deviant behavior in sport:

- Critically examine the deep hypocrisy involved in elite power and performance sport.
- Establish rules indicating clearly that certain risks are undesirable and unnecessary in sports.
- Establish rules stating that injured athletes are not allowed to play until certified as "well" by independent doctors.
- Create clear and harsh punishment for managers, coaches, and athletes who engage in deviant behavior.
- Establish educational programs for athletes, coaches, administrators, and parents on deviant behavior and its consequences.
- By adopting these steps, sport managers can help to curb deviance in their sport contexts.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The nature of competitive sport requires commitment and dedication in order to be successful. Athletes and coaches throughout history have looked for ways to gain an advantage over an opponent, and sometimes this dedication results in deviant behavior. Deviant behavior is condoned, taught, and even rewarded because of the value placed on winning in competitive sport. The expected norm in sport is to push the rules and officials as far as possible, and live on the edge of risk and reward, in order to win. Although the majority of sport-related actions fall within normal ranges of acceptable behavior, when athletes and coaches do engage in deviant behavior, it can take the form of overconformity, or underconformity, to sport and social norms. Whether it is in-game cheating as a strategy or the taking of performance-enhancing substances during training, deviant behaviors in sport will continue unless those who control sport re-examine their motives and reflect on the purpose and meaning of sport in society.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What would you define as "deviant behavior"? Do you think that the range of acceptable behavior changes over time? Why or why not?
2. Do you believe that certain types of deviant behavior are worse than others? If yes, give some examples and explain why. If no, why not?
3. Coaches are teachers, and are often looked up to as parental figures. What lessons are coaches teaching if they ask their players to cheat?
4. Should intimidation be taught, and used, as a strategy to win? How far is too far?
5. What suggestions do you have for sport organizations and governing bodies when it comes to controlling deviant behavior, such as cheating and rule breaking, using violence as a strategy, taking performance-enhancing substances, or engaging in extreme dietary measures?

RECOMMENDED READINGS

Margolis, J. A. (1999). *Violence in sports: Victory at what price?* Berkeley Heights, NJ: Enslow Publishers. (This book examines how violence in many of today's sports is seen as just part of the game, even if those actions would get you arrested if performed outside of sport. It discusses the influence that parents, coaches and the media have on athletes, reasons for violence within our sporting culture today, and how we as a society need to re-examine our attitudes and values.

McCloskey, J., & Bailes, J. E. (2005). *When winning costs too much: Steroids, supplements, and scandal in today's sports.* Boulder, CO: Taylor Trade Publishing. (This book examines the issue, and place, of performance-enhancing drugs in today's sports. It takes a look at why many coaches encourage the use of performance-enhancing substances, why many athletes are prone to use them, and how much of this motivation is created by our culture placing such a high value on winning. The authors also present possible solutions to the issue of performance-enhancing drug use in sports.)

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CHAPTER 10

THE ROLE OF SPORT IN CREATING COMMUNITY[1]

Stacy Warner

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter students should be able to:
1. Summarize the role that sport can play in creating community.
2. Define a sense of community and the benefits of individuals experiencing a sense of community.
3. Identify the factors that have been found to foster a sense of community within sport.
4. Demonstrate an understanding of the differences between a psychological and sociological perspective.
5. Define social capital, and demonstrate an understanding of how sport can aid in increasing one's social capital.
6. Identify the three primary sporting schemes that can be used to build community.

INTRODUCTION
Sport is commonly considered a realm that draws people together, a "social glue," and a key contributor to the creation of community (e.g., Spaaij, 2009; Warner & Dixon, 2011, 2013). This "community" that sport can foster and enhance is often defined in two important ways (Gusfield, 1975; Heller, 1989): that based on geographical location and boundaries, and that based on the common source of interest or activity for a collective entity. In geographically bound communities, local recreation departments or even professional teams will use sport in an effort to bring together individuals in a defined city, town, or neighborhood. Sport, in this instance, creates a point of identification or a social anchor for members who reside in a specific area. This is especially the case if sport programming or sporting events include competitions against other nearby towns, cities, or rivals. Typically, through a strong identification *and* active membership within a defined neighborhood or city represented by a sports team, individuals can experience a greater identification with their community and an enhanced sense of community.

The second way community is typically defined, is as communities of interest. This results when members all have a common interest in being active participants, athletes, or fans of a sport. A local running group or church softball league would be examples of communities of interest. Another example of a community of interest would be group of New York Yankees fans that gather at a local sports bar to watch their beloved Yankees play. These communities are often referred to as communities of interest because the groups of individuals that comprise them share a common devotion to an activity and feel a strong sense of community. Further, it is important to note that contemporary society typically develops community in this type of manner, where interests and skills, as opposed to locality, are more central to the community (Durkheim, 1933).

Regardless of the type of community that sport fosters (i.e., geographically bound or communities of interest), a common thread through both definitions of "community" is that individuals who are members of a healthy community will experience a strong sense of community (Bess, Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002). That is, individuals who are a part of a healthy geographically bound neighborhood setting or a community centered on her or his sport interests will both experience a strong sense of community. Sense of community is defined most simplistically as an environmental or community characteristic that leads to members

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feeling a sense of belonging and attachment (Sarason, 1974). It is important to understand, though, that sense of community goes beyond just identification with a community. In other words, an individual can identify with a place or group, but a sense of community not be experienced. For instance, an individual can identify her- or himself as a resident of Greenville, NC, but that does not imply that the individual feels a strong sense of community. Or students may identify themselves as student members of their university, but not feel a sense of belonging or attachment; hence, their sense of community with the university is non-existent. In an effort to better understand the role of sport in fostering community, a deeper understanding of the term sense of community and its evolution is necessary. This section will be then followed by sections addressing the benefits of experiencing community, current trends in US society, and a look at how sport intersects with this information.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Seymour Sarason (1974) has been credited with first defining and coining the term "sense of community." In his book, *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology,* Sarason called for the development of a new discipline of community psychology with this concept at its core. Interestingly, Sarason's early work was primarily within the mental health community. It was within this setting that he became dedicated to dispelling the myth that separate residential communities and/or special classes for individuals with disabilities were a productive way to provide assistance. Rather, Sarason asserted that such environments only led to isolation and feelings of not being accepted by others, and thus denied humans of the basic need for belonging and a sense of community.

Although his work was primarily geared at advancing the way individuals thought about addressing mental health issues, Sarason soon realized a broad-based study of community psychology and this idea of a "sense of community" were important to all individuals across communities and contexts. In fact, the discipline of community psychology continues to operate with this concept at its core and under the premise that a healthy community is one in which a strong sense of community is present for individuals and the collective community (Bess et al., 2002).

At the most fundamental level, sense of community is grounded in Maslow's Theory of Motivation (1943). According to Maslow, after the primary physiological and safety needs are met, individuals have an innate desire and motivation for interpersonal interaction and to feel a sense of belonging. This center or third level of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is referred to as Love/Belonging. From an evolutionary standpoint this makes sense, as individuals who were in both intimate and social relationships were not only more likely to reproduce, but they obviously also had a greater chance of survival (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Thus, at the most basic level, Maslow's Theory of Motivation provides the foundation that supports the importance and vitality of belongingness and a sense of community to all individuals.

Considering this, it is not surprising that Sarason described the concept of sense of community as being analogous to hunger. That is, it is a fundamental need, and individuals know when they experience it and when they do not. Although an exact definition of sense of community is still heavily debated in the literature, Sarason (1974) defined sense of community as an environmental characteristic that leads individuals to perceive that support is available at the group level. That is, individuals feel a part of and support from a stable social structure.

McMillan and Chavis' Sense of Community Theory

McMillan and Chavis (1986) later advanced Sarason's work on sense of community. They suggested that sense of community was based on four components: *Membership*, *Influence*, *Integration and Fulfillment of Needs*, and *Shared Emotional Connections*. This Sense of Community Theory continues to be widely recognized, acknowledged, and accepted in the community psychology literature (Chipuer & Pretty, 1999).

Membership was defined as having to do with boundaries (e.g., dress, ritual, language, common symbol systems) that created a distinction between those who belong and those who do not belong. Sense of

belonging and emotional safety of individuals were also included as important indicators of *Membership*. Effectively, this component results in the formation of in-groups and out-groups (see Cunningham, 2007; Cunningham & Sagas, 2005). An example of this would be athletes and non-athlete groups. Athletes are more likely to feel a sense of *Membership* with other athletes based on the fact that they typically dress similar and use language and jargon associated with their sport. McMillan and Chavis acknowledged that this component was the most troublesome to researchers because a majority of the existing literature had focused on the deviant behaviors that often result from group formation, membership, and boundaries. However, McMillan and Chavis were quick to point out that this literature overlooked and almost dismissed the importance that membership and boundaries have in creating an environment where intimate social bonds and emotional safety can be found and fostered.

Influence was comprised of actions that led members to being empowered by the group and also feeling empowered to influence the group and its direction. Thus, *Influence* was bi-directional. This particular component was primarily supported by group cohesion research, which has concluded that a positive and significant relationship exists between cohesiveness and a community's influence over a member to conform (see Lott & Lott, 1965). This body of literature also supports the fact that individuals are drawn to communities where they are most likely to be influential. To use the athlete example again, an athlete who feels that they have the ability to inspire or impact their teammates would demonstrate the element of *Influence*.

Integration and Fulfillment of Needs was based on the idea that resources and support were available at the group level for individuals. Simply, McMillan and Chavis (1986) summed this up as "reinforcement" and concluded that individuals are drawn to others who can provide them with some benefit. For example, an athlete that feels as though their identity and self-esteem are reinforced through the sporting environment would be exhibiting *Integration and Fulfillment of Needs*. The authors also positioned this component as being supported by Rappaport's (1977) Person-Environment Fit research, which demonstrates this gravitation of individuals towards environments that are rewarding to them in some way.

Shared Emotional Connections was grounded in the idea that it is important for individuals to share a common history and a common set of experiences. This particular component was supported by the Contact Hypothesis (see Allan & Allan, 1971; Allport, 1954), which argues that individuals who have more contact with one another are more likely to form social bonds. An example of *Shared Emotional Connections* would be athletes experiencing a history of victories or losses together, overcoming a scandal or even an emotional loss of a loved one.

In sum, McMillan and Chavis' Sense of Community Theory has provided the foundational work for understanding how and when a sense of community developed.

Sociological View on Sense of Community
While the concept of a sense of community has its roots in community psychology, which is primarily concerned with the human mind and individual outcomes, researchers have gradually shifted to also viewing the concept from a sociological perspective. Sociologists are typically focused on social structures, social interaction, and institutional factors. In other words, sociologists are concerned with matters of society not matters of individual members. For example, Emile Durkheim, one of the most respected and prolific researchers in sociology, put forth the idea of anomie in two of his classic books, *Suicide* (1951) and *The Division of Labor in Society* (1933). Durkheim used the term anomie to describe the environmental state in which a breakdown of societal structures and regulations for individuals resulted in feelings of alienation and isolation. Durkheim concluded that anomie and anomic conditions were major contributors to the increases in longitudinal suicide trends that he observed across different societies. This empirical study of a social phenomenon demonstrated how a pure psychological approach to evaluating suicide, an issue many would consider only as an individual problem, would have missed and diminished the crucial role that social structures played in explaining the trends.

Anomie and this sociological perspective are also important to consider because, by definition, anomie is posited as being the direct opposite or antithesis of a sense of community. That is, if a person is experiencing anomie, she or he is not experiencing a sense of community and vice versa. While anomie has sociological roots and has focused on social structures and institutions, sense of community research has typically focused more on just the individual and only the individual's outcomes. This difference is most likely due to sense of community being a derivative of the psychological discipline, which typically focuses on the individual rather than social structures and institutions. Viewing sense of community through a sociological lens (similar to the sociological treatment of anomie) is essential. Understanding sense of community from a sociological perspective helps place the focus on the social structures and institutional factors that contribute to individual and group outcomes. Furthermore, this perspective highlights the important part that sport can play in fostering sense of community. When considering the benefits of experiencing a sense of community and the role sport can play in fostering it for the community as a whole, the value of sport in society becomes more evident.

Benefits of Experiencing a Sense of Community
Sense of community and the social structures that foster it are important to understand because of their potential impact on groups of individuals and communities. Research on sense of community has demonstrated it to be a vital factor in enhancing numerous quality-of-life aspects for individuals and communities. For example, greater levels of sense of community are associated with improved well-being (Davidson & Cotter, 1991). Among adolescents, individuals with higher levels of sense of community have significantly less drug use and delinquency behaviors (Battistich & Hom, 1997); this obviously has ramifications for individuals, but also benefits the community as a whole. On the other hand, a lack of community (i.e., high anomie) is associated with a host of negative outcomes, including deviant behavior (Agnew, 1997; Carter & Carter, 2007; Hagan & McCarthy, 1997; Hirschi, 1969) and physical and mental health decrements (Berkman, Glass, Brissette, & Seeman, 2000; Deflem, 1989). Thus, the importance and ability of fostering community to address a variety of life quality concerns and issues has been well established in literature.

Within the sport literature, numerous scholars have placed significant attention on issues related to better understanding how to retain athletes (e.g., Green, 2005; Lim, et al., 2011) and how to reduce athlete burnout (e.g., Smith, Lemyre, & Raedeke, 2007). Consequently, sport research also has shown that sense of community is related to improved retention (e.g., Berg & Warner, 2019; Kellett & Warner, 2011) and improved health (Warner, 2019; Warner, Sparvero, Shapiro, & Anderson, 2017). These studies provide evidence that increasing sense of community could aid in addressing important sport management issues. Furthermore, considering the current negative trends in relation to individuals and the lack of community in American society, sport may be able to play an important role in reversing those trends.

CURRENT US TRENDS: INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITY
As previously mentioned, Durkheim (1933) noted contemporary society tends to form communities based on interests and skills rather than around a geographical location or neighborhood setting. Subsequently, scholars have agreed that this type of community (i.e., community of interest) is rapidly declining in American society. Robert Putnam (2000) explicitly highlighted this fact in the popular book, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. The use of "bowling" in the title helps further capture the role that many believe sports *should* play in the creation of community. Putnam's main thesis of the book, and the title specifically, was that despite the fact that more individuals are bowling than ever before, fewer individuals are participating in bowling leagues and reaping the social benefits of being in community. He went on to further highlight how this decline in community and consequently, declining social connections and social capital, negatively impacted civic participation and social trust.

Social capital refers to the economic benefits that result from the interpersonal relationships with others in and between social networks (Mitchell, 1974). In other words, the more individuals are connected to others, the greater the chances are for them to gain access to important advice, jobs, resources, and even political clout (Kilduff & Tsai, 2007). All of these resources or social capital attributable to one's social and

professional relationships can have economic and financial benefits. Through these cooperative personal relationships, an individual who possesses social capital will have a dense social network (Warner, Bowers, & Dixon, 2012). A dense social network is one that consists of a variety of diverse social ties and connections. That is, individuals with social capital will have many non-redundant social ties (Kilduff, & Tsai, 2007) and are connected to individuals in many different social circles.

Along with this general decline of social capital and community it is not surprising that research has also demonstrated that social isolation is increasing. McPherson and colleagues' (2006) research further supports the declining trend in individuals experiencing a sense of community. This research compared data from 1985 to 2004, and verified a few noteworthy and alarming trends. McPherson and colleagues' findings indicated that the number of individuals who reported that they do not have anyone to discuss important matters with had tripled over that 20-year span. Overall, the results also signaled that individuals were making fewer social contacts through volunteer associations and neighborhoods; consequently, this helped explain why they also found that individuals had few discussion partners and confidants.

These trends are indicative of the fact that individuals are likely not experiencing a healthy community, or in other words, a community in which they feel a strong sense of community towards both the individual and collective levels (Bess et al., 2002). These trends are detrimental because they reveal that important socio-emotional needs of individuals are not being met for many individuals in the U.S. Furthermore, these trends provide direction for those wanting to use sport to improve life quality. Despite the variety of technological advances in the ability to communicate and connect with one another, current trends indicate that individuals are not reaping the benefits of community and are feeling more and more isolated. Recent work, nonetheless, has pointed towards sport becoming part of the solution to reversing these alarming trends.

CONTEMPORARY WORK IN UNDERSTANDING SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Early research on sense of community was primarily focused on neighborhood settings and continued to utilize and support McMillan and Chavis' Sense of Community Theory (1986). More recently, though, sense of community research has slowly evolved to where researchers have progressively geared their focus away from geographical neighborhood settings. These scholars are now more focused on communities of interest—the more prominent way in which community develops in contemporary society. For example, and perhaps of particular interest to sport, a study on sense of community within the workplace suggested that competition has an impact on a sense of community (Pretty & McCarthy, 1991). And more specifically, gender differences may exist among how men and women perceive competition in influencing sense of community in workplace. Pretty and McCarthy (1991) suggested that competition might promote a sense of community for males while it detracts from a sense of community for females in workplace. Consequently, such research outside of neighborhood settings could have many practical applications in various contexts including but not limited to sport contexts.

Despite the fact that numerous sport organizations explicitly state that fostering a sense of community is one of their main goals, a growing body of research exists on how and when this is accomplished through sport. Clopton (2007, 2008, 2009) along with Warner and Dixon (2011, 2013) have recently attempted to fill this noted gap in our understanding. Their research, focused on the university sport experience, demonstrates the academic and quality of life benefits of experiencing a sense of community via sport. For example, improved student retention, overall improved well-being (including evaluated mood), greater attachment to the university, increased social networking opportunities, and increased involvement with other on-campus activities were just a few of benefits of a sense of community that were identified (Warner, 2016).

BUILDING COMMUNITY VIA SPORT

The following section outlines the ways in which sport can be used as tool to build community, with a particular focus on participatory sport (i.e., actual participation in the sport), community-based sporting

events, and fanship and spectatorship. In doing so it is vital to emphasize that sport needs to be designed and managed so that the community experienced for individuals is maximized. In other words, the mere presence of sport does not instantaneously create a community.

Participatory Sport

Warner and Dixon's (2011, 2013) qualitative studies identified seven important factors that were fundamental to fostering a sense of community among athletes: *Administrative Consideration*, *Common Interest*, *Competition*, *Equity in Administrative Decisions*, *Leadership*, *Social Spaces*, and *Voluntary Action*. The authors theorized that these factors work in concert with one another to either facilitate the development of community with a sport setting.

Administrative Consideration involves sport personnel and staff demonstrating that they care about the athletes as people, as opposed to just recognizing them as athletes. When sport personnel and staff are intentional and sincere in offering this type of care and concern for athletes a stronger sense of community is built. Along with this it is necessary to have a Common Interest. Warner and Dixon identified this as "The group dynamics, social networking, and friendships that resulted from individuals being brought together by the common interest of the sport (and combined with a common goal, shared values or other unifying factors.)"

Warner and Dixon also found Competition to be an important factor in sport settings. This factor entails the challenge to excel against internal (e.g., competing against teammates) and external rivalries (e.g., competing against other teams). It should be noted that Warner and Dixon determined that this particular component was moderated by gender. In general, men found that internal and external competition fostered community; however, women tended to report that only external competition fostered community for them. Furthermore, women in their studies indicated that internal competition (i.e., competing against teammates) was harmful to the community.

It is also important that community members perceive Equity in Administrative Decisions. This is vital because it demonstrates to all individuals and community members that everyone will be treated fairly. Intuitively this makes sense because individuals are more likely to thrive in an environment where they perceive fairness.

Leadership Opportunities empower community members to guide and direct activities and others. When Leadership Opportunities are available individuals are more likely to buy-in to the community. If community members do not feel like they have a voice or leadership opportunities they are more likely to leave the community (Hirschman, 1970).

When trying to build community through sport, it is also important to consider the role of Social Spaces, or a common physical space for where individuals can interact. Swyers' (2005, 2010) ethnographic research on Chicago Cubs fans captured the importance of having a physical space that allows community to develop. Swyers immersed herself in the culture of being a fan at Wrigley Field and utilized participant observation and informal interviews to guide her work. Her ethnographic research demonstrated that having a certain assigned section of bleachers at Wrigley Field was imperative to the fostering of community. For athletes, this often means a Social Space away from the playing field such as locker rooms or even a designated pub or bar is essential to building community (Kellett & Warner, 2011; Warner & Dixon, 2011).

Voluntary Action involves the participation in a community when little external pressure existed. That is, when members join a community on their own free will and without tangible external incentive or peer pressure a greater sense of community in fostered. For example, if an athlete is pressured by his or her peers or parent to participant in a sport it is likely that they will not experience a strong sense of community because Voluntary Action is absent.

This line of research suggests that all the noted factors should be carefully evaluated when considering the role of sport in building community. This work also reiterates the fact that community does not always occur when sport in present. Rather the noted factors must work in concert with one another to build community within sport. In summary, in order for the community experienced to be maximized for sport participants, Warner and Dixon argued that Administrative Consideration, Common Interest, Competition, Equity in Administrative Decisions, Leadership, Social Spaces, and Voluntary Action need to be carefully balanced and implemented (Warner & Dixon, 2011, 2013; Warner, 2016).

Community-Based Sporting Events
Another way that sport and community are often intertwined is through community-based sporting events. Communities will host different participatory sporting events such as bike races, triathlons, 5K runs, and marathons or even the more spectator-based hallmark and mega-events such as the Tour de France or the Superbowl. Community members will often serve as volunteers that assist in administering the event or as active sport participants. Again, the events are typically positioned as a means of fostering a sense of community and/or community development. As a case in point, Chalip (2006a) identified "community development" as one of the five major legitimations or justifications of sport. (Health, salubrious socialization, economic development, and national pride were the other major legitimations Chalip identified.) Numerous other scholars have claimed sporting events are a means of creating social capital, civic pride, and social cohesion (e.g., Chalip, 2006b; Misener & Mason, 2006; Wood, 2006; Ziakas & Costa, 2010). Event planners and organizers will often use this point in their discourse to gain community and leader support of these events. Oftentimes the economic value and impact of a sporting event on a community is overstated (e.g., Jones, 2001; Porter & Fletcher, 2008); consequently, those promoting events are beginning to focus more on the typically immeasurable or difficult to measure and assess social benefits, such as community building.

The celebratory and festival-like atmosphere surrounding community-based sporting events often creates an energy and pride that is nearly impossible to measure, but is nonetheless important to note. This energy and pride community members develop as a result of a sporting event is often referred to as *psychic income*. For example, after hosting a marathon in their city, community members may feel a strong sense of pride that their city was showcased to runners who travel to the event. This psychic income is not tangible, but many have argued an important benefit and outcome of a community-based sporting event (see Crompton, 2004). Thus, community-based sporting events are another way sport can be utilized to foster community.

Fanship and Spectatorship
Professional and college sports team can also play an integral role in nurturing community through fanship and spectatorship. Community can be fostered through watching, cheering on, and attending events related to that sport team. This occurs simply through the fact that a specific city or region is being represented or a passionate community of interest based around supporting that team has developed. Through affiliating with a specific team, individuals begin to identity with others who share that common interest. The team becomes a central point of identification and gives community members a common cause. For example, colleges and universities have been utilizing football and Fall Saturdays in this manner. "By affiliating with that [university] team, by caring for its scores, we declare allegiance to an interest greater than oneself – the community" (Chu, 1989, p. 160). Numerous university leaders believe that football creates a point of attachment for not only students, but also for other stakeholders such as alumni and local community members.

Clopton (2008) found that a relationship did exist between college football fan identification and sense of community. However, the direction of this relationship has yet to be determined (see Warner et al., 2011). That is, does a strong sense of community lead to greater fan identification or does greater fan identification lead to a stronger strong sense of community? It is clear, either way, that football games provide an opportunity for individuals to feel membership and celebratory ritual; undoubtedly, social spaces are formed through tailgating and even designated sections of seating in the stadium (Clopton, 2007, 2009; Toma, 2003; Warner et al., 2011). Furthermore, Kelly and Dixon (2011) recently observed that creating a sense of

community was overwhelmingly the primary strategic reasoning for the university's decision to financially invest and sponsor football.

