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Coaching ideology: Contextual factors and implications for practice

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COACHING IDEOLOGY:
CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

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THESIS

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COACHING IDEOLOGY: CONTEXTUAL FACTORS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

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Many questions remain about the appropriate role of adults in youth sport. There is, however, general agreement that an important determinant of the psycho-social outcomes of participation is the relationship between coaches and athletes (e.g., Martens, 1987; Seefeldt & Gould, 1980; Smith & Smoll, 1990). To gain a better understanding of youth sport coaches, this study focused on coaching ideology (i.e., the set of values and beliefs or sociopolitical program that guides coaching behavior). To explore this construct, youth sport coaches (N = 59) were interviewed. From this group, using maximum variation sampling (Patton, 1990), eight coaches were selected for further study. These male and female coaches, aged 17 to 50 years, represented eight different team and individual sports. The athletes they coached ranged from 5 to 18 years old. To examine the relation between ideology and coaching behavior, these coaches participated in multiple-session depth-probe interviews and they were observed during training and competitions. All formal interviews (total time $\approx$ 62 hours) were transcribed verbatim and field notes were taken during all field observations (total time $\approx$ 175 hours). The data from the interviews and observations were subjected to initial and focused coding (Charmaz, 1983; Glaser, 1978) and inductive analyses. The results suggest that contextual factors operate as powerful constraints and affordances for coaches as they attempt to coach in accord with their ideological stances. Furthermore, the coaching ideology and behavior relation can be affected by both intrapersonal factors and contextual factors (e.g., persons in the environment, administrative structures, facilities, resources, and the local culture). Individual case analyses illustrated how specific factors moderate the influence of coaches' values and intentions on their behaviors. Although the findings indicate the importance of attending to context, the dominant elements of ideology appeared to overcome barriers and were reflected in coaching behaviors. The implications of the findings are discussed with respect to future youth sport practices. For example, because ideology is relatively stable, youth sport interventions could benefit from considering how contextual factors (e.g., league rules, parental involvement) can be manipulated to foster selected coaching behaviors. The results may also provide some insight into the development of coaches and may facilitate improvements in coaching education.

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William B. Strean
Windsor, Ontario

Preface

During the long process of conducting dissertation research, writing proposals and drafts, subjecting oneself to various critical analyses, and jumping through an array of hoops along the path to a doctorate, students must accommodate the desires and idiosyncracies of many individuals. The original vision that inspires the project can become obfuscated by the mire of administrative details and the growing impulse to finish the task.

Like many others who have come before me, once the defense is passed and revisions are being dealt with, I return to my original vision, the one I held before it was run through the filters of reality. When I set out to study youth sport coaches, I wanted to have a better understanding of coaches and what made them tick. I wanted to tap the experiences of real people and go beyond the sterile lists of problems in youth sport. It seemed to me that everyone agreed with the assertions based on a superficial view from the sidelines. We've all heard many times that parents can create major problems for coaches. But we would be hard pressed to find an account of how actual parents affected actual coaches in their day to day attempts to work with children. Anyone who has spent time around youth sport could generate a catalog of factors that might influence coaches as they pursue their objectives with athletes. But such a documentation of factors, with a description of how these factors operate in coaches' lives could not be found. Even though many people have a general sense of what exists in youth sport, I wanted to create a road map of what is out there. The following pages supply the reader with a thick description of factors in youth sport contexts that actual coaches contend with as they set out to achieve various goals with young athletes. Coaches have been given a voice to share their stories of what they think is important and how they are affected by many factors.

For those who are familiar with youth sport there are probably few surprises here--just as there would be if you looked at a map of your home town. But just as you might have such a map in your glove compartment to jog your memory as you travel or to share with one who is less familiar with the terrain, this account of youth sport coaches' world has a purpose. The following study tells you not only what is out there for coaches to contend with, but it tells you what coaches value and believe, and how they act.

There are several studies that offer correlations between specific coaching behaviors and selected outcomes for young athletes. If this is what you seek, look to those studies. But if you would like to stimulate your thinking about youth sport and read about real coaches, and not just behaviors, continuing on may well be worth your while. There are many approaches that may be taken to learn about a bounded social context, such as youth sport. Each approach has its inherent weaknesses and its merits. In the present study, precise measurement of predetermined factors has been sacrificed in order to explore the experiences of individuals and the issues that are most relevant in their lives. Just as we can learn from military personnel who are "debriefed" after a mission, we can gain insight into youth sport by interviewing, observing, and living our way into the lives of coaches. This is an account of youth sport coaches, their ideologies, their actions, and the contexts in which they coach.

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Chapter One - Introduction

In 1938, Johan Huizinga described how a fundamental aspect of being human is the desire to play. This "ludic impulse" has led to a wide variety of playful physical activities. In their pursuit of play, children used to gather for informal games like tag or kick the can. In 1992, many children had to rely on their parents or grandparents to recall how they engaged in spontaneous play and games during the halcyon days of their youth. For today's children, contrary to their progenitors, much of their play occurs in adult-organized youth sport programs. Under the guidance of adult coaches, over twenty-two million children in the USA and Canada participate in non-school sport programs (Martens, 1988a; Valeriote & Hansen, 1988). Moreover, children's involvement is fairly intense; on the average young athletes participate in programs 12 hours per week during an 18 week season (Gould & Martens, 1979).

Sport psychology researchers have been particularly interested in studying participation motivation in youth sport. And in myriad investigations (e.g., Ewing & Seefeldt, 1988; Fry, McClements, & Sefton, 1981) the overwhelmingly most popular reason that children cite for participating in sport is "to have fun." Yet young athletes have reported that "playing" has led to adverse effects ranging from chronic headaches to eating disorders to traumatic effects on self-esteem (Passer, 1988). In one study, more than one out of every five youth sport participants had sleep disruptions because of their involvement in sport (State of Michigan, 1978).

As youth sport participation has increased, a growing number of concerned researchers and practitioners have examined the effects of participation on children. Proponents of youth sport (e.g., Ziegler, 1987) have suggested that participation in sport is good for children and can serve adaptive functions (Roberts, Arth, & Bush, 1959). Other investigators (e.g., Crossley, 1986; Shafer, 1976) have argued that involvement in sport is harmful. Competition or sport participation has been shown to reduce prosocial tendencies (Barnett & Bryan, 1974; McGuire & Thomas, 1975), and to increase anti-social tendencies (Berkowitz, 1972; Gelfand & Hartmann, 1978; Rausch, 1965). On the other hand, competitive structures offer many opportunities for teaching important social values (Orlick & Pitman-Davidson, 1988). Although extreme positions have been advanced, a "bias either for or against competition blinds individuals to the true effects of competition on children" (Roberts, 1980, p. 37). It is clear at this point that the effects of participation are variable (e.g., Ash, 1978; Rarick, 1969).

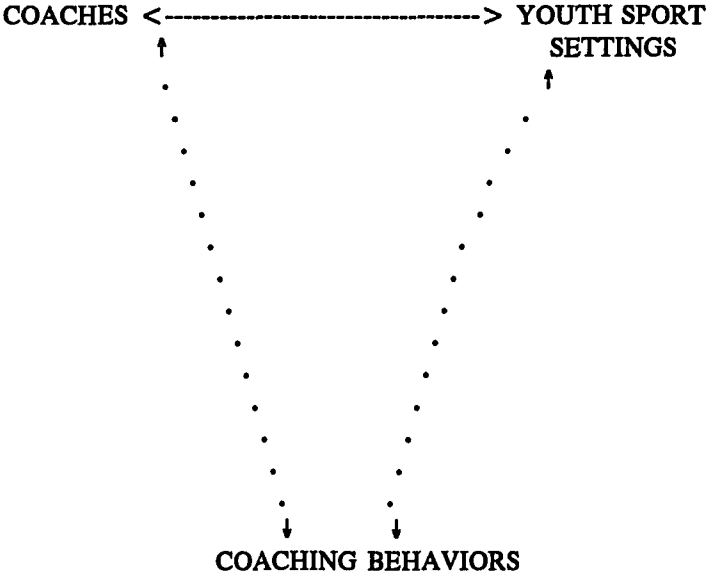
The benefits or costs of participation depend largely on how the experience is structured and on the quality and goals of the adult supervision. There is mounting evidence that coaching behavior affects the quality of children's experiences in sport. Horn (1987) contended that coaches' influence on children's psychosocial growth is above and beyond that exerted by the athletic program. Martens (1978) asserted that the quality of children's experiences in youth sport is related to the quality and competence of adults' leadership and understanding. Research has provided strong empirical support for the hypothesized relation between adult behavior and children's psychosocial growth in instructional settings (Horn, 1985; Peterson, 1977; Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979; Smith, Zane, Smoll, & Coppel, 1983; Smoll, Smith, Curtis, & Hunt, 1978; Solomon & Kendall, 1976). To date, coaches have been shown to influence children's attitudes (Harris, 1983), stress and enjoyment (Scanlan & Lewthwaite, 1984; 1988), participation objectives (Coakley, 1986), and self-esteem (Smith & Smoll, 1990; Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979).

The link between various coaching behaviors and positive or negative outcomes for children has been well established. After finding correlations between specific coaching behaviors (e.g., mistake-contingent technical instruction) and desirable outcomes (e.g., improved self-esteem) for children, interventions have been developed with the aim of getting coaches to engage in these behaviors (Smoll, 1991). Yet after finding the connection between coaching behaviors and outcomes for children, few individuals have paused to ask crucial questions about the motives of coaching behaviors or influences on coaches.

The central purpose of this study was to explore factors that might influence individuals to engage in various coaching behaviors. A variety of contemporary perspectives would accept the notion that human behavior is a function of a person- situation interaction. The viewpoint taken in this investigation was that situations, persons, and behaviors have bidirectional influences on one other, resulting in "triadic reciprocal determinism" (Bandura, 1986; see Figure 1). This perspective, which incorporates the complexity of three-way interactions, has heuristic value particularly for theoretical analysis. Empirically, however, various factors blur together. For example, a coach's skills can be viewed as a person factor, as an element of the situation, or in action--as a behavior. Whereas the present study was conducted with recognition of person, situation, and behavior interactions, the focus was on dynamic reciprocal interactions among coaches and youth sport settings. The basic tenet of this form of interactionism is that "situations are as much a function of the person as the person's behavior is a function of the situation" (Bowers, 1973, p. 327). It is only by invoking this notion of interactionism that it may be possible to understand the processes by which aspects of individuals and aspects of situations interact with each other (Emmons, Diener, & Larsen, 1986). In this study, to assess coaches' individual characteristics and to consider situational factors, both "coaching ideology" and contextual "constraints"

Figure 1

Triadic Reciprocal Determinism (based on Bandura, 1986)



and "affordances" were examined. By addressing both ideology and context, both personal motives and situational variables could be taken into account in this effort to learn about the factors that may influence coaches.

Explication of Constructs

Coaching Ideology

In addressing cognitive factors underlying motivation, several theorists have erected models based on an expectancy X value approach (e.g., Rotter, 1954). Unfortunately, many theories have assumed value and focused on expectancies. Clearly the selection of tasks or behaviors stems from a series of personal values, commitments, meanings, and expectancies. The guiding principles that coaches use reflect both their interpretation of events and the importance they ascribe to those events. To understand the sources of coaches' behavior, it is necessary to analyze their thinking with respect to value as well as expectancy. Ideology can be seen as a set of values and beliefs or a personal cultural doctrine. The construct of "coaching ideology" was used to focus on the personal perspectives that may influence coaches.

When discussing belief structures that organize behaviors, the term "coaching philosophy" is most commonly invoked. For example, Martens (1990, p. 1) defined philosophy as "the beliefs or principles that guide the actions you take." He argued that success as a coach depends more on coaching philosophy than on any other factor. Furthermore, coaching philosophy, according to Martens, is the foundation on which all knowledge is built and it determines how wisely knowledge is used. Lyle (1986) submitted that the notion of coaching philosophy creates opportunities for individual interpretations of the coaching role. These uses of "philosophy" suggest a definition relating to a system of principles for guidance in practical affairs. The most preferred definition of "philosophy," however, denotes a search for truth through logical reasoning rather than factual observation (Webster's, 1986). The construct that I[1] examined is one based on experience and interpretation, not on logical reasoning. "Ideology" denotes a systematic body of concepts especially about human life or culture. It is a manner of, or the content of, thinking characteristic of an individual and it contains the assertions, theories, and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program (Webster's, 1986). An ideology, in addition to a distinctive set of shared understandings about critical aspects of coaching and certain customs and rituals, constitutes coaching's culture that helps coaches shape their views of their role and its relation to the larger society.

Clearly "philosophy" is an appropriate term of choice for general discussion of this concept, but because of the inherent recognition of the sociopolitical/cultural aspects of these thoughts and concepts, the term "ideology" was used in the study. Furthermore, an ideology goes beyond the objectives and style that coaches employ; it includes macro level beliefs and attitudes about such factors as power relations, distribution of resources, and modes of discourse. Various definitions of ideology stretch the term to cover even the most personal power relations or limit the term to only large scale political movements. Both the wider and narrower senses of ideology have their uses and their mutual incompatibility, descending from divergent political and conceptual histories, and these must simply be acknowledged (Eagleton, 1991). Yet, ideology is "the most elusive concept in the whole of science" (McLellan, 1986, p. 1). It is a "contested" concept (i.e., a concept about the definition and application of

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[1]The pronoun "I" will be used throughout this report to refer to the author. (See APA, 1983, p. 35)

which there is great controversy) and this contestation needs to be kept in mind throughout the following discussion (Sparkes, 1989). (For a further discussion of ideology as a term and its intellectual history, see Eagleton, 1991).

Whereas some (e.g., Lyle, 1986) have suggested that there are two principal ideologies: (a) one espousing a largely humanistic approach embodying a central concern for personal growth and development of individuals through sport, and (b) the other a performance-based philosophy that overtly values competitive success, there is great variety in the degree to which individuals display either of these extreme characterizations. We often create false dichotomies and oversimplify complex behaviors and relations by placing entities in binary opposition. An examination of coaching ideologies benefits from allowing for a broad array of thinking, disparate values and beliefs, and multiple conglomerations of concepts and thoughts.

Some of the characteristics and implications of a personal belief system were described by Ziegler (1989), who noted that having been frightened by the presumed complexity of all philosophical endeavors, most people struggle along with an implicit philosophy based on their personal experiences. With a more thorough and deliberate development of a philosophy, he asserted people would be more able to fashion a better world.

But few individuals are systematically aided in developing their coaching ideology. Often "coaching philosophy" is not part of coaching education programs (e.g., Coaching Association of Canada, see Gowan & Thomson, 1986; Australian National Coaching Education, see Pyke & Woodman, 1986) or it is only one small section of a program that includes biomechanics, psychology, physiology, and other selected topics.

Although very few of us have the "muscular training of a philosopher," we do have some sort of a personal philosophy--an inbred "sense of life" (Rand, 1960)--by which we conduct our lives. We have philosophic beliefs, but they are often quite vague. A person, however, can be asked to ponder and then express what s/he regards as basic or important in life. Such a set of beliefs and values for which an individual stands is often contradictory and illogical. A coaching ideology, although not always easily articulated, serves as an action-oriented constellation of values and beliefs that influences coaching behavior.

Contextual Factors

To examine the aspects of situations in which coaches behaved, factors within their coaching contexts were considered relative to their ideologies as "constraints" and "affordances." Constraints referred to those factors that made achievement of objectives or efforts to coach in accord with one's ideology more difficult. Factors that were enabling or aspects of the environment that helped coaches to follow their ideological commitments were viewed as affordances.

The term "context" in some ways parallels the term "culture," which has often been tied to methodology. Qualitative methods have been assumed when talking about culture (Maehr, 1991). There is currently a strong movement within the realm of educational inquiry that stresses the validity and usefulness of such methods (McMillan & Schumacher, 1989). Both observations and interviews were used to assess the situational variables that operated with coaches' personal characteristics to influence coaching behavior.

Rationale

In a general sense, it has been recognized that "more behavioral research and intervention within the naturalistic laboratory of youth sports are needed in the coming years" (Smith & Smoll, 1991, p. 342). But in our

rush to respectability we have bypassed the widely recognized first stage of any scientific development--observation of naturally occurring events (Luthans, 1979). Although observational efforts need to be focused in many directions, as Gould (1988, p. 326) asserted, "we must recognize that youth sports are conducted in a highly complex physical and social environment. We know little about this environment; some feel it cannot be explained with existing laboratory-generated theories (Martens, 1979, 1987a; Siedentop, 1980; Smith & Smoll, 1978). Thus, descriptive research could play an important role in helping us understand this complex setting." Gould (1988) also noted that descriptive research can be extremely useful in solving controversial issues in youth sport, such as coaches' overemphasis on winning and parents' stifling fun in children's sport. He suggested that sport psychology researchers examine coaching behaviors and assess the relationship between these factors. Advances in the study of leadership might therefore occur through the careful study of leader behaviors, their antecedents, and their consequences within restricted leadership settings in which potentially relevant situational and individual difference variables can be identified and measured (Smoll & Smith, 1989). In accord with Gould's (1984) contention that positive or negative effects of youth sport are most likely determined by the social environment in which competitive processes occur, Greendorfer (1987) asserted that "research directed toward adult leadership, coaching feedback and behaviors, and the organizational structure of youth sport programs is extremely relevant" (p. 136).

Previous researchers (e.g., Smith & Smoll, 1990) have considered the relations between overt leader behavior and its consequences. Although this approach has merit, a more comprehensive analysis of coaching should also address cognitive processes, individual difference variables, and contextual variables that mediate relations between antecedents, leader behaviors, and outcomes.

In assessing leaders, we can benefit from recognizing that behaviors stem from intentions. And as Goodlad (1988) has suggested with respect to teaching, coaching involves a moral intention to develop a certain kind of being. Coaching, as a craft, is developed within the context of moral intention, otherwise "it is little more than mechanics and might be performed by a machine" (p.106). Only recently have educational researchers recognized the telic nature of teaching, seeing teachers as persons with purposes, beliefs, and desires. The new research programs have demonstrated greater interest in teachers themselves and their beliefs, desires, and intentions.

Following the concern of Fenstermacher (1986), regarding the importance of studying the intentional nature of teachers, the discussion in this study is based on the position that coaches' beliefs, desires, and intentions are equally as important as their behaviors. The study of coaches' cognitive processes, as a result of shifting social science conceptions, should be seriously considered.

Noel (1989) described the new tradition in educational research to be based on the idea that the thoughts, intentions, expectations, and other cognitive processes of those involved in education are important. It is an interpretive, meaning-oriented perspective toward research that searches for persons' cognitive states. In this sense, studies within sport psychology have been interpretive. We have moved away from behaviorist views and mechanistic understandings of human beings.

Within a cognitive perspective, as we examine how youth sport coaches give meaning to their environment and select behaviors, we can recognize the importance of their objectives. One very important component in

determining the nature of the sport experience are the goals coaches set for their athletes, and the degree to which these goals are appropriate for, and convergent with, their athletes' goals (Carpenter, 1991). Whereas much is known about the goals of young athletes (e.g., Coakley, 1986; Gill & Deeter, 1988; Lewthwaite, 1990; Stein, 1989), very little is known about the goals coaches hold for their players (cf. Stern, Prince, Bradley, & Stroh, 1989). More knowledge of coaches' values and goals is needed and as Carpenter (1991) advocated, future research should examine whether coaches' goals are actually enacted.

Coaches' ideologies may influence their goal selection and subsequently the quality of children's experiences in sport. The athletic context is subject to a great deal of manipulation. Only by valuing certain biopsychosocial outcomes for children will coaches be able to foster these results. If sport experiences are going to promote children's social development, coaches will have to make the ideological commitment to this goal and engage in recommended behaviors (Estrada, Gelfand, & Hartmann, 1988) such as (a) understanding antisocial aggressive children, (b) providing appropriate models, (c) promoting positive peer interactions, and (d) emphasizing playing for fun.

When children directed their own physical activities, they often played for fun and avoided many of the pitfalls of organized sports. But as McPherson and Brown (1988) discussed, for a variety of reasons, adults have come to dominate children's sports. As a result, the aspirations and degree of commitment and involvement of young athletes have changed. Their frequently unrealistic expectations can be seen in the norms and goals that they are forced to adhere to and strive for (e.g., win at all costs, play with pain).

Much of the controversy that surrounds youth sports concerns the roles that adults play in the process. There is, however, general agreement that an important determinant of the effects of participation lies in the relationship between coach and athlete (Martens, 1988b; Seefeldt & Gould, 1980; Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979). Coaches not only occupy a position of centrality in the athletic setting, but their influence can extend into other areas of the child's life as well. For example, because of the high frequency of single-parent families, coaches frequently occupy the role of a substitute parent (Smoll & Smith, 1989).

Brower (1973) likened boys in organized baseball to pawns in a chess game. Adults made the decisions and the kids did what they were told. He stated that what seemed to be fun for adults was often a heartbreak for some of the players. He concluded that he has seen boys playing unorganized baseball without adult supervision and noted how much spontaneous fun they were having--something he did not see when adults were in charge (cf. Kleiber's Two Ballgames).

The call for greater attention to youth sport coaching comes at a time when there is growing concern that professionalism has trickled down to youth sport and increasingly younger children. The following letters (cited in Bissinger & Temkin, 1991) to Antoine Walker, an 8th grader, depict the sort of influences that young athletes face. "Congratulations on your achievements as a person, as a student and as a basketball player," wrote Clem Haskins, head basketball coach at Minnesota, before Antoine had played a single minute of high school basketball. "You are the type of person I want to have as part of the Golden Gopher basketball program." And from assistant coach Bruce Pearl of Iowa: "Have you ever dreamed of having your own basketball card? Did you ever dream about playing every game in front of a sellout crowd of 16,000 screaming fans? How about having every game you

played during your entire college career televised? If you answered yes to the above questions, you should consider the University of Iowa. Remember, it's great to be a Hawkeye!"

Today's youth sport coaches have to confront pervasive messages about what is important within sport settings. With seductive offers such as those above being made to young athletes and with the prevalence of the "business model" (Strean, 1988) of sport, it is quite a challenge to construct sport for children so that appropriate values are promulgated and their developmental needs are met.

This study is rooted in an interest in improving the quality of children's experiences in youth sport. It is part of a broader mission "to offset the adult dominated, extrinsically motivated, mass scale organization of sport for pre-adolescent children [and] to envisage more educationally and socially relevant programmes" (Watson, 1986, p. 24). Toward that end, understanding the coach, who is the most direct agent of change appears to be a profitable course. "The issue is not whether youth sports should exist--they will continue to grow--but rather how can we increase the likelihood that the outcome of participation will be favorable for children. It seems clear that the most direct path to achieving this goal is to focus on that point in the "athletic triangle" (consisting of child, parent, and coach) at which intervention is most likely to have an immediate positive impact, namely the coach or adult supervisor" (Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979, p. 60). Through an exploration of coaching ideology and contextual factors, this study sought to understand better some of the variables that may influence coaching behavior.

Review of Related Literature

Outcomes of Participation

Many researchers and practitioners have argued about the merits and problems of youth sport. Unfortunately, neither proponents or critics of youth sport have much scientific evidence to support their positions. There has been a great deal of opinion and pontification, and a paucity of solid empirical research (Smith, Smoll, Hunt, Curtis, & Coppel, 1978). Although much of the literature reflects an assumption that play, games, and sport are "good," and that positive outcomes of participation are inevitable (Greendorfer, 1987), there is substantial evidence that involvement in sport may in some way undermine prosocial behavior (e.g., Barnett & Bryan, 1974; Kleiber, 1983; Kleiber & Roberts, 1981; Shields & Bredemeier, 1986).

Coaches' Influences

Whether sport experiences prove to be positive or negative for children is in large part a result of their interactions with their coaches. Leadership can and probably does, for better or worse, influence the nature of the psychological environment and thereby influences children (Maehr, 1991). In particular, research and practice have indicated that there are three characteristics or components of adult behavior that seem to be consistently associated with children's psychological growth. These include (a) the contingency and quality of praise and criticism exhibited by adults in response to children's performance success and failures, (b) the frequency and quality of performance-relevant information provided to children during their performance attempts, and (c) the direct or implicit attribution contained in the evaluative feedback given by adult observers.

Furthermore, coaches typically have a major influence on the athletic environment (Smoll & Smith, 1988). The manner in which coaches structure the athletic situation, the goal priorities they establish, and the ways in

which they relate to athletes are primary determinants of the outcomes of sport participation (Martens, 1978, 1988b; Seefeldt & Gould, 1980; Smith, Smoll, Hunt, Curtis, & Coppel, 1978; Smith, Zane, Smoll, & Coppel, 1983). Other investigators (Passer, 1984; Roberts, 1986; Scanlan, 1986) have identified coaches as having a profound influence in shaping athletes' perceptions of achievement demands and capabilities. Additional evidence of coaches' importance can be found within the participation motivation literature. Of the factors suggested as motivation for youth sport withdrawal, most of both the psychological (e.g., attitudes about winning) and situational (e.g., poor communication) are largely under control of the coach (Gould & Petlichkoff, 1988).

The Role of Coaching Ideology

In previous research on coaching, there has been the study of process variables (coaching behaviors), product variables (athlete achievement and growth), and some consideration of context variables (athlete mediations, sport situation, and program contexts). The study of coaching could benefit from greater consideration of the properties of coaches themselves. Such studies, which move beyond the study of behavior, can include the study of cognitions, intentions, desires, emotions, and actions of the coach (Noel, 1989).

Coaches' ideologies may influence how they behave with regard to each of the above variables. In addition to knowledge of child development, in order to develop some sensitivity for children (Roberts, 1980), coaches need to be in touch with their deeply rooted values and beliefs; they need to be aware of their ideologies if they are to function most effectively. Just as Hellison and Templin (1991) contended with respect to teachers, it is the case that the commitment essential to good coaching resides in a coach's coaching from, standing for, and living out of his or her values and beliefs. It follows that we need to help coaches sort out and analyze their values, to determine to what extent they hold up to scrutiny, and then, making modifications as necessary, to learn from them.

It appears that many coaches could benefit from some careful reflection about their ideology. Passer (1988) has noted that as youth sport has grown, instances of overzealous coaches and parents subjecting young athletes to extreme pressures to excel have been reported periodically in the media. And social scientists and educators have expressed concerns about an overemphasis on winning and children's ability to cope with the psychological pressures of intense athletic competition (Brower, 1979; Ogilvie, 1979). Whereas efforts have been well directed in trying to reduce the stress of youth sports (e.g., Smoll & Smith, 1988), there has been relatively little empirical study of what motivates these overzealous coaches and parents.

The examination of coaching ideology and its development may be a useful starting point. Lyle (1986) reflected some of the fundamentals of coaching ideology. Every coach has an ideology that has been developed through time and experience. It is a reflection of some of the deeper values that shape attitudes toward life, morals, the rights of individuals, and the place of sport in society. A coach translates these values and beliefs into a reasonably coherent set of principles governing the implementation of the coaching process and what should be emphasized within it. Coaches' ideologies will be reflected in their behavior toward athletes, in communication styles, in ethical behavior, and in attitudes toward objectives reflecting competitive success. Such an approach will be fairly constant, and, although articulated in conceptual terms, is an ever-present behavioral influence.

As persons seek to become coaches, they must learn the ways of coaching subculture. An essential

component of this social process is to impart values and an ideology that will guide individuals after this phase of their development (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Merton, Reader, & Kendall, 1957). During this process, neophytes learn to develop a sense of, and a growing commitment to, an identity as coaches. In many formal professions (e.g., law and medicine), this social process is protracted over several years. Formal preparation for high school coaches is virtually non-existent (Sage, 1989) and it is even less for youth sport coaches.

During the process of becoming a coach, coaches engage in an internal dialogue in which they make sense of their external world. A plethora of issues must be considered as one begins to think about coaching. Learning to become a coach is a complex process that involves coaches' thoughts, feelings, perceptions, values, and actions. Coaching education programs, furthermore, cannot be developed adequately if they are limited to coaches' mastery of specific techniques. Moreover, it would appear that getting to understand coaches' "intuitive screens" (Goodman, 1988) or internal processes is extremely important. The term, "intuitive screen," is similar to other concepts in cognitive psychology such as "schema," "frames," "scripts," or "prototypes" (Anderson, 1977; Nisbett & Ross, 1980) that describe how generic knowledge is stored in memory and used to make sense of life events (e.g., knowledge structures underlying the awareness of what happens and how to behave in a classroom, gymnasium, or theater). Coaches' information processing and belief structures may be important factors in their coaching behavior. After completing teacher education, the vast majority of preservice teachers stated that they felt their practice generally reflected their philosophy of teaching (Goodman, 1988). It appears reasonable to assume that coaches would feel similarly and more encouragement of coaches' self-examination seems warranted.

As a general orientation, research (e.g., Goodman, 1988) supports the contention that reflective inquiry should be central to teaching education (e.g., Bagenstos, 1975; Dewey, 1904; Elliot, 1976; Feiman, 1979; Goodman, 1984; Salzillo & Van Fleet, 1977; Scheffler, 1968; Zeichner, 1981). Similarly, it is important for coaching education to help coaches to explore the meaning they give to their worlds and how these meanings may vary among a group of individuals, and what experiences influence their thoughts and actions. As Dewey (1904) suggested is the case for teachers, it is only through this type of substantive reflection that the growth of future coaches can be enhanced. But looking only at coaches and encouraging coaches to look at themselves is not enough. We, as researchers and practitioners, need to understand how ideology can influence coaches and we need to consider other factors that may motivate various coaching behaviors.

When Ideology Meets Context: An Interactional View

The perspective advocated above suggests that coaching behavior is a function of person-situation interactionism, the influence of which has been felt strongly in personality-social psychology (Magnusson & Endler, 1977; Mischel, 1984). Ideology may offer a focus to examine coach-athlete relations, coaches' thought processes, and individual differences, but we also need to look at situational factors. Considering the dynamics of the youth sport context may enrich our understanding of coaching behavior.

The dialectical relationship between external demands and one's directed action may be observed in a number of instances as coaches develop their perspectives. For example, coaches may model the coaching techniques of, and express similar ideas to influential coaches, but this modeling will unlikely be complete. Instead

of being "carbon copies" of particular individuals, coaches may likely, as Goodman (1988) found, select specific characteristics from a variety of individuals as they put together their own coaching ideologies. A dialectical view of coaching development recognizes the way in which individuals exercise freedom to manipulate their sport situations while at the same time being constrained by them.

The sport situation reflects both micro and macro level influences. "One of the values of ethnographic study is that close examination of a singular setting can yield insights into the subtleties of social reality often missed in more generalized, quantitative research" (Goodman, 1988, p. 129). Very few studies have given us any insight into the kind of perspectives, philosophies, or ideologies that persons have as coaches. While we consider individual settings, we also benefit from recognizing large scale influences. Progress may be optimized by bringing a variety of perspectives to bear on the study of coaching youth sport.

It has often been suggested that sport mirrors society (e.g., Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983). Within society, many values are articulated that seem to conflict with many goals of youth sport. So, if we are discontent with the values conveyed through sports, we should work toward societal value change. American values dictate what occurs in sports to a great extent, but "just as the tail does not wag the dog, sports have not and are not changing the values of America" (Martens, 1978, p. 14).

Although specific sport settings or youth sport programs cannot be expected to have noticeable influence on a macro level, it is possible for coaches to manipulate their programs within the constraints of societal values and they may alter their individual contexts. Although tradition, societal values, and the authoritarian orientation held by most coaches (Sage, 1975; Gensemer, 1980) are major forces that suppress the initiation and implementation of humanistic athletic programs, it is still possible to have such programs (Danzinger, 1982; Hellison, 1973).

We are left with a situation where the most significant problem in children's sports is not reducing injuries, discovering new ways to teach skills better, developing new training methods or motivational techniques. "The most significant task is changing the values society has imposed upon the coaches of America" (Martens, 1988b, p. 307). Until these values change to support youth sport programs that exist to foster positive biopsychosocial outcomes for children, we should try to understand how these values influence coaches and affect children.

Involvement in youth sport is a powerful experience for millions of children. The concerted efforts of researchers and practitioners have led to greater understanding of the effects that adults can have on children. Interventions and education programs have begun to improve the quality of youth sport coaching. By gaining a deeper understanding of the influences underlying coaching behavior and the effects of contextual factors on coaches, this study sought to raise our consciousness and enable us to improve our interventions and benefit the coaches and children who participate in youth sport.

