

FADE FROM BLACK: REASONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF SPORT RACIALIZATION IN
BASEBALL AND SOCIALIZING EXPERIENCES OF INTERSCHOLASTIC STUDENT-
ATHLETES

by

EDWARD JOSEPH GAWRYSIAK III

(Under the Direction of Billy J. Hawkins)

ABSTRACT

African American participation in baseball has declined over the past 20 years. This study looks into reasons for this decline, as well as perceptions of race and sport of high school students at a predominately African American high school through an instrumental case study design. A stratified random sampling approach was used in order to elicit data from four baseball players and four non-baseball athletes. There were two Black students and two students that are from other racial groups excluding Black in each group. Using semi-structured interviews and open-ended surveys, data was analyzed through an interpretive approach along with a social reproduction framework. Results from participants show that African American students choose not to play baseball for various reasons including social reproduction, socialization patterns, and stereotypes. Findings from participants in this research also revealed the experiences and socialization of the African American athlete into sport participation patterns: a) to be dependent on socializing agents; b) dependent on stereotypes present at this given site; c) affected by feelings and personal perceptions of the student-athlete. Hypotheses related to sport racialization and baseball commitment appear to account for the decline. Implications for the continuation of racialized sports are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: African American; Student-athletes; Baseball; Racialization; Socialization; Interscholastic.

FADE FROM BLACK: REASONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF SPORT RACIALIZATION IN
BASEBALL AND SOCIALIZING EXPERIENCES OF INTERSCHOLASTIC STUDENT-
ATHLETES

by

EDWARD JOSEPH GAWRYSIAK III

B.S.Ed., University of Georgia, 2006

M.Ed., University of Georgia, 2007

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2012

© 2012

Edward Joseph Gawrysiak III

All Rights reserved

FADE FROM BLACK: REASONS AND PERCEPTIONS OF SPORT RACIALIZATION IN
BASEBALL AND SOCIALIZING EXPERIENCES OF INTERSCHOLASTIC STUDENT-
ATHLETES

by

EDWARD JOSEPH GAWRYSIAK III

Major Professor:

Billy Hawkins

Committee:

Janette Hill

Jepkorir Rose Chepyator-Thomson

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2012

DEDICATION

To my loving and beautiful wife Susie for her unconditional love and support through this process and for giving me more strength and inspiration than can ever be told or shown. You are my best friend and reason for striving to be the best I can be. I love you and always will.

I would also like to dedicate this work to my parents, Edward J. and Patricia A., for their words and signs of unending encouragement and love. You raised me to do the best I could and to achieve nothing less than excellence. I am so lucky to have you both as parents and could not ask for more. Thank you.

“Ad astra per aspera” (through difficulties to the stars)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Dr. Billy Hawkins, my mentor and advisor, for leading me on this path and helping me understand sport for all that it is.
- Dr. Janette Hill for all your compassion and understand through this and being a light when times seemed dark.
- Dr. Jepkorir Rose Cheypator-Thomson for all your honesty and passion for understanding and for keeping me honest and alert.
- Dr. Jon Ward, my mentor and friend, for getting me started in sports and your advice on doctorate programs and high school athletics.
- Memaw, my Grandma, being encouraging and expressing your pride in me, and making sure everyone you meet knows about me and the work I do.
- To my crazy and beautiful sisters, Stacie and Gino. You kept me in line and reminded me to have fun and not stress out too much.
- Roger and Nancy Durham, as well as the rest of the Durham clan, I am lucky to have you all in my life and your encouragement, unending support, and “welcomeness” in all things.
- To my colleagues and friends, Mr. Joseph Cooper, Dr. Nathan Kirkpatrick, and Mr. Jeremy Lackman, thank you all for being an ear, eye, hand, and any other part to encourage me and walk down this path.
- Christen and Andy for celebrating all the little victories along this path and being open to new experiences which made this process less rough.

- Devin for making sure I kept my physical fitness up and being a stress reliever with frequent trips to Bufftown.
- Jason and Matt and Rec sports for allowing me a chance to get started in the program when all hope seemed lost. I would not be here without your help and the chance you gave me.
- My friends near and far for keeping me in line and reminding me to work for the defense of this project because defense wins championships.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	9
Purpose of the Study.....	9
Research Questions.....	9
Significance of the Study.....	10
Definition of Terms.....	12
Delimitations.....	14
Limitations.....	15
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	17
Baseball.....	17
Stereotypes and Cultural Explanations for Sport Participation.....	25
Basketball Takes its Place in the African American Culture.....	42
Sports in High School.....	45
Social Reproduction in Sport and High School.....	49
Race in High School.....	50
Theoretical Framework.....	52

	Summary.....	56
3.	METHODS.....	58
	Epistemological Framework.....	58
	Design of Study.....	61
	Instrumentation.....	63
	Site Selection.....	66
	Participants and Sampling Strategy.....	68
	Data Analysis.....	71
	Data Credibility and Dependability.....	76
	Subjectivity Statement.....	79
	Pilot Study.....	81
4.	RESULTS AND ANALYSIS.....	84
	Section I: Survey.....	84
	Section II: Semi-structured Interviews.....	87
	Section III: Summary of Results.....	140
5.	DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATIONS.....	141
	Discussion.....	141
	Conclusion.....	162
	Implications.....	166
	Future Research.....	168
	REFERENCES.....	170
	APPENDICES.....	186
A	SURVEY.....	186

B	INTERVIEW PROTOCOL.....	188
C	CONSENT FORMS.....	191
D	EXAMPLE CODES FROM CODEBOOK.....	195

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1: <i>Summary of Interviewees</i>	70
Table 4.2: <i>Demographic breakdown of survey participants</i>	85

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"It dampens my spirit when I come up to spring training and I look around here and you don't see any Black kids. You can go to every ballclub and see the same thing, you don't see too many African American kids playing baseball, and that's not very good. Something needs to be done about it."

-Hank Aaron (Associated Press, 2010)

As Hank Aaron recognized, there is a lack of participation in baseball by African Americans in today's society. Before something can be done about it, as Mr. Aaron calls for, this phenomenon must be studied and understood for all of its values. Coakley (2004) calls this type of understanding a knowledge building model where research is dedicated "primarily to accumulating knowledge that will help us understand social life" (pp. 20-21). Before transforming a social problem that exists in the world, the problem, or phenomenon, must first be studied in order to gain knowledge on all aspects of the problem. This type of model, termed exploratory for the purposes of this study, emphasizes detachment and objectivity rather than problem solving and social transformation (Coakley, 2004). While in the end it is important to create a change for the betterment of sport and society, creating change without a full depth of understanding of a problem or phenomenon may bring a change that can be of little or no benefit at all.

Sport comprises a major component of American society in that it is on the minds of millions of Americans every day. Studying the underlying structure of such a major part of American society becomes important in that it allows for the pursuit of social justice, which is the best way to strive for the fulfillment of greatness (Parenti, 1995). Analyzing social aspects of

sport, critically and otherwise, is not intended to denigrate sport, but rather it is a form of commitment where breaches of social justice are sought in order to bring about change and make sport better (Sage, 1998). Indeed this study does not set out to be critical or denounce sport, but to understand participation patterns which may lead to more equality in opportunity. Studying sport from a sociological standpoint allows for the researcher to look beyond physical performance and see sports as social constructions that influence how people feel, think, and live their lives (Coakley, 2004). The sociological issue this study looks to examine is the under representation of African Americans in baseball, especially from the way these individuals are socialized and construct their values.

Using the phrase “lack of participation in baseball by African Americans” means that baseball, in relation to basketball and football, significantly lacks African American participants. Three sports that will be used for the purposes of this study are baseball, basketball, and football because they are considered the “big three” American sports in this society. For the purpose of this study, the demographic composition of players in these three leagues will be used as a background for the problem facing baseball concerning diversity. Taking this into account, Major League Baseball has an under representation of African Americans. Other sports, such as hockey and golf may also lack African American participation, but sports such as these are not as numerous in high school athletic programs nationwide. Another reason why hockey is not included in this study is that there has not been a history of African American participation in this sport like there has been for baseball. The under-representation of African Americans in baseball is also explained in relation to the United States population of African Americans.

Major League Baseball has recognized the lack of African American participation and has set up youth programs in order to try and create an interest by these youth (Starr and Barrett,

1993). For example, *Reviving Baseball in Inner Cities*, or the RBI program, has been promoted and created in order to spark and increase participation numbers of urban groups of kids. This 22 year old program has helped such stars as C.C. Sabathia (New York Yankees) and Jimmy Rollins (Philadelphia Phillies) to play the game and keep them “off the street” (Ruck, 2011, p. vii).

When Jackie Robinson became the first African American professional baseball player to play in Major League Baseball in 1947, the country began to change its perceptions towards African American society and there was more acceptance of racial equality (Peterson, 1970). Major League Baseball, and professional sports as a whole in America, was a bastion of White male dominance. Jackie Robinson opened the door for change, which led to African American athletes gaining access to “all White” sports. Branch Rickey was mainly responsible for bringing Robinson into the Major Leagues. He did this because he was an innovator that saw an untapped resource in the form of talented African American baseball players who he thought could benefit his team (Bradbury, 2007; Burns, 1994). This new talent led the way for a higher quality of baseball, since there was a larger sample of players to choose from for each team. As time passed, more and more African Americans began to succeed in baseball. This would not last.

Looking at the composition of the three major leagues provides specific insights into the challenge. In 2010, the racial composition of African American players in these three leagues is as follows (Lapchick, 2010):

- MLB- 9.1%
- NFL- 67%
- NBA- 77%

According to Richard Lapchick's Racial and Gender Report card (2010), of the big three sports, MLB has seen the largest change since 1995 when baseball was comprised of 19% African American players. More than that, Rob Ruck (2011) claims that the numbers of "Black ball players in the major leagues has plunged by two-thirds since its historic high in the late 1970s" (p. viii). This percentage of African American players has gone down in MLB, while the NFL and NBA have seen slight differences from year to year, but an overall increase in African American participation since 1995. So while sport, in general, has been considered an institution of racial equality, there is an obvious lack of equality in particular sports (Ruck, 2011).

One of the areas this study will examine is the under representation of African American baseball players in America compared to that of basketball and football. Rob Ruck (2011) points out that there may be several reasons for the decline in the number of African Americans playing baseball over the past few decades, including the fact that players from the Caribbean are not subject to MLB's draft, so they can be signed for much less than U.S. players, that integration cost African American's control over part of their sporting life, and positional segregation, or stacking, which has kept many African Americans from moving into positions of power within baseball.

The under representation of African American participants exists in interscholastic sports as well, which is the premise for this study. Studies have shown that African Americans tend to participate in revenue generating sports like football and basketball at the college level compared to other sports, like baseball (Upthegrove, Roscigno, and Charles, 1999). While a study like this has shown empirical evidence that African American participation is disproportional according to sports, few, if any, studies have looked into the reasons behind the participation.

Latino players from around the world have become a major force in modern baseball, “which will be as important to the sport specifically, and our society in general” much like African Americans did in the 1960s and 1970s (Wendel, 2003, p. xiii). While this is an important aspect of the racial composition of baseball in America, the issues of Latino players will not be addressed in the scope of this study. This presence is so prevalent in current time that some consider the game to not just be Black and White anymore, but brown instead (Wendel, 2003). For the purposes of this study, the researcher recognizes that Black was formally used to refer to both African American and Black Latino players in Major League Baseball. These two have been separated and in today’s society Black is commonly used to refer to African Americans while Latino/Hispanic is used to refer to Black Latinos and anyone else having Latino decent. For the purposes of this study however, the researcher uses the term “Black” to refer specifically to African American players per the U.S. Census Bureau (2010) definition as follows:

“Black or African American- A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as ‘Black, African Am., or Negro’ or report entries such as African American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian.” (State and Country QuickFacts section, para. 4)

Furthermore, the comments made by the participants reflect the contemporary use of the word “Black” as consistent with the researchers’ definition.

Cuba has been seen as a haven for more racial tolerance in baseball (Ruck, 2011). African Americans and Afro-Cubans faced harsher restrictions in baseball, especially at recreational clubs because they were seen as lesser citizens (Ruck, 2011; Lactot, 2004). There used to exist segregation towards all dark skinned participants in the game, especially around the

turn of the 20th Century (Ruck, 2011). Racial tolerance was more widespread in Cuba during this time and lasted until baseball's integration for all participants in 1947 as Jackie Robinson acted as a pioneer for more racial diversity (Ruck, 2011; Lanctot, 2004). This study recognizes and appreciates the efforts of all dark skinned participants in baseball and the hardships they endured while playing baseball, but looks into the experiences of African Americans solely for the purposes of this paper. "Black" is referred to in this study to mean African American and not to include Black-Latino or Afro-Latino individuals. The scope of this study does not include the experiences of any Latino individuals even though they were included in Black segregation in baseball.

The major area of concern addressed in this study is the under representation of African Americans in interscholastic baseball and why this exists. Just what makes the numbers of African Americans in baseball so disproportionate, especially compared to football and basketball? Do acquired cultural experiences, values, and ideas shape the way that people think about and choose particular sports to play in high school? What are the perceptions of high school students at a particular site in the southeastern towards racialized sports and how do these perceptions potentially shape participation patterns? These questions served as the basis for this study in hopes of finding reasons for the lack of African American participation in interscholastic baseball.

Power and class relationships in the school setting were studied and analyzed in this study even though they can be important in understanding participation patterns for students. Instead, race was looked at in depth to understand these patterns of participation. Sports are played in high school in order to construct a positive identity in school and because sports offer youth with one of the most prestigious identities available to students (Goldsmith, 2003). This

idea of identity comes from how each student constructs a meaning for themselves in a given field, here education. It can be from what opportunities there are in school to identity as, such as particular sports, and also from how the person associates with a role model. African Americans tend to play basketball more because they can identify with the successful role model already present and pervasive in that sport (Goldsmith, 2003).

Important to this study is the high school culture and how it may affect the ways decisions are made by students on issues of sport participation, particularly baseball compared to other sports. Schools have an influence on the perceptions and psychology of students unique to each school (Hall, 2001). The issue surrounding race and racial perceptions as they exist in the high school culture will also be examined and discussed to see how this relates to the sporting experience as well.

Growing up in a particular society and culture shapes the way individuals learn to think and navigate about their everyday lives and social interactions (Lemert, 2008). Being socialized into different cultures determines how an agent will act in particular fields in society (Bourdieu, 2006; Lemert, 2008). African American socialization refers to how African American children are brought up as being African American (Cross, 1991). This could be a different experience for each African American depending on other factors as they grow up and are socialized.

Gender and class are important factors when looking at holistic socialization, but for purposes of this study, race was the sole focus as a means of looking at socialization, identity, and participation patterns. I looked at how students that go to this high school were brought up and socialized to see if there were reasons for participation in certain sports and how their construction of a personal identity affects these decisions. The way that children are brought up and learn what to value could certainly be a factor in determining what sorts of activities to

value, thus accounting for a lack of baseball participation. For this study, I looked at how races may differ in the ways that they are socialized into high school and sports.

There exist aspects of sport that can be viewed as positive and negative. Involvement in sport can represent a window of opportunity otherwise not available to many youth around the nation (Upthegrove et al., 1999). This refers to the opportunity to gain an education from a college or university that the student-athlete might not be able to afford if not for athletic participation. Sport also serves as a character building institution where characteristics like team work, leadership, healthy competition, and discipline can be learned (Coakley, 2004). But what is it about sport that teaches these lessons that make it a unique atmosphere? These traits can also be learned in other fields, like the work place or school (Anderson, 2010). So while sport can be a place for positive social skill attainment and a means of mobility, sport can have negative aspects as well.

An example of the negative possible aspects of sport mobility is if education is not focused on by those participating at higher levels of competition at colleges and universities, the chance of upward social mobility diminishes. African American families are four times more likely to encourage sport participation as a means of mobility compared to White families (Upthegrove et al., 1999). While this is true, African Americans graduate at about half the rate of their White counterparts (Upthegrove et al., 1999). Those that do not graduate and do not play professional sports are left in a harsh situation with limited chance to succeed. As another example, sport can serve to produce citizens that have masculine ideologies such as dominance of women and homophobic tendencies (Anderson, 2010). By disseminating these tendencies, socialization via sport can serve as a dangerous tool when controlled by the wrong people.

Statement of the Problem

While racialized sport patterns appear to exist on many levels of participation, some people do not seem to notice the problem of racial representation in baseball compared to basketball and football, thus the lack of research. Bud Selig, commissioner of MLB, has said that baseball is proud of breaking the color barrier before the integration of many other American Institutions and that baseball today is truly a melting pot and reflects the true American population as well or better than other sports (Baldassaro and Johnson, 2002). This statement suggests that there is no problem at all, but there clearly exists an under representation of Blacks in baseball. Black participation in baseball at the professional level has been declining, which leads to an inference that Black participation in interscholastic baseball has also declined. With this under representation in baseball, sport racialization can be seen to exist in high school sports and show how the future of professional sports may look.

Purpose of the Study

This research will look into present social issues related to aspects of race and sport participation. The purpose of this study is to determine why there is an under-representation of African Americans participating in high school baseball, as well as to understand how students at a predominately African American high school determine what sports they participate in during high school in order to find out why racialized sports, especially baseball, exist.

Research Questions

To address the purpose of this study, two questions are currently guiding the study, although additional questions may be added:

1. How do male high school students of differing racial groups, in particular African Americans, choose to participate in some sports and not others?

2. How do males' perceptions of race affect sporting participation patterns?

This study has the potential to provide insights into why some African Americans do not choose baseball as a primary sport to participate, thus, also why they may not follow the sport and support it financially. The results of this study can further be important in order to achieve higher amounts of revenue from a source, the African American community, which is currently not being maximized to its fullest potential. While this is a lofty outcome, it may be possible to achieve some monetary gain from African American fans if there is more African American representation on the field. Finally, finding out how high school male students perceive race and sports at this site may help to explain how and why certain races of people participate in particular sport.

Significance of the Study

Sport can serve as a means of upward social mobility. This is an important concept in this study because baseball is a sport offered by most colleges across the nation. With a large number of African Americans playing sports like basketball and football in high school, baseball can offer another avenue from which to acquire scholarships and recognition as a potential professional athlete. The concentration of African Americans in football and basketball makes those sports more competitive to gain social mobility. By playing baseball in high school, African American students can potentially earn a college scholarship and thus obtain an advanced education from a school they may not otherwise have a chance to attend. According to Spearman and Harrison (2010), high school seniors have a .03% chance of going pro in basketball, .08% chance for football, and .45% chance for baseball. I understand that the odds are astronomical to be a professional athlete in any of these three sports, but the highest odds by far are in baseball. The Black community values sports and sees a large number of their role

models as athletes (Spearman and Harrison, 2010). Sports can serve as the way to a better life and upward mobility, especially for those in “lower or working-class strata of Black society” yet African American’s value and participate in the sports with the worst percentage to be a professional (Sailes, 2010, p.5). Sport remains a cruel illusion of fairness for too many African Americans (Lapchick, 2001). If African Americans really wanted to play professional sports, baseball would offer the best chance since the number of professional baseball players and odds of making it to the professional level are higher than football and basketball, yet there are so few African Americans playing baseball in high school.

There is a need to discover the perceptions of male students in high school towards race and sport. The study of racial influences and sport participation remains an unsettled issue. Race, as a social construct, has historically been seen as a factor in determining sport performance and participation, but studies have shown these notions to be inconsistent (Harrison et al 2011; Dole 1995; Coakley 2004; Cunningham 2007; Eitzen and Sage 2003; LaVeist 1996). While African American *over*-representation in particular sports has been studied, the *under*-representation has not been thoroughly discussed, especially as it relates to baseball. While research has waned over recent years in this area of study, the perceptions of African American superiority and participation in certain sports has continued. There is a lack of studies in this area as well around the student-athletes in high school instead of college. I argue that there is more dynamic identity formation and adolescents are more volatile in high school than in college. Decisions made in high school determine ways of acting in college as well as the school that will be attended. One does not decide to start playing sports in college, as they would be years behind. Beginning to play in high school, however, allows for development and identity

construction that will steer individuals towards particular areas of interest in college or other avenues after high school completion.

Research that has been done about sport and African Americans rarely puts the participant in a role that may allow them to have a voice in their situation. My study gives high school students a chance to tell their stories as they are immersed in the high school setting. High school students are not given a chance, in particular, to talk about their racial perceptions and how they view and participate in sport. High school students have said that certain races do play certain sports, for example, that Black people do not ski (Atkins, 2003). These same high school students recognize that a lot of Black kids play group activities, which may be an indication of how they are socialized, and that a lot of minorities are poor, so they play sports (Atkins, 2003). Further, Ogden (2004) calls for research in exploring influences on youth participating in baseball and effects still residing from African American discrimination in the history of baseball. These are the few ideas addressed by high school students and thus provide a need for further research as to why they think like this. As a result, this study attempts to give voice to high school students regarding their sport participation patterns, which may allow them to describe some reasons for the issue at hand, the under representation of African Americans in baseball, and what causes this.

Definition of Terms

The following terms will be useful in this research project.

African American – An ethnic group of persons with shared cultural experiences and a social history grounded in both Africa and America, or Americans of African ancestry (Anderson, 2010).

Black – a socially constructed category, which is attributed to persons of African descent. The terms “African American” and “Black” may be used interchangeably throughout this study.

(Anderson, 2010).

Culture- Culture consists of the ways of life people create in a particular group. It is composed of people’s interactions with one another in a given society. Culture refers to the values, ideas and actions within a group of people.

Ethnicity- Ethnicity refers to the cultural heritage of a particular group of people. It does not refer to biological or genetic determinants.

Ideology- Ideologies are interrelated sets of ideas that people use to give meaning and make sense of their world. These embody the principles and viewpoints that underlie our thoughts and actions.

MRGEB (Mixed Racial Groups Excluding Black)- Refers in this study to all participants not African American for the purposes of this study. These participants could be from any self identified racial or ethnic group that is not African American or Black.

Race- Race refers to a category of people that are socially distinct based on physical characteristics which are socially constructed by those with power and authority in society. For the purposes of this study, race will refer to skin color (Coakley, 2009).

Racialized sport – sports that have been sanctioned and divided according to the dominant race of participants

Significant other- member of society that has the most impact on an individual’s conceptions and values. Significant others are the most influential socializing agents and are usually family members, especially parents, but can be other agents in certain situations where intensive contact and influence is present.

Socialization- Socialization is an active process of learning and social development which occurs as people interact with one another in social situations and become acquainted with the world in which they live.

Socializing agent- members of society that have an impact on life experiences of an individual as they create an awareness and value for various aspects of society

Society- Society refers to a collection of people within a defined geographical location and united through a sense of identification. Society is used to mean a certain place geographically more so than a place defined by actions and ideas.

Sport- Sports are institutionalized competitive activities that involve rigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by participants motivated by internal and external rewards (Coakley, 2004). Sport tends to have varying definitions depending on the arena the term sport is used in. Sport sociologists have decided that there is a need for a precise definition of sport so sports can be studied distinct from other activities, which may have different social dynamics and implications (Coakley, 2004).

Student-athlete- A student-athlete is a student at an educational institutions that participates in the athletics offered and supported by that institution. This can be a middle school, high school, college or university. Student-athletes are looked at as representatives of their respective institution and are also charged as being a student first and an athlete second as emphasis is usually, at least outwardly, promoted by the coaches and administrators.

Delimitations

This study is delimited to male high school seniors at a predominately African American student population high school in the Southeastern United States. This target population consists of the individuals most likely to participate in varsity interscholastic sports and the ones that

have likely gone through identity formation procedures the most of the students in this high school. Data collections methods are delimited to qualitative methods of collection with self-reported surveys and individual semi-structured interviews.

Limitations

Conducting a case study research project presents some limitations due to the nature of case study research. Case study research may be difficult to be presented as transferable to other fields in society where the same phenomenon might occur since the phenomenon was studied at a very particular site. It may be hard to replicate the site, thus the phenomenon may vary according to how much the sites vary from the original site that the case study covered. It is up to the researcher to be as detailed and descriptive as possible in order for the information to be used in part for a different site. Because of this difficulty, the results are shown to be applicable to various situations and contexts instead of transferable.

Being a European American (White) researcher may cause some potential limitations as some people may not see me as being able to relate or understand the experiences of the African American participants since I am an outsider looking in. Maintaining a strong sense of objectivity becomes of utmost importance in this regard, since I will have to present both sides of the experiences and find reasons and themes from both African American and White student's perspectives. I do not have experience in the African American culture except what has been written from other researchers and authors. Not being able to relate to the African American experience on a personal level may be seen as a limitation to many scholars.

This study will be a short term type of study in that it will not look to patterns that may have been established in the past in depth. This study aims to find out the reasons for African American participation numbers in high school sports of basketball, football, and baseball in

particular. The study will examine this phenomenon in the current context of this case. Looking at the current context will give meaning to the way current trends occur in the fields of sport, high school, and African American culture.

This study takes place at a particular site in the southeastern United States. Because of the geographical location, particular sports are seen as the most popular and dominant ones in this context. Football is the most popular sport by large in this area of the country. This may have some bearing on why there is an under representation of African American high school baseball players. They may choose to focus their time on football instead of baseball, thus reducing the number. The study recognizes that context and geographical location are important but will not look at length in to this possible reason for sport participation.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

“He struck a mighty blow for equality, freedom and the American way of life. Jackie Robinson was a good citizen, a great man, and a true American champion.”

-Ronald Reagan (Burns, 1994)

Former President Regan illustrates how impactful Jackie Robinson was in enduring all the discrimination in breaking the “color barrier” in Major League baseball (MLB) back in 1947. This significant event led the way for more racial equality in baseball, an opportunity that has since gone through changes in the participation patterns of fellow African Americans. The purpose of this study is to determine why there is an under-representation of African Americans participating in high school baseball. Examining how African American males construct their identity in the high school culture may shed some insight into this issue of under-representation in baseball and allow for possible recommendations for change in order to allow for more racial equity in sports. This chapter examines the literature of African American participation in baseball and the reasons for their participation patterns along with the ways that African American males construct their identities. Specifically, this chapter presents the following: 1) the history of baseball along with African American participation and interest, 2) Theoretical explanations that have tried to explain why there is a decline of Blacks in baseball, and 3) a social reproduction theoretical framework to guide this study.

Baseball

Baseball has gone through many developments and refinements based on needs for changes and rules since the game began to be played in America in the middle of the 19th

century. The game developed largely from a British game called “rounders” brought to New England by immigrants, and then morphed from a game called town ball to a game called base ball¹ (Burns, 1994). As popularity grew for this leisure activity, more and more people became interested in not only playing the game, but also watching it. Even during the Civil War, soldiers on both sides would play the game of base ball any time they got the chance. This was one of the first organized sporting activities that largely originated in the United States and so became known as America’s pastime and a game that all people could play (Burns, 1994).

After the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation, African Americans found pleasure in this sporting activity of base ball in place of their hard labor in the fields. There were conflicting views of African Americans participating in base ball. These newly freed slaves were seen as great players of the new game by some spectators and as lesser people who had no place in America’s pastime by others (Burns, 1994; Peterson, 1970). The popularity for baseball, as it became called, grew, and eventually money was charged to see the game just as seeing a show or play. Players began to receive money for their services as well. African American players were included in these paid players lead by Bud Fowler and Fleet Walker as two of the first African American professionals (Peterson, 1970). These men paved the way through much hatred and discrimination for other African American players to play the game that was considered the great American game, a game that was created in a land of equality and opportunity for all, or so it seemed.

History of African Americans in Baseball

During baseball’s infancy, African American players could be found on teams around the nation. Baseball was seen as an elitist activity for the enjoyment of the wealthy with the masses portioned off in the stands away from the more wealthy viewers, but African Americans were

¹ This term was used as two separate words as the game was first created in reference to the use of bases and a ball.

allowed to play the game. They were not, however, allowed to partake in the dinners and dances that frequently followed the games (Ruck, 2011). So even though they were seen as equals on the field, off the field there was still segregation. As the sport gained popularity after the Civil War, teams comprised of African Americans began to form, and one, the Pythians from Philadelphia, even applied to be part of the first amateur baseball league, but they were not allowed and written rules barring African American teams and players were soon adopted (Ruck, 2011). Even though there was more tolerance during the game, the African American community began to understand that they would have to form their own organizations and teams if they wanted more equality.

Baseball was the most popular sport in the African American community from the late 19th century through the early 20th century. Thousands of fans attended games on a regular basis and viewed their attendance as a way to escape their everyday struggles as second class citizens in the U.S. (Bruce, 1985; George, 1992; Holway, 1988; Lancot, 1994; Lomax, 1998; Peterson, 1970; Rogosin, 1983; Ruck, 1987, 2011; White, 1996; D. K. Wiggins, 2000). The African American community viewed baseball as a form of collective identity and civic pride, in spite of the fact that African Americans remained excluded from the more lucrative White-owned Major League Baseball (MLB) (Ogden and Hilt, 2003; Peterson, 1970; Ribowsky, 1995). The popularity of baseball was evident in the support for the largest event in African American baseball, the annual East-West All-Star Game (Brashler, 1978; Bruce, 1985; Holway, 1988; J. B. Holway, 1975; Peterson, 1970; Rogosin, 1983; White, 1996; D. K. Wiggins, 2000). These All-Star Games would attract upward of 50,000 fans annually (Bolton, 2007; Ruck, 2011).

The popularity of the game continued to grow and African American's were seen as the new face of baseball as they added a new element of excitement and athleticism to the game

(Burns, 1994). The game was evolving and new strategies were being developed for competition in the game. African American players were rarely seen on teams and became a new attraction to fans, as well as a new development for strategy, that added speed. There were still mixed feelings about the participation of baseball and some owners even claimed that they would not employ African Americans in order to keep the game fair and for the safety of the African American players from racist hatred and aggression (Burns, 1994). Popular players such as Cap Anson called for the removal of African American players (Peterson, 1970). Ty Cobb, one the greatest players of all time and most popular players of the early 20th century, had such hatred for African Americans and played baseball with such ferocity it made some African Americans afraid to play the game (Burns, 1994). This was a time when owners had to make a decision about how to address the issue of African American players and the future of the league.

A Gentleman's Agreement

As the country neared the turn of the 20th century, baseball became known as America's pastime and began picking up steam in popularity. African Americans were present in the game at many different levels of competition but racism towards the majority of these individuals still ran rampant (Burns, 1994). Many teams refused to play against teams that had African American players and threatened these teams with written letters prior to their game warning of possible violence if African American players were allowed to play (Peterson, 1970). Although African Americans were making progress in other athletic ventures, their progress in baseball was stifled by an 1888 "gentleman's agreement" between owners not to sign any African Americans to their club (Anderson, 2010; Peterson, 1970; Burns, 1994). What this meant was that while African Americans were not formally ruled out of the first professional league or its successor, the National League, owners would not sign any African American players to their

club as an unwritten rule. Although African Americans were not able to sign with Association clubs, there was nothing keeping them from playing against each other and forming their own teams (Peterson, 1970).

This “gentleman’s agreement” between the White owners marked a time of increase in the collective identity of African Americans because they could bond together to play a sport that they began to love and excel. African Americans may not have been able to play in the same leagues as the “White” professional teams, but they formed their own leagues and teams. These teams were frequently allowed, and even encouraged, to play in exhibition games against White teams in order to make money from the huge draw of African American fans. With this agreement of not signing African Americans, the owners began to put into place an ideology that African American athletes did not deserve to participate in this “American” game of baseball. This idea can still be seen today with the largely over representation of White owners and executives in positions of power. While the agreement to not sign particular players based on race no longer exist, it is evident that this ideology has hurt the patterns of African Americans in sport participation in general, and thus created a rift in the cultural, psychological, and social patterns of African American sport participation.

The Negro Leagues

Negro Leagues were comprised of teams that had African American professional players that usually operated under African American owners in the U.S. between 1880 and 1955 (Mathewson, 1998; Peterson, 1970). During the 1890s, most of the African American professional players only played in exhibition games on segregated teams on the barnstorming circuit (NLBPA, 2007; Burns, 1994). W.E.B. DuBois gave out baseball equipment to little boys in order for their services in distributing some of his literature as he saw how important baseball

was to America and the advancement of colored people (Burns, 1994). Rube Foster, nicknamed after he outdueled one of the top White pitchers in a game, created the first nationally organized Negro baseball league, the National Negro Baseball League (NNL) in 1920 (Burns, 1994). The NNL was comprised of teams from major cities such as Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Indianapolis. The Negro professional baseball organization would not last as it dissolved in 1931 due to a host of issues ranging from financial instability to an insufficient infrastructure (Bruce, 1985; George, 1992; Holway, 1988; Lanctot, 1994; Lomax, 1998; Peterson, 1970, 1990; Rogosin, 1983; Ruck, 1987; White, 1996; D. K. Wiggins, 2000). Even though leagues were being dissolved for various reasons, it could be seen there existed an interest in baseball by African Americans and those that were interested had substantial ability (Peterson, 1970). Seeing this paved the way for more leagues to try their luck at a successful operation.