While Swyers' (2005, 2010) work highlighted the role a professional baseball team played in fostered community among fans, Smith and Ingham (2003) found that a professional sport team divided a community. In this case, the use of public subsides for a professional sports team served as a divisive issue and the professional sports team was not advantageous for fostering community. Taxpayers strongly felt that a professional sports team and facility would not be beneficial to their community. Clearly, professional sport *can* play an important positive role in a community, but this does not occur by happenstance or serendipitously (Warner & Dixon, 2011, in press; Warner et al., 2011). How sport is managed and leveraged is fundamental in determining the outcomes of sport for a community (Chalip, 2006; Sparvero & Chalip, 2007). Both professional teams and sporting events can be leveraged to ensure the maximum value to the community is achieved. Again though, it is important to emphasize this is not occurring with all professional sport teams. Along with realizing greater economic benefit to a community, Sparvero and Chalip (2007) contend that an appropriately leveraged team or sporting event would foster a welcoming social and gathering place for community members while addressing social welfare issues (Bradish & Cronin, 2009; Misener & Mason, 2009). Hence, the ability to build community through way of fanship and spectatorship, along with participatory sport and community-based sporting events, are all an important considerations when assessing the role of sport and community.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Sport can play an important function in the community; however, as highlighted in this chapter, this does not automatically occur just because sport is present. Through viewing sport and community from a sociological perspective, it becomes more obvious that the social structures, social interaction, and institutional factors within various sport settings have a significant impact on the benefit sport can provide to a community and its members. Considering current trends point to the fact that fewer individuals are reaping the social and life quality benefits of experiencing a healthy community, the onus for sport to help address this issue is becoming more evident. Through participatory sport, community-based sporting events, and/or fanship and spectatorship, sport provides an important avenue and opportunity for community building.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Should cities and local communities use tax dollars to support and/or subsidize local sport programs or events? Why or why not? What about for professional sports teams?
2. Recent trends indicate that individuals are not experiencing community and its benefits as much as in the past. What are some practical ways in which a sport in your community could be improved or managed in an effort to foster a greater sense of community?
3. Football is frequently cited as a means of fostering a sense of community on college campuses. In your opinion and in light of McMillan and Chavis' theory, does football enhance the sense of community on your campus? Why or why not? What are some factors that are either missing or particularly strong on your campus?
4. Warner and Dixon's Sport and Sense of Community Theory posited that females and males perceive competition and the competitive environment differently. And moreover, competition tends to decrease the sense of community for women yet enhance the sense of community for men. Based on your experiences in sport, do you agree or disagree with this assessment. Explain your position.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Kellett, P., & Warner, S. (2011). Creating communities that lead to retention: The social worlds and communities of umpires. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 11*, 475-498. (This article focuses on the importance of community for sport officials. The article highlights how community for these individuals, who are both important employees in our sport systems yet also tend to be avid consumers of the sport experience, is essential to their retention.)

Swyers, H. (2005). Community America: Who owns Wrigley Field?. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 22*, 1086-1105. (Swyers' work demonstrates the role a professional sports team can play in a community. Through specifically focusing on the Chicago Cubs and Wrigley Field, Swyers emphasizes the importance of social spaces and a sense of ownership in fostering community via sport.)

Warner, S., Shapiro, S., Dixon, M. A., Ridinger, L. L., & Harrison, S. (2011). The football factor: Shaping community on campus. *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics, 4*, 236-256. (This work assesses the community impact of adding college football at Old Dominion University in 2009. The paper challenges the popular notion that football, specifically, fosters a greater sense of community on campuses. The study also suggests that sense of community influences outcomes related to Satisfaction, Retention, Current Support of Athletics, and Future Support for Athletics.)

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CHAPTER 11

YOUTH SPORT[1]

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Characterize the size and breadth of the youth sport industry in the United States.
2. Summarize socialization and the role of socialization agents in youth sport.
3. Outline the positive and negative effects of sport on youth.
4. Distinguish between instrumental and emotional support.
5. Identify both individual and family outcomes related to participation in youth sport.

INTRODUCTION
In this chapter, we examine the issue of youth sport in the United States. We begin by placing youth sport within its social and historical context, demonstrating that youth sport is important not only in itself but as part of the sport and social systems in the United States. We then examine the process of sport entry, which is focused largely on socialization, or how children learn the values and behaviors of sport. Next, we outline the benefits of sport, exploring the supposed benefits alongside the negative outcomes associated with participation. Finally, we explore the distinct relationship of sport and the family and how each sphere influences the other.

THE SIZE AND SCOPE OF YOUTH SPORT
In this section we outline a brief history of youth sport in the United States to help establish the context in which today's youth sport system operates.

Early North American Sport
While it may be difficult to imagine, sport was not always as popular in the United States as it is today. Early European-Americans discarded most leisurely activities for "carving out a living" in this newfound territory. The Native Americans, however, had already established a sense of survival, and therefore dedicated part of their time for play, competition, and rituals for rites of passage (Dixon, & Bruening, 2011). In Canada and the United States, one such early sport was lacrosse, which was played as early as 1683 (Robidoux, 2002). And to the south in Mexico, the Mayans celebrated their own version of basketball known as "pok ta pok" (Miller & Houston, 1987). While the rules were basically a combination of basketball and soccer, the losing team not only had to experience the agony of defeat but often lost their lives as well.

The US University and Intercollegiate Sport
Even before the US became a nation, it was important that the future statespersons were educated and molded to become the leaders of the new colonies. In 1636, Harvard was given its charter, and became the first of many new colleges and universities that would educate and shape this nation into what it is today. The early universities were designed to teach the liberal arts curriculum of early European institutions; oratory, philosophy, Greek, and Latin, as well as build character through what would become known as "the collegiate way" (Rudolph, 1990). The collegiate way was an environment where the students worshiped together, dined together, shared dormitories, and attended classes together. This campus lifestyle was

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essential in developing an atmosphere of family, unity, and camaraderie. Eventually the collegiate way would come to include extracurricular activities as well (e.g., rowing, football, baseball; Rudolph, 1990).

By the early 19th century, students were competing on campus similar to fraternal and club teams. In 1852, the first intercollegiate competition was held in the form of a boat race, between Harvard and Yale on Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire (Rudolph, 1990). Many other intercollegiate competitions would soon follow:

- 1859: 1st baseball game was held between Amhurst and Williams colleges in Pittsfield, Massachusetts.
- 1869: 1st football game was held between Rutgers and Princeton in New Brunswick, New Jersey.
- 1896: 1st basketball game was held between Wesleyan University and Yale in New Haven, Connecticut.

These early competitions led to increased interest in sport throughout the country, both in the educational setting, and the general community as well. It was not long before strides were made to implement organizations and clubs designed to address this new interest held by America's youth.

US Interscholastic and Community Sport
In the late 1800's and early 1900's, there was much economic difficulty, and paying jobs were difficult to find. Many city-dwelling young men were engaging in criminal activity with the large amount of free time they had on their hands. It would be 1918 before all states had compulsory school attendance laws, so up to that time many young men did not attend school. Thus, community programs were developed to give youth someplace to expend their energy that was currently being utilized to cause harm. Between 1844 and 1939, no fewer than six major programs would be developed in American communities to involve young men in constructive play and competition: the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in 1844; the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) in 1888; Federated Boys Club, later named Boys and Girls Club of America in 1906; Police Athletic League (PAL) in 1914; Pop Warner Football in 1929; and Little League Baseball in 1939.

For those attending public education, sport was made available through the National Federation of High Schools (NFHS) in 1920. Today the NFHS represents over 18,500 schools and 11 million students involved in sport and activities (Fellmeth, 2010). The strength of these programs, both community and interscholastic, can be seen in their longevity and track record, as most of them survive and thrive over 100 years in existence.

Youth Sport Today
In 2019, according to the National Council of Youth Sports (NCYS), approximately 60 million children aged 5-18 participated in organized sports. Based on the 2014 US Census, 46.6% of boys and 36.4% of girls living in the US participated in youth sports. Of that population, 7.6 million students play sports in US high schools (Fellmeth, 2010).

State and district funding can limit interscholastic sports. Depending on the location and wealth of the district, many programs offered to the general public (e.g., swimming, tennis, water polo), may not be offered in the local schools. These types of sports may be offered, instead, through private organizations or clubs. Such club sport offerings and academies are a growing trend in the US as supplemental to or in replacement of interscholastic sport, reflecting a growing trend of privatization of sport in the US (Coakley, 2017).

The trend toward privatization mirrors the increasing trend toward early specialization in sport. Sport specialization advocates believe the sooner one starts specializing in a particular sport, the better the chances are for future success. According to Ericsson, it takes 10,000 hours of specialized training to become an

elite athlete (Ericsson et al., 1993). This amount of training for young children can only be accomplished through private organizations where there is less regulation on allowed training and competition hours. This trend toward specialization, though, has become troubling to many child development experts, who contend that early specialization is detrimental to physical, emotional, and psychological development (e.g., Côté, 1999). Such tensions are important from a sociological perspective because they highlight the underlying values of society and a general shift in sport's place as leisure vs. labor.

Exhibit 11.1 offers additional information on specialization and sport sampling.

Exhibit 11.1. Sport sampling

Since its launch in 2013, The Aspen Institute's Project Play has addressed this trend of early specialization that can place undue pressure on children and unsustainable costs on families. In order to get and keep kids active through sports, the organization has shared the benefits of multi-sport play and encouraged sport sampling. In 2015, more than 40 organizations, including national governing bodies, professional leagues, and non-profit organizations, have endorsed multi-sport play through a minimum of age 12 (Aspen Institute, 2019).

US Sport beyond Community and Interscholastic Programs

In the United States, there is no national sport policy, *per se*, as there are in other countries throughout the world. With the exception of the Unites States Olympic Committee (USOC), federal government funding is almost non-existent when it comes to amateur sport (Chalip et al., 1996). Private national governing bodies (NGBs) oversee the elite programs of amateur sport, and if requiring any funding from the USOC must submit participation numbers and program initiatives.

In the past 20 years, participation in and popularity of club sports in the US has dramatically increased (Gregory, 2017; Moore, 2017). In fact, club sport has grown by an estimated 55% since 2010 facilitating a $17 billion youth sports industry (WinterGreen Research, 2018). Though these other opportunities exist (e.g., private clubs, AAU, professional developmental leagues), primarily for the major sports in the US, most paths beyond community and interscholastic team sports run through the US intercollegiate programs and their scholarships. The probability that young male athletes participating in interscholastic sports will get a scholarship to a participating National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) institution is less than 5%. Less than 0.5% of male athletes competing in interscholastic sport will be drafted by a professional team (National Collegiate Athletic Association, 2011). With the enactment of 1972's Title IX, female athlete scholarship probabilities are higher, but only slightly. Thus, for most athletes in the United States, the end of community and interscholastic sports is also the end of their participation in organized sport programs.

This structure is different than that of other countries, particularly in Europe and Canada, where youth are more likely to continue participation well into adulthood through community-based sport clubs (Lim et al., 2011). Thus, the structure of youth sport impacts who plays, what they play, how long they play, and the values they learn in sport.

The structure of youth sport in the US has several implications for sociologists. First, researchers must continue to explore the social values associated with sport and how sport has changed over time with societal values. Is sport a reflection of social values, and if so, what and whose values does it reflect, particularly in the most prominent sport programs and models? What and whose values does sport not reflect? How and why does sport change? How do non-dominant values and voices find a place or expression in and through sport?

In the remainder of this chapter, we explore how children become involved in sport, the benefits they (and their parents) perceive and actually derive from sport, and some of the challenges or problems with youth

sport. We conclude with an investigation of the wider issue of sport and the family. Throughout this chapter, consider both how sport shapes society and society shapes sport through the cultural institution and expression of youth sport.

HOW DO CHILDREN BECOME INVOLVED IN SPORT?

A number of scholars have examined the ways that people enter sport, the people who influence their decisions to participate, and the messages and meanings that sport organizations utilize to help recruit new participants. Green (2005), in her model of sport development, asserted that most new participation is accomplished through sponsored recruitment, where another person introduces the sport and may even walk through the initial sport experience with the new participant. For children, parents and peers typically serve as sponsors in this recruitment process.

Entry into sport is most heavily influenced by parents' decisions (Dixon et al., 2008; Kay, 2000). Parents examine available opportunities and make decisions regarding which sports, which seasons, which leagues, what cost level, and what commitment level is appropriate for their child. In many cases, parents may seek a sport at which they enjoyed or excelled, or they may be influenced by other likeminded parents who are enrolling their children in a sport (Green, 1997). In addition to sport entry, parents are integrally involved in the sport retention process. Parents not only pay for sport, but also provide transportation, equipment, food, laundry, and other daily necessities (Dixon et al., 2008; Fredericks & Eccles, 2002). Thus, children are highly dependent on parental decisions for their sport involvement.

As children grow older, peers also become important in the sport entry and retention process whereby children choose sport based on the opportunity for social interaction with peers (which is particularly important for girls), and sometimes for social status among peer groups (Rees & Miracle, 2000). For example, high school football in Texas carries tremendous social status, and many children and families go to great lengths for the opportunity to play and be part of an elite peer circle (Bissinger, 1990).

Socialization into Sport

Children are not born knowing what sports to choose and how to behave in sport contexts. Watching young children in sport is often humorous or frustrating because they break the rules that more seasoned participants already know. For example, ask a child to take the ball "to the hole" or "to the rack" or to "post up," and chances are the child will have no idea. Ask an experienced basketball player, and she or he will most likely know exactly what to do. Similarly, the value of sport is not fixed, but malleable and related to other social and cultural norms, patterns, and expectations. Socialization is the process by which people learn the values and norms associated with a particular social sphere and activity. These may include how to act in church, how to behave and respond in school, or how to act in a sport. Socialization is an interactive social process whereby individuals are exposed to important forms of information regarding expectations and norms within a particular social setting or role; consequently, they learn to behave in accordance with these expectations and norms (Bandura, 1977; Greendorfer, 1993; Greendorfer & Bruce, 1991; Nixon, 1990; Weiss & Glenn, 1992). Socialization does not just involve exposure to social situations, but it also involves learning and internalization of roles and expectations. It is a two-way interactive process. Children do not just accept all that is taught them; instead they filter experiences and come to form their own identity, values, and behaviors.

Parents, teachers, peers, and coaches all can help in the process of socialization, with parents being the primary influence when children are young, and peers and coaches as children age (e.g., Anderssen et al., 2006; Bhalla & Weiss, 2010; Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; Greendorfer, 1977; Greendorfer & Lewko, 1978; Weiss & Barber, 1995). In this capacity, they are referred to as agents of socialization (Chao, 2012). They teach the norms and values associated with a social sphere. The values and expectations learned, especially through parental influence, have both immediate and long-term impact on a child's sport participation (Dixon et al., 2008). Through the socialization process, socializing agents convey both the value of sport

to the social circle (e.g., the family), appropriate sports and sport roles based on gender, and the norms of the sport sub-culture.

The Value of Sport

By enrolling children in sport, parents communicate that sport is a valued activity in their family and social sphere. As described earlier, this value has changed tremendously over the past 50 years. Early on, sport was viewed as a leisure activity reserved for after work was completed, or for families with means for leisure activities. Prior to World War II, sport was viewed as a valuable way to teach boys their role in society and to train them for toughness and following direction. After World War II, however, as youth were moved out of the labor force, sport was utilized as a place for keeping children (particularly boys) occupied and out of trouble after school and in the summer. Good parents, in this era, enrolled their boys in sport and provided resources for them to participate. During the 1970's and 80's, sport was seen as a valuable leisure activity that filled non-working space, and soon became valuable for both boys and girls, especially after the passage of Title IX in 1972.

Interestingly, although sport has become an accepted and even desired activity for girls, much research continues to uncover gender differences in how girls and boys are socialized into sport, the acceptability of different sports for boys and girls, and the impact of sport norms (e.g., competition) on boys' and girls' sport experiences (Brustad, 1988, 1993, 1996; Coakley & White, 1999; Dixon et al., 2008; Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; Greendorfer, 1977, 1993; Greendorfer & Lewko, 1978; McElroy, 1983; Sage, 1980; Warner & Dixon, 2011; Weiss & Glenn, 1992). While many researchers point to fun or enjoyment as the lynchpin of sport participation (Bengoechea, Strean, & Williams, 2004; Crocker, Hoar, McDonough, Kowalski, & Niefer, 2004), girls and boys also may have different drivers and experiences of fun.

Since the late 1990's participation in sport has become almost an expected part of growing up in most industrialized nations, especially among middle to upper classes. In fact, some would argue that sport has now become children's labor—not a leisure experience that they can choose to do, but something that is expected of them, and as something that is more outcome than process oriented (Brustad, 1993). In some cases, sport is also labor in the sense that it is a means to a college scholarship or a form of family income (Ryan, 1995). Parents have poured massive resources into their children's training in sport, and the children are expected to produce accordingly. This view of sport has implications not only for its inherent value within society, but also for the social, psychological, and emotional well-being of the children who participate under that premise. There is still much work to be done in this area, where social scientists need to examine the effects of sport as leisure vs. sport as labor on children, families, society, and sport systems.

Sport Sub-Culture

Socialization into the sport culture is also an important process, especially from a sport development perspective. For children to advance in their sport commitment, both they and their guardians must learn the social roles and expectations associated with their sport (Green, 2005). These are the elements of a sport subculture that "everyone knows" and can be as simple as what clothing to wear or what terms to use, or as complex as where to live and work in order to be successful in a sport. For example, "everyone knows" how a "soccer mom" is supposed to act. "Everyone knows" that Longhorns wear burnt orange while Aggies wear maroon. Terms like "freestyling" or "jibbing" come from the snowboarding subculture, whereas skateboarders utilize terms such as "grinding," "sick," or "carving." People who are immersed in the subculture use these terms, wear the right clothing, and perform behaviors appropriate to the subculture. The longer they are in the subculture, the more natural they become. Learning these social norms helps immerse and identify a person in a sub-culture and demonstrates commitment to it.

From a sociological perspective, subcultural elements provide powerful cues as to how committed athletes (and their parents) behave in sport. One can understand the power of the social norms by questioning how they came to be or what happens when a person does not follow them. For example, the popular movie *A*

League of their Own examined what happens when women enter a sport space dominated by men (e.g., "There's no crying in baseball!"). These norms are important to understand for a variety of reasons.

Sport managers often take a functionalist perspective (see Chapter 2) on such norms, using them to increase participant buy-in and commitment to sport. For example, sport marketers use sub-cultural norms to convince participants to buy particular brands of clothing or equipment because they are the right brands for that sport. Within a sport club, committed parents may socialize new parents into the norms of the sport club, thereby reproducing more committed parents (Green & Chalip, 1997).

From a critical perspective, however, it is important to examine the norms of sport, as they can lead to changes in sport patterns as well as problems and abuses. For example, Jennifer Sey's (1995) *Chalked Up* examines the social norms of girls' elite gymnastics. It provides a picture of girls who are undernourished and over trained so that they can show commitment to the sport at the highest level in pursuit of fulfilling Olympic dreams. Similarly, a number of scholars have examined the subcultures of girls' finesse sports, such as diving, figure skating, and distance running. These studies reveal subcultures where eating disorders and unsafe dieting are common practice. Norms in power sports can give rise to such behaviors as performance enhancing drugs, playing injured, and verbal and emotional abuse. Consider the subculture of professional cycling: if doping becomes accepted practice (i.e., a social norm), can athletes who choose not to dope compete at the highest level?

Interestingly, rejection of social norms within a sport or sport community often gives rise to alternative sports. The rise of skateboarding, snowboarding, BMX and other extreme sports can partially be attributed to a rejection of the strict authoritarian subcultures of mainstream sports such as football, basketball, and baseball (Coakley, 2017). Athletes in these sports searched for a means to find more creativity and autonomy in their sport experience. Although some of these sports have now also become more mainstream, one can still find the bulk of athletes at an open park, un-coached, working on their craft in their own time, space, and with their own choice of people. While this is not to suggest that these sports are better than mainstream, they simply reflect how sport norms are not fixed, and how new sports and sport experiences can arise from a critical reflection, and sometimes rejection, of dominant sport values and norms.

BENEFITS OF SPORT PARTICIPATION

If so many children participate in sport, it must provide some benefits to participants. The benefits attributed to sport are numerous. In fact, reading some youth sport brochures makes one think that sport is the magic wand for all personal and social needs. In this section, we outline some of the benefits associated with youth sport participation and the empirical evidence associated therewith.

As previously suggested, sport can be a place to keep children occupied and safe. In fact, many sport and physical activity programs have been derived with this benefit in mind, and sport programs have generally been effective in achieving this goal, as they provide a supervised, structured activity in which children can participate. It is important to note, however, that while sport programs can provide a safe place for children to play, the programs themselves must be delivered in such a way as to prevent such unsafe behaviors, such as bullying, sexual harassment, emotional, physical, and psychological injury. This depends on both the design and delivery of the sport program, including training for the coaches and supervisors (Chalip, 2006; Green et al., 2008).

Sport can also provide social connections and create new social opportunities for children and their parents (Green, 2005; Green & Chalip, 1997). In fact, many parents cite this reason as one of the driving forces in their choice to initially enroll their children in sport (Green, 2005). When designed and managed well, sport can be a source of social opportunity and a significant place for building community both among participants and parents (Dixon et al., 2008; Green & Chalip, 1997; Warner & Dixon, 2011; see also Chapter 10). Some caution must be taken, however, when sport becomes a central community element for parents, as some studies have shown that parental pressure for their children to continue sport when their children

want to quit, comes from parents desire to remain a part of the social community (Lally & Kerr, 2008; Dorsch et al., 2009).

Sport participation can also be a means for learning valuable social and life skills, such as teamwork, cooperation, competitiveness, and perseverance. These skills are seen as valuable for navigating a successful educational and career experience. Again, the experience of these benefits is dependent on the design and delivery of sport programs and the evidence for learning these skills is mixed. For example, there is evidence that high school athletes, as a group, demonstrate more positive attitudes toward school and maintain higher grade point averages than do their non-athlete peers (Rees & Miracle, 2000). However, others have suggested that this relationship likely existed prior to becoming athletes, and that students who are already engaged and high performing are more likely to join a high school athletics team (Spreitzer, 1995). Clearly, more longitudinal work is needed in this area before we understand when, where, and what about sport leads to such benefits.

Sport potentially represents a means toward physical fitness and increased physical activity (Chalip, 2006). Many parents hope their children participate in sport when they are young so they will gain a lifelong love for participation, thereby enabling them to stay active throughout their lives. Based on expectancy-valence theory (Fredericks & Eccles, 2002), numerous studies have demonstrated the importance of parental and coach interpretation of the sport experience for children. Too much parental feedback and pressure causes undue stress in young athletes, and may lead to early burnout. However, appropriate amounts of encouragement and support can increase enjoyment and longevity of the athletes' involvement (Brustad, 1993; Davison et al., 2006; Morgan & Giacobbi, 2006). For example, both Dixon and colleagues (2008) and Morgan and Giacobbi's (2006) studies of American college athletes found that ongoing parental social support was important to helping them overcome obstacles and remain involved in sport.

In summary, sport can indeed provide many benefits for children and their parents; however, these benefits are not automatic, nor are they exclusive to sport. It is essential that sociologists continue to explore the ways sport is designed and implemented such that the benefits are maximized and maintained.

PROBLEMS WITH YOUTH SPORT
In addition to the rewarding benefits one might attain through youth sport participation, there are problems within youth sports, as well. The physical and mental demands that youth sport can place on a child can be overwhelming, and those pressures are exacerbated when adolescents enter the sport specialization and elite realm of youth sport (Hyman, 2012).

According to Smith and Smoll (1990), during the adolescent stage of child development, coaches and peers join parents as the most influential relationships (agents) in a young athlete's life. Therefore, the psychological, psychosocial, behavioral, and moral traits displayed by these agents within an athlete's environment can have a dramatic effect on what becomes the norm within that child's life. In addition to the psychological and psychosocial aspects of the environment of youth sport participation, there exists a physiological element. What was once play becomes work for many. Children are pushing themselves harder, and more often, than ever before. They are bigger and stronger, play more often, and often pursue the same sport over the course of the entire year. With so much emphasis put on competition and winning, it is not unusual that reasonable limits are often exceeded in the quest for socially desirable rewards. In this section, we examine some of the negative aspects of youth sport participation and their effects on children, as well as corrective measures currently in place, and being discussed, to address these issues.

Physical Injury
Sport participation involves physical exertion. As with any physical activity, the possibility of overuse or injury is not surprising. And while injury is expected, or at least considered, the rate and severity of injury in youth sports is becoming quite alarming.