Chapter Two - Method

Overview of Method and Evolution of the Study

The literature reviewed above provided evidence that coaching behavior can have significant influence on children's experiences in sport. Also noted was that a variety of contemporary perspectives suggest that coaches' behavior is a function of their own personal characteristics and the situations in which they coach. Although researchers have examined coaching behavior, there is relatively little documented about coaches or the situations in which they behave. This study was an attempt to understand factors that influence coaches by looking at their coaching ideologies. By observing coaches during training/practice and during competitions and by talking to coaches in formal and informal interviews, I attempted to learn about coaching ideology and how it might influence coaching behavior. This section provides an overview of the study; each aspect of the study will be discussed in greater detail below.

Overview of Methodological Foundations

This was a "naturalistic" study in that it was located in the natural worlds of everyday, social interaction. It relied upon "sophisticated rigor" (Denzin, 1978, p. 167), which is a commitment to make one's interpretive materials and methods as public as possible. Indeed, sophisticated rigor describes the work of any and all researchers who employ multiple methods, seek out diverse empirical situations, and attempt to develop interpretations grounded in the worlds of lived experience (Denzin, 1978; Patton, 1990). It goes beyond the single case method, to the analysis of multiple cases, life stories, life histories, and self stories (Denzin, 1989).

This inquiry followed many of the principles of interpretive interactionism (Denzin, 1989) in which inquirers attempt to live their way into the lives of those being investigated. They attempt to see the world and its problems as they are seen by the people who live inside them. As a strategy, this method throws the researcher directly into the social world under investigation. It requires careful recording through field notes of the problematic and routine features of that world. Recurring structural, interactional, and meaning patterns are sought. Researchers attempt to share in the participant's world, to take part directly in the activities that make up that world, and to see the world as participants see it. The participant observer's goals revolve around the attempt to render that world meaningful from the perspective of those studied.

In a certain sense, interpretive studies hope to understand participants better than they understand themselves (Dilthey, 1976 [1900]). Often interpretations are formed that participants might not give to their own actions. This is the case because often the researcher is in a position to see things that participants cannot see. The full range of factors that may influence individuals' experiences is seldom apparent to them. The interpreter has access to a view of the participant's life that the participant may lack. The interpreter also has a method of interpretation that the participant seldom has (Denzin, 1984). The interpretations that are developed about an individual's life, however, should be understandable to the participant and were given to participants to assure this understanding.

Evolution of the Study

I began by spending many hours watching youth sport practices and games and making contacts with coaches. I engaged many coaches in informal discussions about their values and beliefs about coaching children

and I began to conduct formal interviews to refine my interview schedule (i.e., list of questions; see Appendix B) and gain more insight into my topic. As I talked to coaches and watched them with their young athletes it became increasing apparent that the situations in which they operated were exerting a great deal of influence on them. There were many contextual factors that seemed to facilitate their objectives or to impede their coaching.

Furthermore, I began to find my efforts to find the antecedents or construction of coaching ideology to be rather fruitless. Although some individuals had some interesting ideas about how they formulated their beliefs, most had great difficulty in trying to come to terms with the process they went through to arrive at their ideology, saying "it's difficult for me to verbalize" or "I can't quite remember." In addition to some of my own experiences during the interviews, some of my continuing reading (e.g., Johnson & Sherman, 1990; Ross & Conway, 1986) made it clear that there are many problems with trying to get individuals to reconstruct their own pasts accurately. This avenue of the construction of ideology no longer seemed central to the investigation. And at the same time, the issue of contextual factors was becoming increasingly interesting in my efforts to understand youth sport coaching.

As a result, this investigation focused on coaching ideology and contextual factors of youth sport that may influence coaching behavior. As I spoke with coaches and pursued contacts I identified coaches and contexts that offered the potential to be particularly informative to my topic. I did formal interviews with about 20 coaches. Over the course of a year, I selected eight coaches for more extensive study. With these eight, I did multiple-session formal interviews, and I spent time in their coaching settings. At practice and game sites, I observed their coaching, took notes about their contexts and coaching behaviors, and I did informal interviews with these coaches as well as with parents, league administrators, and other members of the coaching staffs.

All of the formal interviews were transcribed verbatim and the field notes were entered into files. These documents were then analyzed with respect to coaching ideology and contextual factors and their relation to coaching behavior. A chart was constructed to organize all of the elements of ideology, the various contextual factors, and the classes of coaching behaviors (see Appendix A). The data were analyzed both to assess what factors were crucial for each situation and to get an understanding of how various factors may affect coaches differently in a variety of contexts.

After the analyses were completed, I returned to each of the coaches and gave them a written account of my analysis that described my interpretation of their coaching ideology, the constraints and affordances in their coaching context, and their coaching behavior. I also shared my chart of factors and my major findings with them at this time. All of the participants were given an opportunity to react to my analyses with additions, corrections, and clarifications.

Each aspect of the study will now be described in greater detail.

General Settings and Participants

Horn (1985), in a follow-up of work by Smith, Smoll, and their associates (Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979; Smith, Zane, Smoll, & Coppel, 1983; Smoll, Smith, Curtis, & Hunt, 1978), noted that coaching behaviors varied depending on the sampling context (i.e., practices or competitions). She found that assumptions that patterns of coaching behaviors are consistent across practices and competitions are untenable. So as Gould (1988)

recommended, attention was given to sampling issues and their effects on findings and interpretations. All participants were viewed during practice or training sessions and during competitions to view as varied and complete an array of behaviors as possible.

General Settings

All of the settings that were included in this study were fairly typical of youth sport. All the athletes were aged between six and 16 approximately and they were taking part in non-school, adult-organized sports. Formal and informal interviews and observations were conducted in several communities in the midwestern United States and southwestern Ontario. The eight coaches who participated in more in-depth study all coached in one of three mid-sized cities and one small town in Ontario.

Participants

Respondents were selected based on the notion of "purposive sampling" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to increase the scope of data for the study, as well as the probability that a wider variety of relevant factors would be discovered. In this approach, a sample is selected not because it is random or representative of a target population. Participants are chosen because they will be helpful in answering the question at hand. As cultural anthropologists (e.g., Mead, 1933) suggest, an inquirer should select "informants" because they will be informative. More specifically, I employed "maximum variation sampling" (Patton, 1990) to document unique variations that have emerged in adapting to different conditions. This is to say rather than selecting a convenient sample (e.g., coaches from the Urbana Parks basketball league), I chose individuals who differed markedly from each other. I interviewed and observed male and female coaches of individual and team sports who worked with a range of levels and ages of athletes.

By studying coaches who operated in diverse contexts, with diverse constraints, I intended to maximize what I could learn about the relation of coaching ideology and coaching practices. For example, the external pressures exerted by parents, administrators, and community varied greatly among the situations. As I gained insight into my topic, accumulated information, and as I piloted my interviews, I refined the intended sample to focus more particularly on those persons who seemed most relevant. While maintaining variety, I studied those individuals who appeared to be most informative in depth. With eight individuals, I conducted formal interviews and I observed them at practices and competitions and interviewed them more extensively in informal sessions.

Sampling and Selection of Contexts

Because cases were to be grouped around a theme (i.e., each coach was going to be discussed relative to the issues of ideology, context, and behavior), following Thompson's (1978) suggestions, multiple cases were collected. This permitted me to compare and contrast the stories of several different individuals with different coaching experiences. Multiple stories also allowed convergences in experience to be identified.

Selection of Coaches

I have made several general statements about the criteria for selecting coaches for this study. More details on how the eight individual coaches were selected will now be provided. The primary concern was with diversity. I began by seeking male and female coaches in both individual and team sports. This seemed to be a likely way to find variety in both ideologies and contextual variables. I also thought that with the small number of coaches I

would be using, it would be beneficial to use as many different sports as possible. I had some practical concerns about finding willing participants. One always hopes for informative persons, but at the outset I was eager to find some coaches who were simply willing to give their time and share their thoughts.

Initially, two informants in "Kitchford" were able to introduce me to several coaches, three of whom eventually became participants. Among the coaches not selected were several who worked at a local swim club. I went and watched them coach (see Note 1) and ended up doing formal interviews with two of them. Unfortunately, neither had further participation in the study. One left to go to a national meet and was otherwise unavailable and the other was not very informative. The three who became part of the eight were: (a) "Larry", a male graduate student who was coaching house league box lacrosse for his first time; (b) "Midori" a veteran female professional figure skating coach who worked at a recreational club in a small town; and (c) "Hank" an administrator who had been coaching both travel hockey and travel baseball for many years. I felt that these three individuals already offered much of the personal and contextual variety for which I was looking.

Next, I went looking for a soccer coach, partly because it was the sport with which I had the most familiarity coaching at the youth level. I was able to locate a soccer club that had a range of teams from 10 year old boys to senior teams for men and women. I was intrigued by the club because it had the reputation for having the best administration and program in "Metro" (the city where the next five coaches worked). I spoke to the president of the club, the technical director, and the head of the men's senior team about the club and the coaching staff. They gave me some ideas about who might be good to talk to. We ruled out one coach because of his relatively weak English skills. I went and watched the other coaches' practices and games and began to realize that the coaches of the two youngest teams, the under 11 and the under 12, were having very different experiences. Both coaches followed the club's mandate to select the best players in the city and to try to make them be the best soccer players they could be. Yet, "Sandor", the under 11 coach seemed to be having all sorts of problems and "Nigel," the under 12 coach seemed quite pleased with his situation. Because I thought I could learn much about disparate contextual factors, I asked both of them to participate in the study.

My experiences with the Kitchford Aquatic Club led me to believe that there were characteristics about swimming that were quite different from the other sports I had looked at. I spent some time at the Metro Swim Club to see which coach there might be a good informant. I thought "Janet" might be a good informant for several reasons. She had been an Olympic swimmer and had a very high regard for excellence. She was also very willing to talk about her ideas and her experiences. Although all the swim coaches I had seen had some challenges to get their athletes to do the workouts, Janet appeared to have some athletes that were particularly hard to deal with. There was another coach there that I had been interested in working with, but she was only coaching part-time and was otherwise quite busy with medical school. Janet also told me the first time I spoke with her that I would find big differences between what she would have to say as a professional coach and what volunteer coaches experience. These reasons all led to Janet becoming the sixth participant.

My next mission in maximizing the variation among coaches was to find a coach who portrayed some qualities of the stereotypical tough coach. I had in mind the kind of coach that Hollywood likes to portray, the proverbial Vince Lombardi. So football seemed to be the sport to look to. As an outsider to organized football,

my own preconceptions supported the notion that football was replete with staunch coaches. The Metro University football coach put me in contact with the president of the Metro Minor Football League. He told me where and when I could see some coaches who might be willing to talk to me. So I set out to the fields of the Metro Minor games. As I stood on the sidelines, one voice rang out from across the field. I thought this tough-sounding coach might provide what I was seeking. When I approached "Frank" and he told me that I could come and talk to him at the fire station where he worked, I figured I had found just what I was looking for. It amazes me how wrong I was.

My first step toward meeting the final coach was taken while I was reading the Metro Chronicle. A few pages before the scores from Sandor's and Nigel's games was an advertisement for an instructional basketball league. The ad submitted by "Joe Miller, Instructional Leader" listed what each boy would receive and said that each night would have two sessions that would include 30 minutes of instruction followed by a game. This seemed like a context different from any I had seen and also offered another sport, and one that I had coached a fair bit as well. I went to the first night's session and watched the coaches, all of whom looked to be about high school age. There was one young man who looked a bit older (I figured him to be a university student) and he seemed to be very enthusiastic and more involved in what he was doing than the other coaches. I thought he might be my best choice based on what I had seen that night. I approached him as he was leaving and explained what I was doing and asked if I might be able to talk to him. He said, "Yeah, sure." I spoke to Mr. Miller, the organizer and instructional leader to see if he agreed that "Bob" was a good selection -- I suggested that Bob seemed a bit more mature than the other coaches. Mr. Miller said, "Yes, I think he is, plus basketball is his life."

My observations of and interactions with these eight individuals provided most of the data for this study. Although some of my interviews with other coaches will be used to provide supporting material, these eight coaches were the central participants in the study.

Time of Involvement

For each of the eight participants, I attended several practice sessions and at least one competition (or performance in the case of the figure skaters). There has been some concern in the literature that previous studies have collected data only during competitions. Both training and competitions were observed both in an attempt to see the full array of contextual factors and coaching behaviors and to witness any events that might be useful in learning about coaches' ideologies. The observation time, overall, was split fairly evenly between practices/training and competitions/performance. There was, however, a great deal of deviation among the coaches. For example, "Larry" was observed almost exclusively at games; he had only one practice session during the data collection. Conversely, "Midori" was observed almost solely during training sessions, with exception of the one performance (a skating carnival that was not competitive) during data collection. Similarly, I watched "Janet" during six 90 minute training sessions and at the one swim meet (approximately three hours of observation) that took place during data collection. Although the number of field sessions devoted to practices and games was almost equal in "Hank's" case, the number of hours of game observation was considerably greater due to the length of baseball games. "Sandor," "Nigel," and "Frank" were seen equally in practice and competition. Finally, each session with "Bob" involved a half hour of instruction and an hour game. I was involved with each coach for a period of at

least 3 weeks of observation, with total duration of involvement ranging over several months. For example, with Frank I attended practices and games and did formal interviews between October 6 and November 13, 1991, and I did a member check interview on Feb 4, 1992. For this study, the total aggregate time of the formal interviews was approximately 62 hours. The total time for field work and informal interviews was approximately 175 hours. Data were collected with the eight central participants from April, 1991, to February, 1992.

Field Work

Data collection commenced with many hours of field observation and informal interviews with coaches and other adults in a variety of youth sport settings. These observations gave me a greater sense of some of the contextual factors that might affect coaches. Furthermore, the informal conversations with coaches helped to give me a more clear appreciation for some of the elements of youth sport coaches' ideologies. This time in the field was crucial in identifying the participants who would become the center of this inquiry.

Once these coaches were selected, the field observations were important for several reasons. First, it was an occasion to record coaching behaviors and make notes about factors in the context that might be influencing the coaches positively or negatively. Second, what I saw during practices and competitions gave me occasion to ask the coaches questions about these factors. They could then refer to events, knowing I was there to see them. Spending time with the coaches also helped to facilitate rapport. The fact that I showed that I was invested enough to be willing to take the time to watch them and "hang out" may have made the coaches more comfortable with me and more ready to share their time with me.

Reciprocity

During the field work, I had opportunities to reciprocate for the gifts of data that I was receiving. Some of the things I did ranged from helping Nigel during a practice by working with his goalkeepers to filling water bottles and working the gate during Larry's lacrosse games. I felt a real sense of indebtedness to these coaches and I tried to pay them back whenever and however I could. I thanked them for their help after each interview session and each field session where it was appropriate. At the conclusion of the interviews and observations (in six of the eight cases) I took each coach out for either a meal or a few beers. Finally, I sent them all Christmas cards to thank them again for all their help and to let them know that I would be in touch in the new year to do the member check interview.

Interviews

The first interviews were conducted prior to field work. These formal interviews served to refine the interview schedule, to gain greater understanding of the relevant issues, and to help me, as the human instrument, improve my interviewing skills. Informal interviews continued throughout the data collection process. As field work began and the central participants were identified, formal interviews were limited to those individuals.

Formal Interviews

Formal interviews followed the interview guide approach (Patton, 1990). Open-ended interviews involved working from a set of questions for which the inquirer sought answers. The phrasing of the questions and the order in which they were asked was altered to fit each individual. Open-ended interviewing assumes that meanings, understandings and interpretations cannot be standardized (i.e., they cannot be obtained with a formal, fixed-choice

questionnaire). Open-ended interviewing assumes a skilled asker of questions and it presumes skill in listening (Denzin, 1989).

During formal interviews, coaches were asked to describe (a) their backgrounds, (b) their values and beliefs about youth sport, and (c) factors in their contexts that they found to facilitate or impede their pursuit of their objectives. The formal interviews also gave us an opportunity to discuss at length issues that appeared to be relevant to their particular situation.

One of the essential decisions of this inquiry was to use multiple sessions for formal interviews. Although it can be more difficult to find participants willing to meet on several occasions and it creates more work for the investigator, I saw multiple sessions as necessary for my purposes. In some instances, such as when one is basically doing a verbal questionnaire, one interview may be sufficient. But whenever an inquirer seeks to learn about individuals' values and beliefs or how they interpret an aspect of their life, it is imperative that s/he lingers in the lives of participants and takes the time to probe for meaning. The trustworthiness of the data is, in part, dependent on confirmation of information over time. It has been suggested that one-shot interviews are not research, but a lie (A. Peshkin, Personal Communication).

Before I embarked on the formal interviews with each coach, I already had chatted with them informally and developed some rapport. The first few questions of the first formal interview were considered "warm-up" questions (i.e., these questions were not geared to offer a "pay-off" of data; they were asked to give the participant a chance to get comfortable with the interviewing situation and see that the interviewer was there to listen attentively). Follow-up interviews afforded me the opportunity to ask more about issues that had not been discussed fully. Subsequent interviews gave the coaches opportunities to clarify their positions after having thought about the questions between interviews. For example, Nigel began our second session saying how he had contradicted himself previously and began to make sense of what had seemed to be a convoluted position. In another case, Janet came back and had softened her stance after having time to see what she did when she coached and think about her values some more. A third occasion when multiple-sessions provided an important view different from what a one-shot interview would have offered was with Bob. His view of the basketball players' motivation changed from the beginning of the season over the next weeks. The picture I got from speaking to him several times was quite different from if I had spoken to him at any of several given points.

As in any social research, a challenge of multiple session interviews is to interpret how participants may change because of their involvement in the study. Whereas "reactivity" is potentially greater with extended interaction, the increased duration may also vastly improve the quality of the data. When asked a question, most people will give an answer whether they have thought about the issue or not. In an effort to avoid appearing unintelligent, they will produce some response. The initial response may not be most informative about the topic, but the question may spur the individual to ponder the issues raised. In studies such as the present one, some of the questions asked during the research process were occasions for individuals to consider their positions for the first time. Coming back again and again to interview coaches gave them opportunities to think about their ideologies and to reflect on their practices. By proceeding in this manner, I was able to obtain richer, more differentiated ideas about coaching ideology and contextual factors.

Managing the risk of creating ersatz data was a constant challenge. Monitoring myself during interviews was crucial. I attempted to remain aware of my subjectivity and to communicate that I was there to hear the coaches' stories, not to impart my opinion. The danger of behaving in a manner that would get coaches to alter their responses still remained present. Whereas it might be easy for coaches to "put up a front" for a single interview, the duration of my involvement with the coaches served to mitigate potential problems. If they wanted to lead me to believe something inaccurate about their ideologies, they would have to alter themselves accordingly during several interviews, practices, and competitions. Perhaps the key element to avoiding negative influences from the interview process, however, was to avoid giving the coaches any reason to change their thoughts or behavior. Again, establishing and maintaining rapport and communicating that I was present to learn without judging was an ongoing process.

As an aside, it was interesting for me to see how the coaches enjoyed the interviews. Before I began the study, and at many points throughout the investigation, I had concerns about taking coaches' time to have them talk to me. My worries were shown to be unfounded. Virtually without exception, whenever I thought respondents had enough and I turned off the tape recorder, they would continue to talk with me, often for quite a while. An amusing example of how the coaches liked the interviews was when I had thought I had finished for a session and Frank said, "What else? What else? Pump me. Pump me." (I2.17[2]).

Informal Interviews

The second type of interview employed an informal approach. Notes were taken during some of these interviews, and some interviews were conducted as casual conversations with no formal stipulation that an interview was taking place. The value of this technique was that it enabled me to collect data in natural settings where participants were generally more at ease and free to discuss some of their thoughts and feelings. During some of the earlier sessions, I had tried to type a participant's responses into a laptop computer (as some investigators advocate) as part of a post-game interview. I discussed the method with Larry, who said he favored having a tape recorder. He said that when I have specific questions after games or practices it would be okay to use the computer, but he said that it is better for me to decide what's important than for him to self-edit. His input helped me decide to abandon the computer for informal interviews. Furthermore, writing retrospective field notes based on observations rather than using a formal recording method is probably more appropriate for the approach I used (cf. Denzin, 1989).

Field Observations

Much of what I learned about the role of contextual factors in youth sport coaching was the result of spending many hours watching a wide variety of youth sports. The field observations with the eight central participants helped me to see and understand what factors might be most salient to the coaches. During my early sessions with each coach, I tried to be unobtrusive and watch them from the sidelines, stands, or deck. In other sessions, I positioned myself so that I could hear and see the interactions between the coach and athlete.

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[2]This format will be used to denote data sources: capital letter "I" for interview, "F" for field observation, followed by the number of the session, then a period (.) and then the transcript page for that session.

Field Notes

Field notes from observations were recorded in a field log. The field notes recorded coach behaviors, selected athlete behaviors, the content of practice sessions, and other significant events that occurred within the sport settings. For each field observation (practices and competitions), field notes were recorded. A variety of techniques were employed, depending on the context and the primary focus of the session. For each coach, I attempted to record as many behaviors as possible and verbatim comments for at least one practice and one competition and I recorded selection of tasks during practices. I took note of non-verbal communications and I attended to other factors in the context, trying to write a thick description of the situation. In some cases, notes were typed directly into a laptop computer. This facilitated the speed of recording notes, but was not optimal in many circumstances. In many settings either the weather conditions, proximity to water, or presence of projectiles was too great a risk to use the computer. Furthermore, a computer was quite obtrusive in many settings. I began the study by taking all my field notes on a laptop computer. As I noted in my log (5/29/91), "One of the choices I've made with field work has been using a small notepad in most situations. It allows me a lot more flexibility to move around. With the lacrosse, it became less important to write down everything Larry said and to attend to what was going on in the games and how he was responding. I also could move to listen to him when he was speaking more quietly one on one with a kid. With the baseball, it was nice to have the small pad and be less obtrusive so I would have a better chance of getting the comments in the stands without altering what's going on."

There was a range in my ability to record coaching behaviors based on the context. For example, there were great differences in discrete (baseball, football) versus more continuous (soccer, lacrosse) sports. It was, for example, easier to get clear codes and behaviors with Hank during a baseball game than for Larry during a lacrosse match.

For the most part, field notes were used to create a record of what was occurring in each setting. While I observed, often during lulls in competitions or other slow moments, I would have some thought about the study. I indicated in the field notes things that were interpretation or analysis rather than a direct report of the events by putting such comments in brackets ([ ]) in accord with Graber's (1991) recommendation.

The Log

A separate study log contained a record of all inquiry procedures including how the methodology was influenced and altered as the study progressed. A general section described the day to day events of the conduct of the study (e.g., the location and duration of each interview and field observation was recorded). Second, regular entries in the log served as occasions for preliminary thoughts and ongoing analysis. "Memos," including potential codes or written elaborations of ideas about the data and coded categories, were also put in the log. Also included in the log were theoretical concerns such as questions, considerations, and personal comments that emerged during data collection. A separate section was kept to monitor my subjectivity and note how my personal factors and dispositions might be affecting the conduct and outcomes of the study.

Termination of Data Collection

There is always some question of how many data are enough data. At the outset of the investigation I had planned on studying five coaches and I had a hope of completing my data collection by the end of the summer of

1991. I found that I needed to do more background observations and interviews than I originally expected before I began with in-depth studies (with the eight coaches listed above). After completing five cases, I felt that my study was incomplete and I had already identified some other coaches and contexts that I thought would be informative. While I was involved with Bob, I realized that many of the themes were becoming repetitive. I found that the returns were diminishing from the time I spent in the field. I felt that I had met my criteria for variation in coaching backgrounds, ideologies, contexts, and behaviors.

At this point, some "quiet contemplation and provisional writing" (Lofland, 1971) helped me to determine the interrelations between the "bits of data" and to see how they fit together within the context of some overall structures. I used codes and categories to create a general working model for looking at coaching ideology, contextual factors, and coaching behavior.

Comments on Interactions with Athletes

As a final note on the data collection procedure, I would like to comment on some of my interactions with the athletes in this study. Because the focus of this inquiry is coaches, the athletes are not present in most of this document. During my time in the field, however, I did have a variety of interesting and enjoyable interactions with the young athletes who worked with these coaches. Some of them wondered what I was doing in their setting. As one of Midori's skater's put it, "Who's the dude with the notebook?" In another case, a basketball player on Bob's bench who saw me taking notes asked, "Are you a scout?" This not only amused me, but made me wonder about his perceptions of sport and why there would be a scout at a game in an instructional basketball league. In several of the settings, I remained more or less "a fly on the wall" to the athletes. At Hank's baseball games, I mostly sat in the stands and his players probably never knew their coach was being studied. In other cases, I became an active participant. Nigel told his soccer players that I was their "new fan" and I ran through some drills with them. One of the limitations of this study is that I did not interview the athletes about their perceptions of their coach and the context. Not only would their perspective add more to a future study, but from many of the informal contacts I had, I think it would be a lot of fun for the inquirer.

Analysis

Data analysis was essentially a synthetic process in which the constructions that were shaped by the inquirer-coach interactions were reconstructed into meaningful wholes. Data analysis was, in this case, a process of induction (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 332-333 for a more elaborate discussion of these issues). Goetz and LeCompte (1981) described data analysis in naturalistic inquiry as an inductive-generative-constructive-subjective process. Each of these four characteristics will be described in turn. Inductive means that the process begins with the data itself. Theoretical categories and relational propositions are arrived at by inductive reasoning. Second, it is generative because constructs are discovered using data themselves as the point of departure (rather than beginning with constructs and seeking to verify relations). Third, analysis is constructive because the goal is to reconstruct the categories used by participants to conceptualize their own experiences and world view. Finally, analysis is subjective because it depends on the inquirer's own interpretation of reality.

The data were processed by analytic induction (Goetz & LeCompte, 1981, p. 57), a strategy that involves scanning the data for categories of phenomena and for relationships among such categories,

> developing working typologies and hypotheses upon an examination of initial cases, then modifying and refining them on the basis of subsequent cases. . . . Negative instances, or phenomena that do not fit the initial function, are consciously sought to expand, adapt, or restrict the original construct.

Some elements of the similar strategy of constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) were also employed. Within this process, inductive category coding was combined with a concomitant comparison of the events observed and statements made. As phenomena were recorded and classified, they were also compared across categories. During the analysis of initial observations and interviews, relationships were discovered. Continuous refinement throughout the data collection and analysis fed back into the category coding process. As data were constantly compared with previous events, new typological dimensions and new relationships emerged (cf. Goetz & LeCompte, 1981).

Analysis of Interviews

My analysis of the interviews, my efforts to make sense of them, began almost immediately. I transcribed all the tapes myself and forced myself to do so as soon as possible (in most cases completing the transcribing within 48 hours of the completion of the interview). In transcribing the tapes, following Trumbull's (1985) recommendations, I was able to listen for inflections, and qualities of the voices that would help me in interpreting what each person had said. Transcribing shortly after the interview also enabled me to review the interviews to identify any information that I had failed to get or had not probed or followed up adequately. (This was useful for formulating questions for subsequent interviews). Because I spent so much time listening again to the coaches' voices, I could call up their voices almost at will. I could "listen" to them as I thought about what they had told me and as I read the transcripts. I believe that this oral familiarity assisted my interpretive work in some way, perhaps by processing the nonverbal elements of the voice communications (cf. Trumbull, 1985). Words alone on a written transcript may be interpreted in a variety of ways. Making use of the sounds of the words helped to clarify the intended meanings. For example, when Janet commented on what one of the boys on her team wanted to do with "that's good," the literal meaning conveyed by the words did not reflect her intended meaning, which was made clear through her sarcastic tone.

Coding: Initial and Focused

"The construction of an analysis means, in a practical sense, that one needs to invent or borrow a set of labels for ideas, processes, patterns, and the like" (Lofland, 1971, p. 130). Coding, the initial phase of the analytic method, was simply the process of categorizing and sorting data. The codes then served as shorthand devices to label, to separate, to compile, and to organize data (Charmaz, 1983).

Initial coding. Coding was a two-phase process: an initial searching phase preceded a later phase of focused coding (Glaser, 1978). In the first phase, I looked for what I could define and discover in the data. First, I attended to general issues within each context and the emphasis participants placed on various issues. I looked at connections between individuals' unique situations and problems and their interpretations of their experiences. Second, I constructed codes to draw attention to what participants lacked, glossed over, or ignored, as well as what they stressed. In this phase, I identified contextual constraints and affordances and I began to group them into categories.

Focused coding. In the second phase, which was more selective and conceptual, I applied a number of codes to the entire data set. The process was selective because I had already spent time with the materials to develop a useful set of categories. It was conceptual because the codes used raised the sorting of data to an analytic level rather than one designed to summarize a large amount of information (Charmaz, 1983). Focused codes forced me to develop categories rather than simply to label topics. Categories were taken from the language of the participants (as *in vivo* codes, e.g., "hustle") and from my analytic interests. Once the transcripts and field notes were coded (primary and secondary coding was completed), the codes were entered into the data files for organization, retrieval, and further analysis.

Peer Debriefing

I selected a colleague familiar with interpretive research for periodic debriefing. Given full access to interview tapes, field notes, and logs, the peer's role was to "play devil's advocate," forcing me to clarify possible biases, to justify my interpretations, and to confront the need for adjustments in my modes of inquiry. The peer developed an independent assessment of the data and then engaged me in regular discussions about my subjectivity, methods, and interpretations. The peer debriefer's assessment of events served in a similar fashion to the judgments made by a second investigator. When we concurred, dependability was enhanced. When we differed, there was reason for probing, reviewing, clarifying, and reconsidering--although there was not always revision. When rare differences occurred, I pursued follow-up investigation.

Negative Case Analysis

To assure that the emerging themes were in consonance with the data in hand, hypotheses were revised until they accounted for all cases. The data were scrutinized systematically to seek out instances that did not fit evolving themes and understandings. When negative cases were identified, they indicated the need for either further investigation or revision of themes and hypothesized relationships. For example, after three cases, I thought that controlling the location of parents during competitions was somewhat of a panacea for many of the problems that coaches and athletes experience. Yet, when I began working with Sandor, I found a case where my analysis did not hold true, so I made the necessary revisions. Another result of negative case analysis revealed that parents are not, as several cases and much of the literature suggest, always pivotal to youth sport. In two of the cases the coaches, Larry and Midori, found that parents were really not an issue in their situation. Negative case analysis can disprove a rule by exception or help to clarify or to modify a finding.

Portrayals and Case Studies

When all the data were analyzed, peer debriefing and negative case analysis completed, the next step was to take my findings back to the participants. To facilitate this process, I developed "portrayals" (cf. Trumbull, 1985) of each of the coaches. For each coach, I created a pseudonym and a slightly fictionalized thumb-nail sketch of their background and coaching situation. I then included a summary of my analysis of their coaching ideology, contextual factors, and coaching behavior.

Portrayals were revised and expanded based on participants' comments and further analysis helped to form case studies. Case studies provide the "thick description" that is necessary for judgements of transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which depend on a sufficient knowledge of both sending and receiving contexts. Case

studies help to achieve the primary purpose of reporting data--raising understanding. Readers are enabled to build on their own tacit knowledge and gain personal understandings because case studies allow detailed probing of instances in question. Readers get, in a sense, a "vicarious experience; were they magically set down in the context of the inquiry they would have a feeling of déjà vu" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 359).

Member Checks/Negotiated Outcomes

Whereas informal member checks were carried out throughout the project, the completion of my analyses provided a final opportunity to test the credibility of the inquiry report as a whole with the participants in the study. The purpose of this comprehensive check, in addition to testing for factual and interpretive accuracy, was to provide evidence of credibility--the trustworthiness criterion. Each coach was given an opportunity to read the portrayal of him/her. I also showed them my chart of factors and a list of my major findings. All of my written records and analyses were also made available. I was surprised at the interest they took and several of them asked for copies of the portrayal and/or interview transcripts. Through reading of my documents and through interviews, they were given the opportunity to correct my errors and or interpretations of data, and they could also volunteer additional information, and confirm or challenge my observations. All of these reactions occurred and the member checks proved to be quite an enlightening experience.

The coaches generally agreed with my analyses. Their objections tended to be minor corrections of words or phrases that didn't seem clear. Some reactions to more substantive issues were quite helpful. For example, Janet told me that I had made a big issue of her problems with athletes and I needed to specify that it was only a few of them that were giving her all the trouble. Other reactions reinforced what I had come up with, Frank said when he was reading the summary that said that his ideology did emphasize "discipline, learning, fun, and winning" -- and I had placed the values in the correct order. He also reiterated the importance of the differences between 10 and 14 year olds and how the changes the league was going to make would be really good. He added that as kids get older, there is more importance on winning.