In 1923, Edward H. Bolden formed the Eastern Colored League (ECL), which served as a competitor to the NNL (Ruck, 2011, Peterson, 1970). The first Negro World Series was played between the two respective league champions in 1924, and continued to be played from 1924 to 1927 (Bolton, 2007). These two leagues served as the keystone for African American baseball over the next two decades (D. K. Wiggins, 2000). Although both leagues were well attended during their existence, they still struggled to retain financial stability. This was a fact that seemed to haunt all of Negro league baseball, and sometimes all leagues of baseball. In 1928, three years before the fall of the NNL, the ECL ceased operation temporarily and reorganized in 1929 as the newly formed American Negro League (ANL) (Peterson, 1970; Burns, 1994). In 1932, the East-West League and the Negro Southern Leagues were formed, but both struggled so much financially that they ended their respective season before the year was out. From 1933 to 1937, the second Negro National League (NNL) was the only African American professional

organization in existence (Peterson, 1970). In 1937, the second Negro American League (NAL) was formed and comprised of teams from the South and Midwest U.S. The champions from the second NNL and NAL played-against each other in what was known as the African American World Series. Both the NNL and NAL coexisted until 1949 when the NNL merged into the NAL, which lasted until 1960 and served as the only, and last, African American major baseball league (Bolton, 2007)

The major problems facing the Negro Leagues included lack of baseball park ownership and an overdependence on star players (Ruck, 2011; Peterson, 1970; Burns, 1994). Many MLB owners would stifle the profit margins of the Negro Leagues by charging them excessive rent fees to use their ballparks. Consequently, many African American players suffered from poor working and living conditions such as subpar transportation, rundown segregated lodging, and limited meal compensation, which all contributed to the unhappiness of the players. This, along with financial instability, contributed to the downfall of the leagues. The White leagues had little or no interest in integrating African Americans from the Negro leagues because it would make getting a spot on a professional team harder with more competition and the owners were benefitting too much financially from renting the park and putting on exhibition games between White and African American teams (Ruck, 2011). This made it difficult to get any White players and owners to push hardily for integration for a long time.

To make matters worse, African American players and coaches had regular experiences with discrimination in nearly every public environment (Bruce, 1985; Holway, 1988; Lanctot, 1994; Peterson, 1970; Rogosin, 1983; White, 1996; D. K. Wiggins, 2000; Burns, 1994). Whatever the reason may have been, the end of the Negro Leagues may have represented the beginning of a rift between African Americans and baseball (Early, 2000; Ogden, 2004). Fleet

Walker, the first Negro major league player and a well educated man, expressed his dissatisfaction in integrating leagues and having African Americans participate in baseball due to the discrimination and hatred he experienced, leading him to call for complete segregation of the leagues or participation by Blacks in other leisure activities (Peterson, 1970). He even went as far as to publish a pamphlet after his playing days urging fellow African Americans to immigrate to Africa because there was nothing for them in America but failure and disappointment (Burns, 1994).

Modern Day Baseball

Professional baseball would go almost half a century until Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in 1947 for the Brooklyn Dodgers after signing with Branch Rickey (Brashler, 1978; Bruce, 1985; Holway, 1988; J. B. Holway, 1975; Peterson, 1970; Burns, 1994). Rickey always had an interest in integrating the game since he was in college and saw discrimination first hand as one of the players that he coached, the star of the team, was not allowed to check into the hotel where the team was staying (Burns, 1994). The image of this player's embarrassment and disappointment never left Rickey's memory.

More and more African Americans began joining Major League Baseball and there was, for the most part, racial equality between African American and White players for much of the 1950s-1980s. Players such as Willie Mays, Hank Aaron, and Ernie Banks are among some of the most popular and successful African American baseball players, or baseball players in general, to play the game. Since the 1980s, however, African American participation has been on the decline in baseball. In fact, the participation of African Americans in Major League Baseball has been as high as 19% in the last 20 years, but is currently down to 8.5%, one of the lowest since 1947 when Jackie Robinson led the way for African American participation

(Lapchick, 2011). It seems that African Americans continue to disappear from baseball and strive for excellence in other areas of sport, especially in basketball and football.

Modern day baseball is fully integrated in terms that any person is allowed to play in MLB as long as they have the ability. There is no more outward discrimination based on racial demographics. Professional baseball's integration may have harmed African American participation in baseball more than anything else because, in essence, the integration killed the Negro Leagues (Ruck, 2011). With the best players now playing in MLB, the Negro Leagues lacked the draw of the fans they previously had (Ruck, 2011). This made it hard to make any money from gate receipts anymore. Integration was a symbol of democratization, but Black America lost control of its own sporting life by allowing White owners to now be in charge of the biggest names in the Negro Leagues as they were now in MLB. This came at a time as America was moving towards integration of its core institutions, but this may have cost more than it gained to the Black community in terms of social cohesion and economic sustenance (Ruck, 2011). African Americans have never gotten over the demise of the Negro Leagues as they were an institution that represented the two-ness of being and African American and an American that African Americans struggled with before Black baseball (Baldassaro & Johnson, 2002). Factors impacting the participation of African Americans in baseball have moved from racism and an agreement amongst owners not to sign them to indifference due cultural and societal components.

Stereotypes and Cultural Explanations for Sport Participation

The influence of stereotypes of African American male athletes cannot be overstated as a contributor to the lack of African American participation in baseball because they lead to perceptions of how sport is racialized and what sports are played, as well as what positions, by

particular individuals. Stereotypes are false beliefs about a characteristic of members of a distinct social group, such as by race or gender (Harris, 2000; McLemore, 1991). Stereotypes are how people make assumptions and preconceived notions or judgments about particular people when there is little or no knowledge about that group of people (Harrison, 2001; Oakes, Haslam, and Turner, 1994). A stereotype attached to African American athletes that is more prominent than others is the idea that African Americans are physically superior and intellectually inferior compared to other races. Basketball may be a means by which a stereotype of African Americans being animal-like with their physical abilities exceeding their mental capacity (Bracey, 2004). These stereotypes are reinforced and reproduced by the outstanding athletic accomplishments in basketball, football, and track and field in particular. Ideas of physical superiority and intellectual inferiority emphasizes the physical prowess of African American athletes and consequently induces young African Americans to pursue certain sports (e.g. basketball) where they feel they are fit to excel (Sailes, 2010). Indeed, stereotypes have contributed to differing sport participation patterns by establishing preconceived assumptions and notions to who “should” play particular sports. With these stereotypes being engrained and socially reproduced from one generation to the next, breaking racialized sport participation patterns may be difficult to accomplish. Along with stereotypes, there are other contributing factors and theoretical assumptions that impact participation patterns of African American athletes: biological, socio-cultural, and psychological (Hawkins, 2010).

Biological

Biological factors have been the basis for longstanding myths in the athletic superiority of African Americans (Entine, 2000; Hoberman, 1997; Kane, 1971; Van Damme and Wilson, 2002). In fact, Hoberman (1997) goes as far to say that ideas about natural physical talents of

African American athletes and the media images that sustain them do more than anything else to encourage the idea that African Americans and Whites are different in meaningful ways. The representation of races in specific sports perpetuates the stereotypic belief of intellectual ability, most commonly associated with White people and in sports like baseball, versus physical superiority, associated with African Americans and sports like basketball and football (Hodge, Harrison, Burden, and Dixson, 2008; Harrison et al., 2004; Harrison et al., 2002). Sailes (2010) conducted an informal study examining the perceptions of African American athletic success of a group of college students which generated three theories related to biological explanations for African American athletic success. Those three theories are genetic, the survival of the fittest, and Mandingo.

The genetic theory embraces the idea that African Americans have more fast twitch muscle fibers than Whites, who have more slow twitch muscle fibers, which explains their success in certain sports (Gnida, 1995; Leonard, 1993; Van Damme and Wilson, 2002). The fast twitch muscle fibers would be beneficial for sports which required agility, speed, quickness, jumping, lifting, and throwing (Sailes, 2010). Although baseball requires all of these skills, the pace and nature of other sports (basketball, football, and track and field) arguably place a higher emphasis on these skills in comparison. There is no concrete proof that there are sport specific genes, which make a person better at basketball or a faster runner. All humans come from the same genes in Africa, so we all have the same genetic makeup at the very basic level (Epstein, 2010). This concept shows how there is no genetic advantage for any particular race or person to go into a certain sport. Excellence in a particular sport comes about through nurture not nature.

The survival of the fittest theory suggests that the physical superiority of the African American athlete is a result of how ancestors survived the hardship of the “middle passage”

(Sailes, 2010, p.63). In other words, due to the harsh conditions of the middle passage from Africa to America, only the fittest Africans survived to produce future offspring. They would have had to survive disease ridden and overcrowded ships during this process (Sailes, 1991). This evolutionary type of idea suggests that only the strongest and fittest would survive the journey, so their offspring and future decedents must be physically superior to other humans that may not have had to go through this.

The Mandingo theory, similar to that of the survival of the fittest theory, purports the belief that African American physical superiority, particularly superior jumping and sprinting abilities, is a result of the conditions during slavery. This theory describes how during times of slavery, African Americans were seen as beast-like and almost sub-human. White slave owners believed that they needed to control their slaves, but still keep them physically fit enough to perform their duties (Sailes, 2010). From this dependence on keeping the slaves fit, they are better suited for physical activity in today's world, thus their presence in sports (Sailes, 2010). So not only were the fittest and strongest African Americans the ones that made it to America, but due to working in the fields, they were made even stronger than they were before. This theory further suggests that slave owners intentionally bred their slaves to elope with physically large and muscular female slaves. Thus their offspring would be physically superior and serve as better laborers (Sailes, 2010). This theory, though, appears to be the most flawed in that it is unrealistic to believe such a biological change and adaptation could occur so quickly during this period of time (Hoberman, 1997).

All of these theories adhere to the dichotomy of African Americans being intellectually inferior and physically superior, but superior in only the way that their bodies are animalistic and have the ability to do hard manual labor, which later transitioned into the ability to excel in

certain sports (Hawkins, 2010). This ideology has persisted into modern society all the way back from the 15th century which started with the “Chain of Being” that had Africans listed on the bottom of the hierarchy of humans and just one step above orangutans (Hawkins, 2010).

Through time, African bodies may have developed differently from European ones, which may cause some to believe African Americans are “born” to play basketball or football. Even though there are differences, and maybe even some physical advantages that African Americans possess (longer arms and legs, shorter trunks, slender calf muscles, etc.), skill in a particular sport does not necessarily come from this (Hawkins, 2010; Coakley, 1978). Skill and success in certain sports, which will lead to more participation in that sport, comes more from cultural, social, and psychological explanations as well as hard work over time and desire to excel.

Socio-cultural

Cultural theoretical explanations account for another common reason for the lack of African American participation, including African American youth, in particular sports. The ethnicity, or sub-cultural hypothesis, claims that “differences between racial or ethnic groups in values systems, norms, and socialization patterns” explains the lack of minority participation in certain leisure activities (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994, p.159). The low numbers of participations are representative that baseball has a cultural dearth among certain groups in society, in particular African Americans (Ogden, 2004). Phillips (1976) provides an idea for participation patterns of African Americans in sports in what he refers to as “sports opportunity structure” (p. 41). This sports opportunity structure argues that African Americans can be found in sports that are more readily available to them and have more coaches and facilities that accompany these activities (Phillips, 1976). The more youth programs, facilities, and coaches to teach these kids, the more they will participate in that sport. More African American athletes are

likely to pursue those sports that have been culturally sanctioned as African American as opposed to other sports that have been culturally sanctioned as White. Sports like basketball, football, and track and field have been historically sanctioned as African American sports while sports such as baseball, tennis, and golf have been considered White sports (Frey & Eitzen, 1991). In other words, “individuals may adopt a leisure routine based on level of security that leisure activity provides” (Ogden, 2004, pp.115-116). Basketball is more likely to be endorsed by African American peers because of the cultural connection to the sport (Hutchinson, 1987; Ogden, 2004).

The matriarchal theory represents another cultural explanation for sport participation patterns of African American athletes (Sailes, 2010). Sailes' (2010) found that a majority of college students believed that African Americans came from a single parent household with no father present and the mother as the head of the household. This means that the mother would be the primary caregiver and the money maker of the family, so they may not have as much time as a two parent household may have for the children as they grow and become socialized. As a result, the African American athlete growing up in this situation becomes instable and seeks gratification in areas where he excels such as on the basketball court or football field. Furthermore, the lack of paternalistic relationship could influence young African American athletes to seek out role models in the form of a coach, especially if that coach is a male of the same race. Given the lack of African American baseball coaches at all levels, African American athletes seek out this paternalistic relationship with African American basketball coaches (Sailes, 2010). These findings can help explain why there may be certain participation patterns in sports, but the results came from college students' perceptions. Baseball is frequently seen, especially in television commercials, as a game where fathers teach their sons how to play the game. The

logic with the matriarchal theory suggests that a lot of African American youth grow up with no father, thus no one to teach them the game.

Additional studies have revealed how other significant persons in the lives of African American athletes influence their sport participation choices. A study of high school basketball players found that nearly half of the African Americans in the sample viewed their fathers as providing them with social support to play basketball and one-third cited their mothers as providing them with social support (Harris, 1994). This study shows an additional example of how cultural factors can influence sport participation patterns.

Mass media serves as another cultural contributor to the influence of sport participation patterns among African American athletes. Several scholars connect the high participation numbers of African American youth in basketball to media influences (Edwards, 1980; Frey, 1994; Kelley, 1997; Nasir, 2000; D. K. Wiggins, 2000; Gaston, 1986). The images presented by the media may serve to reinforce the dominant race ideologies that support notions such as how African Americans do not attend events such as baseball games or participate in other professional sports, thus, when African American viewers internalize these beliefs they disengage from the activity they are viewing or pursue other leisure activities (Ogden, 2004; Ogden and Hilt, 2003). Without being able to connect with the activity being viewed, media serves as a vehicle that can drive participation patterns simply by displaying what is going on at the actual event. Corporations such as Nike and Reebok strive to appeal to an audience they can draw in and influence, such as young African Americans, so they use images of African American athletes (Kelley, 1997). A study conducted by Wilson and Sparks (1996) examined the reactions of African American and White adolescents to Nike basketball shoe television commercials. These commercials came from the 1994 NBA playoffs and the NCAA men's

basketball tournament and featured stars such as Chris Webber and Latrell Sprewell (Wilson & Sparks, 1996). This study found that African Americans viewed the images in the commercial as a reflection of African American culture (Wilson and Sparks, 1996). Since the media is so prevalent, especially to young people with the use of advanced cell phones and other electronic devices, many young people grow up and socialize themselves according to what the media portrays. Media images of successful African American athletes in basketball can impact the choices made by youth on sport participation patterns by presenting them with images of successful athletes youth can racially relate to.

The lack of role models in certain sports is another cultural explanation for the lack of African American participation in baseball. African American athletes account for nearly 77% of the players in the NBA whereas they only account for 8.5% players in the MLB (Lapchick and Matthews, 2001, 2011). Thus, African American youth have a much larger number of basketball players to view as role models. Furthermore, a study of 129 African American college athletes revealed that more than 70% of them reported having a sports star as a role model during their pre-teen years (Castine and Roberts, 1974). This number shows just how powerful and influential professional athletes can be, even if they do not mean to be. The dominant race logic in U.S. society, reinforced by the media, purports the notion that professional African American male NBA players serve as role models for African American males (May, 2009). Therefore, based on the lack of role models the predominance of African American athletes in sports like basketball, in contrast with their scarcity in baseball, influences African American youth sport participation choices.

Moreover, Pierre Bourdieu (1988) makes the argument that if an area such as sport is defined by its intrinsic properties, the limits of its possible social uses is open to a diversity of

utilizations and is characterized at each moment by the forces and agents acting upon it, thus constructing its meaning. Therefore, the dominant meaning of a particular practice, in this case sport, is malleable according to the dominant social users (economically or socially) (Bourdieu, 1988). From this it can be argued that since basketball is a sport controlled, in the sense that African Americans are the dominant participants and role models, by African American athletes at all levels of play, the meaning of playing basketball resonates more with African Americans than to other racial groups. In contrast, baseball is not a sport dominated by African American athletes as social users, thus it does not have a strong connection and meaning to the African American population in general. This provides a reason why there is a lack of African American participation in baseball. This reasoning resembles social reproduction in that as a sport is dominated (more social users) by a particular type of person (by race, class, gender, etc.), that same type of person will grow up participating in the given sport, or at least participating in sports in general. The values and perceptions of what sport is played by particular individuals is disseminated to future generations by those currently “dominating” that sport.

American society has various social constraints that affect various fields of society. These constraints are present in sport in the ways that those in positions of power influence values and perceptions of sport. Sport participation and sport socialization patterns of African American athletes in American sport are impacted by factors that emerge from various social constraints imposed upon them by the dominant culture and their determination to overcome them (Coakley, 1994; D. S. Eitzen and Sage, 1996; Leonard, 1993; McPherson, Curtis, and Loy, 1989; Sailes, 1987, 1991, 2010; Sokolove, 1988). Socialization patterns such as inadequate coaches, poor facilities, and a lack of role models influence the sports that people can participate in, forcing them to aggregate their numbers into sports that do not have these barriers (Coakley,

1990; Edwards, 1972; Eitzen and Sage, 1989; Sailes, 1984, 1987, 1991; Snyder and Spreitzer, 1983). Social constraints can be intrapersonal, interpersonal, or structural (Ogden and Hilt, 2003; Raymore, 2002). Intrapersonal constraints are those that occur within the individual, either by a mindset or internal feelings that keep them from thinking freely, away from the way society wants them to. Interpersonal constraints occur between individuals in society. These constraints, like peer pressure and influences by other people, occur between individuals on a daily basis. Structural constraints shape feelings and behaviors and emanate from non-agents in a social setting. These types of constraints place restrictions on an agent's options based on their role in society, like how Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in 1947 for Major League Baseball (MLB). Major League Baseball had a structural constraint in place keeping African Americans from participating in this level of baseball, but Branch Rickey and Jackie Robinson broke it and lead the way for more openings to other African Americans for the first time since the turn of the 20th century (Peterson, 1970).

Sports do not operate in a vacuum, thus the inequalities that are present in other aspects of society, such as education, politics, and the economy, from a functionalist perspective, also influence sporting participation patterns. For example, the marginality hypothesis claims that the underrepresentation of African Americans in certain leisure activities is primarily a result of limited economic resources, which is a byproduct of historical racial inequalities in the U.S (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, and Noe, 1994). This theory suggests there is a direct connection between economic inequalities and sport participation patterns, thus the lack of African American participation in sports such as baseball is attributed to unequal social-structural arrangements (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, and Noe, 1994; Washburne, 1978). The marginality hypothesis emphasizes the minority status of African Americans as an explanation for

participation patterns. Since they are of a subordinate class position, they do not have access to the same resources (economic, structural, etc.) that people from higher classes may have.

Involved with this marginality hypothesis is the notion of how MLB has been funneling money into Latin cultures of baseball academies in order for these individuals to develop and enhance their skills for a fast-track to professional baseball. These players can also sign for less, which is important for those in positions of power in MLB, than African Americans because they will take much less money in order to get to America and have the chance to play baseball. This idea of social structures determining participation patterns instead of the individual is closely related to anomie, an idea developed by Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton that places the blame for societal problems on society itself, not the individual (Lemert, 2008). Thus limited resources leads to a lack of opportunities which may explain the underrepresentation of African Americans in baseball (Gnida, 1995).

Another social-structural explanation for the lack of African American participation in baseball is the welcome theory (Ogden, 2004). The welcome theory suggests that certain groups, African Americans for example, feel they do not have sense of belonging in certain sport and leisure activities, like baseball. To understand the origin of these feelings Ogden (2004) references British sociologist Anthony Giddens' (1979;1984) structuration theory. This theory proposes that in the structuring of an individual's life and choosing activities, individuals adopt routines or practices that are comfortable and often times taken for granted. Often times, these routines are ones that are passed down from socializing agents, such as parents. These routines, Giddens (1979;1984) argues, help individuals maintain ontological security and reduce anxiety and tension from uncomfortable activities. Uncomfortable activities would be those that are not practiced through the socialization process as the child is growing up. They only become

uncomfortable because they are a foreign concept. Ontological security influences socially reproduced behavioral patterns, which are rooted in socially acceptable traditions, customs, or habits (Giddens, 1979, 1984; Ogden, 2004; Ogden and Rose, 2005). The primary assumption of the structuration theory is that the production or reproduction of behavioral patterns or habits is a result of a collection of interconnected structures, which usually reflect the dominant ideologies, thus causing social reproduction in practices.

In Ogden and Rose's (2005) study, Giddens' structuration theory is used to examine the declining number of African Americans in baseball. The authors chose Giddens' (1979) structuration theory because it focuses on the structural components of social institutions' influence on the reproduction of certain social practices. In the case of baseball, the lack of African American participation stems from economic, political, and other social structures that collectively prescribe certain activities for certain groups. The overall structure of baseball (e.g. costs associated with playing, access to facilities, lack of minority influence, etc.) results in the lack of African American interest in the sport (Giddens, 1979, 1984; Ogden and Rose, 2005).

Ogden and Rose (2005) also claim a reason for participation patterns come from how identity is constructed. When looking into reasons for sport participation in particular sports, it is important to discuss the process of how different individuals develop their identity. Seeing how a person grows and makes sense of their place in society corresponds directly with what activities they choose to participate. Every person goes through a process of defining themselves socially and emotionally as part of a particular racial group (Harrison, Harrison, and Moore, 2002; Tatum, 1997). Identifying with a particular racial group brings about assumptions and guidelines for that particular group. A specific and narrow range of sports are informally designated for African American participation, such as basketball, football, and track and field.

For African American individuals growing up, they may go through this identity formation process by immersing themselves in traditional African American sports or activities they see around them, such as basketball. This immersion process engrains in them what it means to be African American, and consequently, how to act African American through physical expression (Harrison et al., 2002). They go on to tell that developing a skill in a particular sport may be intrinsic in developing an African American identity. These youth tend to identify in sports in which they see other African Americans succeeding.

Another social structural explanation on sport participation argues that schools with more resources provide more sports and bigger teams, thus, racial differences in participation may occur because predominately African American and predominately White schools may differ in size and resources (Fejgin, 1994; Goldsmith, 2003; McNeal Jr., 1999). With many predominately African American schools centered in urban and poorer areas, their opportunity may be limited not by choice, but by resource availability.

A final argument that goes along with social structures that may hinder African American participation in baseball is the idea of stacking. Stacking in sports refers to how it is that certain races are placed or participate in certain positions in different sports (Frey and Eitzen, 1991; Edwards, 1972, 1980; Washington and Karen, 2001). What this means is that African Americans are typically found in positions that do not require as much intellectual ability as physical ability. For example, African Americans tend to be outfielders in baseball in order to maximize their speed and athleticism as well as receivers, running backs, and defensive backs in football. They typically do not play central positions such as pitcher or catcher in baseball, or quarterback in football. Central positions such as these tend to be more involved in all aspects of the game, thus former players that go into coaching or ownership tend to be former players of

these central positions. This means that most power and coaches tend to be MRGEB. Having a deficit of African American people in these positions of power, especially in baseball, makes it difficult for young African Americans to relate to these games so they do not participate. Also, as young African Americans grow up they see where players of their race tend to play, so they strive to be like that and play those positions since they see how it can be successful.

Psychological

Psychological factors also play a significant role in the influence of African American sport participation patterns. The impact of stereotypes is the influence on individuals whom become psychologically attached to these distorted images, thus seek group membership with others who identify with similar feelings (Harrison, 2001). The process of self-stereotyping is a psychological process because it requires individuals to mentally classify themselves to a certain label. The powerful impact of self-stereotyping is evident in the group consensus of the reality of certain stereotypes, for example African American athletic superiority, and how they tend to influence attitudes on social issues and stereotypes of the self and others (Harrison, 2001; Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, and Turner, 1999).

Stereotypes influence the psychological process called the self-fulfilling prophecy (Harrison, 2001; Merton, 1948). Harrison (2001) cites several authors when describing the three major steps of the self-fulfilling prophecy process, which are as follows:

1. An expectancy is established;
2. The mobilization of the expectancy must influence the way the perceiver interacts with the target;

3. The self-fulfilling process is the result of the perceiver's behavior on the target's behavior (Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo, 1990; Jussim, 1986, 1990; Merton, 1948).

In the case of baseball, the expectancy is that African Americans are not expected to excel in larger numbers and the few that do excel are regulated to certain positions (stacking) (Leonard, 1987). The mobilization of the expectancy involves the combination of media images, limited access to facilities, and low number of African American baseball players which in turn shape the African American athletes' attitudes and perceptions of baseball. The self-fulfilling process results in higher number of African American athletes participating in basketball and football as opposed to baseball (Azzarito, Burden, & Harrison, 2004).

Self-fulfilling prophecies can be erroneous beliefs based on social ideas and can lead one to act in a way that otherwise may not occur simply because of the ideals in place in certain social contexts (Jussim, 1986 & 1990). Conceptually, as a young African American male enters high school and sees that there are numerous African American males playing football and not many in baseball, they may start to believe that they should play football and not baseball. The stronger they believe this the more powerful the self-fulfilling prophecy becomes as they age and keep participating in football and not baseball. As they continue through school, they may then begin to identify as a football player and not as a baseball player. Without having a notion of what they should play as they enter high school, they are more free, and can take more agency to develop a sense of their own identity instead of basing it on what they think it should be, thus eliminating some of the power of the self-fulfilling prophecy. While these theoretical explanations for sport participation patterns have been established, the African American culture

has established basketball as a means of African American expression and the Black aesthetic (Nelson, 1992).

A third theoretical assumption how psychological processes may influence sport participation patterns is that identity construction may impact decision made about activity participation. Identity is understood as multiple and changing conceptions of self, where meanings are constructed through individual and collective experiences and social institutions which mediate the production of notions such as race, ethnicity, and gender (Hall, 2001; Hicks, 1981; Crenshaw, 1989; McCarthy, 1990). Identity is much more than what a person looks like on the outside, it has to do with what a person thinks, does, and believes (Sarup, 1996). This may come in the form of athletic identities or racial identities. By developing an identity, high school students may begin to prescribe to those characteristics associated with that identity (Hall, 2001). For adolescents in high school, having a strong sense of self and having a personal identity may be hard to define (Spearman and Harrison, 2010). Mass media and popular culture powerfully impact the way these identities can be formed. Having sport stars broadcasted to a broad audience can certainly have an impact on the way these high schoolers act and the activities they participate (Spearman and Harrison, 2010; Sarup, 1996). Morris (2006) believes that schools act as sites of racial identity formation as they learn about race and develop a sense of race for themselves. These identities and notions are constructed through understandings of social class and location, which in turn do not stand apart from social life and have a real impact on the educational process (Morris, 2006). Racial identity deals with how students come to develop a sense of what their race is and how they are perceived by other students. Identifying with a particular race brings with it some stereotypes and notions, sometime what the students want to be seen as and sometimes not.

A study by Harrison and Lawrence (2003) used the role identity theory to see how participants responded to questions of their identity formation. This theory states that “one’s imaginative view of himself as he likes to think of himself being and acting as an occupant of that position.” (Harrison and Lawrence, 2003, p. 376) Seven out of the ten participants believed that identifying as an athlete hindered their adjustment to the workplace. All of the participants stated that if they had to do it over again, they would not focus on athletics as much as a way of identifying themselves in society.

Another idea proposed by Goldsmith (2003) on identity construction is that sports are played in high school in order to construct a positive identity in school and because sports offer youth one of the most prestigious identities available to students. This idea of identity comes from how each agent constructs themselves in a given field, in this case education. African Americans tend to play basketball more because they can identify with the successful model already present and pervasive in that sport (Goldsmith, 2003).

While there exists various sites where identities can be formed, the actual sources that influence how youth, especially African Americans, in high school form their identities need to be discussed. Role models act as a very influential force as these students grow and develop their identities and roles in society (Spearman and Harrison, 2010). Role models can be seen as road maps for young agents in society as they can be seen as someone that the agent aspires to be one day (Spearman and Harrison, 2010). Following in the footsteps of these role models causes youth to develop a sense of identity that closely resembles their role models. African Americans too frequently have their role models based in athletics and pop culture as they view their success through different media outlets (Spearman and Harrison, 2010; Smedley and Smedley, 2005; Beamon and Bell, 2006). Spearman and Harrison (2010) claim that having these role models

causes African American youth to develop a sense of identity based on what they see as successful with their pop culture and athletic role models, especially in basketball and rap music.

Basketball Takes its Place in the African American Culture

While baseball had its glory and participation by African Americans, the owners and managers severed the lines of racial participation by excluding African Americans from playing for much of the 20th century. During this exclusionary period, other American sports began developing across the country and many of these did not have the extreme prejudice that baseball had. Basketball easily rose to popularity for African American males because it offered athletic expression along with inexpensive materials and an avenue of upward social mobility (Keown, 1994; Mahiri, 1991; Nasir, 2000). “Basketball has become a pillar in the construction of modern African American culture” (Ogden, 2004, p.218). The basketball court may be the most authentic space for African American males to find and resolve their double consciousness of being a Negro and an American (Bracey, 2004). Particularly among African American males, playing sports such as basketball, where athletic prowess can be expressed, serves as a domain to reinforce their masculine identity. Basketball can be a place where African Americans can express themselves in various ways. This is important because often times African American males may lack resources and power to express their masculinity (Boyd, 1997; Early, 2000; Martin and Harris, 2006; Ogden and Hilt, 2003; Oliver, 1989). Masculinity has become more and more bound up in the notion of money making (Gaston, 1986). African American young men see how much money their favorite athletes are making and think that this is how they can make a lot of money and enhance their masculinity. Since basketball has so many more successful and rich African Americans compared to sports like baseball, these young men think that their best chance to be more of a man and make money is through basketball. The

emergence of basketball marks one reason why there is a lack of African American participation in baseball.

Basketball grew in popularity and was viewed as a place for African American self expression, just as baseball was during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Legendary basketball stars such as Julius “Dr. J” Irving, George Gervin, Kenny Walker, and Michael Jordan replaced previous baseball stars such as Josh Gibson, Buck Leonard, and Satchel Paige as examples of African American sport icons. These basketball stars epitomized and popularized African American self-expression within the context of basketball. Self-expression is one of the primary qualities of African American culture (Boykin, 1986).

Appiah (2000) points out how African Americans use basketball as a form of collective identity (Ogden and Hilt, 2003). Basketball as it is played today, in opposition to baseball, is largely considered an African American sport. Collective identity, as defined by Appiah (2000), is “the absorption of cultural traits by an individual in the formation of self-identity” (p.610). A collective identity can be traced back to how African Americans would bond together in opposition of slavery practices and develop a sense of community together. Four factors related to collective identity as follows:

1. Encouragement by authority figures to pursue basketball;
2. Basketball’s portrayal as a form of expression and empowerment;
3. The abundance of African American role models in basketball;
4. The perception of basketball’s influence on social mobility (Appiah, 2000, p. 611).

Specifically with African Americans, participation in basketball emerges as a major part of their individual self-image and self-identification where cultural identities and meanings can be reinforced (Appiah, 2000; Ogden and Hilt, 2003).

Several studies provide evidence to support the notion that basketball has become a more popular sport in the African American community than baseball. A study conducted by Harris (1994) examined the attitudes of African American male high school basketball athletes and found that African Americans are more likely to receive encouragement to play basketball than other sports from all non-parent socializing agents. This study also revealed that support for participation in basketball predicted aspirations for a professional sports career among African Americans (Harris, 1994). A separate study was conducted on the influence of athletic-apparel commercial messages on African American youth. This study found that African American adolescents placed a higher cultural emphasis on African American basketball stars and the clothing they advertised in comparison to White adolescents (Wilson and Sparks, 1996). The significance of this is that African Americans can be said to follow and relate to basketball more than other races of individuals, which means that they place more importance on basketball over other sports. A study involving African American adolescent boys and girls found that basketball was rated as their top leisure activity (Philipp, 1998). In a different study, Philipp (1999) found that African Americans perceived basketball as one of the most important leisure activities for their children. Basketball was ranked third by African American parents behind taking a trip to the zoo and visiting a museum (Philipp, 1999). This shows that African Americans value basketball over not only other sports, but also over most other activities to engage. With the parents placing this much value in (or on) basketball, the notion of basketball being important in the African American culture will be socially reproduced.

Yet another study conducted by Ogden (2002) revealed that a group of youth coaches and officials attributed the lack of African American youth participation in baseball to their high interest in basketball. Over half of the coaches reported that they believed African American youth preferred to spend their time playing basketball as opposed to playing baseball (Ogden, 2002; Ogden and Hilt, 2003). A final study, performed by Elias and Soth (1988) showed that basketball could even be used in African American culture to establish cohesiveness of a group of African American males, as well as provide more comfort in developing friendships (Stevenson, 2002). This study also found that athletics, in particular basketball, could be used as an internal arena for improving social behavior. These studies clearly show how important basketball has become in the African American culture and how basketball can account for a large reason why African Americans are underrepresented in baseball.

Sports in High School

By looking at how sports and schools, especially high schools, impact one another, a sense of the importance placed on sports can be established. Racial participation patterns in interscholastic sports are attributed to various factors ranging from economic to social-structural reasons. Eitle and Eitle (2000) found economic reasons for particular sport participation patterns for different racial groups in high schools. They found that African Americans were 2.5 times more likely to participate in basketball while Whites were 1.6 times more likely to participate in baseball (Hodge, Harrison, Burden, and Dixon, 2008). These findings can be attributed to the economic disadvantages of African Americans. Moreover, the opportunity to participate in various sports in schools and institutions provides students with the opportunity to, not only create an identity within that school, but also to achieve upward mobility through educational attainment. While it has been argued whether or not there actually exists upward mobility

opportunity, studies have found that African American athletes actually graduate from college at about half the rate of their White counterparts (DeFrancesco and Gropper, 1996; Eitzen and Purdy, 1986; Jaynes and Williams, 1989; Statistics, 1996; Upthegrove, Roscigno, and Charles, 1999). While sports offer opportunity for students in school, there exist participation patterns of particular races for certain sports at all levels. For example, Upthegrove and colleagues (1999) found that African American athletes made up 41% of basketball and football teams at NCAA schools and only 9% of all other sports according to National Study of Intercollegiate Athletes in 1987-1988. This concentration of African American athletes in high profile revenue generating sports could cause the problem of a lower percentage of graduation and partial reproduction of inequalities in educational opportunity for African Americans (Upthegrove et al., 1999).