As previously noted, the NCYS approximates that 60,000,000 children aged 5-18 participate in organized sports. In 2013, 1.24 million children – 1 child every 25 seconds – were seen in emergency rooms for injuries related to 14 commonly played sports (Safe Kids, 2015). An estimated 395,274 high school athletes sustained concussions from 2005-2008 (Safe Kids, 2015). While one would think the majority of injuries can be attributed to what are considered contact sports (e.g., football, hockey, basketball), this is an incorrect assumption. Most childhood injuries come from bicycling, followed by basketball, football, soccer, baseball, softball, and roller sports. Here are some more statistics from the Safe Kids (2015) report:

- More than 2.6 million children ages 19 and under are seen in emergency departments for injuries related to sports and recreation each year.
- Most sport-related injuries (62%) happen during practice.
- Girls sustain a higher rate of concussions than boys in high school sports played by both boys and girls.
- One in three children who play a team sport is injured seriously enough to miss practice or games.

While there has been much recent focus on major acute injuries such as concussions or ACL tears, an increasing amount of injuries occur from overuse. Children are often playing sport year-round, and particularly specializing in a sport that requires repetitive motion (e.g., pitching in baseball). This repeated patterning, in particular, can lead to inflammation and/or injury. In fact, approximately 50% of injuries in pediatric sport medicine can be attributed to overuse (Brenner, 2007).

Cheating
In 2001, Danny Almonte pitched a perfect game during the Little League World Series and led his Bronx, New York, team to the semi-finals. Almonte had 46 strike-outs and only allowed 3 hits—feats that are quite remarkable for a 12-year-old. The only problem was, Almonte was 14 not 12. His father had given the league officials a false birth certificate so he could dominate in a younger age group. Ten years later, with a 90 mph fastball, his coach felt the incident 10 years earlier is the only thing keeping him out of the professional ranks (King-White, 2010).

Cheating is nothing new, regardless of the level of play. It can take place in many ways: altering scores, results, or grades; enhancing one's body or equipment; or deceiving regulators and official, among others. While many advocate that sport is valuable for teaching life lessons, such as teamwork and cooperation, others have suggested that the performance ethic in today's youth sport programs just as likely leads to deviance and cheating in an effort to receive social rewards (Coakley, 2017).

In the increasingly competitive atmosphere of youth sports, gaining an advantage on an opponent is critical for winning. Athletes can gain such an advantage through better training, better diet, watching more film, or increased deliberate practice. In many cases, however, these techniques are not as effective or efficient as parents, athletes, or coaches deem them to be. Thus, additional steps are taken which may cross ethical or legal boundaries. For example, middle and high school athletes, particularly boys, may utilize illegal steroids to gain a competitive advantage. Interestingly, after usage rates peaked in the early 2000's, due to educational campaigns and stricter testing policies, steroid use among youth has declined considerably. In 2018, annual prevalence rates were 0.6%, 0.8%, and 1.4% for boys in grades 8, 10, and 12, compared with 0.6%, 0.5%, and 0.5% for girls (down by about two thirds among 8th and 10th graders, and about six tenths among 12th graders; Johnston et al., 2018).

Within ethical and socially accepted norms, cheating may be blatant and easily recognized. Other times it is not so easy to distinguish, as norms and values change both within and between sport experiences. When does strategy, and technique in coaching, cross the line to become cheating?

From a sociological perspective, one must examine the social norms within society that have led to deviant behavior within sport. What are the contingencies and social rewards within American society that have

led to this behavior? One must also examine the sub-cultures within a particular sport to understand the unique reward structures and patterns that shape social values and behaviors within that context. What may be viewed as deviant in mainstream society (e.g., doping) may be accepted practice within a sport culture. Thus, in understanding and controlling cheating, one must first understand the underlying values associated with sport that rewards or condemns such behavior.

Deviant Behavior
What constitutes bad behavior and abuse? Deviant behavior is difficult to define and govern because it is relative – deviance to one person is acceptable to another. This difficulty in defining deviance is exemplified in the obscenity case of *Jacobellis v. Ohio*. In this case, Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart wrote, "I shall not today attempt further to define [obscenity]; and perhaps I could never succeed in intelligibly doing so. But I know it when I see it…" (NetSafekids, 2003). Such is the case with deviant behaviors experienced within youth sport throughout the world: we know it when we see it. Within sport it is important to understand agreed upon norms that help establish acceptable and unacceptable behavior (see also Chapter 9).

Deviant behavior in sport extends from athletes to parents and coaches who are being fined, arrested, and barred from future attendance. In fact, referees and umpires in some states are now required to carry health insurance because of the risk they are exposed to at youth games. Athletes can also be exposed to abuses from coaches and training staff. Beginning in 2016, the sexual abuse investigation into USA Gymnastics revealed hundreds of female athletes who were sexually assaulted over the past two decades by gym owners, coaches, and staff working for gymnastics programs across the country. Particularly, longtime USA Gymnastics national team doctor Larry Nassar's trial became one of the biggest sexual abuse scandals in sports history.

Parents, in particular, have become a major source of problems at youth sport activities. Parents have assaulted opposing players, other players, coaches, officials, and even their own child. One incident ended up with a father of a youth hockey player being arrested, charged, and convicted of murder of another player's father (Rimer, 2002). In another incident, one mother hired an assassin to kill the mother of another cheerleader that had beaten-out her daughter for the opportunity to be on the cheerleading squad (Swartz & Lindem, 1991). Such incidents, and many more minor ones, cause one to question the premier place of youth sport in children's lives and the social status associated with sport, particularly within many American schools.

While deviant behavior is not limited to parents, it is important to recognize the role of parents (and coaches) in the socialization process. Sport may be utilized to teach many lessons about values and behavior. Understanding the social rewards and sanctions tied to sport participation, especially from a parent's perspective, can help uncover both problems and solutions for deviance in youth sports.

Adolescent Dropout and Burnout
Children frequently note they play sports to have fun. In 2014, 9 of 10 children said "fun" was the main reason they participate (Visek et al., 2015). Likewise, when asked why they left sport participation, most respondents will answer "it's not fun anymore." As they age into adolescence, the reasons for remaining in sport become "improve my skills," "competition," "associate with friends," while the reasons for withdrawal are "had other things to do," "didn't like the coach," and "not enough playing time" (Butcher et al., 2002). Depending on the level of sport children soon become aware of the level of expectations and pressures at their particular level. Accepting or rejecting those expectations and pressures can help determine whether an athlete stays in competitive sport or withdraws (Brustad, 1993; Davison et al., 2006; Dixon et al., 2008; Morgan & Giacobbi, 2006).

Researchers have determined and explained that there is a distinct difference between dropout and burnout. First, dropout is usually associated with casual team or individual sport participation. Burnout on the other hand, is always associated with elite-level athletics and upper level participation. "Dropout occurs when

fairly high outcomes are exceeded by still higher alternatives" (Schmidt & Stein, 1991, p. 256), while burn-out "results from an increase in stress-induced costs" (Smith, 1986, p. 39). Many have suggested that burn-out is becoming increasingly common in youth sport, and at younger and younger ages, prompting examination of the policies within sport organization and sport governance.

SPORT AND THE FAMILY

As outlined in this chapter, youth sport is tied inexorably to children's families. Thus, we conclude with examination of the relationship between sport and the family, with the goal of examining how two important social spheres shape and impact each other within the broader society.

The relationship between youth sport and the family is a reciprocal one. Families and their type and level of support impact the youth sport experience and variables related to the youth sport experience impact the family. Families support youth sport through a variety of resources, and play a vital role in participant commitment to sport. Likewise, the structure and implementation of the youth sport programs are very influential in terms of how the youth sport experience impacts the family.

Family Support

Families support youth sport participants in a variety of ways. Some examples include providing financial resources or playing an emotionally supportive role (Newhouse-Bailey, Dixon, & Warner, 2015). Without proper family support, athletes are less likely to be engaged and more likely to have a negative youth sport experience (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2008).

Instrumental Support
One way that families support youth sport is to provide the time and money to play—this is called instrumental support (Dixon et al., 2008; Kay, 2000; Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). The financial requirements vary depending on what type of youth sport league the child is enrolled in, but in a qualitative study with 20 families, Kay (2000) found that the number one cause of ending a sport experience was financial demands. When children begin to specialize in one sport and begin to focus on skill development, the costs of the sport increases dramatically (Côté, 1999). These costs may include league fees, equipment, private lessons, clinics, travel expenses and many others (Côté, 1999).

In addition to the instrumental support of financial means that families provide, they also must make logistical arrangements to accommodate the demands of the league or organization. This includes transportation, scheduling, and arrangements within the family as to who provides transportation, attends practices, attends games, and what role each family member plays in getting the participant ready for his or her activity. The time demand placed on the family has also been referred to as an alteration of family activity patterns (Kay, 2000). Families change work schedules, vacations, and other plans in order to provide enough time to allow the child to participate (Kay, 2000). One of the biggest demands for time that youth sport places on the family is that of deliberate practice. In order for children to reach an elite level for the sport in which she or he is enrolled, families must provide transportation to and from practice, which is often held three or four nights a week (Thompson, 1999; Ericcson et al., 1993).

Emotional Support
In addition to providing instrumental support in the form of time and money, families also provide emotional support to participants (Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). These resources contribute to the athlete's well-being and affect her or his level of engagement with the team (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2008). Emotional support can appear in many forms, from post- or pre-game talks, cheering from the sideline or simply allowing an athlete to have time alone following a loss. Research has shown that, in order for the athlete to have a positive experience, perceived emotional support by the athlete is critical (Wiersma & Fifer, 2008). Kay (2000) also linked emotional support with talent development, as elite athletes cited emotional support from the family as a key factor helping them stay motivated to attend practices and maintain a positive outlook toward sport.

Individual and Family Outcomes
As the sport experience will differ for each participant and families vary in how they are structured and the resources available, it is important to understand the impact of youth sport on individual members of the family and the family unit as a whole.

Individual
Individual sport-related outcomes for family members may be positive or negative depending on the family and sport variables present. Participants may see an increase in self-esteem, the development of persistence, and gain social skills (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005). On the other side, participants who have a negative youth sport experience may see increased levels of stress and may see a decrease in self-esteem (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2008; Kay, 2000). In one study, the authors found a direct link between athletic performance and emotions of the participants (Kay, 2000). Those who experienced high levels of athletic performance reached levels of emotional highs, and those who had low levels of athletic performance experienced emotional lows. Beyond sport variables that impact individual outcomes, some athletes are subject to high levels of stress in the form of parental and coach pressure (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2008). Oftentimes when athletes perceive high levels of pressure, they suffer from burnout and are more likely to cease participation. Some athletes participate at levels that are not safe for their age, and as many as 21.5 % of athletes have been asked to participate while injured (Engh, 1999).

Given the large amount of family resources that are needed to facilitate participation, family members who do not participate are also impacted by sport. Some positive benefits include an increased sense of pride for the participant's experience or the addition of more instances of socialization with other individuals (Kay, 2000). Some potential negative impacts include resentment or jealousy on behalf of a sibling (Côté, 1999). In addition, due to lack of time and financial means, some families are not able to partake in additional extracurricular activities (Côté, 1999).

Family
While little research has examined the family outcomes from participation in youth sport, it is fair to assume that families may also experience positive or negative outcomes. Potential positive outcomes may include increased closeness or improved family communication (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001).

Potential negative family impacts include depletion of resources and a conflict of family values with the values of the sport league (Côté, 1999). A study that examined the impact on mothers of elite tennis players found that they felt the entire family suffered burnout like symptoms from the time demands placed on the family (Kay, 1999). Parents have also been shown to have lower levels of physical activity as a result of their children's participation (Dixon, 2009; Thompson, 1999).

In sum, while having a child participate in youth sport may have many positive benefits on the family and the participant, there are also opportunities in which negative outcomes may occur. Yet, despite the negative outcomes for the family, families are still making a series of trade-offs to enroll in youth sport for the benefit of their child's skill development (Newhouse-Bailey et al., 2015). It is important that families seek out youth sport opportunities that are within their financial means and that are a good fit with family values.

CHAPTER SUMMARY
In this chapter, we examined youth sport issues in the US. We began by placing youth sport within its social and historical context, illustrating its status in broader society. We also examined socialization, or how children learn the values and behaviors of sport, followed by a discussion of sport outcomes, including the benefits and shortcomings associated with participation. Finally, we examined the distinct relationship of sport and the family and how each sphere influences the other.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. What can be done to create, and maintain, a friendly and inviting atmosphere for youth sports?
2. Take into consideration the behaviors of coaches, spectators, parents, and participants. What can be done to prevent negative behaviors and encourage positive ones?
3. Previous researchers have stated that, up to 70% of youth sport participants drop out of participation before their thirteenth birthday. What changes, or accommodations, would you make to help retain these children in sports?
4. How do you feel about the suggestion that score should not be kept in youth sports?
5. Is sponsorship of youth (specifically interscholastic) sport a good thing, especially in light of the economic woes being faced by many public school systems?

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CHAPTER 12

INTERCOLLEGIATE SPORT[1]

Calvin Nite

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Summarize the history of intercollegiate athletics.
2. Identify the two primary lines of thought that guide practices in athletic departments.
3. Explain the role athletics play on college campuses.
4. Summarize how student-athletes are affected by participating in college athletics.

INTRODUCTION

Within the United States, few phenomena inspire as much passion and enthusiasm as intercollegiate athletics. Every year, millions of students, alumni, and fans spend large sums of money and countless hours attending games, purchasing memorabilia, and supporting their favorite university's athletic programs. Major broadcasting networks, such as ESPN and Fox Sports, devote numerous television and radio programming hours for covering high profile sports. Various websites document high school recruiting efforts for college football and basketball. Other websites, such as Texags.com, offer forums for fan interaction and "insider" coverage of their university athletic programs. Some universities have their own television networks devoted solely to providing coverage of their athletics teams. Proponents of college athletics contend that athletics are essential to the education process for both the athletes and the student body in general (Bailey et al., 2009; Hyland, 2008). Furthermore, supporters of intercollegiate athletics have asserted that athletic programs are important to the economic viability of universities because they help market and brand the university to the general public through media exposure (Bouchet & Hutchinson, 2010; Putler & Wolfe, 1999).

Interestingly enough, the US is one of the few countries in the world that houses and regulates sports within the higher education system (Beyer & Hannah, 2000). The dominant governing institution of intercollegiate athletics is the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA; Nite, Ige, & Washington, in press). According to the NCAA's website, there are more than 1200 NCAA member universities (NCAAc, n.d.) with more than 460,000 student-athletes competing in a variety of sports (NCAAc, n.d.). The NCAA is comprised of three divisions, each having different rules governing the affiliated athletic departments. The NCAA sponsors championships for sports in each of these divisions except for football programs competing in the Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS).[2] Most universities and conferences in Divisions I and II offer athletic scholarships to their student-athletes (notable exception being the Ivy League), while Division III universities are not permitted to offer athletic scholarships to their student-athletes.

The NCAA is not the sole governing body for college athletics. The National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) has approximately 250 members (NAIA, n.d.). The National Junior College Athletic Association (NJCAA), which is comprised of two-year junior and community colleges, has more than 500 members. Both the NAIA and NJCAA provide scholarship money to student-athletes. Finally, the National Christian College Athletic Association (NCCAA) is comprised of almost 100 Christian/Bible colleges with many of these institutions having dual membership with the NCAA (NCCAA, n.d.).

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[1] Nite, C. (2019). Intercollegiate sport. In G. B. Cunningham & M. A. Dixon (Eds.), *Sociology of sport and physical activity* (pp. 161-172). College Station, TX: Center for Sport Management Research and Education.

[2] Even though FBS universities adopt NCAA rules regarding eligibility, the College Football Playoff National Championship provides the system for determining football national champions in the FBS.

The governing bodies of intercollegiate athletics provide the policies and procedures that organize athletic competitions for their members. They each have rules and regulations concerning athlete eligibility, proper procedural conduct of athletic departments and coaches, and polices regarding revenue distributions from common sponsors and media contracts. Further, universities within each of the aforementioned governing bodies are grouped into conferences. Each conference has additional rules and policies for their members. Some examples of athletic conferences include the Southeastern Conference, the Big XII, the Big Ten, The Lone Star Conference, and the American Southwest Conference. Finally, some universities have chosen to remain independent of conference affiliation. For example, the University of Notre Dame has remained independent with its football program (it is a member of the Atlantic Coast Conference with its other sports). Similarly, Brigham Young University (BYU) became independent with football in 2011 yet still competes in the West Coast Conference with other sports.

The role of intercollegiate athletics and the manner in which college sport is organized presents a myriad of different issues warranting examination. Such issues include the roles and purposes of athletics on campus, the manner in which universities manage commercialism, and the management of athletes and their development. In this chapter, I examine these issues from a sociological perspective. I begin with an examination of the history of intercollegiate athletics and how commercial interests shaped the organizing of intercollegiate athletics. I then discuss how the commercial and educational ideologies impact athletic department operations. I conclude with a look into how participation in intercollegiate athletics affects the overall development of college athletes.

HISTORY OF INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

Athletics have been a part of university life for the better part of the last 200 years. The first athletic competition *between* universities was a crew race that was held between students at Harvard and Yale universities in 1852 (Barr, 2009). The first intercollegiate baseball game was held in 1859, followed by the first football game between Princeton and Rutgers in 1869 (Barr, 2009). During these first few years, competitions were organized and operated by students from participating colleges. Through the late 1800s, competitions between universities became increasingly more popular among students and the general public, resulting in fierce rivalries between fan and alumni bases with more of an emphasis placed on winning (Barr, 2009; Beyer & Hannah, 2000). As a result, Yale was the first university to hire a coach, William Wood, for their crew team in efforts to realize better performance (Barr, 2009).

As intercollegiate athletic competitions increased in popularity and competitiveness, universities recognized the need to regulate intercollegiate athletics for safety and fairness reasons. The first regulatory body established to govern intercollegiate athletics was the Big Ten Conference in 1895 (Beyer & Hannah, 2000). Participation in athletics was limited to full-time students who were in good academic standing with their universities. Further regulations resulted from the events of the 1905 football season, which saw the death of 18 football players and at least 150 serious injuries (Beyer & Hannah, 2000). President Theodore Roosevelt pressured university presidents to get control of these athletic competitions. Thus, representatives from 62 colleges and universities formed the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States (IAAUS), which eventually was renamed the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) (Barr, 2009). Despite the presence of these regulatory bodies, universities did not officially support athletics until the 1920s, at which point they integrated athletics into their physical education departments by appointing coaches to academic positions and providing university funds to support athletic teams (Barr, 2009).

In 1929, the Carnegie Foundation commissioned the first study of intercollegiate athletics. After visiting 112 colleges and universities, the foundation discovered the prevalence of recruiting and academic abuses along with the realization that intercollegiate athletics was highly commercialized (Barr, 2009; Thelin, 1994). Ultimately this report led to the evolution of the NCAA regulating more than just the rules used in competitions. The NCAA began regulating student-athlete academic eligibility, monitoring recruiting practices, and ultimately establishing rules for amateurism (Barr, 2009). Even though these steps were taken to slow

the growth of commercialism, the increasing popularity of intercollegiate athletics lent itself to heightened commercial appeal.

The evolution of the game of football in the 1950s and 1960s from a one-platoon system to a two-platoon system further increased the need for more funding in intercollegiate athletics (Byers, 1995). Prior to the 1950s and 1960s, football players played both offense and defense during games (one-platoon). Starting in the 1960s, football teams began using separate players for offense and defense (two-platoon), with players specializing their skills for certain positions on the football field. Football was already an expensive sport, but the implementation of the two-platoon system essentially doubled the cost of fielding football teams. With the rising costs of intercollegiate athletics, university leaders needed to find new ways to fund athletics on their campuses.

A new source of funding for intercollegiate athletics came through the selling of television broadcast rights for athletic competitions (Byers, 1995; Nite & Washington, 2017). Prior to the early 1980s, the NCAA regulated and negotiated the television deals for all of college football and limited the number of games that each university could have on television. The NCAA's television policy was eventually deemed illegal because it violated the Sherman Antitrust Act (*NCAA v. Board of Regents*, 1984). This ruling opened the door for individual universities and conferences to negotiate their own television contracts. Thus, it is important to understand that one of the key factors in decision-making for athletic directors and universities became the pursuit of television money (Nite & Washington, 2017). Since about the beginning of the 2000s, the revenue splits that universities had received from television deals were key factors in the conference realignments. Perhaps there is no greater example of commercialism in intercollegiate athletics than the presence of multibillion dollar television deals.

The commercialism of the intercollegiate athletics culminated in the formation of the Bowl Championship Series (BCS) for college football in 1992 (Byers, 1995). Originally, the BCS was a partnership between the top six intercollegiate athletic conferences, three bowls (Orange, Rose, and Fiesta), and network television. Initially the winners of each conference competed against the winner of another conference. This system evolved and expanded to five BCS bowls (Orange, Rose, Fiesta, Sugar, and National Championship), with the top six conference winners receiving automatic bowl bids and four other teams receiving "at-large" bids. The final iteration of the BCS National Championship Game took place in 2014, as universities implemented a new playoff format for determining FBS national champions. In 2015, a panel of supposed non-biased college football experts selected four teams to compete in the College Football Playoff.

College football receives substantial attention, but the NCAA Division I men's basketball tournament remains the largest revenue generator for the NCAA. The NCAA Division I men's basketball tournament was first played in 1939, with the Oregon Ducks crowned champions (Wilco, 2019). The tournament has grown from 8 teams in 1939 to the current format that invites 68 teams. It has become the largest single revenue generator for the NCAA. In 2017, the NCAA topped $1 billion in revenue for the first time, with $761 million coming from the NCAA Division I men's tournament (Rovell, 2018).

Coined "March Madness," the tournament has become a cultural phenomenon that draws the attention of many sport and non-sport fans alike for the three weeks during which the tournament is played. Tens of millions of people engage in the act of "filling out brackets" whereby they pick winners for each tournament game. Often, the act of filling out brackets entails the placing of wagers. For the 2019 tournament, the American Gaming Association estimated that people bet nearly $8.5 billion on the NCAA Division I men's basketball tournament (Ginsbach, 2019).

The push to compete in the College Football Playoff, playing in high-profile football bowl games, and being included in the NCAA Division I men's basketball tournament has led to universities spending millions of dollars on high-profile coaches and state of the art facilities. Though football is the primary revenue generator for athletic departments, universities have begun to invest millions of dollars into upgrading

facilities for other sports as well in order to attract top-level coaches and athletes. The excessive spending trend has shown no signs of slowing and is, in fact, probably gaining momentum. In fact, universities have been increasing their investments in athletics over the years to achieve higher levels of status and legitimacy among their peers and within public perceptions (Hutchinson, Nite, & Bouchet, 2015; Kelly & Dixon, 2011; Nite & Hutchinson, 2018).

In response to the increased commercialism of intercollegiate athletics, the Knight Foundation created the Knight Commission with the purpose of reforming intercollegiate athletics. The Knight Commission consisted of university presidents, corporate presidents and chief excutives, and members of Congress (Barr, 2009). Initial studies conducted by the Knight Commission found that many of the problems first reported by the Carnegie foundation still existed in intercollegiate athletics (Barr, 2009; Byers, 1995). Further, the Knight Commission offered suggestions for regulating college athletics, which have led to many of the current NCAA regulations (Barr, 2009; Knight Commission, 1999). The Knight Commission is still active today and has recently launched a new database documenting the spending trends of Division I college athletics. As it stands today, commercial involvement with intercollegiate athletics is at an all-time high and numerous scandals and recruiting violations still occur.

COMMERCIAL AGENDA vs EDUCATIONAL VALUES

The institution of intercollegiate athletics is paradoxical in nature with divergent ideas (i.e., logics) factoring into the decision-making of university and athletic department administrators. Management and organizational sociologists often term divergent logics of operation as "institutional complexity" (Greenwood et al., 2011). Institutional complexity makes for an interesting dynamic because it often leaves decision-makers in a position where values, whether they be commercial or educational in nature, may be compromised depending on which line of thought dominates decision-making.

The two primary lines of thinking that characterize intercollegiate athletics are commercial and educational (Shulman & Bowen, 2001; Southall et al., 2008). Both of these ideas have become so engrained within intercollegiate athletics that they are dependent on each other for the survival of the institution that is intercollegiate athletics. Simply, athletic departments would not be able to remain competitive or viable in the current climate without operating in a commercialized manner. However, completely ignoring or abandoning educational values would result in the demise of intercollegiate athletics because they are housed within the higher education system, which still requires at least a minimal commitment to educational values. Let us examine these two lines of thought and how they create tensions within intercollegiate athletics.