During Larry's member check, as he read the summary he said, "that sounds good so far . . . I agree with that too about lack of experience--fish out of water--that's definitely how I felt sometimes." He suggested that there were some things in there that he knew what I was talking about but that needed more detail for someone else to really follow it well. When I spoke of an event, he said it was never really clear and that the event was central to my study and analysis of him. His comments helped me to go back and add detail to form a stronger analysis.

The coaches' input provided further confidence that events that transpired on the rinks, courts, pools, and fields were portrayed accurately. Although I made final decisions about which data and analyses to include in my reports, data were only used after careful consideration of participants' feedback.

Analysis By Factors

After the analysis by coaches was completed, I went back to the chart and did an analysis by factors. Whereas the initial analyses focused on particular coaches, in this phase I looked at all the different ideologies and the components of ideology and discussed how they might be important to understanding youth sport coaches. For example, all of the coaches expressed their values and beliefs relative to fun or enjoyment in youth sport. When analyzing fun as a factor, I concerned myself with the variety of responses and their similarities and differences. I

then looked at all the contextual factors and tried to show how various factors serve as constraints and affordances for coaches. For example, coaches reported how leagues can require them to engage in behaviors that are not in accord with their ideologies and how leagues can facilitate following their ideologies.

Trustworthiness of the Data

An interpretive study can provide great detail about youth sport, coaches, and young athletes. In this type of study, however, the investigator not only has a responsibility to describe phenomena in ways that portray how they were experienced by the participants, but also to inspire the reader's trust in the accuracy of what is portrayed. Several strategies (e.g., prolonged engagement, persistent observation, keeping a field log, triangulating, peer debriefing, negative case analysis) advocated by Lincoln and Guba (1985) were employed to enhance the trustworthiness of data.

Triangulation. To ensure that this report would be a dependable and accurate portrayal of what occurred in the youth sport contexts, triangulation (cf. Denzin, 1978; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest, & Grove, 1981) was employed. Triangulation (overlap of methods) was the process whereby emerging themes were checked systematically against all data sources to confirm findings and to reduce the possibility that conflict or errors were occurring. This process improved the likelihood that findings would be found credible by preventing me from accepting my initial impressions, thereby improving the scope and clarity of constructs (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For example, as the study unfolded and particular pieces of information came to light, steps were taken to validate each data point against at least one other source (e.g., a second interview or another participant) and/or a second method (e.g.,an observation in addition to an interview). No important single item of information was given serious consideration unless it could be triangulated.

A Final Note: Transferability

With the various phases of the research process outlined above and the thick description of the contexts of the study below, the reader will have the material to make judgements of transferability. When the events described here are perceived to connect to events that readers have observed or experienced in their own lives, the results may transfer beyond the contexts in which the study took place.

Chapter Three - Results and Discussion

Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and to discuss the findings of this study. To begin, the eight cases studies will be presented. For each coach, coaching ideology, contextual factors, and coaching behavior will be discussed. After the coaches have been introduced to the reader and many of the elements of the study touched upon, a general discussion of coaching ideology, contextual factors, and coaching behavior will follow. This format will acquaint readers with the "evidence" of the investigation and allow them to make some of their own interpretations. The case studies will allow readers to see how the various factors operate in coaches' lives.

Case Study One - Larry Renaud

"Larry" is a 27 year old doctoral student in biology who served as an assistant coach in the Atom Division (11-12 year olds) of the "Kitchford Box Lacrosse League." His team typically played two games a week in a house league format. Larry participated in a wide variety of sports, including lacrosse, as a youngster through University level. He had not played lacrosse for several years, but recently began playing informally. He had been looking to spend some time as a volunteer when one of the men he was playing with asked Larry if he would like to help him coach lacrosse. Although Larry had coached some other sports, this was his first time working with a lacrosse team.

Coaching Ideology

Larry emphasized the social development ("I think the most important thing is that they learn how to interact with a group of other people" I2.5[3]) and fun aspects of being on a team. Skill development emerged as a secondary goal. It was clear that Larry wanted the players to enjoy participating, but he also wanted them to learn. It was also evident that winning games was not of much consequence to Larry and he made several decisions that decreased chances of winning games in order that the players would have a better chance of learning.

These values are reflected in the following vignette: "I had a kid come up to me the other day and I said you two kids are going to play defense together and he said, "no we can't, he doesn't like me - he doesn't want to play with me". And I looked at the guy and he said, "I don't, but I don't care, I'll play with him. Like I don't care - you can put me on any line." I said "I guarantee you guys will like each other by the end of the year if you play defense together for a whole year" and that sort of stuff - learning that kind of stuff that I think they get out of it long term - I mean there are some that are developing skills that will bring them to Junior A or maybe get a scholarship to an American college or something like that - but that's not something that I really think about too much anyway - It's more just learning how to deal with people - and these kids insult each other and barb each other and - you get in the dressing room - it's mostly the dressing room I think they learn stuff - yeah I can even see relationships sort of now - there were kids who just came in and sat in the corner and they're sort of coming out now and fooling around with guys and that's the most important thing to me - But you know when you're on the floor I think it's important that they learn some of the skills as well - how to catch and how to throw and one of

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[3] Again, this format will be used to denote data sources: capital letter "I" for interview, "F" for field observation, followed by the number of the session, then a period (.) and then the transcript page for that session.

the goals being that if they decide to go on, that they've prepared in a way so they're ready to play at the next level and they're better players than they were when they came - maybe they learn team concept a little bit more - but my goals aren't really all that lofty really" (I1.13). Although he cared about the players learning to get along, he said, "there's a trade off - there's sort of the life lesson versus the enjoyment of the season and if they really weren't enjoying it I probably would put them with someone else . . . the main thing really for me - to actually enjoy the season and have fun is the thing" (I1.14). Laughing, joking around, and simply having fun was a key value for Larry. But he added, "I care that they enjoy it, but I also care that they learn some things so that when they go on to another level they've improved a little bit" (I2.5).

As part of his attempt to help the players learn, Larry made several choices that gave the players learning opportunities rather than goal-scoring opportunities, "I would rather stack one line and not to score all kinds of goals - because at this level it will mean the opposite because they kind of police themselves. They've got to pass to each other - there's 3 all-stars on one line or 3 guys who aren't going to let a kid run around by himself, they give him crap as soon as he comes off the floor. So instead of this kid basically running through the team and scoring every time he gets the ball, he's forced to pass it, which more often than not they miss the ball or you know, they end up scoring less, but is working a little more within the context of how I would like them to work" (I1.5) "at this level if one kid feels that he doesn't need to throw the ball he can actually dominate. . . he probably has a better chance of scoring if he just runs down the floor and shoots . . . but at this level the big kids are so much bigger than the small kids, sort of thing, that making them pass and try to set a play reduces their chances of getting a goal every time they're on the floor. Which is kind of maybe a backass way of doing it, but it means that they're attempting to do the things that are going to help them later, like passing to the open man" (I1.6).

Although Larry recognized he had some "rah-rah spirit", he tried to control it - he said "when I'm tempted to yell out on the floor 'go go go,' I will hold back because I realize that's not the kind of coach I want to be and that's not how I want to interact with the kids" (I1.4).

Larry emphasized learning and not outcome and also valued effort. "It doesn't really matter how well you perform per se on a stat sheet - it's more important the effort that you put out" (I1.5).

Affordances

As Larry tried to coach in accord with these values, four factors appeared to be particularly enabling: his head coach, the league, the parents' role, and the age/developmental level of the players. Ron, the head coach, was actually more like a co-coach with Larry, "it's kind of cooperative though, he's been taking care of who's getting what package for the picture day and that type of thing, but when we get out on the floor he lets me take over just as often as he would and in the games he may take care of the defensemen and I may take care of the forwards or vice versa sort of thing" (I1.2). In addition, Larry said, "Ron has a good attitude . . . he tries to teach them . . . if Ron really wanted to win I would have a problem with that and I've coached in the past where I've quit because I felt the coach was too intent on winning" (I2.15).

Second, the league provided some helpful rules - "the league is nice because the buzzer goes every 2 minutes and you change the line . . . so it's sort of self-policed the way the league does it - so it's more just how you divide the lines up so that within a line or within a group of 5 there's a chance that the kids will all get kind of

looked to for a pass or be involved - and another nice thing they do too is that when a kid gets a penalty he sits off, but when the next line starts up they're at full strength so you're not even tempted to sit your worst player off" (I1.8). Furthermore, Larry said, "I do like the fact that the league is set up so that every kid gets to play the same amount of time . . . it makes things a lot easier on the coach, especially if your objectives are similar to mine - where you want every kid to play the same amount of time" (I2.12).

One opportunity in Larry's situation, which diverges from many coaches' experiences is "I haven't really experienced that much parental intervention at all" (I2.11). This seemed to be facilitated by "the fact that they're completely across the floor and you don't feel like you have these parents kind of lurking behind you - It allows you to kind of interact with the kids the way you want to not the way you feel the parents would feel comfortable with you interacting with them" (I2.13).

A final enabling factor that Larry discussed was the age or developmental level of the athletes. He said that "the older these guys would get, the worse the all-star versus non-all-star situation would get" (I2.12). Larry felt that the kids were at an age where they would listen to him when he said no and "they don't test you as much or they're not as proficient at testing you as 16 year olds would be" (I2.12).

Constraints

There seemed to be two key barriers for Larry. In addition to some minor concerns such as lack of equipment and less practice time than he would hope for, the main issues were Larry's inexperience in this coaching situation and the presence of all-stars on the house league team. The all-stars demonstrated different motivation and values from the other players and they made several of Larry's goals more challenging by their influence.

Although Larry wanted to make practices fun and educational for his players, he seemed to lack the experience of organizing and planning to reach these goals optimally. He said that he had started out letting Ron kind of run the show and he was like this other guy there having a good time with them. The players seemed to have a lot of fun interacting with each other and fooling around. But when Larry had the team to himself, he was at a bit of a loss as to what to do. Larry had some questions about what content would be best for the sessions and also said, "I guess I don't have enough experience with it to know how to walk the line so that they're disciplined and listen to my every command, but I can still enjoy being around them and fooling around with them and stuff too" (I1.9). Larry discussed uncertainties about when to try to teach a life lesson (I3.5) and what things would put pressure on a kid versus making the games more fun. There were some situations where Larry felt "I don't have a feel for that really, yet, I want to make it more fun . . . but I could be completely wrong - and maybe that's the way to go about it, but that's what I'm beginning to sense" (I3.7). With inexperience dealing with some issues, for example a time when a player was injured but seemed all right and was eager to play, Larry said, "But again, I was like a fish out of water at that point, I really didn't know what to do" (I3.7). With the opportunity to be the only coach at a practice and a few games, Larry seemed to enjoy taking on more responsibility and gained more of a feel for coaching this particular group of boys.

The bigger constraint, however, was having the mixed group with the all-stars. Larry noted that "this is the first year they've actually taken the all-stars and put them in the league - interspersed them throughout the

league. So you have these sort of dominant personalities and kids who are very confident or relatively confident in their talents put there with other kids who have different sort of goals - and when you have a practice you have "well this is boring", but 5 times out of 10 they screw up the drill when they do it, they definitely need the practice but - "this isn't what we do in all-stars" (I1.10). The league president (F2.1) also said having all-stars mixed in to the house league team is a significant issue because of the parents "I like working with the kids, but the parents can be tough. The parents are half the job. Especially the parents of the all-star kids who are trying to live through their kids." Larry stated, "In an ideal situation I don't think I would have the all-stars in the house league" (I2.7). There was one situation where several kids were asking to go in at the end of a game when they knew it was not their shift. They felt they were the strongest players and the team had a better chance to win the game with them out there. As Larry commented, "the 5 kids who were really hollering about a best line being out there at the end, all but one were all-star players . . . I don't think that would really have been a factor without that sub-group out there" (I2.7). When we discussed this situation at a later date, Larry felt that it was a real test of whether he was going to follow his ideology. The easy route, he thought would be to succumb to the all-star's pressure and let them try to win the game. He felt it was important, however, to demonstrate that equal playing time and giving everyone a chance to learn was more important than trying to win the match.

In addition to these difficulties caused by the mixed group, the all-stars' values and motivation caused further problems. In one instance, "they obviously resented the fact that I wasn't too serious about winning yesterday, most of them were pretty pissed off about it I think and so I don't know how good of an experience it is really for them" (I2.8). With the all-stars present there were situations where Larry felt, "I couldn't just laugh it off or - I don't feel it's as simple to try to make it fun" (I2.9). He suggested that the all-stars "bring an attitude . . . and it's not really in the interests of the other kids" (I2.10). He added, "If they really start to detract from the fun or even just try to change the attitude that these guys had before, then it really kind of bothers me" (I3.1).

Coaching Behavior

Larry's dominant values were clearly evident in his behavior with his athletes. He spent a lot of time in "general communication" chatting and joking with the players. Especially before practices and games, Larry would spend time in the locker room and would join in the players' talk about what music groups they liked (F1.2) while he helped them put on their equipment. Or he would participate in the "goofing around" when the boys joked with each other. He seemed to like their jokes and told me I missed some "good copy" (F4.1) when he came out of the locker room before a game.

Larry gave the players a lot of praise and encouragement. When I asked Larry what he felt he was doing during the game he said, "I was trying to encourage them. I was trying to give them a bit of information about where they should be, telling them to hustle. Mostly encourage them" (F1.4). He would often use phrases like "way to get in there" or "that's it" and then pat the players on the helmet. He rewarded good passing and offensive play as well as "good D, tenacious D!" He often praised based on his perceptions of effort rather than outcome saying, "that's all right, good effort" or "good hustle guys, don't worry about it."

He also gave them some technical and tactical instructions. Such as "he's yours now" or "stay on your

side, Bobby" or "you shoot from the left, so it's better to be on the right side, so you're closer to the net. Otherwise you're shooting across your body" (F4.2).

He was slow to discipline, thinking that it might take away from the fun of participation and his relationship with the players. In one instance, the boys were having a water fight in the locker room after the game. My "coach's sense" was that this was too far out of line, but Larry said that they were all really enjoying it and he didn't want to end their good time.

The epitome of Larry's emphasis on enjoyment was during a break in a game at the end of the second period, Larry had the team sit down and told them to stop bitching at each other and whining, he said, "Play the game, have fun! We're only down one goal. . . . Pretend you're having fun for our sake."

The one apparent example of Larry not coaching in accord with his ideology was his encouraging the hits and telling the guys to "crack him" - but he, when I brought that back to him said, yes, to some extent that may be true, but he also said that it was part of the fun. He elaborated about how he called one player "Mr. Lumber" because he would dish out some big hits. Larry felt that the player was not very skilled but he could have this reputation and enjoy being part of the team more with Larry's input.

There were several occasions where Larry's emphasis on learning over winning could be seen. In addition to the example above with the all-star players, Larry told the players no "cherry-picking" ("goal hanging") and said "it's probably the best way to score in this league, but I want them to learn how to play the game . . . it's more important than trying to win" (F3.1).

Larry stressed fun, learning skills, and social development, which seem to be very appropriate values for a house league. One of the factors that helped Larry to achieve his goals was his personal style and sense of humor. Perhaps the biggest constraint was the inclusion of all-star players on his team who tend to have different values and interests in sport participation.

Case Study Two - Hank Shaw

"Hank" is a 50 year old university administrator who coaches 13-14 year olds in travel hockey and 16-17 year olds in travel baseball. He coached his sons who are now well beyond their youth sport days. He continues to coach because of the "challenge to provide kids with an opportunity to learn the nuance of a sport . . . and I enjoy teaching and the challenge of teaching them to be competitors" (I1.2). Both of his teams play out of "Kitchford" and have outstanding arenas and fields for practices and games. They travel mostly in Southwestern Ontario.

Coaching Ideology

Hank believed it was important to learn the skills and tactics of the game well and it was important to perform well and win when it was consequential (i.e., the playoffs). The athletes should learn discipline, how to be a team, and some lessons about life as they participate in sports. Hank was a strong leader who portrayed to athletes and others that "I'm in charge." He also recognized that fun is important in participation and noted that one of the problems in many youth sport programs is that "there's not much fun because of the way in which the instruction is provided--mainly in a negative kind of fashion" (I2.2).

Hank was definite about his emphasis on the importance of winning: "We're not going to tournaments to

stand around, we're going to win . . . A lot of people have a problem with winning and losing and what it means. Kids have to be taught how to win and they have to be taught how to lose. So we put our efforts into what it takes to win. As far as I'm concerned, the most important thing is the good of the team first, then the good of the player" (I2.5). Furthermore, "in the playoffs you're trying to win . . . we play to win" (I2.6). Hank stated that the season can be used as teaching time, but when "I get into the playoffs it's the application of what we've learned to be the best team in Ontario. And I don't make any bones about it. Whenever I ice a hockey team, my prime objective is to be number one" (I2.7).

In addition to performance outcomes, Hank also stressed life lessons and "building character." "We try to teach them a little bit about their language about respecting other people, about respecting their parents, about respecting girls . . . That doesn't go over too well with them sometimes, because they think I'm coming down too hard on them, but that is okay, I can live with that" (I2.9). The following vignette also conveys Hank's commitment to teaching his athletes more than sport: "I had one boy a number of years ago whose parents are very well off, not multi-millionaires by any means, but this kid never wanted for anything and in the middle of a hockey game as a defenseman, he got beat, they scored on him and he turned around and cracked his stick over the goal post and broke a $40 hockey stick. He came to the bench and I said to him "what gives you the right to break a hockey stick during a game? Especially when the play is over and on our net?" And he said, "well, goddammit, I was mad." I said, "Don't goddammit me and I don't care how mad you were, you don't have any right to do that." I said, "Have you got another hockey stick to finish playing this game?" And he said, "yeah." And I said, "you're going to sit here for a while and think about why you broke your hockey stick. And then when we finish the game, we're going to have a chat about it." So then the game goes on, and of course the kid is sulking, and we eventually put him back in the game. And at the end of the game I went to his father, and I said, "Your son needs a new hockey stick" but I said "you are not to buy it. He must pay for this hockey stick." And his father looked at me and he said, "Why? I could buy his hockey stick." And I said, "That isn't the issue. The issue is that he has no right to break hockey sticks because he's mad. If you let him do that, the next thing he'll be breaking is your television set or breaking somebody over the head. That isn't appropriate." And I went to the kid and said the same thing, "you and your dad are going to get a hockey stick, but you're going to pay for it." And he laughed at me and said, "well, my dad will pay." And I said, "no he won't, because I've already had a chat with him" and I said, "if he does pay, then you can stay home." I never had a problem with that boy the rest of the hockey season and he didn't break another hockey stick over the net. So we try to teach them that - that property is not just there" (I2.10).

Affordances

As compared with the other coaches in this study, most of my field observations of Hank were, unfortunately, from a position where I could not see and hear a great deal of his interactions with his athletes. I would characterize the descriptions of some of the contextual factors, therefore, as incomplete. I think, however, that Hank added to the diversity of coaches in the study and his case is informative to the topic. In terms of some of the factors that facilitated Hank's coaching, his age and position, the athletes' developmental level, his experience and teaching ability, and his assistant coaches appeared to be particularly helpful.

First, in addition to his demeanor, because Hank was in the same age cohort as many of the players' parents and because he was a respected figure in the community, it made it easier for him to be steadfast in some of his policies. For example, Hank was able to set strict standards with the parents: "I talk to them as a group at the beginning, before the season starts that meeting takes place immediately after we've selected the team. And in that meeting the ground rules are laid down as to who's in charge, when their kid is to be brought to the rink, when their kid is finished playing, when their kid is to be brought to the ball park, what the boundaries are for the dressing room--it's inviolate--the parents don't go into my dressing room, ever, unless I invite them in. If a boy is injured and the parents have some concern, that's okay, but they're not to be coming into the dressing room before games to tape their kid's stick or to see that he's got his sani-socks on the right feet. So that's bullshit, we just don't allow that. We lay the ground rules; these are the rules, this is what I expect. These are the penalties if the rules are violated and I'm in charge, let's go and play -- because you're stuck with me for 6 months if it's a hockey season, and you're stuck with me for 3 or 4 months if it's a baseball season. And I lay out to them that they're supposed to be parents, they're supposed to be spectators, they're not to be coaches; they're not to coach their kid. In fact with our 16 and 17 year old team, we even tell the kids in the locker room that it's time that you stood up and spoke for yourself with your parents about this issue. And we tell our parents that we told them. You can expect that if you get on your kid's case, then your kid's going to come back and tell you to shut up because we've already schooled him to that function. That first and foremost, he's a player, and secondly he's your son, when he's with us. When the game is over, he reverts back to your son, being your son when the game is over and I don't want to hear anything more about it" (I2.5).

Second, in his work with the hockey players, the athletes' age or developmental level seemed to be an advantage: "They are not so set in their ways--they're not so driven by things external to the game - such as girl friends and high school and all of those kinds of pressures . . . and they have enough skill that you can begin to initiate some changes to the way that they learn how to play hockey" (I2.2).

Third, with both the hockey players and the baseball players, Hank seemed to have developed a rapport with the players and he earned a lot of respect. His depth of knowledge of the sports facilitated his teaching and his relationship with his athletes. He had been involved with coaching both sports for over twenty years and he had an extensive background in teaching technique. His experience and expertise helped to enable him to develop talent and pursue victories as he advocated.

A final affordance for Hank was his coaching staffs. He had developed a strong working relationship with several assistants in both sports. He had organized the staffs and delegated responsibilities so that he could be the chief strategy coach and the assistants could be position specialists (e.g., one coach took care of the baseball pitchers). In hockey, having the assistants was particularly useful on one occasion when Hank could not be on the bench because of a league rule that stipulated that once a team had accrued a certain number of penalty minutes, the head coach had to sit out a game. The assistants were able to stay with the game plan and policies that Hank had established. In baseball, it was clear that Hank could be much more effective focusing on the big picture with assistants to coach the bases or work on specifics with the players.

Constraints

Among the constraints that Hank noted, three seemed to be most central: athletes' inadequate prior training, hockey subculture, and parents. In describing the first area, Hank recalled, "We had a boy last year who was a pitcher all the way through the system. This boy has not had any coaching in terms of pitching mechanics. He's developed a sore arm. He pitched for us last year and in spite of all of the work that we have put in, in trying to teach him better mechanics, he still had a sore arm. And he had a sore arm to the extent that we had to take him to a physician who said he couldn't play anymore. And, in fact, he can't play this year. Now if that boy had been corrected in his mechanics when he was 9 or 10, when he first started to pitch, his problem wouldn't exist as a 16 or 17 year old. So those kind of things are what bother me" (I2.2).

Another constraint for Hank was hockey as a sport or subculture. He noted "there's this mentality in hockey by a lot of coaches that goes back to the 1930's in this country where Connie Smyth, who was the coach of the Maple Leafs in the 30's, made a statement one time that if you can't beat them in the alley you can't beat them on the ice. Well that mentality exists and it exists right through minor hockey. And in spite of the rules and the structures in place to deal with kids that fight, you throw them out of games, you suspend them etc. etc. The attitudes of the coaches there haven't changed. And you can go to any small town in Ontario and the guy that is going to be coaching the Bantam hockey club may not be well versed in the nature of the game - and might subscribe to that kind of violence and reward it. The kids get vicarious reinforcement from their parents and their coaches - the coaches may tacitly approve what's going on here. And for me to try to go in and eliminate that in my teams and at the same time make sure that my players are prepared to defend themselves, because they are going to be attacked. I teach my 13 year olds how to defend themselves" (I2.3).

Finally, Hank mentioned several ways in which parents can be a constraint. In one case, "the parents sitting in the stands see the game a different way than I as a coach on the ice or the players on the ice - and so, Little Johnnie gets cross-checked across the back or slashed on the arm carrying the puck and his father and mother are up there in the crowd screaming to retaliate and he doesn't retaliate, which I've been trying to teach him all season, and he's just as likely to go home and be told he's a sissy for not doing that. And yet I'm telling him that look, this is part of the game and you've got to get used to it. It's just one of the things that happens you know. It's like playing with a sore fingernail or something, you've got to get used to it and so the kid's quite often put in conflict over this. And all of this despite the fact that I tell the parents the same thing that I tell the kids" (I2.4). Smith's (1988) account supported Hank's view. "In the eyes of parents and others, the sine qua non of hockey is hustling. Hockey parents want to see their kids hustle--and in hockey, hustling includes hitting" (p. 302).

Coaching Behavior

Hank's interactions with his athletes seemed to fall in line with the standards that he discussed. He provided a no-nonsense environment in which athletes would be challenged to learn their sport and strive for victory. Games were taken seriously and the coaching staffs and parents appeared to have a great deal of investment in the competitive outcomes. During games, Hank used a lot of "hustles" -- for example during one baseball game: "Come on Jonesy, come on now - Come on now. Jack, that a boy. That a boy. That a way, kid. (after a base on balls) (clap) Good at bat . . . Come on Mel. Come on. (clap) Good eye. Back (to runner). Come

on Craig, stay on it" (F1.1).

He also took players aside to try to instruct them. As one player was heading to the on-deck circle in the middle of an inning, Hank talked to him about how the player needed to get down more on a play he had attempted in the field. Hank demonstrated and explained the mechanics involved in "getting your bum down." As the player needed to get ready to bat, Hank said, "I'm probably telling you too much now, right?"

Hank maintained control of his emotions and in several situations he showed no reaction to desirable performances/outcomes (e.g., a base hit that brought the team from behind into the lead in the late innings). Although Hank described how he would get intense during games, he mostly encouraged the players and did not say a great deal. He used practices to do most of his technical instruction and to plot strategy.

Hank's actions on the diamonds and in the rinks were in accord with his stated priorities of teaching techniques and tactics, performance excellence and outcomes and instilling in his players discipline and values that he deemed appropriate. His age, experience, and knowledge facilitated his pursuit of these goals. Overcoming hockey's subcultures, some of the athletes' inadequate early training, and some parental influences were among the challenges that Hank faced.

Case Study Three - Midori Lincoln

"Midori" is a 35 year-old professional figure skating coach. Like most figure skating coaches, she began skating as a youngster and she was an accomplished skater. After her achieving her goals as an athlete, she skated in professional shows before she began coaching. Although she called herself "a professional coach," much of what she did not fit with some of my notions of what a coach does. Little of her work involves preparing athletes for competition. As she stated, "I don't do very much competitive preparation, probably relatively very little. But in the sport of skating, most of coaching is teaching - even the higher level competitors only go to 2 or 3 competitions a year and the rest of the time you spend learning new skills, perfecting old skills, developing new programs and stuff - and personally I think that's teaching, not coaching" (I2.4). For me, this was a noteworthy distinction from the other coaches in the study. Currently, Midori coaches at a small town recreational club with beginning level skaters aged from approximately 8 to 15 (where I observed her) and she does private lessons in a larger city. Most of the skaters at the club were about 10 years old. All of the athletes she coached are white females and many of them are related. As Midori explained, "they're competitive among themselves, but they're also pretty cooperative among themselves - this is my interpretation of the situation - they are a really small town and they all know each other - in fact most of them are related, they're all cousins and sisters and aunts" (I1.4).

All of the athletes were receiving instruction in figure skating and most of them were participating in a precision team that the club had recently introduced. The athletes participated in what are known as "recreational competitions," which are designed to allow these athletes to "go and compete at their own skill level doing both whole programs and individual skills and stuff like that."

Coaching Ideology

Midori's ideology was characterized by several inter-related values: participation, physical activity, fun, and the importance of giving the athletes choices or control--letting them have "ownership" of what they are doing--what might be seen as self-determination.

The emphasis Midori placed on participation went along with the limited value she put on competition. She said, "I think my way doesn't really weight the situation heavily whether they win or lose - and at their level I don't go nuts when they win - I mean at the competitions, some of the coaches when the kids win are jumping up "this is great" - I think it's wonderful and I tell them that -- good congratulations, I'm glad they did well, but I'm not hopping around in the stands over there and at the same time you can't be too disappointed if they do badly - you can't be too happy if they do really well. I think you give them messages about what's important. [what is important?][4] participation. at a recreational club. If you're at a competitive club and you want to be a competitor then, competition is important and performance will be a little more important too, but they know that as well" (I1.17). Further, "I don't think the competition thing is as important as the just participation and I think - actually it's funny - they asked me the first of the year was there anything about skating that I wanted to tell them in their newsletter - like our new coach is - and she says. And what I said is that skating is a good thing to learn now because it's a life skill - something you can do forever, basically - and I think that it is for any level" (I2.7). To help to encourage participation, Midori structured the sessions so that the skaters had a lot of flexibility with when they arrived and what they did while they were on the ice. "I don't have many rules, and part of that is because a lot of them are pure recreational, so if I impose rules on them, then they might perceive that negatively and won't come skating - like a lot of them are late, the older girls are late, but they still come and have fun and stuff" (I1.5). She had some particular concern that some of the older girls needed a sense of control and not having demands placed on them, if they were to stay in skating. Midori said, "with the 15 year olds too, those are the ones that I don't want to quit . . . they're there because they happen to think this is pretty fun and they think they can learn some new skills and they enjoy it - so why should I make it some kind of a negative thing" (I1.6). As opposed to coaches who stress discipline, Midori submitted, "I think it's more important that they show up - then that they show up on time" (I1.6). "I think there are a lot of girls who aren't encouraged to pursue sports when they reach 15, 16 years old - because they get a lot of competing things - so if this is something that they enjoy then perhaps it will be a little more competitive with some of their other teenage interests - and have a little more active lifestyle for future too" (I1.7).

Part of the value of participation, as Midori saw it, was related to her belief that physical activity is desirable. "I'm probably playing some kind of a role in what their future sport participation might be. So I try to make that as positive as possible . . . the way I look at it is that it's an activity that they'll be able to do at some minimum skill level their whole life if I give them the basic things that they need to know so that they can always be involved and have fun. . . . I think that any kind of participation in any physical activity is, from a health perspective--mental and physical--a good thing. So if you give kids enough opportunities to choose, to find a physical activity that they like, that they would care to pursue, then my theory is that you increase the chances that they will stay active as an adult" (I2.8).

One of the positive elements of physical activity for Midori is that it offers enjoyment. "Because a lot of those kids are just taking skating lessons basically as an activity for them to do right now, but the way I look at it is

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[4]Comments or questions from me as interviewer are denoted by brackets [].

that it's an activity that they'll be able to do at some minimum skill level their whole life if I give them the basic things that they need to know so that they can always go skating and have fun" (I2.5). She noted, "the enjoyment factor is important, and if you want to call that fun, and there's a certain social factor that fits in there - you can socialize with people that participate in the same activity - I think activity is a good thing" (I2.8).

To encourage participation in activity and to make skating enjoyable, Midori stressed giving the skaters "ownership" of the activity and giving them choices and control over much of what went on in their skating. With regard to their shows, she said, "because it's their opportunity to show off what they learned and what they like to do and why should I tell them what they learned and what they like to do? They can tell me that. Plus I want them to be happy to go out in front of an audience and do a performance they like and have confidence in, instead of being apprehensive and worried about (a) doing the thing in the performance and (b) pleasing me" (I3.2).

To give the skaters this sense of self-determination, Midori "tried to let most of them do what they wanted in all of those show numbers" (I3.1). "I didn't want to just direct the whole show, I wanted them to be involved as active participants. Because I didn't want it to be my show, I wanted it to be their show. . . . I've talked about ownership with you before and that's an extension of that -- they're the ones who are trying to show off what they've learned so they should have a choice of trying to show off what they've learned" (I3.2). "I wanted them to have a greater sense of "I did that, Midori didn't make me do that. Midori and I made this solo up together." To me its a way of helping them to like what they're doing or continuing to like what they're doing" (I3.3). In the practice sessions, Midori stated, "if I was teaching them something and they said oh we have a great idea, then I said fine, ok, well try it this way and then we'll talk about your idea . . . so that they could have some input . . . I'm just trying to keep them interested . . .I want them to have some ownership over their number" (I1.11). Much of what Midori advocated about giving the athletes a sense of personal control over what they were doing would be supported by current thinking about intrinsic motivation (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1985).

Affordances

Midori's coaching situation afforded her the opportunity to coach in accord with her ideology to a large extent. She had a great deal of freedom to structure her sessions and interact with her athletes as she desired. There were few administrative structures that constrained the content of the sessions. There were no supervisors or "evaluative others" at the sessions other than a few parents. When I asked if the parents had any effect on what Midori was doing with the skaters, she said, "No, not that I perceive" (I2.1). She described her relationship with the parents as friendly, but limited. Other key facilitating factors for Midori were: the athletes' behavior and motivation, the structure of the program that the club wanted her to work with, and her own skating background and teaching experience.

First, the athletes were very well-behaved and willing to work on their own or in small groups so that Midori could teach individuals or a few girls at a time. They were interested in learning to skate, but most had modest goals and placed few demands on Midori. She had few if any behavior management challenges and she could have her back to most of the skaters without having problems.