Historically, sport has been seen as a means of building character and gaining advantage in society. It was even shown that high school and college athletes achieved higher grades than non-athletes (Spreitzer and Pugh, 1973). Reasons for this academic excellence, academic support, threat of not playing, and academic encouragement from coaches, are still present in current society, but perceptions of student-athletes have changed. Other advantages found in sport were high social status in school and a chance for a better education due to athletic participation (Spreitzer and Pugh, 1973). These ideas as well are not as commonly linked to sport participation, especially in African Americans (Bracey, 2004).

African American students seem to be steered into particular sports at an early age (Beamon and Bell, 2006). They were also found to be steered away from academics in pursuit of athletics much more than White children (Beamon and Bell, 2006). This socialization at an early age may help to account for popular perceptions of why certain people participate in particular

sports. This early socialization by parents and other forces may help to disengage the children from behaving in school and academic achievement (Ashe, 1991).

Continuing with the dichotomy of under/overrepresentation in particular sports, attributing intellectual and physical prowess to certain races has emerged in recent literature. African American youth tend to emphasize physical ability over intellectual ability when confronted with the two choices (Sailes, 1999). Athletes have become the most prominent symbols of African American success, not medical doctors or great thinkers (Hoberman, 1997; Spearman and Harrison, 2010). So, sports that are thought to be more of a thinking game (baseball) tend to attract White athletes, and more athletic games (basketball, football) tend to attract African American athletes as this idea contributes to racial stereotypic beliefs about intellect and athletic ability (Coakley, 2004; Harrison, Azzarito, and Burden, 2004; Harrison., et al., 2002; Hodge, et al., 2008; Wiggins, 1998). So while school is often seen as an institution for intellectual refinement and gain, racial differences put emphasis on one of either intellectual or physical attainment.

In the U.S., sport largely intertwines with public education, especially at the high school level where there are participation rates as high as 72% (Anderson 2010; Carlson, Scott, Planty, and Thompson 2005). So it can be seen that sport remains a very popular extracurricular activity across the nation for all types of individuals. It can also help to encourage kids to stay in school and achieve an education, no matter what sport is played. In fact, 57% of the African American student athletes in a study felt that playing sports encouraged them to stay in school (Lapchick 2001). About 50% thought sports in school helped them to become better students according to Lapchick (2001). These numbers illustrate the power that sport can play in the mindset of high school students. In school, baseball teams tend to have more players on the roster than

basketball teams. With the lack of participation in high school baseball, African American students not participating in baseball may be missing an opportunity to increase their educational attainment and find a means of motivation to stay in school that they may otherwise not get. Increasing the African American participation numbers in high school baseball may help kids in high school to achieve more success in the classroom and in the future.

Athletics can seem the only way out of poverty and a means of social mobility for those that do not apply the same rigor to academics that they do athletics (Anderson, 2010). According to Eitzen (2001), African American males are twice as likely to believe they can play professional sports and the parents of African American males are four times as likely to believe their sons are destined to play professional sports compared to White parents (Anderson, 2010). There is the argument that sport can allow for the lower class individual to succeed and make their way out of poverty by achieving sporting success. Upward mobility can be achieved by individuals that take advantage of educational opportunities provided to them through their athletic success in the form of college scholarships. By being successful in athletics, some may be afforded the chance to attend college they otherwise may have had no chance to attend, but it is up to the individual whether or not they take advantage of this chance for an education. Upward mobility can come from this education and obtaining a quality job after college, or for some, through professional athletic careers. African American student-athletes understand that sports can help them attain educational, social, and life skills that will benefit them in society (Lapchick, 2001). By obtaining scholarships to colleges, students can play sports while obtaining a degree.

Sports, on the other hand, can serve as a means of perpetuating poverty through two mechanisms (Anderson 2010). First it can serve as a distracter to educational attainment at the

high school or collegiate level. Second, sport often helps to escalate and legitimate violence in society, which is a strong characteristic of areas of poverty (Anderson, 2010). “Sport is used, whether intentionally or not, by White, middle class society to keep the disenfranchised down” (Anderson, 2010, p. 95)

Social Reproduction in Sport and High School

It is important to construct the structure of sporting practices so that it can be studied and understood. Sport is not a self contained structure; it has outside forces that act upon it. He makes the argument that if an area such as sport is defined by its intrinsic properties, the limits of its possible social uses is open to a diversity of utilizations and is characterized at each moment by the forces and agents acting upon it, thus constructing its meaning (Bourdieu, 1988). Therefore, the dominant meaning of a particular practice, sport here, is malleable according to the dominant social users (economically or socially). Sport presents a new field where choices, rules, and values receive their social significance from the systems in which they constitute and which derive a proportion of their properties from history (Bourdieu, 1984). These systems are passed down and are reproduced by thought and taste. Taste is an acquired disposition to differentiate and appreciate certain things (Bourdieu, 1984). The idea of having different taste means that different things are valued by different classes. The more refined tastes belong to the higher classes in art, music, etc. (Bourdieu, 1984). These different tastes cause differing opportunities in life, especially in school, depending on the background one has growing up. He found in this book that cultural practices and preferences for art are products of the level of educational attainment. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu uses examples of taste to point out how classes from various educations and cultural capital endowments act as consumers of such things as art, theatre, and museums (Bourdieu, 2006). Social hierarchies are reproduced as the educational

system fulfills a function of legitimation. Education tends to give preference to those that have a cultured background (Bourdieu, 1984). Having a keen “eye for taste” is reproduced by education. Bourdieu & Passerson (1977) use education in a very broad sense for analysis encompassing more than formal education to show how it carries a cultural scheme that is based on power. The reproduction of culture is shown to play a key role in the reproduction of the whole social system. Schools gave advantage to students from upper class backgrounds and made working class children incompetent. Schools teach these students how to fail in essence (Lemert, 2008).

An individual’s culture depends largely upon the circumstances in which he acquired it. Educated people owe to their culture the systems of thought that they own and the cultural rift, which is created by that education. The school functions not merely to sanction distinction but also to impart culture and thus create separations in society (Bourdieu, 1984). Education provides people with a framework upon which all actions, no matter how big or small, are based (Bourdieu, 1992). No thought has total agency, as they are all based and shaped by some other outside force. The idea of how determinisms act and weigh heavily on the thought of thinker is central to his ideas. Basically, nothing can be thought unless through instruments of thought that are socially constituted. The idea of cultural reproduction is presented by Hall (2001) to illustrate how ideas are passed on and how the “truths” and “realities” in this society are passed on and constructed through the interactions that take place around the society.

Race in High School

When determining how it is that particular races of students come to participate in certain sports, it is important to understand how it is that race is viewed in schools. This encompasses how students view race and how they see themselves as racial creatures in society, as well as

what it means to be a particular race. Fourteen year old African Americans recognize that the color of their skin will in all likelihood limit their career choices (Lapchick 2001). This disturbing notion shows how important race can be in the eyes of high school age youth. Student identities, such as racial identity, are linked to social and economic reproduction theories, which hold the notion that schools reproduce social structures of inequality (Hall, 2001). This inequality can be seen from the African American youth that see how racial inequality exists and can determine what they will do in life. Existing structures in education are in place because people of power and influence put them there in order for social reproduction to exist and perpetuate through the school system (Brantlinger, 2003).

While there does not currently exist formal education on race and race relations in most schools, lessons learned in high school about race can be attributed to informal education (Brantlinger, 2003). As these students go through their high school career, they inevitably interact with varying races, according to those that are present in their particular school. Student-athletes especially must learn how to interact with varying races as they perform their specific sport as a team. In fact, 76% of student athletes in a study said that they became friends with someone of a different race through sport participation (Lapchick, 2001). This shows an important positive effect of sport participation in high school. Learning these lessons may help for these participants to understand and accept differences in varying racial groups. At the least, it exposes them to this idea.

Theoretical Framework

In order to understand the reasons and perceptions of African American participation in high school baseball, giving the current high school students at this particular site voice is very important. This will allow for this study to find explanations why this site is experiencing this

societal issue, and thus may be applicable to a wider population in understanding the under representation of African Americans in other levels of baseball. Along with allowing for the participants to guide the majority of the study, looking at how the participants are socialized and values may be passed down to them from other generations calls for the use of a social reproduction framework to see not only how ideas are transmitted, but how they might continue to be transmitted to future generations.

Social Reproduction

Social reproduction posits that characteristics of a given society or culture are perpetuated or sustained over time (Lemert, 2008; Apple, 1978; 1980). Generations tend to pass on their values, norms, and ideas to future generations through interactions and process of socialization, which allow for dominant ideas and ways of life to extend to and be reproduced in a given culture (Lemert, 2008; Apple, 1980). Apple (1978) focuses on two important aspects of social reproduction as 1) becoming a person is a social act and 2) the social meanings which sustain a collectivity are created by the continuing patterns of commonsense interaction of people as they go about their lives. Frequently, social reproduction takes into account the lessons learned in school as a means of reproducing values and maintaining the status quo (Lemert, 2008). This study looks at the idea of social reproduction as a way of reproducing values in sport participation and how these are manifested and passed down to future generations. This means that the ways that people in a given culture act and the values they have tend to be passed on to their offspring in order to continue a set way of life. By continuing this set way, values become entrenched in this context and relationships are formed. This process can occur for any number of ideas, but for the purpose of this study, the way that sports are valued is looked at as a possible reason for the lack, and decline, of African American male high school student-athletes in

baseball. By not having previous generations that valued or played baseball, current students at the site being studied may not have the chance to be socialized into baseball. Social reproduction incorporates some tenets, according the definition for this study, that were looked for in this study through an interpretivist approach to analysis (Apple, 1978; Bourdieu, 2006; Lemert, 2008; Patton, 2004; Charmaz, 2006):

1. Actions or processes must occur upon a given individual,
2. These actions or process must act to sustain or perpetuate given characteristics already present in a culture or society,
3. The characteristics must be perpetuated or maintained in this culture or society over a period of time.

Social reproduction, as presented by Pierre Bourdieu (1984), will serve as a means of how ideas are passed down to future generations of individuals and how norms and ideas are imparted to those future generations in society. Bourdieu (1984) uses ideas of reproduction in terms of how power is maintained in society through the accumulation of various forms of capital (cultural, economic, etc.). In these terms, sports use not only economic capital to determine who has power, but also cultural capital as it relates to sport participation. Cultural capital in sports can be seen as the advantage baseball participants have over basketball and football players because of the assumptions that come along with playing these sports. Baseball is seen as more of a thinking and skill oriented game while basketball and football can be considered more barbaric and aggressive sports. Cultural capital can also be looked at in this study in the way that parents and other socializing agents pass on their expectations and ideas of what is important, much like other types of cultural capital (e.g. education, skills, and knowledge). Social constructions serve those in power and are reproduced through cultural

capital over time and space (Bourdieu, 1967). Playing baseball brings about certain connotations and stereotypes about the participants, just as playing football, basketball, and all other sports do. As norms and ideas are being passed down and reproduced through a culture, ideologies are reproduced as well; for me, ideologies such as racial group participation come into light. African American participation in basketball and football is the cultural norm in American sport, while baseball is an area for White participation. Those in power in sports, commissioners and owners in particular, are typically White men and reproduce ideas passed down to them through reproduced ideas and capital attainment.

Bourdieu's ideas of social and cultural reproduction are centered on how education reproduces ideologies and power in society. This becomes important in my study because I am focusing on high school African American males as well as the high school culture and how they affect sport participation patterns. Bourdieu points out the importance of studying agents produced by the social fields as they are the carriers of ideas put into educational systems in order to produce the reproduction of various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 2006). Schools contribute to the distribution of cultural capital among different classes in order to reproduce systems of power. Bourdieu relies heavily on the effect that teaching ways of communicating can perpetuate the dominant ideologies in society (Bourdieu, 1967). He regards schooling as an effective mean of securing "moral integration of differentiated societies" and trying to assume a logical integration pattern (Bourdieu, 1967, p. 340). The most specific and important product of an educational system is the programmed individual. This idea sounds almost as if people are programmed like machines to carry out functions in society. An individual's culture depends largely upon the circumstances where they acquired it. Educated people owe to their culture the systems of thought that they own and the cultural rift which is created by that education. The

school functions not merely to sanction distinction but also to impart culture and thus create separations and cultural patterns in society (Bourdieu, 1984).

Concepts and ideas in Bourdieu's social reproduction can be seen in the ideas for Giddens' structuration theory in that values that were passed down from generations were imparted onto youth of respective cultures, thus affecting the ways in which they were socialized. This theory proposes that in the structuring of an individual's life and choosing activities, individuals adopt routines or practices that are comfortable and often times taken for granted. At times, these routines are ones that are passed down from socializing agents, such as parents. The approach does not focus on the individual actor or societal totality "but social practices ordered across space and time" (Giddens, 1984, p. 2). Simply put, the theory of structuration holds that all human action is performed within the context of a pre-existing social structure which is governed by a set of norms which are distinct from those of other social structures. Therefore, all human action is at least partly predetermined based on the varying contextual rules under which it occurs. However, the structure and rules are not permanent and external, but sustained and modified by human action. Routines, Giddens (1979;1984) argues, help individuals maintain ontological security and reduce anxiety and tension from uncomfortable activities. Uncomfortable activities would be those that are not practiced through the socialization process as the child is growing up. They only become uncomfortable because they are a foreign concept. Ontological security influences socially reproduced behavioral patterns which are rooted in socially acceptable traditions, customs, or habits. (Giddens, 1979, 1984; Ogden, 2004; Ogden and Rose, 2005).

The primary assumption of the structuration theory is that the production or reproduction of behavioral patterns or habits is a result of a collection of interconnected structures which

usually reflect the dominant ideologies, thus causing social reproduction in practices.

Structuration theory focuses on the structural components of social institutions' influence on the reproduction of certain social practices. In the case of baseball, the lack of African American participation stems from economic, political, and other social structures that collectively prescribe certain activities for certain groups. The overall structure of baseball (e.g. costs associated with playing, access to facilities, lack of minority influence, etc.) results in the lack of African American interest in the sport (Giddens, 1979, 1984; Ogden and Rose, 2005).

Social reproduction in sports, or role modeling according to Coakley (2009), can come about through various socializing agents. Significant others such as the family and friends typically have the strongest impact on sport participation patterns (Coakley, 2009). Other socializing agents such as coaches, role models, and teachers have an impact on socialization patterns, but not the same extent as significant others. This study looks at how values and sport interests are passed down from one generation to the next during the socialization process. Also with this idea of social reproduction is the idea of specialized sport reproduction where the actual interest in the sport is disseminated. In many cases, as some will be shown in this study, the value of playing sports is passed down but not necessarily the same sport. I still consider this a form of social reproduction because sports are valued and considered more the norm for some people over others, thus these ideas are able to be passed down. This idea will serve as a main argument for how different races participate in certain sports and how racialization of sports exists and is perpetuated.

Summary

African American participation in Major League Baseball has been on the decline over the past two decades (Lapchick, 2010). By using this disturbing social issue, especially as it

relates to the overall racialization of American professional sports, and framing it on a particular high school site, potential reasons for participation patterns in sports may be established. The history of baseball has been shown to be a game of exclusion and segregation, of American passion and pride, and finally of a game of equality that marked the end of Negro League baseball (Peterson, 1970). By looking into theoretical assumptions of biological, socio-cultural, and psychological factors, reasons for possible participation patterns in sports have been established. This particular site may use some of these theories, or there may be other reasons for participation patterns, which will come across through the data in this study, such as social reproduction or socialization patterns in this particular culture. Social reproduction frames this study by looking into how cultures pass on values and sport interest through generations and produce, and perpetuate, possible sport racialization.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

The purpose of this study was to examine why there is an under-representation of African American males in interscholastic baseball. The study was guided by a social reproduction framework using qualitative methods of inquiry and interpretive analysis. Recent trends in scholarly research on sport supports the incorporation of qualitative methods based on the growing interest in examining social issues on a deeper level beyond statistical numbers (Gratton & Jones, 2004). This chapter discusses the methods of data collection and analysis, as well as underlying frameworks and reasoning behind the methods used in this study.

Epistemological Framework

Social constructivism serves as the paradigm to be used for the overarching view of the study. This theory goes on the premise that there is no one “universal” truth in reality and that the world view, and ontological reality, are based on the observer and participants (Patton, 2002). Social constructivism provides a theory that says individuals in society seek understanding of the world in which they live and work, and develop subjective meanings of their experiences which are directed towards certain objects or things (Creswell, 2009). This relates to my research in that I looked at how individuals of African American and high school society construct ideas and meanings of race and how race affects activities, namely high school sports, and their participation in various sports. Having this type of view allowed me to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2009). These subjective

meanings are formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives (Creswell, 2009).

Constructivism is a theory related to how human beings interpret the world in which they live through interactions with others in society. This forms an accepted subjective view of different situations. There are three main general assumptions when it comes to discussing constructivism (Creswell, 2009):

1. Meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting.
2. Humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspectives – we are all born into a world of meaning bestowed upon us by our culture.
3. The basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community.

Meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting (Patton, 2004). In this study I looked at how high school athletes and non-athletes interpret not only their world in which they live but also the school world in which they attend high school. These may be two totally different worlds with different ideas constructed for each. I spoke with African American participants to see how they make meaning of what sports are important to play and why these sports may be important to them. They have grown up in a society that seems to place importance on basketball and football, not baseball. I looked to find out why high school students, particularly African Americans, have made the distinction between what is important to play and why they have constructed norms and values this way. These ways of thinking must be transmitted and reinforced somehow in their culture and society. In the

school culture, I also looked to see how meanings of what is important are created and how this world inside of school is interpreted by these students.

Humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspectives – we are all born into a world of meaning bestowed upon us by our culture (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). This idea has to do with how ideas are passed on and what makes these ideas and perceptions about the world continue. I looked to find why my participants have made sense of the world they live and go to school historically, that is whether or not they have always thought this same way or if there is something that has made them change their mind.

I held the belief that there was something that makes African Americans develop a sense of what sport or activity they want to participate in by the age at which they can play high school baseball. Another part of this idea is that these participants are born into this culture where different sports in high school may be valued over other ones. These students may not ever have the chance to play baseball and continue with it from their youth leagues through high school and possibly further because of the ideas their culture has since before they were born. Their culture may not see baseball as a means of mobility or popularity, thus dooming the chance to play baseball from the beginning. I compared these ideas of African Americans with the ideas from the same situations of other racial groups to look for patterns and differences. The basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Socially constructing meaning can form stereotypes and allow these stereotypes to take on new meanings as they move through time and the cultures change. I believe that these two cultures, African American and the high school culture in a city in southeastern America have formed a social meaning together with what sports they see as

important to participate in, and it will take these same cultures to change these ideas of importance.

Social constructivism maintains that an individual's knowledge and meaning are culturally and socially developed (Patton, 2002). Through interactions, meanings of importance have been placed on athletics in high school and in certain cultures. Race is still a pervasive stereotypical construct that functions to discriminate against African Americans in work places, schools, and society (Harrison and Azzarito, 2004). African Americans encounter stratified educational barriers that are often difficult to overcome (Harrison and Azzarito, 2004). It is not only true in sports but also in education and in the high school culture.

Design of Study

This study is an applied research study in that it looks to deal with societal issues of race in high school athletics. Applied research tends to be concerned with societal issues (Patton, 2002). Applied research also tends to be more practical and sets out to change a situation. I use it here in reference to the type of sample I gathered in that it is not a true random sample because this study does not search for transferability to the entire population, but a specific population in a specific context (Patton, 2002). Since the findings of this study and the purpose are not to make recommendations for change but to gain an understanding and develop theory, this research is a basic research project (Patton, 2002). I set out to understand how this culture of high school sports operates and investigate the phenomenon of the under representation of African Americans in high school baseball, which are the main purposes of basic research (Patton, 2002). Being able to generate interdisciplinary theory with sociology and sport is important in this research.

The overall design of this research is an instrumental case study project (Stake, 1995). I focused all my research on the same school; its student body, culture, and athletic teams. This research is bound to a particular school experiencing a particular phenomenon through which I looked to provide insight into this phenomenon (Creswell, Hanson, Clark, and Morales, 2007). This is a single instrumental case study since I have focused on a societal issue and then selected a single case area in which this concern is present (Stake, 1995; Creswell et al., 2007). In this situation there is a need for a general understanding of a societal issue, or phenomenon, and I felt that I gained insight into this issue by studying a particular case as the context for the issue at hand (Stake, 1995). The goal in this particular type of case study research is not to understand the case in and of itself, but to understand something else. Stake (1995) points out that in instrumental case study research, the issue is more important than the case. For my study, the issues I studied are those of African American baseball participation, as well as sport participation patterns of high school males. These issues are more important than the actual case, which is the high school where I conducted the research. In order to look into these issues, I use the following as my research questions:

1. How do male high school students of differing racial groups, in particular African Americans, choose to participate in some sports and not others?
2. How do males' perceptions of race affect sporting participation patterns?

The unit of analysis for this study is the single student since I got the constructed experiences of individual students at this one school in relation to the athletic program and school for my data. I used the students' perspectives in order to gain my insight into the phenomenon that is present at this site. I used both surveys and individual interviews in order to gain insights from the students. These two methods of data collection allowed me to gain an

understanding from a wide range of students through the surveys and more in-depth data through the interviews.

Instrumentation

This study was done with a qualitative approach utilizing open-ended question surveys (see Appendix A) along with semi-structured individual interviews using an interview guide (see Appendix B) to navigate the process. This allowed me to use multiple approaches and forms of data collection in order to retrieve the data needed for my study. The survey elicited information about perceptions towards race and sport across the entire school. This allowed me to understand the culture of this particular site for the instrumental case study design. By understanding the culture of the school site, findings were able to be understood more contextually. The interviews gave much more in-depth information as they were more detailed and I had the participants for longer times. While the surveys had some closed ended questions, they were not be analyzed quantitatively. All of the information obtained was gathered for qualitative purposes and analyzed as such.

A preliminary form of data collection that was used to accompany the interview was a survey. The survey consisted of closed and open ended questions and demographic information. Besides demographic questions, the survey asked questions such as “Why do /don’t you play sports?” and “What are your plans five years from now?” in order for some basic themes to be drawn out and asked about in the interviews. Surveys allow for bias control and accessibility to a larger population (Gratton and Jones, 2004). I hoped to be able to get at least 50% response rate since it will be administered during class time and from teachers in a controlled environment. The actual response rate came out to be 96%. Using this second type of method allowed for

greater credibility in my study since I used multiple methods (Patton, 2002). The responses to these questions were analyzed and coded for key themes.

The survey was distributed to teachers in classrooms in order to get student thoughts. These were brought to the school all ready to be given out by the teachers at this same school. The students taking these surveys were in their normal classroom at that time during the day and so they should not have felt any unexpected stress or influence in the process. There were no identifiers on these surveys except for ethnic information, which was used to make comparisons across ethnic groups for the purposes of this research. The open ended questions were analyzed for codes and themes in order to confirm, enhance, and add to the codes and themes obtained from the interviews. The surveys were a secondary source of data collection to my interviews, which comprised the majority of the data of this study.

Qualitative researchers take pride in discovering multiple views of a case, and the interview is the road to multiple realities (Stake, 1995) The interview guide ensured that the same basic questions and lines of inquiry were taken with each participant (Patton, 2002). There were certain questions and topics that needed to be addressed in order to elicit answers that related to the research objectives and questions, but allowing for a respondent to give insight in a free flowing manner that is not restricted allowed for rich and unexpected data. The semi-structured interview with an interview guide allowed me to establish some conversation but the main thrust of the interview still remained focused on the predetermined subject of the study (Patton, 2002). Having a general guide allowed for different avenues to be pursued when the respondents brought up ideas that had not been anticipated by the interviewer. The interviews started with basic background questions in order to develop comfort and trust with the participant. The rest of the questions covered high school experience, sporting experience,

and finally racial perception, respectively. Broad questions such as “Tell me about your high school experience thus far.” and “Why do you choose to participate in X sport?” allowed for the participant to tell their own stories and elicit new information from which we explored more. In this way, the interviews were unique in a way, but still close to one another in the general purpose. Having an interview guide allowed for the advantages made by both informal conversational interviews and standardized open-ended interviews (Patton, 2002). A tape recorder was used for accuracy, but note taking was also done in order to help getting overall meaning and perceptions of the participant, not their exact answers necessarily. Participants were contacted via email or Facebook in order to see if they were willing to participate in this study. Once they agreed to participate, dates and times were set up for the interviews.

The interviews were all conducted at the high school site in a safe and quiet location. These interviews lasted approximately 50-60 minutes each and the students were allowed to stop the interview at any time if they chose. A series of open ended questions were asked to each of the participants. These questions often times lead to other open ended questions that caused the responses to be deeper so as to gather more information. It is important, especially for an interview, to find a place that is private enough where the participant feels secure in answering questions and that is free from background noise as that can be off putting (Gratton and Jones, 2004). I had a particular office selected away from the main academic rooms so that the participants felt comfortable in a familiar setting, but removed enough from their daily routine that they knew this was a serious interview. This office was a secure location that allowed the participant to be comfortable as well.

The types of interviews that were used were semi-structured interviews (Patton, 2004). This type of interview allowed me to have a standard interview protocol for each participant, but

also allowed for some freedom and conversation-type interview. There were set topics that I wanted to be included in each interview, but there were also tangents branched upon by each participant that made each interview unique in order to see how their experiences differed. By allowing this flow and giving the participant some freedom, I enabled each story to be different and gave voice to these participants so they could tell their own story.

Triangulation of instruments

The survey and semi-structured interviews each elicited qualitative data in order to give an accurate description of the site used for the purposes of this instrumental case study research project. The survey provided a background and more pervasive picture of how sports and racialization are viewed from the male student body at this high school. From these results it was found that those emergent themes from the survey that impacted this study are those that show how important sports are at this school, how stereotypes exist, and how baseball is valued as a sport. Combining these themes from the survey with the results generated from the interviews paints a better picture in looking for reasons why there is sport racialization at this school, in particular why there is an under representation of African American student-athletes participating in baseball.

Site Selection

My setting is a high school in the Southeastern United States that is comprised of boys and girls. The city this high school is in has a population of approximately 115,000 people. There were approximately 1,700 students at this school in 2011. There is a majority of African American students in the student population at this school. The participants to be interviewed and surveyed were all from this high school. The baseball team at this high school has a varsity and junior varsity level of participation. All players, no matter what level of participation they

play on, practice together in order to create team cohesion. There were approximately 25 varsity participants and 15 junior varsity participants for the 2011 spring season. This number may change from year to year, but there are approximately 40 baseball participants competing on all levels in any given year. The athletic department at this school provides about 11 different sports throughout the year to both boys and girls. The department is made up of these teams along with their respective coaches, four assistant athletic directors, and one head athletic director. There are also more than 100 full time faculty and staff employed by the school.

This particular school was chosen for multiple reasons. The school has a majority African American student population, yet does not have close to the same representation as participants on the baseball team. This is the phenomenon I was looking at while framing it in the case of this school. I chose a school with a larger African American student population because the issue of under representation of African Americans in baseball there will be more pronounced. By determining the reasons for sport participation in a school that should have more African Americans playing baseball than the average high school in the state, the findings will be more applicable to the wider population. The reasons for sport participation patterns may help illustrate sociological problems these students may face. The reasons for participation might be placed in more areas than a school with a lower African American student body where the reason for low African American participation in baseball can be attributed to one factor, such as a coach's influence. This allowed me to find as many reasons and factors of sport participation patterns as possible due to the number of African American students present at this site. This is the most important criteria for my site selection. I also had access to this school as I am a former teacher and coach there. Having access to any and all aspects of the school and

having a good rapport already in place with administration and students allowed me to be able to be fully immersed in every aspect of the school culture with little to no resistance.

Participants and Sampling Strategy

This study used high school male students as the sites of data collection. All data for this study came from male high school seniors at this particular site in the southeastern United States. Consent was first obtained through the Institutional Review Board of the University of Georgia and through the Clarke County School District. Once these institutions gave their approval, individuals were contacted via email, phone calls, and Facebook messages asking if they were interested in being participants in the interviews. Consent forms (see Appendix C) were signed by interview participants prior to the interview. Those that required parent permission also provided signed assent forms from their guardians prior to the interview. All survey participants signed and returned consent forms as well before being surveyed. Those that were not 18 years or older were not surveyed.

Open-ended surveys were administered to portions of the male students in the senior class for this study because they are the students most likely to be playing on varsity athletic teams and only the male perspective was looked at for this study. Four randomly selected classes of approximately 12-14 male students in each took the survey during advisement time which is built into the daily schedule. This type of sampling strategy uses what is referred to as stratified random sampling because it was random samples of certain groups that can be generalized as the whole population of the subgroups (Patton, 2002). These students were male and served to represent the entire school male population of the school, not necessarily society in general. I administered the survey in person and was on site to answer any potential questions which may have arisen.

This study was further done with a qualitative approach utilizing individual, semi-structured interviews (Patton, 2002). I conducted eight interviews for the purpose of this study. These participants were also selected using a stratified purposeful sampling in order to incorporate particular subgroups of interest (Patton, 2002). I only interviewed male students because they are the ones who would most likely participate in baseball. I did not want to include the intersectionality of gender within this research project. These participants were chosen based on two different subgroups; varsity baseball participants and varsity sports participants not playing baseball. There were two African American and two participants from mixed racial groups excluding Black (MRGEB) from each of these groups (see Table 3.1). These participants were randomly chosen from a list of each of the subgroups, which was compiled with the help of the current principal and athletic director. Comparisons were then looked for during analysis of the data gathered from each of these groups. Using an even number of participants from each subgroup ensured the transferability to the subgroups as a whole from the random sample (Graton and Jones, 2004). Comparisons across these subgroups were made as a whole and from race to race. I looked at themes that emerged from particular races and from particular groups. There were different intersections of analysis going on simultaneously, which will be discussed later.

Table 3.1
Summary of interviewees

Name	Year	Race	Sport(s)
Bobby	Senior	Black	Baseball, Football, Track
Charlie	Senior	Black	Baseball, Football
Andy	Senior	White	Baseball, Football, Wrestling
Peter	Senior	White	Baseball
Jeff	Senior	Black	Wrestling, Football, Track
Jamaal	Senior	Black	Wrestling, Basketball
Jeremy	Senior	White (German)	Soccer
Brent	Senior	White	Cross Country, Track

The first of my subgroups that were interviewed are current varsity baseball participants. There were two African American and two MRGEB players selected randomly to be interviewed. There were enough African American players to choose from for this subgroup randomly, though the randomness was not as high as other categories with higher populations. I chose this as a subgroup because these participants represented the heart of my study. I wanted to see what has lead them to participate in varsity baseball at the high school level and what their future plans are, either in baseball or not. These participants told me about their experiences which have lead to their current participation and how issues of race are handled on the baseball team and in their opinion from the school as a whole.

The other subgroup was varsity athletes participating in sports other than baseball. I obtained at least two of my participants from basketball or football with the other two coming from other sports at random, which may include basketball and football. I wanted to find out what has lead these student-athletes to participate in sports other than baseball. These

participants served to represent the entire student-athlete population of the high school. There were two African American participants and two MRGEB participants for this subgroup.

Qualitative studies do not necessarily look for generalizability, thus the sampling does not need to reflect the larger population. This can be useful in initial sampling, but does not always fit with grounded theory, or interpretive analysis, and may result in conceptually thin data (Charmaz, 2006). It is also important to understand that eight participants was a relatively small sample size, but it is not the amount of participants that is important to me, but rather the amount of data (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Each of these participants was involved in in-depth interviewing that elicited rich and detailed experiences and information.

I used purposeful random sampling for my interview participants (Patton, 2002). This was the best way of sampling for me in this research since I was looking for what particular subgroups experience. I was not as concerned about representing society as a whole with this study. According to Maxwell (2005), there are four main goals of purposeful sampling that are important when selecting how to sample:

1. Representing the typicality of the setting and individuals of the case
2. Capture the heterogeneity in the population
3. Examine cases that are critical for theory development
4. Establish particular comparisons to illuminate differences between individuals

With the strategies I had in place, I accomplished each of these goals in my sampling.

Data Analysis

From a methodological standpoint of analysis, the research I conducted was analyzed using an interpretivist perspective. Interpretivist analysis in this study refers to approaching the data with an open mind to the results that come out of the data. Emergent themes and

commonalities were looked for in the data collected and grounded in the responses of the participants. This type of analysis demands different criteria from more traditional social sciences such as credibility as a peripheral to internal credibility, transferability as a peripheral to external credibility, dependability as a peripheral to dependability, and conformability as a peripheral to objectivity (Patton, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1986). What all this means is that through this interpretivist approach to analysis, transferability was not as important as trustworthiness and getting the “truth” around this phenomenon in this case.