Commercial Agenda

Debates of commercialism versus amateurism has been an issue within intercollegiate athletics since the inception of athletic competitions. Dating to the early 1900s, pundits and scholars alike have struggled with the adoption of commercial, or market, values in intercollegiate athletics. Amateurism has largely been held, primarily by the NCAA and its members, as the primary ethos of intercollegiate athletics. However, the behaviors of universities and the NCAA suggests that commercialism is prominent. Commercialism can be seen in numerous aspects, including: conference realignments, television deals, athletic facilities expansions, and coaches' salaries.

Conference Realignments

In the late 2000s and early 2010s, few events in intercollegiate athletics garnered as much attention as conference realignments. Conference realignment is the process in which universities disassociate with their current conferences in order to join other conferences. The changes are seemingly driven by commercial concerns, notably television (discussed in detail in subsequent sections). Notable universities that have switched conferences from 2009-2014 include: Maryland, Rutgers, Nebraska, Utah, Boise State, Colorado, Missouri, Texas A&M, Syracuse, Texas Christian, West Virginia, Pittsburgh, and Notre Dame (except for football). Many of these universities abandoned traditional rivalries for what they perceived to be a better financial situation for their athletic departments and universities. In 2018, SBNation reported the following

revenue distributions to each university in Power 5 affiliated conferences: SEC - $40.9 million, Big Ten - $34.8 million, Big 12 - $34.8 million, Pac 12 - $29 million, and the ACC $27 million (Kirshner, 2018). However, most of the decisions surrounding conference realignments seemed to focus primarily on the benefits that would be incurred by football with little attention being paid to other sports. It would appear that universities have demonstrated little concern for the geographical fit and subsequent travel issues for other sports that were created by these realignments. Increased frequency of missed classes for student-athletes also seemed to matter little in conference realignments.

Television Deals
From the time that conferences and universities were allowed to negotiate their own television deals, the pursuit of television money has influenced numerous decisions for university and athletic department administrators (Nite & Washington, 2017). For instance:

- The SEC has television deals with CBS ($55 million/year until 2023; Travis, 2018) and ESPN ($2.25 billion for 15 years in 2008, extended in 2014 until 2034, terms not disclosed; Sandomir, 2013).
- The Big Ten Network's deal with FOX, ESPN, and CBS is worth approximately $2.64 billion over the next 25 years (Ourand, 2016).
- The Pac 12 had secured a multi-network deal that is worth approximately $3 billion for 12 years (Pucin, 2011).
- The Big XII had deals with ABC/ESPN and FOX that are worth approximately $150 million a year (Associated Press, 2011).
- The ACC has partnered with ESPN through 2035-36 to develop a conference specific network/channel (ESPN.com news service, 2016).

Television contracts are important because conference television money is distributed to the universities that comprise each conference. Individual universities have also struck their own television deals. Notre Dame has a long-standing television contract with NBC, and the University of Texas partnered with ESPN to launch the Longhorn Network, which was worth $800 million for 20 years (Kuriloff & Mildenburg, 2011). Brigham Young University also had a contract with ESPN until 2019 (Kragthorpe, 2018). Television money increases athletic budgets, which allows athletic departments to increase coaches' salaries and improve facilities.

The governing bodies of intercollegiate athletics also benefit from lucrative television contracts. The NCAA currently has a $19.6 billion television deal with CBS and Turner Sports to broadcast the NCAA Men's Basketball tournament that runs until 2032 (Kim, 2017). The NCAA contends that majority of the revenue is dispersed to its members to support student-athletes (NCAA.com, 2016). ESPN currently holds the right to 35 of the 40 college football bowl games, including the College Football Playoff series. *USA Today* reported that ESPN pays nearly $470 million per year for the media rights of the College Football Playoff (Schrotenboer, 2018). Similar to the NCAA, the money from the bowls is distributed to the conferences, which then distribute those funds to their member institutions. Each of the "Power 5" conferences (SEC, Big XII, Big Ten, ACC, and Pac 12) receive the largest portion of the money. Consequently, universities have tried to position themselves to receive invites to join the Power 5 conferences.

Athletics Facilities Expansions
Athletic departments and universities spend millions of dollars every year on facilities. In recent years, numerous universities have either built new athletic facilities or have renovated existing facilities in order to lure highly rated recruits and to increase the ticket sales to their events. Some have estimated that throughout the mid 2000s, athletic departments raised close to $4 billion from private donors to fund athletic facilities (Sander & Wolverton, 2009). The University of Minnesota, Oklahoma State, and the University of Michigan all spent over $250 million on upgrades and remodels to their football stadiums (Sander

& Wolverton, 2009). The money that was not raised through private donations was secured using debt financing (Sander & Wolverton, 2009). This is significant because it is another example of universities and athletic departments yielding to the commercial aspects of intercollegiate athletics. The financial burdens of athletic departments are typically absorbed by their universities, thereby diminishing the funds that can be used for other projects that would likely enhance the academic missions of universities.

It should also be noted that many athletic departments have been (or are in the process of) constructing multimillion-dollar academic facilities to support the academic growth of their student-athletes. These centers have been used to house study halls, computer labs, academic advisors, and academic tutors. Some have questioned the fairness of providing student-athletes with this level of support, suggesting that these facilities give student-athletes an unfair advantage over other students in the classroom (Wolverton, 2008). Despite this debate, it appears that athletic departments and universities are demonstrating academics are as important as the athletic endeavors of their student-athletes. However, critical examination of this issue suggests that these academic facilities are still meant to serve the commercial side of intercollegiate athletics. That is, these facilities and their personnel are meant to keep underachieving student-athletes eligible so that their teams can remain successful in their athletic competitions. These facilities may also aid in recruiting highly talented athletes who may be ill prepared for college academic life. Therefore, even the academic facilities in athletic departments may in fact serve commercial purposes.

Coach Salaries
The final commercial issue that I highlight is the exorbitant coaches' salaries of intercollegiate athletics. Coaches' salaries have steadily risen over the past few decades to the point where many college coaches are compensated as well as professional coaches. In many cases (especially at the FBS and Division I level), coaches have salaries exceeding their university presidents' and athletic directors'. Furthermore, in some states, the highest paid government employees are coaches. Consider the state of Texas. The Texas Tribune reported in 2019 that the three highest paid state employees of Texas were Shaka Smart (Head Men's Basketball Coach at the University of Texas, approximately $ 3 million/year), Tom Herman (Head Football Coach at the University of Texas, $2.7 million/year), and Mike Elko (Defensive Coordinator of Texas A&M University's football team, $1.8 million/year).[3] In comparison, the salary of the president of Texas A&M University that year was $1 million while the Athletic Director made approximately $935,000 (Government salaries explorer, n.d.).

The justifications for the excessive coaches' salaries are typically commercial in nature. Coaches are paid so well because their teams generate substantial revenues for their universities; therefore, just as any CEO at a successful firm, coaches should be compensated in relation to the amounts of money that they bring into the athletic department and university. Whether or not college coaches deserve these salaries could be an endless conversation. The point is that these salaries are supposedly driven by commercial principles with little regard given to the educative side of the coaching profession. In fact, one could argue that many coaches who have emphasized the educational aspects of participation in intercollegiate athletics have been fired from their jobs because they did not win enough games to satisfy the commercial aspects of coaching.

Educational Values
For most sports and athletes in the United States, the highest level of amateur athletics is housed within the higher education system. Therefore, athletes, coaches, and other athletic administrators cannot focus solely on the athletic side of sports and must be attentive to educational values. Historically (and many argue presently), key constituents in intercollegiate athletics had ignored or minimized the academic aspect of intercollegiate athletics. Therefore, the NCAA and other governing bodies have tried to set baseline standards of academic requirements that all student-athletes must meet in order to participate in intercollegiate athletics. These measures were meant to ensure the educational values of the higher education

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[3] Note, too, that these figures represent state monies appropriated to the coaches' salaries, and other forms of compensation likely exist.

system were not neglected. Further, in order to root out professional influence and preserve amateurism, the NCAA has also set forth regulations governing the amateur status of student-athletes. These steps were taken to combat the commercial aspects of intercollegiate athletics and maintain, at the very least, a minimal adherence to educational values.

Amateurism
One of the principle purposes of the NCAA is to regulate and maintain the amateur status of student-athletes and intercollegiate athletics in general. This idea is the foundation for many of their rules and regulations. Amateurism is used to explain the NCAA's reluctance to compensate student-athletes beyond scholarships or financial aid agreements. Because of the adherence to amateur values, the NCAA also regulates the contact that student-athletes can have with agents.

Critics of this routinely point to the amount of money that is generated by football and men's basketball and have suggested that student-athletes are exploited (Donnor, 2005). Some would argue that the NCAA operates to protect the myth of amateurism in an effort to maintain their status as a not-for-profit organization (Sack & Staurowsky, 1998; Southall & Staurowsky, 2013). However, the NCAA has argued that most athletic departments, sports, and championship events typically operate at a deficit (NCAAc, n.d.).

Regardless, the NCAA has attempted to preserve some semblance of amateurism in intercollegiate athletics. A key aspect of amateurism for the NCAA is upholding the educational values of participation in sport at the college level. As such, the NCAA has defended its amateur model in court and in the media by framing challengers as antithetical to amateurism and as deviants from social norms (Nite, 2017). The NCAA has adopted extensive rules and requirements concerning academic eligibility, rules for participation, and institutional regulations in order to remain aligned with the educational values of higher education.

Eligibility Requirements
Historically, the NCAA has maintained the position that participation in intercollegiate athletics is an important part of higher education and that athletes are students, not employees, of their universities. In order to propagate this idea and avoid paying worker's compensation to injured athletes, the NCAA began using the term "student-athletes" in the 1950s to describe athletes who participate in intercollegiate athletics (Staurowsky & Sack, 2005). Some have been critical of the term "student-athlete" because it "reflects the intention of the NCAA and college administrators to obscure exploitative practices that profited the institutions involved while violating the fundamental tenets of higher education and human rights" (Staurowsky & Sack, 2005, p. 107). Regardless of the original intent for its usage, the term "student-athlete" suggests that participants in athletics must at least feign some level of academic concern.

The NCAA has, therefore, taken steps to address certain academic concerns. One notable action occurred in 1983 with the adoption of Proposition 48 (NCAA, 2010b). Proposition 48 established that student-athletes must maintain a minimum grade point average of 2.0. Included in this, first-year athletes must also have scored a minimum of a 700 on the SAT or a 15 on the ACT. Further, entering first-year student-athletes must have also passed 11 core classes prior to enrollment. Eventually in 1992, Proposition 16 was adopted to heighten the academic eligibility requirements. Proposition 16 introduced a "sliding scale" that considered an entering individual's high school grade-point average along with the student's SAT or ACT scores (NCAA, 2010b).

In recent years, the NCAA has instituted further reforms to their eligibility requirements. The NCAA implemented the Graduation Success Rate (GSR) and Academic Progress Rate (APR) in order to instill accountability within athletic departments and universities in regards to the academic achievement of their student-athletes. The NCAA continues to update and reform its eligibility requirements for student-athletes and has also begun to penalize universities that frequently do not meet minimal GSR and APR standards. Beginning in the 2019-2020 academic year, a university's academic achievement will impact the amount of money distributed by the NCAA to the university as an incentive for academic success (NCAAa, n.d.). It

should be noted that the NCAA reports indicate student-athlete graduation rates far exceed those of other college students (NCAAe, n.d.).

Student-Athlete Development

Both commercial and educational logics impact student-athletes and their overall development as people. Many of the challenges that student-athletes face while in college are not necessarily unique to their situations. That is, student-athletes encounter obstacles to their growth and development that are similar to other students. However, participation in intercollegiate athletics presents some unique challenges for student-athletes as they progress through college. Most notably, student-athletes must manage the pressure and fame that is inherent with intercollegiate athletics (Adler & Adler, 1991; Parham, 1993). Let us further examine some of these issues.

Student-athletes occupy many roles while they are in college, including that of student, athlete, and socialite (Adler & Adler, 1991). However, student-athletes tend to identify more with the athlete role than any of the others (Adler & Adler, 1991; Miller & Kerr, 2003; Valentine & Taub, 1999). This can be attributed to many factors. First, student-athletes spend most of their time and energy attending to athletic concerns rather than to the athletic or social aspects of their lives (Adler & Adler, 1991; Valentine & Taub, 1999). Specifically, they spend countless hours in practice, traveling to games, in team meetings, and watching film. To limit athletics consuming the lives of student-athletes, the NCAA has tried to regulate the amount of time coaches can spend with student-athletes. Yet, it is difficult to keep student-athletes from spending their own time practicing or thinking about their respective sports; therefore, the majority of student-athletes' time and energy is spent attending to athletic endeavors.

The glorification and positive affirmation that accompany participation in intercollegiate athletics also attribute to student-athletes focusing more to athletics than academics (Adler & Adler, 1991; Yopyk & Prentice, 2005). Once student-athletes step onto their respective campuses, they become somewhat public figures who are lauded for their athletic prowess. This fame and celebrity status lead many student-athletes to neglect their academic endeavors because it is their athleticism for which they are glorified.

Further, student-athletes tend to receive more positive feedback concerning their athletic performances than they do for their academic achievements. The media, coaches, family members, and even members of the academic community often focus on the student-athletes' athletic achievements, sending the message that athletics are most important.

Research has suggested that student-athletes often deemphasize the importance of academics and other non-athletic aspects of their lives because they receive limited reinforcement of these roles by important people in their lives (i.e. coaches and family members; Adler & Adler, 1991; Singer & Armstrong, 2001). Further, student-athletes (especially male student-athletes) often hold onto the dream that they are going to play their sport professionally. Despite indicators otherwise, they hold onto these dreams because of the fame, glory, and large salaries of professional athletes. This leads many student-athletes to neglect developing in areas that do not directly contribute to their growth as athletes.

Finally, student-athletes are often subjected to negative stereotypes concerning their academic abilities (Engstrom & Sedlacek, 1991; Sharp & Sheilley, 2008). Many professors also hold negative feelings toward student-athletes because they perceive that student-athletes receive special treatment (Baucom & Lantz, 2001; Valentine & Taub, 1999). Thus, the negative reinforcement from academic stakeholders further results in student-athletes identifying more as athletes rather than students.

Student-athletes often face developmental challenges, which can be directly attributed to them focusing so much of their time and energy on athletics (Valentine & Taub, 1999). Of primary concern, student-athletes often neglect their academic development because they focus their attention on athletics (Astin, 1993; Pascarella & Truckenmiller, 1999). Student-athletes often enter college with lower SAT scores than the general

student body (Aries et al., 2004) and frequently maintain lower grade-point averages (GPAs) than their non-athlete peers (Robst & Keil, 2000; Simons et al., 1999). This is particularly problematic because student-athletes may also experience delayed career development (Murphy et al., 1996). Simply put, student-athletes often neglect thinking beyond their athletic careers and fail to think about their future employment. Perhaps this can be attributed to the belief that they will somehow be able to play their chosen sport professionally. This mindset is troubling because statistics have indicated that generally, less than 2% of student-athletes will become professional athletes (NCAAd, n.d.).

Despite these developmental concerns, student-athletes also realize notable advantages from competing in intercollegiate athletics. Relative to their counterparts, they score higher on measures of well-being (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1992), tend to experience fewer instances of depression and suicidal tendencies (Miller & Hoffman, 2009), and are more apt to remain physically active throughout their lives (Bailey et al., 2009). Further, many student-athletes receive some level of financial aid associated with their participation in athletics and the NCAA reports higher graduation rates for athletes compared to general students (NCAAa, n.d.). Thus, even though student-athletes may experience certain setbacks from competing in intercollegiate athletics, they still garner some benefits from their participation.

CHAPTER SUMMARY
In this chapter, I discussed the two prevalent lines of thought that guide decision-making in intercollegiate athletics. Specifically, intercollegiate athletics operate with commercial and educational intents. Stakeholders within intercollegiate athletics must appease both commercial and educational ideals in order to remain viable. Commercialism has permeated intercollegiate athletics to the point that athletic departments and universities have been forced to pursue commercial endeavors in order to remain competitive in athletics. However, stakeholders in intercollegiate athletics must also adhere to the educational values of the higher education system, or they risk sanctions from governing bodies that will limit their ability to compete in athletics. The NCAA has used the concept of amateurism as the foundation for committing to education in athletics. Finally, competing in intercollegiate athletics presents numerous developmental issues for student-athletes. Student-athletes often neglect academics and their future non-athletic careers while competing in intercollegiate athletics. Even though student-athletes do realize certain benefits from competing in intercollegiate athletics, some have questioned whether these benefits outweigh the setbacks.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. How does the presence of two divergent lines of thought affect administration and management decisions within athletic departments?
2. How could these commercial agendas and educational agendas impact student-athletes from a developmental standpoint?
3. Should intercollegiate athletics still operate under the guise of amateurism?
4. What would be some of the drawbacks and benefits to compensating student-athletes?
5. How can stakeholders slow down commercialism within intercollegiate athletics and reemphasize the educational values of higher education? Is this even possible?

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CHAPTER 13

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN AMERICAN SPORT[1]

Trevor Bopp and Joshua D. Vadeboncoeur

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Demonstrate a sociological understanding of what is meant by *race* and *ethnicity*, which includes the ability to discuss both the interrelationships and differences between each concept.
2. Discuss the ways in which each is socially constructed and what this means for sport within the American context.
3. Provide an overview on the relationships between race and whiteness, and how this dynamic shapes the American social institution of sport.
4. Apply theory to better understand how cultural ideology and much of what constitutes American society becomes embodied in sport, a primary informant of which is race and its manifestations.

INTRODUCTION
What does it mean to be White? What does it mean to be Black? What does it mean to be Latino or Asian or Indigenous? Did you learn how to "be" your race? Were you taught by your parents or a family member how to "act" your race, among other identity traits? Was it through observing peers or watching television shows that you learned to "perform" your race? Do you think about your racial identity? Is this prompted when engaging with individuals from the same racial group as you, or those from a different background? More broadly, what does it mean to have a racial identity? How about an ethnic identity? Do you happen to have a sense of both, one, or perhaps neither? Have you thought about race and race-related topics when you participate in sports? How about when you watch a sporting event? How might the intersection of race and sport have impacted your experience with sport?

Have you ever taken the time to ask yourself these questions? Did you feel any level of discomfort or unease in doing so? Given the underlying theme of race and identity, there's a good chance many of you felt these questions to be more personal than you might be accustomed. The point that we are trying to make is that while society often tells us that issues relating to race and ethnicity are taboo in general discussion, the reality is that race and racial identities are salient in all aspects of life and carry with them cultural meaning. This cultural meaning emanates from society's definition of race and its associated identities, thereby causing an expectation of people within that society to internalize and act according to said definitions. Put simply, race is a socially constructed idea comprised of characteristics and attributes that reflect and play out according to a society's cultural, historical, and political discernments (Gallagher, 2009).

While race holds arbitrarily-derived meaning, it should be noted that the histories of racial and ethnic groups should not be presented as isolated evolutions within a static socio-cultural vacuum. Rather, race should be thought of as part of a narrative that highlights, influences, and is influenced by interactions that have always taken place among and between groups in all social institutions: education, economy, politics, or culture (Sue, 2003). As such, race can be (and has been) leveraged to the benefit of some and the detriment of others; the manifestations of which are systemic racial inequalities. Racial inequality is not a result of essentialism or biological traits, but rather the consequence of systemic exploitation and subjugation (Du

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[1] Bopp, T., & Vadeboncoeur, J. D. (2019). Race and ethnicity in American sport. In G. B. Cunningham & M. A. Dixon (Eds.), *Sociology of sport and physical activity* (pp. 173-188). College Station, TX: Center for Sport Management Research and Education.

Bois, 1940, 2007b). Thus, the functionality of race (and by extension, racism) interposes itself across a myriad of social, cultural, and institutional planes, one of which happens to be the realm of sport.

According to Carrington and Andrews (2013), sport is a cultural activity operating within societal constraints. It is in this vein that sport, as a social institution within the American context, serves to replicate cultural ideologies and phenomena, as well as curate spaces where social relationships further reinforce relations of power. Frey and Eitzen (1991) contend that much of what we know about race and racism in American society simultaneously plays out in sport, providing us a window through which to examine how people not only interact with one another, but also make sense of their own identities (Coakley, 2015). A particular view of sport results "as a contested set of power relations embedded in systems of social inequality at the global, national and local levels" (Spaaij, Farquharson, & Marjoribanks, 2015, p. 400). Consequently, racial inequality helps perpetuate the *Great Sport Myth* (the belief that sport is inherently good and pure and that participants, consumers and sponsors of sport unquestionably benefit from interacting with it) and reify sport as a site for social inequality (Coakley, 2015).

As the authors of this chapter, we implore ourselves as well as you, the reader, to critically assess race in sport so as to better witness and understand race in its true form as a social construct. To do this, we must focus and understand the ways that race embodies culture, experience, and identity within a multitude of sporting spaces. We need to better understand the implications and impact of race within sport (and American society, more broadly), particularly upon communities of color, which we aim to achieve as an underlying foundation of this chapter. To this end, we will begin by offering discussion on the social construction of race, as well as why it is important to differentiate race from other demographic constructs such as ethnicity. Building upon our discussion, we will transition into an introduction of whiteness as not only the purveyor of this "construction," but also, and more importantly, the normative standard upon which our behaviors, beliefs, and values in American sport are predicated. From here, we briefly introduce various theories that have been utilized in the sport management literature to examine the experiences and underrepresentation of people of color in sport. Lastly, we apply this all to the sporting context, providing an overview of several particular institutional spaces in which race disparately plays out to the detriment of people and communities of color: 1) leadership and coaching in sport, and 2) the intersection of race, education, and sport. It is hoped that after reading this chapter, you will have developed a theoretical and practical foundation from which to advance your understanding of the role and social construction of race in American society and sport. Furthermore, we expect that through this analysis of your experiences in sport, racialized or otherwise, you consider and develop ways in which you can help advance the institution of sport past the current manifestation of race and ethnicity about which you will read in the pages that follow.

TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF RACE

To commence our discussion on the influence of race within the spaces of both sport and physical activity, it is imperative to differentiate our definitions of *race* and *ethnicity* from more standardized uses. We assert that such terms are social constructions that have both physical and psychological consequences, whereas the use of more common, generalizable terms runs the risk of imparting biological and objectively deterministic meaning upon individuals to whom the terms are directed (Helms, 1994). When an individual is perceived to be a part of a particular racial group, their *racial identity* typically takes precedence over membership in all other demographic categories. It is important to note here that most, if not all, other demographic identities fail to exist independent of one's racial identity (Helms & Cook, 1999), thus, the need to differentiate between demographic identity terms.

Race as a Social Construct

To define *race* reinforces the belief that humans can be divided and classified into biologically distinct groups according to a set of agreed upon cultural and physical characteristics (Morning, 2011). Allen and Adams (1992) claim that a legitimate physiological definition of race, or a means to differentiate individuals by race, would have to satisfy three particular criteria: (a) a detailed explanation of the biologically-derived

criteria used to differentiate between races; (b) the subsequent evidence that individuals within these racial groups adhere to and embody said criteria; and (c) a pre-determined method of explaining away any or all observable overlap occurring between races given the established criteria. However, this would be met with great difficulty due to *transculturation* across our global history, as well as the fact that the physical characteristics commonly used to differentiate races are but a small percentage of genetic traits (both seen and unseen) that comprise an individual. For example, it has been suggested that there exists more within-group variation among individuals of a determinable racial group according to phenotype (i.e., observable physiological traits) than differences that exist between groups (Allen & Adams, 1992). In other words, there may be more genetic variability between two individuals who are both deemed by society to be *White* than there would be between two individuals of two different races.