Second, the Canadian Figure Skating Association (CFSA) badge program that the club wanted her to

implement was geared for recreational skaters and was "designed to get kids a basic skating background so they can continue to just recreational skate through their lives or whatever or prepare them if they care to go through the CFSA test system" (I2.1). Midori was able to manipulate the program to teach skaters skills in a sequence that she found appropriate. Furthermore, she could "test" the skaters progress informally without having a "test day" as is needed in other programs. This helped her keep the skating context less evaluative. As Midori put it, "I never have a test day. . . I just pass them - you saw that - I just come off the ice and say you passed this and this and this, and the girls say "I did?" and I say, "yes you were working on this for the last 6 weeks and I checked you off today" and that way they are happy they achieved something but they don't have to ever have a test and fail" (I2.14).

Third, Midori's extensive background as a skater and experience in teaching enabled her to help the skaters learn. She used a lot of demonstrations, which provided a quality model for the skaters to follow. Having been teaching children for many years also gave Midori a great deal of knowledge and options to draw from. "If I try to teach them something one way and it doesn't work then I can say "okay, try this" instead of "no try again, no try again"-- and over the years I've kind of played with it to see what ways seem to work best" (F4.4).

Constraints

The constraints that seemed to exert some influence on Midori's coaching were: her emotional control, parental influence on the skaters and the club, the negative aspects of the club and its program, and the other coach who worked with the skaters.

First, one factor that worked against Midori's efforts to keep the skaters happy and motivated to participate was her losing her temper at times. She said that generally she talks to the skaters one at a time and she would tell them the little things that they needed to know, but "with the precision team, for example, they all need to know the same things, and they have trouble with the concept that I shouldn't have to say things 12 times - that I could say it once and they would all listen at the same time and I get irritated with that after a while, and they usually catch on fairly quickly and then start among themselves . . . even worse than that . . . sometimes I lose it and yell at them "you guys are driving me crazy" (I1.9).

Second, although Midori said the parents had no direct effect on her, the parents did serve as an indirect constraint in a couple of ways. One way was by influencing the skaters. For example, a girl came to one session and said, "My mom wants me to pass my free skate today" (F1.1). As stated above, Midori preferred to have the skaters pass the skills in a more informal way. The situation created by this skater's mother produced an opportunity for the girl to fail, which Midori tried to avoid. Furthermore, at the club's annual meeting, some parents pushed for more rules during the skating sessions - such as getting on the ice on time and not getting on and off to go to the bathroom etc. Midori did not want these limitations and felt that these changes would impede the skaters' control over their own situation and decrease what might be called their intrinsic motivation. Also, the parents pushed for the precision team to enter competition before Midori felt they would be ready.

Third, there were elements of the club and the badge program that Midori felt were constraining. She said that although the badge program was recreational that there are better ways to teach them to skate and then teach them to figure skate, where they don't have to start with specific things. She also said that "the badges is a CFSA

program that is supposed to be an incentive system. Kids want to pass, but they transfer wanting to learn the skill to wanting to get the badge" (F2.1). Her observation is in accord with the overjustification hypothesis (Lepper & Greene, 1975), which suggests that extrinsic rewards for a behavior that has intrinsic appeal to children can undermine their intrinsic motivation by "overjustifying" their reasons for engaging in the behavior. Midori also noted that for the better skaters she couldn't give them what they needed because of "limitations of the club, and the size of the club and its purpose. What I recommended for them was to go to another club, in Kitchford to take lessons there . . . instead of making the club go through all the hassle of having to do that, then I just sent them off to another club to do that - it will probably be better for them in the long run anyway" (I2.2).

Finally, the most difficult constraint for Midori was having to share the responsibility of coaching this group and precision team with another coach, Karen, -- a coach with whom she differed in values and objectives for the skaters. Although they worked with the skaters on different days, there were conflicts. As she described it: "because I work with another coach right now who I don't agree with a lot of her methods and um, I'm not sure what her philosophies are, to some extent it's just make it look good, make it easy and she's got a lot of ideas on what precision is supposed to be - but are not my ideas of what precision is going to be and she has - she looks at the number and then trains it a little bit in that I do the choreography and the teaching and she runs them through and helps them out in terms of well, you're off step and you're off and stuff. And sometimes when I put stuff in she'll change it for something much simpler because they're having trouble with it, which I don't think is very good because you're reducing the whole challenge of the thing and it doesn't make it any better it just makes it easier. But if you teach them how to do the step properly then that will become easy as well probably inside of two weeks - so I've spent whole hour and a half sessions working on 8 beats of music to try to get stuff across - it's kind of a good way to do it because then they like it" (I1.12). The problem may have been exacerbated because Midori "had very little communication with her. I should probably have more, but I don't really like communicating with her, which is not a good thing to do, but for the most part I don't need to because I'm kind of independent" (I1.13). There were further problems because the skaters seemed to like Midori better and would complain about Karen's choice of music. Whereas Midori encouraged the girls to do their own choreography without much concern for its professionalism, the other coach was critical. In one case, two girls had a routine that "they made up all themselves, Karen told them it was sloppy and floppy and they had to change it and they both left in tears" (I3.4). At the annual meeting, Karen argued for more structure in the sessions and wanted to put in dress codes, arguing "if you look like a skater, you feel like a skater" (F3.1).

Coaching Behavior

Fortunately for Midori, many of the barriers were surmountable. For example, some of the mothers supported her over Karen and she was able to persuade the parents why the skaters should not be competing yet and why she allowed for more flexibility in the sessions with arrival times and such. Midori argued in the annual meeting for making the skating as attractive as possible and felt that rules should be limited to safety concerns such as no gum and earrings.

Midori did behave in accord with her statements about flexibility in the sessions. For example, when one session started at 4:40, there were only 8 girls, another came a few minutes later, and by 4:56 there were 14 girls

on the ice (F1). Some of the older girls were the late arrivals and Midori allowed them to join in the session and work on the skills they wanted to work on. During most of the sessions she did largely technical instruction, using demonstrations and giving some positive reinforcement for correct skills. When she worked with the precision team, she did a fair bit of technical direction, for example "6, 7, 8, mohawk, mohawk, cross, cross, cross, keep your feet moving" (F1.3). She utilized plans based on what the skaters wanted to do. She would have a loose plan of ½ hour figures, 1¼ - 1½ hour free skate, and 25 minutes of precision.

Most of the sessions were geared toward skill development and there was very little preparation for competition in Midori's sessions. The skaters participated in a "skating carnival," which was a chance to display their skills, but was not a competition. The recreational club and freedom from external constraints afforded Midori the opportunity to use her extensive background and to coach so that she encouraged participation in skating and tried to make physical activity enjoyable for her skaters.

Case Study Four - Nigel Langley

"Nigel" is a 34 year-old chef who came to Canada from Britain eight years ago. He coaches 11 year olds in a competitive soccer club, the "Metro Canadians". The club formed "to pull in all the players with a lot of talent and a lot of - they wanted to push players into becoming better and better and that's why they formed this club - it's got all-star teams, you go for try-outs and everything else." The Canadians' Handbook states that they were founded five years ago with a "dream to provide a club with an elite program for the district's finest youth soccer players; with excellent coaching and with positive exposure to upper select, regional, provincial and national soccer programs. . . . The nickname "Canadians" defines the ultimate dream of any athlete -- that of being the country's representative in world competition. We have not reached that ultimate dream but we are certainly on our way."

Coaching Ideology

Nigel was very clear and straight forward that his primary interest was in skill development for his players. "My main objective is soccer and I want the best from them" (I1.8). He got involved in coaching because, in terms of available coaching, he felt there "was nothing for them, they were going nowhere." He was particularly concerned that his own son was not getting instruction that would enable him to improve and this was a key motivator in his taking on this team (cf. Gould & Martens, 1979). His interest in what's best for the players was further demonstrated in his willingness to step aside if a superior coach becomes available, "and like I said if there's somebody more skilled and more - then I'll just step over and say thank you - I would love that for these kids - I just want the best for these kids - I'm not doing it for me. I enjoy it, I love to get in there and practice with the kids and show them things and see them play -but that's all I'm there for really. I'm not in it for the ego or anything" (I1.9). He seemed quite genuine in his statements and suggested that he would love for the Canadians' technical director, Mick, to take over the team. "I can only take them so far. I think I can anyway. I've only - I know how to play the game, but I'd like them to get the best - like Mick. I'd love Mick to take them over. If Mick would take them now I would be happy. He can give them more than I can, but I think I can still offer them something for another couple of years anyway." There was further evidence of this interest when Nigel asked Otto (a coach working toward his 'B' license) about taking over his team (Sandor, F5.1).

This idea of a coach taking athletes through their early years and turning them over to a more highly trained coach as they reach their middle years is a pattern in athletes that have developed to the elite level (Kalinowski, 1985a). "In swimming, as in other fields we have studied, it seems to be the case that the transition to the later years is often marked by a move to a master teacher, an accomplished professional with a well-documented ability for bringing out the best in students" (p. 180). Although Nigel stressed development, there was a tension relating to the importance of winning. Although he suggested, "winning is not the be all and end all. It's nice, but the most important thing is the development. (I1.11)," he also remarked "winning - let's face it, is what it's all about. The kids' improvement, but at the end of the day, the winner, winning" (I1.10). In a tournament game, "the most important thing there is winning" (I2.2). While discussing the issue, he noticed the tension in the positions he was taking, "in very important games - you do your best to win it. And I suppose what I've said, I've contradicted myself because I've said it's all about player development - and it is about player development - but I think that develops a player a little bit as well, it makes him understand that, you know, everything is not going to go his way and that -- they've got to get used to that when they get older anyway. If they go professional or -- it's -- they're not always going to be playing. But in very important games or tight situations, a change can mean a big thing in the game, so that winning becomes important to me yeah. So I may sit somebody out, because I know that if I play him in a certain position, like I change something, it could mean the game. . . . for that moment, I suppose winning takes me over (laugh)" (I1.17). Although at first glance, it seemed that winning and development were competing goals, it became clear that they are in some ways complementary.

The following is some material showing the importance of skill development to Nigel: "I want to develop players and keep pushing them to get them better and better" "You can have a laugh for the first ten minutes when everyone is showing up and then when we start we need to be serious about the soccer. It's not one big joke. You don't learn anything playing like that and you'll play like that in the game." "It's all right to have a laugh and a joke, but they need to be serious and work on passing and using names." He continued, "We take everything--the preparation and everything else serious--like we put everything into it and we want everything from the kids and we allow them to have fun, but at the end of the day we want the soccer to be first. We want them to improve and we want the best from them. [The most important thing is skill development?] Yeah, exactly, yeah. [That they progress] Yeah, that's what we want, like I said to you earlier, winning is great, but it's not all we're out for. We want these kids to improve."

Nigel had an under 12 team and they were playing in an under 14 league - and I asked him about the purpose of this. "Yeah, right now that's all that's important that they develop we could have stayed under 12 or under 13 and win everything, so winning is not the be all and end all - it's nice, but the most important thing is the development." Another time he commented, "but the most important thing to me is that these kids keep developing."

Nigel made a remark about how winning can compete with skill development, "For that moment, yeah, I suppose winning takes me over (laugh) -it takes the kids over as well. The kids understand as well, I think. For instance in the Ontario Cup we had a game, played a team from London, I had - the game was so tight, it was 1-1.

And it was just being played by everybody so competitive. Nobody was making mistakes. I had 2 kids on the bench. Both players are good players, but if you put somebody new on the field when it's that tight, it takes a player -what?- ten minutes to get into a game anyway - to get on the field and get into it. If I'd have changed one of our players, I think we would have lost the game. That was my decision. Like I said, I'm contradicting myself in one way, cause I didn't change the team because I wanted that game - I wanted it for the kids and for myself - I wanted to win the game, and it was so tight I thought one thing would have changed the game. (pause) I don't know - I don't make sense anymore, eh?" (I1.17).

Later he suggested how development and winning can complement each other, "Yeah, it is, but I don't think they'd develop very far if they lost every game anyway, would they? [No, maybe not, why do you think that?] I was thinking - if we lost every game, we wouldn't try anything new. I think the kids would be too scared to try anything different, and they wouldn't play - they'd play differently, they'd panic with everything. So I mean, when we get a comfortable lead, say we're playing an easier team and we get 3 or 4 goals up, I always get the kids to "right, from now on you have to make 5 or 6 passes before you can go near the net" - something like that which helps them out. So, that's development when we're playing an easier game, and when we're playing a tougher game, we still try things, -- winning is important, if we lost every game, I don't think we would be able to try things, I don't think we'd improve much because we would always feel that we're losing. (I2.1)

Affordances

Nigel described his coaching situation as virtually ideal. He felt that the club, the Canadians, was very supportive and gave him the freedom to coach as he chose to. He described the excellent support he had from an assistant coach, a manager, and some parents--particularly Tina, one who served as a "complaints department" and also helped with travel arrangements (e.g., traveling ahead of the team to "organize hotel rooms from time to time as well" (I1.14)). "I've got a manager, and I've got an assistant, and one of the ladies, a parent, and I thought this was a good idea - cause I've got younger kids - goes down as sort of the complaints department to handle -- because, as I was telling you the other day, the hardest part of coaching is the parents. You never please them, never. So we put this lady in, and she's a school teacher and she knows how to handle parents and teachers and that. So we put her in as - any time any of the kids or the parents want to say anything, they go to her. And then she comes to us and we try to iron it out from there" (I1.5).

Nigel said that the assistants, managers, and parents provided a "good organization . . . I couldn't do it on me own" (I1.14). His assistant and manager, a married couple who had a son on the team, "spend a lot of time phoning around, getting maps, organizing friendly games" (I2.8). His assistant coach also worked with the parent "complaints department lady" to write a newsletter to the parents and Nigel noted "it's important having the communication with the parents (I2.10).

Constraints

Although Nigel had a great deal of support and he described his situation as being virtually ideal, there were some factors that did impede his efforts to foster the players' skill development and to provide them with the best possible experience. One constraint related to the above discussion of the relation of winning and skill development. As Nigel stated, sometimes the winning took him over and he got more caught up in thinking about

how to win the game then what would be best for the players' development. As Mick, the Canadians' technical director suggested, Nigel would try "to play the game for the players;" he would tell the players what to do in each situation as if he were out on the field doing it himself. With his heightened arousal and narrow focus of attention on the plays of the game, it was difficult for Nigel to look at the bigger picture of the match and to think about decisions like when to make substitutions.

Two related factors that Nigel found constraining were the quality of the league in which his team played and the quality of the officials. He wanted to get his team into an elite youth league in Michigan, but "they won't let us in. The Canadians want that for us as well, but they won't let any out of state teams in. The Little Caesars league, they get the top referees, the best fields and the best teams . . . the refereeing is not the best where we are. In fact a lot of teams - like the ethnic teams in Metro won't play in our league because of the refereeing. It's terrible refereeing. Like we always have to beat the ref as well as the players. They don't really like Canadian teams coming over and winning it in Michigan. [How do those refs affect what you're doing?] Well, it's very hard in some situations, injuries of course, referees can destroy a game. Injuries, the kids get so frustrated, like our very first game in Michigan, we only lost one game over there, we lost the very first game 6-4. We taped it - I wish you could see it, you wouldn't believe it. Every time we scored, he'd give them a penalty or he'd give them something, and it was just crazy, crazy decisions. It was a young boy reffing. He didn't even have a uniform on, and this was the worst of the lot. All the players - their players, were on first name terms with him. You can't play against that. And the next game we played after that, we played a team called Clifton. We scored 7 goals, and he only allowed 3 of them. And it was crazy. There was no way the other goals were offside or whatever he said. So we had a lot to put up with. We have to play the ref most times. Now and again we'll get a good one. We got one in East Point last game. We had 2 linesmen from the Little Caesar's league. The Little Caesars want us in there, they want us there because they realize that we're good - they want the best teams in there. And we can beat Little Caesar teams, we've played them in tournaments and in friendlies. But they've got this rule because apparently 5 or 8 years ago, they had problems with an out of state team. So there's no more out of state. But they're the best, they've got the best teams - you have to qualify to get into the league, you have to play a tournament to get in. You have certain rules, they've got the best referees, best fields and that's what would be good for the kids. . . . we'd have a lot of competition. Every game would be a tough game, and that's what we want" (I2.14).

Although these factors were somewhat limiting, and Nigel also noted some concerns about lack of time with the players and a few problems with parents, he found his situation to provide far more affordances than barriers.

Coaching Behavior

By making the most of his warmth and rapport with the young athletes, and getting support from the club, an assistant, a manager, and the parents, Nigel was in a situation where "I don't think I could have a better setup - There's nothing else I want" (I2.12).

Other than some instances in which Nigel got caught up in games and the prospect of winning took him over, his coaching behavior seemed to be very much in accord with his primary objective of helping to foster skill

development while keeping his soccer players happy and helping to make them more responsible adults. His practice sessions were geared to help the players to develop both their skill and conditioning. As Nigel described it, "I want to work with conditioning every week, but I think we have to get the ball work good first now. We were doing conditioning. When we first started, all we were doing was ball work. Cause that was the main thing - they all had a bit of skill, but they hadn't worked with a coach really. They all worked with different people. They hadn't worked too much - so just work with dribbling and passing and the ball work and toward the end of the first half of the season, you know, the first season that we have - we could see the kids start puff and pant and realized that we have to start getting them fit now - they've got the skill and they were playing nice soccer, but then they weren't lasting the whole game. So we started to work once a week all running, training exercise and a little game at the end of it and then the second practice was skills - and that's what I'm going to go back to. If I just get these basics back again, what they've forgotten, if I get them passing again and talking and marking, then I'm going to go onto once a week full out training and then I want to work with set plays, but I don't think you can go onto that until you've got this" (I2.16). At the practices I attended, Nigel did skill drills to work on passing and ball control and he and his assistant talked to the boys about calling names and communicating during games. Nigel did, in fact, "allow" them to have fun sometimes. For example one time he told them "there's a prize for the one who does the silliest thing. So they're all doing stupid stuff like taking the ball up to the goal line and then hitting it wide or falling over the ball. Things like that - they have a good time . . . not so it gets in the way of working on things, that's why we're there" (I2.17).

In a comfortable atmosphere, Nigel overcame the limited challenges he faced and he took advantage of a well developed support system so that he could foster skill development and provide an enjoyable learning experience for the soccer players on his team.

Case Study Five - Sandor Geiger

"Sandor" is a 38 year-old who coaches 10 year olds in a competitive soccer club, the "Metro Canadians." He defected from the Eastern Bloc to Canada 7 years ago and presently works in a factory. The Canadians' Handbook states (as noted in Nigel's portrayal) that they were founded five years ago with a "dream to provide a club with an elite program for the district's finest youth soccer players; with excellent coaching and with positive exposure to upper select, regional, provincial and national soccer programs. . . . The nickname "Canadians" defines the ultimate dream of any athlete -- that of being the country's representative in world competition. We have not reached that ultimate dream but we are certainly on our way." Sandor coached in a house league for three years. He brought his team to the Canadians and was in his second season with them.

Coaching Ideology

Sandor was a very committed coach who put in a great deal of time organizing and administrating, as well as coaching. He cared about his players developing as soccer players and as people - "for the love of the sport, I would like to get good soccer players and good adults as well - if I only reach one, wow, but I'd like to reach both - and this way I think we're keeping kids off the streets and we're trying to put in a little discipline" (I1.7). He made numerous mentions of behavior and what they are learning that goes beyond soccer. "The main thing in life I always tell them - right here you're preparing for life. This is life, this is how it starts. This is competitive now.

When you get out in the world - you go to your work place, that's the only way. Your credentials, what you can do, you have to show your best. This is how you get ready - you're not going to succeed in everything - you have to accept that too. But you keep trying and it's not only the sport - you try to get them ready for life - you try to make gentlemen out of them. And it's working - we want good kids out there" (I1.6).

In his concern with development, Sandor believed, "winning and development go hand in hand, but right now, my goal is developing players, good players, skilled players, and developing players that are good to the community too - when they take off their jerseys. If I see one of our kids doing something wrong - "it can't be that kid" - you teach them stuff - and it comes hand in hand I guess, if you develop good players, skillful players, you're going to win games" (I2.14). Furthermore, "my reward is if by the end of the season, this guy can juggle 52 now - he developed 10 extra. This guy's developed speed. Much more important to me than winning games. It's how they develop. At the beginning of the season I have a little skill and I always measure, time - at the end of the season I measure, time, whatever, and I know that they've grown and got stronger, but still we're going somewhere and it's a reward to win, sure it is, cause I'd be a fool to say I'm not out there to win - You're out there to win too, it's part of the game too, and there's a win loss column if you look in the paper on every sport - no matter what you're playing it's the name of the game" (I1.11). As he pursued these goals, Sandor created a situation where "they're laughing at practice and having fun which is the main thing" (F1.3).

Yet, on the other hand, there was a certain seriousness and stress on outcomes that Sandor brought to coaching that can be seen in both his words (e.g., he described how a player could be a "lifesaver" by keeping his team from losing or he talked about a "crucial game" that his team had) and his attitudes and actions with the kids (e.g., he went over video tapes of games with son to help him to see specific areas where he needed to improve; his halftime and full time talks to the team had a tone of urgency and a hint of anger when the players did not perform well). Sandor's feelings were reflected when he described trying to win as "your drive. It's good to see when your team succeeds, I know you want to cry sometimes when you lose a game - you should have won, when you had the talent, in a sense it reflects you too, like you haven't done enough" (I1.10).

In addition to these values of developing skill and character and winning games, Sandor had high regard for the importance of organization, "If you're not organized you're lost. You're completely lost. You have to keep a record of everything, everything, that's the best way, you can always go back and correct yourself - you can always go back on things, you can always look up things" (I2.7). It was clear that Sandor lived up to his desires for organization: When I arrived at a practice (F2.1), Sandor first showed me the first aid kit (complete with an American and a Canadian quarter taped to the inside top for emergency phone calls); detailed medical forms for each player; passports and player cards with pictures; a ball for each kid ("I like to have each kid with a ball, so they're not waiting around"; bibs (for games); pylons in areas. Sandor also showed me his written plan for practice including warm-up - light running, stretching, drills for skill, a fun game, small game, and warm down. He had approximate times for each written down. Sandor had a book of several years of information, including: charts with every player, number of practices attended--and reasons for absences, tournament results. ("I scout all the teams") "When a kid wants to play I ask him what coaches he played for, and I know them and I know when they haven't gotten anything." He had every score from the tournaments ("I usually stay until all the scores are

in") for all the games. He had a list of items to bring on trips (e.g., both uniforms, lunch, towel, garbage bag) and he explained what each was. He had cardboard squares he had gotten from work with plays drawn up ("I know they're only 10 but. . ."), such as free kicks and so forth.

Affordances

The energy, time, organization, and knowledge of basic soccer that Sandor brought to his team helped him to provide solid learning opportunities at both practices and games. He had a diverse array of skill building activities and games that the players enjoyed. Examples of these are (a) "the numbers game" where one or more pairs of players would be called out into a grid by number and they would play man-to-man trying to score in small goals, or (b) "crab soccer" where some players would have to try to dribble through a grid while others moved on the ground like crabs and tried to take the ball away.

In addition to personal attributes, Sandor noted two other sets of affordances: support from his family and the resources and freedom that the club provided. As will be described below, Sandor lacked the support staff that Nigel enjoyed. He dealt with many of the administrative and coaching responsibilities on his own, but his family did help him with many chores. His teenage daughter helped at games doing such things as filling water bottles and putting out flags. Sandor's family also helped by working at bingos, which was the major fund-raising activity for most of the youth sports in Metro. As the coach, Sandor was responsible for finding workers for bingos, and the team parents offered little help. He said, "we had a Bingo this Sunday and my wife and my daughter were there working, my sister's son was there working" (I2.17). Sandor felt that many of the tasks to make the team work were left in his lap and his family were the only people who could be counted on for help.

Although Sandor took most of the responsibility for his team on his own shoulders, he appreciated the freedom that the club gave him to coach as he wanted to. As he put it, "it's up to you how you form your team - which is very good. Like I haven't had anything from the club saying no you can't do that - you have to put that player in because he's my buddy and he lives down the street. There's no locks - you can do whatever you want" (I1.3). He also noted that the club provided the necessary money for travel, equipment, and field access.

Constraints

In his efforts to achieve these objectives for his players, Sandor received little assistance: his manager quit, his assistant was not very helpful, and the parents had not offered much support. The lack of help made his job difficult from fund-raising ("We have bingos that bring money for the club, and I have to get a lasso to get somebody to work" (I1.17)), to coaching during games. I asked, "What does the assistant do for you?" Sandor said, "Well, get me yellow cards. (laugh) He yells a lot - as you probably heard - he yells a lot more than I. I calm him down every game. See I'm the opposite of him. If there's a referee I go up and ask how was your day, how are you and introduce myself - you having a good day? Have a good game. The ref makes a mistake and "you stupid ref" . . . There goes my buttering up" (I1.17). In his yelling at games, the assistant displayed an attitude contrary to what Sandor was trying to accomplish, for example, "Give him an elbow in the stomach if he keeps doing that" (F3.3).

Sandor's biggest constraint or source of frustration seemed to be with the parents. Sandor and the parents had not communicated well together. He suggested, "they should be on the stands enjoying the game, cheering -

my parents never cheer. Never cheer. And it's a tough thing because you're trying to steer them in a way too, but they're the hard part, they're the hard part" (I1.13) Sandor described how parents tried to influence his coaching decisions and how they forced their children to play or do things that the children don't really want to do. "Sometimes I see the player - as soon as he gets out of the car there's something wrong. I could see the way he conducts himself - the way he walks, the way looks, he's afraid to look in your eyes or whatever - and what's wrong? "my dad told me I shouldn't be playing this position" I said where does your dad want you? Well he wants me to score goals, he wants me to play center-forward. What do you do? Put him in center-forward. It's a force, it's a force. I ask him what would you like to do? "Well I like it back here on defense it's comfortable, I like it." That's your position, but I'll put you on center forward, make your dad happy. It's a torture for the kid, his father kept yelling at him - so I put him back. I said you did a good job up there, but have a little break back here, it's your spot. And then he felt comfortable, you could see that. What a relief, but the parent was - I told the parent to please control yourself, if you can't please turn the air conditioner on, sit in your car. You're disrupting your own child, plus the team. There's no sense in that. And I talked to the parents, because on the way to the game I know he's giving it to the child in the car. "you dummy, your coach is a dummy. He shouldn't be playing you there. You can score so many goals - and the guy that scores the goals, he's the one they remember. You're a defenseman that's no good" (I1.10) Sandor also talked about how parents' misbehavior at games was a problem. I asked, "So the way the league has it set up is they [the parents] become your responsibility?" He replied, "That's right, it's down in the rules, Michigan soccer". The league rules state, "PARENTAL HARASSMENT AND BAD LANGUAGE are our biggest problems. Please control your sidelines and make the games more enjoyable for everyone. Clubs and coaches will be held responsible for the conduct of your spectators on the sidelines" (Michigan Youth Soccer). So when the parents caused problems, Sandor would be warned and then ejected from games. Furthermore, "It's a fine for me - out of my pocket, nice. So it's costing me money (laugh)" (I1.15). The cost was incurred because the Canadians club imposed a fine for any coaches who received red cards (ejections).

Furthermore, the parents influenced the day to day objectives for Sandor. "I mean parents want something to produce. The club right now says we don't have to produce - but in a sense you do measure yourself in the win and loss column. You still have to keep an eye on it" (I1.11).

Sandor had some complaints about all the things he had to do "There isn't a day that I don't deal with soccer stuff, there's always something, let it be an OSA passbook or a jersey or extra socks - it's always something - buy oranges, cut them, fill water bottles, put up nets, get the balls pumped up, there's many things that people don't even know about. And sometimes they don't treat you the same way for all the work you do. And you do it for their kids. You do it for their kids. But I always say, hey, it fulfills my needs, I'm helping the kids, that's the main thing" (I1.14).

As he alluded to above, the way sport is constructed, with its product orientation and attention to "the win and loss column," served as a constraint for Sandor. For his objectives, the values that appear to be imbedded in sport served as a constraint.

Coaching Behavior

Sandor's practices seemed to reflect the values and objectives that he espoused. He set up sessions so the players improved, he gave them a share in the decision making, and he included fun activities with the technical skill drills. At games, however, his emotions got the best of him at times. He told me "I couldn't even recognize my own relatives" during games. And he did get a bit sarcastic or had what I took to be an angry tone in how he told kids what they need to work on. For example at halftime of one game (F3.4) "Austin, how is he going to get you the ball there? (pause) With the defender next to you and the sideline there? (pause) The answer is it's impossible. If you're playing wing you have to get outside. You're going to have to run up and get your little butt back. Mike, where do you play defense?"

Mike: On his heels.

Sandor: (standing a meter or two away) If you are here can you take the ball away? Can you keep him from turning? You are giving him time - he can tie his laces and sew his pants and then you will be there."

But, for the most part, Sandor stayed under control, for example, after a tough loss, Sandor was calm and positive and in line with what he had said in interviews. "I would have liked to see you mark tighter but you did a better job in the second half . . . let's go home" (F5.2).

Although Sandor was operating in a difficult situation, he was putting in a lot of effort to help his athletes improve their soccer skills and their conduct on and off the field.

Case Study Six - Janet Ford

"Janet" worked as full-time head age group coach in a competitive swimming club. After competing in the Olympic Games and completing a physical education degree, Janet started coaching in 1982. She has been at the "Metro Swim Club" (MSC) for five years. The athletes on her team range from 10 to 14 years old. She has the best of the 10-12 year olds and the "not as fast" 13 and 14 year olds. The athletes train approximately 90 minutes per day, six days per week.

The MSC, as it states in its information package, has aims that include "1. To provide swimming programmes, training and competition that will meet the needs of swimmers at all levels - from the beginner to the International competitor, from the very young to the mature adult athlete.

2. To enable each participant to achieve his or her personal potential as a competitive swimmer and while so doing, to enhance their physical and social development."

Their statement of philosophy: "The striving for excellence, as the Olympic motto states, and not simply winning is what sport is all about. Competitive swimming certainly produces ample opportunities for striving, with its eleven month season, twice daily training, and competition against other well prepared athletes. Through the rigors of achievement and defeat, struggling for understanding, withstanding the various pressures, the character of our young people is positively formed. Regardless of the final standing, the experiences learned through swimming will be a resource for all of their lives."

Coaching Ideology

Depending on a coach's ideology, these various policies and procedures could be perceived as constraining

or enabling. Given Janet's values and objectives, the latter appears to be the case. She stated that she "didn't like the emphasis on fun and participation" that was advocated during her undergraduate program. Further, she hated cooperative games -- "that wasn't what I was into. I grew up competitive."

The essence of what went on in Janet's program was physical training. There was some technical work, but the bulk of the time was spent putting in mileage to improve conditioning, "getting the kids to swim faster - I really think that's what the idea is behind all the practices - teaching them how to swim faster with all the different strokes and teaching them the proper strokes that they can go faster - and the turns and the starts - and the training involved - that's basically what it is to swim faster for the next meet - and to go faster and to get them to their highest level attainable" (I1.8).

Toward this goal, Janet emphasized the value of hard work, the Protestant Work Ethic. "I think being in an individual sport such as swimming, what they are really getting out of it is the knowledge that if you work hard you will succeed and I still think that Protestant Work Ethic is valid in today's society . . . I think that Protestant Work Ethic, work and you will achieve - I really think is what we all need to live by - we all do. Anything you want, you have to work for" (I2.12). "What's important is that if you work hard, you will achieve, the Protestant Work Ethic" (I2.20). It is interesting to note the parallels between Janet's comments and those of elite athletes and their parents discussed in Developing Talent in Young People (Bloom, 1985b). One Olympic swimmer said, "They just have this work ethic . . . this Protestant work ethic . . . Where you have to work and this is what you get--you have to work to get it--you don't get it [for nothing]. . . . That's kind of how I've been raised" (Kalinowski, 1985a, p. 143). Similarly, ". . .the parents of our swimmers learned to believe in the values of hard work, self-sacrifice, and self-discipline" (p. 142). As Sloane (1985, p. 443) put it, "This emphasis on self-discipline, the importance of doing one's best, and the satisfaction of accomplishment may be termed "value of achievement". The "work ethic" is a common term that aptly describes these parents' views. "Achievement-oriented" "goal-oriented" or "getting-ahead philosophy" also apply."