This approach uncovered an authentic experience in my research that captured the many “truths” and stories from multiple perspectives. Interpretivist research embraces the researcher’s subjectivity as a pathway of deeper understanding along the way (Patton, 2002). I was more interested in deeply understanding the case I worked with and making the results applicable than for a way to make my work transferable. In doing this I was able to concentrate on shedding light on the situation that is taking place and drawing broad conclusions present at this site. Since this is an instrumental case study in which I framed a certain phenomenon within a particular case, I sought more applicability than traditional intrinsic case studies (Stake, 1995).

Interpretivism, as a framework, acknowledges that people in society construct their understanding and knowledge of the world through interactions, experiences, and by what they are told. This idea further leads to social reproduction, which has already been discussed. Views held by large numbers of people are seen as credible, or possibly even factual (Stake, 1995). Within the case looked into, I sought to get views held by the student population to find ideas that they believe to be true, which was used to construct the “truths” of the school culture and the sport culture respectively. Stake (1995) describes how an interpretivist view will also allow for

readers and the broader audience to construct their own generalizing by providing them with good raw material.

My interpretive approach to the analysis means that from all of the collected data, I drew a possible hypothesis and conclusions straight from it, which resembles a grounded technique to analysis in that both draw from the data to develop explanations to a problem. Using this interpretive approach gave structure to my analysis and made it a systematic process. Interpretive methodologies differ in this study from traditional grounded theory in that I will not be using strictly in-vivo codes. The data provided themes from which conclusions were made, but some of the codes and memos were preconceived notions which were drawn from the literature. Interpretive approaches to analysis, like grounded theory analysis, includes moving from lower level coding to higher level theorizing (Patton, 2002). Since my baseball commitment hypothesis, discussed in chapter 5, was found grounded in the data, it was important to fully examine all bits of the data in looking for ideas that could be refined and developed. I made theoretical comparisons both systematically and creatively in order to be engaged in the process and raise questions along with discovering properties (Patton, 2002). These comparisons of different themes from the data enabled an identification of variations of the data in which I looked at the themes from different perspectives to see if they mean anything different (Patton, 2002). Once themes have been found inductively, generating theoretical propositions is considered deductive to some analysts, and thus would complete the interpretive analysis (Patton, 2002).

An interpretive approach was used in the analysis in order to pull themes and a hypothesis out of the collected data. Grounded theory is a qualitative research design in which the researcher generates a general explanation of a process or action shaped by the views of the

participants (Creswell et al., 2007). For this study, I used an interpretive approach to analysis, closely resembling grounded analysis. This allowed me to form ideas and explanations directly from the data gathered from participants instead of going into the process with certain ideals already in mind. This interpretive approach also allowed for more objectivity since all of the conclusions and possible theories are drawn from the data instead of coming from the researcher from the beginning of the process (Patton, 2002).

An interpretive approach is used in this study in order to draw conclusions out of the data and to give voice to the participants (Charmaz, 2006; Patton, 2002). This approach to research relies heavily on the emergent data and salient information that comes from the participants of the study (Charmaz, 2006). By using this form of theory to guide my work, especially in the analysis of the data, I was able to understand the issues of this particular site from the participants' perspectives and draw conclusion straight from the data they provide. This allowed for possible theory or hypothesis development to come from the themes that are present in this site. In-vivo themes were used for the main thrust of theory development in order to ensure that the findings came from this site and the participants were given a voice in order for the issue of the racialized sport participation to be heard from them (Charmaz, 2006; Patton, 2002; Gratton and Jones, 2004).

With instrumental case study it is important to concentrate on categorical data and finding relationships within the categories instead of focusing attention to the complexity of the case (Stake, 1995). There was, to some extent, both categorical aggregation and direct analysis. The categorical aggregation was mostly in-vivo coding in that the categories came from the data gathered as opposed to having predetermined categories, emic categories. There was, however, some predetermined categories developed in the coding phase of analysis which came from the

literature. These codes were used as participants exhibited ideas related to these predetermined codes, for example Ogden's (2004) welcome theory. Interpretive analysis constructs theories grounded in the data itself which form foundations of the analysis we construct (Charmaz, 2006). I will take the data obtained through the interviews and use it to find themes from the raw data which can be used to begin to develop theories. Charmaz (2006) also explains that grounded theory analysis consists of taking an early look at data as it is being collected to determine which routes to take in subsequent data collection processes, a technique I used in my interpretive analysis.

To begin the analytic process I developed codes (see Appendix D for example codes). For the interpretive analysis, these codes were active and short as they were focused on defining the action (Charmaz, 2006). Codes allowed me to keep my records organized and available for constant comparison. This constant comparison was done once a codebook was established. This codebook was then used for all open ended responses and all interviews in order to be compared to one another with all possible codes. I began this process by using some initial codes from my pilot study. These in-vivo and predetermined codes were used for my main study, as well as any new ones that may emerge. In-vivo codes allowed me to use insider terms from the students of the school that captured and reflected their perspective better than using my own emic codes (Charmaz, 2006). The emic codes, though, helped in framing the findings from the data to established theories found in the literature. These codes further helped in preserving the meaning of the participants which shaped not only my interpretive methodology, but also the case which I was studying. By getting the insider terminology for my codes, the case was well represented.

Another technique of data analysis was memoing. Codes were developed into memos. Memoing usually occurs after the researcher has coded data from interview transcripts (Gratton and Jones, 2004). As I went through the transcripts I looked for common themes that I saw in the data and coded them with an overarching theme so that they could be lumped into certain groups. These memos allowed me to develop some themes backed with evidence, thus allowing me to draw conclusions and answer my research questions. Memos catch your thoughts and capture the comparisons I made with my codes which told me directions I needed to pursue (Charmaz, 2006). These memos eventually formed the core of my interpretive methods.

Data Credibility and Dependability

The data obtained and conclusions drawn from any research study are incredibly important because there is little point in doing the research if the findings are not accurate or generalizable in any way. Qualitative data is usually less transferable than quantitative findings, but still serves a purpose if broad themes can be found and discussed. As a new researcher without any work to my name, it will be hard to seem as credible as an established researcher, so the credibility must come through in my work instead of from my name. I have put in place several different ways to ensure credibility for my study. Also, applicability can be achieved through processes in my work and results.

There are certain techniques that can be used to add credibility to a study. For this study I have put in place multiple methods of my data collection (Patton, 2002). My methods of administering a survey for a broader audience and interviewing purposefully selected participants offer a system that checks the findings generated by each method to see if there is consistency, or a lack thereof (Patton, 2002). This process can also be called cross checking of my data collection instruments in order to ensure the credibility of my data (Lincoln and Guba,

1986). With these multiple approaches to a single study I can illuminate or nullify some extraneous situations (Stake, 1995). This means that influences upon my data collection can be mitigated since I am collecting at different times and using different methods.

I was fully engulfed in this particular school through various methods. As such, there was “lengthy and intensive contact with the participants and the phenomena being studied” (Lincoln and Guba, 1986, p. 76). Being fully immersed in this situation makes it more difficult for others to question the findings since they have little to no experience against my wealth of experience at this site. Since I am the lone researcher involved with this particular case, I have the most exposure and experience in the situation and the data. This makes me the sole expert in this particular case at this particular site. Having this intensive contact allowed for thick and rich descriptive data in order to convey my findings and interpretations.

Member checking was another technique I used in order to increase the credibility of my study. For member checking, the participants were asked to look over a rough draft of writing where the actions and/or words of the participant were featured in order to confirm or comment on the drafts (Stake, 1995). For my member checking, I emailed each of my interview participants once the interview has been transcribed and the overarching thoughts had been established. I allowed them to read over the transcript and my initial thoughts in order to make sure I had accurately portrayed the information they provided me during the interview. Any thought or suggestions was noted and addressed accordingly. No responses were made from any of the participants seeking to change the information and interpretations I made. This helped me to triangulate my interpretations by getting another view of my interpretations (Stake, 1995).

An additional way of obtaining credibility of my research and results came from doing a pilot study. I piloted both the survey and the interview guide during the pilot study. Piloting the

survey allowed me to do such things as check the wording to make sure it is clear, check the sequence of the questions so that it is logical, assess the likely completion time, and to allow a test run at analyzing the data (Gratton & Jones, 2004). By achieving all of these things, my survey could be modified to allow for maximum credibility in my larger data collection period. These same concepts hold true for my interview process as I will be able to test the questions, sequences, timing, and analysis.

Being transferable can be especially difficult when doing a case study in qualitative research. Since the nature of case studies is to examine a particular case, broad themes must be found that could be central to similar situations in order to provide theories that can be used elsewhere in society (Gratton and Jones, 2004). Providing as rich and descriptive data as possible is very important to all qualitative research so that all or part of the judgments made by the researcher can be used by other researchers as they see fit for their own situation (Lincoln and Guba, 1986). Because being transferable and generalizable is not of utmost importance, the application of the findings here are important in establishing the credibility and value of this study (Stake, 1995). Findings can be tested through similar contexts as this school setting elsewhere in the world by identifying that the construct of the phenomenon causes the situation and not the particular context itself, and by explaining deeply how parts of certain situations are similar to other situation under study (Patton, 2002). Through these issues, any school with a majority African American population can use the findings of this study in a broad sense.

This study sought to examine and give voice to the African American student-athlete in particular. As a White researcher, some may see this as being impossible from my “outsider” status racially. I sought outside sources in order to confirm the way that the African American experience is represented in this study from African American sources. These informants read

through my work in order to check for the ways that these participants are represented and to see if the work might be considered credible by the African American community. All of the informants were African Americans in academia. These perspectives came from African Americans in order to get their view of the situation and the data that has been collected and analyzed in order to see how this work will be viewed by the African American community. This study really looked to shed light on the phenomena of the under representation of African Americans in interscholastic baseball, but especially working to understand how it is that African Americans have been dropping from baseball participation. Getting the perspective of the African American community is especially important because a White researcher is doing the work.

Subjectivity Statement

Growing up in an area where baseball is considered the main sport to play allowed me to form bonds and opinions about baseball through 12 years of organized participation. Baseball was everything that I grew up watching and playing. This was the sport played by kids in the neighborhood and all that was talked about in school. Baseball truly dominated a large part of my childhood and adolescence. The lessons I learned through organized baseball stay with me to this day and help shape how I operate in this world. Ideas like sportsmanship, teamwork, and overcoming adversity still impact me in everyday life. The relationships I made with teammates still exist through lasting friendship. Even the notion of competition, a controversial topic in youth sports, makes me what I am. Without any of these lessons that I learned, I could only imagine the way I would view the world.

I was a baseball coach at the high school I am using for my site in my case study for two years. I got to see firsthand the large number of White players compared to the Black players,

as well as the roles that these Black players actually had on the team. I got to interact not only with the players, but also the parents and coaches during these two years. I also had the opportunity to teach math to ninth graders, so I have an inside look at graduation numbers and test scores of all kinds. The poor graduation rates and numbers of Black males going on to college were alarming to me. Having this experience at the school that I studied has allowed for access and credibility at this school. I was able to have access to any information I may need with little to no resistance.

My studies will be both strengthened and limited by my previous experiences. I have an insight into the intricacies and nuances of the game that someone who never played or coached would not have. I also have an idea of the motivations, both intrinsic and extrinsic, that the young men at this high school have. The knowledge of the insights of the game and players' attitudes will help my research. The limitations I face with these same experiences include being narrow minded on which sport should be played in high school. I played and loved baseball, so it seems to me that everyone that plays baseball will love it. Also limiting me is the fact that I grew up in an area where baseball was king. This is not true of all areas. Different sports differ in popularity in different regions with different demographics. Being able to detach myself from being a former teacher and coach to a researcher was difficult but necessary in order to be objective in my work.

My research was shaped by my subjectivity, but an open mind will help produce the best work I can. Even though subjectivities in qualitative research are an inherent aspect of the research process, I believe that too much subjectivity can skew the results, especially in case studies. Qualitative research does not necessarily dismiss incredibility of description. It recognizes that invalidities are ever present and turns away from the goal of "sanitation" (Stake,

1995). Being sterile and representing a wide “truth” is not the goal of qualitative research, so I was not looking to eliminate all biases and subjectivities from my study. Everything I did in my study was affected by some bias in one way or another. Phenomena need accurate description, but even observational interpretation will be shaped by the researcher’s mood, intention, and experience (Stake, 1995). It was up to me to control these biases as much as possible in order to achieve credibility. I know that I could not eliminate all biases, but they must be recognized and accounted for. Stratified random sampling, transparency, and an instrumental case study design helped to control any biases.

Pilot Study

By designing this pilot study I was able not only to test my methods, but also begin to inductively develop an interpretation of the results, which is the main drive of my analysis (Maxwell, 2005). By conducting this pilot study and doing some analysis of it, I was able to develop themes and codes directly from the preliminary data. These in-vivo and predetermined codes were further used along with the main thrust of my collection and interpretation. Having these initial codes allowed me to expect and look for codes and themes that were in the rest of the data.

My pilot study consisted of 25 administered surveys and 3 interviews. These were done in the same context that I will use for the main collection process for the study, thus was used to check for instrument dependability. I administered the survey to two classes of seniors during their advisement period during a normal school day. The interviews were with one baseball player, one non-baseball student-athlete, and one non-athlete, all Black. This encompasses each of the subgroups I have outlined for the study. This pilot study took place with enough time to complete it and analyze the results before the main study began. All of this piloting allowed me

to have enough time and information to make the main data collection of the study credible. I was also able to use the data collected from the pilot study in the main study. Slight changes were made to the interview protocol based on the findings of the pilot study.

The analysis of this study yielded a codebook to use for the remainder of the study. This allowed me to not only develop a codebook to use for the constant comparative analysis, but also to make sure there were both in-vivo and predetermined codes. Findings from the pilot study were used in conjunction with the findings from the remainder of the data collection in this study. All of this data was used and coded from the codebook in order to find salient themes and begin to develop in-vivo themes in which to give voice to the participants and develop theories.

The pilot study allowed for adjustments to be made for the remainder of the study. There were questions in the interview protocol that did not elicit valuable information for this study. Questions such as “Who are your favorite baseball players right now?” and “What are your favorite classes?” were asked during the pilot study, but they did not obtain information that could be much use in this study. These questions were omitted for the remainder of the study. New questions, such as “Do you think your race has affected what sports you play”, were added in order to get to the heart of the information required for this study more directly. The pilot study also showed that using three subgroups from this site, baseball player, non-baseball athlete, and a student that did not play sports, was not needed in order to establish findings for sport participation patterns. The group of students that did not play any sports was dropped from this study in order to only include those students that did play sports and find out their reasons for participation and make comparisons. The pilot study confirmed that the survey was valid and gave insight into the site and achieved its goal of producing an overall feeling of race and sport participation from the male student body.

The pilot study did elicit certain aspects of the study that were challenging, thus needed to be looked into before proceeding. Constructing a universal codebook for this study became difficult because there were two very different groups being studied, baseball players and non-baseball athletes. So, two separate codebooks were constructed for this study and then were merged together by looking at themes that coincided. This helped in establishing emergent themes that could be compared across sport participation and then race.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The purpose of this study is to determine why there is an under-representation of African Americans participating in high school baseball. The research questions used to ground this study will identify: 1) why do male high school students of differing racial groups, in particular African Americans, choose to participate in some sports and not others?; and 2) how do male perceptions of this high school in the southeastern United States affect participation patterns of student athletes based on race?

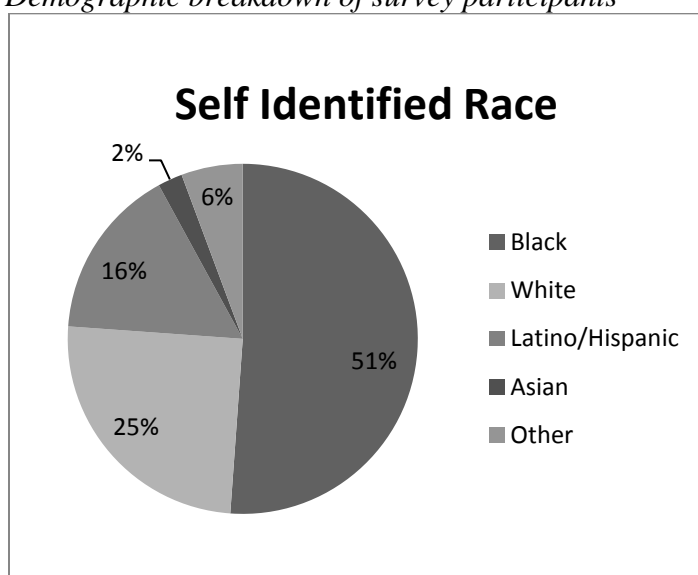
This chapter contains the results and the data analysis. This study is a multi instrument model, allowing the researcher to collect qualitative data in two formats. In order to understand each question and increase the understanding for the reader, the results are separated into four sections. Section I discusses the survey data addressing research question two in particular. This section contains results of the survey administered to senior males at this school in order to find how sports are perceived in an attempt to account for perceptions of racialization in sports at this site. Section II displays the interview data addressing research question one. This section contains each participants' story of their participation in sports and perceptions of sport racialization, interpretation of qualitative data, and the researchers assertions. Section III includes a summary of results.

Section I: Survey

The survey administered to four randomly selected classes elicited results used to provide a context for the phenomenon being studied. The participants in the survey were 44 male seniors

at the high school site in the southeastern United States. I achieved a response rate of 96% because the survey was administered during the class time used solely for the purposes of taking this survey. The racial breakdown of the survey participants closely resembles the actual demographic make-up of the school site so the surveys provided a good cross section of the student body and validates the findings (see Table 4.1.) The participants were in their advisement class, thus were comprised of various races and academic levels. The results provide a backdrop for which this social problem can be viewed. The results of this survey can be used to see if the culture of the school site affects the participation patterns of the student-athletes.

Table 4.1
Demographic breakdown of survey participants



From this survey emerged ideas and themes that are important in understanding this study. Each open-ended question asked to the participants provided salient themes for discussion. The three major ideas brought up as salient themes from the data collected in the survey are that (1) sports are extremely valued at this school site, (2) stereotypes connected to race and sports exist and are pervasive, and (3) that baseball is not a sport valued as a legitimate future in this school.

This school site values sport participation overall. Of all the participants in the survey, nearly 70% mentioned that they had played sports during high school. This is a very high number and is very close to the national high of 72% participation (Anderson 2010; Carlson, Scott, Planty, and Thompson 2005). Not only are sports valued at this site, but the reasons for sport participation also revealed that sports at this school are used as a means of bettering student-athletes' future. The students here see the advantage sports can offer them in terms of building a resume, obtaining a scholarship, or even using them for health reasons. Only 12% of the survey responses indicated that baseball was seen as viable future career. More responses indicated they would not want to play any professional sport rather than play baseball professionally. This shows the lack of interest towards baseball at this school which may impact sport participation choices by student-athletes here. These ideas help situate the interview findings for this study by showing that sports are something numerous students participate in and they understand the advantage of participating.

Stereotypes concerning race and sport skill are abundant at this site in the way that students feel race affects what sports are played. Students here ascribe to many of the same stereotypes described by Sailes (2010) in that Black athletes can run faster and jump higher. According to the data, this site feels as though Black students are made to play those sports that require more perceived athletic skills such as football and basketball. They also feel that White students should only play sports like golf, swimming, or baseball, if any at all. By finding these stereotypes present at this site, it can certainly be seen why there might be a lack of Black participation in baseball. It may be hard for many Black students to want to play baseball because they do not feel like they should based on these stereotypes.

Lastly, the surveys showed that students at this school did not mention baseball as a future sport they would like to play. There were actually more responses from students that said they do not want to play any sports at all for a future career than ones that said they would want to play baseball. What this shows is that even though sports are highly valued in this school, baseball is not seen as a valuable sport, which combined with the other two themes, could account for such a dearth in Black participation here.

Section II: Semi-structured Interviews

The eight interview participants were made up of two Black baseball players, two Black student-athletes that did not play baseball, two MRGEB baseball players, and two MRGEB student-athletes that did not play baseball. These were all randomly chosen based on these categories in order to get perceptions of sport participation from various groups to draw comparisons and conclusions. The results from the semi-structured individual interviews are discussed in multiple sections. The first section of the interview analysis will address the differences between each of the participants. This section will look at how it is that experiences and perceptions are different between the groups of participants in order to look into reasons why there may exist racialized participation patterns, especially for African American student-athletes in baseball. This section includes quotations or parts of quotations provided by each participant during the course of the interview that provide examples of some of the most impactful ideas that each interviewee discussed. The second section will address the emergent themes that are salient amongst all participants that were interviewed. These are the ideas that all of those interviewed had in common as important, emerging themes. These will be used to look at commonalities that exist amongst the participants and will show the important concepts present at this site.

Baseball Participants

These first four interview participants all were on the varsity baseball team at this school at the time of the interview. Some of them had played or concurrently play other sports, but were chosen because they play on the varsity baseball team. All of them had played baseball every year of their high school career. The first two participants self-identified as Black while the second two self-identified as being in the MRGEB group.

Bobby

Bobby is a senior student-athlete at this school. He is Black and has played baseball for three years at this school. He took his junior year off to concentrate on school, a decision, he says, he would not do again if he had the chance. He has also played football and basketball during his time in high school.

“It is the way we were brought up”

“I was real into it at the Boys and Girls Club. I started out playing basketball. Then I met a friend and he actually introduced me into baseball. He actually played tee-ball, so we came in playing close to each other... Then there was my brother. He is actually an athlete too. He is better than me. He plays soccer and all that. I just played three, basketball, baseball, and football. He ran track, and I guess it is in my genes, so to speak.

Bobby’s comments show how important it was to play sports not only from an early age, but to get family support and have someone to look up to and to encourage him. He started playing baseball early, which could certainly be a reason why he continues to play.

“My brother, he was telling me that I was a pretty good baseball player. Then I realized I actually was, and me being lazy I wasn’t putting forth any effort, doing the extra and all that I could actually be a pretty decent baseball player. But then I messed myself up last year by taking a year off when I switched schools.”

Bobby had family support from his brother and the encouragement helped him to continue to participate in baseball. He does mention here that he “messed up” by taking some time off.

Looking back he would not have missed time playing baseball. This shows how he was socialized by his family and that there was a sport playing culture in the family.

“I mean, it is the way we were brought up. I say if a Black person was brought up playing soccer, they gonna play soccer. They were brought up driving a car fast, NASCAR.”

This quote gives some indication of how Bobby feels about why people play certain sports. He indicated that being socialized from an early age determines the activities they will participate in as they get older. Bobby’s quote here coincides with the idea of social reproduction and that it can influence activities by being brought up in a way that coincides with previous generations. With this statement the genetic theory is not present. He is clearly stating that sport participation patterns are more reflective of what the culture values and not necessary predetermined abilities based on race. The sports that are valued by certain people will be imparted into young people in that culture.

“I did not realize until just now, but I think it is because there are more of us (Blacks) involved (in basketball and football).”

Bobby did not even realize it until he is asked about this issue, but he did acknowledge how there are more Black participants in basketball and football which is a possible explanation for why these sports are more popular in the Black community. As there are more involved, there is more interest, which in turn will lead to participation, which will reinforce and reproduce this idea of having more involved, thus social reproduction.

“I say 25% are watching baseball”

“I don’t see one Black hockey player or fan. But it looks kind of interesting from how much I have seen. And like NASCAR, who wants to watch people parade around a track? Then I say you catch Black people watching football and basketball, and maybe 25% are watching baseball. Maybe an eighth watch soccer. About 50% track.”

Bobby recognizes that sports are certainly racialized. He describes how he feels the racial breakdown is in particular sports. These are unfounded numbers, but they do show how he perceives sports to be divided up and how different races have interest in particular sports. This also shows that he may be interested in other sports, like hockey, not traditionally popular in Black communities, but it takes agency and breaking away from the socially reproduced sports that are most valued in this culture. This ties into his earlier statements about how one was raised. The idea that many Blacks are not socialized into these sports could serve as a possible explanation for these perceptions, once again reinforcing this social reproduction.

“Sports take up a lot of your time”

“I had to focus more cause in high school sports take up a lot of actually your time. It stops you from getting jobs and stuff like that. Now when I graduate I kind of don’t know what I am gonna do. Get a job.”

Bobby points out how sports have affected his life. He does enjoy playing sports, especially baseball, but he realizes that they take up a lot of time and may have kept him from being a better student or even getting a job, which may help him in the future.

“Actually I would be a whole lot smarter (if I did not play sports). Typical school guy. Studying all the time. Just a whole different person.”

Interestingly, Bobby remarks that he would be a whole different person if he did not play sports. He thinks that he would be the “typical school guy” if he did not play. This shows how he feels that sports make him stand out and be different from the “typical” student. Even though he enjoyed playing sports and would do it over again if he could, he sees how sports inhibited his academic experiences as well as kept him from getting a job.

“This is gonna make me sound racist”

“Seeing that most Black schools, well all Black schools, they be average (at baseball), but not the best.”

Bobby illustrates how he perceives sport skill and ability according to race. This statement seems to contradict his earlier statement which did not highlight racial differences in terms of sport participation. He does not feel like Black schools would be very good at baseball, assuming that Black players are not as good, even though he is Black and thinks he is good at baseball.

“They (White players) probably could show me a couple of things to help me out...I can strive them to be more athletic also, by just diving to make a play on a ball or grab a ball bare hand.”

Bobby feels like there are differences in athletic skill according to race and that different races perform differently, but may be able to teach each other what they are good at in sports. This reinforces the genetic theory that Black athletes are inherently more “athletic” than White athletes.

“...more than likely they (Black players) will be more athletic. Quicker, faster, higher jumping ability, even though I have never seen that movie *White Men Can’t Jump* (laughs). The advantage of White people, this is gonna make me sound racist, they have the advantage to strategize.”

Bobby again describes the genetic theory in that Black athletes are more athletic and White athletes “strategize” more than Black ones. He does think that races have inherent advantages just based on their race. This could help explain how he feels about participation patterns because baseball is perceived as more of a thinking game, so there should be more White players.

“Blacks could do it also”

“...like it would be just a compliment just to represent our race. I would see myself as having to keep up with the Whites (on an all White team).”

Bobby recognizes that he may stand out when playing baseball, but he would take it as a compliment and a chance to “represent” his race. This shows that he recognizes race and that it does matter, but he is determined to play and excel in spite of being different.

“Basically we would have to prove ourselves cause you know how they say baseball is a White man’s sport. So we would have to compete with everybody to show them us Blacks could do it also. But it would be interesting to be on an all-Black team to see how that would look.”

When asked how he would feel on an all Black baseball team, Bobby expressed that he feels they would have to prove themselves. Since baseball is a “White man’s sport” he feels like an all Black team would not fit in and might be assumed to be inferior, so they would have to prove themselves.

“We just gotta try new things”

“I think Blacks, we just gotta try new things. Like, this semester, well last semester, in Coach Williams’ class we played ultimate Frisbee. I have never played that before but it was actually kind of fun. We played tennis and everything. So you gotta be open to it. Most people aren’t open to it. If they know they aren’t good at it, they aren’t gonna try out or get good at it.

Bobby’s statement here shows how he appears to feel like Black participants get stuck involved in what they are steered into and socialized around, especially based on what their family and culture values. He sees that the racialized sports may be reproduced unless they take agency and try something new instead of what is socially reproduced.

“African Americans here (getting participation in baseball)? I love Coach Jones, but getting a Black coach.”

Bobby feels like getting a Black coach would help in getting more Black kids to play baseball here. As socializing agents, coaches are looked at to lead their teams, and having a Black coach may attract more Black players because they might be able to relate better to him, or even look to him as a father figure in some situations.

Charlie

Charlie is an African American senior who plays football and baseball, two sports that he has played all four years in high school. He has been playing baseball longer than football and

was first introduced to it through his father. Charlie has a little brother and sees himself as a role model to his brother and influential in his future sport participation.

“Since I was little”

“...since I was little I have wanted to be a baseball player. I seen my dad, my granddad, and even my mom and played baseball with them. So, that would be the most important thing I wanted to do. As I started growing up and getting into baseball and getting better at it, I was thinking to myself that I wanted to be a MLB baseball player. My dad always told me to go for it, what you want to be and it may come true.”

Charlie talks here about his feelings towards baseball since he was young. He had multiple significant socializing agents play baseball with him as he grew up. Having these people reinforce and expose Charlie to baseball made an impact on him and made him feel like baseball was the most important thing to him. He even began to develop a sense of possible future success in baseball as he grew and became better at the game. His father reinforced this idea and told him he could do whatever he wanted to if he worked hard. These significant others played a large role in Charlie’s sport participation.

“...most of my free time I would go outside playing with friends or go to the park and throw baseballs with my dad to throw a football.”

Charlie would spend, as is indicated here, most of his free time outside doing some kind of sport related activity. He would play baseball and football with his friends and his dad, so he had many different social agents exposing him to baseball through the course of his childhood. He even had a place to meet and play these sports, something other children may not have access to, limiting their sport participation patterns.

“I would see people playing baseball at the park. Throwing baseballs around and like it inspired me. Every day I would walk over there with my dad and throw a baseball and run around.”

The park was a place that Charlie would not only play sports like baseball and football, but also an area where he saw a lot of other people doing this, increasing his exposure to these sports, especially baseball. He said that this even inspired him. Having the constant exposure, multiple socializing agents to play baseball with, and developing an inspiration to play baseball kept him involved in baseball through high school.

“The only role model I have in sports is Andruw Jones. I always wanted to play right field and every year I wear his number...when I saw him run around and catch balls it caught my attention that I want to be just like him. And, because, like, he was one of the only Black persons in the outfield and really on the team.”

Charlie is one of the only participants to mention a role model in professional sports that he looks up to. He looked up to this player as he grew up and modeled himself to be like Andruw Jones. He not only was a good professional athlete in baseball, but he was one of the only Black baseball players Charlie noticed. Having this role model lead Charlie to have a goal in playing baseball and someone to look up to that plays professionally. Andruw Jones is exhibiting what the pioneer effect can accomplish. I use the term “pioneer effect” in reference to getting some initial participation by Black players in hopes of attracting more Black student-athletes to play. It leads the way for more Black players in baseball by showing them that they can play the game.

“I wanted to carry it on”

“My dad was a football player here and I wanted to carry it on but I did not want to be in his shoes really. I wanted to be in my own shoes.”

Charlie shows here how social reproduction, or role modeling according to Coakley (2009), can lead to sport participation patterns. His father played football at this school so he passed down that value to his son. Although Charlie says here that he wanted to “be in my own shoes” he still played the same sport that his father played at the same school. So even though he tried to take

some agency and exhibit how he was different, Charlie was still impacted by the sport values that his father passed down to him.

“I have played baseball longer”

“I have played baseball longer than I have football and I like it more. And cause that’s all I’ve been raised around is baseball... I have played football for about 6 years. Baseball for about 11 or 12 years.”

Charlie, like some of the other baseball players, demonstrates his commitment to baseball and how loyal he is to the sport. He has played baseball longer than anything else and was raised around it, so he feels like that sport is more important to him, even though his father played football and football is much more popular at this school. This commitment seems to be more powerful and instrumental to those that played baseball during their lives compared to the ones that did not.

“White people have more experience at baseball”

“I would think that some of my coaches wouldn’t know what they are talking about and I think White people have more experience at baseball so we should have at least a White coach but the players can get better at what they are doing... White coaches have been raised and coaching baseball before and know more about it than what Black people have so I think you should have at least one White coach and a Black coach so the Black coach can learn what he needs to know from the White coach.”

Charlie discusses here how he feels about having Black coaches in positions of leadership in baseball. He does not think Black coaches would be as effective as White coaches because they would not know as much about baseball as the White coaches. He says that White coaches have been raised to play baseball so they know more about it. This may provide an explanation as to why he has this perception and how it relates to previous literature, such as stacking certain races into certain positions and the psychological theory. Coaches are important socializing agents and can be seen as father figures as people in positions of leadership to high school students.

Without having Black coaches in place, it may be hard to attract more Black players in baseball, even though, as Charlie says, they may not be as knowledgeable about baseball as White coaches.

“Show what we are capable of”

“I would feel some responsibility to represent my race...It would make me play better. Not only would I have to show how good I am but I would have to show them what to do.”

Charlie mentions multiple times in this interview how he feels his race has impacted his sport experience. As a minority player in baseball, he feels like that could be used to his advantage because it would inspire him to play better in that he is representing his race. He could prove to the other players and coaches that not only is he good at the sport, but also show them what to do from a different racial perspective. This relates to the Black aesthetic, as discussed by Nelson George (1992) where Black athletes perform athletically in a stylized way in order to attain a positive self-image contrasting the styles of their White counterparts. Charlie sees his racial minority status in baseball as an advantage.

“It has been an advantage some cause you can show what you can actually do and show how good you are and make the coaches think different of you.”

Here again Charlie expresses how he sees his minority status in baseball as an advantage because he gets to show what he can do despite negative stereotypes about his baseball abilities based on their race. He can make the coaches think differently of him as a good baseball player based on his abilities instead of simply by his race.

“I know Black people have been through bad things back then and now I have a chance to show what we are capable of doing...”

Charlie talks here about how he feels like Black people have gone through some tough times in their history. Historically Blacks have had limited opportunities, resources, and access to various

sports including baseball based on social structural inequalities. He sees playing baseball as a way to show that, as a Black person, he can perform well and show other people that he is more than capable of playing with them. This empowers him to play better and try harder, as well as to stick with baseball.

“They want to play another sport”

“I feel like it is starting to get more and more Black people on the baseball team and that affects more people to see that since there are more Black people on the baseball team maybe I will join them. It would make people feel more part of the team instead of not part of the team.”