Nevertheless, while most individuals might find it easy to indicate the racial group to which they "belong," they might be hard pressed to either demonstrate or contextualize the socio-cultural and -political implications attached to such group *belongingness*. As such, why do individuals remain persistent in their self-adherence to or classification of others to one particular racial group, when a strong likelihood exists that individuals differentiated by certain phenotypical characteristics may actually share common genetic traits? For Helms and Cook (1999), to answer such questions, we must first understand race as a social construct. To say that "something" is socially constructed is to suggest that whichever qualities or traits attached to the definition of "it" are predicated on certain cultural and societal values. Given that societies will oftentimes attach a set of arbitrary qualities or traits to their definitions or meanings of race, it can be argued that race is merely a social product of said values, rather than being based on scientific facts (Gallagher, 2009). In order to crystallize this notion of race as a culturally-derived construct, it may be helpful to think about Gallagher's metaphorical link between gravity and race:

> If you push this book off your desk, do you expect it to fall to the ground? Obviously, you do. If you lived in Brazil or South Africa or Puerto Rico, would you expect the same thing to happen to your book? Of course you would, because you know that gravity is a universal constant. However, someone defined as black in the United States could be defined as white in Brazil, Trigueno (intermediate) in Puerto Rico, and "coloured" in South Africa. Gravity is the same everywhere, but racial classifications vary across place and time because definitions of race and ethnicity are based on the physical traits a society chooses to value or devalue. (Gallagher, 2009, p. 2)

Since a given society is inevitably made up of specific cultural circumstances and historical experiences, ideas about race are going to vary significantly within and between countries. Cultural and historical meaning is attached to race only because societies define and understand it in such a manner (Gallagher, 2009), whereby social constructions are oftentimes utilized by societies to uphold and reinforce societal norms. For instance, in attempting to understand how disparities exist between certain racial and ethnic groups, the following should be considered about race:

> [Race] has meaning in the minds and discourse of people who use it, but not in objective criteria. It defines who should have access to societal and in-group resources as well as the rules by which such resources will be dispensed. As such, social consequences result from correct and incorrect racial classifications. (Helms & Cook, 1999, p. 16)

Thus, in becoming socially constructed, race is conceptualized as a nominal category, resulting in the assignment of individuals to racial groups according to ambiguously specified physiological criteria. Unintentionally then, the racial category attached to an individual (whether self or outwardly derived) is often interpreted as a presumed correlation between biological and psychological traits (Helms and Cook, 1999). Said presumptions are often found across all levels of sport as it is commonly presumed that White athletes are successful in sports on account of a greater work ethic and superior intelligence as compared to their

Black counterparts, who are suggested to rely more heavily on an innate superior athleticism. Furthermore, Black athletes are minimized as having inferior intellectual capabilities, which has been utilized (among other "quasi" inferences) as rationale as to why Blacks are unfit to hold leadership positions in sport (Bimper, 2015; Burden, Hodge, & Harrison, 2004). Not only are these inferences egregious in nature, but there exists no theoretical confirmation of this linkage between physical (i.e., racial) appearance and athletic performance.

Differentiating Race and Ethnicity

Race is a fairly ambiguous construct which has become burdened by emotional attachments and discomfort, and as such, is often "re-branded" or referred to in more innocuous terms such as ethnicity (Helms & Cook, 1999). Given the incorrectly synonymous usage of race with such varied terms (also including culture, social class, religion, and other socio-cultural derivations), a pair of consequences emerge: (a) the act of differentiating among these demographic identity terms becomes increasingly convoluted; and (b) the socio-cultural, -economic, and -political implications of race become muddled under color-blind rhetoric. A working definition of ethnicity suggests "a socially constructed grouping of individuals who share in common certain cultural characteristics and features associated with that group, including language, religion, food, national origin, and ancestry" (Valdez, 2017, p. 465). Again, within the United States, whether an individual identifies with an ethnic group depends on historical patterns and expectations of group segregation, assimilation, acculturation, relative visibility within certain regions, and the socio-historical implications surrounding familial immigration (Helms & Cook, 1999). It is from these historical antecedents that culture takes on the meaning of the behaviors, beliefs, language(s), traditions, and values that are shared between generations of a given socio-racial group (Helms, 1994).

While ethnic groups can exist within the confines of societally-deemed racial groups, this does not mean they are the same since racial variability can occur among individuals of the same ethnic group. If we consider current Major League Baseball (MLB) players who would be racially classified as Black (within the American context that is) – such as Andrew McCutchen, Ronald Acuña Jr., and Xander Bogaerts – noticeable would be the variation in languages spoken. For instance, McCutchen, who is African American, speaks English; Acuña Jr., born and raised in Venezuela, speaks Spanish; and Bogaerts, who is Aruban, speaks four languages – English, Spanish, Papiamento, and Dutch. Similarly, depending on their country of origin, a Hispanic/Latino MLB player may classify themselves as White, while others may self-classify as Black or Indigenous.

Deconstructing Race and Whiteness

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, sociological conceptions of race have been subject to shifting ideology, from notions of rigid, immoveable racialized categories, to that of race as an active, fluid social construct (Omi & Winant, 2015; Smedley & Smedley, 2012). As noted by Smedley and Smedley (2005), "racial distinctions fail on all three counts – that is, they are not genetically discrete, are not reliably measured, and are not scientifically meaningful" (p. 16). From this position, whereby race is widely understood to be a social rather than scientific concept, race is a fundamental social concept necessary to understand the social structures of various groups, as well as the individual and collective interests that continue to maintain racial categories in the United States (Renn, 2012). At the heart of this interrelationship between race as a social construct and that which upholds racial categorization is *whiteness*, or the systematic "attempt to homogenize diverse white ethnics into a single category (much like it attempts with people of color) for purposes of racial domination" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 171).

For instance, previous societal generations created and institutionalized a societal ethnocentrism for generations of Whites to benefit from economic, political, and social capital (Taylor, 2016). This ethnocentrism is understood typically to be a system of *ethnocentric monoculturalism*, which is the "belief that one's race, culture, or nation is superior to all others, accompanied with the power to impose this expression on a less powerful group" (Sue, 2003, p. 101). Mills (1997) noted that within particular nation states such as the United States, Whites stand to benefit from the likes of an ethnocentric monoculturalism, which he argued:

creates a world in their cultural image, political states differentially favoring their in-
terests, an economy structured around the racial exploitation of others, and a moral
psychology (not just in whites but sometimes in nonwhites also) skewed consciously
or unconsciously toward privileging them, taking the status quo of differential racial
entitlement as normatively legitimate, and not to be investigated further. (p. 40)

Put simply, the racialized reality of White Americans is systematically transmitted through the socialization
practices of friends and families, neighborhoods, educational institutions, mass media, and various organi-
zations. As it concerns sport, the dominant status of Whites holds constant, particularly if we look at how
sporting spaces are spatialized by race (Lipsitz, 2011). What this means is that athletes, coaches, trainers,
management, owners, media members, and other sport stakeholders are operating within their respective
spaces, many of which not only overlap, but are predominantly comprised of White individuals. This is not
to suggest that a predominantly White setting is inherently "bad," but rather, when physical spaces are
racially homogenous (given the socio-historical implications of race and whiteness in the United States), a
psychological dominance can become entrenched in the form of whiteness as normative and that which is
closer to blackness as *other*.

For example, as similarly presented by DiAngelo (2018), the following is a racialized breakdown of those
who control some of the more influential spaces within the institution of sport. The following numbers are
pulled from the 2018 Racial and Gender Report Cards (further details and discussion take place later in this
chapter):
- Sports columnists: 80 percent White
- Sports reporters: 82 percent White
- Sports editors: 85 percent White
- NCAA FBS Division I athletics directors: 85 percent White
- NCAA FBS Division I conference commissioners: 100 percent White
- Owners of Major League Baseball (MLB) teams: 97 percent White
- Owners of Major League Soccer (MLS) teams: 85 percent White
- Owners of National Basketball Association (NBA) teams: 93 percent White
- Owners of National Football League (NFL) teams: 97 percent White

While this is just a snapshot of sport actors and organizations, the groups listed wield some of the most
power in the American (and to an extent, global) sporting realm. Again, it is important to note that these
numbers are not endorsing value judgments concerning whether an individual is "bad" or "good," but
rather, serve to demonstrate how a dominant social/racial group (i.e., *Whites*) holds power and control in
these positions to spread and foster its own interests, self-image, and values throughout American society
(DiAngelo, 2018).

THEORIES USED IN SPORT MANAGEMENT LITERATURE EXAMINING RACE
Having been introduced to the conceptual foundations regarding race, ethnicity and whiteness, we move
ahead to discuss the use and application of theories in examining the intersection of all three and sport. As
such, we provide a brief description and summary of each theory then demonstrate its use in sport-specific
studies examining how race and ethnicity manifest in the institution of sport.

Social Identity Theory is a psychological explanation as to how, and the extent to which, individuals define,
value and relate themselves to other groups of people, or social categories; this is typically through the
cognitive processes of categorization, identification and comparison (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 2004).
Categorization is a cognitive tool that allows humans to more easily make sense of their social environment,
as well as their relation to and within it. By placing individuals and groups into categories, which have
accompanying meanings and norms, people are able to better understand and assign social significance to

others and their interactions with them. Identification, or identity, refers to the process and extent to which an individual associates with other individuals or groups on both a social and individual level. For instance, racial identity can be conceived as the amount of significance one places on their racial group memberships, what it means to be a member of a particular racial group, and how the attitudes, beliefs, norms, stigmas and stereotypes associated with said racial group impacts one's identification, as well as self-concept and esteem (Cunningham & Sagas, 2005; see Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Lastly, once an individual identifies with a group, between group comparisons are initiated, consciously and subconsciously, typically resulting in positive or negative affect (e.g., approval, favoritism, or disapproval) of others based on their group affiliation. A number of studies in sport have utilized social identity theory to examine the experiences of student-athletes of color on the campuses of predominantly white institutions (PWI) (Bimper, 2014; Fuller, Harrison, & Bukstein, 2017; Harper, 2018; Tucker et al., 2016). They have found that student-athletes of color are often times perceived to be less than qualified academically and only enrolled at PWIs to advance their athletic career. In turn, they might internalize such perceptions and believe their self-worth and reason for being in college is contingent upon their athletic ability. The process and outcomes of such self-identification and cognitions can be further detailed via social categorization theory.

Social and Self-Categorization Theory further explains the cognitive process of categorizing people into social groups. Accordingly, individuals are depersonalized, stripped of their individual agency, characteristics and personalities, and treated as the embodiment of the group attributes to which they are perceived to belong (Hogg, 2003). In essence, individuals are perceived as the group prototype, assuming and portraying similarities and differences between groups, further maintaining the distinctiveness (read: categorization) of social groups. It is the result of these similarities and differences from which positive or negative affect towards others results. In accordance with self-categorization theory, individuals identify themselves and others in social groups, recognizing those with comparable traits, values, etc. as in-group members and those with whom there is too much difference as out-group members (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In-group members, as well as the group itself, are then judged more favorably as a means to validate one's own attributes and attitudes. Conversely, out-group members are understood through a more critical and negative lens, thus creating an intergroup bias (Cunningham & Sagas, 2005). This bias, both implicit and overt, establishes a penchant for more positive affect and favorability towards group members of a comparable race, culture, age, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, etc. This plays out in the disparate education and experience of student-athletes at PWIs, particularly those of color, who are stigmatized in comparison to the other students on campus such that they are perceived to segregate themselves from the general student population (see Tucker et al., 2016). Such perceptions facilitate a space in which student-athletes of color might not feel welcome and retreat to the confines of their athletic facility or program, thus perpetuating the stereotype, maintaining the psychological and physical distance to others on campus, and facilitating a network of relationships, or lack thereof. Resulting is an environment in which the academic experiences of student-athletes of color become marginalized (Benson, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2005; Singer 2005).

Role Congruity Theory further reveals the consequences of categorizing and comparing, portending the potential for discrimination and prejudice when an individual does not have the perceived attributes necessary or expected to be successful in a particular job or achieve a certain social role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). As such, when an individual seeks to obtain a position, social or otherwise, the evaluation of said individual will be negatively influenced if his or her characteristics and abilities do not align with those of successful predecessors. Conversely, if his or her characteristics and abilities are congruent with the traditional qualities of said position, then their evaluation will be positively skewed (Diekman & Goodfriend, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Thus, the influence of individual perceptions has less to do with identity and categorization, and more so contingent upon descriptive and prescriptive norms and stereotypes (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Diekman & Goodfriend, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ritter & Yoder, 2004). Descriptive stereotypes are those that depict current expectations and attributes of positions, social or otherwise, and people occu-

pying them, while prescriptive stereotypes represent desired expectations and attributes. Ultimately, incongruity between one's expectations of individual and group member attributes and those necessary, whether legitimate or superficial, for their current social status or occupational position, can lead to a forged "lack of fit" (Burgess & Borgida, 1999). Though primarily utilized in the sport literature to examine gender discrimination and sexism experienced by women in leadership positions (Burton, 2015; Burton, Grappendorf, & Henderson, 2011; Tiell, Dixon, & Lin, 2012), the tenets of role congruity theory can also be applied to understanding and examining the racialized roles that have been normalized in sport such that people of color are perceived as well-suited for administrative support roles (Cunningham, 2012; McDowell, Cunningham, & Singer, 2009) and less prepared for leadership positions (TIDES, 2019). Later in this chapter you will read how race impacts the student-athlete experience through the dynamic of academic and athlete roles (Harrison & Lawrence, 2003). Such discrepancies perpetuate discrimination and unequal access and opportunities for individuals and groups who do not adhere to or fit traditional social or positional norms, thereby allowing occupational segregation to persist.

Occupational Segregation explains how positions in the workplace become racialized such that people of color tend to be overrepresented in positions that are perceived to be less valuable to the success of the organization and require fewer job-specific proficiencies (Maume, 1999a, 1999b). Sack, Singh, and Thiel (2005) applied this concept to the sport world to explain the phenomenon in which people of a particular race and/or ethnicity are overrepresented in certain playing positions based on assumptions about their racialized predisposition to physical, and sometimes cognitive, abilities. Thus, positional segregation in sport, or stacking, is less about the value or skills required of the position, and more so contingent upon mental and physical stereotypes associated with particular races. Typically, these stereotypes keep players of color on the periphery of the action, forced to use their physical skills to support or complement the decision making positions more central to the action, in which players of color will be underrepresented. Sack et al. (2005) demonstrated this manifestation in baseball, where African Americans are underrepresented at the positions of pitcher, catcher, and infield. When analyzing the underrepresentation of African American coaches in football, Anderson (1993) found that coaches of color were not in the jobs, or segregated from the coaching positions, that typically ascended the coaching ladder to the coordinator or head coach position. Similar findings have also been witnessed on the administrative side of sport where people of color, and in particular Black employees, are overrepresented in student-athlete academic and support positions (Cunningham, 2012; McDowell et al., 2009).

Critical Race Theory allows for researchers to not only acknowledge the existence and perpetuation of race and racism in all social spheres, institutional systems, and governance (Singer, 2005), but also, and more importantly, deconstruct said structures and commence the process of (re)constructing agency and equitable relations of power (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). By understanding the historical and institutionalized elements of a socially constructed society, one is provided a lens to better understand and examine the roles of race and identity in individual and group interactions. Of specific importance to this framework is the operationalization and centering of race so that the lived experiences of racially marginalized individuals can be provided a platform and assessed in earnest (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Moreover, there are several foundational themes present in critical race theory that are central to examining the meaning of race and how it has been utilized to maintain a socially stratified ecosystem (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995):

1. Race and racism exist and persist through all facets of society.
2. Experiential knowledge of racial marginalized communities is valued and validated, as well as critical to challenging dominant structures and discourse.
3. Post-racial narratives (e.g., colorblindness, liberalism, meritocracy) that maintain social hierarchies are implicated and deconstructed.
4. Racial progress is determined at the discretion and by the interests of Whites.

Critical race theory has been utilized in a number of sport studies to allow for the lived experiences of people of color to be shared, understanding that sport as an institution does not exist in social isolation; rather that it is intertwined with the historical influences of race and ethnicity on society, power hierarchies, and sociocultural relationships (Carrington, 2013; Singer, 2005).

Homologous Reproduction has been used to help explain social dynamics and the maintenance of power and representation among dominant social group members. Kanter (1977) coined the term when examining women's experiences with discrimination and inequality when attempting to and upon entering male dominated professions. Homologous reproduction suggests that management is more likely to hire and promote people of similar physical attributes (e.g., race, gender) and social characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status, class). Contingent upon three institutional factors—opportunity, power, and promotion—this theory has been used in sport to dissect racialized hiring practices and the hierarchy of social networks through which people in positions of power operate. For example, Sagas and Cunningham (2005) found support for the existence of homologous reproduction among the coaching staffs of National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) DI men's basketball teams, such that White head coaches had more White assistant coaches and Black head coaches had more Black assistant coaches on their respective staffs. Furthermore, Black assistant coaches were significantly underrepresented on the staffs of White head coaches. This is but one example of homologous reproduction, with such discriminatory practices also taking place on the administrative side of college sport. Following this section, we will provide you with the racial breakdown of many leadership positions in college sport, and you are expected to notice the overwhelming majority of power positions held by White males (Lapchick, Zimmerman, Coleman, Murphy, et al., 2019). This has come to be known as the "good old boys" network (Lovett & Lowry, 1994), the representation of which maintains college sport as a space primarily run by "White, Protestant, able-bodied, heterosexual males" (Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2001, p. 13).

REPRESENTATION OF RACE IN SPORT LEADERSHIP

To demonstrate how race currently influences the current landscape of American sports, we turn to the Racial and Gender Report Card (RGRC). The RGRC is an annual examination of hiring practices, focusing primarily on coaching and administration, at the collegiate and professional levels of sport. Collecting data on the racial and gender composition of sport participants, leadership and management among all three divisions of the NCAA, the National Basketball Association (NBA), the National Football League (NFL), Major League Baseball (MLB), Major League Soccer (MLS) and the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA), the Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport (TIDES) reports on the current demographic makeup of each league/association so as to assess and grade its level of commitment and efforts toward diversity and inclusion (TIDES, 2019). It is hoped that the RGRC aids the intercollegiate and professional sport decision makers and leaders in creating a diverse and inclusive workplace environment in which everyone, regardless of race or gender, has an equal opportunity to participate, operate, or manage a team (Lapchick, Liang, Cartwright, & Currie, 2016). What follows is not simply a recapitulation of grades assigned to the leagues/associations over the past few years; rather, it provides an overview of the current representation of people of color among some of sport most prominent entities. It is through these demonstrative numbers we witness the manifestations of the aforementioned theories and outcomes of institutional discrimination and racism on the representation and experiences of people of color in sport.

Despite being the most popular of professional leagues, the NFL has a poor track record of diversity and inclusion with only four (12.5%) general managers and eight (25%) head coaches of color, in spite of a player pool consisting of 72.6% people of color. Likewise, the number of assistant coaches (35.5%) falls well short in comparison to its racial make-up (Lapchick, Zimmerman, Coleman, Barber, Martin, et al., 2019). However, this is nothing new. The NFL has struggled with the underrepresentation of people of color in leadership positions and went so far as to establish *The Rooney Rule* in 2003. The rule initially required teams to interview a racial minority candidate for openings at the head coaching position, but has since been strengthened to include searches for senior-level positions in 2009, and requires teams to interview candidates of color from outside their own organization or someone on the NFL's development list.

Furthermore, the NFL League Office hired a Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer in 2019 to manage and implement diversity and inclusion programs and initiatives across the league and its business endeavors (Lapchick, Zimmerman, Coleman, Barber, Martin, et al., 2019).

Among all men's professional leagues in 2018, the NBA League Office had the highest percentage of record for people of color (36.4%) as did its representation of people of color as general managers at 20% (Lapchick, Estrella, Stewart, & Gerhart, 2018). Similarly, the head coach position was occupied by 10 coaches of color (33.3%) and almost half (45.7%) of their assistant coaches were of color. This might not be too shocking given that the league is comprised primarily (73.9%) of players of color. However, such transitions from the playing court to positions of leadership are not as common and normalized as one might expect, nor are they witnessed in other professional sports.

While MLB has far fewer African American/Black players (8.4%), its racial and ethnic composition of on-field players is much more diverse and international. At the start of 2018, 41% of players were of a diverse background, including 254 players born outside the U.S., the highest level of diversity since 2012 (Lapchick, Zimmerman, Coleman, Barber, Harvey, et al., 2019). The MLB Central Office closely replicated this representation, employing 33.3% people of color among its professional staff. Not as impressive for MLB was the representation of managers and general managers or color (or head of baseball operations), which were 16.7% and 13.3%, respectively.

Lastly, a quick look at the 2018 representation of people of color both participating in and managing inter-collegiate athletics reveals a dearth of equal opportunities and a less than diverse and inclusive institution of college sport. At the NCAA headquarters, only four people of color (all African Americans) were in the positions of executive vice president, senior vice president, and vice president, while 19.3% of managing directors and directors, and 22.5% of administrators, were people of color. While the representation of racially diverse people increased, yet remains low, at the NCAA headquarters, a different story continues to play out among member schools and conferences (Lapchick, Zimmerman, Coleman, Murphy, et al., 2019). There has never been a person of color to serve as a Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) Conference Commissioner, and across all of DI, excluding Historically Black Conferences, 28 of 30 commissioners were white. Of the 111 FBS university presidents, 85.4 percent were White and the number of athletics directors of color at the DI, DII and DIII levels were 52 (15.7%), 29 (10%), and (7.3%), respectively. Not much change occurred at the head coaching position in 2018 where 85%, 85.6%, 90.9% of women's teams and 86.2%, 87.4%, and 91.4% of men's teams scores DI, DII and DIII, respectively, were under the guise of white leadership. Of the total number of student-athletes in Divisions I, II, and III, 62.7% were White males and 70.9% were White females.

Coaching and Leadership
You were previously presented with a brief overview of several prominent theories that have been utilized in examining the (under)representation of people of color in coaching and leadership positions in professional and intercollegiate sport, as well as a racial breakdown of several prominent leagues and the NCAA. In this next section, we further examine this underrepresentation by discussing how such a phenomenon has become institutionalized and normalized among coaches and sport leaders.

It's been suggested that the primacy of candidates for a coaching vacancy are likely to be former athletes of that sport (Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998). Extrapolating this concept to the greater sport landscape, it is safe to surmise that management roles closely working with teams, athletic departments, and sport organizations might also be comprised of former athletes. Thus, it stands to reason that the make-up of current athletic department and sport leadership positions (e.g., coaches, athletics directors, conference commissioners) would be representative of the demographic make-up of recent student-athlete and player populations. However, as previously established in the 2018 RGRC, people of color are grossly overrepresented on college sport teams, particularly those generating revenue and prestige for the institution, and grossly underrepresented in positions of power (Harper, 2018; Lapchick, Zimmerman, Coleman, Murphy,

et al., 2019). Additionally, at the professional ranks, if we review the typical progression up the organizational ladder (i.e., players -> assistant coaches -> head coaches -> general managers, etc.) we witness an inverse relationship between people of color and the power held in each position. In other words, people of color continue to be underrepresented in management and leadership positions in professional sport while White males, in particular, are overrepresented (TIDES, 2019).

When considering leadership positions in sport, and particularly coaching positions, it is fair to equate one's time as a student-athlete or player within a sport as an entry-level position. After all, it is during this time in which they are practicing their craft and honing their skills. Upon athletic retirement, players and former student-athletes who wish to work in sport, similar to the general student population, are likely to move into a graduate assistant, intern or volunteer position. Here, they begin to shape and apply their skills and abilities with a business-oriented approach. This largely involves accruing human capital (e.g., knowledge, skills, and abilities) through practices, trainings, workshops and other experiential learning opportunities (e.g., film sessions), social capital through networking with others (peers and coaches), as well as cultural capital pertinent to the sport or position one hopes to attain.

As their career advances, each of these capitals becomes more specialized and relevant to the next developmental phase. However, it is also prior to and within each of these career steps that people of color are marginalized and likely to experience racial prejudice and discrimination such that their access, opportunities and intentions to accumulate capital are disparately impacted. Brooks and Althouse (2000) have suggested the outcomes of which manifest in and through six psychosocial and job-related factors: (1) race, (2) athletic participation, (3) ability to mobilize resources, (4) organizational structure, (5) impact of social barriers, and (6) subsequent career mobility. Negative experiences in each of these capacities contribute to the dismal representation of coaches and people of color among sport leadership positions. Although not an exhaustive list, the following demonstrates the numerous ways in which people of color may be disparately impacted due to their race. Coaches, managers, and other leaders of color have experienced discrimination and prejudice in sport such that they have been stigmatized and stereotyped as less qualified than their White counterparts for head coaching and leadership positions (Sagas & Cunningham, 2005; Sartore & Cunningham, 2006; Turick & Bopp, 2016), experience less occupational mobility, opportunities and advancement (Bopp & Sagas, 2014; Day, 2015, 2018; Day & McDonald, 2010; McDowell et al., 2009; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005), endure prejudiced and sometimes adverse media portrayals (e.g., Carrington, 2013; Cunningham & Bopp, 2010), and suffer from disparately impacted career outcomes (Bopp, Wigley, & Eddosary, 2015; Cunningham, Bruening, & Straub, 2006; Cunningham & Sagas, 2005; Cunningham, Sagas, & Ashley, 2001; Finch, McDowell, & Sagas, 2010; Sagas & Cunningham, 2004).