Another interesting similarity is the issue of making a decision to "be a swimmer" or gain the identity of a swimmer. As Janet described it, "I guess at my level you make the decision to be a swimmer or not in my group. . . . I think - when you identify yourself as a swimmer, that basically is dedication, right, you've identified yourself as a swimmer and other people call you "the swimmer" at school or "fish" or any of those things - but you have now become a swimmer and you want to go on to the next level - in that senior level, you've decided, you've dedicated yourself to swimming - they are swimmers"(I1.24). In Kalinowski's (1985a, p. 178) "Summary of the Middle Years" of swimming, he stated, "The main task of the middle years is to become a swimmer, a very good swimmer. From our study we have learned that this task can be broken down into three components: the acquisition of expert swimming skills, the establishment of a network of interpersonal supports, and the progression toward a complete psychological commitment to the sport. The completion of each of these component tasks requires enormous expenditures of time, money, and effort." And in the case of one Olympic swimmer (Kalinowski, 1985b), it was clear that he made a move from swimming in the afternoon for fun. He became "Peter Smith the swimmer. Everything else had to fit around that or be cut out" (p. 208). Becoming "a swimmer" is part

of dedication, a value that Janet emphasized.

The idea of what I call the "funnel" approach--working to bring athletes to the next level of the sport--comes up a lot in Janet's talk about her goals, objectives, and job description. She said, "my job is to give kids the basic skills of swimming to go into the highest level of swimming or - the next level on - give kids the necessary skills to move up and get, in the end, to the highest level of swimming - they're going to be striving for excellence. But my job is to give them the necessary skills to strive for excellence" (I1.21). Instead of seeing their present competitions/performance as the end, Janet views the present in light of future swimming, "I never pushed them [young elites] as hard as they could go, to their limit. I never drove them hard. They did hard practices, but I know I could have gotten more work out of them. I know it, I know I could have driven them like crazy - and they might have even had a Canadian record. I know Andrew could have had a Canadian record in the 1500 free . . . I know that's not the point. I know that he's going to go on and he's going to be swimming when he's 20. I hope. Then he can do that" (I2.7).

Janet saw the need for a developmental perspective, but another dominant value for her was performance excellence. She noted, "our goal is for excellence. . . But to me the big goal for these kids is excellence together - I think you're trying to pull all the kids up to their highest level attainable" (I1.6).

Affordances

Janet considered her experience in her sport as both an elite athlete and as a coach for ten years to be her greatest asset. She felt that her own swimming background and her preparation and experience in coaching gave her the knowledge of her sport to train the athletes on her team effectively. "I've been in coaching long enough that I know the program and I can see what works for the kids and what isn't and what hasn't - I know now" (I1.2). Janet said, "you come in to swimming and coaching and you start to - you have your aerobic base to put down and you've got strokes to teach and you've got all these things about training that you need to teach the kids and you learn to do those over the years" (I1.5). She perceived that her experience enabled her to give her swimmers the training necessary so that they could learn how to strive for excellence.

A second affordance Janet noted was that most of the swimmers on the team were motivated and cooperated. This asset was often ignored and it became a discussion point as a contrast to the swimmers who cause difficulties, who will be described below. Janet talked about how "there are those kids and they're amazing - they'll come to practice all the time, they'll do everything I ask. - they'll basically do what you want - all you have to do is basically the one time go "hey look, that is not acceptable" and they will fall into line - like they can once in a while be bad, but there are kids like that . . . and you can see in them that they are dedicated. They know what they want and they are always smart" (I2.5).

Third, Janet noted how a reward system was making her tasks of behavior management and motivation easier. The club had planned a trip to the Bahamas for those swimmers who met certain criteria. Although she said she had some problems with the swimmers being driven by extrinsic rewards, she said "that's where this Bahamas trip has been great - before they haven't had to do anything and still go to swim meets, basically. Even kids who get kicked out all the time still go to swim meets, because you put them in swim meets. It's part of their program. Here, they're not going to get there unless they behave and cooperate. And they have to be at practice

and it's wonderful - finally somebody has put there - this is the chunk that gets from one [set of behaviors] to the another" (I2.5).

Similar to what Janet stated about the swimmers, she noted how parents can be a forgotten affordance. When we talked about factors that facilitate goal achievement, a key factor was, "The good parents in the club. The good parents. The 90% of them that you never talk about. The 90% of the great, great parents. Not the 10% who do the work, because they're in the 90% - but that 90% who are good solid supportive parents are great. They help you do that" (I2.16). As an example Janet said, "When you call them and say your kid is acting like a jackass, they say "do this - this will work." I called this one lady, Mandy Kaiser, from Branford - her son was acting like a goof. He doesn't travel well for some reason. He just doesn't travel well and when he does badly he takes it out on himself and he really shuts down. He won't swim. "I won't swim. I'm not swimming any more." In the first race he did a great job, but he missed the turn. I didn't even see that he missed the turn. I came out (excitedly) "great, fantastic, I can't believe it!" And he walked right into the changing room, didn't even come out for another 35 minutes - (mocking his disgruntled voice) "I got DQed, I did great." I said "what is going on?" He said, "I'm not swimming anymore." I said, "you sure as fuck are swimming, and you are going to swim this next race, which is marshalling right now." "I'm not" I said, "I'm going to call your mom, right now." "go ahead, go ahead" So I called her. When I came back he was shaking, "did you call my mom?" I said "yeah, and she said take away your Nintendo right now until you start behaving." "You can't take away my Nintendo." "Watch me" and I took the Nintendo - but that's what she said. Mandy said "take away his Nintendo, right now" He was wonderful. It's those parents, those supportive parents are great" (I2.17).

Constraints

One theme in looking at Janet's comments and her behavior at work outs was a struggle to get the swimmers to do the work. First, it was clear that she had an ideology that valued hard work. Second, she had expectations that some of the swimmers were trying to get out of work and they did not like to work hard. Third, she played a game with them and wrestled with them to do work, "all you have to do is yell . . . I can scream my face off, I looked like that Calvin and Hobbes cartoon (with her cheeks all puffed out) last week yelling at Mason - and they try not to laugh -- sometimes I'm in a mood where I can try the joking thing "you're not going to make it through practice without getting kicked out. . ." Rudy [the head coach] - Mason didn't get kicked out.. (laughing)" (I2.10). It just seemed like it was not the most productive way to get the swimmers to get to work and have a positive attitude about training. In some ways this was part of the swimming culture, where even elite athletes will play games with coaches and avoid getting to work. In trying to overcome this attitude, Janet had a somewhat punitive approach to a lot of her interactions with the swimmers, "I just want to punish them immediately - get out or make them swim extra lengths or whatever it is" (I1.9). She described the athletes' behavior as a cause of her frustration. Janet "always happens to have some boys around 11, 12, 13 who come late on purpose or use the lane rope doing backstroke or do the wrong turns for the heck of it and they just want to see what they can get away with. That's what I feel and I'm dealing with these guys all the time" (I1.8-9). Janet did stress, however, that it was only a few boys that were causing all these problems and most of the swimmers were very cooperative (I4.1).

In trying to develop hard-working swimmers who will be able to move on to the next level and strive for

excellence, Janet faced several challenges, including the athletes themselves: "I'm trying to get that kid as fast as he can be at swimming - although he doesn't particularly want to go there - he'd rather just not do it" (I1.6). The athletes' own lack of motivation to excel (coupled with their behavior noted above) created a constant battle for Janet. ". . . but a lot of kids when they start, they don't want to be there. They're not striving for excellence, their parents are striving to get them in the water, you know, get a bathing cap on their heads" (I1.20). In an effort to increase the athletes' motivation, Janet gave the swimmers a questionnaire asking them, "Do you have any ideas that would make your swimming any funner?" I put this disclaimer - to keep in mind that the philosophy of competitive swimming is to work hard in stroke development and endurance to become a faster swimmer. I had to put that. Now these kids are from 10 to 13. "a lot of play time, horsing around" These are the fun things right "having relays against each other" That's a good one. "land training" well we're already doing that anyway. "soccer for an hour and a half after practice" which we're doing anyway right - okay this guys wants to do - this is one of my kids - he wants to do fast 25s, 1 length - do they hurt? not at all. Do they help? Not at all. "slow 1500s and even slower 3000s" in other words what is fun for this boy - nothing, but as easy as possible. This guy wants to do 25s - this is the 15 year old that we're having discipline problems with - he's been kicked out of school. He wants to do slow 1500s and long slow sets. In other words, "I don't want to work hard - " This fellow wants to do fast 25s, fast 50s and fast 100s. (sarcastically) That's good. This guy wants to play games like follow the leader. That's a good one. This guy wants to go off the Tarzan rope. This is Sara - she wants to go off the Tarzan rope. And this one doesn't have any ideas to make it funner. This is relays and soccer - "every Friday game day, or we can do sprints off the blocks or vary the practices and do some land training - These all are things that we are doing anyway. But the idea in their minds is fun is not working hard, right (laugh)" (I1.15).

Some of the parents provided another obstacle: "I think because the parents pay what they consider big money . . . they have some say as to how you coach and what you do and what meets the kids should go to . . . sometimes those decisions they want to make encroach on your territory - into coaching" (I1.1). Some parents had created a lot of difficulties in the club in the past and had challenged Janet on a variety of issues from discipline to teaching.

The head coach of the MSC, Rudy, also created some constraints on Janet's coaching, "So if he's going to set up a whole program, right, we will fall in, and I will fall into his way of thinking, that's the way I will present my coaching, my beliefs, whether I believe it or not, because I'm working for him" (I1.12). His decisions affected meet selection and program content. "He wanted us to do more stretching. . . . I hated it, it always drove me crazy . . . but I said "okay we'll do it, if that's what you want us to do" (I1.13). During the time I spent with Janet (October 2 - 29, 1991), there were some signs that tension was developing with the head coach. During the member check interview (February 3, 1992), Janet told me that the situation had deteriorated to the point where she and Rudy were no longer talking. This disrupted not only her program, but also made it more difficult to make decisions about swimmers' advancement from her team to the senior team, which Rudy coached.

The club itself, as a competitive swim club also limited the objectives of the program to focus on excellence and Janet felt "I think that's the way it's got to be, because it is a competitive swim club" (I1.27). And she added that as a professional coach she had to follow the club's mandate; as an amateur, she felt that she would

have more leeway in how she could conduct herself as a coach.

As a professional coach with a great deal of experience with competitive swimming as both a coach and as an athlete, Janet had a lot of knowledge about training and how to prepare swimmers. As she tried to produce dedicated athletes who could attain excellence as they continued in swimming, she faced several barriers. The obstacle that appeared biggest was the swimmers themselves who often lacked motivation and misbehaved, forcing Janet to spend much of her energy in behavior management.

Coaching Behavior

Because of those athletes who created problems, Janet spent much of her time during training sessions engaging in behavior management. The club had set up some punishments and policies, such as the swimmers had to do pushups if they were late for workouts and they got three "strikes" for bad behavior before they would be kicked out of a session. Much of the behavior management was like a game rather than a straightforward set of standards to facilitate the training atmosphere. For example, Janet told a boy who was in the well waiting for a set, "if you want to go home all you have to do is the wrong thing and I'll send you home" (F2.2). As she mentioned above, sometimes she would make it like a joke, almost daring a swimmer that he couldn't make it through a workout. I was surprised, after seeing a good deal of punishment and scolding of the swimmers, to have Janet tell me "I was a lot nicer cause you were here" (F2.3).

During the workouts, Janet gave the swimmers sets and did stroke instructions and corrections. She would tell them, for example, "4 lanes - you're going to go 150 - know what you're going to work on? Now straight rate doesn't mean slow - make your stroke efficient. 50 back, 50 breast, 50 free - every time your arms pull - make it efficient" (F4.3). During the set, she would give corrections such as "one thing, that catch part is where you get all the power. You're not catching enough. I want to see 2 pauses. A stop with your knees together and toes up - ok" (F4.2).

At meets, Janet spent most of her time organizing the swimmers and recording split times and results. As opposed to her demeanor at practices, Janet seemed to enjoy the meets more. She cheered enthusiastically for some of the younger swimmers who did well. As one young swimmer was doing better than expected, she yelled, "Let's go Kenny! move! move!" as she was jumping up and down on the deck (F6.1). As Kenny made the move from the outside and won, Janet was jumping and smiling and appeared very excited to see him win. Janet also mentioned "If there's time, I like to do stroke correction at the meet. I think they're more liable to learn. A lot of coaches don't do this, they don't want to fool with their strokes during the meet. I might think that way with the older kids, but they are like totally open to learn" (I3.1).

In general, Janet's program and interaction with the athletes did seem to follow her commitment to excellence and interest in having swimmers who were dedicated to working hard to achieve their highest level. The club structure and facilities were adequate for developing a competitive training environment. Her efforts were impeded in particular by (a) some of Janet's own strategies for interacting with the swimmers, (b) those swimmers who were not particularly interested in working hard, and (c) interference from her head coach and some parents.

Case Study Seven - Frank Memering

"Frank" is a 30 year old fire fighter who shared coaching a team of 10-14 year olds in the 8 team "Metro

Minor Football League" with two other men. Technically, Perry was the head coach who took care of the offense and Matt was in charge of the defense. Frank oversaw both offense and defense. They had three practices and a game each week.

Coaching Ideology

When I first spoke with Frank on the phone and I was going to go out to their game the next afternoon, he said "you won't see the best tomorrow, we've got about 6 guys who decided to skip practice today, so they'll be sitting out tomorrow. We start disciplining them early" (Log, 10/5/91). In interviews and while watching Frank coach, discipline emerged as a primary value for him. "Most important for us is discipline. That's number one. If a kid doesn't listen to you, you don't want him there" (I1.3). "If a kid yells at the ref, we don't even wait for the refs to pull him out, it's just discipline and respect. It all boils down to that. Anything at all--if you're not showing respect or you're not being disciplined, you're gone" (I1.10). "Discipline - I can't stress that enough. Discipline is probably number one. They certainly don't lack it when they're with us. So that helps a lot, too, all the way through life, it's going to help you out" (I1.13).

In a disciplined environment Frank worked toward skill development and learning. He said, "If the kids weren't learning, I wouldn't be there, I'd be wasting my time. But they are learning and they enjoy it" (I2.15). Frank felt that his performance as a coach could be judged by what the players learned, "You measure what you can get out of the kid. If you see a kid at the beginning of the year that doesn't have a clue of what's going on, at the end of the year he comes out of the huddle and he goes right to his position and does his job 80% of the time, then that would be okay, and that's what you measure yourself by" (I2.4).

He said his role as coach was "giving direction to the kids, teaching football, also understanding that football is not the number one goal in life. These kids aren't going to be professional football players" (I1.11). And Frank seemed to feel successful, "Every year we're out there it makes me feel good cause you can always see the kids are improving . . . It's because you're helping them that's how I judge: if kids get better" (I2.4).

Although Frank wanted the kids to have fun, at times it was evident that learning was more important: "I don't care if the kid's bored stiff with it, if he learns to hit and block and tackle, he's going to be a better ball player than a guy who knows a thousand plays. He knows the basics and he starts right from a 3 point stance. If you don't get a proper 3 point stance, you don't fire off the line properly . . . our first 3 weeks of practice we don't do any plays we just do blocking and tackling, blocking and tackling" (I1.7). Along with learning, Frank spoke about having fun and winning all as desirable. As seemed to be the case with other coaches, it was interesting to hear how he put these values together. Although he said, "If you win a championship, that's what you're there for basically, but that's your final goal. You're there to play football and you want to win the championship" (I2.2)--stressing the importance of winning, he also suggested, "it gets down to that. That's the name of the game is to win, winning is more fun than losing, but we preach fun. You go out there for a good time" (I1.6). He echoed that sentiment stating, "But winning is not most important. Learning and having fun is the most important thing - but it is nice to win, the kids like to win. They get more excited than when they lose - that's for sure and it brings them together as a team" (I1.7).

To clarify, I asked, "how do these things fit together? You're there, you said, to have fun, to learn

football, to make friends, to win." Frank responded, "How do they fit together? You're working as a team for one specific goal. It's fun because I like to play football. It's more fun when you win a championship (laugh) they meet new friends by just coming out and playing and their interest is because they want to play. If they weren't having fun, they wouldn't be there" (I2.2).

The tension was not so easily resolved, however, as can be noted in the two following quotes about (a) winning and (b) fun:

(a) "that's fine just so long as we're not jeopardizing a win that our kids put a lot of time and effort into to get the win. But we have no problem with the other team scoring on us or if as long as, like I say, we don't lose the game, after the kids did all the work to win the game" (I2.11). (b) Yeah, we're always there - our number one goal, as much as it's nice to win we like the kids to have a good time too, so every once in a while instead of having a practice we just tell the kids to go out and scrimmage and we just watch them scrimmage for an hour and a half - and blow the whistle every now and then and tell them this is what you should have done blah, blah, blah and then let them go" (I2.15). It seemed that having fun was always present as a general goal, but it was difficult to say exactly what you have to do to have fun. Winning, on the other hand, was very clear and definite and during the excitement of games, winning became, for the moment, the most important thing.

Affordances

As Frank pursued his goals a number of factors facilitated their attainment, including his co-coaches, the athlete's motivation, rule changes, and the parents' role at games. Co-coaches are one of the key factors in Frank's satisfaction and ability to coach in accord with his ideology was that he had an excellent working relationship with two co-coaches, "I think we have a pretty ideal situation. I like coaching younger kids. I like Perry and Matt, they're great guys to coach with. We get along really well. I couldn't see coaching with someone I don't get along with" (I1.17). The three coaches had a similar coaching philosophy, "If a kid yells at us, we just say "hey, no problem, take your equipment off and get out of here. We don't want you here." That's not what we're into. We have a lot of the same ideas about how to go around with the kids" (I1.4).

It was also helpful that they shared responsibility, "Oh yeah, we all have input. . .I've come up with a couple of plays, Matt's come up with a couple of plays and we go to practice and show them our plays we talk about it and show it to him. Basically Perry is the offense, but not like he is offense coach and you can't talk to him, he is acceptable to anything that you want to change. Matt is with the defense, basically. He doesn't get too much into the offense. But he's open to suggestions, like I know a couple of years ago we had a couple of corners that shouldn't have been there and I mentioned to him that maybe he should have bigger kids out there, because as soon as you get outside it's all over and he's very good in taking that. And myself, I do special teams and that, but that's no big deal and I oversee--I look over the offense and the defense . . . It works out really good. Like Matt wasn't there on Sunday, so I was able to take the defense. And Perry wasn't there a couple of weeks ago and I was able to take the offense. So it works out really good with 3 of us" (I1.3). Furthermore, it was helpful "having 3 people there, not just looking through one set of eyes. There's 3 sets of eyes. I can't pick up everything, Perry can't pick up everything, Matt can't pick up everything, but and they have 3 different views of what should go on, too. Like I have different views of what I'm going to bring my kids up as, Perry has different views, not totally

different views, but his own way of handling things and I think that helps out. Like every kid is going to have a choice of who they want to talk to and if a kid has a personal problem and he doesn't like me, or something, maybe he's going to get along with Perry. And Perry can help him out a little bit or maybe he's going to get along with Matt. I should say feel more comfortable with him, I shouldn't say not get along with him feel more comfortable with him; so that it helps out having the 3 of us. Plus Greg (a former team member who was a part-time fourth assistant) helps out a little bit too, seeing that there is someone to bridge the age gap a little bit, 'cause we're all about 30, the kids are only 14, so they probably think of us as older adults, and then Greg's in there and he's 17 or 18 now, so that sort of helps of bridge it a little bit - and he's a good kid too" (I1.12). Their knowledge of the game was another plus, "One thing that I think helps us too is that we have 3 guys plus Greg who used to play for us, 4 guys and not to pat ourselves on the shoulder or anything, but I think we're probably the 3 more knowledgeable guys about the game. . . So the kids are learning, there's no doubt about it" (I2.15).

In addition to the knowledgeable coaching staff, the athletes' motivation has made it easier for Frank to meet his objectives. When I asked, "Is there anything else that helps you out in how you're teaching kids or -?" Frank said, "Them just wanting to play . . . They want to work, some - a couple just go through the motions, 'cause they want to play football. Out of our 30 kids, I would say 99% of them are there 'cause - if they didn't want to be there, they wouldn't be there. No one is forcing them to - they are there because they want to be there. They want to learn the sport." He added, "I think at our age bracket, they're willing to learn. They're coming to practice to learn. If you get older kids, they're coming because they want to and they're going to scuff around and sometimes they're not going to listen" (I1.17).

In trying to teach the players about football and make the games more fun, a couple of league rule changes were beneficial. When they played with the normal Canadian rules, they "found that with 3 downs the kids couldn't pass 'cause 8 times out of 10 in our league they are going to fumble, it's going to be a missed pass, they are going to miss the snap, so many things can go wrong with a pass that the kids just weren't learning that aspect of the game it was running, running, running. And you were always giving it to your power back, the guy who was going to pick up the 5 or 6 yards every time. The other kid wasn't getting as much playing time. Well, he was out there, but he wasn't getting the ball. Now, with the extra down we can at least pass on one down, give it to the second back, get him more involved with the game and it runs better now you don't play 2 downs and kick, 2 downs and kick . . . Now we get 3 downs get a first down, 4 downs get a first down, 3 downs have to punt. And then it goes back this way. We found that it was too much 2 downs, kick. 2 downs kick . . . Now we're getting some flow into the game. So it gives those kids an extra down" (I1.8). Another rule change regarding points after touchdowns also helped. "Two years ago, what it used to be was after you get a touchdown, you got 2 points for running it into the end zone and 1 point for kicking it through. Well, we changed that because everybody was running in, because kids can't kick it through - so now we've changed that where you get 2 points if you kick it through and only 1 point if you run it through . . . we try to kick it every time. It used to be all we do was run it, now we get an extra point if we do it, so why not try it, that forces the other team to try it . . . they are learning that is what you are supposed to try to do" (I1.9).

A final important positive factor for Frank was that during games, he had few problems with parents and

thought was partly due to their lack of knowledge - as shown below. Frank stated, "But parents are parents and they're going to get into it. [Have you had problems with that at all?] No not really. A lot of parents aren't that knowledgeable about football . . . in hockey it's a whole different deal, they're right there besides the kids on the bench and I think they get more enthused in hockey. The parents are in hockey in football they just sort of sit back a little more, I think they're not as knowledgeable - that might be the difference" (I1.6).

Whereas many youth sport parent education programs suggest that it is desirable for parents to know more about the sport, there may be a down side to knowledgeable parents as well.

Constraints

Just as some factors facilitated achieving goals, others served as barriers. Four of the most notable ones were cultural context, number of athletes, time, and emotional control.

First, Frank noted that our culture can make it difficult to coach football, "It's a little different ball game in the fact that your whole life parents have taught your kids "don't hit, don't be aggressive, be a little bit more laid back" and soon as you put your equipment on, coaches are saying "hit him, hit him harder, take him down, be aggressive" that's what I find, personally, to be the hardest part is to take a kid that's not aggressive at the beginning and try to get him so that when he puts the equipment on to be aggressive" (I1.1).

Second, the fact that Frank had athletes ranging from 10 to 14, with a great range in size and physical maturity, presented a challenge. He said, "with the amount of kids you're getting out. Like if every team had 50 kids, and 25 of them were 11 and 12, then you could have another team with 25 kids on 11 and 12, but there's not enough for that right now. Some teams have only 20 kids and if you took 8 or 9 of them away that are 11 and 12, then they're down to less than 15" (I1.2). When I asked, "If you had a magic wand and you could change anything what would you do?" Frank replied, "Get more kids out so we could have the different leagues, . . . 11 and 12 year olds not playing against the 14 year olds. So that all the kids could play, get more kids out so you could have more teams and more leagues. I think that would help out football a lot, just in general" (I1.18).

Constraints due to lack of time was a third problem. As many coaches mention, time can also stand in the way of achieving objectives. As Frank said, "Everybody can always use more time, but the kids have school. . . there's only so much you can do . . . we could, if we had more time, bring them together more often and get them buddy-buddy more. We just don't have time" (I1.15). When I asked, "Are there any things that you see as getting in the way of accomplishing the things that you think are important?" Frank said, "Time - daylight savings time. Like in another 2 weeks it's going to get dark too fast. The kids have to get home from school so we can't start practicing till 5 o'clock and by then it's dark at 6 so you only have an hour to work with . . . that hurts a lot" (I1.15). He also noted, "Our season is so short. We start in September and we've got 2 more weeks (making it the third week of October) and we're finished our season. . . that doesn't give the kids a lot of time for football, but I guess it's just a short season" (I1.18).

A final factor that was at times a problem for Frank was keeping control of his temper. "It happens, you're into the game and you look at your perspective of what you think you saw and the ref what he saw, there's nothing wrong with that, get it excited. You try to keep it down to a minimum, not to show the kids that is the way it should be done, but you get caught up into it" (I1.9).

Coaching Behavior

In Frank's coaching context, it was clear that the pros outweighed the cons and he was able to coach for the most part in accord with his ideology that emphasized discipline, learning, fun, and winning. To maintain discipline, Frank and the other coaches had several procedures such as having the players all line up and get down on one knee while they waited to take the field. During games the players had to maintain a line in a specified area. When the coaches spoke, the players had to circle around them and sit quietly. At half time of games, they were told "One knee, get your juice, and shut up" (F1.3; F4.4).

At the practices and games I attended, I saw Frank doing a great deal of teaching. When he was working with a group in practice, he could combine strict order and his booming voice with praise, "Stop right where you are! That man is covered there, that man is covered there, that man is covered there, that zone is covered - that's exactly what we want. Good job!" (F3.4). He would take players aside for technical instruction, for example to demonstrate proper blocking action "Okay guys, I see you pushing - you're letting your arms push against the guy and do all the work. . . keep your legs moving - there we go - good job" (F3.2). He would also explain tactics, like how a defender had to position himself, "You may have to give him a few yards, but you have to keep him inside. If he gets outside you have to use your arm grabbing to tackle - if he stays inside then you can get help" (F1.3). In an interview, Frank recalled that he said, "if they run back the other way or if they beat you on the inside, I don't care. I said you can't let the kid outside." Frank also spent a lot of time encouraging the kids to play well and try hard, and giving them a tremendous amount of positive reinforcement. After virtually every play he told the guys, something like "nice job, way to go, or that's it" He uses a lot of "hustles," telling the players to "keep it going, let's go, or keep it up." In football, which has the surface appearance of a macho sport that may not be appropriate for "little boys," it seemed that Frank was doing an excellent job of providing his players with a positive experience where they learned a lot of football, made friends, had fun, and picked up a championship while they were at it.

Case Study Eight - Bob Diaz

"Bob" was one of sixteen grade 11 students in a high school class, "Leadership in Physical Education" who was coaching for his first time in an instructional basketball league for boys ages 11-13. The teacher for that class, "Joe Miller", was the "instructional leader" for the league. Bob also played on the school's varsity team. He was hoping to get a scholarship to an American university and he had aspirations of playing in the NBA.

The league was structured so that each team had 30 minutes of instruction and then a 45 minute game for each session. The league operated one night per week. The coaches did keep track of scores, but there were no scoreboards. There was a two tier playoff system, so that the stronger teams played the stronger, the weaker played the weaker.

Joe said he "goes over the skills in class and the kids run them at the practice." Or as Bob described it, "like during class, like at school during class, he just told us what drills, like for gym class, - the people who are coaching right now are in his gym class. So if you're in the gym class, he would bring us over to the gym and he would just tell us what drills to do and then we would just go there and show them" (I1.2).

Coaching Ideology

As a new coach, Bob was just beginning to formulate his coaching values and beliefs. As an active player, much of what he emphasized was based on what he felt was important for him to do as a player. Bob stated his view of his coaching role as follows: "What is important for me to do as a coach is just, ah, to get to the players to show them that you're into playing basketball and you want them to perform to their highest ability and you'll do anything to help them. Like you'll - I'll give them all the knowledge I have and then help them perform. I'm there if they need help. If they need help with something, they just have to come up and ask me - or if I see there is any problem, I will go to him and ask him what's wrong - I'll be there for them. They can come to me for help - for basketball or even out of basketball, if they need help, I'll be there. That's what a coach is there for - to help. When a player is having problems outside of basketball, I think if the coach is able to help the player, that player will respect the coach a lot more, 'cause he'll know that coach is wanting to help him and really likes him - so it's that bonding, you come together" (I1.6). With this perspective on coaching, Bob had some interest in players' social development as well as in their basketball improvement: "In this league - they'll be able to meet new people, that's one thing. They'll learn how to get along with other people. People they've never seen or met before or talked to" (I1.9).

As Bob focused on trying to help the players develop, he stressed the importance of working hard and putting out maximal effort. He often used the cliché of "giving 110%". He stated that what's important is they "play hard, that's the one thing that you always have to do, is play hard when you're out there" (I1.7). Furthermore, "it doesn't matter as long as they're working hard. That's what I stress, to work hard - and things will happen" (I1.12). After Bob had repeatedly put forth the value of work and effort, I asked if that was the most important thing to him. He replied, "I hope, giving out 110%, yeah, because when you give out 110%, the best will come out of you right, but if you don't, depending you'll get less and less. If you don't work hard, you won't get any place. But if you work hard, you'll get the best" (I2.4).

Because Bob believed that hard work should be rewarded with winning, he also valued winning. He said, "as long as I see the kids working hard. If I see the kids working hard, they tried hard, they wanted to win, then it's okay you know. But if we lose in the playoffs and I see them slacking off, then I'm going to be upset" (I2.11). Bob equated hard work with desirable outcomes. He suggested that another coach "brags a lot about his team, but when you got 6-0 why not brag, you know your team is working hard - he can brag" (I2.12). Bob believed in meritocracy and made comments such as, "I think if they play their hardest, they'll win."

Affordances

As Bob pursued his goals, three factors appeared to be particularly helpful to him: his playing background, when the athletes were motivated to learn, and the instructional emphasis of the league structure. When I spoke to Joe Miller about working with Bob, he agreed with me that Bob was probably the most mature of all the student-coaches. Joe added that for Bob "basketball is his life." From my perspective the maturity that Bob had relative to some of the other coaches in the league was a big advantage in his efforts to give the kids a positive experience. The players seemed to respect Bob because of his maturity and also because he was a star player. (He was selected to the all-city team in March, 1992). In Bob's opinion, his playing background was essential to his ability to

coach. He said, "to be a great coach, I think you have to be able to play basketball and you've got to know what you're talking about - you can't just come in, read a book - you've got to - I think you've got to have experience out there - 'cause then you'll know what you're talking about, you'll know how the kids feel when they do something wrong and you'll know how they feel in certain situations, because that's how you felt - it's just like you are learning all over - you see yourself learning again - I think it's better if you have experience in that game" (I1.7). Bob's skills were also helpful in his demonstrations and gave him more credibility as a teacher.

Bob felt that the athletes' motivation was crucial for him to be effective. When the athletes wanted to expend effort and learn, he found this quite helpful. He stated, "they've got to want to play. 'Cause no matter how hard you try - you can tell them "work, you've got to work" - if the guy isn't trying, there's just not much you can do about it. So you just try to keep them motivated. Every time they do a good play, like a good pass, you congratulate them - tell them "excellent job" - so they ask was it really that good? Do it again, I'll try to work harder, I'll get that steal. I'll make that good pass, I'll make that layup" (I1.8). On one occasion he added, "I saw them - they wanted to play, eh? And I just couldn't believe it because last week they somewhat had a bad attitude at it - like who cares and stuff" (I1.4). Bob noted that one boy "Michael, he came in with a good attitude, he was going "I can't do it, I can't do it, I don't know why". But I took him over and I said, "Michael, it's simple all you have to do is start off slow, take it easy, just think it in your head." And he was doing it, eh? And he was like, "I almost got it, let me do it again, I want to do it again." I said "do it again" - I saw he was working at it, eh? And he wanted to do it and it won't come over night, but I hope he'll do it at home and when he comes back Monday, he'll be able to perform" (I1.6).

A third positive factor for Bob was the instructional nature of the league. The fact that he had one-half hour strictly for instruction each session, and the league's focus on learning, facilitated Bob's coaching. He said, "The first part, when every kid has a ball and we can show them how to do a left-handed layup and they can work on it without worrying about, like who's playing defense, you can really help them then" (F4.3).

Constraints

In looking at some of the key factors that Bob found problematic, in many respects it was a flip side of the positive factors. Although Bob felt his experience as a player was useful, his inexperience as a coach made it difficult for him to pursue some of the objectives that he valued. For example, he said that the players should have fun, but when I asked him if he thought about how to make participating fun for the players he said, "They've got to, you can't really, it's got to be up to them to make it fun, you know, you try to encourage them along, saying "that's good, you've been improving, I see it" you encourage them along, but that's about it, like you can't, that's about it, just encourage them along, and if they like it they'll work harder, work hard at it" (I2.10). Every challenge was new to Bob and he had no coaching experiences or coaching education to draw upon. As much as Bob wanted the players to learn and develop, his lack of teaching knowledge was constraining.