Charlie mentions here why he thinks there is some racialization in sports and how he sees it possibly beginning to change. He thinks that with there being some Black players on the team, more Black people may start to take notice and gain an interest in playing baseball. He thinks that it might make people feel more a part of the team, again referring back to a collective identity that is so important to African American players.

“...mostly how and what people have been raised on. Mostly Black people have been raised on track and have speed and throwing. Football is the same way. In baseball mostly White people have been raised on playing baseball and being that type.”

Charlie here explains another reason there is a racialization of sports. He, like multiple other participants, thinks that it is caused during the socialization process and the way that kids are brought up. It is what people have been raised on that determines their future sport participation. He sees that Black people have been raised to be faster and throw better, skills used in track and football. He also thinks that White people have been raised on baseball skills and so that is the sport they continue to play. He is suggesting sport participation patterns have less to do with predetermined racial differences and more to do with socialized practices and norms.

“Before college, they (other Black students) decide not play baseball at all. They want to play another sport... They see a whole bunch of White people out there and they are gonna feel weird trying out.”

Here is another reason provided by Charlie as to why there are not many African Americans in professional baseball. He sees that Black students decide not to play baseball before college, they want to play another sport for whatever reason. He thinks that one reason for this might be because they see so many White people playing the sport out there and Black students do not feel welcome to join or like they belong out there, referring back to Ogden’s (2004) welcome theory.

“Try something new”

“Playing well and talking to the people you know are baseball athletes. Trying to get them to come out and at least try out... (get) more participants in general.”

Charlie provided a couple of possible recommendations for getting more Black students to play baseball and for decreasing racialization in sports in general. He thinks that getting more participants in general will get more Black people interested. This coincides with the pioneer effect of getting some initial players out there so that other minorities can feel like they are more welcome to join. He also thinks that talking with those who are good at baseball but decide not to play for some reason may help get them to play again.

“More Black people should do more than what they are expected to do. At least try something new.”

His other recommendation for how to get more African Americans to play is simply imploring them to try new things. He thinks that other African American student-athletes need to try something new instead of what is expected of them and what their parents did, as well as the sports they played when they were young. He thinks getting them to try something outside of their comfort zone would be good for them and lead to more Black students playing baseball in high school as well as higher levels of competition.

Andy

Andy is a Caucasian senior at this high school and participates in football, wrestling, and baseball. He has played all of those sports for all four years at this school. He is considered the star of the baseball team and has been offered a scholarship in football to attend a Division I college. He has parents who have been actively involved with his athletic career, as well as two younger siblings that see him as a role model figure.

“They kept me in it”

“As a child I have been an active athlete I guess. I have played baseball since I was 4, tee ball and on. 6th grade I started playing football. In 8th grade, I got started in wrestling.”

Andy describes his childhood here and tells about how it was filled with sports from an early age, especially baseball. He started football and wrestling in middle school, but started baseball before he got to elementary school and has been playing since. This statement shows that not only was he introduced to baseball at an early age, but he continued to play it as he grew up, so it was reinforced into him and he was able to continually use and better his baseball skills.

“They got me started then some years I did not want to play but they kept me in it and made me play. I am glad they did because if I had quit then I would not be doing anything now... If I wasn’t pushed to play, I think I would be a lazy person.”

He describes how his parents were influential in his baseball socializing experience. They actually made him continue playing through his childhood, even when he did not really want to play. His parents introduced him to the game and kept him playing. Andy is glad they did because otherwise he does not think he would be playing currently, which may be true. It takes years of participation in baseball to get to the level of high school competition. If time is taken off from baseball, participants usually have a very hard time catching back up.

“Played sports in high school”

“My mom played sports in high school, and so did my dad. They both support it when I play. They both want me to.”

Andy’s parents both played sports in high school, so he was socialized and raised in a household that valued sports and saw their importance. These ideas and values were passed down from his parent and can be seen as Andy continues to play sports in high school, and at a high level. Both of his parents not only support the fact that he plays, giving him some option, as it appears according to this statement, but they also want him to play sports. He feels encouraged and heavily supported to play sports, almost to the point where there is some pressure for him to play.

“You get more of a special treatment”

“You get more of a special treatment. I think that is nice. They (teachers) hold me to a higher standard, but that means that I have to live up to it so it is bettering myself and the school as a whole.”

Andy recognizes that being a student-athlete brings with it some differential treatment from teachers. He thinks that it is nice that they give him some special treatment and recognize him as an athlete at the school. The teachers expect more out of him and have higher standards, which he appreciates because he feels it makes him better as well as the school better. The differential treatment by the teachers, as Andy sees it, makes school a little tougher, but he likes the challenge and appreciates it in the end.

“It (sports) makes me a little lazy when it comes to the school area... the extra study time gets cut off a little bit, but that is ok.”

Even though teachers treat him differently because he plays sports and expects more out of him, Andy does confess that sports do make him a little lazy and they take up a lot of time. This time can be used for extra studying, but instead Andy thinks it is alright that he spends so much time and energy on sports. Andy sees the positive and negative aspect of how sports can affect

education in school. Sports can be a double-edged sword in this regard, but Andy likes to see the positive aspect of playing multiple sports.

“Would not want to give that up”

“I don’t know which of those two (football and baseball) I like better but probably baseball if I had to choose. I have played that my whole life and would not want to give that up.”

An interesting aspect that Andy brings up for why he plays baseball so much and has played for so long is that he is heavily committed to baseball. If he had to choose between baseball and football, he would choose baseball because he has played it so long and is so committed to it. Even though he is living in a culture where football is king and he has been offered a football scholarship, he chooses baseball. His parents do not have the influence over him that they used to and they did not pass down baseball directly, merely sports as valuable in general, so there is not parental influence. His deep commitment and connection to baseball seems interesting and causes him to have the passion and interest to continue to play, even over other sports deemed more popular by his school and the surrounding culture.

“I have been playing so long and I like how the competition grows with each level. It gets better and better.”

Andy sees how baseball keeps getting better and better the longer he plays. He again tells how he has played baseball for a long time and still have as much passion and interest as always, if not more. There is something about baseball that creates a deep connection that may not be in other sports, according to this data.

“They tend to be fast”

“I bet we would be able to hit the ball and run.”

Andy, like other student-athletes, recognizes differences in races and sport abilities. He shares many of the same assumptions and stereotypes about race that others have. He thinks that if his

team were comprised of primarily African Americans they would be able to hit and “run”. This infers that he thinks Black players would be able to hit better and run faster. These are racial assumptions and make it hard for some people to understand why there are not more Black student-athletes playing in the first place. Andy thinks they would have some definite value.

“I think when you have more than one race playing it shows you different views and if they are good at the sport too. They could have learned how to hit or throw the ball differently or how they see the game or what their perspective or goal is to playing with that sport.”

He shows here that he believes different things can be learned from different racial groups in sports. Andy thinks it would be nice to get that perspective from other races and assumes it would be beneficial to learn how to look at the game differently. Having racial diversity on a team can allow for a diversified learning experience and can bring something new that otherwise might not be known. This makes it important to try and reduce racialization in sports.

“I know they would try to steal a lot so we would need a good catcher and the pitcher would have to pay more attentions and stay on his toes more. They, African Americans are fast, well they tend to be fast, not all the time. We would have to be more heads up.”

Here Andy talks about how playing against a team comprised of mostly Black players would be a little different in baseball. He assumes they would be more athletic and faster so they would have to play them differently. He even goes as far as to say “I know they would try to steal a lot”, which shows how strong stereotypes are in all sports at this level. By having racial stereotypes so prevalent and strong, it may deter Black students from playing for fear of being looked at differently and having assumptions made about them before they got the chance to show otherwise.

“You always see Black people playing basketball”

“I guess that is because this school is majority Black and those are big Black sports, so it makes those sports big here... You have to be fast for those sports and Black people are

considered faster than White people in some scenarios. Then you always see Black people playing basketball. They are outside playing basketball or in the gym playing.”

Andy provides some reasons for racialization, which are not mutually exclusive from the statements he made about stereotypes. From a researcher’s perspective, it can be seen how stereotypes can cause some racialization on the field and in the minds of these participants. He appears to think that the biggest sports at this school, basketball and football, are popular because they are “big Black sports”. With these being the most popular sports, it might be seen that more students would want to play them, especially Black students since they are described as Black sports. Andy attributes these as Black sports based on stereotypes and the way he sees Black students playing basketball predominately.

“It (baseball) is during track season. They all tend to go run track or do nothing. Or football workouts for spring training...They probably never played baseball before and running is not hard to pick up on. If you have not played baseball before then you are not gonna make the team unless by some miracle you pick up on it quick but that is probably not gonna happen.”

Another reason Andy provides for sport racialization is that there are seasonal constraints and conflicts with other sports, as some other participants point out as well. Students are forced to choose only one sport per season at this school, so they tend to choose those sports they feel more comfortable playing, or that compliment other sports, like track does football. He also alludes to the nature of the game of baseball and that it is hard to pick up on if one has not played it before high school. Track, as he says, is easier to pick up on quickly, it helps them get ready for football, and is considered a Black sport. These are causes for racialization and possible reasons why Black student-athletes tend not to play baseball here.

“Usually their dad makes them play football or basketball cause that is what they did as a child. They just kind of stick with that sport and don’t branch out to play other sports.”

A final reason Andy provides for reasons of racialization is that socialization patterns, particularly those involving significant others like parents, are different and lead the children to value football and basketball more. Parents of Black children, according to Andy, tend to pass on sports they valued. The children stick with that sport and do not take agency later in life and branch out to try something new. Getting children of all races and exposure and introduction to various sports could help diffuse some racialization in sports.

“They can feel a little welcome”

“I think that my brother looks up to me and my sister does. That kind of makes them have the light shine on them when they play sports so they can feel a little welcome.”

This can be seen as a recommendation from Andy in that he shows here how people can feel more welcome to play sports they might not feel like they should play. By having some sort of a role model in the sport that needs more diversity, it may allow for more of that minority group to participate and achieve more diversity. Ogden (2004) discusses that many African Americans do not play baseball because they do not feel welcome or comfortable. Having a role model visible to them may help correct this.

“...play when they are younger and they like the sport. Help raise up younger people to play baseball on teams. I know they have a lot of Black people playing at the little league but you got to keep it going into high school.”

Andy also provides this recommendation for decreasing racialization by getting more Black kids playing when they are young and keeping them playing. This can help them develop the skills, passion, and commitment necessary to play baseball and want to continue playing it, as shown by Andy. He shows here that it is important to keep it going into high school. The nature of baseball almost requires constant participation in order to fine tune the skill necessary to play, succeed, and thus continue to play. If parents take a more active role and not only get their kids

introduced to baseball but reinforce it to them, it may allow more participation in baseball by African Americans.

Peter

Peter is a Caucasian senior at this school that plays only baseball. He has played baseball during all four years at this school and has not played any other sports while at this high school. He comes from a family where sports are not highly valued and reinforced, but they were supportive of what he decided he wanted to do, whether sports or not. Even though he was socialized into baseball, he started relatively late and had little impact from his parents, usually the most impactful significant others as socializing agents.

“You wouldn’t really expect me to have such a passion for sports”

“I was young I wasn’t really into it (sports) ...when I was growing up I had an older sister who wasn’t very into stuff like that (sports)...I had some friends that had played baseball before and I wasn’t really into the first little while that I played but then I started getting more competitive.”

Peter was not into sports at a young age, as he states. He did not grow up with parents who wanted him to play sports right away and did not receive the early socialization into sports that many of the other participants did. He did not learn to value sports and gain an interest in playing baseball from his family, but rather from his peers and friends. These were the agents from which he gained an interest and introduction to baseball.

“...if you saw me as a kid and my family where I grew up you wouldn’t really expect me to have such a passion for sports, but um, it is definitely something that my family puts on the side.”

He again shows here that his family does not value sports very highly. They place them on the side of other things, like academics. As a kid, Peter did not start early, but as he was introduced into sports by his friends, he developed a passion that kept him interested enough to continue playing into and through high school.

“...baseball was always my favorite sport but other than that I enjoy playing it and um I guess when you look at the football team it’s a big tradition and stuff and I wasn’t really instilled with that. I felt like I grew up with baseball...I feel like I just fit better and fit in more with those players.”

This quote shows how Peter chose to play baseball in high school. Baseball was always his favorite sport, even though he was not introduced to many different sports or reinforced to value them highly as he grew up, especially by his family. He was never instilled with the passion to play football, the big sport at this school, so that never entered his mind to play. He is committed to playing baseball instead during high school. He also feels like baseball is a better fit for him and with those players. These are the ones he grew up playing with, and he knows them, thus feels more comfortable around them. This comfort certainly makes him want to play baseball over other possible choices.

“The friends I met at an early age, um, were more interested in baseball. My dad is more interested in baseball than other sports. I feel like I just enjoyed that community.”

This statement also shows how Peter came to play baseball and continue playing in high school. He tells again about how he was introduced to baseball by his friends and he grew up playing with them, so he feels more welcome and comfortable playing that sport with them. His dad, even though not a primary agent of socialization into baseball, does favor baseball over other sports, so there is a little reinforcement for Peter in baseball. He enjoys “that community”, which again shows his comfort playing with the group of people he can relate to and feels more welcome.

“It distinguishes you a little”

“...people recognize you for playing baseball more as you might just like blend in to a crowd of football players...Um and also really depends on the success of the team. Like the teams, my sophomore year we were pretty successful like ‘wow you play baseball, that’s pretty impressive’ but last year we struggled a lot and people you know gave us a hard time. I enjoy it (social recognition). I think it distinguishes you a little. As a football

player it's really such a large group that you're just on the team ...and your kind a disguised where as baseball people can recognize you individually."

Peter talks about how baseball has impacted his experience in high school. He mentions here one of the perks of playing baseball and why he plays. He recognizes that in baseball, as he says, he gets more recognized as an individual player and not just part of the team. Baseball allows him to show his individual skill and people may see him as a player, not just part of a team. He also says how this recognition can increase as the team does better. Popularity can fluctuate and may be a reason why there are so many people, or so few depending on the success level, play that sport.

"The guys from baseball are some of my best friends, so we spend a lot of time with each other on and off the field. It's really just a good way to meet people."

Baseball has allowed for Peter to make and keep a lot of his good friends. He spends so much time with these people that they have created this bond and have grown to like each other. He thinks that baseball can be a good way to meet people. These friends he has made through baseball may also allow him to feel more welcome as part of the team and culture of baseball, thus perpetuating his participation in this sport. The same may be true in other sports for other people. The more a person grows with a team and becomes united with them collectively, the more they may want to continue playing that sport for various reasons.

"They should bring people together"

"...all these people have the potential to be great athletes. You see them make great plays all the time on the football field and the basketball court. Um, I feel like it is disappointing cause it doesn't accurately represent our school and the athletic potential."

Peter expresses here that he wishes there was more diversity on the baseball team because not only would there be, according to this, more athletic players on the team, but it would also better represent the school. He sees that there are a lot of great athletes that play basketball and

football, but they do not come out and play baseball, which makes Peter a little disappointed because he wants what is best for the team. He also feels that representing the school racially on the team would be a good thing.

“I feel like different people have different talents and what not, and different things that they have grown up on and have worked on. I think it is beneficial though.”

He shows that he feels different people have different talents, especially based on race. Peter believes that as children of different racial groups grow up they learn to value and practice different things and so can bring those views to the baseball field and help the team. He sees the benefit to having a more racially diverse team for baseball at this school.

“I feel like sports, they should bring people together to support a common goal but it seems that it’s started to split apart I feel like it would be much more beneficial if they could bring people together.”

Peter was asked at the end of the interview if there was anything he would like to say before the end, and this is the statement he said. He sees how sports should be an avenue that can bring people together and help make for more understanding and quality. By having a common goal, a team, no matter how it is made up racially, should be able to work together and learn more acceptance. He thinks sports have begun to be split people apart and would like to see them bring people together. Racialization of sport may have this effect on him in that it illustrates how racially different society is and how these races group together instead of integrating together for a greater good.

“Individual battles”

“I like the one on one competition of it. It’s you if your hitting it’s you against the pitcher and although it’s a team sport it really is a lot of individual battles.”

Peter here mentions why he likes baseball so much compared to other sports. He enjoys being on a one-on-one stage during baseball. He recognizes that even though it is a team sport, it is

comprised of many individual battles and he likes the individual competition. This is in stark contrast to playing to feel part of a team and exhibiting a collective identity, something African American athletes, and in general, tend to exhibit since their days of slavery as a way of bonding and sticking together in order to be stronger (Appiah, 2000). With baseball being a game of independent battles, it may not appeal to African American student-athletes on that level.

“The baseball community is primarily White”

“Yeah, growing up, the baseball community is primarily White. That is not, I feel like that is just something that happens. Obviously there is some reason why that happens, cause every person is saying I don’t play baseball because there is a lot of White people.”

Peter provides some of his perceptions and possible reasons for why there is this racialization in sports, especially at his school. He sees that the baseball community, in his eyes anyway, is primarily White. He does not know why it is that way, but that is just the way it is for some reason to Peter. He accepts this and uses it as a reason why there is racialization and not many Black athletes in baseball. He also hears people around his school saying that they do not play baseball because there are so many White people playing. Outsiders, those that are not White, may feel intimidated or not welcome to play baseball because of the way baseball is considered a White sport.

“...you flip on a TV and you are watching a basketball game you might associate with them more if you are Black than if you turn on a baseball game and you see primarily White or Hispanic players. I feel like that must be some kind of subconscious thing.”

Peter recognizes how the portrayals of sport by the media can contribute to racialization as well. He sees how professional levels of sport can be seen to be divided by race so that is what students get in their heads and how they decide to play sports. They can associate themselves with those professional players of the same race, so participate in those sports where they are seen. This happens on a subconscious level, according to Peter, so that means they are not

making the decision on the surface, but rather by having their brain tell them it is the right thing to do.

“...it is just a matter of introducing them (Black athletes) to it and instilling some kind of passion for it. Yeah, I think that is more important. The way they grow up.”

Here Peter sees how important the growing up and the socialization process can be to producing racialization in sports. When kids are not introduced at a young age to a sport, no matter what it might be, they will probably not play that sport as they get older. They need to have a sense of pride and some kind of passion, according to Peter, in that sport in order to play it at a high level, like in high school.

“...a lot of the Black people at this school live in public housing...so an economic level is a lot lower for Black players so you hear this all the time like um so you want to play basketball what do you need? You need a basketball then you go to a park and you find the hoop and that’s it. Whereas baseball you need gloves, cleats, bats, a place to play um there’s a lot more economic effect to it.”

Peter, whose father is an economics professor, sees how economic resources can play a role in not only racialization, but as to why there are so few African Americans playing baseball.

According to the data here, Peter thinks money is needed in order to play baseball leisurely, which is not true for basketball. It takes less money to play basketball and fewer resources than it does baseball. So according to this, only those that can afford to play baseball are the ones playing. This makes baseball seem to be an elitist sport in the eyes of Peter.

“People just don’t care about baseball here.”

This final statement simply refers to what Peter thinks is the general feeling towards baseball in this culture and community, thus a reason for racialization and the lack of Black student-athletes playing baseball. He does not believe that people care about baseball, so do not have a reason or interest in playing it in high school. With other sports being so popular here, especially football, people think of baseball as an after thought if at all.

“They might need someone to look at”

“I feel like if he (a professional Black baseball player) can really start performing or playing well that might affect um what sports younger children want to play. I feel like for there to be more (Black baseball players) they might need someone to look at to be better. Like I think when Ken Griffey Jr. came in that might have had a big effect on Black players. But I feel like someone like that standing out might create more interest.”

Peter was asked to provide some possible recommendation for increasing Black participation in baseball. His first, discussed here, deals with the pioneer effect in getting a person, especially a role model, to lead the way so that other people can look to them as a reason to play the sport. He names a couple of popular Black professional athletes that could be seen as role models to future possible baseball players. He thinks that by having a successful Black player in MLB, Black children can have someone to look to and give them some interest to play baseball. He thinks that a pioneer figure to initiate interest could get more Black participation.

“...once you get to high school if you haven’t played this sport before its really going to take, you’re really behind you’ll need a lot of time to catch up to the skill level and the interest. Whereas there’s programs...one called RBI, Reviving Baseball in Inner cities, I think stuff like that at a younger age would be much more effective in trying to gain interest or provide equipment or fields or stuff like that just to make it easier so that everyone has the same opportunity to play.

Here Peter talks about how baseball is a hard sport to pick up just in high school, an issue mentioned by other participants. He thinks that kids need to play baseball before they get to high school to develop the skills for success in the sport as well as a passion and commitment to the game. He knows that there are programs out there, like RBI, which are trying to target Black and minority children in cities to get them to play baseball, which is a step in the right direction according to Peter. He also thinks that also providing them with the resources and equipment to play baseball would give them an opportunity to play baseball, something he was given at a

young age. An opportunity and an introduction may be instrumental in getting Black participation numbers to increase in baseball.

Non-Baseball Participants

This second set of four interview participants did not play baseball in high school. They may have played at some point before high school, but have not played since being in high school. These participants were currently involved in other varsity sports besides baseball at the time of the interview. These range from wrestling to track to football as well as possibly other sports during high school, even if not at the varsity level of competition. The first two participants self-identified as Black while the second two self-identified as being in the MRGEB group.

Jeff

Jeff is a senior at this school and has received a scholarship to wrestle in college. He is a Black student-athlete that has played football, wrestling, and track during his high school career. He has a mother and five siblings.

“Just what they are raised to do”

“Um, wrestling, I’ve been wrestling since 7th grade so I knew coming to high school I was going to wrestle. The same thing with football. I’ve been playing that since 7th grade too so I knew both of those I was gonna do...Wrestling was like, I was all out. I was like the star of wrestling. I knew I was gonna go somewhere in that. With football I just liked doing it because a lot of friends did it and it was a fun sport.”

As Jeff points out, like Bobby and others, it was important to start playing sports at an early age, early referring to a point before high school. The sports he started playing in middle school, which is when he first got involved with sports, are the ones that he continues to play. There was not any branching out into other sports.

“Well I started playing sports in middle school, so that carried over in high school. Before all that, I was kind of a chubby boy. I was kind of big, and my mom thought, she

was like, I was getting too big and I gotta start doing something. So I thought I would try sports. I had never tried it so let me try it. That is where sports started coming in. I have a pretty good, a pretty strong house. My family is very supportive of a lot of the stuff I do.”

Jeff talks here about how and why he got started in sports. He had support from his mom to play sports and to continue playing. Although middle school is relatively not a young age to start playing sports, by having such strong support in place, Jeff was encouraged to continue to play, and play multiple sports.

“I was over at Creekside and over there they play basketball and football. That’s it. They play basketball and football. I’m tall but I am not that good of a basketball player, so I leaned towards football. And, I did good at football so that is what I wanted to play as a sport in high school.”

Jeff was socialized to play either football or basketball from his surroundings. The culture he lived in valued just those two sports, so that was what he was exposed to. He mentions a physical limitation that caused him to stop playing basketball, but football was still available to him, so he played. Baseball was not sanctioned as a sport he should play in, in this culture. This social structure limited his participation patterns.

“African American in NBA or White in MLB because it is just what they are raised to do.”

He recognizes the fact that certain races are raised, socialized, a certain way to play certain sports. This is a main reason why he sees racialization in sports and why they exist. He makes it seem so natural and expected to be raised to play one of these sports based on race.

“Um, I would say swimming would attract more White people because they swim...Um, baseball, I think that would be, that would attract more White people too because they play more of baseball when they are growing up. Their dads and granddads are showing them how to play. For example, I don’t know the guy’s name, it’s an older guy, I think maybe his grandson plays baseball with him every day out on the baseball field. Getting him to practice and work and that’s why when he grows up and goes to high school he is probably gonna play baseball. Um, that’s why I think that people would play more, I

mean why White people play more, cause growing up they are playing it. It is like America's best pastime, so that's what they are gonna play. African Americans, they are raised with a football in their hand, so they gonna run with the football and make sure it is tucked right and run down the street with it. They play basketball...all day long."

This discussion by Jeff provides an example of socialization and social reproduction as he tells about how he sees an elderly person practicing baseball with a younger person, assumed to be related. In this quote he maneuvers between this social reproduction stance and genetic theory. He illustrates how he thinks racialized sport came to be and will continue.

"Make a career out of that"

"I was like the star of wrestling. I knew I was gonna go somewhere in that."

Jeff was very adamant about using sports to help him achieve upward social mobility. He recognizes his success in wrestling, so that is the sport he focuses on in order to help him get as far as he can.

"I would like to become a national champion in something, so I am gonna be working towards that throughout the 10 years, but, um, I really can't say where I think I will be at."

He even talks about continuing to work hard in order to be a national champion at some sport, presumably wrestling since that is the only sport he is playing in college. He has high goals in sports and wants to use sports to make a name for himself and to be recognized. This provides some extrinsic benefits as discussed earlier, such as fame and success.

"I kept playing because after a while I felt like I could really do something with this, I could make a living out of this. Or I could carry it on and help me pursue a better career, and did. In wrestling I am able to go to a college and play sports."

He even goes so far as to recognize that he is so successful at this sport, wrestling, that he could see himself making a living out of it. This shows how much stock some of these athletes put into

their sporting activities in high school. He also talks about how he is using wrestling to at least get an education in college.

“I feel like I could probably make a career out of that (wrestling) if I really worked at it to pursue it. Um, football I felt like, my sophomore year, I felt like I could pursue that, and get to play football in college, but it just didn’t work out. I leaned more towards wrestling cause I felt like I could do better at that, and I did. Um, if I could play another sport, like, if I was offered a better scholarship to play another sport, then yeah I would take it and go to a better college. This is a division 2 college. It is not bad, but if a D-1 college offered me, I would take it.”

Jeff chose to pursue the sport he thought he could use to get a better education and help him in the future. He obviously does not recognize baseball as a means of achieving this. By finding those sports he is successful in, which most of the time are the ones played at an early age, he figures out how to use these sports to his advantage. Jeff mentioned baseball in this interview, but mentioned that he did not see himself succeeding in it and having it help him in the future, so he did not pursue it, like he did other sports.

“They said I couldn’t”

“Once I started playing sports they just kept coming. And, after a while I had to figure out my limitations because I couldn’t play football and, like, be on the swim team or something because they both go on at the same time. I can’t wrestle and play on the basketball team. I can’t run track and be on the baseball team. Or, um, cross country or tennis or golf. Once you are playing one sport, you can’t play more than one sport at a time so I had to pick which sports would help me in complimenting each other.”

Jeff points out some of the ways he is limited in his sport participation choices by the way that the athletic system is set up. The structures in place will not allow him to play more than one sport in a given season. Since he, and his coaches, want him to do whatever he can to get better at football, he is steered into track in the spring, which coincides with baseball, so he is not “allowed” to play.

“Yeah, um, I actually asked a few coaches if I could run track and play baseball because I wanted to play baseball with one of my friends when they were going to try out. So it

was like, I had never played it before, but I am always open to new things because I'm an athlete, I like to play sports. I tried to but they said that I couldn't play two spots at the same time... But yeah, if I could, I would have played those sports at the same time."

Here is where Jeff actually points out that the coaches would not let him play more than one sport. Football is so focused on that many athletes, like Jeff, are steered into whatever will make them better for football. His participation patterns could be vastly different in another culture or if the social structure of athletics in this culture were changed.

"You are an athlete, you can't do that"

"The teachers, they hold you to such a higher standard than the average student. A student who doesn't play sports, they might see them acting up and are like 'ok they not gonna do nothing with their lives' but then they see you and they like 'no you can't be doing that. You are an athlete you can't do that'. They will bring your coach into it and that will stop it right off the bat. You won't do anything bad again. But, yeah they really, well, peers, they have me standing out too. It is not in a bad way either. They like 'Oh he plays sports so he must be big or he gotta be strong'. Stuff like that. It's been pretty fun with that."

Jeff talks here about how he is viewed differently than the "average" student because he plays sports and the sports he plays. Bobby did not mention any differential treatment, either positive or negative, because he played sports. Jeff likes to stand out and be different, so he plays sports he can excel in and ones that are more recognized than the ones Bobby played (baseball). He enjoys standing out and being recognized, so that certainly impacts the sports he plays.

"Unless they are raised to do so"

"That's just how it's gonna be. Until African American boys are raised with a baseball in their hand, then they are not gonna play baseball. Not as a team sport or professionally, I don't think unless they are raised to do so."

Jeff points to cultural factors and socialization patterns to change the way racialized sports exist. Once social reproduction and these early life experiences change, there might be more equal

participation patterns. Until they are raised to do so, as Jeff says, there will continue to be reproduction in the sports different races play.

“A lot of times people are not gonna choose something they aren’t used to for something they are used to. So like if I am known for running and that is all I know how to do is run, but I want to play baseball, if I had the choice between running and baseball I am gonna choose running.”

Here Jeff points to how people tend to choose those sports and activities they are used to and felt more comfortable participating. This resembles Ogden’s (2004) welcome theory in that people, and races, will participate in those sports they feel more welcome, or comfortable, playing. It will take more welcoming attitudes in order for there to be more equality in participation.

“I don’t think they can change because, again, you are gonna go to something that you are used to. So, unless they are able to change the schedule where you could play baseball close to February instead of it being so late, the same time as track, then I don’t think a lot of people will go towards it.”

Here Jeff talks about changing the structure of the athletic program in order to allow for more participation in sports that are concurrently occurring. This would take more leeway by administrators and coaches in allowing for student-athletes to participate in a variety of sports, not necessarily those that complement each other. Changing the structure, according to Jeff, can also allow for more equal participation across races.

Jamaal

Jamaal is a senior at this high school and has played soccer, football, track, and wrestling at some point during his high school career. He likes wrestling the best of those sports and is the one he says he is most successful. It is also the only sport he is playing during his senior year. His mother is Haitian and he is proud of this. He does classify himself as Black, even though his mother is Haitian.

“Friends around me played”

“Basketball cause I was very athletic and very fast and a lot of friends around me played basketball so I thought about playing basketball. Soccer, I just always loved soccer. I was always good, but my father did not like me playing soccer cause he didn’t think it was much of a man’s sport. Always told me that soccer stunk. I still like playing though.”

Jamaal explains here the sports that he played growing up and how he got started in sport participation. He was around a lot of peers playing basketball, so was socialized into that sport by these agents. The more he associates his friends with playing basketball, the more he would want to play. He also expresses his love for soccer and the fact that even though his father did not like the sport, Jamaal still wanted to play. He is not sure how this passion started, but having a Haitian mother and being raised in Miami could account for some of this passion. Having opposition from his father and claiming that he was raised by his mother, not his father may account for a reason why he did not play baseball.

“Well basically I was never good at baseball. I used to go to the batting cages with my father like three times a week.”

Even though his father tried to get him to play baseball early on, he never stuck with it or pursued it later in life. The nature of baseball is that it is a hard game to play, especially if it is not played early and often. By having a possible disassociation with baseball because of his father, the passion needed to play baseball was never instilled.

“I just quit on it.”

“If I could play baseball I would but...it looks fun, you know. I just could never hit a ball. I could throw a ball but I could never hit it. I just quit on it.”

Even though he thinks he might like to play baseball, it is not a game that came easy to him, so he did not continue to play. There were other sports Jamaal could play at this level, so he did not give baseball much of a chance. The nature of baseball deterred Jamaal from playing it in high

school and possibly later. The nature of the sports he played in high school were different from baseball.

“It is very more contact and I am a very physical person. I like track because it is more of a mental sport than anything. Wrestling is overall the best sport ever because it is all dependent on you and no one else. If you lose or you get pinned, it is your fault. It is a very self independent type sport.”

Football, track, and wrestling came easier to Jamaal because of the nature of the game. He feels like his skill set and character fit in better with these other sports.

“They give me a lot of leeway.”

“A lot of teachers see me as a kid who can go somewhere with sports, but also I see myself as that. Sometimes they do give me a lot of leeway. (It’s an) advantage of course.”

Jamaal recognized that he does receive some differential treatment from teachers just because he is a student-athlete. He sees this is an advantage because he feels like they go easier on him and give him some “leeway” during school. He connects his possible success with sports to being given differential treatment in a negative form, allowing him advantages other students may not get. He may feel that changing sports from what he is doing now, like to playing baseball, might alter this situation, which may be a deterrent for him to play something different.

“(I)t seems like everybody plays sports at this school and everybody has a sporting event at this school and they all go to them. I think it could be negative because it takes away from academics. It does.”

Jamaal sees how sports are valued at this school and the potential problem that can cause. Even though he is firmly entrenched in playing sports, he recognizes how they can be a detriment to academics. This is slightly contradictory in that he also claims that because he plays sports, teachers give him some “leeway”.

“I like everything”

“I see that a lot of Black kids would rather play football than go on the soccer field when they’re just as much of an athlete as a soccer player. Race does play a big part of what sports you play. And at this school wrestling a lot of Black kids don’t want to wrestle because they think it’s a queer sport but it really isn’t, it’s a tough sport... Not me. I like everything. If I’m good at it I’ll play it. If I’m not then I’ll just drop it... race does play a big role in what sports you play um personally I could care less about race and sports that just how I feel you know? Just that all I can say.”

He recognizes that race does matter in sports. Even though he recognizes this, he does not think that his race plays a role in sports in his life. He is demonstrating agency in making decision about what sports he plays, even though he does claim that race matters. He may not understand how his race makes a difference and thinks he is playing the sports he is choosing through agency.

“It’s just how society perceives people”

“It’s just how society perceives people. Society sees that a Black guy can’t drive a car or a Black guy can’t hit a ball off a tee... You see society as a young kid you see oh this sport is mostly White let me jump into this sport.”