Race, College Sport, and the Student-Athlete
Of particular concern to this chapter is the impact of race on the power hierarchy existent in intercollegiate athletics, as well as the manifestation of the intersection of education, race, and athletics. Prior to stepping on campus, student-athletes of color and in particular African American student-athletes, are stigmatized such that their athletic proficiencies are seen as the determining factor for their presence on the campuses of predominantly white institutions (PWI) rather than their academic merits (Bimper, 2014; Harper, 2018; Tucker et al., 2016). In fact, it's been estimated that nearly half of African American males on DI campuses are there for athletic reasons (Fuller et al., 2017). This staggering percentage of athletic-related enrollment has the potential to disparately impact a student-athlete, and more specifically an African American student-athlete's racial and athletic identities. Thus, racial and athletic identities are important factors to consider when examining the relationship between student-athletes and academic outcomes (Bimper, 2014).

The student-athlete experience, particularly as it relates to academics and education, is a unique one on the campuses of colleges and universities. It is perceived they are provided free food, clothing and other provisions, given preferential treatment in housing and class registration, receive financial support (e.g., scholarship) and special accommodations from faculty and staff, as well as additional academic and support

services. Conversely, student-athletes are stigmatized such that they are perceived to be less than academically fit for higher education, lack motivation to earn a degree, segregate themselves from the general student population, and expect special treatment from faculty and staff (see Tucker et al., 2016). This is further compounded by disparities found in the college preparedness of student-athletes of color who may face potential racial biases in standardized testing and/or suffer from underresourced and academically substandard high schools (Harrison, Comeaux, & Plecha, 2006; Maggard, 2007; Maloney & McCormick, 1993; Petrie & Russell, 1995; Sellers, 1992).

Such perceptions and stigmatizations are informed by and contribute to an unfair and manipulative environment in which student-athletes might fall victim to self-perceptions that they are only on campus to enhance the institutional brand through their athletic ability and sport, subsequently limiting their academic pursuits and educational ambitions (Harrison & Lawrence, 2003). However, it is not just students and faculty that hold these prejudices. The reinforcement of such exploitative values and norms on college campuses is strongly reinforced by the inherent pressure to win, as well as by coaches and support staff who may be less inclined to support external educational and experiential opportunities for fear they might "erode student-athletes' free time or distract them from a primary focus on sport" (Murphy, Petitpas, & Brewer, 1996, p. 244). Benson (2000) witnessed the effects of such mentalities when she examined the schooling experiences of African American football players, concluding that their marginal academic performances were the result of "a series of interrelated practices engaged in by all significant members of the academic setting, including peers, coaches, advisors, teachers, and the student-athlete themselves" (p. 228). Though succumbing to the pressure of this environment is not exclusive to African American student-athletes, it is this subgroup that is often the victim of academic corruption and athletic exploitation (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Singer 2005).

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the overrepresentation of African American male student-athletes among the 65 member institutions of the "Power 5" conferences: Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), Big Ten Conference, Big 12 Conference, Pac 12 Conference, and Southeastern Conference (SEC). In 2016-17, 2.4% of the undergraduate population at these schools were African American males, yet these same students represented 56% and 55% of the scholarship athletes on men's basketball and football teams, respectively (Harper, 2018). Upon further examination of four cohorts, Harper found that 55.2% of African American male student-athletes graduated within six years, compared to 69.3% of all undergraduate scholarship student-athletes. During this same time frame, 60.1% of Black undergraduate men and 76.3% of the entire undergraduate population graduated. Such discrepancies have been addressed previously by Sellers (2000) who argued the underrepresentation of African American students on college campuses and in the classroom is too often ignored in lieu of discussing athletic overrepresentation. However, as indicated above, even when in the classroom student-athletes of color, particularly African Americans, face discrimination, corruption and exploitation (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Singer 2005; Tucker et al., 2016).

Donnor (2005) presents athletic scholarships as contracts in which student-athletes sacrifice their time, agency, mental and physical well-being through provision of athletic services in return for the moral obligation of the institution to deliver an education, development of skills and abilities, or simply a degree. Yet, student-athletes are not always provided the proper opportunities to pursue a degree and formative career experiences in their area of academic interests. Rather, they might be clustered into "general studies" majors that tend to be more flexible and friendly for student-athletes (Fountain & Finley, 2009). Of particular concern to this chapter are the findings that reveal significant differences in the clustering of student-athletes of color vs their white counterparts (Fountain & Finley, 2009, 2011). Funneling student-athletes of color into easy majors and/or courses can be a disservice to their education and construed as malpractice or a breach of contract (Donnor, 2005; Ferris, Finster, & McDonald, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2005). The mistreatment of student athletes, and particularly student-athletes of color, is more than just the result of a few administrators yielding to the "win at all costs" mindset; rather, it is emblematic of the corrupt and exploitative system of academic institutions.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter we provided you with the theoretical, conceptual, and foundational elements of race, ethnicity and whiteness to allow you to better understand, discuss and apply the interrelationships and differences between each concept within the sport context. By clearly delineating each construct, it is expected that you are able to better articulate and examine the presence and persistent impact of each on the current sport landscape. We then provided you with several theories that have been utilized in sport research to help elucidate how sport has not only developed into (through the embodiment of cultural ideologies of American society), but also maintained as a racialized space. It is hoped that these theories will be considered in your reflection, examination, and interpretation of personal experiences with the intersection of race and sport. Providing you with an updated overview of the racial representation of people of color in coaching and leadership positions at the professional and college levels, as well as the impact of race on the experiences and identities of student-athletes of color, we expect you to integrate the preceding information on race, ethnicity, whiteness, and theories to develop and advance your own research or applied agendas toward a more diverse and inclusive institution of sport.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why is it important to differentiate between "race" and "ethnicity"?
2. How can a society become racialized? In what ways has the United States been characterized by racialization?
3. In your opinion, which of the theories presented in this chapter best explains how race plays out in the sporting context? Can only one theory explain the dynamics of race in these spaces?
4. As the demographic landscape of the United States becomes more racially diverse, what might this mean for sport and how it manifests in the institution of it? Will racism and discrimination subside or simply become more entrenched and covert in nature?

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Bonilla-Silva, E. (2018). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America* (5th ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. (Bonilla-Silva discusses how post-racial ideology in the form of colorblindness has served to "covertly" maintain systemic racism in the United States. Additionally, the author argues that as the United States becomes more diversified, a re-construction of racial hierarchies may occur to re-entrench and preserve the dominance of whiteness in American society.)

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge. (Omi and Winant introduce racial formation theory as a means to address critical issues regarding the social realities of race (and by extension, racism). This theory seeks to better address the manners by which racial group relations are constructed, and the socio-cultural, -economic, and -historical implications of racial inequality in American society.)

Smith, E. (2013). *Race, sport and the American dream* (3rd ed.). Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press. (Smith draws primarily from critical theory and world-system theory to examine the extent to which sport has impacted the economic, educational, familial, and socio-cultural experiences of African Americans – in particular, the relationship between sport and the African American male athlete is explored to shed further light on the nature of this consequential relationship.)

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CHAPTER 14

GENDER ISSUES IN SPORT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY[1]

Melanie L. Sartore-Baldwin

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter you should be able to:
1. Define the terms "sex" and "gender," and discuss how gender influences participation and discourses in sport, physical activity, and physical education.
2. Summarize the gendered physical body and the concept of hegemonic masculinity within the contexts of sport, physical activity, and physical education.
3. Define "sport ideology" and "gender ideology" and discuss how they intertwine.
4. Paraphrase the significance of Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments to the 1964 Civil Rights Act.
5. Summarize the relationship between gender, sexuality, and sexual orientation.

INTRODUCTION
In 2009, 18-year old South African middle-distance runner, Caster Semenya won the gold medal in the Women's 800 meters at the World Championships in Athletics with a time of 1:55.45. Shortly after her win, questions arose concerning her sex because of her exceptional performance and "masculine" physical features. In response, the International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF) ordered Semenya to undergo a battery of, what the organization refers to as "gender" verification tests to determine whether or not the medal should be revoked. After making Semenya wait nearly a year for a decision, the IAAF finally ruled that Semenya would be allowed to keep her medal and continue competing as a female. Semenya went on to win Olympic gold in 2012 and 2016 and become the 800-meter World Champion in 2017.

New eligibility regulations, implemented in 2018, by the IAAF have made Semenya's future eligibility questionable. A recent ruling by the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) determined that the IAAF can restrict the level of testosterone a female competitor possesses. Specifically, in order or an individual to compete as a female in select restricted events (e.g., 400 meters and 800 meters), she must have testosterone concentrations lower than 5 nmol/L. This is a sizable reduction from the 10 nmol/L threshold established in 2012. In a statement made by IAAF President, Sebastian Cole, this policy change has been made to "ensure fair and meaningful competition in the sport of athletics where success is determined by talent, dedication, and hard work rather than other contributing factors." In actually, however, the policy discriminates against intersex women and women possessing disorders of sex development (DSD). CAS judges commented on this type of discrimination by stating that it is "necessary, reasonable, and proportionate means" of preserving the integrity of female athletes. Because Semenya is one of these athletes, as she has been diagnosed with hyperandrogenism, a condition that results in her possessing elevated testosterone levels, she and her lawyers appealed these new regulations. As a result of this appeal, the implementation of these new regulations have been suspended and Semenya is allowed to compete without having to take hormone suppressants. This decision may be overturned however, still leaving Semenya's future in question.

Caster Semenya identifies as a woman. Despite this identification, however, her sex continues to be scrutinized because of her incredible athletic ability and the gendered beliefs that surround athleticism. Likewise, she is chastised because her physical characteristics fail to fall within the confines of traditional gendered

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[1] Sartore-Baldwin, M. L. (2019). Gender issues in sport and physical activity. In G. B. Cunningham & M. A. Dixon (Eds.), *Sociology of sport and physical activity* (3rd ed., pp. 189-202). College Station, TX: Center for Sport Management Research and Education.

beliefs. In fact, many people have made allegations that she was born a man and should therefore be categorized as such in the realm of sport or not compete. Because of this scrutiny, Semenya has been forced to undergo "gender verification tests" and has had her eligibility revoked and given back numerous times (Schultz, 2011).

Taken together, Semenya's nontraditional abilities and features are being questioned on the basis of socially constructed gender ideologies (Young, 2015). While many assume that all persons can be neatly categorized as being female or male, this is not the case. Likewise, it is presumptuous to believe that all men are masculine and all women are feminine. Such ideological beliefs, however, are so deeply embedded in both mainstream society and the contexts of sport and physical activity that they inform the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes of individuals, groups, teams, organizations, and the like.

In this chapter, I define and discuss various terms surrounding the topics of sex and gender, discuss the hegemonic nature of gender in relation to the physical body is next related to the physical body, and a explain how the acquisition of gendered meanings influences one's own understanding of gender within physical activity and sport throughout one's lifetime. The chapter next includes a brief section on the gendered discourse within the context of sport organizations and concludes with a discussion of how gender intersects with other social structures.

CONCEPTUALIZING SEX AND GENDER

What is gender? While the answer to this question is presumably straightforward, discussions of gender are often misinformed, as the terms sex and gender are oftentimes used synonymously. While the concepts are indeed overlapping (West & Zimmerman, 1987), it is important to individually define the two for the purposes of clarity. Sex and sex differences refer to the biological and anatomical characteristics (e.g., chromosomes, hormones levels, and genitalia) assigned to women and men. Gender and gender differences refer to the societal and contextual implications of sex characteristics (Deaux, 1985; Lorber, 1993; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Specifically, and as discussed by Butler (1990), gender exists in the form of gendered norms and gender practices that have been accorded women and men over time, stereotypes that have emerged as a result of such traditional norms, individual gender identity or the extent to which one feels they belong to a gender category (i.e., masculine or feminine), and the degree to which one is attracted and aroused by the opposite or same sex (i.e., sexual orientation). Lorber (1996) identified gender beliefs and displays, marital and procreation status, and work and family roles as additional components of gender.

The conventional understanding of gender is that following one's assignment to a dichotomous sex category (i.e., female or male), an individual possesses congruent gender roles, beliefs, identity, and displays, and sexual orientation (Lorber, 1996). A man would therefore have congruous masculine roles, beliefs, displays and a congruent masculine identity. Likewise, he would be attracted only to the opposite sex. Correspondingly, women possess femininity and congruent feminine roles, beliefs, and so on. This conceptualization strengthened the polarization of the sexes by conveying that what women are, what men are not, and vice versa. As Lorber noted, however, it is naïve to believe that all of the components of one's gender will "line up neatly on one side of the binary divide" (p. 147). Thus, the assumption that females are feminine, males are masculine, and both are heterosexual, lacks meaning and overlooks individuals who fall beyond these boundaries such as the intersexed, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and the transgendered. Further, the gender binary ignores the blatant similarities and differences that exist between men and women. For instance, female and male bodies possess the same bones, muscles, and, with the exception of reproductive systems, organs. Despite possessing different sex organs, however, male and female genitalia are developed from the same fetal tissue (Fausto-Sterling, 1993). Thus, male and female bodies possess the same tissue, cells, bones, and so on, as well as move in the same manner and perform the same physiological functions. Despite similarities such as these, Western cultures' rigid construction of two and only two sexes has led to the negation of similarities such as these and the reinforcement of dichotomous sex and gender differences (Fausto-Sterling, 1993).

Like sex, gender has traditionally been conceptualized as two opposite, yet complementary, one-dimensional constructs. On one end of the binary there are males and masculinity, and on the opposite end are females and femininity (Spence, 1993). Over time, however, researchers have identified masculinity and femininity as multidimensional and unrelated facets. First challenged by Constantinople (1973) and later by Lewin (1984), the assumptions that masculinity and femininity were a-theoretical, simplistic, and fixed began to be abandoned. As such, researchers like Bem (1974, 1981a, 1981b) and Spence (1993; Spence & Helmreich, 1972) began to offer theoretical explanations of gender and measures by which gender could be assessed. While many of these measures continue to be used today, others view femininity as both sociological and psychological constructs, thus representing gender as behavioral differences between the sexes and the differences in masculinity and femininity within individuals (Hoffman, 2001; Lippa, 2005). These differences have received considerable theoretical attention.

Broadly speaking, there are those who study the biological determinants (i.e., nature) of similarities and differences, those who study the social and environmental determinants (i.e., nurture), and those who study both. Lips (2017) identified six general theoretical realms through which sex and gender are studied: psychoanalytic, structural, evolutionary, environmental, developmental, and interactional. While several theories are housed within these realms, the predominance of their underpinnings include things such as personality, identification, genetic adaptation, cognition, and social and cultural influences, as ways to understand sex and gender. Lips also identified several methods, ranging from the use of case histories and narratives to constructing experiments on both humans and animals, by which these theoretical perspectives have been and can be employed. As such, there exists a considerable amount of literature, operating from various theoretical perspectives and paradigms, exploring the topics of sex and gender. Despite the abundance of research attention paid to the topics, there are few, if any, definitive answers with regard to the why and how of sex and gender. Thus, the nature-versus-nurture debate persists between some researchers, while others explore the roles of both nature and nurture in the complex relationship between the two concepts. Recognizing the profound impact of both nature and nurture on cognition and behavior, I adopt the latter approach so that the term gender can be better contextually understood.

Gender, when understood as both sociological and psychological constructs, does not take the form of truth, but rather takes the form of a social category and an individual identity. Gender is constructed, performed, understood, and reproduced through everyday interactions and behaviors (Potter, 1996). Discursive practices are collaborative, regularly occurring interactions whereby uniform talk, thoughts, interactions, and actions are produced and reproduced (Potter, 1996). They are reflective of a discourse, or a societal structuring principle, that accepts certain societal aspects as unquestionable givens (Foucault, 1984). The discursive practices that construct gender have shaped it as an institution whereby women and men are accorded different levels of social status and power and thus differential access to resources and opportunities (e.g., Connell, 1987; Lorber, 1996). Such gendered practices embody traditional gender beliefs and gender stereotypes that, in turn, perpetuate gender as an institution (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Within this institution, women are to be compassionate, emotional, gentle, and passive (i.e., feminine), whereas men are to be confident, assertive, strong, and independent (i.e., masculine). As Connell (2005a) contended, it is only within a gendered institution where hegemonic gendered order is pronounced that results in gendered behavior. This latter notion is particularly pertinent to the sport and physical activities domains.

Sport, physical activity, and physical education can be viewed as institutionalized domains where gendered discourses surround the physical body, inform identities and interactions, dictate behaviors, work or otherwise, and influence the structures of organizations (Althoff et al., 2017; Burton, 2015; Evans, 2017; Hargreaves, 1986). As a society, we are inundated with powerful messages of what is gender appropriate within these domains, the likes of which contribute to the perpetuation of gender stereotypes and appropriateness. While women have experienced profound increases in the number of sport and physical activity opportunities afforded to them (e.g., Carpenter & Acosta, 2005), and while there has been some progress in deconstructing the gendered order over the past few decades, the assumption remains that "there are two, and

only two, mutually exclusive sexes that necessarily correspond to stable gender identity and gendered behavior" (Birrell & Cole, 1990, p. 3). For men this assumption confirms their natural occupancy within the masculine contexts of sport and physical activity. For women, this assumption has long labeled them as outsiders and intruders. As Messner (1990) pointed out, however, gender identity, and to some extent gendered behavior, is a developmental process that is never completed and always influenced by social context. This contradiction is explained below.

GENDER AND THE BODY
Female and male bodies are not only expected to behave a certain way, but they are also expected to look and be presented in a certain manner. Physically, the sex organs with which one is born should match socially constructed gender beliefs associate with each sex. Beyond sex organs, the current (Western) cultural body ideals of women and men are such that women are to be demurely slender yet slightly toned, while men are to be athletically muscular. This contrast is indicative of three interrelated effects (Choi, 2003; Krane, 2001). First, it reinforces the placement of women as weaker than and subordinate to men, thus securing a social position that accords them lower societal power and status. Second, it presents a dilemma for women who wish to be recreationally and competitively physically active (Bennett, Scarlett, Clarke, & Crocker, 2017; Krane et al., 2004a). Third, as both ideals do involve some degree of muscularity, the opportunity is presented for both men and women to challenge the notion of various hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 2005a).

Hegemony refers to how the ideas of one social group within a system are used to exert power and dominance over another social group (Bates, 1975). Hegemonic power is thus an institutionalized form of dominance that is accepted by subordinates and dominants as self-explanatory and rational (Connell, 2005a). In his discussion of the gender system, Connell defined hegemonic masculinity as, "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (p. 77). Simply put, it is the process by which the most dominant form of masculinity exerts power and control over other masculinities and femininity. In general, hegemonic masculinity takes form in White, middle-class, heterosexual men, thus rendering contrasting masculinities and femininity, or as subordinate (Connell, 1987; Messerschmidt, 2018). In contexts where the body is of significance, muscularity is included as a component of hegemonic masculinity, as bodies are vital to the social construction of gender and gendered order (Connell, 1987; Bourdieu, 1984). This process has clear implications for, above all else, body image within the contexts of sport and physical activity (Schneider, Rollitz, Voracek, & Hennig-Fast, 2016).

According to Krane et al., (2004b), exercise and competitive sport environments are settings where participants feel an extraordinary amount of pressure to conform to Western society's gendered ideal body shapes. Indeed, several authors have argued that the contexts of sport, physical activity, and physical education augment such gendered body standards (e.g., Azzarito & Katzew, 2010; Messner, 1988). For women, the ideal body epitomizes feminine beauty, a concept that has become synonymous with toned thinness (Choi, 2003). Men, on the other hand, have come to learn that muscularity is tantamount to masculinity, and as such, the ideal body is big, strong, and lean (Lavender, Brown, & Murray, 2017; Luciano, 2007). While both ideals suggest that attaining the optimal body is as simple as leading a healthy and active lifestyle, there are several other issues involved when the body is put on display in exercise and sport settings. These issues revolve around the performance of gender.

Today's athlete is more visible than ever before. However, across all sport media outlets male and female athletes are presented differently, both in type and frequency (Cooky, 2017; Fink, 2015; Trolan, 2013). Male athletes are prominently displayed in the media and are almost always depicted as brave, strong, and powerful – the personification of masculinity. Female athletes, on the other hand, are underrepresented in the media and when they do receive attention, are often trivialized or sexualized. These profound messages not only reproduce gender order, but also communicate unrealistic expectations to society (Connell, 2005a;

Messner et al., 2003). For instance, working from the lens of self-objectification theory, Daniels (2009) found that images of female athletes performing their sport had an empowering effect on females, as they were more likely to describe themselves in terms of what their bodies can do versus what their bodies looked like. Conversely, participants who viewed images of female athletes in sexualized poses experienced dissatisfaction with their bodies, as they negatively evaluated both their appearance and physicality. Some men have also been found to exhibit body dissatisfaction related to the media portrayal of the muscular male body ideal (Lavender et al., 2017).

Self-objectification theory posits that individuals not occupying the dominant physical ideal within a culture will negatively evaluate themselves, the result of which can be detrimental to one's physical and psychological health (e.g., Daniels, 2009; Martins et al., 2007; Slater & Tiggemann, 2011). As the physical ideal within the contexts of sport and physical activity has been constructed through the gaze of hegemonic masculinity (Azzarito, 2009), the bodies of women and subordinate men are particularly susceptible to objectification and its negative consequences. This is particularly the case for athletes involved in objectified and traditionally feminine sports such as gymnastics and tennis (Varnes et al., 2015). At one extreme, objectification may lead to avoiding all or specific sport and physical activities (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). At the other extreme, objectification can lead to a negative body image and subsequent harmful behaviors (Martins et al., 2007). The gendered nature of body image suggests that for men these behaviors often include going to great lengths to achieve muscularity. An example would be the use of steroids. Women, on the other hand, are more inclined to develop dangerous exercise and eating behaviors, such as anorexia nervosa, to attain thinness. Such behaviors have not only been linked to the endorsement of traditional gender norms (Smolak & Murnen, 2008), but Azzarito noted that, as a result of institutional practices determined to establish a hierarchy of normalized bodies, "individuals police and discipline themselves to achieve or maintain a specific shape, size and muscularity to perform ideals of masculinity and/or ideals of femininity" (p. 21). Thus, the social sanctions experienced and the self-regulatory behaviors learned from early exposure to these institutional practices continue to inform one's gender development throughout one's lifetime (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Further, there is evidence to indicate that these practices impact the physical activities in which one participates (Slater & Tiggemann, 2011).

GENDER, YOUTH, AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Children learn to negotiate their bodies and construct their identities in accordance with sex and gender at a very young age. As many researchers have illustrated, gender identities are neither passively constructed, nor are they fixed across contexts (Butler, 1990; Connell, 2005a). Rather, gender identities take the forms of many masculinities and femininities that are numerous, diverse, and contextual. The contexts of sport and physical activity are of particular importance, as within these contexts gender identities are performed, constructed, and reproduced through social practice such that the illusions of proper, natural, and fixed gender identities act to inform how young children construct their gendered selves (Butler, 1990; Messner, 2002).

In a study of nursery school children, Bussey and Bandura (1992) found that children as young as four abided by the gender stereotypes placed upon themselves and others. Specifically, children sanctioned themselves and others to play with toys that were congruent with their perceived genders. Research also suggests similar sanctioning occurs when children engage in physical activities and sport, the likes of which have led to differing perceptions of both appropriateness and competence between young girls and boys (Messner, 2002). This is not to suggest children do not play an active part in gendering activities; however, even at this young age, they are performing gender (Messner, 2002). Drawing from his observations of children playing soccer in the American Youth Soccer Organization, Messner explained how gender performances were evident within and between a young girls' team and a young boys' team. Specifically, the girls performed femininity by first naming their team "The Barbie Girls" and subsequently dancing and singing while the boys performed masculinity by naming their team "The Sea Monsters" and subsequently acting aggressively, particularly toward "The Barbie Girls." These names and actions clearly defined the

two oppositional categories of boys vs. girls. They also highlighted the manner in which boys and girls reconstructed sex and gender binaries by "doing gender" in the sport context.