Whereas the athletes' motivation to learn facilitated Bob's efforts to teach them and have them "give 110%," he found situations where the athletes appeared to be unmotivated to be a substantial barrier. As he put it, "if they don't want to learn, you might just as well forget it. That's basically it" (I1.5). And it was interesting to note how Bob's view of the athletes' motivation changed over the season. During our first formal interview he

described how most of his young basketball players wanted to go on to play in high school, but three weeks later he saw the situation differently, "Some of them aren't even out there to learn the sport. They're just there to waste time, some of their parents force them - some of them are just there for recreational sport to have - some of them, most of them - there's a few players that want to take it higher, but not too many. So I can say most of them aren't there for the fun and the excitement and for high school level, because they're only in grade 8 and they haven't experienced yet what it's like to have that big crowd and maybe be on TV once in a while. So they're still young, so they'll have to experience it more and then they'll want it more" (I2.6). Furthermore, Bob described how he felt about one boy who was not interested in basketball: "There's this one guy - that I don't recall his name - he had red hair - he's in hockey and football. I asked him last week -- he wasn't doing the drills very hard, he was just slacking off big time [I know which guy you mean] I go up to him and I go "how come you're not working hard?" he said, "I don't care" I said, "how come you're here then?" He said, "my mom, my dad" -- his dad brought him there, eh? I go, "don't you want to play basketball?" He says, "no, I'm into football and hockey." I'm like, come on, I just felt like giving him his money and telling him to get lost. I didn't want that. So I was happy he didn't show up. I didn't really want him to show up" (I1.8).

A third set of constraints related to the fact that Bob's coaching situation was heavily dictated by Joe Miller and the league rules. Bob found that some of the restrictions placed on him made it difficult to coach in accord with his ideology. Because the league rules stipulated equal playing time, Bob found "It was frustrating. Some of these guys come to dink around. If it were up to me I would sit Michael the whole game - this kid in grade six hustles his butt off - I really want them to improve. I want them to be able to go to the next level to play in high school" (F2.3). He added, "I'm out there trying to make these guys improve in their game and I see these younger kids working their tails off to get a basket or even get the ball - and this guy has good ability but he doesn't work at it - that's why - if I see that, I take him right down. I tell him first - like I tell him "you're not performing, you're not taking it seriously - why don't you take a seat?" That's all." I asked, "But you can't do that?" Bob responded, "Yeah, I can't do that - because only if he's really acting up and telling us off then can we tell him good bye and go away" (I1.1). Bob talked about how he had some ideas about what he might do with the team, but what they taught was "up to Mr. Miller."

Fourth, because the league ran only once per week, Bob felt that the time constraints made it difficult to create the hard working learning environment that he wanted. "If it was up to me I'd rather go twice a week, so you can get more playing time, you know. If we went tuesday and thursday, they could come tuesday and learn and go practice wednesday and come back thursday and then thursday they have the whole weekend to improve so they won't forget anything. If they didn't have until tuesday, they might forget some drills. And then they'll have to wait till Tuesday. [So you'd like to have it more often?] Yeah, that would be nice.
[And then that way--] In case they need any more help. If they need help or anything - on drills, like if they forget the drill, they could just come and ask - they would be better with the more playing time the get, and with the team and how it is - the more you play with the team, the better you'll get" (I1.14).

A final factor that I felt pulled Bob from some of his stated values toward a greater outcome orientation was his perceptions of sport. Although the league was geared to be instructional and the standings were not

emphasized, many of the coaches and athletes seemed to be more competitive as the season went on. During the early games, I never heard the game scores being discussed. In the last few weeks of the season, virtually every basket was followed with an announcement or argument about the score. When I asked Bob if he felt that the games had changed at all he replied, "Yeah, because the playoffs are coming around and when you win, you have the rights of bragging. Some of the coaches might be getting that attitude. The team that we played last night, that coach screwed up a couple of times. He made a couple of calls for the other team when they should have gone our way. I didn't want to make a scene in front of everybody so I just let it go. And Nancy [his co-coach] was yelling at me, why don't I do anything about it. I figure why bother, that game wasn't that important - like every game is important but we'll get them in the playoffs, that's when everything counts [So the outcome is somewhat important then? winning or losing?] Winning or losing, yeah, because it will keep your team's morale up, you know -- them wanting to play. When you keep losing then you just hit the bottom and figure who cares? you can't win. They'll have that attitude" (I2.2).

Coaching Behavior

It was evident that the contextual constraints of the instructional league and the lack of control over content kept Bob from following his ideology as closely as he would have liked. But in spite of the barriers, Bob communicated to his players the value of trying hard and giving an all-out effort. During practices and games he used a lot of positive reinforcement and encouragement, using phrases like "nice pass" or "that's the way now." During games, he used a great deal of 'hustles' to encourage effort--for example "get back and get the man" or "come on guys, let's go, we've got to play hard"--as well as tactical directions telling players where to pass and what they should do on particular plays. He also gave technical directions such as "keep your head up" or "use the backboard." Bob often coupled his directives or instructions with praise and after games he always shook hands with or hugged the players. Although Mr. Miller's and the league structure's control created some considerable barriers for Bob, and his inexperience limited his teaching effectiveness, Bob's desire to help the players develop and to show them the importance of hard work came through in his coaching.

Summary of Case Studies

The portrayals of these eight coaches provided examples of how various ideologies, contexts, and behaviors are present in the lives of youth sport coaches. These cases illustrated how specific ideological positions and contextual factors may relate to coaching behaviors. The following sections will address the various dimensions of coaching ideology, the breadth of contextual factors that coaches reported, and how coaching behavior may be influenced by ideology and context.

Coaching Ideology

From the eight cases above, it is clear that there is great diversity in youth sport coaches' ideologies. One of the striking features of many coaches' perspectives is that they provide evidence contrary to some commonly held beliefs about coaching ideology. Whereas ideologies have been categorized dichotomously (e.g., Lyle, 1986) or otherwise oversimplified, it is clear that there are myriad values, beliefs, and perspectives held by coaches. Coaches who took part in this study identified many values that were important to them in their coaching. Furthermore, coaching ideology, in general, can be seen as a multi-dimensional construct that includes values

relating to (a) positive biopsychosocial outcomes for children, (b) reproducing status quo ideals, (c) performance enhancement, (d) affiliation, and (e) a sociopolitical perspective (see Figure 2). Some of the specific values may relate to several of these factors while other values relate only to a single factor.

Figure 2

Dimensions of Coaching Ideology

(1) POSITIVE BIOPSYCHOSOCIAL OUTCOMES	(2)REPRODUCING STATUS QUO IDEALS	(3)PERFORMANCE ENHANCEMENT	(4)AFFILIATION	(5)SOCIOPOLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
Activity 1	**Fairness** 5	**Pride** 1,2,3		
Authority 5	**Fitness** 1	**Protestant Work Ethic** 2,3		
Character 2	**Fun** 1	**Publicity** 4		
Club 4	**Health/Safety** 1	**Respect** 2		
Commitment 1,2,3	**Independence** 1	**Self-Determination** 5		
Competition 3	**Learning** 1,2,3	**Self-Esteem** 1		
Dedication 1,2,3	**Organization** 3	**Skill Development** 1,3		
Democracy 5	**Ownership** 1	**Social Development** 1,4		
Development 1,2,3	**Participation** 1	**Sportsmanship** 2		
Discipline 2,3	**Personal control** 5	**Teaching** 1		
Effort 2,3	**Positive affect** 1	**Team** 4		
Enjoyment 1	**Power/control** 5	**Team Spirit** 4		
Equality 5	**Praise** 1	**Winning** 3		
Excellence 3		**Work** 2,3		

This section on coaching ideology and the subsequent sections on contextual factors and coaching behavior will identify many variables that one who has familiarity with youth sport might expect to see. Some of these factors have been considered by previous researchers, but many factors have not been addressed directly in the literature. Although components of youth sport, for those acquainted with the context, may be part of tacit awareness, there is benefit in making such factors manifest. These variables will be discussed not because of their novelty. Rather, the purpose is to put the information that coaches reported into a useful framework.

The degree to which any given factor is addressed below depends to large extent on how much the coaches had to say about that issue. Some of the factors are treated extensively, whereas others receive a fairly cursory treatment. Because this is an exploratory investigation, an effort was made to include factors even if they cannot be well developed at this point. Coaches might not have commented greatly on aspects of ideology or context for a variety of reasons, including the limitations of the investigator and the investigation. Some of the topics that receive limited attention might be of use to other researchers and they have been included for the benefit of the reader. Taken as a whole, the discussion of these variables should serve as an empirical map for considering the relations among coaching ideology, contextual factors, and coaching behavior and it should distinguish some factors as being particularly relevant for further investigation and consideration.

Positive Biopsychosocial Outcomes for Children

This category includes values that relate to some beneficial physiological, psychological, or social result for children from their participation in sport. Positive biological outcomes include improving biomotor abilities such as aerobic conditioning, flexibility, strength, or coordination. Positive psychological outcomes include enjoyment, increased self-esteem, and increased perceptions of competence. Positive social outcomes include making friends or being part of a team. The necessary condition for a value to be classified in this category is that it is something that would be likely to be viewed as a positive result from children's perspectives (what might be called an emic view of youth sport). Such values as having fun, improving skills, staying in shape, and playing as part of a team are values that children have identified as reasons for participation in sport (e.g., Ewing & Seefeldt, 1988).

Biological outcomes. Many coaches reported that one of the values of youth sport participation, from their perspectives, is that children increase some dimension of their physical fitness. For example, Janet mentioned how "physically swimming is excellent, those kids are in top cardio-respiratory shape. And they may not be strong, they may not have the muscles, but those kids have a heart that can work because it is aerobic training and it is so good for them, I really believe." And Midori suggested above how she thought physical activity was important. For her club's newsletter, "what I said is that skating is a good thing to learn now because it's a life skill - something you can do forever, basically - and I think that it is for any level. You can put on skates and go and skate if you have some basic level of skill knowledge. You don't have to stay in ultra fit shape, you don't have to do it every single day, you can still go and have fun all your life." Midori also discussed above her beliefs that participation in any physical activity is desirable for mental and physical health, and giving children opportunities to find physical activities they like will increase the chances that they will stay active as an adult.

In addition to improving fitness and activity levels, many coaches included maintenance of health as an

important value. Often the athletes' health and safety is assumed to be an important value and was one that coaches did not tend to mention as a value they were pursuing. Sometimes it was a coach's behavior that brought out this value. For example, Sandor took players off of the soccer field during a game on a very hot day, leaving him less than eleven players. When I asked him why he had done this, he explained that the players' health was more important than anything else. Coaches also established rules that reflected their value of assuring players' safety. Frank, for instance, explained that on his football team "any pushing or shoving of other players after the whistle, you're out of the game." In addition to his interest in discipline, he explained how preventing injuries had to be key priority.

Fun, enjoyment, and positive affect. In addition to positive biological outcomes, coaches identified many positive psychological outcomes that they valued. The first set of these refers to the pleasures from participating in sport. With its roots in the impulse to play, an essential component of youth sport is supposed to be fun. Young athletes consistently report that their primary reason for participating in sports is to have fun (e.g., Ewing & Seefeldt, 1988; Fry, McClements, & Sefton, 1981). Most coaches will state that they value fun or believe the athletes should enjoy at least some aspects of their participation. As Larry suggested, sports for children "should look like something that's enjoyment and not so much result oriented." He said, "That's the main thing really for me to actually enjoy the season and have fun is the thing." Or as Hank put it, coaches have to make "sure that the kids, in addition to the skill development, learn or have a fair bit of fun. Because obviously if it's not enjoyable, they don't want to come back to it."

Coaches' understandings of fun, however, vary quite a bit. Les[5], a basketball coach who worked as a chemist and was a father of two boys on his team, told me that the fun aspect of sport is "the game or the scrimmages. The first thing they want to do is scrimmage. That's why I sort of keep that as a reward. If they work hard during the practice, then they scrimmage. It seems to work pretty well. Yeah, they think playing the game is the fun part and all the rest - you have to convince them that the drudgery is going to help them have more fun." Frank also thought that scrimmaging was fun, "As much as it's nice to win, we like the kids to have a good time too, so every once in a while instead of having a practice we just tell the kids to go out and scrimmage and we just watch them scrimmage for an hour and a half."

A Police Athletic League (PAL) track coach, Tom, had another view of fun. "We would joke around for a while, have some fun then go to the track, jog down to the track from where the PAL headquarters were . . . Then we would break into the sprinters, the distance people . . . We would do that, then we would finish up and have some fun." I asked, "What would you do to have some fun?" He said, "Oh actually it would be just basically being with kids, joking around having a good time, talking about the workouts, talking about who they were going to beat. They would do most of the working, most of the joking, and I would be there just to make sure that nothing got out of hand, and everybody stayed having a good time. We'd often run, one thing they'd like to do was run relays against me. At the end of the day, they would get a kick out of that. If they could beat me,

[5]Les was one of many coaches who participated in formal interviews and was not observed. Material from these interviews will be used as supporting data in the remainder of this chapter.

if they could set up their own teams and beat me, they'd like that." Sandor valued some similar elements of fun, he said when he has them run, he does it with a ball. He said they're laughing at practice and having fun which is the main thing.

Bob had yet another view of fun. He saw fun as related to winning, working together, and getting along. As he put it, "I know they're having fun. I can tell, like they're winning, they know they're a good team together, when they play together as a team. They're having fun, I can tell that. No one is arguing with anybody else." Similarly, Frank asserted, "But winning is not most important. Learning, and having fun is the most important thing. But it is nice to win, the kids like to win. They get more excited than when they lose that's for sure and it brings them together as a team."

Fun is also seen to relate to feelings of competence with reference to both task mastery and social comparison. Bob described this: "when you make a good play, eh, you're happy for yourself and for the team. When they learn to make the good play or the good pass, they'll feel good, that's part of it. That's what I think is the fun of playing basketball. Because if you make that jump shot, you're practicing and you hit it and you hit the three, when there's pressure on you and you beat the guy to the hoop, that's what basketball is all about, is trying to beat the guy that's trying to guard you. Or you're playing defense, trying to stop the guy from scoring on you."

Many of coaches' conceptions of fun reflect adult perspectives. There are, however, clear developmental differences in what children and adolescents see as fun. Although coaches often saw aspects of games and competitions as fun for children, many young athletes have reported that they see learning new skills or physical sensations (such as hitting a tennis ball hard) as the fun of playing sports (Ewing, 1993; Harris & Ewing, 1992).

In addition to fun, many coaches value having athletes who are happy. For example, Frank explained how praise was important to "keep their spirits up for one thing. Even if they don't do it right, keep their spirits up and let them know that ah, you are watching when they do something good too. You're not just always harping on them when they do something bad. If you just keep saying that they're not doing it the right way, they'll say, can't I do it right at all? And they'll start doubting themselves. Whereas if you tell them "yeah, that's the way to do it" then they know that they can do it. You just have to get into their minds that they can do it." Or as Midori said, "I like it when they're happy and they feel like "I did something today, I got a badge . . . plus I want them to be happy to go out in front of an audience and do a performance they like and have confidence in, instead of being apprehensive and worried about doing the thing in the performance and pleasing me." Nigel suggested the importance of the athletes' and his own happiness: "The main thing is that the kids are happy, that I don't upset them (laugh) that I don't say the wrong things. I could affect the way they think for a long time, right? And I'm happy. I'm happy with what I'm doing and how I'm doing it."

Furthermore, just as coaches set rules to protect players' physical well-being, some rules were established to protect emotional well-being as well. Tom, the track coach, explained, "Absolutely no fighting. And no cursing. And respect for each other. You could joke, you could make fun, but you had to teach them a little bit where the limits are about when peoples' feelings are going to get hurt. I mean they're only kids."

Most young athletes and their coaches believe that youth sport should be fun. Yet the concepts of fun and

enjoyment continue to be elusive. Although current efforts have begun to conceptualize various elements of sport enjoyment (Scanlan, Stein, & Ravizza, 1989; Scanlan & Simons, 1992) and coaches expressed understandings of fun that reflect several of these elements (e.g., friendship opportunities, competitive achievements) making youth sport fun is still a great challenge for many coaches.

Many coaches are not quite sure what fun is or they have limited ideas of how to make participation fun. Midori represented this: "I try to make it fun. I don't think that I can make it fun. I can make it interesting. I can give them the information they need in order make it pleasurable. - what I can contribute - I'm not exactly sure what I can contribute to fun." Bob also spoke about the difficulties he had in trying to make basketball more enjoyable for the players. Coaches may also have difficulty in making practices fun because of their limited knowledge or their beliefs about how to teach skills. As Hank said, "When I go and watch people coach, I look at the kids they have and are they having fun? And a lot of times the kids are having a lot of fun but there's no coaching going on. Other times I look, there's a lot of coaching going on, with some guys, but there's not much fun because of the way in which the instruction in provided--mainly in a negative kind of fashion. And it's somewhere in between, that blend of being able to teach kids at a certain age certain things and let them build on that when they get a little bit older, but there is not enough of that developmental progression taking place in youth sport."

The fun of youth sport is often limited by less than ideal instructional strategies. In many cases the hegemony of biomechanics leads coaches to believe that sport skills have to be stripped from the situation in which they are used. Rather than having athletes learn skills in game-like contexts where they can consider strategy as well as the motion, coaches often subject athletes to uninspiring drills. Sometimes coaches will not attempt to make participation fun because they do not believe in it. As one of the Canadians' coaches suggested, "In Canada there is too much emphasis on fun." Yet fun remains the starting point for youth sport. A desire to have fun is what draws young athletes to sport. Whereas most coaches appeared to think that fun is desirable, fun and how to make participation in youth sport enjoyable are not well understood by coaches.

Fun generally remains as a desired end, but coaches could benefit from learning more about paths to achieve fun. Coaches may assume what will be fun for athletes. Their reports suggested a range of beliefs about what aspects of sport children enjoy. Some felt that young athletes like to scrimmage and compete. Others thought that being with friends was the most enjoyable part of youth sport. Rather than making assumptions about what children like or want out of sport, coaches could have discussions with athletes about what they enjoy and how they think practices and games could be more fun. The questionnaire that Janet gave to her swimmers was the only clear example of coaches trying to gather information about how to make their sport participation "funner." Because fun is both a primary reason for children to participate in sports and a value that most coaches embrace, coaches should continue to learn more about what is fun for athletes and how to make participation more enjoyable.

Self-esteem. Youth sport participation can increase children's self-esteem (Smith & Smoll, 1990). Many coaches believe that increasing self-esteem is an important goal. Don, a businessman who had coached soccer for several years described how this goal was his impetus for becoming a coach. "Specifically because I've seen adults that have powerful impacts on children's self-images either positively or negatively, and I judged that I could have

a positive impact on that self-image, that's why I wanted to get into it. . . . The primary thing in coaching that I always try to do is that a child should feel better about themselves at the end of a day, a game, or a season than they did at the beginning. And that if, in fact, what you were doing, or the sport itself caused any decreased self-image, as evidenced by certain kinds of behavior, then you really have to look at the worth of that sport -- or even your own worth as a coach. Because I've seen plenty of coaches that do exactly that, who cause a decrease in that self-image."

Just as many coaches believe that fostering self-esteem is a key component of their job, many proponents of youth sport suggest that the opportunity to build self-esteem is a central reason to promote youth sport programs. If the degree to which children's self-esteem is developed in sport depends on coaches' values and beliefs, then it is important to understand how building self-esteem fits into the array of coaches' ideological commitments.

Independence. A third positive psychological outcome that coaches reported is independence. Some coaches believe that a benefit of youth sport participation is that athletes become more independent. Martens (1988b) described how sports can help children to become independent, responsible adults. Janet remarked, "A big thing that comes out when they get older is that they are pretty able to look after themselves . . . They go to meets and even at a young age, they go off to the marshalling area by themselves at 7 and they swim their race . . . they do these things on their own - they pay for food and they're looking after their stuff . . . they learn responsibility, that would be the same in any other sport." Many coaches maintain that sport is good for children because it can teach them to be more responsible for their actions and to be less dependent on others. Although this component of ideology appears worthy of consideration, it is one about which the coaches said little. If we are to consider sport participation as relevant to the central developmental task of achieving personal agency or instrumentality (Havighurst, 1972), then understanding how coaches value independence merits further attention.

"Life lessons". Many coaches discussed related values that can be categorized as teaching young athletes lessons that will be valuable to them in life. Tom talked about how sport teaches the value of hard work and how to set goals, "As far as learning how effort leads to results, that transfers, there's a transfer of training there. I've done it myself. The only reason I'm where I am now is because of my success in running, when I was working in the factory, I worked in the factory for a long time, and before that I pumped gas, and sold tires, and things of that nature. And it's very hard to have a lot of self-esteem and a lot of times you feel like you're putting a lot of effort into things and you get nothing for it, you just work hard and you don't get anything. When you can put yourself - when you can focus your efforts on something that's achievable is the first thing - is to realize that there's no point in putting out a bunch of effort for something that you're never going to be able to do. So the first thing to learn from sports is what's a reasonable goal. And then to learn that is you do put out effort then you'll get something. When I started to run, the more I ran, my times went down. I didn't need a boss to tell me I did a good job, he'll give me raise, my times went down. I did it. Then I could go to school later on. I started to go to school at night. I studied, I got A's. I didn't have to - I took the same test as everybody else, they couldn't give me a different grade. Whatever grade I got, was the grade I deserved. The direct transfer of training from my running to my schoolwork - there's no way I'd be doing what I'm doing now if I hadn't done that . . . I had pretty much made the transfer and was making my way through my Bachelor's degree and there's no way that I couldn't believe

that I could try to get some of that transfer to the kids, that they could see that there's a connection there, as long as your goals are reasonable. That's the most important thing." On a similar note, Midori thought that if the process learned in figure skating, "can transfer to some other activity, even a school project - what I want to do is write a 20 page paper about this, I need to find the info, organize the info, and go to the library - and it's transferred, then I think that's useful."

Other coaches discussed the importance of teaching "life lessons" to young athletes. For example, Nigel said, "My role as a coach is to teach the kids as much as possible about the game of soccer and teach them off the field behavior. That's all I think." Or as Hank added, "We try to teach them a little bit about their language, about respecting other people, about respecting their parents, about respecting girls . . . So they learn how to behave a little bit." Sandor echoed this sentiment, "my goal is developing players, good players, skilled players, and developing players that are good to the community too when they take off their jerseys." He also said, "the main thing . . . I always tell them right here you're preparing for life. This is life, this is how it starts. This is competitive now. When you get out in the world you go to your work place, that's the only way. Your credentials, what you can do, you have to show your best. This is how you get ready. You're not going to succeed in everything - you have to accept that too. But you keep trying and it's not only the sport you try to get them ready for life you try to make gentlemen out of them."

Many coaches, as well as sport scientists, see youth sport as a means to various beneficial ends for children. As Orlick and Pitman-Davidson (1988, p. 150) stated, "Within competitive structures are countless opportunities for teaching important social values." Many coaches value the idea of using sport as a means to teach life lessons. Tom described how sport can teach young athletes how to set personal goals. All of the coaches spoke of various ways they try to teach athletes lessons or behaviors that will benefit them outside of sport. For example, Nigel and Sandor talked about how they worked to make the soccer players better people for when they are outside sport and Larry spoke of how he tried to teach the lacrosse players how to get along with other people.

Whereas coaches generally are constrained by the social construction of sport, and they feel that such teaching must give way to the primacy of the athletic competition, Orlick and Pitman-Davidson (1988) suggested that the sport context is ideal for teaching various lessons. "What better place than in the midst of a game to discuss the true meaning of such values as winning, losing, success, failure, anxiety, rejection, fair play, acceptance, friendship, cooperation, and healthy competition? . . . A timeout can be called to take advantage of a meaningful learning opportunity" (p. 150). Although on its surface, this may appear to be a reasonable proposition, there are some powerful perceived, if not real, barriers to overcome. First, it is difficult to determine the "true meaning" of many of these values; there are multiple meanings that might be assigned to such values as success, friendship, or healthy competition. Second, several sports (as they currently are played) do not allow for timeouts. Third, some coaches reported that during the game they get caught up in the competition and they appeared least likely to work toward teaching values that did not affect the game's outcome at that time. For example, Frank spoke about how his emotions got the best of him during games. Although he wanted to teach the players discipline and respect, his intensity during games led him at times to yell at officials rather than concern himself with lessons for the athletes. Similarly, whereas Sandor was concerned with his players' personal

development, he could become aroused to the point where "I don't even recognize my own relatives during the game." Some coaches may be able to find "teaching moments" during competitions. Perhaps, for other coaches, the honorable aspirations to teach children important values can be pursued away from the heat of competition.

Providing support. Another aspect of valuing positive psychological outcomes involves regarding helping athletes through life's problems as important. It can include providing various kinds of support. Frank explained that he and the coaching staff are "just trying to make them better and help the kid out in anything we can do. You know, if the kid's having problems at home, he can come talk to you about it - if they want. And we've had kids that will - and sometimes we try to straighten things out - We're not gods either. We have problems of our own, we can't help everybody, but we try. It's just not football, we try to guide them through about anything that we can help them with." Whereas the coaches made few explicit comments about providing support for athletes, most of them displayed an implicit interest in "helping out" members of their teams when they could. Attending not only to how coaches may value parental types of support roles, but also to how coaches are serving or are willing to serve in this capacity appears to be of growing importance. With single-parent families on the rise, and coaches often serving as substitute parents (Smoll & Smith, 1989), it will be important to comprehend how coaches may value their role as care giver.

Social outcomes. Along with positive biological and psychological outcomes, coaches often advocated the importance of social outcomes. Some coaches stressed the importance of developing interpersonal skills as a central element of their coaching ideology. For example, Larry said, "I think the most important thing is that they learn how to interact with a group of other people." And he described above how he had worked with a couple of athletes to have them play together. Frank spoke of a similar situation where "we had this one conflict and we told them straighten it out or you guys can't play here. We don't want that. We stress team effort. Like if we get somebody that's putting another kid down - like "that was pretty stupid" we bring them aside and we say "hey, I don't want you to say that. I want you say that instead of doing that, maybe you should have done this" - show a little more tact and if it's stupid work at it. I don't care if they get mad at me, I'm coach. Don't get mad at the guy that's playing on the line next to you. Just showing a little more tact like that. Don't ever think that you're so much better than the kid next to you. You're all on the same line as far as we're concerned. One might be a little bit better player, but that doesn't mean anything to us except he's going to play more until you start to show us that you can play - or you don't want us to play you. Like I say, we try to keep them together as a group and we try to keep drilling into their heads that it's a team game. There's 12 guys out there and 12 guys have to do their job - so that sort of brings them together."

Larry felt that social outcomes are of the utmost significance and the thing he would like to change most about youth sport is how "kids can be really mean and that really bothers me. Ya know, especially like when the better players are meaner to the kids who are just out there to just learn and stuff, and if I could change anything that's probably what it would be. I really hate to see that kind of stuff go on - or bigger kids who just beat up on the smaller guys just because they can and I'm sure it's humiliating and I've had that happen to me, but I've also done it too, and I know it's sort of nature that happens and you grow out of it and stuff, but it's really hard to watch that and it would be a better experience for everybody if that tendency wasn't there."

Coaches also refer to the benefits of having experiences that may spur social development. "They're growing socially - a lot of these kids have been to hotels, have been in restaurants, have been on planes, have been to far more places than even their parents have . . . so socially they do things like that," Janet observed. For many coaches, helping athletes to acquire social skills and learn how to interact well with peers is a fundamental goal.

Summary. This section addressed the positive biological, psychological, and social outcomes that coaches valued. The outcomes that coaches want to encourage are central to their ideologies. Knowing which outcomes coaches give priority is essential when trying to understand how individuals approach their coaching roles. All coaches probably seek to foster many of the positive biopsychosocial outcomes that were discussed above. These valued outcomes may, however, come into conflict with other ideological components that will be discussed below and the extent to which these outcomes are achieved may be influenced by the wide variety of factors in the youth sport context.

Reproducing Status Quo Ideals

Whereas the above category referred to outcomes that might be valued from children's perspectives, many of the values that coaches espoused as part of their ideologies came from an outsider's, or etic, view of youth sport. Many outcomes that would be described as part of "building character" would be included in this category. Whereas these outcomes may be beneficial to children as they learn to function in a capitalistic society, these results of participation are not necessarily positive phenomenologically for children. For example, learning discipline, respect for leaders, and how to obey authority may make children better "citizens," but it is unclear that they see this as a positive aspect of their sport participation. The ideals that coaches referred to also included dedication, effort, and achievement.

Discipline. It was evident with Frank that his first priority was teaching and maintaining discipline with his football players. Whereas this seemed to facilitate the coaches' goal pursuit and it may have been in the players' long term best interest, it may not have been what they were searching for in sport participation. Frank said, "If a kid doesn't listen to you, you don't want him there. We've run into that a couple of times, where we're talking and they're not listening." Hank also asserted the value of discipline when he said, "we teach them how to be a team. And that isn't to be arrogant or to be smart assed or anything else, just to go about doing the job that we're supposed to do as effectively and efficiently as possible, so there's some discipline things associated with that. There's some drills and some things that we do with the way that we conduct ourselves on and off the ice. We spend a lot of time trying to socialize them to the fact that there's more than the game involved." Although there are benefits, valuing discipline may impose on athletes' social interests or their enjoyment of their sport. Yet Janet believed that disciplining swimmers was beneficial and it led to their eventual development as people, "That's what's good. That's what I like, . . . that's why I think it's worth it - I think it's worthwhile kicking them out and them learning about discipline." Discipline may also be necessary for safety and a degree of discipline generally will facilitate organization and learning. For coaches who are committed to developing talent, discipline may be an appropriate value. Although coaches of elite athletes are often seen as rigid disciplinarians (Monsaas, 1985), for developing athletes it seems most important that discipline comes from within (Bloom, 1985a). Discipline may also reflect an inappropriate desire by coaches to be in control. When discipline is used as a vehicle to meet athletes'

best interests it may produce positive outcomes. When discipline involves merely making athletes compliant, it may do more to reproduce the status quo than to develop the athlete.

Respect. Often seen as going hand in hand with discipline, some coaches reported that athletes learning respect is a valued objective. In Frank's view, respect for coaches is imperative. He said, "We've never cut anybody in our league, except, like I told you, smart asses. If a kid comes over and he's terrible, he plays. If a kid mouths off, he doesn't stay around too long." Anne, a swim coach from Kitchford, said, "I think no matter how old you are you should respect your coach." Bob added that players should also respect the referee and "I want them to learn how to respect other people on their team and not to yell at them."

Janet relayed a situation where an athlete had not shown respect to a coach and she asserted the necessity of teaching athletes to respect coaches. "Last year with the same boy I told you about, Mason, in a joke because he thought it was funny, he pushed in my assistant Vern with his clothes on. Everybody looked at it and said let's take it from the safety point of view - it's the thing to do. Well, bullshit, he should have not pushed in a coach and I would love to have expelled the kid from the club and never have him come back and I still feel that way even though now he's in my group. If he ever did that again, he would be expelled from the club or I would quit. I mean point blank quit. He would have to leave. I mean there is no way you do stuff like that. No way. That would be - that's just total disrespect and the other kids see that and you can't have that."

At times, it appears that coaches harbor a view that they can demand respect. Yet, it is cliché to suggest that respect must be earned. By kicking kids off teams or throwing them out of practice, it is possible that coaches get compliance rather than respect. It seemed that the coaches who had the most genuine respect were the ones who treated the athletes with respect. In accord with findings that suggest that coaches can be notoriously poor at reading their team climates and assessing their roles in these climates (e.g., Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1978), coaches may have limitations in judging how to gain respect from athletes.

Dedication. "To get to anything, you've got to be dedicated," Janet avouched. And "sportsmanship, dedication, pride, team spirit, and leadership" were all parts of her club's code of conduct and failure to demonstrate these may result in expulsion from the club. She affirmed that "dedication enough to come to workouts, that's the one big goal to get" the athletes to pursue as they develop. Many coaches advocated that athletes have to commit themselves to the team, program, or sport if they were to reap the benefits of participation, but again, this was an area where coaches made few direct comments. There appears to be some conceptual similarity between dedication and adherence. Perhaps the wealth of literature on exercise adherence might shed light not only on coaches' beliefs about dedication, but also on how athletes are "dedicated" to their sports.