Jamaal expresses here how he feels that racialization in sports occurs. He blames society for racial assumptions and why there are certain races playing certain sports. Even though he recognizes that parents are instrumental in socializing their child and have an impact on sport participation, he sees society to blame for the racialization that currently exists at all levels. As young kids see how certain races are perceived by society, they fit into that mold, for the most part. This social reproduction can lead to continued sport racialization.

“Stereotypes um just society as a whole, entertainment of course plays a big role in why there are so many stereotypes. (I)t’s a bad thing because how can our society not stop with racial stereotypes if somebody keeps bringing up jokes about it you know stereotypes it’s, they’re never going to stop. (R)ace has a lot to do with everything in this society now a days and I always thought it would stop but it’s not going to stop. No time soon anyways.”

Again, Jamaal is recognizing that society plays a big part in creating and perpetuating stereotypes, especially when it comes to sports. Society as a whole, in Jamaal's opinion, is to blame for these stereotypes which lead to perceptions of races and sports, thus creating sport racialization. He sees race as an important factor in society and that there are issues present around race, especially in creating assumptions and stereotypes. He sees how jokes about race, jokes that are all too present in the field of sports, cause these stereotypes to be passed down as well. He also expresses how bad this is and that he does not see an end to it, thus recreating and reproducing stereotypes.

“Let me try out”

“(P)arents would put more pressure on the children to not look at a specific sport as predominantly for a specific race if they would take their child out and go to a baseball field and say ‘Hey do you like this sport?’, and if they say yes than they stick with it. Or just I don’t know something like that but just society needs to change as a whole when it comes to racial things.”

His first recommendation is for the parents to change the way that they raise and place their children into sports. He sees parents, as socializing agents, having an impact on the sports their children will play. He thinks if parents give more freedom to their children to pick a sport to play, there might be less racialized sport participation. This technique may also begin to change larger social patterns of race and “racial things” according to Jamaal.

“If I were better at it (baseball), I would play it.”

This is a personal issue that Jamaal thinks would have changed his sport participation patterns. He thinks if he was good at baseball, he would play it more. The success that comes with sport participation may allow for that sport to be played more. Since baseball did not come easy and he did not stick with it, he did not develop the skills necessary to succeed in it, eliminating his chance to play it later in life.

“(T)hey are so terrible cause they don’t have much athletes playing on the baseball team at all. There are so many athletes here... (If they were good) people would be like ‘They’re good. Let me try out maybe I can be a part of something great too.’”

Along with how personal success breeds more desire to play, having a successful team might also increase participation patterns. Jamaal thinks if the baseball team was good, they might get more athletes to play, especially Black athletes. He thinks that student-athletes like being part of a winning team, so the better the team is, the more students, inherently Black students at this site since they make up the majority, would play.

“(I)f there were just two of them than everybody would be like oh man there good I don’t know if I could stand up to their expectation as a Black guy being a star athlete but if they had an average of ten guys you know doing so great than a lot of people be like ‘Oh I can be better than them.’”

Jamaal’s final suggestion to increase Black participation in baseball is to get more Black players on the field in the first place. This might cause some sort of pioneer effect. By seeming more racially equal on the field and having some Black players in place, more Black students may feel like they are allowed, or welcome, to play the game. Ogden’s (2004) welcome theory posits that Black athletes do not feel as if they belong in baseball. If there were some Black players willing to take agency and initiate some participation on the team, they may lead the way for more Black students to try out. This pioneer effect is something that other participants have expressed and will be discussed later.

Jeremy

Jeremy is a Caucasian senior and has played only soccer during his four years at this high school. He moved over to Philadelphia from his native Germany when he was four years old, and later to Georgia. His mother never wanted to move to America and she has passed on her thoughts to Jeremy, who exhibits some disdain for American customs and norms.

“I was never introduced to baseball”

“I have never really thought of playing baseball. I have never actually watched a whole game of baseball though. I don’t think I have ever spent time around the right people to get me into it. I am not friends with many people who enjoy baseball.”

Jeremy discusses here how he has never really thought of playing baseball. Growing up, he was not around a lot of peers that played baseball or even watched a whole baseball game. He does not think he was around the “right” people to get him interested in baseball, which is why he chose to play other sports. He feels the way he was brought up and socialized with his friends is a big reason why he participates in the sports that he does.

“Then as far as what you are introduced to, like I said I was never introduced to baseball so that path was shut down for me at the beginning.”

This statement goes along with the previous one in that since he was never around baseball, or introduced to it, he never really got the chance to develop a passion or value for that sport. This is a reason why he played other sports than baseball. According to this statement, he feels people need to be introduced to particular sports by someone or something in order to develop a reason to play it in the future. Without that introduction to a sport, there will not be any participation.

“I have always been proud of my German heritage and kind of looked down my nose at American attitudes. Especially my mother, she did not want to come here. She is always complaining about stuff that happens here. I guess that goes for me too.”

Jeremy shows here that he is proud of his German heritage. He takes pride, which he gets from his mother, in not conforming to the typical American ideologies and values. By not wanting to accept and value American values, in this case sport values and ideas, Jeremy chose sports that were more connected to his German heritage. Baseball is known as America’s pastime and football is arguably the most popular sport in America today. Since American values would

dictate participation or at least interest in these sports, he does not develop this American ideological conformity, thus his participation in sports might not be deemed American.

“I mean, my dad played handball, but you don’t play handball in the US. So I watched soccer, I don’t actually have cable now, but when we were in Philadelphia my parents would watch soccer games so that is what I watched as well.”

Again, Jeremy recognizes sports that are valued in America. His dad could not pass down handball since it is rarely found in America, but they could instill soccer in him as a valuable sport. Since his parents watched soccer games as he was growing up, Jeremy was introduced to this sport early. He was able to develop a passion and interest in this sport because he was raised with soccer on television.

“I guess a lot of my friends did not really play basketball and I kind of ran more with the soccer crowd. The majority of my friends are White so that kind of affected it cause it is kind of a social thing to do.”

In this final instance of how Jeremy was socialized into sport, he refers to how not many of his friends played basketball, the only other sport besides soccer, he had any interest. Even though he was introduced to basketball, it was not reinforced like soccer was as he grew up and constructed his sense of what sport held value and was important to him. He felt more of a connection with the soccer players and even mentions that most of his friends were White like he is, so he associated with them more, inherently taking in what they valued in sports as well.

“They are a really big influence”

“They are a really big influence. And a lot of the friends I have their parents played the same sports that they do now. I know one girl whose dad is a huge runner so she is a runner too. My mother played tennis so she wanted me to play tennis.”

Jeremy feels like parents have a big influence on the sports that kids play. Not only do they have an impact by what sports they watch on television or just by introducing them to a particular sport, but by what sports the parents used to play. He shows examples of how parents have

passed down the sports they value to their children. Jeremy recognizes the influence parents have in social sport reproduction but he does not necessarily conform to what his mom played. He does see how some parents pass their sport values on to their children even though it is not really true in his own life.

“I like diversity on my team”

“Um, and I do spend a lot of time with my soccer team when I am not injured. I would never hang out with them otherwise I do not think. So I feel like I would be missing out on that (racial differences). As I said earlier, that is part of the enjoyment of playing on a soccer team. You get such a large variety. Especially around here, you know. I feel like I would be missing out on hanging out with people I would not generally hang out with.”

Jeremy spent a lot of time explaining during the course of this interview how he prefers to play on racially diverse teams. He is a firm believer that not only can having a racially diverse team help a person out on the field by showing a different strategy or way of playing, but also by helping him to expand his circle of friends and exposure to different views and cultures. He feels like missing out on racial diversity would be bad and not playing sports he would be missing out on the friends he has made through sport participation. Even though he thinks this, Jeremy does not see racialization of sports at any level as a problem, but that issue will be discussed later.

“I will say I like diversity on my team. I don’t think I would want to play on a team of only White guys. I think that would bother me...because it is so vanilla. One of the things I love about soccer is that you get every kind of player and I feel like I would be missing out on some of the culture if it were all the same...playing on a team of Black or Latino players wouldn’t (bother me). It is a way to hang out with crowds I normally wouldn’t I guess.”

Jeremy reinforces his desire to play with a racially diverse team in order to gain insight and perspective into different ways of thinking. From this it can be inferred that he is against racialization of sports. By having certain sports where only particular races participate, he thinks that student-athletes are missing out on gaining an education.

“Once you are on a team, like, everybody is on the same level and competing against each other and getting better, I guess it is almost like a brotherhood you know. You become friends and you work together towards a goal.”

Here Jeremy expresses that he feels like even on racially diverse teams, he does not see race as a factor in games because they are working together for a common goal. He points out that a form of collective identity is formed as the team begins to act as a whole instead of a lot of different players. This may be why he does not try new sports; a reason expressed by other participants as to why Black students do not play baseball. They are comfortable with their teammates as friends and have developed this collective identity as one unit which they do not want to break apart.

“There are times I have looked at the football team and seen the Black athletes and thought, man I wish they played soccer.”

Jeremy sees the value that Black student-athletes can bring to his soccer team. Not only does he think that they are good players, but, according to his previous comments, he prefers racial diversity. He cannot maximize the insight he is gaining without having more of a diverse team. He values this experience and learning about different cultures and different racial perspectives, so he wants Black athletes to play soccer.

“That has to do with the culture”

“I think that has to do with the culture of the country that they come from, so, like African people, I feel like they are generally more likely, if they come to the US, to play soccer, because that is the sport generally played in Africa. It is their popular sport. African Americans, I feel like it is much more generally football and basketball cause those are the sports they grow up with. It is the same for Peruvian and Mexican players that are on my soccer team. I can’t see them playing football cause they have grown up with soccer and that is the sport they play in their country.”

When Jeremy was asked why he thought sports were racialized and not as diverse as could be, he expressed that he thought it was more of a cultural value than anything else. What sports are

played by student-athletes are the ones, according to this statement, that they grow up with in their country. This has an international feel to it, but Jeremy takes pride in his German heritage, so it makes sense that he phrases his responses in international tones. Even though he does this, Jeremy still seems to think that culture determines sport participation more than anything else.

“It is not really that Black people are not allowed to play baseball or that they are encouraged not to by coaches. It is more to do with the culture of African American society. The sports that they play, just like Latinos play soccer. They play basketball and football. That is what they grow up with. That is what they learn to love. I feel like that is the influence and the reasons. It is kind of the pop culture behind it. The faces of the NBA and NFL. They are both African American leagues.”

Jeremy elaborated on his previous discussion for the causes of racialization. He describes the way in particular that African Americans construct value for certain sports, thus placing them in certain sports. He believes Black people have agency and liberty to play any sport they choose, but they like to play the sports they grow up with. He thinks that sports children grow up with are the ones that they will continue to play. He lastly recognizes how pop culture and media reinforce ideas of sports certain racial cultures value and are prominent, causing certain professional leagues to be labeled racially.

“If that is the sport you enjoy and you get your social status and that is what you want, then you should play that. I don’t think that is a problem. I think that is you really want to play that sport than you can.”

Here Jeremy provides an additional reason why African American athletes play certain sports. He thinks they play sports they enjoy and the ones that contribute to achieving a higher social status. Social status can be a big draw for high school students. Sports are way to gain social capital, according to Bourdieu (1984), and so students strive to play the sports that will give them this form of capital. Jeremy does not see racialization as a problem; it is just what they want to do. He assumes agency for all individuals and freedom to choose sports they want to play. Even

though Jeremy is a proponent for racially diverse teams, he does not see racialization as a problem.

“It (football) is what everybody plays here and what everybody prides themselves on. Championships and success down here. Basketball, I feel like it is valued here so much, and I guess this sounds a little racist, it is a sport for a majority African Americans. Most of the big stars and big names in the NBA are African American. LeBron James. Kobe Bryant. Chris Paul. You know they are all African American. I think because those stars are so highly valued in pop culture. I think the sport itself becomes highly valued especially if you are good at it. It is a boost to your social status too.”

Jeremy lastly places some blame for racialization on the culture of the area this study takes place.

Football is the most valued sport in this area, so it is the sport most people want to play.

Baseball does not hold the value that football does in this culture, so not as many students are going to play. This takes race out of context to a degree in that all students would feel the same way based on the cultural importance in this area. He again points to media and images of star athletes in basketball as setting the standard for what should be valued by Black student-athletes.

“I don’t think it is an unsurpassable barrier”

“It has to do with the culture of it. I think that if people valued a home run as much as they value a crazy touchdown catch it would be different. People don’t jump up and cheer when someone hits a homerun as much, at least at this school, as much as if you caught a great touchdown pass. I think that has a lot to do with that people want to play the sports that is valued socially.”

In order for racialization to be lessened in sports at this site, an idea that Jeremy does not fully support because he does not see a problem, he thinks that the culture of the school must change.

It takes cultural change to allow for different sports to be valued, thus increasing their minority, Black especially, participation. He recognizes certain acts in sports that are valued over others and the excitement that goes along with each. By getting these values changed, less racialization may occur.

“I feel like if you are a White person going out for basketball, you have to earn your status as a player. If there was a random White guy and a random Black guy, they would generally think the Black guy is better at basketball... it (race) will matter, but if you have the determination to play, I don’t think it is an unsurpassable barrier.”

Jeremy talked here about how he thought about a person from a different race trying to play a sport deemed another race. He thinks that an outsider into a racially categorized sport, basketball here, has to earn their way onto the team. This may be another reason how racialization can be reversed. By having an outsider earn their way onto the team, stereotypes may be able to be lessened and may also lead the way for other players to join, like in the pioneer effect. He does not see racialized sports as an unsurpassable barrier, but rather a challenge that can be broken with determination.

“I am not really sure the detriment there. It is not really that Black people are not allowed to play baseball or that they are encouraged not to by coaches. It is more to do with the culture of African American society.”

Jeremy shows that he does not think of sport racialization as a problem either at this school or in society overall. Earlier he discussed the importance of a racially diverse team, yet he does not think that racialization of sports is a bad thing necessarily. He assumes agency for all individuals to choose their sport participation freely. Culture is the main deterrent of African Americans into baseball, but it is not a problem, according to Jeremy, just the way that society and culture function.

Brent

Brent is a Caucasian senior at the high school and has participated in cross country and track, especially the long distance events, all four years he has been at this school. He does not see much of a future with sports except to stay in shape. His sport experience has largely been shaped by his parents and the constraints they pressed upon him.

“My mom dictated the sports that I played”

“Basically my mom dictated the sports that I played when I was younger...She definitely steered me in certain directions. I am pretty sure I am the one that made the decision to start cross country though. I mean I feel like I had options open but, I don’t know. I guess my mom was worried about injuries in football.”

Brent talks here about how he got involved in the sports he is currently participating. His mother constrained his sport choices as he grew up. He was not sure why she constrained these choices so much, but he does recognize how she has made an impact on the sports he does play. This shows how influential Brent’s parents, especially his mother, were as significant others in dictating his participation in sports.

“I have always loved sports through my dad. We always watch football together. Go to the games sometimes. He was like an assistant coach on my tee ball team way back when. My dad had a little impact on me growing up with sports. He watched football so that first got me interested.”

Brent has been raised watching football with his father, a very influential agent in the socialization process. His dad was also involved in Brent’s early sport participation by coaching his tee ball team. Even though Brent does not play football or baseball anymore, his father had an influence in giving value to sports in general and gave Brent the exposure and introduction into the field of sports.

“He played basketball in high school”

“He played basketball in high school, but I never really wanted to do that. He never had a problem with me playing football, it was all my mom.”

Brent here recognizes that since his dad played sports in high school, he valued them and passed them on to Brent. Basketball may not have been a sport that Brent found interesting to play, but this does show how his dad passed down the interest to participate in some kind of sport during high school. Brent’s father seems to allow Brent to make his decisions about which sports to

play, so this social sport reproduction, or role modeling, is not as strong or pronounced as if Brent also played basketball, but its impact is still seen in Brent's sport participation.

“That drives people away”

“If you go to cross country meets it is all White and if you see the skinny Black guy you know he is really fast cause he is African or whatever. Then just the opposite at track meets. It is a majority Black and if you see a White person you know they are distance, so yeah. I think it is just stereotypes a lot of times. With track that is just the way it is. White people run distance.”

Brent recognizes racial differences and perceives stereotypes based on race. He sees a racialized component not only in sports, but within track itself where Black athletes tend to run the sprints and White athletes stick to the longer distance races. He thinks that this is just the way it is and that stereotypes in place for race and sport are normal. This is the kind of thinking that perpetuates these stereotypes, making it harder to break out of the racialization cycle.

“With a Black person you think they are either going to be really fast or the last one. That's just how it is. I think Black kids in running see it as representing their race out there. With track in the mile, if there is a Black person, I generally think of it as they are going to be really good.”

Again Brent discusses some racial stereotypes and racial assumptions he has and sees towards race and sports. He does mention here why he thinks some minorities in a sport they are not expected to be in participate in that sport, such as Black student-athletes running cross country or long distance in track. He thinks they see this as a chance to represent their race. It may be a way to prove to other people they can do this sport, in spite of their race. By seeing this, maybe over time more minorities will participate in that sport and begin to break possible stereotypes.

“A lot of times they are in the outfield because they are generally faster.”

Here Brent mentions baseball and stereotypes that he sees in the sport as he feels Black players are relegated to the outfield because they are faster than other players. This shows how ideas of

stacking are pervasive to not only baseball players and coaches, but to other students as well. Having these notions present in the minds of potential athletes may deter them from playing baseball because they feel like they will be constrained to a certain position.

“The stereotypes are still there and that drives people away.”

Brent here shows how he feels stereotypes affect sport participation patterns. With current stereotypes in place, according to his statement, people, here Black students, are driven away from baseball participation and steered into those sports they are perceived to be better suited.

“I got behind”

“I decided that I wanted to try baseball again back in middle school. I played fall ball back then and it didn’t go very well so I dropped baseball. I took a long break after tee ball and I got behind. I really enjoyed it. I love being on the team like that again, I guess baseball just wasn’t for me.”

Brent did attempt to play baseball when he was younger but took some time off because he was not constantly encouraged to participate and was not around enough socializing agents to keep him participating. Baseball is a game that is hard to play and the skills needed for successful participation, and thus longevity, must be constantly practiced. He enjoys baseball, but the break he took from tee ball until middle school caused damage to his skills. He found that he was not very good at it anymore and fell behind. This deficiency lead to him choosing other sports, presumably ones he would be more on the same level as other participants. The nature of baseball needs constant encouragement, something Brent did not receive, and often something Blacks may not receive, thus steering them away from baseball.

“I might feel a little unwelcomed”

“I would feel a little out of place. It is definitely tough being around a lot of people you are not like. I mean different races talk about different things sometimes. I might feel a little unwelcomed, unless I was like the top person out there. If I was just there and not

the best one I might consider dropping it. I would feel like I would want to do better to show them I belonged.”

Brent was asked to talk about how he would feel if he were playing on a team where he was the only Caucasian participant. Baseball at this school has very few Black participants, so Brent was asked how he thought it would feel to go into a sport as a minority. His response demonstrates Ogden’s (2004) welcome theory. He would feel like he did not belong in that sport, a possible reason why Black student-athletes do not play baseball at this school. He thinks that he would be able to feel more important and a part of the collective team if he were one of the better players. Being an elite player could “show them” he belonged in that sport, even though he may appear out of place.

“I guess there is the alienation of a mostly White team.”

Brent here is mentioning how he feels Black participants may view and feel towards a team of mostly White participants. There may be a notion, according to Brent, of alienation, making a participant that is not White be an outcast or an outsider and not feeling welcome to be a part of the team.

“A lot of Black kids feel like it is a White sport. This guy that joined last year is really good so I am sure there are more Black kids that would be good. They could be good but I guess there is the fear of being different from everyone else.”

Again Brent talks about how it might feel to be different from everyone else playing in a particular sport. He is referring to cross country here as he mentions how there was a Black participant that was good, so he knows that Black student-athletes have the ability to play these White dominated sports. They may choose not to because of that “fear” of being different out there and feeling like a separate person from the team.

“Just having that one team kind of may detract cause they may feel like outcasts sometimes in that or it seems like those are the people they have been with for a long time as they were growing up.”

This last comment for Brent displays the welcome theory, and can be seen as a reason for racialization and lack of African Americans playing baseball, connects the idea of growing up and being socialized with this theory. As kids grow up and are part of a team from a young age, they develop a bond early on. As outsiders try to enter into that team and bond, they find it difficult, which may detract some people from trying. By taking time off from a sport, like baseball, he became an outsider, so did not feel as welcome to play baseball and be a part of a team that has been together for so long.

“It really starts when you are younger”

“I guess historically baseball has stayed White.”

Brent provided numerous reason for racialization in sports at his school, included this statement about how he feels like baseball has been a historically White sport. This statement demonstrates that social reproduction has continued through this sport and passed from White participants to their children through socialization processes. It may be hard to break historical assumptions of racialized sports, which may be why Black student-athletes play other sports.

“If they’ve grown up their whole lives watching football and basketball and they’ve never heard of baseball, not even know what it is then they’d have no interest whatsoever in playing it... It really starts when you are younger. You start out and that is what you grow up knowing and the people you know. You get passionate about that sport. You watch it on tv. That makes you want to do that with your life.”

Here Brent points to socialization patterns and ways of growing up for a reason for sport racialization. This is a reason most participants in this study attribute to racialization. If Black children are not exposed or introduced to baseball, according to Brent, they will not develop the passion or interest in playing it later in life. Again, this goes back to the way they are raised. Without having socializing agents exposing and reinforcing a sport to children, they are hard pressed to participate in that sport as they grow up, thus accounting for participation patterns.

“It is the way they were brought up around high school. They never got into the other sports, so it is not like the athletes could transfer over to other sports. It is just the way it has been throughout their lives.”

This statement also deals with socialization and the way kids are raised. Without having a sport exposed to children and students in high school, they tend not to participate. Baseball, as Brent alludes to, is not a sport where having raw athleticism can transfer. Football, basketball, and track are examples of sports where athleticism can be transferred into even if sport specific skills are not held by participants. Baseball, by its nature again, is not a sport where athleticism alone can get a player by. This may be why Black students at this school choose track over baseball during the spring.

“It always starts with that first African American”

“It always starts with that first African American that joins the team that’s just there and then if one starts doing well and they’re at the top then that would definitely make more want to join and I feel like that’s what’s happened this year so hopefully next year they can get some more in because our top guy next year is going to be African American. That would definitely help just having the, I guess like a role model on the team that’s African American.”

Brent discusses here how he feels racialization could be lessened. He is one of the only, if not the only, participant that does not mention changing patterns or socialization. His recommendation reflects the pioneer effect here. He thinks by having one or two African Americans participating it will open the door and lead the way for more to join in over time. This idea is talked about here for cross country, but can be used to discuss baseball, or other sports where there is racialization, as well. He thinks by having that initial person start to participate, they may act as a role model in that sport for other possible participants to see and follow.

“Just having like one or two people on the team that are African American so that others players can feel they can relate to on the team and just talk to them.”

The pioneer effect is reflected in this statement by Brent as well. Having some initial participants acting as role models and pioneers in a racialized sport may cause other minority participant to relate to them, and possibly feel more welcome. This shows how the pioneer effect can address the welcome theory by making minority participants feel more welcome into a sport that has been breached by initial minority participant pioneers.

Emergent across Groups

This section of the analysis will look at the dominant themes that were expressed by each of the participants through the interviews as a group and compared to other groups, such as non-baseball players. This section will be broken down into the participants' personal experiences and then their perceptions on racialization and sports. Personal experiences and perceptions of racialization were brought up in all interviews, thus were easily compared across groups to search for commonalities or differences.

Personal experiences.

Each of the participants in this study described some of their personal experiences in one way or another. These personal experiences included talking about how they grew up, why they are participating in various activities in high school, their high school experience and how it has changed them, and finally how they have experienced race and racialization in their own sporting lives. All of these topics deal with lived experiences of the participants and have lead to their construction of what they value and what is important in their lives.

The most salient themes that emerged from the participants as reasons for participating in their respective school activities are the way they were socialized, the social structural limitations placed upon them by the school, and the extrinsic benefits that come with their activities. The most prominent theme here is that all of these participants were socialized in particular ways,

which has led them to participate in their current activity. This includes family support, participating in this activity at a young age, and peer influences. All of the participants expressed that the main reason for their current participation in activities stems from the ways that they were socialized. This socialization process had a significant impact on their persistence in the activity. Socialization refers to a process of learning and social development that transpires as people interact with one another and become familiar with the social worlds they inhabit (Coakley, 2009). The idea of being socialized emerged as the most common theme amongst all participants, but there were differences expressed by each participant in their own socialization which made each experience unique. These differences are discussed later.

Other reasons that emerged as important reasons for activity participation that came from all of the participants were the ideas of social structural limitations from the school and extrinsic benefits. These social structural limitations were in place which forced student-athletes to select only one sport per season in which to participate. This includes having to choose a sport in the spring, either track and field or baseball, for example. Track and field, a sport coached by the football coach, was used as a way to train for the upcoming football season, so those that wanted to do well in football were steered into track. Lastly, extrinsic benefits, such as fame, wanting to win, and being successful, were discussed as reasons for activity participation. This also includes standing out from other students at the school. These extrinsic rewards enticed these participants to continue with their participation in what they were doing.

The high school itself and the experiences of the participants provided more emergent themes. All of the participants talked about how important sports are in this school and how important friends are in the school setting. Sports in this school make up an opportunity for forming identity with the school and a site of socializing. The culture of the school in general

feels that sports are an important part of the high school experience, especially football at this site. This goes with the extrinsic benefit of wanting to be famous, or popular, at school, so football was played. The better the students were at football, the more popular they were, which may explain why so many were steered into track, in order to get better at football.

Friends, especially as socializing agents and sites of peer influence, are influential at this school. The participants talked about how their friend helped them fit in and were good influences on them. All of the participants stressed wanting to hang out with those that would be good influences on them.

Perceptions on racialization and sport.

During the course of the interviews, the participants were asked to look at sports in general and talk about what they thought about the racial make-up of sports. There were some commonalities that emerged from the participants in this study for this topic. The first aspect of this is how they perceived racialized sports and the reasons for sport being racialized, especially basketball, football, and baseball. The main idea expressed from the participants is that they had stereotypes common to those present in the literature. Specifically they expressed concepts that are related to Sailes' (2010) genetic theory and the savage image of Black physical superiority (Hawkins, 1998). They thought there were genetic physical advantages that predisposed Black people for certain sports, as well as White people for other sports.

Another emergent theme for racialized sport is the notion of social reproduction and cultural norms. Participants expressed the opinion that certain sports are more accepted by particular racial cultures, thus children are raised to be in line with the sports that are seen as part of their culture, especially as they are socialized by various socializing agents. All of these participants feel that culture is a very important reason for the racialization of sports. They

expressed how the popularity of particular sports in a given culture, such as at this school with football, deters participation in less popular sports. This could be especially true in baseball by Black student-athletes since baseball is not valued, it must compete with a sport (track) during the same season that could make athletes better at football, and because baseball is not accepted as part of the Black culture in this area. These are all powerful reasons expressed by the participants for why there may be a lack of Black baseball players at this particular site.

The participants mentioned that race is brought up as a joke in most of the situations that deal with race at this school. All eight of the participants said that they frequently joke about the notion of race and seldom, if any, have any serious discussions around the subject. By looking at race and the racialization of sports in a joking manor, serious addresses of racial inequalities may have trouble being established, which in turn may lead to continued racialization in the future.

These have been the emergent themes expressed across groups. Looking at the differences between each of the participants will allow for an understanding about how each of these individuals view race and the racialization issues in sports and how it may be addressed. The participants have been grouped according to sport participation. The participants that played baseball during high school are looked at first. The group of participants that played other sports besides baseball in high school (non-baseball participants) was looked at second. Within each of these groups there are two African American and two MRGEB participants so comparisons across and between groups will be discussed in chapter five.

The participants were each given a chance to tell their story that tells about their sport experience, perceptions of racialized sports, and possible recommendations for change, as well as any unique instances that they experienced or that they mentioned during the course of the interview. This provided each individual participant a chance to be heard and tell their story, as

well as how they view racialization and sports. By providing this voice, the researcher aimed to gain multiple insights into the issue of the under representation of African Americans playing high school baseball.

Section III: Summary of Results

Chapter 4 provides an inside look into the experiences of student-athletes at a southeastern high school in the United States. These student-athletes have provided information into how they perceive racialization of sports and how they have come to play particular sports in their lives. These stories tell the reader how values of sports have been constructed and shaped through processes of socialization and social reproduction in each of their respective lives, especially as they exist at this site. They give voice to the meaning of their sporting lives and explain how it is that racialization and sport participation patterns have been created.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

Discussion

Baseball has represented everything to the African American culture from a means of expression, enjoyment, financial gain, and social equality to a site of social exclusion, racial hatred, and cultural indifference throughout history. African American participation in America's pastime has gone from being seen as the new excitement in the game, to a "gentleman's agreement" of exclusion, to a means of increased racial equality and acceptance, and finally to a cultural lack of interest in the game (Anderson, 2010; Peterson, 1970; Burns, 1994). Even while there is an over representation of African American participation in professional sports in the United States, basketball and football seem to be major sports where inflated numbers of African American participants exist, at least amongst the "big four" sport leagues of the NFL, NBA, MLB, and NHL.

Emergent themes of socialization and social reproduction being the most impactful reason for sport racialization across all groups, being committed to baseball over other sports from the baseball participants, and establishing a base of Black players in order to draw more interest from Black student-athletes (pioneer effect), as well as smaller themes such as stereotypes leading to racialization, have been established by the participants of this study. By finding these themes, it can be seen that this school site places value in their athletic program and that socialization, especially by family members, is the biggest factor in determining sport participation patterns for student-athletes. Each of the participants that were interviewed had

differing backgrounds and experiences in high school, as well as various reasons for their sport interest and participation, but the most emergent theme across the two groups, those that play baseball and those that do not, is the idea of how impactful socialization was to making their sport participation decisions. The idea of how the culture and structure of the school exists also impacts the decision made by student-athletes in their sport participation. Emergent differences between various groups are also brought up in this discussion in order to draw some comparison across and between groups. The final sections of the discussion looks into how these student-athletes make recommendations in order to change participation patterns followed by a discussion of how the research questions were addressed with the findings in this study.

Socialization

The interview participants in this study all expressed how impactful their socialization process was in determining their sport participation patterns. Growing up and being exposed to certain sports allowed for these participants to gain skills and interest in those activities and their participation was often reinforced either through family member support or modeling. This site has shown that the early life processes of student-athletes has made the biggest impact on what sports they play during high school, according to the data. This idea of socialization was the most emergent theme in this study, thus can be deduced as the most important factor.

All of the participants told stories about their early childhood experiences in sports and how they were raised by their parents. Even though there was variation in the stories and the way that they were raised, the idea of how early life experiences affects sport participation was a commonality across all participants. Each of these stories was first shaped by the way the participants were raised. Jeremy, the soccer player with a strong German heritage, demonstrates

this, for example, by expressing how he was never introduced to baseball by his parents or other socializing agents as he was growing up.

“I was never introduced to baseball so that path was shut down for me at the beginning.” Without this introduction he did not develop an interest or knowledge to play baseball. Baseball, as all sports, requires some sort of introduction and reinforcement by some sort of socializing agent, so without that there is no interest or participation later in life.

Socialization and early life experiences was cited by all participants as the biggest reason for their own sport participation patterns and as the main reason for racialization of sports, both at this school site and on a wider scale. Even when they were asked to choose between race and socialization as the main reason for racialization, every one of the participants said socialization patterns were more important. Jamaal, a Black non-baseball student-athlete, even says the way children are raised and the influence society has is the most important factor in determining sport participation patterns. So not only are life experiences by socializing agents impactful, but also society as a whole can have an effect, according to Jamaal. This provides evidence that these participants are aware of how impactful early experiences are in determining later life choices.

Socialization, not mutually exclusive from social reproduction, refers more to the ways that the participants have grown up and looks at life experiences that have lead to decision making, norms, and values of the participants (Apple, 1978; Coakley, 2004). The participants each mentioned how important their life experiences have been on the sports they play. Without getting the opportunity or exposure to new sports, there is no chance for them to continue to play those new sports, especially in high school or beyond. This illustrates the way that they are brought up and socialized through interactions with peers, teachers, coaches, etc. These socializing agents all play a role in the future make-up of sports. This also goes back to the idea

of social reproduction. As these participants grew up, they played sports valued by various socializing agents. It should be noted that few of these participants mentioned a father as having a big influence on their lives. Often times, coaches and other male figures in positions of power act as father figures for Black students in high school (Spearman and Harrison, 2010). This gives these coaches significant other status which makes their interactions with student-athletes more important and impactful. For example, Bobby had an older brother and Jeff had coaches that acted as strong influences on sport participation patterns.

Taking agency and learning how to adapt in the world is something participants such as these would need to do in order to change the racialization of sports in high school, thus increasing the Black participation in baseball. Since there is little exposure to new sports and early life experience play such an instrumental role in determining sport participation patterns, students going into high school would have to feel comfortable stepping out of their comfort zone and not be constrained to those sports they are socialized to play.