The social construction of gender is a multileveled ideological construct that permeates interactions, institutional structures, and cultures (Messner, 2002). This is perhaps most true within the context of sport and physical activity where children learn which activities are gender-appropriate from parents, peers, schools, media outlets, the community, and contextual practices and observations (Azzarito, 2009, 2010; Messner, 2002). Activities are consequently classified on the basis of gender characteristics and expectations. Based on the original classification by Metheny (1965), several researchers have demonstrated that activities such as football, ice hockey, wrestling, and boxing require a great deal of strength and power and are dangerous, risky, and violent; therefore, they continue to be considered male-appropriate and masculine (Koivula, 2001; Riemer & Visio, 2003). Activities such as gymnastics, aerobics, volleyball, and figure skating involve aesthetics, grace, and beauty and/or are dominated by women and, thus, remain feminine and female-appropriate (Riemer & Visio, 2003; Hardin & Greer, 2009). Other activities and sports, such as tennis and swimming are generally identified as gender neutral and are appropriate for the participation of both girls and boys. While there is increasing acceptance of girls and women in activities deemed masculine, boys and men who cross the gender boundary and partake in feminine activities risk harsh consequences, particularly as they enter adolescence (Alley & Hicks, 2005).

Many researchers have identified adolescence as a time where the social worlds of young boys and girls begin to expand (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Leszczynski & Strough, 2008). It is during this time that adolescents gravitate toward their peers, form social identities, and begin to make their own choices. It is also during this time that the saliency of gendered understandings becomes highly pronounced and gender boundaries become increasingly enforced (Laberge & Albert, 1999). While several biological and psychosocial factors influence the formation of one's gender identity (Steensma, Kreukels, de Vries, & Cohen-Kettenis, 2013), contextual gender beliefs and stereotypes are factors that influence the decisions that adolescents make regarding physical activity and sport participation. A recent systematic review the literature performed by Somerset and Hoare (2018) identified gender stereotypes as barrier for sport participation. This was most often the case for girls and young women. Girls and young women who did participate in sport were still influenced by gender stereotypes, as they experienced apprehension to participate when boys were present and felt as though they had to prove themselves to boys and young men (Somerset & Hoare, 2018). As Elling and Knoppers (2005) noted, choices and experiences such as these uphold ideologies, further marginalize subordinate groups, and subsequently result in a gendered pattern of attrition.

In general, the most cited factors contributing to the attrition of both girls and boys in sport and physical activity are a result of a lack of time and lack of enjoyment for specific activities (Somerset & Hoare, 2018). Higher instances of withdrawal amongst adolescent girls have been attributed to gendered expectations of body performances. For example, Butcher et al. (2002) found that young girls were more likely than boys to cite perceived performance and ability deficiencies as primary reasons for withdrawal from sport. Slater and Tiggemann's (2011) findings identify teasing and body image concerns as contributors to sport and physical activity attrition amongst girls. Lastly, Fisette (2013) employed focus groups and interviews to explore self-identified barriers to enjoying physical education. The three primary reasons were all related to gender, as they included boys dominating sport, conforming to traditional gender stereotypes, and risking embarrassment in front of boys. Taken together, and consistent with Lenskyj (1990), these perceptions manifested within the young girls as a result of receiving continuous cues of gender appropriateness. Adolescent boys also suffer as a result of gendered cues, as any indication of a gender transgression (i.e., taking part in a so-called women's sport or physical activity) is indicative of possessing less masculinity and being less than a man (Laberge & Albert, 1999). These cues are found in various contexts throughout one's childhood and adolescence. Within the physical education setting, cues are present in the gendered discourse that surrounds the physical body (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005; Gerdin, 2017). Within the competitive sport setting, gendered cues become more and more prevalent and augmented as one moves through early

to late adolescence and into adulthood, as they are endorsed by the media, parents, siblings, peers, and coaches (Vilhjalmsson & Kristjansdottir, 2003).

SPORT IDEOLOGY

It is not uncommon to hear a physical education teacher, coach, parent, and so on use the phrases, "throw like a girl" or "play like a girl." Both phrases have profound meaning, as they exemplify male superiority within the contexts of sport and physical activity. As Azzarito and Solomon (2005) pointed out, young boys and men are often told that they throw like girls as a way to communicate inferior athletic skill and prowess – tantamount to the skills and prowess of girls. Constructing the female body as inferior has been a common occurrence throughout history (Messner, 2011). In fact, during the Victorian age, the female body was viewed as so frail that for fear of incurring irreparable damage to their reproductive systems, doctor's discouraged women from engaging in strenuous activity (Cahn, 1994). Gendered understandings like this have shaped the sport realm as solely masculine, thus paving the way for the exclusion of women. They have also created males as active, females as passive, and perpetuated the tendency for women to underestimate their athletic abilities (Connell, 2005a; Kauer & Krane, 2013; Young, 1980). Finally, gendered understandings have created the fear that women who do engage in sport and physical activity and possess skills and abilities equivalent to or better than those of men, will become masculinized (Cahn, 1994).

Over time and despite the oppressive connotation of the aforementioned phrases, women have become empowered by the notion of throwing or playing like a girl and they want to be portrayed as possessing strength and power (Krane et al., 2010). The newfound athleticism and strength of women has fostered action, power, autonomy, and resistance hegemonic masculinity (Messner, 2011). Arguably, the source of this empowerment is the passing of Title IX. Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments to the 1964 Civil Rights Act (P.L. 92-318, 20 U.S.C.S § 1681) mandated that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance." Despite not possessing the words, "sport," "athlete," or "physical education," Title IX has had a profound impact on the sport experiences of young women at the high school and collegiate levels. According to the Women's Sport Foundation, female participation rates have increased 990% and 595% within interscholastic and intercollegiate athletic programs, respectively. This progress has not come easily, however, as even after 1978, the year in which all federally funded educational institutions were required to comply with Title IX, gender equity remained elusive at best due to the variable interpretations of the law. Subsequent letters of clarification in 1996, 1998, and 2003, a manual, and case law were necessary to further define the true meaning of Title IX (Carpenter & Acosta, 2005).

The passing of Title IX has provided the young women and girls of today and tomorrow vast amounts of participation opportunities in sport and physical education. This is not to say, however, that women did not partake in sport or organize sport leagues prior to this time. Several female-driven sport organizations were present from as early as 1899 (Carpenter & Acosta, 2005). The significance of Title IX rests in how its passage reflected social change within American society-at-large. Driven by the civil rights movement of the 1950's and 1960's and the women's movement of the 1970's, Title IX provided women access to a domain where they were once forbidden. As Birrell (1988) noted, "Title IX ushered in an era of participation unequaled in women's sport history" (p. 472). As such, the experiences of sporting and physically active girls and women within the pre-Title IX era would presumably be different than those of the post-Title IX era, particularly amongst those within institutions directly affected by the law. Blinde's (1986) findings support this rationale, as the post-Title IX female intercollegiate athletes and pre-Title IX male intercollegiate athletes in her study exhibited similar orientations and reactions to their sport experiences.

Whereas a clear trend of increased sport participation amongst females has been identified since its passing (Carpenter & Acosta, 2005; Sartore & Sagas, 2007), Title IX has had little, if any, impact on the hegemonic masculinity that remains endemic in sport and physical activity settings. In fact, the inclusion of women and consequently, femininity, into these realms prompted men to assert their superordinate position in two

primary ways. The first way is through the physical use of their bodies (Messner, 1990). The second way is through institutionalized organizational practices (Cunningham, 2008; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003; Shaw, 2006). Both ways are discussed in detail below.

Physicality and Masculinity
Coupled with the muscular physique of the male body, the violent and aggressive behaviors performed by the male body have become the exemplification of masculinity and 'natural superiority' within American society (Connell, 1987, 2005a). Messner, Dunbar, and Hunt's (2000) study of sport media substantiates this, as the predominant themes within sport commentary, programming, and commercials conform to and perpetuate the ideals of hegemonic masculinity by focusing on White males and aggressive performances. As they point out, these themes present messages that discipline the bodies, minds, and choices of boys and men such that they strive to display exemplary muscularity, aggression and violent behaviors (Connell, 2005a). Women, on the other hand, are expected to display the opposite, an expectation that the media perpetuates through the underrepresentation and persistent portrayal of female athletes in (hetero)sexual-ized poses (Fink, 2015; Knight & Giuliano, 2003; Krane, et al., 2004b). These messages can be problematic, as sport and physical activity are contexts where bodies are gazed upon, harshly compared, policed through gendered discourse, and sexually objectified (Fink, 2015; Butler, 1990; Daniels, 2009).

In their study of intercollegiate female athletes, Krane and colleagues (Krane et al., 2004a) identified physically active women as facing a gendered dilemma whereby they are expected to exude femininity, both in physicality and behavior, within a context that values masculinity and muscularity. The same dilemma was found amongst college-aged female recreational exercisers as well (Krane et al., 2004b). Indeed, female athletes, coaches, fitness instructors, and recreational exercisers, just to name a few, are likely to encounter expectations of stereotypically feminine behaviors and appearance (Krane & Barber, 2005; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007a). Further, and to the extent that women do not represent the feminine ideal, they represent an "image problem" and face negative consequences as a result (Harris, 2005). As such, physically active women and female athletes often "…perform femininity to protect themselves from prejudice and discrimination" (i.e., hegemonic femininity; Krane, 2001, p. 120). Specifically, women often perform apologetic behaviors such as wearing make-up and ribbons in their hair when competing in sport or being physically active, apologizing for aggressive behavior, and marking themselves as heterosexual by seeking to be seen with a boyfriend and avoiding physical contact with other women in public (Davis-Delano, Pollock, Vose, 2009). These outcomes and behaviors are a result of the inextricable link between gender and (hetero)sexuality (Butler, 1990; Connell, 2005a).

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, there is a socially constructed dichotomy of two sexes and two corresponding genders, the likes of which are expected to be attracted to one another only. As such, heterosexuality is proclaimed to be natural, normal, and a characteristic of "real men and women" (Elling & Janssens, 2009, p. 72). Thus, heteronormativity has been established and subsequently serves as a fundamental aspect of hegemonic masculinity and used as an organizing principle within sport (Connell, 2005a; Elling & Janssens, 2009). On the basis of heteronormativity, women who exhibit less than the epitome of femininity and (subordinate) forms of masculinity are often perceived to be lesbians, as lesbians are suspected to be more masculine than heterosexual women (Harris, 2005). Likewise, heterosexual men who exhibit femininity or subordinate masculinities are believed to be gay, as gay men stereotypically possess more femininity than heterosexual men. Thus, lesbians, gay men, and heterosexual men who possess subordinate masculinities have historically experienced prejudice and discrimination and been relegated to the out-group (Anderson, 2002; Krane & Barber, 2005; Plummer, 2006). Some research does suggest, however, more and more gay and lesbian athletes are coming out in supportive and inclusive sport environments (Krane, 2016).

Sport Organizations
While not the norm, inclusive environments within the sport context are attainable. To date, however, efforts to create these environments have created additional exclusion for some. For example, whereas the

passage of Title IX has provided exponential gains in participation opportunities to girls and women, the exact opposite has occurred for leadership opportunities (Burton, 2017; Sartore & Sagas, 2007). Women at all levels of sport are underrepresented as administrators, head coaches, assistant coaches, and managers. Further, women in these leadership positions often receive lower pay than their male counterparts and are ascribed traditional gender stereotypes (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007b).

A recent review of the literature identified various perspectives from which this issue has been studied and explained. Burton (2017) identified macro (e.g., institutionalized gendered practices), meso (e.g., gender stereotypes and discrimination), and micro levels (e.g., self-limiting behavior), all of which relate to hegemonic masculinity's gendered discourse (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008; Cunningham & Sagas, 2008; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003). Indeed, "hegemonic masculinity serves as an operating principle within sport organizations that restricts women's access to leadership positions within sport" (Burton, 2017, p. 157).

Cunningham (2008) identified that various pressures and tools are necessary to deconstruct the gender inequities that are endemic in sport organizations. These pressures and tools are of use to managers and researchers as means to undo gendered processes, challenge existing ideologies, regain gender-neutral organizational logic, and provide women more power in sport organizations (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2008). To date, however, women continue to be underrepresented in leadership positions, as de-gendering the sport and sport organization practices that embody the ideals of hegemonic masculinity can be difficult in a patriarchal society. The de-gendering process is even more difficult when other organizing principles such as race, class, ability, and so on are present.

GENDER AND OTHER SOCIAL STRUCTURES

The discussion of gender thus far has revolved around the topic of hegemonic masculinity. What has not been discussed, however, is the assumption that the epitome of hegemonic power is a White, able-bodied, young, middle-class, heterosexual male (Connell, 2005a). This is consistent with what Messner et al. (2000) found to dominate the sport media, as well as what Fink et al. (2001) identified as the prototypical employee in intercollegiate athletic departments. Thus, when discussing gender in sport, one must also examine other social categories that rival this template. The gendered discourse surrounding members of these social groups is unique, particularly within the sport media where racializing bodies have been used to naturalize differences between groups (Butler, 1990).

The most prevalent racialized beliefs in sport and physical activity revolve around Black participants and athletes. For instance, the belief that Black male athletes are naturally physically superior, yet intellectually inferior, to their White male counterparts is repeatedly communicated through sport media outlets (Hardin et al., 2004; Harrison et al., 2004). The effects of these messages can be quite impactful (see Ash & Cranmer, 2019). Black female athletes, relative to their White female athlete counterparts, suffer harsh scrutiny within the media, as they are both racially and sexually different from the feminine ideal imposed upon sport bodies by hegemonic masculinity (Carter-Francique & Richardson, 2016; Cooky et al., 2010; Cahn, 1994). The case of Caster Semenya, a non-white gender transgressor exemplifies this point (Gunter, 2016). Further influencing their disparate treatment, black women are often affected by the implications of occupying lower levels of social class. Thus, the experiences of Black female athletes are influenced by race, gender, and social class (Bruening et al., 2005). Indeed, Black women of all ages, as well as women occupying other racial and ethnic minority groups, are influenced by these social structures in nearly every physical activity and sport context (e.g., McDowell & Carter – Francique, 2017; Flintoff, 2015;).

It is important to note that the social construction of gender and constraints of patriarchy can vary from culture to culture (Johnston & Weatherington, 2018). That is, cultural understandings of gender can be imposed upon and carried out by women (e.g., With-Nielsen & Pfister, 2011). Simply put, beyond the strict definitions of femininity imposed upon all women, racialized femininities may be imposed upon women of color and varied ethnic backgrounds. Women within the sport and physical activity context seemingly must "do" their respective gender performances in order to participate, just as boys and men seemingly

must also adhere to their assigned masculinities. Such is not the case; however, gender transgressions have been occurring more frequently, and as a result, they subsequently inform the process of deconstructing the discourse of hegemonic masculinity (McGrath & Chananie-Hill, 2009).

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an overview of how sex and gender affect sport and physical activity. As one can see from the case of Caster Semenya, sex and gender binaries are still enforced and gender transgressors often punished in some fashion. In this chapter, I discussed how the gendered practices responsible for gender binaries have materialized and why they persist. Likewise, I outlined how gendered meanings inform our understanding of the body and how the body performs gender within the sport and physical activity contexts. Special attention was paid to the manifestation of hegemonic masculinity and its effects on participants, athletes, sport organizations, and racial and ethnic minorities.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. The terms sex and gender are often used interchangeably. What are the definitions of these terms and how are they intertwined?
2. What are some stereotypical feminine characteristics? What are some stereotypical masculine characteristics? How do these relate to sport and physical activity?
3. What is meant by the terms hegemony and hegemonic masculinity?
4. How do girls, boys, men, and women "do" or "perform" gender in the contexts of sport and physical activity?
5. What impact did Title IX have in the context of sport and physical activity?

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CHAPTER 15[1]

RELIGION, SPORT, AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Calvin Nite and Michael Hutchinson

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:
1. Define religion and explain the various theories relating to religion.
2. Identify the similarities and differences between sport and religion.
3. Assess the usage of religion in the sport setting at the organizational and individual level.
4. Assess the conflicts that arise between sport and religion.

INTRODUCTION

From ancient times until the present, religions and religious institutions have played important roles in societies (Hulsether, 2007). For some, religious beliefs help them make sense of the events in their lives. For others, their religion serves as a social function that allows them to develop relationships with like-minded people. Current estimates suggest that 84% of the world's population claims to practice some form of religion, with Christianity (31.2%), Islam (24.1%), Hinduism (15.1%), and Buddhism (6.9%) comprising the largest percentage groups (Sherwood, 2018). However, there has been a rise in the number of people who have claimed no religious affiliation (16%; Sherwood, 2018), with the sharpest rise of in this group being young adults (i.e. those under 40 years old; Pew Research Center).

Yet in many countries, legal systems and governments have foundations in the religious precepts and principles of the dominant religion in the region. Religion was one of the primary factors in the discovery and settlement of the "New World" and the eventual establishment of the United States of America. The Puritans and Quakers settled in what is now the New England region to escape religious persecution from the Church of England. Even in these present times, many of the laws and foundations of the US government still reflect religious traditions despite the supposed "separation of Church and State." Further, Islamic laws have historically governed many of the countries in the Middle East. In places such as Iran, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia (and numerous other countries as well), Islamic law dictates punishment for crimes, people's work schedules, and, in some cases, how people may dress. Finally, religious practices are outlawed in some countries. For instance, practicing Christianity and assembling for "church" has been illegal in various countries such as China, North Korea, and Vietnam.

Given the prominence of religion in numerous cultures, it is only natural to examine the intersection of sport and religion. In fact, sport and religion share similarities in how they are organized and sustained. Religion has also shaped various aspects of sport while sport has, at times, been a promoter of religion. Beyond the cultural overlaps, sport and religion have been sources of legal battles and have been at the forefronts of cultural conflicts and change. As such, it is appropriate to examine the sociological intersection of religion and sport.

In this chapter, we discuss the ways in which sport and religion affect each other. First, we examine religion from a sociological and legal perspective in order to establish a foundation for subsequent sections. We then examine the various ways people in sport use religion to enhance their lives and their sport. Further, we examine some of the ways religions and religious institutions use sport to advance their causes.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

Prior to examination of the intersection between religion and sport, it is essential to provide a sociological foundation and definition for religion. From the sociological perspective, Durkheim (1965) defined religion as a set of common beliefs and practices of a community directed toward things that thought to be sacred which unite the collective members into a single community of faith (i.e., church) with all members following a common moral code. An important aspect of this definition is the collective nature of religion, wherein individuals live under the banner of an accepted view of a deity and the moral precepts that are theoretically drawn from their deity. For example, Judaism and Christianity have historically based their moral understanding on the Ten Commandments, which, according to tradition, were written by the finger of God on stone tablets presented to Moses. From the sociological and practical standpoint, religion serves as a means for maintaining order and good conduct among members of a given society. However, for members of communities of faith, religion is much deeper than a simple set of moral precepts governing a community. Through religion, people tend to feel they are somehow connected to something more mystical and powerful (i.e., God, see Exhibit 15.1) than they can ultimately explain. By this connection with God, many people find purpose and direction for their daily lives, and it is through this connection that people often attempt to make sense of the world in which they live.

Exhibit 15.1: Who or What is God?

The terms "God" or "god" can mean different things to different people. In the Christian and Jewish faiths, the consensus belief is that God is the eternal, spiritual being Jehovah. In the Islamic faith, God is known as Allah. Of course, there are also numerous pagan religions as well. The ancient Greeks and Romans were polytheistic (believing in many gods) in their religious views. The modern-day pagan religion, Wicca, adopts a dualistic view of God-ess, which is an impersonal deity that treats everyone as equal (www.wicca.org). Also, some religions are actually atheistic. Though many Buddhists do not necessarily deny the existence of gods or spirits, at its core Buddhism is a non-theistic religion. Thus, it is important to realize that the term "God" or "god" means different things to different people.

It is also important to understand the concept of spirituality, as spirituality and religion are often intertwined and sometimes used as interchangeable ideas. However, there is a distinction between spirituality and religion. Although many people have different definitions and conceptualizations of spirituality (see Cunningham, 2019; Mitroff, 2003; Schwartz, 2006), we have adopted the following definition for this chapter: spirituality is an individual's connection with those things that she or he considers to be sacred. Simply, spirituality is the individuals' connections with their deity, themselves, or nature. Although spirituality can be a part of religion, it is different in the idea that religion is a collective community and spirituality is more of an individual concept. Many religions call for their members to pursue their own spirituality as they practice their religion. For many, this is done through prayer, meditation, and acts of charity. Thus, not only does the pursuit of spirituality benefit individuals by connecting them with their deity, it also benefits the religious community as members tend to be more pious contributors to the faith.

An important aspect of Durkheim's (1965) definition of religion is the idea of "sacred," or those things that "inspire awe, mystery, and reverence" (Coakley, 2007, p. 531). The sacred are believed to offer some type of connection with God. In various religions, the sacred can be written symbols, crafted figures, buildings, and even geographic locations. For instance, the city of Mecca is considered to be sacred in the Islamic faith. For Catholics and Protestants alike, the symbol of the cross is sacred. Jews hold the Star of David as being a sacred symbol. In ancient Greece, the Parthenon was considered sacred, as it was the dwelling for the Greek goddess Athena. The meaning these examples provide for their religions are what make them sacred to their followers.

In contrast with the sacred is the "profane," or those things associated with everyday life and culture that do not have any type of religious or spiritual connection with a deity (Durkheim, 1965). The profane can be morally neutral or can also be considered as a source of evil. Material possessions, such as vehicles, houses, stadiums, and works of art can be profane, as can money. Religion typically focuses on the sacred, not the profane, and sport typically falls into the latter category.

RELIGION AND THE US LEGAL SYSTEM

Religion was a prominent aspect of the founding of the US. The First Amendment of the US Constitution addresses religion as it relates to the entire public sector and private sector state actors. According to the First Amendment, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof…" (US Const. Amend. I). In the court system, this initial portion of the First Amendment relating to religion has been divided into two clauses: the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause. The Establishment Clause ("Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion…") determines a "freedom from religion." Within the public sector, an entity cannot legally promote or inhibit a specific religion. For example, it is unconstitutional for a public institution such as Texas A&M University to promote or inhibit any form of religion. However, the Free Exercise Clause ("…or prohibiting the free exercise thereof…") is considered a "freedom of religion." This clause allows individuals the freedom to practice their religion of choice, thus prohibiting a governmental body from forbidding an individual to practice her or his respective religion. For example, at Texas A&M (a public university) students are free to practice their chosen religion even amidst their attendance, assuming they are not disruptive of the university's functioning. Due to their seemingly contradictory nature, these religious clauses comprise one of the most highly controversial interpretations and applications of Constitutional Law. As such, two primary questions concerning religious initiatives and sport warrant further understanding: (a) What are the boundaries of governmental involvement in religious activities, and (b) When is public religious activity allowed or prohibited?

As it relates to sport, particularly interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics, it is important to understand the difference in application within public institutions and private institutions. Public institutions receive government funding and act as representatives of the state (referred to as "state actors"), thus being subject to the Constitution. Private institutions, however, do not receive direct government funding and are usually not representatives of the state; therefore, they are not required to submit to Constitutional standards. For example, higher learning institutions, such as Florida State University, Clemson University, and the University of Arizona, are public institutions receiving government funding and are considered to be subject to the Constitution. These institutions are not at liberty to promote or inhibit a specific religion because of their public, state actor status. On the other hand, private institutions, such as Duke University, Texas Christian University, and Brigham Young University, do not receive direct government funding and are not required to abide by constitutional standards. Accordingly, these institutions have the freedom to establish and engage in their respective religious beliefs. For this reason, the application of Constitutional Law, and subsequent religious restrictions, is only applied to the public sector.