Effort and the Protestant Work Ethic. "If you work hard you will succeed and I still think that Protestant Work Ethic is valid in today's society," Janet asserted. A deeply embedded element of North American society is the Protestant Work Ethic. This is a value that is often promulgated in the realm of sports, as can be witnessed in the media--from coaches' comments to a current Reebok advertisement that suggests the benefits one will reap from the hard work of training. As Janet discussed above, and as was reported in Developing Talent in Young People (Kalinowski, 1985a; Sloane, 1985), the value of working hard to achieve is still cultivated in many sectors of society, including athletics. Bob also revealed himself to be a proponent of hard work with his many references to

"giving 110%" and he suggested, "Play hard, that's the one thing that you always have to do, is play hard when you're out there." Nigel said, "I've told the kids many times, when you go out there and play a team and they play well, work hard, win or lose, to me that's fine, it's when they go out there and don't play, I get a bit mad. When they go out there and nobody's putting in any effort in and that. I can't even stand that." Or as Larry added, "it doesn't really matter how well you perform per se on a stat sheet - it's more important the effort that you put out." Coaches reported that decisions about such things as playing time are determined in part by their perceptions of the athletes' effort. "If you're out there working and show that you can play, then you're going to play," Frank stated. In addition, Bob described how "he saw younger kids working their tails off to get a basket or even get the ball" and he wanted to keep them in the game and take out a player with more ability who wasn't trying hard.

Although hard work is necessary to achieve virtually any desirable goal, the pursuit of goals need not be unpleasant. Sandor explained how he valued hard work, but didn't have the "put your nose to the grindstone" attitude. As a result, he said that many soccer players "wanted to be on my team because we had fun, we joked around, but under the jokes and under the fun, there was hard work too. But they didn't notice that. That came along and when the game time came there it was. "But you guys joke around a lot." Sure we do. Don't you sing at your work place, or don't you listen to the radio? It makes your work go better, doesn't it? You get the job done, don't you? ok." Perhaps the ability to make working hard enjoyable is an asset for coaches that deserves more thought. It might be suggested that making rigorous training enjoyable brings the Protestant Work Ethic toward athletes' primary goal of having fun. The dichotomy of work and play may be false and the strenuous effort often associated with sport participation can be intrinsically rewarding in addition to the "success" it may bring.

Achievement. North American society certainly places great importance on achievement (McClelland, 1961). Some coaches hold as part of their ideologies that participating in youth sport is beneficial because it teaches the values of achievement. As Midori stated it, "maybe the process of going through things and achieving things will help you in surviving in an achievement oriented society." All of the coaches described some kind of achievement, whether it was a competitive outcome or personal accomplishment, as desirable. Some of their comments will be discussed below as they relate to enhancing athletes' performances so that the athletes can compete at a higher level. Implicit in many coaches' beliefs is the notion that some form of measurable achievement or outcome is more important than the process of striving or the non-achievement goals, such as those related to positive affect or social factors.

Summary. Values such as achievement, effort, dedication, respect, and discipline can be seen as part of coaching ideology that relates to reproducing status quo ideals. As coaches promulgate these values, perhaps in an effort to create "good citizens," they may bring a social maintenance function to youth sport. In viewing the dimensions of coaching ideology it is worth noting how coaches may seek to reconstruct dominant value systems.

A more difficult set of values to classify are those associated with competition and winning. Many coaches clearly view learning how to compete and how to win as a benefit of youth sport participation. Adolescents also seem to view "the excitement of competition" and winning as reasons to participate in sport (Ewing & Seefeldt,

1988). It is unclear, however, if these values are the result of efforts to reproduce the status quo in a capitalist society or if it is the case that children inherently enjoy competition. In an effort to move beyond this problem, values relating to competition and winning will be discussed largely as they relate to the third factor of performance enhancement.

Performance Enhancement

Following positive biopsychosocial outcomes and status quo ideals, this category of performance enhancement includes those values espoused by coaches that relate to the merits of competition and winning as well as improving skilled performance. Some of the values considered above such as dedication and hard work may also relate to performance enhancement. Such values as excellence, skill development, effort, hard work, team work, competition, and winning, can be seen as relating to performance enhancement.

Excellence. Whether coaches are focusing on building a winning team or trying to develop athletes' skills, they often value excellence. Janet discussed how her "big goal for these kids is excellence together - that means I think you're trying to pull all the kids up to their highest level attainable." Furthermore, she believed "that a child at 15 who achieves a world [class] something is better than a kid who has a lot of fun all through their life and never achieves a world ranking in anything." Her sentiments paralleled her club's, whose "goal is for excellence . . . whether it's that one person is going to be going to the Olympics and winning a gold medal or if it's a lot of people at Nationals or whether we have a whole pile of kids going to what they call age group championships." Nigel advocated "if they spot talented people in any sport, they have got to be picked out, they've got to be pushed and helped, and supported." Both the pursuit of and the presence of excellence are often highly regarded. Comprehending the ways in which coaches value excellence may determine how it is associated with other dimensions of coaching ideology. Seeing excellence as inherently valuable may relate to a reproducing a dominant cultural value, whereas appreciating excellence because it benefits athletes may be linked more to positive biopsychosocial outcomes. In the pursuit of excellence or any level of enhanced performance, coaches will often focus on improving athletes' skillfulness.

Skill development. Several of the coaches depicted in the case studies submitted that skill development was among their highest priorities. Nigel and Sandor said that individual players' skill development was most important. Frank ranked learning skills second after discipline and suggested he measured his own success by his athletes' improvement on the field. Sandor stated in "the end you're going to win big and the kids will be good if they'll be skilled players." The club that Nigel and Sandor coached for, the Canadians, also made a clear statement that their purpose as a club was to develop skilled players to their highest level. To pursue this aim, the younger teams played against older competition. Nigel thought, "They need a challenge and that's the way they learn as well, that's the way they get better. They have to keep pushing themselves, by playing the kids their own age, they can just relax and still win. And if you keep that up for too long, they just get stale they don't improve and they don't have to worry. You keep pushing them and pushing them and they'll have to fight for everything and that's good for them, eh? It improves their play and it improves their mind for the game." Bob believed that coaches don't stress basketball and its skills enough and they just tell players to go out there and just have fun. He wanted his players to "just try to learn when they come, I tell them what to do, what to improve and if they do, they'll

become a better ball player." His goal was "just trying to help them learn about basketball and what it takes to be a good basketball player."

Other coaches valued skill development in a sense that was not clearly related to enhancing performance. Midori wanted to improve the girls' skating so that they would be able to use their skills for lifetime physical activity. Larry seemed to value skill development both as part of the fun of participation and because it gave interested players the opportunity to progress to a higher level. The various approaches that these coaches took to skill development demonstrates how coaches' intentions can be as important as their behaviors (cf. Fenstermacher, 1986). Observing coaches engaging in skill building drills is not enough to determine what they value or what outcomes they are most concerned with achieving. Recognizing how a value like skill development fits within a coach's ideology can be useful in interpreting the meaning of a coach's behavior. Although skill development was discussed from several perspectives, it was generally seen as part of performance enhancement.

Team Work. Coaches advocated the benefits of learning to work with other people for a variety of reasons. Among these reasons are values related to performance enhancement. For example, Sandor suggested "it becomes a team play. Everybody has to give their best to it to give a good performance. In the practice, you develop the players that are weaker in those spots." Nigel explained that developing team work improves the quality of performance. He said, "if I can keep this team together for another 2 years or a year and a half and then we hopefully will go to the National League in Toronto, we should be doing pretty well, because they knit together, don't they? They start to understand each other. They know where everybody's going to be, it takes time for that." Some coaches, such as Larry, view team work more from the perspective of social development and affiliation, which will be discussed below.

Competition. In any competitive contest the "immediate short-term objective is to win. Striving to win within the rules of the game should be the objective of every athlete and coach" (Martens, 1988b, p. 299). Although coaches vary on their perspectives as to competition's role in the program, as well as the contest, competition is an issue for all coaches. For some, it is highly regarded not only as an objective for the day, but as a long-term goal; some coaches believe their programs exist to produce winners. Even those coaches who recognize other benefits of participation such as social development may feel as Janet did, "I don't even think about that. When I go to the pool, I'm only thinking about what we're doing in the practice and physically what that's doing competitive swimming-wise."

Our understanding of competition and our future advocacy about competition for children may be enhanced by looking at competition from a broader cultural perspective. Whereas some societies function without any competition at all, we live at the other end of the spectrum (Kohn, 1986).

> From the Little League ball player who bursts into tears after his team loses, to the college students in the football stadium chanting "We're number one!"; from Lyndon Johnson, whose judgment was almost certainly distorted by his oft-stated desire not to be the first American president to lose a war, to the third grader who despises his classmate for a superior performance on an arithmetic test; we manifest a staggering cultural obsession with victory
> (Aronson, 1976, pp.153-154).

In addition, Wachtel (1983, p. 284) asserted that "competition is almost our state religion." Others have argued that it is "an American cultural addiction" (Strick, 1978, p. 114) and "resistance to competition is viewed as suspiciously un-American" (Sadler, 1976, p. 168). Our analyses of competition may be refined by developing a more precise understanding of competition as a construct. The statements above show a conflation of structural and intentional competition. "The former refers to a situation; the latter to an attitude. Whereas structural competition has to do with the win/lose framework, which is external, intentional competition is internal; it concerns the desire on the part of an individual to be number one" (Kohn, 1986, p. 4).

Youth sport usually entails structured competition, which is to say it is characterized by mutually exclusive goal attainment (MEGA). Simply stated, this means that for one team to succeed (with respect to achieving their goal of winning) the other has to fail. Although individuals have subjective interpretations of objective outcomes (e.g., a child may feel successful after losing a game), the fates of two teams are negatively linked. If one team must lose exactly as much as the other must win, as is generally the case, the result is a zero-sum game. Any MEGA arrangement necessitates that two or more individuals are trying to achieve a goal that cannot be achieved by all of them (Kohn, 1986). This is the essence of competition. As Deutsch (1973, p. 20) defined it, a competitive situation is one of "contrient interdependence" so that "participants are so linked together that there is a negative correlation between their goal attainments." When competition is viewed in this light, its essence is mutually exclusive goal attainment; one person succeeds only if someone else fails. Although it seems clear to some (Kohn, 1986) that there is something drastically wrong with this arrangement, it is the prevailing model for all sports. And many of the coaches indicated that they were influenced by this model. For example, although they had higher priority goals, they were affected by the perception that "the name of the game is to win," as Frank said. Or as Sandor asserted, "You're out there to win too, it's part of the game too, and there's a win loss column if you look in the paper on every sport no matter what you're playing it's the name of the game." Structural competition may remain at the center of youth sport, but it seems fitting that we at least question the appropriateness of intentional competition (i.e., promoting the drive to be number one).

Whereas competition itself may be assumed, determining the level of competitiveness and the importance of competitive outcomes in youth sport continues to be a challenge for coaches, parents, athletes, and anyone with an interest in youth sport. Some coaches, such as Hank, will assert that winning contests is a primary goal. The American Coaching Effectiveness Program represents a moderate position with its motto "athletes first, winning second." For other coaches, such as Larry or Midori, winning and losing become almost irrelevant if other goals are achieved. Whereas winning and development have often been seen as dichotomous, several coaches, such as Nigel and Sandor, described how winning and development are complementary in their programs. The meanings ascribed to winning are often elusive. We live, no doubt, in a society that values winners. Outstanding professional athletes are often disparaged because they have not demonstrated the ability "to win the big one." In spite of great skill and excellent performances, such athletes are not granted the status of those who have won championships.

As much as we wrestle with competitive outcomes, we have dilemmas about the appropriateness of competition. "At its best, competition can be a forum for the positive pursuit of personal excellence--a way for

athletes to explore their potential. At its worst, competition pits person against person in a destructive rivalry, resulting in high levels of anxiety, self-deprecation, insensitivity toward others, cheating, and destructive aggression" (Orlick & Pitman-Davidson, 1988, p. 149).

One of the difficulties with competition that confronts us is that sport is a social comparison process and the current advocacy (e.g., Newton & Duda, 1992; Treasure & Roberts, 1992) suggests that children should self-reference their performances and avoid social comparisons. To reduce the deleterious effects of overly competitive sports, there may be a need to change the structural demands of the activity. In such a structure, people can "play with one another rather than against one another; they play to overcome challenges, not to overcome other people; and they are freed by the very structure of the games to enjoy the play itself" (Orlick & Pitman-Davidson, 1988, p. 151). Within the real world of youth sport, however, it may not be practical to change the activity so that cooperation among players is necessary to achieve objectives; competition is based on striving to achieve mutually exclusive ends. As much as possible within this context, however, rewards should be based on the particular performer's achievements as compared with past experience rather than on comparisons made between or among the players (Roberts, 1984) or furthermore, between or among opponents or teams. Perhaps efforts can be made to change "the name of the game" as understood by coaches such as Frank and Sandor from winning to meeting children's developmental needs and providing enjoyable experiences where competition may exist but is not the centerpiece of participation. Coaches may assume important roles in initiating and sustaining such changes.

Winning. Along with competition, some coaches regard winning contests as a desirable end in itself. Sometimes coaches are willing to relegate other objectives to insure victories. Frank spoke about how they allow less skilled athletes a chance to play and perhaps let the opponent score, "that's fine," he said, "just so long as we're not jeopardizing a win that our kids put a lot of time and effort into to get the win. But we have no problem with the other team scoring on us or if as long as, like I say, we don't lose the game, after the kids did all the work to win the game."

Hank provided an illustration of how coaches value winning. He explained, "we're trying to win hockey games because that's a benchmark of how much we're improving as a team." He also seemed to value winning as an end in itself, "We're not going to tournaments to stand around, we're going to win. And if we don't win, that's okay, but we do the things that we have to do to teach them how to win . . . A lot of people have a problem with winning and losing and what it means. Kids have to be taught how to win and they have to be taught how to lose. So we put our efforts into what it takes to win." Hank also declared, "In the playoffs you're trying to win. I mean we don't play the game just to play it. We play to win."

Sometimes coaches value winning, as Sandor told me, because "you like to get revenge. It's very satisfying when you can beat another team that beat you and you think when you line up and shake hands, it's not always a nice hand shake. Some kids spit in their palms, "you guys suck" you hear that - eff off, wimp - and you like to get a little revenge by winning, not by lining up again and spitting two in your palm, and giving it to him - but by beating him, that's the only way you can get back at him and that hurts him. You don't have to say anything, you just have to line up. They know that they lost so that's the best way." Sandor's remarks that linked winning and revenge call into question whether he is fully committed to the psychosocial development of the

athletes. This example may demonstrate how coaches' own needs can override the goals they have for their athletes.

Winning is sometimes seen as an objective and as a reward for efforts. Nigel described above the struggle of balancing the values of winning and player development. Although he believed in the importance of players improving for the long term, he held winning as a key short term goal and reward for a hard game: "Let's face it. Winning is what it's all about. The kids improvement, but at the end of the day the winner, winning . . . if I wasn't interested in winning, I should have stayed in the house league, where it's supposed to be all a bit of fun, but if you speak to any coach in the house league, he's interested in seeing his team (Nigel motioned raise up). It's competition, it's in everybody, it's starts when you're little and it's always there, isn't it? Winning and losing."

Although winning and losing do appear to be omnipresent in adult-organized sports, at least the youngest participants may have vastly different interpretations of competitive situations. We have all heard of toddlers thinking they won a foot race when they cross the finish line, without regard to who else crossed when. There appears to be a shift from internal definitions of success or competence to external or social comparison criteria as children develop. And children's conceptions of ability are often difficult for adults to understand (Nicholls, 1989). Furthermore, as children develop a more normative conception they may be more equipped to understand the meaning of competition in sport, but they also may be more susceptible to having their intrinsic interest undermined by an emphasis on competition (cf. Nicholls, 1992). As we seek to understand the ideologies of youth sport coaches, grasping their views about competition and winning should be a chief concern.

"The funnel". Those who accept many of the status quo beliefs about sport often believe that an important function of youth sport is that it "funnels" talented athletes up to the next level. As a result, the less talented athletes are "weeded out" from participating. One basketball coach of both park leagues and a high school freshman team said, "The reason we're here . . . is to prepare them for varsity. Because when you build a program you need to do that from the bottom up. So what I want to do is stress fundamentals, fundamentals of the game, and stress to develop an attitude of competitiveness . . . freshman basketball is not the end-all of basketball, your ultimate goal is the varsity." Frank stated, "football in Metro starts at pee wee football. Get the good players there and make them better and they're going to be better for junior ball, they'll be better for senior ball, and then they'll be better for university and college. So it starts at our level. If you take away our level, junior balls goes down in quality, senior balls goes down in quality . . ." As Janet put it, "I want them to have the skills necessary to go to the next level, to swim at the next level." Or as she said in another interview, "I do know that I have to get these kids up to the next level where they should be striving for excellence."

Bob saw preparing his players for high school basketball as central to his role as coach. As he put it, "I'm trying to tell my team what the freshman coach will be looking for . . . That's what I think, so I'm going to give them as much knowledge as I know to give to them and help out . . . Because these kids, I want them to go as far as possible and basketball can take them as far - if they keep practicing and practicing, they'll get to university, they'll get scholarships so that they won't have to pay for their tuition at university. That can help them out a lot right there."

This value may affect how developmental coaches work with their athletes. Janet said, "I never pushed

them as hard as they could go, to their limit. I never drove them hard. They did hard practices, but I know I could have gotten more work out of them. I know it, I know I could have driven them like crazy - and they might have even had a Canadian record. I know Andrew could have had a Canadian record in the 1500 free . . . but I know that's not the point. I know that he's going to go on and he's going to be swimming when he's 20. I hope. Then he can do that. So I'm just trying to tell you that I can see the difference."

The issue of "funneling" young athletes appears to be most problematic not for the select few who rise to the elite level, but for the majority of children for whom there is no room at the top. If coaches and sport programs are truly committed to each child achieving his or her own highest level of excellence, then fairly radical changes in the structure of sport will be necessary. With a growing interest in helping individuals to remain physically active throughout their lifespan, options will have to be presented for those who are of less than the highest achievement levels. Whereas we may debate the appropriateness of having youth sport programs serve as "farm teams" for more elite sport, we need to concern ourselves with how non-elites are treated in the current system. The attempt to funnel players to the next level appears to be incompatible to some extent with other values that coaches reported.

Summary. These complex values associated with competition and winning as well as beliefs about the place of youth sport in the broader realm of competitive sport are essential components of coaching ideology. Examining how and why coaches seek to enhance performance can be crucial to understanding the behaviors that coaches engage in and the outcomes that they seek to achieve. Coaches may try to improve athletes' skillfulness for a variety of reasons ranging from helping an individual athlete to be able to enjoy lifetime participation in a sport to helping a particular sport's development by cultivating the most talented athletes for higher levels of participation.

Affiliation

A fourth category of values that coaches discussed (following positive biopsychosocial outcomes, reproducing the status quo, and performance enhancement) involved social factors such as making friends, being part of team, and team spirit. This factor is basically distinct from positive social outcomes; those outcomes involve such things as learning to get along with others, affiliation refers to individuals' needs or desires to belong to a valued group or to associate with valued others. Furthermore, Carpenter (1991), who factor analyzed goals that coaches hold for their athletes, found that coaches' goals for positive psychological outcomes emerged as a separate factor from goals for social affiliation. The social dimension of youth sport may be integral to children's attraction to and development in sport and further attention to this area is warranted. A more complete picture of coaching ideology can be developed by examining how coaches view affiliation in sport.

Making friends. For children, and even more so for adolescents, making friends and being with friends is an important priority in many contexts, including sports (Treasure, 1991). Coaches may recognize, as Frank did, "I think they want to come out with their buddies to play football." Some coaches believe that this is an important component in children's sport participation. As Larry suggested, one of the benefits of being in sport is "the camaraderie - I have a lot of still really close friends from the sports that I played." Bob also noted that "in this league they'll be able to meet new people, that's one thing. They'll learn how to get along with other people.

People they've never seen or met before or talked to. Towards basketball they'll learn how to work as a team and how a team will develop. They'll recognize what some people can do." Larry related how the players making friends was meaningful to him, "I've already seen the two guys who didn't want to play together become friends, they talk and that's kind of rewarding - that's kind of one of the most rewarding things I've seen out there." Frank suggested that one of the benefits of participation in youth sport is "more friends, they hang out with each other. We find they like to hang out with each other after practice or they go play football at the park on weekends."

Being part of a team. "To play as part of a team" is an important reason for children to participate in sports (Ewing & Seefeldt, 1988) and coaches discussed this value as well. Midori reported that the precision team was a good thing particularly for some of the teenage girls because, "it is a team thing, so there is a lot of social interaction and all that stuff. So it's a good thing for people to do." "Another thing is the team aspect - you could be a superstar - like I said before, you have one superstar, if everybody else is doing their job, you're not going to win. Whereas if everybody is doing their job, then it makes it run a lot smoother, so you can get a team effort," said Frank. He also commented how a team can be like a family where member stick up for each other, "It's like the big brother-little brother thing. These kids are partners, they're your teammates and when the little guys are getting picked on, the bigger guys want to help them out."

Larry valued teaching his lacrosse players to be part of team and "to work more within a team concept and also that what's ended up happening is that everybody sort of gets part of incorporated, so instead of just putting his head down and running with the ball the kid tends to look and even the kids who aren't as talented are getting passed to and things like that, which is for me what I want to see, I don't care so much whether they win or lose at this level, I just care that if a kid is wide open the other kid throws it to him instead of running over four other kids." He echoed this later, "I also want them to learn what it's like to play on a team. Even if they're much better than everyone on their line or much better than all but a couple of guys in the league." Hank also said, "we're trying to teach them to be a team. We spend a lot of time on team things. A team isn't just a collection of individuals, it's having to work toward goals. So we establish with them goals and objectives." Hank told his players, "We're a team, I don't want to hear any body yapping at anybody else negatively about what went on on the ice because we are all wearing the same color sweaters, we're playing the guys in the other color. So let's not fight among ourselves."

Larry thought "kids should enjoy the participation of it, the camaraderie that you have with a team - now I only speak about teams I guess because that's all I've ever done. I know there are other people who swam and they're usually involved with some kind of collective group anyway . . . I also want them to learn what it's like to play on a team." From the perspective of Janet, someone who has experienced swim teams as an athlete and a coach, being part of a team is not a value, "A team concept is so far removed from swimming that the only sort of team concept comes when you're all wearing the same sort of outfit or something like that." Although not all coaches seemed to value the team element of sport, many coaches described a variety of benefits of being on a team and affiliating with others as central themes in their ideologies.

The significance of the "team concept" or family-like atmosphere that individuals can experience by being affiliated with youth sport teams may be increasing markedly. A sense of interpersonal relatedness is a basic

human need (Deci & Ryan, 1985). With the breakdown of nuclear families, many young people have sought a sense of belonging through gang membership, which is often associated with dysfunctional behavior. Perhaps another reason for greater understanding of coaches is to see how they may value being leaders in programs aimed at social service. Coaches are already taking on the role of substitute parent with increasing frequency (Smoll & Smith, 1989) and they have potential to provide and to facilitate affiliation that can be pivotal in children's development. Attention to how coaches value social dimensions of youth sport may have growing importance in future consideration of personal factors of youth sport coaches. The degree to which coaches are interested in working to meet social goals may depend on their political agenda.

Sociopolitical Perspective

A final set of values relates to macro level issues that are part of coaches' ideologies. These values include democracy, power, control, authority, self-determination, and personal control. Some of what coaches enact with a group of athletes may represent their beliefs about how power should be distributed among individuals and within society. It can be argued that in any social interaction, especially among leaders and groups, there is a power differential. Although coaches may not articulate a clear doctrine on how they choose to deal with the power that comes with being a coach, they will inevitably act from at least a tacit belief about how formal leaders should conduct themselves. Some coaches make deliberate efforts to empower athletes because of their beliefs about self-determination. Other coaches choose to maintain control over most decisions that will affect team members. Assessing coaches' beliefs about power is important in seeing the full spectrum of personal factors that impinge on coaching behavior.

Democracy. Chelladurai and his colleagues (Chelladurai, 1985; Chelladurai & Carron, 1981; Chelladurai & Saleh, 1980) submitted that among leadership characteristics, coaches can be identified as having either democratic or authoritarian styles, which reflect the degree to which they include athletes in decision-making. Some coaches select a democratic style because they believe that individuals should be part of the decision-making process that determines the course of action for them or their group. As Sandor related, "There are some times some of the players want to play certain positions and I know that we could be losing the game, but I go ahead, I let them do the deciding too, sometimes." He explained, "sometimes you let them do that and it's good for them too--"I told the coach I'm going up there"--their input into it what we're doing . . . it's team play, I'm not a dictator. I want to have their say too, their input, what they want the way to go." As an example of his ideology in action, Sandor told me a story of how they were going to play a championship and he told the players they had come this far, did they want to go in the swimming pool or did they want to rest and get ready for the game. They said they wanted to go for it all. He said he could tell they really wanted to go in the pool. He said he didn't want them to wear themselves out and was going to time them for an hour, but they said they would take care of it themselves and they did. The degree to which team members are allowed to participate in decision making may be associated with their level of satisfaction in being part of the team (Chelladurai, 1985).

Power, control, and authority. Whereas some coaches seek to include athletes in decision-making, other coaches tend to exercise greater control over athletes. At times coaches make a conscious decision to be authoritarian, at other times they are less aware that they are engaging in controlling behaviors. Although they may

have good intentions to benefit athletes, coaches will grasp power over athletes rather than share the power to determine the team's fate with the athletes. The power relations that coaches establish may have a formidable effect on young athletes and they need to be addressed and better understood.

Hank revealed himself above to somewhat of a self-proclaimed authoritarian coach. He discussed how he laid down the laws for his team and for the parents. He told players and parents what their roles were and what behaviors would be acceptable. He was not interested in sharing power for team decisions. Frank and his fellow football coaches made themselves authority figures who demanded a degree of subservience. For example, when they spoke at halftimes of games, the football players had to drop to one knee and listen without comment. For many coaches, an attractive component of being a coach is that it is possible to have control in a bounded social context. Part of some coaches' ideological stances is the notion that an authoritarian leader is desirable. Coaches, however, may be more effective in developing independent, responsible adults if they allow athletes to share in the power to control their own destinies.

Self-determination and personal control. Whereas some coaches believe that they should be authority figures who maintain power, other coaches believe that athletes should be able to make decisions for themselves as much as possible. This factor involves trying to foster in athletes a sense of personal control or personal agency. This notion of volition, autonomy, or choice may reflect a broader idea of how individuals or groups with power should treat those persons in apparently subordinate roles. Midori presented several ideas and she displayed behaviors that indicated that she believed in giving the skaters control over their training and programs. When the skaters were working on their carnival programs, her instructions were "you put in what you want to do and when you want to do it and if you can't do something but you have an idea for it remember that" and then she told me that she helps them fill in the blanks. She also said, "if I was teaching them something and they said oh we have a great idea, then I said fine, ok, well try it this way and then we'll talk about your idea . . . so that they could have some input." When we talked about the carnival that where the skaters performed, Midori said, "a lot of people were disappointed with that number but I kind of liked it because they made the whole thing up themselves. The number was kind of long . . . but that's what these guys wanted to learn how to do . . . they really liked doing this, it looks pretty boring but they thought they were pretty darn cool. See Sandra thought that up on her own. And this knee bit, they thought that up too." In another interview, Midori explained that she wanted "to keep them interested and because I want them to have some ownership over their number - this is our number, it's not just that she just made us do all this stuff; this is our number, we thought of this - this is our part and we thought of doing it this way. Midori showed us how to fix it up and make it technically correct."

She explained her motivation somewhat by saying, "I wanted them to have a greater sense of I did that, Midori didn't make me do that. Midori and I made this solo up together. To me its a way of helping them to like what they're doing or continuing to like what they're doing." By giving the athletes a greater sense of control and by imposing few rules on the athletes, Midori thought she would keep the athletes participating. "I don't have many rules, and part of that is because a lot of them are pure recreational, so if I impose rules on them, then they might perceive that negatively and won't come skating - like a lot of them are late, the older girls are late, but they still come and have fun and stuff."

Just as giving young recreational athletes a feeling of self-determination may enhance their motivation, more elite athletes have reported a desire to have greater control over their programs. As swimmers who eventually became world-class developed, they sought a more collaborative relationship with their coaches. They began to ask for more of a say in what they were supposed to do in practice and competition. "As might be expected, the more authority the swimmers had over themselves, the more they saw that their coaches respected their feedback, the more devoted they became to the sport--their sport" (Kalinowski, 1985b, p. 184). This finding is particularly interesting as it appears to contrast with Janet's assertions about dedication to swimming. Coaches may be working counterproductively with respect to their own goals by exercising too much authority and undermining self-determination. Coaches' controlling and informational behavior can affect athletes' perceived competence, self-esteem, and intrinsic motivation (Vallerand, 1992).

Summary. There are many issues associated with coaches' beliefs about sociopolitical questions. The variety of ways in which coaches may have power over athletes creates ethical concerns about how coaches exercise power and demonstrates the enormous responsibilities that coaches have in contemporary sports (Ziegler, 1980). Values and beliefs about power and control may be particularly informative as we try to understand the individuals who coach youth sport.

Summary

Based on coaches' statements about their values, beliefs, and perspectives, coaching ideology emerged as a multi-dimensional construct that included values relating to outcomes for children, goals of youth sport, and relations between coaches and athletes. The perspective taken enabled an examination of coaches, which went beyond the study of coaching behaviors. Coaching ideology, as a construct, offers a framework for assessing personal characteristics that are part of the equation that results in coaching behavior. An assessment of contextual factors contributes further to understanding coaching. Irrespective of the ideological stances that coaches maintain, the relation between their ideology and behavior is influenced by whatever situational factors they may confront. For example, as Vallerand (1992) asserted, the context will be a significant determinant of coaches' controlling and informational behaviors.

Contextual Factors

In addition to coaching ideology, the case studies revealed the important influence of contextual factors on coaching behavior. To paraphrase Marx, individuals determine their own coaching behavior, but not within situations of their own choosing. By identifying salient aspects of youth sport situations and recognizing how these factors can facilitate or impede the attainment of various goals, we gain a more complete understanding of coaching behavior. Furthermore, knowing the importance of particular environmental components may help to determine directions for intervention. In order to understand variables that might mediate or moderate the relations between ideology and behavior, it was important to look at the situations in which coaches operated. Within the case studies, it was clear that a variety of factors can serve as constraints or affordances as coaches attempt to coach in accord with their ideologies and achieve their objectives. These factors ranged in scale from the coaches' own intrapersonal characteristics to more macro level factors of the social context. Other factors that coaches reported could be grouped into (a) coaches' responsibilities or duties; (b) other persons in the setting; (c) structures, such as

the club, league, or program, which influenced coaches' senses of freedom or control; (d) facilities and resources; (e) incentives, rewards, and outcomes; (f) time; and (g) the social context, which included the social construction of sport.

Intrapersonal Factors

Every coach brings personal characteristics to the youth sport setting. These characteristics become part of the youth sport situation that function in the same manner as other contextual factors as constraints and affordances. Whereas situations affect coaches, coaches also contribute to constructing the situation in which they behave. This group of factors demonstrates that the fabric of situations includes the personal characteristics of individuals who act in these situations (Bowers, 1973). When attempting to understand the dynamics of youth sport contexts, it is necessary to consider coaches as components of the context. Various coach factors can be seen as individual difference variables (Smoll & Smith, 1984, 1989) that make up sport settings. Coaches also stated that their behaviors may be affected either positively or negatively by many other individual factors such as (a) abilities to communicate, to teach, to organize, and to manage behavior; (b) their experiences as athletes and coaches; (c) their knowledge; (d) their self-esteem; (e) their own psychological needs as coaches; and (f) their emotional control. Coaches' awareness of how these factors operate as part of their coaching context is crucial to their ability to create desired outcomes.

Communication skills. "To be successful in influencing others and in permitting others to influence you--to be a leader, a coach--you must master communication skills" (Martens, 1987b). Don, the soccer coach, discussed how these skills are important, "I try to do to coaches, before we start, what I would do to players while I was coaching them. I coach the coaches. I try to make eye contact. I might reach over and touch them on the shoulder, something like that. Do something that establishes a relationship between us. And quite frankly, that relationship and communication is the secret, I believe, to effective coaching, to effective management of your coaching staff, and to dealing with parents. Once I was able to take a parent aside and to reaffirm the fact that they had first say in what their son or daughter was doing, to reaffirm the fact that nobody can second guess parents because nobody lives in that situation, then I would tell them, however, that there's a certain behavior that I considered wrong and I was strongly convinced that it was wrong that I was willing to allow their son to withdraw from the team if the parents did not correct the behavior."