Social Reproduction

Ideas of social reproduction were brought out during the interviews and socializing agents, especially parents as significant other, were discussed as impactful factors in determining sport participation patterns from numerous participants. Social reproduction, or role modeling according to Coakley (2009), can be a factor in determining sport participation patterns when parents pass on their sport values to their children through an introduction and reinforcement of that sport interest. Even when there was not direct sport reproduction in most cases for this study, for example when a dad that plays football passes on football interest to his son, there was a passing on of sport interest in general. In this study, Charlie, a baseball player, said his dad played football in high school at this same school. Charlie does play football, but he remarks

that baseball is his biggest passion, a sport that his father never played. So even though Charlie's dad passed on his interest in sports, he did not pass on his interest in football only. This form of social reproduction may not be as powerful or direct as sport specific reproduction; however, passing on the value found in playing sports does lead to an increase in sport participation in general. This accounts for a part of the multifaceted reasons for determining sport participation patterns and sport racialization, which will be discussed later.

Although none of the participants actually said that sports are socially reproduced and name it as a reason for their participation patterns, they do describe instances where social reproduction is present. Seeing sports that are more heavily participated in by certain races of people can lead to more participation of those same races at an early age, which will in turn lead to more participation in high school and beyond. Having socializing agents, especially family members, who participated in certain sports influences the sports played by these participants, which follows along with this idea of social reproduction.

The results of the survey show family members to be the most influential role models for this site. This suggests that social reproduction tends to come from the parents and siblings of these participants. The sports valued and played by the family members had a direct influence on the sports played by the participants at this school. This suggests the sports that family members have played during their lifetime will be passed on to their children. In an area such as this where baseball is not a popular sport, in fact Peter says that "nobody cares about baseball here" it may be hard for children to have passion for baseball passed on to them by their parents.

The tenets of social reproduction have been shown in this study in order to confirm that social reproduction does exist here and have a significant impact on sport participation patterns. Through the interpretive analysis used in this study, it has been shown that values and norms

associated with sports by these participants largely reflected the values and norms exhibited by their parents or other significant others. The three tenets of social reproduction used for the framework of this study are as follows:

1. Actions or processes must occur upon a given individual,
2. These actions or process must act to sustain or perpetuate given characteristics already present in a culture or society,
3. The characteristics must be perpetuated or maintained in this culture or society over a period of time. (Apple, 1978; Bourdieu, 2006; Lemert, 2008)

The participants in this study provided numerous examples of how they were acted upon by numerous socializing agents, especially by significant others such as parents or other family members. Through direct process of instruction, practice, and sporting event attendance, as well as indirect process such as watching particular sports or voicing opinions about which sports should be played, agents of socialization were shown in this study to be a major factor in impacting sport participation patterns. The actions of these agents perpetuated their values of which sports should be played by their children through these processes, both direct and indirect. By perpetuating these norms and sporting values, the ideas present in that culture, whether it be Black culture or high school culture, as examples, can be reproduced and retransmitted into this new generation. As the ideas are passed down, they are instilled in the current participants in this study, which has been shown to impact their current sport participation patterns over time. As Jeremy demonstrated in this study, being of German decent impacted his sport participation because his parents did not introduce him to baseball in America. His parents watched soccer and took him to soccer and basketball events. As a result, they passed on the values of soccer

and basketball they had to Jeremy, which in turn he grew up with and reflected in his soccer sport participation.

Stereotypes and Racial Assumptions

Stereotypes were shown to be pervasive at this school through the survey responses and as illustrated from the interview participants. Nearly 50% of those surveyed mentioned that Black players should play certain sports because they are more athletic, while only 8% said stereotypes do not exist at this school in relation to race and sport. One such response was “Black people are faster and stronger so they play the good sports like football and basketball. White people are un-athletic so they play golf and tennis”. Stereotypes can be powerful instruments in determining sport participation patterns because many students get ideas of how they think they are supposed to act, as well as which sports they are supposed to value and be good. This may also lead to type-casting, which resembles the idea of stacking certain players into certain positions, or even into certain sports. With these ideas in mind, they begin to develop a consciousness to ascribe to these stereotypes and also begin participating in sports that they should stereotypically be involved, leading to a sort of self fulfilling prophecy. As students develop stereotypes about sports they should play based on race, this self fulfilling prophecy leads them to think they are supposed to be good, so they try harder and play those sports more, based on stereotypes. This is how stereotypes could impact sport participation patterns.

The results from the survey revealed that students at this school site ascribe to the belief that Black students should play games involving more athleticism and White students should not. These stereotypes, which are also emergent in the interviews, reinforce what Sailes (2010) found to be true in his study which showed how the genetic, Mandingo, and psychological theories are persistent in present culture and could impact sport participation patterns. Andy, a baseball

player, describes how his team would play differently against Black teams because “They, African Americans are fast...” This shows how stereotypes based on race are in this setting, a fact that may steer Black students into those sports where speed is more highly valued, such as track or football. From the survey, a response like the following also shows the perceptions of this school:

“Black people are faster and stronger so they play the good sports like football and basketball. White people are un-athletic so they play golf and tennis.”

Stereotypes, as strong as they are at this school site, according to the data, have an impact on the way students think sports should be valued and played according to certain races. This has a definite impact and steers Black student-athletes away from baseball.

The school site used for this study also demonstrated stereotypes present at other institutions and with other students (Sailes, 2010). These stereotypes, according to the data, are that Black students are more athletic and should play sports where they need to be fast and jump high, like basketball, football, and track. White students should play those sports where one does not need as much athleticism, like golf, tennis, and baseball, if any sports at all. Having a broad perception of sports like this may have a direct impact on which sports students feel they should play. It would be necessary to dispel these stereotypes in order to get more equal sport participation and eliminate some sport racialization.

Sport Culture of the School

The school site, which is used here for the background and context of this instrumental case study, reveals some characteristics that may impact the participation patterns of some of the student athletes. From the data, it was shown this school values sport participation in general, nearly 70% reported playing sports in high school. One such response to show the student attitude towards playing sports is “(I play sports) because I love sports and it can benefit me in

the long run”. This means as students go through high school, they are likely to play some sort of sport at some point. Having such a high value in sport participation may cause students to feel constrained to play some sort of sport, no matter how uncomfortable or used to it they are. From Ogden’s (2004) welcome theory and Appiah’s (2000) collective identity, students will play those sports they feel most comfortable with, which tend to be the ones where they can connect with those already participating. Thus, as students come into this school, they will choose sports they feel they should be playing based on cultural sanctions and racial make-up of the team.

Differences between Groups

The interview participants certainly elicited much of the same data, but each of them expressed some differences in their sport participation patterns and reasons for playing those sports. Each of them has their own story discussed in the results section, which shows some of the areas they differ in which themes they brought up. This is the case with anybody. There are always multiple perspectives on how people are socialized and their life experiences. There are also the differences which make each of them unique to the other. While there are many differences between the ways that these eight participants grew and learned to value and participate in certain sports, the most striking are broken down here to show differences between multiple categories of participants.

Baseball vs. Non-baseball

The first breakdown in looking at differences between groups in this study is that of the baseball participants in high school against those participants that played sports other than baseball in order to see if there are emergent themes that may cause this sport participation split other than socialization, social reproduction, and stereotypes, which have been discussed. The two most salient themes that emerged from this study are that baseball players enjoy baseball

because it is an individual sport, while other sports, such as football and basketball, according to the data, are conducive towards team play and the participants developing a collective identity. There is also a theme from the baseball players that they express a profound commitment to baseball over all other sports, no matter the race, and those that played other sports expressed no such commitment to any sport.

The nature of the game of baseball was mentioned by multiple participants as a game that is made up of multiple individual competitions and one-on-one battles during the game. Batter against pitcher, runner against catcher, and fielder against runner are all types of these individual competitions that make up the game. The baseball players saw that baseball set them apart because they could be recognized as a baseball player and not blend in, like with football. Peter states:

“Football...you’re kind of disguised whereas (in) baseball people can recognize you individually...”

This is important because it shows how the nature of the game can lend itself as being more individual instead of allowing the players to develop a collective identity. Appiah (2000) posits that collective identities are constructed by African Americans as a way of bonding together, like in tough times of slavery. They bond together as a way of protecting themselves and becoming stronger as a single unit instead of as a group of individuals (Appiah, 2000). This has carried down and can be seen in sports.

Sports that lend themselves towards team play may attract more Black participants, as this study supports. Jeff talked about this and said:

“I like being a part of the team out there and playing together (on the football field)...”

Here he shows how important the team aspect is and that they act as a brotherhood. Football and basketball are more dependent on team play than baseball, so that may be a reason why there is

more Black participation in sports with a team aspect, thus collective identity, than in sports more individualistic, like baseball.

The baseball participants in this study also brought up an idea worth mentioning as it may relate to sport participation patterns as well. They talked about a commitment to the sport of baseball over all other sports. All four of the baseball participants mentioned their commitment to baseball in one way or another. For example, Charlie, a Black baseball player, mentioned:

“Baseball because I have played baseball longer than I have football and I like it more.”

This is important to note because he is choosing a White dominated sport at a school where so called Black sports dominate. These baseball players all chose baseball over other sports, especially over football, for numerous reasons. There is something about baseball that draws them in and creates this intense desire to continue participation. The factors could include early participation, early success, continued participation in order keep up and increase skills, a reinforcement by socializing agents for baseball, and a feeling of being welcome to play.

Non-baseball student-athletes at this site did not mention in their interviews a commitment and desire to play a particular sport. They chose various sports for a number of reasons. Even those that had played baseball before, Brent, Jeff, and Jamaal, did not mention having this commitment to baseball for reasons such as failure at a young age that caused them to stop playing. Brent stopped playing because he said he was not very good. When he tried to play again in middle school, he was too far removed. Jeff played for fun in some of his communities, but never tried to play in high school because it interfered with track season. Had he played earlier and more competitively, perhaps he may have developed this commitment. Jamaal did not succeed at a young age, so he, like Brent, dropped it. He never tried to play again because he did not think he would be any good and because being on a team of mostly White

players "...would be weird". These participants played other sports in high school but chose them for reasons other than a strong connection to them.

A baseball commitment grows out of numerous factors. I developed this idea into a hypothesis that is discussed more in depth later in this chapter. There are characteristics that must be accomplished to begin to foster this commitment to baseball. It is a multifaceted idea that may help to explain why there is an under representation of Black participants. The participants must be introduced to baseball at a young age. He must also have some success at this age in order to develop a passion to play more. Various socializing agents must reinforce this baseball participation so that he can continue to play without taking time off, something that has been shown in this study to cause a cease in participation. A feeling of being accepted and welcome to play the game must exist, which may come as a byproduct of prolonged participation. Ogden's (2004) welcome theory describes that Black athlete participation in baseball may be down because there is not a feeling of being welcome or accepted into that society in sports. Those that feel welcome and a part of the game stay committed to baseball, even over other sports no matter what they might be or how good they are at that sport, according to this study. Andy even talks about how he has been offered a scholarship to play football in college, but would rather play baseball because that is "his sport".

Black Participants vs. Mixed Racial Groups Excluding Black Participants

When looking across groups in order to compare emergent themes, comparing the Black participants to the MRGEB participants produced some salient themes in order to draw conclusions. It was found in this study that Black participants mentioned their role models may have been people other than family member, while the MRGEB participants only mentioned family members as their role models. Also for comparison is the fact that Black participants,

when looking at racialization of sports at their school, did not mention an interest in more racial diversity on their teams or benefits that could be associated with diversity, while the MRGEB participants talked about the benefits of racial diversity on their sport teams, no matter the sport, and a desire for more diversity.

Role models can have a significant impact on future life choices and sport participation patterns (Spearman and Harrison, 2010). In fact, social reproduction, a process found in this study, played an instrumental part across all participants in determining sport participation patterns, and is referred to by Jay Coakley (2009) as role modeling. The Black participants in this study mentioned having role models in professional sports on a couple of occasions. Charlie mentioned Andruw Jones, a Black-Latino baseball player, and Jamaal mentioned Austin Miles, a Black football player as role models. Charlie certainly may have kept his interest in baseball centered around Andruw Jones, which allowed him to continue participating in that sport. This is not the sole reason, but it was a contributing factor. Jamaal did not play football, like his role model Miles Austin, but he still watches football and is interested as a fan. Spearman and Harrison (2010) mention in their work that Black youth are in need of selecting role models not in pop culture in order to break out of the stereotype of the psychological theory. Having these role models as athletes perpetuates the stereotype that Blacks belong in sports and shows how role models can impact sport participation patterns.

The MRGEB group only mentioned their family members as role models. Parents and siblings were used most often by these participants. They mentioned that these role models did have impact on their sport participation, but not because their sport behaviors influenced them, but because the socialization patterns instilled upon the participants was more important. Role

models were not as influential in determining a model which these participants could mimic, but rather were used to teach them lessons on life, like “to not give up on things”, as stated by Andy.

The Black participants talked in their interviews about racialization and how they recognize it and see how it could have an effect on society, but they did not mention in any of the interviews how racially diverse teams could benefit them or that they would like to have a racially diverse team. According to the data, they did not think that a racially diverse team would be beneficial to them, but they did think that racialization reflects societal norms and customs. Jamaal stated “It’s just how society perceives people. Society sees that a Black guy can’t drive a car or a Black guy can’t hit a ball off a tee...” So even though it was recognized as a potential problem and one they made recommendations for in order to allow for more diversity, not one of the Black participants talked about how racial diversity in sports could help them. This could be possibly because racially diverse teams in their minds would mean more White players and few Black players which would not be beneficial. For example, they play basketball and football because they feel comfortable in those sports and they see others like them in those sports whereas this concept of racial diversity may be conceptualized differently in their mind. As a marginalized group they may feel playing a sport where they are the predominant group is more ideal.

The MRGEB participants frequently mentioned how racial diversity can benefit their teams. Jeremy was very vocal about this benefit in that it would cause him to “miss out on some of the culture” if teams were completely racialized. He liked learning about Hispanic/Latino culture through sport and how different races brought different aspects to the game he thought he knew. Jeremy also mentions how it would bother him if his whole team was racially the same. Peter shared this sentiment as he mentioned that he would like to “learn new things” and would

not mind if a Black player was better than him and took his spot on the team. A couple of these MRGEB participants also mentioned how racially diverse teams would better represent their school, which is something they all wanted. Diversity was very important to these participants and was a way to benefit their teams.

An additional distinction found between the two racial categories in this study is the idea that Whites expressed how they would feel more welcome to play a sport in which they would be the minority based on their performance while Blacks expressed a lack of feeling welcome based on their race solely. Brent stated that he would only feel welcome to be a part of the basketball team if he was the best one out there.

“I might feel a little unwelcomed, unless I was like the top person out there. If I was just there and not the best one I might consider dropping it.”

He is basing his feeling of being part of the team and being welcome as a product of his performance, whereas some of the Black participants based feeling welcome on their race by wanting to show that they can hang with the White kids in baseball, but not necessarily being the best. Both Bobby and Charlie mention wanting to represent their race by showing they are just as good at baseball. Bobby said the following:

“(I)t would be just a compliment just to represent our race. I would see myself as having to keep up with the Whites.”

This statement reinforces this idea that Black participants see it as good enough to be able to keep up with White baseball players and are basing their feelings of being welcome on a team based on their race more than their performance.

Black Baseball Participants vs. Black Non-baseball Participants

Two differences emerged from the data when the Black baseball participants were compared to the Black non-baseball participants. When looking at these four participants, two

groups of two interviewees each, some ideas that came up were 1) that the baseball players expressed their desire to represent their race in sports like baseball while the non-baseball players said they felt no such representation or desire to represent; and 2) the baseball players felt a need to encourage other Black student-athletes to try new things like they did, while the non-baseball players felt more comfortable in their own sports

Black baseball players in this study expressed multiple times that they feel they are representing their race in baseball and it is a positive idea that makes them play harder and proudly. Being a minority in baseball has allowed them to try proving themselves more because they feel other players and coaches have preconceived ideas about their skill level. By showing that they can play baseball, these participants remarked that they feel they are making a statement for their race. Black non-baseball players did not mention a desire or a feeling like they are representing their race in their sports. When asked how they would feel if they were the minority, they responded with phrases such as “that would be weird” or “I would stand out”. These statements show that Black student-athletes that have not had the chance to actually be a minority in a sport do not share a sense of pride in being different and being able to represent their race, something that may be hard to do psychologically for some students.

There was agreement amongst the baseball participants that other Black student-athletes need to “try new things”, as Bobby expressed, in order for there to be more racial diversity in sports. They felt if Black athletes stuck to what they felt comfortable in, they would simply reproduce the status quo and perpetuate stereotypes and social perceptions on race and sports. By trying new things, these baseball participants were able to feel they were exhibiting more agency in their sport participation. The non-baseball participants remarked that they were comfortable in their sports and did not see a need or desire to try something new. Jeff

commented that “you are gonna go to something that you are used to” meaning that students tend to participate in activities that they are used to and feel more comfortable playing. These ideas can be seen in the welcome theory because those that felt welcome and comfortable tended to stick with their current sports, ones that they stereotypically should participate. The ones that play baseball did not fall into the category of sticking with sports that are seen as Black sports. They tried something new and showed that they could play sports not stereotypically of their race.

Patterns of Socialization

These participants further differed in the ways in which they were socialized. Even though all of them mentioned how impactful socialization and social reproduction are on sport participation patterns, they had differing life experiences around these ideas. Bobby mentioned how his brother was a huge influence on the sports he played and in keeping him playing sports.

“My brother, he was telling me that I was a pretty good baseball player.”

He also had a friend that introduced him to baseball, the sport he continues to play. Jeff had his mother get him involved with sports in the first place, as well as some of the community members in which he lived, but he mentioned his strongest socializing agent was his wrestling coach. This coach came to him in seventh grade and wanted him to start wrestling. Since neither of these participants grew up with a strong father presence, having a strong male figure in place to reinforce sports (brother for Bobby and coach for Jeff) was impactful on which sports they participated. This idea shows how strong socialization is, but how different it can be achieved in each person’s life.

Recommendations for Change

The interview participants mentioned several ways that could be used to change the racialization of sports at this high school. Socialization and social reproduction are the biggest influences on sport participation patterns and explain why Black student-athletes are not participating in baseball as much as sports like football and basketball, according to the data obtained. Changing this way of socializing would be a long and arduous undertaking involving the education of parents and other socializing agents that are in place before the individual even gets to high school. This education could come during high school to the parents before they have children so they will have that knowledge of sport racialization and its effects as they raise their children. It could also come from training coaches and parents of little league players so they understand the impact they have on their children. By educating and allowing for more agency little by little, over time it may be possible to change these patterns of socialization so they are not as influential in sport participation patterns, thus recreating the racialization of sports. This was an idea expressed by Jeff in particular, but also by several other interviewees, about how to change the participation patterns. He claimed that exposing children to sports not considered dominant by their certain race will help in changing the racialization of sports, but this idea may never happen.

“That’s just how it’s gonna be. Until African American boys are raised with a baseball in their hand, then they are not gonna play baseball.”

There are other, more manageable recommendations made by these participants.

A large theme that came out of the data for a possible recommendation is that of having some sort of pioneer, or initiating agent, in order for more Black athletes to participate in baseball. Numerous interview participants mentioned they feel like a way of getting more Black involvement in baseball at this school is to get one or two Black players out there that can act as role models to other students in order to show them that they can play too. There are Black

participants, but there needs to be a star player out there in order for more people to take notice. Brent thinks that “having a role model that is African American” in that sport can open the door for more. That may allow them to feel more accepted and welcome to play that sport. Having a role model in professional baseball may also contribute to increased participation. Of the eight participants, only one could name a Black baseball player as someone that might be considered good at baseball. Peter thinks that getting players like Jason Heyward to become great stars they have been projected to be, could increase Black interest in baseball again.

“I feel like if he (a professional Black baseball player) can really start performing or playing well that might affect um what sports younger children want to play. I feel like for there to be more (Black baseball players) they might need someone to look at to be better.”

There are no big Black stars in Major League Baseball, so getting that one star out there could open the door, according to these participants. This could include getting some of their current Black stars, such as Matt Kemp or Jason Heyward, involved in campaigns during the offseason so they are visible during football and basketball broadcasts, events viewed by more Black people than baseball.

Bobby, Jeff, and Charlie talked about the influence the coaches at this school have over student-athletes and their participation patterns. The head football coach, who is also the head track coach, is Black. The head baseball coach is White. This is an issue that Bobby mentioned could account for such low numbers of Black baseball players. Coaches are often seen as strong male figures to the athletes under them. Being able to identify with the coach and get along with them may help account for increased participation and enjoyment. Without a Black coach for baseball, one that can be identified with by Black student-athletes, they may not feel as welcome or belonging to that sport as one that does have a Black head coach, like basketball, football, and

track here. Even though Bobby “loves” the baseball coach, he does think that getting a coach that is Black would bring in more Black players here.

Along with the idea of how impactful coaches are in sport participation patterns, getting the coaches here to allow for more than one sport to be played during a season, or allowing the students more agency in picking sports to play may allow for less racialization of sports.

Whether the pressure to play certain sports in order to compliment “main” sports, like football at this school, comes from coaches, administrators, or the players themselves, by alleviating this structural limitation may allow for more varied participation. Jeff talked about how he wanted to play baseball because his friend was playing, but he was not able to because it would interfere with track, a sport he initially got into only because coaches told him that it would help him in football and wrestling.

“Yeah, um, I actually asked a few coaches if I could run track and play baseball because I wanted to play baseball...I tried to but they said that I couldn’t play two spots at the same time.”

By talking to coaches, as well as administrators, about allowing for more freedom for student-athletes in choosing which sports to play could allow for less racialization in sport participation.

The last recommendation provided by multiple participants in this study for changing sport participation patterns at this school is to expose all students to sports they may not be accustomed to or comfortable in playing. Bobby mentions in one of his classes they played ultimate Frisbee, a sport he had never played before. He enjoyed the sport a lot and wished he could have played more as he grew up. This same attitude may be present for many other students at this school. By exposing students to more sports, especially in Physical Education class where basketball is used as a scapegoat sport too often, more interest in participation may be generated in sports they are not familiar. This may also allow for the student to get

experience in sports they do not have experience in, which can allow for them to become more comfortable and feel more welcome in that sport. Ogden (2004) uses his welcome theory to explain why there is sport racialization from the fact that certain races of individuals do not feel welcome to play particular sports, especially ones not considered appropriate to that racial group. As there is more exposure to all sports, there may be more feeling of being welcome into sports not seen as welcoming without the exposure. Exposure from parents, teachers, coaches, and other socializing agents to sports not often played by groups of students may help to change the participation patterns of student-athletes and sport racialization at this school.

Address of Research Questions

The research questions used for this research study were as follows:

1. How do male high school students of differing racial groups, in particular African Americans, choose to participate in some sports and not others?
2. How do males' perceptions of race affect sporting participation patterns?

Research question one served as the main question in this study because it looked at the heart of the issue as to why there is sport racialization in high school, specifically why is there an under-representation of Black baseball players. In order to address this question, participants were asked to talk about their personal experiences in order to see what processes may have lead to sport participation patterns. For this question it was found from the data that there is no singular reason why sport racialization exists. This complex issue can have multiple reasons for contributing to sport participation patterns. The participants showed that early life experiences had most impact on sport participation and that socializing agents, especially significant others, constrain patterns and reproduce racialization. Racialization in sports, particularly in baseball at this site, according to the data, is based on the way that the students are raised and their early life

experiences. It is also based on what has been done in the past as their parents and other older socializing agents pass on values and norms for what should be done and played.

Research question two was used here in order to give context to the site and provide a backdrop of the milieu that these participants are playing sports. This site and the environment these participants were in were looked at to see if there were widespread perceptions that contributed to sport participation patterns and sport racialization. Like question #1, there are multiple reasons that go into sport participation patterns, including the culture of the environment in which they play sports. The data showed that sports are very popular in this school (nearly 70% participation rate) and that the sports that perform the best draw more students. Since baseball has not performed as well as football or track, that certainly could be a reason for the lack of interest in baseball. Also, the stereotypes present at this site have been shown to contribute to the overall attitude and thinking of the students here. These stereotypes, especially the most popular one which says Black students are more athletic and should play sports like basketball and football while White students should play baseball, golf, or swim, can be seen as a way of leading to the self fulfilling prophecy as student-athletes ascribe to these perceptions.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to find possible reasons for the decline of Black participation in baseball at the high school level. The findings from this study may provide a link to professional baseball's lack of Black participation by finding possible reasons why there is a deficit at the high school level, since this racialization will likely continue into the professional levels with Black participants only making up about 9% of Major League Baseball (Lapchick, 2010). Seeing this issue first hand as a baseball and football coach at this school, I was able to appreciate the experiences of the participants on a level that I never thought possible because it

gave a glimpse into their lives and allowed them to create a voice to tell their stories about how they have formed values and interests in certain sports. The problem, as I saw it while coaching, seems as simple as saying Black kids do not like baseball and shrug it off as a taken for granted concept. The data collected in this study has shown me that each participant is more than just a participant; they are agents in a world of infinite possibilities and influencing factors, trying to navigate their world to the best of their ability. There is an important voice and story to each student-athlete that needs to be understood in order for there to be more acceptance of racialization and how to begin to establish racial diversity in sports.

In reference to question one of this research study, looking at how male high school students of differing racial groups, in particular African Americans, choose to participate in some sports and not others, there is a myriad of possible answers. From this study, the most impactful factor in determining sport participation patterns comes from socialization by various socializing agents, but especially from significant others like parents and even siblings. The responses in the survey showed that most students at this high school recognize their parents as role models, thus get a lot of their values and interest from their parents. The interview participants echoed this idea and shared differing experiences during their childhood that have lead to current sport participation patterns. Data from this study shows that socialization patterns are the number one cause in determining sport participation, but they are not the sole factor. Factors such as early sport success, and introduction and reinforcement of sport activities form socializing agents, taking a chance to try new sports and being open to stepping out of their comfort zone to try something new, being able to shoulder a mental responsibility to represent a race as a minority participant, negotiating social-structural constraints of coaches and administrators, and deciding

whether or not to ascribe to pervasive racial stereotypes in sports all contribute to determining how sport participation patterns are developed.

The second research question in this study dealt with finding how male perceptions at this high school in the southeastern United States affect participation patterns of student athletes based on race. This question can be answered from the data collected in the survey and is echoed by the interview participants. Stereotypes and role model selection help to show how this milieu impacts student-athletes. The school site used for this instrumental case study may impact sport participation patterns by fostering perceptions of racial differences in sport and determining which sports certain races of students should play. Schools typically cause pressure and influence on the students that can help in determining the values they hold and perceptions that may have (Hall, 2001). These stereotypes can influence decisions made about sports by the students at this school. The school has also shown how important parents are as role models, which can certainly impact sport patterns (Spearman and Harrison, 2010). In all, this school assisted in shaping the sport experiences by steering students into racialized sport based largely on stereotypic perception and partially by showing the importance of family as role models to these students.

There are numerous reasons for the perceived lack of interest and participation by African Americans in baseball today. Among these reasons are cultural, socio-structural, psychological, and genetic (Hawkins, 2010; Sailes 2010). According to the literature and data provided in this study, it can be concluded that sport participation patterns amongst certain groups of individuals, African Americans here, can be attributed to multifaceted processes. I have discussed how these three areas, cultural, socio-structural, and psychological, contribute in meaningful ways to the participation patterns. Stereotypes commonly attached to races in sports

such as how African Americans are physically superior and intellectually inferior compared to other races, thus should play certain sports such as football and basketball were also found to be present at this school site (Bracey, 2004; Sailes, 2010; Harrison, 2001). These stereotypes were the precursor to the self-fulfilling prophecy, which may also be a reason for racialization as the expectancy for Blacks in baseball is that they either do not play or they are relegated to certain positions (Leonard, 1987; Hamilton, Sherman, and Ruvolo, 1990; Jussim, 1986, 1990; Merton, 1948; Azzarito, Burden, & Harrison, 2004). The ethnicity, or sub-cultural hypothesis, claims that “differences between racial or ethnic groups in values systems, norms, and socialization patterns” explains the lack of minority participation in certain leisure activities, which could be seen here in the data provided by the participants as they expressed how important socialization patterns are and how values and norms are passed down through social reproduction (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994, p.159). I do not include biological contributions to this theory because biology has no effect that I have seen, or been convinced of, on participation patterns, nor does biology determine how good a person will be in a particular sport. Sport participation patterns do not come about due to one or two experiences, but through a lifetime of experiences and interactions that influences how an individual perceives themselves. This process becomes almost evolutionary-like where the mindset of the individual changes and morphs over time. The more interactions and experiences an individual has, the more factors impact their mindset and the more it may evolve and create an interest for particular sports. The body may even change over time as well as in order to correspond to what the mind thinks the body should be like in order to achieve athletic success in whatever sport the individual has fixated upon.

A second possible explanation for the under-representation of Black baseball players in high school from this study could be explained by a baseball commitment hypothesis (BCH).

This hypothesis stems from Ogden's (2004) welcome theory and incorporates that theory into a part of this hypothesis. The BCH incorporates the welcome theory into a part of the understanding as to why there is this under representation. It also takes into account early patterns of socialization as a key component since that was a main reason discussed by every interview participant in this study. An early introduction to baseball as well as early success leads to sustained participation in baseball, which is required in order to refine skills needed for later participation. Baseball players must possess specific skills for success and enjoyable participation. Peter remarked that athleticism is good but "you need to know all the intricacies of the game" to play well. Socializing agents play a key role in the BCH in that they are the ones that introduce the game and reinforce its participation in the participant. As this participant in baseball grows, they feel like a part of the game and are welcome to play in multiple circles. This feeling of being welcome, longitudinal participation, and a level of success with reinforcement by socializing agents makes a profound commitment to the game of baseball that participants in this study exhibited, choosing it over other sports no matter the level of success and influence to play those other sports. These are the factors that make up the BCH.

Implications

This study has shown how powerful social reproduction is in determining sport participation patterns. This has an impact on the racialization, and continued racialization, of sports. As sport in high school can be seen to be racialized, this will transcend to the collegiate and professional ranks over time. The way that sports exist in high schools can be seen to be the way the future professional leagues will look. This is conjecture and hear say since the future is not guaranteed, but it does seem inevitable that the racial make-up will continue to be racialized since the high school scene is racialized. As current high school student-athletes move on to

play sports in college and in the professional leagues, future student-athletes will see this racialization and may reproduce this in their high school, thus reinforcing and reproducing the racialization of sports. In order for this to change, something needs to change in either policy or in the educational systems.

The education system in American may be a means to break this cycle of sport racialization and racial reproduction in the way it teaches students about race and racial acceptance. By having classes on race, much like there are for sex, students may be able to understand racial differences and dispel wide spread stereotypes attributed to racial groups. By having this, it may allow for more racial acceptance and feelings of being welcome or accepted in sports where there previously were not these feelings to certain racial groups. This may help to break down barriers of feeling out-casted in certain sports just based on race because there may be racial understanding in the school systems. This could be used in part with multi-cultural education in school institutions potentially. Multi-cultural education seeks to allow teachers to cater to multiple groups of students in an ever changing society whether they are from different classes or cultures. By discussing stereotypes and opening lines of communication in order to understand differences between races more, acceptance might be fostered and stereotypes, especially related to sports in this case, may be quelled.

Another implication from the results of this study is the practice of structuring physical education programs to expose students to multiple sports during elementary and middle school years. By having this opportunity and exposure to sports they may not have ever been exposed to, as well as being allowed to play at an early age, may allow for some students to learn to play and value those sports not imparted upon them from family members or other socializing agents, thus allowing for more agency in their decisions about which sports to participate. The

participants in this study grew up only exposed to certain sports, thus creating the sports they felt comfortable playing as they got older. By having physical education teachers expose all sorts of different sports to children at a young age and encouraging them, it may allow for less racialization in sports as these children grow up and then begin their own reinforcement and reproduction of non-racialized sports.

Time will tell what will happen with interest and participation patterns of baseball and sports in general in the future. Programs that are currently in place are trying to get numbers to go back up in order to create more equality in baseball, America's pastime. This game which has been so loved by Americans for more than 150 years is turning into a game for White Americans and Latino participants. With the exclusion of African Americans, they are left out and so may not be viewed as belonging in baseball by fans, parents, and the rest of America. There are those that continue to fight for African American participation in baseball like Hank Aaron, Ryan Howard (as a spokesman for RBI) and Dr. Richard Lapchick, but time will tell if these men have influenced enough people to get interest and participation numbers to increase for African Americans across the country.

Future Research

This research study brought up many questions of interest. While it did elicit valuable and rich data, as well as give voice to the participants in order for them to tell their story about racialization in sports, it left a few areas unexplored which may provide more insight into the issue at hand. It has brought up possible future research in the following areas:

- 1) This study isolates race in looking at sport participation patterns and perceptions. The intersections of both class and gender may have an impact on this. Class may have a big impact on sport participation in this area and should be considered in future endeavors.

- 2) Gender, like class, may have a bearing and bring in different information that only race cannot. Only males were looked at in this study because they are most likely to play baseball, but female perspectives of sport participation patterns may provide insight that male perspective did not.
- 3) This study looked into perceptions of one class of students. It did not follow children to see socialization patterns as they grow and what forces, other than agents, might play a part in determining sport participation. A longitudinal study of a group of Black baseball players should be conducted to see how many stick with baseball and how many defect for various reasons.
- 4) Being an instrumental case study, this data was compiled from one data site. Looking at sites across the United States may elicit very different results depending on the culture of the high school and what sports are deemed important in different parts of the country.
- 5) Lastly, testing the baseball commitment hypothesis should be done in order to see if it is valid and appears in other school communities. Also trying to find out why there is such a psychological connection and commitment to baseball over other sports should be confirmed and tested for reason why this happens.