Having addressed the boundaries of governmental involvement with public-based religious activities, it is important to understand which religious activities are deemed constitutionally acceptable in the sport setting. Traditionally, professional sport teams and leagues have been categorized as private businesses, as opposed to public entities, within the legal setting (*Long v. National Football League*, 1994). However, with the intertwinement of municipal resources and tax-payer funds, professional sport teams and leagues have occasionally been deemed private entity state actors, thus subject to Constitutional Law (*Ludtke v. Kuhn*, 1978). The majority of examples relating to religious activities and the sport setting primarily occur within the education system. With particular relevance to the high school and intercollegiate athletics contexts, such examples include public prayer, religious organizations access to public resources and facilities, scripture reading, and religious clothing. Student prayer within the institutional setting has not traditionally been a matter of much constitutional concern. Unless a student is vocally praying in a disturbing or distracting manner, student-initiated prayer has limited unconstitutional implications. Examples of constitutionally

permissible behavior include student-athletes meeting at center court to pray after a game, kneeling to pray after scoring a touchdown, or praying silently prior to an athletic contest. However, prayer initiated by authority figures (e.g., coach, teacher, administrator) is considered more ambiguous. Certainly, as established by the Free Exercise Clause, institutional authority figures have the freedom to pray individually within the confines of their office or classroom. Yet, authority figures who leverage their positions as a means of forcing or coercing student-athletes to pray is considered unconstitutional. Examples of such behavior would be a collegiate athletic administrator requiring student-athletes to bow their heads for a post-game prayer to God or a high-school coach requiring team members to attend a weekly Bible study at a Christian church.

Access to public resources and facilities by religious organizations is another example of religious activities within the public school setting. Organizations such as the Fellowship of Christian Athletes (FCA) and Reformed University Fellowship (RUF) are widely known religious-based organizations within the collegiate setting. These student-led organizations are at liberty to constitutionally utilize public resources and facilities. However, such organizations are to be treated as any other campus organization, not receiving special or differential treatment. Additional examples such as scripture reading and displaying religious clothing are acceptable behaviors among students or student-athletes. As with student-initiated prayer, these displays of religious activity are constitutionally permissible behaviors unless they result in widespread distraction or disturbance.

COMPARING SPORT AND RELIGION

Many discussions of sport and religion focus on the influence of one or the other (discussed in later sections), yet there are also striking similarities and distinct differences between the two. Although they reside in different realms—religion in the sacred and sport in the profane—there are a host of similarities and differences between the two.

Similarities between Sport and Religion

There are five striking similarities between sport and religion. They both: (a) have a devout following; (b) bring people together; (c) use symbolic rituals; (d) have elaborate structures; and (e) have heroines and heroes. We outline each of these in the following sections.

From an initial economic standpoint, there is a devout following for both religion and sport, with the largest followings generating the largest revenues. Patrons of a particular religion devote time and money in order to sustain that religion. Comparatively, sport teams, particularly collegiate and professional teams, are sustained through the devotion of fans' time and money. Game attendance is comparable to attending religious services, and season ticket holders are similar to church members. Teams with the largest fan bases tend to have the highest paid players and coaching staffs. For example, some of the most valuable Major League Baseball franchises (New York Yankees, Boston Red Sox, Philadelphia Phillies, Chicago Cubs) reported the highest payrolls for players and coaches (Badenhausen, Ozanian, & Settimi, 2011; USA Today, 2011). These teams further benefit from their popularity by earning revenue through the sales of their merchandise. This is similar to popular pastors and churches that benefit from book and merchandise sales.

Next, religion and sport are similar in their abilities to bring people into a focused social setting. In most religions, members have set times and days on which they gather in congregation to interact with fellow believers and worship their deity. It is through these gatherings that the traditions and messages of their religions are reinforced among the followers. The congregation also serves as a means to unite the followers with the purpose of continuing their religion. In sports, fans and spectators alike congregate at games and events to be entertained and to cheer on their favorite teams to victory. As previously mentioned, many teams have devout followings of fans who use sport as an avenue to socialize with people of similar interests. By their attendance at events, fans ensure the continued existence of the sport, much in the same manner as do religious patrons with their respective religions.

A third similarity between religion and sport is the symbolic rituals associated with both (Coakley, 2017). These rituals serve to unite the patrons and delineate "insiders" from "outsiders." That is, the rituals are typically well known by the insiders, and this inside knowledge brings a sense of belonging to members and fans alike. In most religions, members must perform rituals at their gatherings and, in certain sects, during their daily lives. In most Christian churches, there is a set order of events constituting a proper service. Although these may vary by denomination, typical worship services include opening and closing prayers, some type of music, a message or sermon delivered by a clergy member, and the taking of the Eucharist. In the Islamic faith, members are supposed to perform five daily prayers and travel to Mecca at some point in their lives in accordance with their religious traditions. This is comparable to the rituals that are performed at sporting events. At most sporting events in the US, the National Anthem is played prior to the start of the event. Many college football programs have traditional ceremonies at their games. For instance, The Ohio State University band performs a marching maneuver where they form the "script Ohio." It is considered a great honor at their school to be the person who dots the "i" during this ritual. Most sporting events on college campuses conclude with the singing of the school song. Another example is the singing of the song during the "7th inning stretch" at baseball games. When attending either religious or sporting events, a person can expect to see the performance of some type of ritual(s).

Another similarity between sport and religion is the elaborate buildings and structures in which events for both are held. Some of the most spectacular and beautiful structures in the world have been built for religious purposes. Some examples include the Cologne Cathedral in Cologne, Germany; Notre Dame in Paris, France; and Saint Patrick's Cathedral in New York, New York. Islamic mosques, such as the Dome of the Rock mosque in Jerusalem, also contain some of the more spectacular architecture the world has ever seen. Although typically not seen with the same reverence, sport stadiums reflect the same manner of architectural marvel and signify the level of importance that people often give sport. For example, Lambeau Field in Green Bay, Wisconsin, is a venue beloved by fans of the Green Bay Packers. The $2.66 billion Los Angeles Stadium at Hollywood Park is one of the more recent elaborate multi-purpose sport facilities. Beyond premier experiential offerings to spectators, the facility is designed in an innovative manner to not require an HVAC system due to more than 30,000 perforated aluminum panels that respond to the local climate to produce a comfortable, more environmentally friendly facility temperature (Cheah, 2017). The Beijing Olympic games were also a showcase of some of the more spectacular works of architectural art the Olympics and the world have ever seen. The main stadium, which had a capacity of 100,000 people during the 2008 Olympic games, was built to resemble a bird's nest (The Stadium Guide, 2004). The venue that was built for the water events, which was appropriately named the Water Cube, was built to resemble an ice cube (Mulvenney, 2008). Although these structures now house numerous non-sporting events, their initial purposes were strictly to house the Olympics in Beijing. Both sport and religion have some of the more marvelous venues seen in the world.

The final similarity is the presence of heroines and heroes in both sport and religion. Most religions have heroines, heroes, and legends who have either delivered transcending messages or who have fought against outsiders attempting to eradicate the religion. In the Jewish and Christian faiths, Moses is the hero who led the nation of Israel out of Egyptian slavery. Both faiths also hold King David in high regard because of the many battles he fought and won for Israel. Though rooted in Judaism, Christianity is based on the teachings of its hero, Jesus Christ. In the Islamic faith, the prophet Muhammad is one of the great heroes. His teachings and revelations from Allah are the foundations for the Qur'an. Gandhi is a renowned hero in India and the Hindu faith, and the Great Buddha is the hero and founder of Buddhism. As with religion, heroines, heroes, and legends abound in sport. Common examples are student-athletes on college campuses who have delivered legendary performances in athletic competition. At Texas A&M, former student-athletes Johnny Manziel and Breeja Larson are heroes on campus because of their athletic feats during their college careers. Further, soccer stars such as Messi are heroes in their home countries. National Basketball Association (NBA) stars such as Dirk Nowitzki and Luka Dončić stars are legends in their home countries of Germany and Slovenia, respectively. For followers of particular sport teams in the United States, each fan base has particular people that they herald as being legendary. Some well-known examples include Michael

Jordan, Serena Williams, Joe Montana, and Lindsey Vonn. As such, both sport and religion contain their respective heroines, heroes, and legends.

Differences between Sport and Religion
Although there are some striking similarities between sport and religion, there are, indeed, some pointed differences as well. We discuss two here: (a) the different realms in which they reside and (b) the nature of the experience.

Most notably, as highlighted previously, religion is considered to be a part of the sacred while sport is part of the profane (Coakley, 2017). Followers of any particular religion are typically seeking spiritual transcendence from the things of this world by connecting with their deity. Through their connection with their diety, religious people generally seek to live moral lives as they try to make sense of life in general. Sport is conceptualized as part of the profane because the end goal of sport is typically not connecting with a deity or attaining spiritual satisfaction. The goal of sport is generally entertainment and revenue generation. Although some athletes and organizations use sport to enhance their religious beliefs, most participants and consumers of sport are not typically seeking connections with the mystical and spiritual through the medium of sport. The one exception might be when people engage in sport or physical activity as a way to glorify their deity. This would especially be the case when people consider their body as a "temple" to do the Lord's work. While morality is often a preached emphasis in sport, sport is not seen as the vehicle or instrument though which morality and spiritual transcendence are created or attained.

Religion also differs from sport in regards to the nature of the experience. That is, religion is often an intangible experience typically experienced by the five senses of the body. It is more of a mental and emotional connection with something that is spiritual in nature, which is not seen, heard, smelled, felt, or tasted. While the tangible can be used to stimulate a heightened sense of emotion or mental awareness, when stripped down to its purest form, religion is ultimately an experience that is intangible in nature. For followers of religions, the idea of "faith" plays a vital role in sustaining their beliefs. Faith refers to knowing or believing in the existence of something that is typically not experienced by the five senses of the body. It is because of its intangibility and reliance on faith that religion is often described as mystical. Sport, however, is essentially a tangible experience for participants and spectators alike. Although sport can include some intangible concepts, such as faith in a player or team, it occurs in the physical realm where faith in a higher power is not typically required for involvement. Our five senses are able to detect and comprehend sport. We are not forced to believe that sport is occurring without the presence of physically experienced evidence of its existence.

RELIGION IN SPORT
Religion and sport frequently intersect in societies across the world. Though religion is considered sacred and sport is considered profane, organizations and individuals alike have integrated the two entities for different purposes and for accomplishing different goals. In the organizational sense, religious institutions often use sport to spread and advance the teachings of their religion with the hopes of recruiting new members to the faith. At the individual level, sport participants often consider their performances in sport to be an act of glorifying their deities. These are just a couple of the many examples of the ways in which sport and religion have become intertwined with one another. In this section, we discuss the intersections of sport and religion at both the organizational level and at the individual level.

First, let us examine the ways in which sport and religion are intertwined at the organizational level. Often, sport is integrated into religious organizations with the purpose of using sport to spread the organizations religion to other populations. In the United States, different organizations have been formed using sport to spread religion across the world. One example of this is Athletes in Action (AIA), which is an extension of the religious organization Campus Crusade for Christ. David Hannah established AIA in 1966 with the purpose of spreading Christianity across the globe (Athletes in Action, 2011). AIA sends various sports teams across the world to play semi-professional and professional teams on what they call tours. These

tours usually last about two weeks, with the AIA teams playing as many as 10 games on a tour. During each tour, the AIA athletes often host youth camps where they focus on developing the sport among the local children, but they also use the camps as opportunities to spread their religion. Further, at some point during each game, the AIA athletes will convey their stories of how they came to follow their religion to the spectators at the event. This is just one example of an organization using sport to promote its religion.

The spreading of religion through sport also occurs locally in many communities across the country. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) is one of the more prominent religious organizations intended to provide a positive environment for family and children to enjoy sport. In 1844, George Williams founded the YMCA in London, England, with the hopes that young men would pursue religious activities instead of delinquent lifestyles on the streets of the city (YMCA, 2011a). Once the YMCA spread to the United States during the Civil War, sport became part of the YMCA. The YMCA claims to be responsible for introducing millions of people to sport as well as inventing some of the popular modern sports (i.e., basketball). YMCAs remain prominent in countless communities and still host numerous adult and youth sport leagues along with other sport initiatives to promote physical activity to their members. In recent years, the YMCA has deemphasized its religious traditions, yet their mission of building strong communities still exists (YMCA, 2011b). Other local organizations also use sport to promote their religion. Church sport leagues are common in many metropolitan areas throughout the US. Although these leagues may have numerous stated objectives for their formations, a common theme in most is the spreading of religion through participation in sports. These are all examples of the intersection of sport and religion at the organizational level.

There are also various intersections of religion and sport on the individual person level. Athletes and coaches use religion in their sport participation for a variety of different purposes. We highlight two common usages here. First, religion can be used for therapeutic purposes, such as reducing anxiety, avoiding troublesome behavior, and focusing the efforts and lives of the individual. Secondly, individuals have used their participation in sport as a means for glorifying their deities. Common examples of these behaviors include praying prior to and at the conclusion of games, reading religious texts during travel to games, and referencing religion during competition. There are numerous professional athletes who provide fitting examples for how religion can be used for both therapeutic purposes as well as for the glorification of God. Clint Dempsey, a former professional soccer player in the Premier League and Major League Soccer, is a devout Roman Catholic. While Dempsey regularly attended Catholic mass as a child, the tragic death of his sister due to a brain aneurysm resulted in several years of lost faith in God. Following this period of distance between God and himself, Dempsey joined a Bible study in college. During this time, he was reminded of what he believed was God's faithfulness and patience throughout many years of healing following his sister's death. To date, Dempsey believes his faith in God not only provides confidence for the future, but understanding that there is far more to life than soccer and earthly pursuits (Christensen, 2014).

Will Hopoate, a professional rugby player for the Canterbury-Bankstown Bulldogs of the National Rugby League, is also well known for prioritizing his religion in all aspects of his life. As a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Hopoate believes God has given him a unique athletic ability to participate in this full contact sport for God's glory. In reverence to the church's recognition of Sunday as a day of rest (Sabbath), Hopoate spent a year of his career refusing to play rugby games on Sundays. Out of respect for his religious beliefs, the Canterbury-Bankstown club offered Hopoate contractual dispensation, thus allowing him to forgo participation in games played on Sundays. While Hopate is no longer allowed this Sunday exemption, he maintains that participation provides him an opportunity to honor and glorify God (Lutton, 2017).

Boxing legend Muhammad Ali and NBA Hall of Fame center Hakeem Olajuwon were also known for incorporating their religious beliefs in the boxing ring. A devout Muslim, Ali would begin each match with a prayer to Allah prior to competing with his opponent (for more related to Ali and other athletes, see Exhibit 15.2). Olajuwon would honor the traditional fasting rituals of Ramadan during the NBA season

which required him to abstain from food or liquids from sunrise to sunset. Further, baseball legend Sandy Koufax, a devout Jew, did not pitch Game 1 of the 1965 World Series as the game fell on the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur.

Exhibit 15.2: Athlete Name Changes

A particularly visible expression of athletes' religious beliefs is their name changes. A common practice of athletes who convert to Islam is for them to change their names. This can be for a variety of reasons. Some athletes, especially African American athletes, change their names as a symbolic rejection of their given slave names. Also, athletes change their names in order to glorify God. Many prominent athletes have changed their names. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, who was originally known as Lew Alcindor, and Muhammad Ali, who was originally known as Cassius Clay are two of the greatest athletes in their sports of basketball and boxing that have garnered name changes. Other examples of people in sport that have changed their names include sports caster Ahmad Rashad (formerly Bobby Moore), Mahmoud Abdul-Rauf (formerly Chris Jackson), and Bison Dele (formerly Brian Williams).

CONFLICTS BETWEEN RELIGION AND SPORT

As discussed in the preceding section, sport and religion intersect at the organizational and individual levels for different purposes. However, there are some apparent conflicts and contradictory occurrences between religious ideals and the world of sport. In this section, we will discuss some of the conflicts between religion and sport.

To begin, participation in sporting events on holy days presents a conflict for many religious people. In most religions, certain days, months, and times of year are considered particularly sacred. In the Christian faith, Sunday is considered the Sabbath day, while Jewish people hold Saturday as the Sabbath. In both faiths, the patrons are instructed through their teachings and writings to "remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy" (Exodus 20:8, NIV). Thus, performing in athletic competitions often poses conflicts for the athletes that subscribe to these particular beliefs. In fact, some athletic programs at certain universities do not allow their teams to participate on Sundays. Brigham Young University (BYU), an affiliate of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, is one such example. In the event that BYU's basketball teams make the NCAA tournament, they are always scheduled to play on the Thursday/Saturday games so that they do not have to participate on Sundays, which is in accordance with their Church doctrines. Will Hopoate, discussed earlier in the chapter, not only refused to participate in rugby games held on Sundays, but also gave up two years of his professional rugby career to serve on mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Lutton, 2017). Sandy Koufax, who is considered by many to be one of the greatest pitchers of all time in Major League Baseball, made headlines during the 1965 World Series when he declined to pitch in Game 1 because it fell on the sacred Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur. Koufax maintained that his personal religious beliefs outweighed his professional beliefs (Brody, 1996). For more information, see Exhibit 15.3.

Another conflict between religion and sport is the participation of professed religious athletes in violent sports or deviant behaviors. Most religions in the world place a general emphasis on living a peaceful life. Yet many professed religious athletes participate in sports that are especially violent. There are many professed Christians and Muslims who participate in boxing and football who routinely acknowledge God during their participation in these sports, and it could be argued that their participation in these sports is contrary to the teachings of their religions. Also, as discussed throughout this chapter, one particular function of religion is to provide a moral code for its followers. Problems arise when professed religious adherents engage in deviant behaviors that are contrary to the teachings of their particular religions. Many popular sports figures have struggled with maintaining the moral teachings of their religions, including struggling with infidelity and drug use. Some of these athletes have been included in various steroid scandals

and have been caught using other performance enhancing drugs. More serious examples are the athletes that have been convicted of violent crimes such as rape, manslaughter, and assault.

Exhibit 15.3: Prayer at Sporting Events

In the United States, a particularly heated topic has become prayer in school and prayer at school sponsored sporting events. Traditionally, sporting events have been preceded by prayers in locker rooms and in some parts of the country over the loudspeakers at games. There has been much debate over whether or not this is an act supported by the United States Constitution. Those against such prayers cite the idea of separation of church and state; while advocates claim that prayer at sporting events is well within their first amendment rights. Recent Supreme Court decisions have disallowed representatives of schools to lead their teams in pregame prayers and school equipment is not to be used as a means to broadcast prayers (Batista, 2002). However, students, athletes, and fans are allowed still to exercise their religious beliefs as protected by the First Amendment. Prayer at sporting events and in school has been and likely will continue to be an area of much debate.

Religious attire during sporting events has been a source of controversy as well. Ibtihaj Muhammad, a bronze medalist at the 2016 Rio Olympics (fencing), was the first Muslim-American woman to compete wearing a hijab (the traditional head covering for Muslim women; Alvarez, 2017). Her actions shined a light on challenges faced by Muslim women competing in sports where the governing bodies restrict the attire of athletes. In 2017, the International Basketball Federation (FIBA) lifted its ban on religious headwear (Ahmed, 2017). The NCAA has also dealt with controversies of religious symbology. Tim Tebow was prominent for displaying Bible verses on his eye-black during football games while he was the quarterback at the University of Florida. The NCAA banned such displays in 2010 (Kaufmann, 2010).

A final conflict between sport and religion is the self-promoting of individuals in sport. These days, even in team sports, a recent trend has been athletes trying to distinguish themselves as individuals. Although this may not be necessarily negative in today's society, self-promotion, from a religious standpoint, is typically not considered proper. Many religious teachings emphasize virtues of humbleness and humility. In the Christian and Jewish faiths, the scriptures devote many texts to the purpose of instructing followers of the faith to be humble and not self-serving. The Qur'an also speaks to the idea that humility and humbleness are the paths to greatness. These teachings are quite conflicting with the self-promoting nature of sport, especially in the United States. Athletes that actively promote themselves and their brands, while professing their religious beliefs, are the most common examples of this conflict.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, we focused on the use of religion in the sport environment, beginning with a definition of religion and spirituality. Although sometimes used interchangeable, the concepts of religion and spirituality do have distinct meanings. According to Durkheim (1965), religion is a set of common beliefs and practices of a community directed toward things thought to be sacred that unite the collective members into a single community of faith (i.e., the Church) with all members following a common moral code. Contrarily, we defined spirituality as an individual's connection with those things he or she considers to be sacred. We concluded by acknowledging the difference between the sacred (i.e., religion) and the profane (i.e., sport). Following the introduction, we discussed religion and the U.S. legal system. Specifically, we discussed the religious freedoms provided by the First Amendment of the Constitution. We further provided objective sport-based examples of constitutionally acceptable and unacceptable actions.

This section was followed by a discussion of the similarities and differences between sport and religion. Among the similarities between sport and religion, we discussed how both sport and religion as institutions bring people together, the devout followings among sport fans and religious groups, symbolic rituals of sports fans and religious groups, places of gathering for sport fans (e.g., stadiums) and religious groups

(e.g., churches), and heroes/legends of sports fans (e.g., Michael Jordan) and religious groups (e.g., Jesus Christ). Additionally, we addressed the differences between sport and religion, focusing on tangible connections within the sport setting, as opposed to the intangible connections in the religious environment.

Following the similarities and differences apparent between sport and religion, we discussed the usages of religion in the sport environment from both the organizational and individual levels. We began by addressing the spread of religion in the sport setting by such organizations as Athletes in Action, the YMCA, and generic church leagues. In addition, we examined the usages of religion from the individual level, discussing the use of religion for therapeutic and glorification of God purposes. Finally, we closed with an examination of the conflicts between religion and sport, focusing on athletic participation on sacred days or periods of time, religious athletes who participate in violent sports, deviant behaviors of professed religious athletes, and the self-promotion aspect of the sport environment.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
1. After reading this chapter, do you think there is a difference between religion and spirituality? Describe the similarities and differences between both concepts.
2. The chapter describes several similarities and differences between sport and religion. Can you think of any additional similarities or differences between sport and religion? List and describe each additional similarity and difference.
3. In your opinion, what are the positives and negatives of the use of religion in sport? Do you think it is acceptable for athletes to use religion (e.g., prayer, glorification of a higher being) in the sport environment? Why or why not?
4. In your opinion, do you think it is acceptable for professed religious athletes to participate in perceived violent sports (e.g., football, hockey, wrestling)? Explain.

RECOMMENDED READINGS
Durkheim, E. (1965). *The elementary forms of religious life*. New York: Free Press. (Durkheim's theories and studies of religion are fundamental to understanding religion from a sociological standpoint.)

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ABOUT THE
CENTER FOR SPORT MANAGEMENT RESEARCH AND EDUCATION

MISSION
- Be a catalyst in bringing together an interdisciplinary team of researchers in the study of sport and athletics management, and
- Generate and diffuse timely and appropriate knowledge concerning the practice and application of sport and athletics management.

GOALS
- Promote and support interdisciplinary research specific to the sport and athletics industry.
- Support the academic enrichment of the university, state, national, and international communities through state-of-the-art symposia, workshops, conferences, and lectures pertinent to sport and athletics.
- Provide sport management students with exposure to and engagement in research and learning activities through associations with various sport and athletic organizations.
- Engage the community through workshops and distribution and translation of scientific research.

PHILOSOPHY
Sport is pervasive in American society. Millions of Americans avidly participate in recreational sports and athletics, while millions more follow sports as fans and spectators. In fact, the sport industry is big business, generating $74 billion in 2019, pointing to sport's influence in society. Unfortunately, as the sport industry has experienced vast and rapid growth, the problems and issues involving sport have multiplied. One particular area in which the sport and athletic industries have suffered major tribulations is in the management of sport.

Many of the current problems associated with the management of sport have resulted from a lack of training and education offered of sport executives. Recently, however, more enlightened thinking suggests that administrators of sport organizations be trained in the management of sport. Fortunately, from an academic perspective, these calls for an increase in the training and education of sport managers have not gone unanswered. In fact, the study of sport management has recently grown to record numbers, as over 450 US universities now offer a degree in the management of sport.

Despite the recent growth of sport management as an academic discipline, research and educational activities in the field are still developing. Thus, despite the enormous need to produce and disseminate research and appropriate knowledge regarding the management of sport to practitioners and aspiring practitioners throughout the world, few institutions currently sponsor a research and education center focused on the enhancement of sport management.

Texas A&M University supports interdisciplinary faculty and staff expertise in departments and colleges across campus with an interest in sport management. Furthermore, Texas A&M University has a strong and diverse sport management faculty in the Department of Health and Kinesiology, and the expertise of numerous experienced athletic administrators, coaches, and staffers in the Department of Athletics. The proximity of major professional sport franchises and other major college sport programs also provides the proposed Center with numerous opportunities for collaboration and insight from experienced practitioners away from the Texas A&M University campus.

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