The future of baseball, and all sports in America, is in the hands of the youth. As they grow and are socialized in various ways they develop patterns of interest and sport participation. The issue of racialization may only further be entrenched and increase the racial polarization of particular sports in America if societal perceptions do not change. This study has shown possibilities that lead to sport racialization, now these reasons need to be addressed in order to provide more possibilities for racial diversity in sports, especially in baseball, America's Pastime.

REFERENCES

- Akom, A. A. (2008). Ameritocracy and infra-racial racism: Racializing social and cultural reproduction theory in the twenty-first century. *Race, Ethnicity & Education, 11*(3), 205-230. doi:10.1080/13613320802291116
- Anderson, E. (2010). *Sport, theory, and social problems: A critical introduction*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Appiah, K. A. (2000). Racial identity and racial identification. In L. Back and J. Solomos (Eds.), *Theories of race and racism* (pp. 607-615). London: Routledge.
- Apple, M. (1978). Ideology, reproduction, and educational reform. *Comparative Education Review, 22*(3), 367-387.
- Apple, M. W. (1980). The other side of the hidden curriculum: Correspondence theories and the labor process. *Journal Of Education, 162*(1), 47.
- Ashe, A. R. (1991). Student athletes: Challenges and opportunities. *Black Collegian, 21*, 122.
- Atkins, A. (2003). Race relations cross into school, sports and relationships, kids say. *New York Amsterdam News, 94*(12), 20.
- Bourdieu, P. (1988). Program for a sociology of sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 5*(2), 153-161.
- Beamon, K., & Bell, P. A. (2006). Academics versus athletics: An examination of the effects of background and socialization on African American male student athletes. [Article]. *Social Science Journal, 43*(3), 393-403.
- Berger, P., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A Treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Doubleday.

- Bettie, J. (2000). Women without class: Chicas, cholas, trash, and the Presence/Absence of class identity. *Signs*, 26, 1-35.
- Bolton, T. (2007). History of the Negro Major Leagues Retrieved January 7, 2010, from <http://www.nlbpa.com/history.html>
- Bourdieu, P. (1988). Program for a sociology of sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 5(2), 153-161.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006). Chapter 18: Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In (pp. 257-271) Perseus Books Group.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Boyd, T. (1997). The day niggaz took over: Basketball, commodity, culture, and African American masculinity. In A. Baker and T. Boyd (Eds.), *Out of bounds* (pp. 123-142). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press
- Boykin, A. W. (1986). *The school achievement of minority children*. Hillsdale, NJ: New Perspectives. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Brashler, W. (1978). *Josh Gibson: A life in the Negro leagues*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Bracey, B. (2004). *Resegregation and sport: African-Americans search for authenticity*
- Brewer, B. W., Raalte, J. L. V., & Linder, D. (1993). Athletic identity: Hercules' muscles or achilles heel? *International Journal of Sport Psychology*, 24, 237-254.
- Brown, T., Linver, M., Evans, M., & DeGennaro, D. (2009). African-American parents' racial and ethnic socialization and adolescent academic grades: Teasing out the role of gender. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 38, 214-227.
- Bruce, J. (1985). *The Kansas City Monarchs: Champions of African American baseball*. KS: University Press of Kansas.

- Burns, K., & Novick, L. (Producers), & Burns, K. (Director). (1994, September 18, 1994). *Baseball*. [Video/DVD] USA: PBS.
- Carlson, D., Scott, L., Planty, M., & Thompson, J. (2005). *What is the status of high school athletes 8 years after graduation*. United States Department of Education.
- Castine, S. C., & Roberts, G. C. (1974). Modeling in the socialization process of the African American athlete. *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 9(3-4), 59-74.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Coakley, J. (1978). *Sport in society*. St. Louis, MO: C.V. Mosley
- Coakley, J. (1990). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies*. St. Louis, MO: Mosby
- Coakley, J. (1994). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies*. Boston: Times Mirror/Mosby.
- Coakley, J. (2004). In T. Dorwick, J. E. Karpacz, V. Malinee and L. Huenefeld (Eds.), *Sports in society: Issues and controversies* (8th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 89, 139-167.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design : qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches / John W. Creswell*. Thousand Oaks, Calif. : Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J.W., Hanson, W.E., Plano Clark, V., & Morales, A. (2007) Qualitative Research Designs: Selection and Implementation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35, 236-264.
- Cross, W. E. (1995). The psychology of Nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

- DeFrancesco, C., & Gropper, R. (1996). Support services for African American student athletes: A case study analysis. *College Student Journal*, 30, 2-18.
- Donnelly, P., & Young, K. (1988). The construction and confirmation of identity in sport subcultures. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 5(3), 223-240.
- Early, G. (2000). Why baseball was the African American national pastime. In T. Boyd and K. L. Shropshire (Eds.), *Basketball Jones* (pp. 27-50). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Edwards, H. (1972). The myth of the racially superior athlete. *Intellectual Digest*, 44, 32-38.
- Edwards, H. (1980). OPHR aftermath: An illumination of sports behind the veil. In H. Edwards (Ed.), *The Struggle that Must Be* (pp. 216-242). New York: Macmillan
- Eitle, T., & Eitle, D. (2002). Race, cultural capital, and the educational effects of participation in sports. *Sociology of Education*, 75, 123-146.
- Eitzen, D.S., & Purdy, D. (1986). The academic preparation and achievement of African American and white collegiate athletes. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 10, 15-29.
- Eitzen, D. S., & Sage, G. H. (1996). *Sociology of North American sport*. Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown.
- Eitzen, D. S. (2001). *Sport in contemporary society: An anthology*. New York, NY: Paradigm Publishers.
- Entine, J. (2000). *Taboo: Why African American athletes dominate sports and why we are afraid to talk about it*. New York: Public Affairs
- Epstein, D. (2010, May 17, 2010). Sports genes. *Sports Illustrated*, 112(21), 53-65.
- Fejgin, N. (1994). Participation in high school competitive sports: A subversion of school mission or contribution to academic goals? . *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11, 211-230.

- Flick, U. (1992). Traingulation revisited: Strategy of validation or alternative? *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 22(2), 175-198.
- Flores-Gonzalez, N. (2002). *School Kids/Street kids: Identity development in latino students*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Floyd, M. F., Shinew, K. J., McGuire, F. A., & Noe, F. P. (1994). Race, class, and leisure activity preferences: Marginality and ethnicity revisited. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 26(2), 158-173.
- Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the burden of "acting white". *The Urban Review*, 18(3)
- Frey, D. (1994). *The last shot: City streets, basketball dreams*. New York: Houghton Mifflin
- Frey, J. H., & Eitzen, D. S. (1991). Sport and society. *Annual Review of Sociology*, (17), 503.
- Gaston, J. C. (1986). The deconstruction of the young Black male: The impact of popular culture and organized sports. *Journal of Black Studies*, 16(4), 369-384.
- George, N. (1992). *Elevating the game: The history and aesthetics of African American men in basketball* New York: HarperCollins.
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Gnida, J. J. (1995). Teaching "nature versus nurture": The case of African-American athletic success. *Teaching Sociology*, 23(4), 389-395.
- Goffman, E. (1973). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York, NY: Overlook Press.
- Goldsmith, P. A. (2003). Race relationships and racial patterns in school sports. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 20(2), 147-171.

- Gratton, C., & Jones, I. (2004). *Research methods for sport studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Greenlee, C. T. (2002). Black college baseball's uncertain future. *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 19(12), 18-21.
- Gresson, A. (1995). *The recovery of race in america*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hall, J. (2001). *Canal town youth*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Hamilton, D. L., Sherman, S. J., & Ruvolo, C. M. (1990). Stereotyped-based expectancies: Effects on information processing and social behavior. *Journal of Social Issues* 46(2), 35-60.
- Harris, O. (1994). Race, sport, and social support. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11(1), 40-50.
- Harris, O. (2000). African American predominance in sport. In D. Brooks and R. Althouse (Eds.), *Racism in college athletics: The African American athlete's experience* (2nd ed., pp. 37-52). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology.
- Harrison Jr., L. (2001). Understanding the influence of stereotypes: Implications for the African American in sport and physical activity. *Quest* (00336297), 53(1), 97-114.
- Harrison, C.K., Azzarito, L., & Burden, J. (2004). Perceptions of athletic superiority: A view from the other side. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 7, 149-166.
- Harrison, C.K. & Lawrence, S. M. (2003). African American student athletes' perceptions of career transition in sport: A qualitative and visual elicitation. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 6(4), 373-394.
- Harrison Jr., L., Harrison, C. K., & Moore, L. N. (2002). African American racial identity and sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 7(2), 121-133.

- Harrison, L., Sailes, G., Rotich, W. K., & Bimper, A. Y. (2011). Living the dream or awakening from the nightmare: Race and athletic identity. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 14(1), 91-103.
- Haslam, S. A., Oakes, P. J., Reynolds, K. J., & Turner, J. C. (1999). Social identity and the emergence of stereotype consensus. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 25, 809-818.
- Hawkins, B. (2010). *The new plantation: African American athletes, college sports, and predominantly White institutions* New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Hicks, E. (1981). Cultural marxism: Non-synchrony and feminist practice. In L. Sargent (Ed.), *Women and revolution*. Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press.
- Hoberman, J. (1997). *Darwin's athletes: How sport has damaged African American America and preserved the myth of race*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Hodge, S. R., Harrison, J., Burden, J., & Dixson, A. D. (2008). Brown in African American and white--then and now: A question of educating or sporting African American males in America. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51(7), 928-952.
- Holway, J.B. (1988). *African Americanball stars: Negro league pioneers*. Connecticut: Meckler Brooks.
- Holway, J. B. (1975). *Voices from the great African American baseball leagues*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hutchinson, R. (1987). Ethnicity and urban recreation: Whites, African Americans and hispanics in Chicago' s public parks (Les loisirs urbains et les differentes races: blancs, noirs et hispaniques dans les pares publics de Chicago). *Journal of Leisure Research*, 19(3), 205-222.

- Jaynes, G. & Williams, R. (1989). *A common destiny: African Americans and American society*. Washington, D.C. : National Academy Press.
- Jussim, L. (1986). Self-fulfilling prophecies: A theoretical and integrative review. *Psychological Review*, 93, 429-445.
- Jussim, L. (1990). Social reality and social problems: The role of expectancies. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46(2), 9-34.
- Kane, M. (1971, January 18). An assessment of African American is best. *Sports Illustrated*, 34, 783.
- Kelley, R. D. G. (1997). Playing for keeps: Pleasure and profit on the post-industrial playground. In W. Lubiano (Ed.), *The house that race built* (pp. 195-231). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
- Keown, T. (1994). *Skyline: One season, one team, one city*. New York: Macmillan
- Kirk, W., & Kirk, S. (Eds.). (1993). *Student athletes: Shattering the myths & sharing the realities*. Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.
- Lanctot, N. (1994). *Fair dealing and clean playing: The Hilldale Club and the development of African American professional baseball, 1910-1932*. North Carolina: McFarland.
- Lapchick, R. (2001). *Smashing barriers: Race and sport in the new millennium*. Lanham, MD: Madison Books.
- Lapchick, R., & Matthews, K. J. (2001). Racial and gender report card. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Center for the Study of Sport in Society. Retrieved from <http://www.tidesport.org/RGRC/2001/RGRC7.22.01.pdf>.

- Lapchick, R., Cloud, C., Gearlds, A., Record, T., Schulz, E., Spiak, J., & Vinson, M. (2011). The 2011 racial and gender report card: Major League Baseball 1-38. Retrieved from http://www.tidesport.org/RGRC/2011/2011_MLB_RGRC_FINAL.pdf.
- Lemert, C. (2008). *Social things: An introduction to the sociological life* (4th ed.). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Leonard, W. M. (1993). *A sociological perspective of sport* (4th ed.). New York: Macmillan.
- Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1986) But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. In *New directions for program evaluation*. (Vol. 30, pp. 73-84). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lomax, M. (1998). African American entrepreneurship in the national pastime: The rise of semiprofessional baseball in African American Chicago, 1890-1915. *Journal of Sport History* 25, 43-64.
- MacLeod, J. (1995). *Ain't no makin' it: Aspirations and attainment in a low income neighborhood* (2nd ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Mahiri, J. (1991). Discourse in sports: Language and literacy features of preadolescent African American males in a youth basketball program. *Journal of Negro Education*, 60(3), 305-313.
- Majors, R. (1990). Cool pose: African American masculinity and sports. In M. A. Messner and D. F. Sabo (Eds.), *Sports, men, and the gender order* (pp. 109-114). Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Books.
- Majors, R. (2001). Cool pose: African American masculinity and sports. In S. M. Whitehead and F. J. Barrett (Eds.), *The masculinities reader* (pp. 209-217). Malden, MA: African Americanwell.

- Majors, R., & Billson, J. M. (1992). *Cool pose: The dilemmas of African American manhood in America*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Martin, B. E. & Harris, I. F. (2006). Examining productive conceptions of masculinities: Lessons learned from academically driven African American male student-athletes. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 14(3), 359-378.
- Mathewson, A. D. (1998). Major League Baseball's monopoly power and the Negro Leagues. [Article]. *American Business Law Journal*, 35(2), 291.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). In Shaw L. & Crouppen M. (Eds.), *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- May, R. A. B. (2009). The good and bad of It all: Professional African American male basketball players as role models for young African American male basketball players. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 26(3), 443-461.
- McCarthy, C. (1990). *Race and curriculum: Social inequality and the theories and politics of difference in contemporary research on schooling*. New York, NY: The Falmer Press.
- McLemore, D. S. (1991). *Racial and ethnic relations in America* (3rd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- McNeal Jr., R. B. (1999). Participation in high school extracurricular activities: Investigating school effects. *Social Science Quarterly*, 80, 291-309.
- McPherson, B., Curtis, J., & Loy, J. (1989). *The social significance of sport*. Champaign Human Kinetics
- Merton, R. K. (1938). Social structure and anomie. *American Sociological Review*, 3.
- Merton, R. K. (1948). The self-fulfilling prophecy. *Antioch Review*, 8, 193-210

- Morris, E. (2006). *An unexpected minority: White kids in an urban school*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Morrow, S. L. (2007). Qualitative research in counseling psychology: Conceptual foundations. *Counseling Psychologist*, 35(2), 209-235.
- Nasir, N. S. (2000). Points ain't everything: Emergent goals and average and percent understandings in the play of basketball among African American students. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 31(3), 283-305.
- NLBPA. (2007). Early Baseball History Retrieved January 5, 2010, from <http://www.nlbpa.com/history.html>
- Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., & Turner, J. C. (1994). *Stereotyping and social reality*. Cambridge: African Americanwell
- Ogden, D.C. (2002). Youth select baseball in the Midwest. In W. M. Simons and A. Hall (Eds.), *The Cooperstown Symposium on Baseball and American Culture, 2001* (pp. 322-335). Jefferson, NC McFarland and Company.
- Ogden, D.C. (2004). The welcome theory: An approach to studying African-American youth interest and involvement in baseball. *Nine: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture*, 12(2), 114-122.
- Ogden, D.C. & Hilt, M. L. (2003). Collective identity and basketball: an explanation for the decreasing number of African-Americans on America's baseball diamonds. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 35(2), 213-227.
- Ogden, D.C. & Rose, R. A. (2005). Using Giddens' structuration theory to examine the waning participation of African Americans in Baseball *Journal of African American Studies*, 35(4), 225-245.

- Oliver, M. (1989). African American males and social problems: Prevention through Afrocentric socialization *Journal of African American Studies*, 20(1), 15-39.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). In Laughton D. C., Novak V., Axelsen D. E., Journey K., & Peterson K. (Eds.), *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Payne, V. J. G. & Isaacs, L. D. (2005). *Human motor development: A lifespan approach*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Peterson, R. (1970). *Only the ball was white*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. .
- Peterson, R. (1990). *Cages to jumpshots: Pro basketball's early years*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Philipp, S.F. (1998). African American perceptions of leisure, racial discrimination, and life satisfaction. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 87(3), 14-18.
- Philipp, S.F. (1999). Are we welcome? African American racial acceptance in leisure activities and the importance given to children's leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 31, 385-403.
- Phillips, J. C. (1976). Toward an explanation of racial variations in top-level sports participation. *International Review of Sport Sociology*, 11, 39-55.
- Polite, V. (1994). The method in the madness: African American males, avoidance schooling, and chaos theory. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 63(4), 588.
- Pope-Davis, D., & Liu, W. (1998). The social construction of race: Implications for counselling psychology. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 11(2), 151.
- Raymore, L. A. (2002). Facilitators to leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 34(1), 37-51.
- Ribowsky, M. (1995). *The complete history of the Negro leagues*. New York, NY: Carol Publishing Group

- Rogosin, D. (1983). *Invisible men: Life in baseball's Negro leagues*. New York: Antebellum Publishers.
- Roulston, K. (2010). *Reflective interviewing: A guide to theory and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Ruck, R. (1987). *Sandlot seasons: Sport in African American Pittsburgh*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Ruck, R. (2011). *Raceball: How the major leagues colonized the Black and latino game*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Sailes, G. (1984). *Sport socialization comparisons among African American and white adult male athletes and nonathletes*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation University of Minnesota.
- Sailes, G. (1987). A socioeconomic explanation of African American sports participation patterns. *The Western Journal of African American Studies*, 11(4), 164-167.
- Sailes, G. (1991). The myth of African American sports supremacy *Journal of African American Studies*, 21(4), 480-487.
- Sailes, G. (2010). The African American athlete: social myths and stereotypes. In G. Sailes (Ed.), *Modern Sport and The African American Athlete Experience* (pp. 55-68). San Diego, CA: Cognella.
- Sarup, M. (1996). *Identity, culture, and the postmodern world*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.
- Smedley, A. & Smedley, B. D. (2005). Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race. *American Psychologist*, 60(1), 16-26.

- Smith, E. (2009). *Race, sport and the American dream* (2nd ed.). Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Smith, E., & Hattery, A. J. (2006). Hey stud: Race, sex, and sports. *Sexuality & Culture*, 10(2), 3-32.
- Snyder, E. & Spreitzer, E. (1983). *Social aspects of sport*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Sokolove, M. (1988, April 24). Are African Americans better athletes than whites? . *Inquirer: The Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine*, 16-40.
- Spearman, J. & Harrison, L. (2010). *Real role models: Successful African Americans beyond pop culture*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Spreitzer, E., & Pugh, M. (1973). Interscholastic athletics and educational expectations. *Sociology of Education*, 46(2), 171-182.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Starr, M. & Barrett, T. (1993). Baseball's Black problem. *Newsweek*, 122(3), 56.
- Statistics, N. C. F. E. (1996). Educational Statistics on disk. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Stevenson Jr., H. C. (2002). Wrestling with destiny: The cultural socialization of anger and healing in African American males. *Journal of Psychology & Christianity*, 21(4), 357.
- Supiano, B. (2009). At the last hour, it's financial aid 101 for these high school students. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 55(35), 1.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey, CA: Books-Cole.

- Tatum, B. (1997). *"Why are all the African American kids sitting together in the cafeteria?" and other controversies about race*. New York, NY: Basic Books
- Upthegrove, T. R., Roscigno, V. J., & Charles, C. Z. (1999). Big money collegiate sports: Racial concentration, contradictory pressures, and academic performance. *Social Science Quarterly (University of Texas Press)*, 80(4), 718-737.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *State and country quick facts: Race*. Retrieved from http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long_RHI205210.htm
- Van Damme, R. & Wilson, R. (2002). Athletic performance and the evolution of vertebrate locomotor capacity. In P. Aerts, K. D'Aout, A. Herrel and R. V. Damme (Eds.), *Topics in functional and ecological vertebrate morphology* (pp. 257-292). Maastricht: Shaker.
- Washburne, R. F. (1978). African American under-participation in wildland recreation: Alternative explanations. *Leisure Sciences*, 1, 175-189.
- Washington, R. E. & Karen, D. (2001). Sport and society. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), 187.
- Webb, C. (2011). *Detroit's I.C.E. program provides baseball opportunities where there were few*. Retrieved October/14, 2011, from http://espn.go.com/blog/high-school/baseball/post/_id/463/breaking-the-ice-detroit-program-helps-inner-city-get-exposure
- Wendel, T. (2004). *The new face of baseball* New York, NY: Harper Collins
- White, G. E. (1996). *Creating the national pastime: Baseball transforms itself, 1903-1953*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Wiggins, M.S. (1998). Anxiety intensity and direction: Preperformance temporal patterns and expectations in athletes. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*, 10, 201-211.

- Wiggins, D. K. (2000). Critical events affecting racism in athletics. In D. Brooks and R. Althouse (Eds.), *Racism in college athletics: The African American athlete's experience* (Second ed., pp. 15-36). Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Wilson, B. & Sparks, R. (1996). "It's gotta be the shoes": Youth, race and sneaker commercials. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 13, 398-427.

APPENDIX A

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THIS SHEET

The completion of this survey should take about 10 minutes. Your participation is voluntary. You reserve the right to at anytime withdraw your participation in this study. Information received from the participants will be privately reviewed and analyzed by the principal investigator. If you have any questions, comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant in this study, please contact the principal investigator. If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the survey, please contact Joey Gawrysiak at (joeygawrysiak@gmail.com) or (770) 377-4854.

The purpose of this survey is to identify and determine the perceptions of high school students towards race and baseball. The survey contains 10 questions. **Please circle one or more answers to each question.**

Student-Athlete Demographic Survey

1. Which of the following best describes your race?
 a. Black b. White c. Latino/Hispanic d. Asian e. Other
 :_____
2. Which of the following best describes your ethnicity?
 a. African American b. European American c. Latino American d. Asian American
 e. Other:_____
3. What is your gender?
 a. Male b. Female
4. What is your current age? _____
5. What sport(s) have you played, or still do play for your high school team (circle all that apply)?
 a. Baseball
 b. Basketball
 c. Football
 d. Soccer
 e. Other:_____
6. What is your favorite sport to watch on television?
 a. Baseball
 b. Basketball
 c. Football
 d. Soccer
 e. Other:_____

7. Which of the following best describes your role model?
- a. Family Member
 - b. Friend
 - c. Mentor
 - d. Professional Athlete
8. What activities have you participated in during high school (circle all that apply)?
- a. Sports
 - b. Music
 - c. Drama
 - d. Academic clubs
 - e. None
 - f. Other: _____
9. Of those activities selected in #8, please describe why you participated in those activities.
- _____
- _____
- _____
10. Do you believe certain racial groups participate in certain activities, especially sports?
- Explain briefly.
- _____
- _____
- _____
11. If you could be a professional athlete in any sport, what would it be and why?
- _____
- _____
- _____

APPENDIX B

Interview Protocol

Hi, my name is Joey Gawrysiak and I am a graduate student studying sport management and policy at the University of Georgia. I am conducting a research project on issues of race and racial representation in high school baseball. I am looking to find out why there is an underrepresentation of African American student athletes in high school baseball at a school with a majority African American student body. I would like to interview you today about your experiences playing baseball or other sports in high school and your life experience that have lead to your decisions about activities to participate in during your life. We will also be talking about racial issues and how identities of racial groups are perceived from other racial groups. The information you share here will be kept strictly confidential. There will be no identifiers used for this research besides a pseudonym and demographic information. Do you have any questions?

I anticipate this interview lasting approximately one hour. You may stop the interview or refuse to answer any questions whenever you would like. If you would like a break during the interview for any reason, please feel free to take one. If you need any clarification on a question or do not feel comfortable answering any part of a question, please let me know. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Current baseball player

I would like to start out talking about your high school experience. We will talk about the things you went through in high school that may have lead to where you are and the way you think today.

- Before we get started on some of the questions, please tell me about yourself now and in the past.
- Who were any role models you had while growing up?

High School experiences

- Have you ever been singled out (positively or negatively) because you play baseball?
 - By peers
 - By teachers
 - By coaches
- Describe to me some of the groups of people you hang out with.
 - How have you formed these bonds?
- What do you plan on doing after high school? 5 years from now? 10 years from now?

I hope that you achieve your goals and work hard to get there. Now that we have talked about your high school experience, I would like to begin talking about your background in sports. Let's start with your current sport experiences.

Sport experiences

- What activities and sports do you enjoy participating in?
- Why do you choose to participate in high school baseball?
 - Background

- Influences
 - Area you grew up
- Why do you play baseball?
 - Enjoyment
 - Parents
 - Social recognition
 - Future
- Have you considered playing baseball past the high school level? Why?
- How are sports valued in your school? Your family? With your friends?

Thank you for telling me about the sports you play and the reason for playing them. We are more than halfway through the interview now. Do you need a break? I would like for us to move on now to discuss your experience with race and racial perceptions.

Racial perceptions

- Talk about how you see yourself in terms of race.
- How would you feel if your entire team was African American? Non-African American?
- Tell me about how issues of race were brought up around your team.
 - Jokes
 - Serious discussions
 - questions
- From your perspective, do you think certain sports attract certain types of people? Explain.
- How do you identify yourself in terms of your own race or ethnicity?
- Describe characteristics and stereotypes about different races?
- In your opinion, does a person's race tell you anything about them? Why?

That wraps up the questions and topics for discussion. Is there anything else you would like to add or comment on? If not then I would like to thank you for your time here and for allowing me to record our conversation. Would you be available for any follow up if I find that you may be able to provide more valuable information? Thank you again and have a nice day.

Current athletes from sports other than baseball

I would like to start out talking about your high school experience. We will talk about the things you went through in high school that may have lead to where you are and the way you think today.

- Before we get started on some of the questions, please tell me about yourself now and in the past.
- Who were any role models you had while growing up?

High School experiences

- Were you ever singled out (positively or negatively) because you played sports?
 - By peers
 - By teachers
 - By coaches

- Describe to me some of the groups of people you hang out with.
- What do you plan on doing after high school? 5 years from now? 10 years from now?

I hope that you achieve your goals and work hard to get there. Now that we have talked about your high school experience, I would like to begin talking about your background in sports. Let's start with your current sport experiences.

Sport experiences

- What activities and sports do you enjoy participating in?
- Why did you choose not to participate in high school baseball?
 - Background
 - Influences
 - Area you grew up
- Why do you play sports?
 - Enjoyment
 - Parents
 - Social recognition
 - Future
- Do you consider playing sports past the high school level? Why?
- Who plays baseball? Can you tell who plays certain sports just by looking at them?
- How are sports valued in your school? Your family? With your friends?

Thank you for telling me about the sports you play and the reason for playing them. We are more than halfway through the interview now. Do you need a break? I would like for us to move on now to discuss your experience with race and racial perceptions.

Racial perceptions

- Talk about how you see yourself in terms of race.
- How would you feel if your entire team was African American? Non-African American?
- Tell me about how issues of race were brought up around your team.
 - Jokes
 - Serious discussions
 - questions
- From your perspective, do you think certain sports attract certain types of people? Explain.
- How do you identify yourself in terms of your own race or ethnicity?
- Describe characteristics and stereotypes about different races?
- In your opinion, does a person's race tell you anything about them? Why?

That wraps up the questions and topics for discussion. Is there anything else you would like to add or comment on? If not then I would like to thank you for your time here and for allowing me to record our conversation. Would you be available for any follow up if I find that you may be able to provide more valuable information? Thank you again and have a nice day.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM (for participants above 18)

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled "AFRICAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN INTERSCHOLASTIC BASEBALL" conducted by Joey Gawrysiak from the Department of Kinesiology at the University of Georgia under the direction of Dr. Billy Hawkins, Department of Kinesiology, University of Georgia (542-4427). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to learn about racial identification and motivation for participation in high school baseball for student athletes at a predominately African American high school. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- 1) Answer questions about my experience in high school and athletics, especially as they pertain to racial issues, during an audio recorded interview lasting approximately 60-90 minutes
- 2) Someone from the study may call me to clarify my information

The benefits for me are that I stand to gain an insight into the thoughts and perceptions of other high school students at my high school and an understanding as to why racial differences exist in athletics. My participation in this may help to develop theories to help in racial equality in high school for future generations.

No risk is expected but I may experience some discomfort or stress as I discuss issues of race. These risks will be reduced in the following ways: I may ask to leave the interview or study at any time. I may also ask not to answer particular questions. I can ask the researcher to leave the site at any time with no penalty.

No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others without my written permission. I will be assigned a pseudonym and that will be coded with my actual name. The coding will be kept in a secure location for the duration of the study until it is destroyed after completion of the study. The audio recordings will be kept for approximately one month to allow for proper transcription and analysis. They will then be deleted of the entire recording.

The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project.

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project and understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

Edward Gawrysiak
Telephone: 770-377-4854
Email: joey31@uga.edu

Signature

Date

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

INTERVIEW PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM

I agree to allow my child, _____, to take part in a research study titled, "African American Participation in Interscholastic Baseball", which is being conducted by Mr. Edward Gawrysiak, from the Kinesiology Department at the University of Georgia (770-377-4854) under the direction of Dr. Billy Hawkins, Kinesiology 706-542-4427. I do not have to allow my child to be in this study if I do not want to. My child can refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which she/he is otherwise entitled. I can ask to have the information related to my child returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

- The reason for the study is to find out if issues of race and racial identity affect athletic participation in high school baseball.
- Children who take part may gain an understanding of race as it relates to high school athletic. The researcher also hopes to learn something about racial identity and sport participation that will help other students in the future.
- If I allow my child to take part, my child will be asked to answer questions about their high school experience and extra-curricular activities they may have been involved in. Their interview will be audio tape recorded and transcribed into a typed document. They will be involved for approximately 60-90 minutes of interview time.
- The research is not expected to cause any harm or discomfort. My child can quit at any time. My child's grade will not be affected if my child decides not to participate or to stop taking part.
- Any individually-identifiable information collected about my child will be held confidential unless otherwise required by law. My child's identity will be coded, and all data will be kept in a secured location. There will be a list linking my child's actual name to their pseudonym that will be kept in a secure location and destroyed following analysis of the data (January 2012). Additionally, the audio recordings will be retained for approximately one month while they are transcribed and analyzed. They will then be erased from the recording device.
- The researcher will answer any questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: 770-377-4854. I may also contact the professor supervising the research, Dr. Billy Hawkins, Kinesiology Department, at 542-4427.
- I understand the study procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to allow my child to take part in this study. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

 Name of Researcher
 Telephone: 770-377-4854
 Email: joeygawrysiak@gmail.com

 Signature

 Date

 Name of Parent or Guardian

 Signature

 Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your child's rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

INTERVIEW MINOR ASSENT FORM

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in my research project titled, "African American Participation in Interscholastic Baseball." Through this project I am learning how issues of race affect athletic participation in high schools with a majority African American student body.

If you decide to be part of this, you will allow me to work with you on your views and opinions of high school sports and athletic participation. You will talk to me about your experiences in high school and what lead you to participate in activities or not participate during your high school career. You will allow me to ask you questions as they relate to these experiences. This interview will be taped and transcribed. The interview will take place away from your school. I will not use your name on any papers that I write about this project. However, because of your participation you may develop an understanding for why certain people play different sports. I hope to learn something about racial identity and sport participation that will help other students in the future.

If you want to stop participating in this project, you are free to do so at any time. You can also choose not to answer questions that you don't want to answer.

If you have any questions or concerns you can always ask me or call my teacher, Dr. Billy Hawkins at the following number: 706-543-4427.

Sincerely

Edward J. Gawrysiak III

Kinesiology Department The University of Georgia

770-377-4854

I understand the project described above. My questions have been answered and I agree to participate in this project. I have received a copy of this form.

Signature of the Participant/Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

SURVEY CONSENT FORM (for participants above 18)

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled "AFRICAN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN INTERSCHOLASTIC BASEBALL" conducted by Joey Gawrysiak from the Department of Kinesiology at the University of Georgia under the direction of Dr. Billy Hawkins, Department of Kinesiology, University of Georgia (542-4427). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to learn about racial identification and motivation for participation in high school baseball for student athletes at a predominately African American high school. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- 1) Answer questions about my experience in high school and athletics, in particular as they pertain to racial issues, with a 10 question written survey lasting approximately 10 minutes during advisement time with my class

The benefits for me are that I stand to gain an insight into the thoughts and perceptions of other high school students at my high school and an understanding as to why racial differences exist in athletics. My participation in this may help to develop theories to help in racial equality in high school for future generations.

No risk is expected but I may experience some discomfort or stress as I discuss issues of race. These risks will be reduced in the following ways: I may ask not to take the survey at any time. I may also ask not to answer particular questions. I can ask the researcher to leave the site at any time with no penalty. No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others without my written permission. I will not be permitted to give my name or any identifiable factors other than ethnicity on the survey.

The investigator will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project.

I understand that I am agreeing by my signature on this form to take part in this research project and understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

Edward Gawrysiak
Telephone: 770-377-4854
Email: joey31@uga.edu

Signature

Date

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLE CODES FROM CODEBOOK

Reasons Participation in Baseball

201 socialization

201a professional role models (“he was one of the only Black persons on the team”)

201b socializing agents (“friends at an early age interested in baseball”)

201c early participation

201d area of growing up

202 intrinsic

202a stress relief

202b popularity (“it distinguishes you”)

202c commitment (“baseball always been my favorite sport”)

202d distraction from deviance

202e success (“if I’m very good at it of course I’ll play”)

202f “the thrill it gives”

203 extrinsic

203a collective identity

203b economic mobility

204 “they made me play”

205 social reproduction (sport reproduction) (“dad more interested in baseball”)

206 nature of the game

207 try new things

208 Ogden’s welcome theory