Janet explained how good communication can be an affordance (that is, again, a factor that facilitates coaching in accord with one's ideology). "In a good atmosphere, maybe you hear things that you could do a little differently - they'll say she really liked that, she loved it when you did that - that was so great. They really loved that when the senior kids came in and worked with the younger kids, she really likes doing that. You hear that and you can do that - and you also hear "she doesn't really like the coach, she doesn't really like him, but she's getting along with him." You hear that and you take that and keep it in the back of your mind sort of thing." The kind of communication that Janet described essentially entails receiving information and reacting accordingly. Don's comments suggested, on the other hand, that communication involves effective giving of information. Optimal communication skills include both the ability to listen and allow others to influence you and the ability to impart information that will influence others. The degree to which communication skills are mastered will determine

coaching effectiveness to a large extent.

Teaching effectiveness. To achieve goals based on many facets of ideologies that coaches reported, the ability to teach effectively is a clear affordance. Whether coaches want to help athletes to feel more competent by learning new skills or if they seek to enhance performance to win contests, solid teaching skills are invaluable. Some of the more effective teachers such as Hank, Midori, and Frank, had developed a repertoire of teaching strategies and they tended to have more pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987), which is a domain-specific, integrated form of content knowledge that includes knowledge of how to teach and how children learn specific content in a given setting. Furthermore, these coaches appeared to be "going after learning" rather than "going through the motions" (Rovegno, 1991) in their teaching. Most would agree that an effective coach has to be a good teacher. It may also be interesting to note the extent to which various coaches include "teacher" as part of their role conception. For example, Janet said, "I am a competitive swim coach. I am not a swimming teacher. I've been a swimming teacher. Although I teach competitive swimming, I'm not a teacher - I'm a competitive swimming coach." Whereas further understanding of coaching pedagogy is extremely relevant to providing children with quality experiences in youth sport, further discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this study.

Organization and behavior management skills. Just as every coach engages in some form of teaching, all coaches have to organize training and competition and they must manage the behavior of their athletes. Larry's lack of organization led to practices that did little to work toward his objectives. On the other hand, Sandor showed above the benefits of organization to his coaching and ability to foster skill development with his soccer players. He used a great deal of information to plan his practice sessions and to prepare for games. He stated above that without organization a coach is lost. "You take care of every individual, by keeping records like that. You keep track of everybody, it's like being a doctor, you have your files, you try to cure the things and it's a good thing," he added. Nigel also said, "We've got good organization. There's four of us and we all put everything into it," which helped in the team's player development goals. Furthermore, Nigel had an assistant for dealing with behavior problems, but he had very few such problems. In the event of problems, such a person might be quite helpful. "She is a teacher with special kids, not handicapped, but kids with behavior problems, so I figured she would be good with the kids as well if we had any problems. She could maybe handle it for us."

When behavior problems do arise, coaches' management skills can impede or facilitate their pursuit of objectives. Janet described the considerable difficulties she had with some of her swimmers, which took away from her time and energy to work with the other athletes. And she related her frustration with the management strategy that had been imposed on her by the club's head coach. With more effective management techniques, she might have alleviated some of her problems. Otherwise, within the various settings where data were collected for this study, coaches seemed to have surprisingly few behavior management problems. Certainly the coaches had minor conflicts to resolve and they had athletes who would engage in off-task behavior, but persistent difficulties were limited. Experience suggests, however, that coaches' abilities to organize their setting and to implement behavior management strategies can be crucial to effective coaching. Larry described how management was an issue for him. He said he would like to know "just how to handle specifically kids at this age, to strike a balance between having a little bit of discipline and control where they respect you enough that you say something at least 5 times

and they'll listen to you and also the balance between just me enjoying it, enjoying being with them and them enjoying having me around. Ya know, I don't want to be a task master or anything like that. I just feel I would like to improve that sort of balance . . . I think I can easily have a good rapport with these guys where we would just be joking around and I think that's sort of what I did have, but I find I try to run a practice on Tuesday guys and the older, more father figure Ray, wasn't there and it just sort of more was let's just screw around, which isn't all that good for them and certainly isn't all that enjoyable for me." An assessment of coaches' management, teaching, and communication skills is helpful in understanding coaches' selection of many coaching behaviors.

Experience as athletes and coaches. Just as coaches' various abilities affected their coaching, coaches reported that their experiences as athletes and their prior coaching experiences influenced how they coached. As Janet said, "now I've been in coaching long enough that I know the program and I can see what works for the kids and what isn't or what hasn't." Coaches' experiences added to their knowledge base and some coaches thought that experience was the best teacher. Sandor said that his coaching education courses had little new to offer him, "I already knew that. It's through experience - you get all that through experience." He suggested that higher level courses might offer "something beyond what I know right now. Which you don't get through experience. But through experience, you get a lot of things - the hands on, that's good."

The relation between theoretical knowledge and coaches' knowledge is based primarily on experiences from practice rather than the principles of logic or theory. This is the distinction between the knowing about something and the knowing how to actually execute an act. To put it another way, *knowing that* is largely explicit in the sense that it is propositional and the individual can talk about it. By contrast, *knowing how* is largely implicit or tacit (as Polanyi, 1958, argued) and is knowledge of action that the individual cannot necessarily make explicit.

Sandor reflected how formal education may provide declarative knowledge, but experience gives the necessary procedural knowledge (cf. Lortie, 1975). "What I always say is that when you're in the classroom you're in there and you're learning how to drive - this is just at a desk, with a pencil and paper - you'll never know how to drive, you might know a lot of things about it, you might know a lot of things, but the more you know is when you take part in it - when you drive. And that's when everything sticks up here. Learning on a paper, you tend to forget. Maybe you'll remember 10%, but once you do that, the routine going through, I think is the best, for me at least." Bob also submitted above how playing experience can add to coaching effectiveness. He thought that you have to be able to play basketball and "you can't just come in, read a book - I think you've got to have experience out there" to teach the players and to understand what they are going through. "I think it's better if you have experience in that game," he said. Coaches' reports about the link between knowing and doing is consistent with much of the literature (e.g., Allard & Burnett, 1985; Anderson, 1982; Chi, Glaser, & Farr, 1988) in this area.

A lack of playing or coaching experience can be a constraint. Larry told about some of his difficulties that resulted from his inexperience in coaching. In one case where a player was misbehaving, he said, "I really didn't know what to do about it. Like I tried not to get mad at any of them and there was one guy who was just a real smart ass, so finally I just told him "just knock it off, this is ridiculous - like this looks bad on me with everybody standing around here out in the hallway, I mean you can do this whenever you want on your own time but you're

sort of my responsibility. Cut me some slack here," which stopped it for five minutes . . . When these guys were fighting, they had a lot of fun so I don't know what the best way to deal with it is, but it kind of made me think we should crack down on these guys or something to try to settle them down." And he explained how he believed he didn't have enough experience to maintain control and also provide a fun time for the players.

Experiences as athletes, coaches reported, can also affect their coaching behavior by influencing ideology. For instance, Larry recounted how his coaching ideology "may come from my own experiences - because I used to be when I was 12 or 13 I used to be that kid who ran around everybody and scored 6 or 7 goals a game and I was resented by parents and other players and things like that and I didn't really understand it then. I understand it now and it kind of makes me cringe when I see a kid out there doing it and I try to prevent it." The lived experience of how situations may have positive or negative impact on athletes can affect what coaches choose to do with their teams.

Other knowledge. Much of the benefit of experience in sports is that it can help coaches gain knowledge, if not wisdom, that can help them achieve their goals. Knowledge gained through other means may also influence coaching effectiveness. Frank described how being knowledgeable about football was quite helpful to him and his staff in working towards their goals of the players' learning, fun, and winning. Inexperience or lack of knowledge can leave coaches in a quandary about how to behave. For example, Larry described how it was difficult as a new coach to know how to interact with his players. He was unsure if giving them challenges "will put too much pressure on a kid or will it sort of make it fun?" Larry talked about another instance in which his lack of knowledge and experience left him uncertain of how to deal with a player who might be at a health risk if he continued to play. "He was off to the side crying, and he cries quite a bit, like when he gets hurt, like when he's in pain he still cries and someone just mentioned to me that he was over there. So I went over there and started to talk to him. And like I said, he doesn't really fit in all that well on the team - so I was really stuck - I hadn't heard how serious his head injury was [The player had been hurt earlier that day while high jumping in physical education class] and I tried to get a little information from him, whether he was really dizzy or sick to his stomach or that type of thing - whether he knew where he was and what he was up to, cause he really seemed to want to go out. Like it really seemed important that he didn't miss his shift or that someone go out for him. He rejected that right away when I - "If I can just - I can play, I can play." It seemed really important to him that he go out, so I let him, and luckily nothing terrible happened and I think I was fairly thorough with him and I got him up and on the bench and made sure he was walking around okay and stuff and I watched him the whole shift. It seemed really important to him that he gut this one out and go out there and play. But again, I was like a fish out of water at that point, I really didn't know what to do." Later Larry commented, "I still don't know if that was the right decision, I still kind of wonder whether I should have taken a stand and said sit off and said I decided that we're not going to take a chance with this." Furthermore, Larry felt that his knowledge limited his ability to teach the players some values or skills that were relevant outside of sport; he believed he was more equipped to show them a good time, "I may say that because I think I'm more effective at providing the enjoyment right now I am for knowing when the right moment is for a life lesson."

Lack of knowledge of one's sport or of children can be a liability in other respects. We saw with several

coaches how limited knowledge can impede one's efforts to provide an enjoyable experience for children. Coaches' ability to teach effectively or to insure children's health and safety can also be deterred by limited knowledge of child development.

Other forms of knowledge come from formal education programs. Whereas Hank, Sandor, and Nigel found limited utility in the coaching courses they had taken, Frank and Midori reported some ways in which such courses had been helpful. Frank described how he took his National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP) courses with a group of football coaches and the sessions were taught by the head football coach at Metro University. He relayed how all of the examples and hands-on practice were specific to football, which made the information more useful. Midori also spoke of benefits from her education and she explained, "I learned a lot about teaching the skills from university because I knew what was basically wrong with things, once I had a little bit of biomechanics and stuff like that I went, "Ah. This is what you really need to do." So knowing how to perform a skill and then taking biomechanics was sort of like adding to - why this works, why that doesn't work. A lot of my skill knowledge came from what I learned from university lectures to what I could do on the ice."

Self-esteem. Of the personality variables that affect responses to other people, self-esteem (one's general feelings of self-worth) has received the greatest amount of theoretical and empirical attention (Swann, 1985; Wylie, 1979). The degree of self-esteem that coaches have can affect their ability to function effectively. Coaches who feel good about themselves may be more able to focus on their athletes' needs than may those coaches who have low regard for themselves and may have a need to prove something to themselves or others. Although it is difficult to determine with any certainty, Nigel appeared to be a coach whose self-esteem was an affordance. He was interested in what was best for his players and he was willing to accept assistance from anyone who he thought could help his team. As he put it, "I try to get as many people to help, you know. I haven't got a big head, I don't think that everything I say and do is right. I get people involved. I'm always asking other coaches to come in and give them a session and give them some of their ideas." It would be useful in future studies to include a coach with apparent low self-esteem to see how it might serve as a constraint. Furthermore, in addressing the dynamics of the youth sport context, it would be interesting to note how coaches' self-esteem waxes and wanes during a season and how this, in turn, affects the athletes.

Psychological needs. In considering intrapersonal factors, it may be worthwhile to note that there are myriad reasons why individuals choose to coach youth sport. The outcomes that coaches expect and the needs that they want gratified may affect their coaching behavior. Sometimes individuals are motivated to coach by clear reasons such as they have a child on a team (Martens & Gould, 1978) or it is how they make their living. It is other motives, of which coaches may not always be aware, that need to be better understood. Although coaches may state that they want to teach children to develop skills and have fun, they may be seeking a sense of power and control that they do not find elsewhere in their lives. Some coaches seemed to have such needs, but the present data are such that any findings are inferential and cannot be properly substantiated. Gaining more insight into individuals' motives to coach, whether they are conscious or otherwise, is an area that warrants further investigation.

Emotional control. Often coaches' abilities to control their emotions, particularly during competitions,

depend on their psychological needs. Sometimes the desire for victory takes over the pursuit of values that coaches hold central in their ideologies. Mick, the Canadians technical director, said of his club's coaches, "A lot of them know what to do, but go crazy when they get out there during a game." "It happens, you're into the game and you look at your perspective of what you think you saw and the ref what he saw - you get excited. You try to keep it down to a minimum, not to show the kids that is the way it should be done, but you get caught up into it," Frank revealed. Nigel also spoke about how at times winning takes him over and he might relegate player development for the moment. Janet detailed how she had undermined her interest in teaching the swimmers respect when her emotions overcame her and she yelled at officials. Sometimes lack of emotional control can reduce a coach's instructional effectiveness. Midori suggested that this was a weakness of hers and said, "Sometimes I lose it and yell at them "you guys are driving me crazy" and they all laugh." Sandor talked about how his assistant coach would yell out on to the field and create problems, but he tried to be aware of containing himself. He said, "it's very bad if you lose control, it's very bad for your kids, your team." The extent to which coaches' lack of emotional control is a consistent part of the youth sport context will determine how much it constrains coaches as they seek to meet their objectives.

Summary. Many individual difference variables such as coaches' needs, knowledge, experience, and skills are important to consider as we examine the coach as a component of the youth sport situation. Seeing how coaches are part of the context, creators of context, and influenced by context provides a more complete picture of the dynamics of youth sport.

Coaches' Responsibilities and Duties

Although coaches' personal characteristics become part of the situations in which they coach, there are a plethora of external factors that may affect their coaching. Both duties outside of sport--such as those involving school, family, or employment--and responsibilities within sport, such as scouting, planning, and administration, may affect coaching behavior. It is apparent that what individuals are capable of doing in their coaching role is somewhat dependent on what demands are placed upon them outside of coaching. The time that has to be devoted to external duties may take away from planning, time, energy or other resources that affect coaches' abilities to behave in accord with their ideologies.

Family. One such constraint that several coaches identified is family obligations. There were occasions when I was watching Frank coach while taking care of his two young boys that this constraint was evident. When I asked him what it was like having his sons at practice he said, "Oh I love being with my kids. They're my number one priority - I bring them everywhere . . . but it is a little harder, because I have to keep my eye on them and on the kids. I don't know what the other two guys are saying about it, "that fucking asshole bringing his kids," but it works out . . . they don't mind it, it does take my eyes off it for a little while seeing the little kid running out in the street, whooah - get back here - yeah, it's hard." There are many other responsibilities that are external to the sport setting that may be worth considering in trying to understand the range of factors that impinge on coaches.

Administration and planning. This category refers to activities that involve time expenditure, but that may afford a coach certain opportunities. On the negative side, Sandor explained how his responsibilities took him away from coaching. He said he had "lots of things - like if I didn't have to worry about the water bottles, first aid kid,

lineup sheets being filled out, given to the ref, corner flags, calling all the players up, organizing all the things, paying the referee off, what else? phoning in the score to the Metro Star. There's lots of things that you have to do. . . . Before a game - what I would like to have is just me with the kids for the warmup. If I don't have my eyes on them, it won't flow as well, there's no demand. If I'm there, they know that I'm watching, they have to warm up properly."

When another coach takes care of the administration, such as in Larry's case "it's actually made it a little bit easier for me, cause I can just for one thing I haven't had to worry about who gets what number and taking care of picture day and collecting all the money and I just go out there with my stick and just kind of fool around with these guys and joke around with them" and focus on them enjoying their participation, which was a high priority for Larry. Realizing how administration can take away from a focus on coaching, Janet said, "if I was to start up my own club I would start it off and you would have a board of directors to do that job, do that administrative job and I would do the coaching."

Some planning or duties that coaches engage in can be useful to them in their coaching. For example, Sandor spent time "scouting the other teams trying to find their weaknesses. I like to go to practices, too, to learn new things, make me think of something and see how they play, to prepare - to get your homework done." Janet also reported that the great deal of time she spent in administration, such as keeping records of swimmers' progress was an advantage in developing their training programs.

Summary. Whereas responsibilities and duties are relatively obvious components of the youth sport context, understanding how they are constraints or affordances is important in grasping the range of issues impinging on coaches. In addition, an appreciation of how factors external to sport settings affect coaches may be useful in thinking about coaches' behaviors within sport.

Persons in the Setting

Perhaps the most significant category of contextual factors is that determined by all the persons present within the youth sport setting. Coaches discussed how a wide range of individuals including administrators, assistant coaches, managers, co-coaches, head coaches, opposing coaches, athletes, parents, fans, and officials created constraints and provided affordances.

Administrators. Virtually all youth sport coaches have one or more administrators who oversee their coaching to some extent. In some cases, such as reported by Larry and Midori, the contact with administrators is limited and seems to have little effect on coaching behavior. In other situations, administrators can have significant influences on coaches. Bob described how the content of his program and his conduct were determined by his administrator, Mr. Miller. Janet also talked about how her board of directors and training chairs constrained her coaching decisions. She felt the administration had different values from those she held as a coach, "In the past I mostly haven't had much support from the board of directors, because they want to keep the people in the club and want to keep the numbers up, keep the people happy, and keep them in the club." In one instance she had a clash with the board on how to respond to a problem between a swimmer and one of her assistants and she said that she was quite frustrated that she could not handle the situation as she chose to, but had to follow the board's decision. Janet did report, however, "on the whole, the board lets you have control, they hire you to do it, it's your

program. Because they don't know coaching, and the best people will say I don't know anything about coaching swimming, I know nothing, so you do that job."

Assistant coaches. The success of many programs depends on several coaches and role clarity and communication among the coaches. An assistant coach is more likely to be an affordance if the head coach recognizes the need for assistants and what roles they should serve. Don, the business man who coached soccer remarked, "I always had an assistant, at least one assistant, to make up for any weaknesses that I perceived that I had."

Coaches listed above the many responsibilities they may have to contend with. Assistants can take some of the load off a coach. Nigel's assistant coach and manager did a good deal of helpful organizational work so that everything was "so organized, nothing's out of place, before we go to games we've got sheets for everybody with who's travelling with who, time of meals, times that we go to tournaments, free times. She organizes all the food and that, because we try to keep them to special diets before tournament games and that. We've got schedules of where they can eat and that. There are just other teams that don't do any of this. They show up for the games, they play the games, and they're finished. That's it. We're taking it serious and we try to get everything organized." Furthermore, Nigel said his assistant and he balanced each other well as they interacted with the players, "I'm slightly harder on them whereas Moira is more like a mother to them and it's a good combination, especially with these young kids. They like, I think, the way I see it, it works well. I give them a bit of a hard time and then she gives them a bit of a pat on the back and everything." In summary Nigel commented, "But without Moira and Tina I don't think it would have been so good."

Assistants can also be constraints for coaches. For example Sandor related, "I had an assistant who yelled out on the field "that's garbage." There's no garbage - everybody plays good. You just tell them their mistakes, but you praise them." Sandor also mentioned above how his assistant had encouraged bad sportsmanship during games, which was counterproductive to a value that was important to Sandor.

Co-coaches. Many situations involve coaches working together, more or less as equals. The degree to which co-coaches can agree on objectives and communicate effectively can be a key determinant in a program's success. Larry mentioned that having general ideological agreement with the coach he worked with facilitated their working relations. Frank described how his relationship with the other coaches was essential for the quality of their football team. He said his co-coaches are "great guys to coach with. We get along really well - I couldn't see coaching with someone I don't get along with." He recalled a time that showed how it was important that coaches work together. "You were at the one practice where me and Mat were having a disgruntle of who was going to cover - the safeties or the corners - and we started arguing in front of the kids - I said, "you do it the way you want to and we'll talk about it later." So he did it that way during practice and after practice we talked about it and the next practice we said, "O.K. the whole philosophy has changed, we're going to do it this way" - You can't argue in front of the kids - because this guy wants me to do it this way, this guy wants me to do it that way, what am I going to do?" Furthermore, Janet mentioned how co-workers can provide social support and be helpful with problems. "The other coaches - they are great. They make your job easier because they support you in what you're doing and you can commiserate with them." She also said that by working together she and the other

coaches learn from each other.

On the other hand, Midori reported above some of the problems of having a poor working relationship with a co-coach. She explained that differences in ideology and teaching strategies created various problems for her and in some cases undermined what she was trying to pursue with the figure skaters.

Head coaches. When a coach is working as an assistant on a team or within a club, the head coach often can have a great deal of influence on coaching behavior. Janet addressed some of her difficulties with the head coach (and training chair) forcing her to change her behavior management practices. She wanted to remove kids from practice immediately, but the head coach said "you have to give them more chances - 3 chances . . . why is 3 the magic number? That's what I wanted to know. The head coach was saying you have to give them some chances. But we do this, because the head coach is in charge of the whole program - although I try to keep my eye on everything below my team - essentially he is the head coach and he runs the whole program. . . . So if he's going to set up a whole program, right, we will fall in, and I will fall into his way of thinking, that's the way I will present my coaching, my beliefs, whether I believe it or not, because I'm working for him." In the next interview, Janet described her feelings about her own management strategies, "it's wonderful. If you kick a kid out the rest of the workout is wonderful. It's lovely. You don't have to watch them anymore, you don't have to count how many times they've done things wrong. You don't have to be watching to see if they cheated or anything like that - you just can coach the rest of the kids."

Head coaches can also be of help to coaches. Nigel recounted how his club's head coach and technical director, Mick, had taught him a great deal and had assisted him at his practices. He said, "What did me good was Mick O'Brien, he had a session every Sunday just for coaches, just for the Canadians coaches. Well he invited everybody, but he did a different session every week and that's where I learned and got a lot of new ideas and things . . . He's given me new ideas for different practices and just talking to him as well. I respect him, he's good . . . he's helped me, he's helped the kids."

Sometimes head coaches take on an authority role while assistants work more directly with the players. Larry described how such a situation was beneficial in a previous coaching job. "I coached 18 year old kids football, but the head coach was a very imposing figure, an ex-football player who was like a Charlton Heston sort of guy, booming voice. And once one kid wasn't listening to him and he picked this 250 pound kid up over his head by his facemask, so I didn't have to worry about [behavior problems], I just had to look his way and guys would shut up or something. I could work within my personal philosophy a little bit easier without threatening anybody."

Opposing coaches. In some sports, communication and cooperation with opposing coaches is necessary to create a desired competitive atmosphere. Frank explained how his football staff tried to cooperate with opposing coaches so that the younger kids on each team could play against each other. "When we put our second string in, we usually tell the other coach, "hey, you can put your second string in now" - we had one instance . . . we put our second string in and the other team didn't put their second string in and we were beating them like 36-0 or something like that - and you know, we said we were putting our second string in - well they kept their first string in and they were killing our little kids. So I went over and I said, "Hey, do you think you could call your big kids

off a little bit?" "What for, this is a football game." I said, "Hey no problem" I took out our second string, I put our first string back in and I said, "If you go for a touch down, I want you to stop after you've run the ball 5 yards, and I want you to hit somebody." Like if I'm carrying the ball and I can make it around you, I don't want you to do that, I want you to go out there and hit him. It just wasn't fair, you know. So afterward, he looked back and said, "ok, ok" and he put his second string in. So you have to tune people in like that." Similarly, Hank referred to problems with opposing coaches attitudes in hockey and how their advocating aggressive play caused him to have to teach his players how to defend themselves without attacking opponents.

In some youth sport settings, coaches will do the officiating. Bob described how an opposing coach was, from his point of view, detracting from a fair game and led him to shift his focus from his players to wanting to beat this coach. He explained that the other coach was trying to change the score, so Bob asked, "what's the score, I wanted to know because the team that we played against, that coach, he "Jewed" [cheated] a lot of teams previous to our game, eh, so I didn't want to him - sometimes he made a couple of bad calls, when my player got fouled and he called him for travelling. And he got me really upset. I was like, "oh my god, you're "jewing" us, you're really taking this game away from us. I remember another time there was a jump ball and we decided before the game that jump balls would go to the defensive team. So we were on defense and we tangled it up and called jump ball, and he gave it to his team. And I didn't want to make a scene in front of everybody, but I really got pissed off, so I wanted to win, but it didn't happen so I couldn't really say anything. That's why sometimes I want to win, right there."

Athletes. In several of the case studies we saw how athletes' motivation can be a bane or a boon for coaches. Larry spoke about the difficulties that arose when some of the lacrosse players had values and motivations that diverged from his. He described how some of the players resented that he was not as interested in winning as they were and how the all-stars created a variety of challenges for him. Janet detailed her problems with athletes' motivation and said, "it's maddening though that they can't want to do well, so they" misbehave. Athletes who are hard-working and eager to learn, as Frank observed, are an affordance. He said the athletes on his team "want to work, I would say 99% of them . . . them wanting to learn really helps us - if they don't want to learn, if they don't want to be there, then they're not going to be there. So anybody that's there wants to be if they didn't want to be there, they wouldn't be there. No one is forcing them to - they are there because they want to be there. They want to learn the sport, they want to when they get to high school to play ball. No one is twisting their arm saying that you have to be here." Furthermore, several coaches pointed out how athletes can afford coaches opportunities through such factors as their cooperation, being on time, and willingness to work.

Coaches also expressed how athletes' developmental level can be both beneficial and constraining. Larry discussed how the lacrosse players were young enough that they were still willing to adopt to his ideas; he felt that older players would cling to their highly competitive orientations. Hank referred to how his hockey players were at an age where they could concentrate on learning their sport without some of the outside influences that they would encounter in a few years. Frank said that with his football players "I like the age group right now. They're out there to listen and learn. You have fun with them." On the other hand, Bob suggested that in trying to communicate his values, "I really try, but it's hard because they're young still, eh . . . They're going to have to

learn, I told them that. But they're still young, it's hard to get that across."

When athletes do not meet coaches' standards, they can be a constraint. Some athletes do have their "arms twisted" to participate in a sport. Janet suggested that some of the swimmers' parents have to fight to get them to practice and she recounted how some of the swimmers on her team "don't seem to care. They don't see that if they had come to practice they would have gone faster. I really don't believe they see it. Maybe they're better at rationalizing it." Athletes who misbehave or who are "unmotivated" can constrain coaches by affecting other athletes. "I had the same kid, Mason, who influences my kids. He doesn't want to swim. This kid doesn't want to swim. He's in it right now - he wasn't going to come back this year at all, but he came back for the Bahamas trip. He's the kid, I'm glad he's in my program because if not, he'd start doing some petty crime, he's been kicked out of school - . . . so I'm doing this social work job with him. And he is influencing the other swimmers, and that's what bothers me." As Bob added, "if they don't want to learn, you might just as well forget it. That's basically it."

Parents. "Sometimes I think it would be great to coach a team of orphans," remarked Ned, the head coach of the "Kitchford Aquatic Club". Within youth sport, parents have gained themselves a reputation for creating many problems. As Nigel stated, "the hardest part of coaching is the parents. You never please them, never." Sandor detailed a variety of problems that he had with parents from complaints about what uniform number a child had received to who should play what position. In fact, he thought parents presented the biggest constraint to his coaching. When I asked him if he could change anything about his setting, he said, "Wow, if I had a magic wand I would get all the parents together. I would make them be supportive parents . . . so I would say parents are the main obstacle. You know you try to stay open with them, you do this, you do that, you're there and you get criticism, whatever, but you don't want to hear that from the stands when the game is on, you don't want to hear that, openly. Yet some coaches, such as Larry, Midori and Frank, found few problems with parents and perceived that parents did not influence their coaching behavior. As Larry put it, "I can't say I've seen a lot or heard a lot of screaming - your sort of stereotypical - the real parents who live vicariously through their kids' accomplishments. I haven't seen a lot of that. Most of the parents have been pretty good. . . . I haven't had any negative experiences with parents or anything like that and I haven't seen any parents treating the kids in a way where they expect too much out of them or anything like that. . . . I haven't really experienced that much parental intervention at all." Frank also seemed to be free of complaints about parents and said, "No we haven't had any problems with parents really."

Parents do present many obvious challenges to youth sport coaches, but if one scratches even slightly beneath the surface, it is also evident that parents can provide a great deal of assistance and support. Janet mentioned above how the vast majority of parents were quite helpful. Even Sandor, who had particularly acute problems with parents, remarked, "and then again there are parents that are very nice, very supportive, very supportive. And I'm not saying that their kid plays all the time either. Just that they understand the coaches job."

Tom, the track coach, noted that parental involvement is "something that can't be overlooked and do a good job. You'll screw up if you overlook them. You'll either annoy some parents or not - or do more than annoy them. Or you won't - say in the case of the underprivileged kids, you won't use your ability to kind of get

more out of the parental relationship with the child. So either way, you're going to miss something. Parents - white middle class parents won't be ignored, so whether you think they're important or not, they're important. Because they think they're important." Nigel added, "With this age group you need all the support from the parents. If they don't care, the kids are not going to care."

One of the tasks that is important to most coaches is to communicate effectively with parents. Although Nigel suggested that parents were a big challenge, he was able to create a good working relationship with the parents by creating a liaison or "complaints department" to deal with parents' concerns. Furthermore, he explained that he and his assistant coach were familiar with players' parents from the house league when they were putting together their team. And they chose players, to some extent, based on knowing that their parents would be supportive or, at least, were not "problem parents." "We were careful on selecting the parents as well. There were one or two players that we could have had, who were very, very talented but they had no parents - they had no support, parents that just wouldn't help us, so it's unfortunate. We didn't tell these kids, we just didn't sign these kids because of that. We can't be looking after them. We can't be making sure, it's the parents responsibility. Like we had practices all winter last year before we were with the Canadians, and there were two or three players we wanted, they were good players, but their parents just didn't show any interest so we didn't sign them. So we really picked the parents as well." The effects of this foresight was quite apparent when Nigel's situation was compared to Sandor's. As Nigel said, "the parents are telling them one thing, Sandor is telling them another thing and they don't know which way to turn. At least my parents don't interfere - they don't get involved in the way I'm playing the game and how I put them - the few complaints that we've had have been rather silly little things, as I told you."

Parents attempt to influence coaches in many areas ranging from program content to game strategy to the values that coaches are trying to instill. Depending on the degree of concordance between parents' and coaches' ideologies and strategies, parents' input can be a great help or a serious impediment. Coaches reported that parents affected them (a) simply by keeping children from practices and games; (b) by trying to influence competition schedules; (c) with verbalizations during competitions, including attempts to alter game strategy and comments that resulted in penalties to the coach; (d) by differing with respect to methods of teaching and/or discipline; and (e) by impinging on their attempts to inculcate particular values. I will now elaborate on these effects.

Janet mentioned how parents tried to have input into at which swim meets the club competed. Midori recounted a similar experience of parents pressuring her to enter her athletes in a specific competition, "the parents are highly concerned and they want the kids to go to it. They came to me and said, "well what do you think - this competition is coming up, would it be fun for them to compete" - "well, actually this year it probably wouldn't be fun for them to compete, because they would totally lose or feel incredibly inferior to some of the other teams that they're going to see out there", knowing who some of the other teams were. And I really didn't want them to feel that way since they're trying this out as a sort of a thing that they would like to see developed over the years, to kill it off in the very first year is probably not a smart idea."

One of the significant ways that parents can affect coaches is through their verbalizations during competitions. In fact parents are sometimes disruptive enough that a league seeks outside help to deal with

verbalizations (Walley, Graham, & Forehand, 1982). There were several instances during competitions where parents tried to influence players' behaviors, often in conflict with coaches' wishes or in a manner to which coaches objected. Some examples from field observations: at a soccer game, "Pass the damn ball. Pass the ball for God sakes." Or at a baseball game, to a hitter, "Stand back in the box and plunk the catcher." Or in another instance in a soccer game where there was a Greek boy who Sandor was telling to play midfield and his father was yelling at him in Greek to go play forward. Sandor noted many such problems with parents, such as "When we were playing in the house league my son scored all the goals. When he got the ball, bang, it was in the net. But the parents started getting on him, so I moved him back to defense." He also remarked how parents yelling during games had gotten him warnings and ejections from officials because the league rules held him responsible for parents' behavior. Furthermore, he stated that he was quite bothered "if I hear a parent yelling at another kid. He shouldn't even be yelling at his own kid. I had players on the field that wanted to come off, they just couldn't take it - "where's the center forward? he shouldn't be there. . ." - it's not even his own child. I mean these are not professional players; they're not getting paid, they're out there to have fun. There's no fun like that."

Upon some reflection, coaches realize the extent to which parents are involved in their coaching. Janet told me how parents have tried to affect her decisions including discipline and how to teach. "There's one guy who decided he knows his child better than I do and has told me how to discipline his kid - I shouldn't send him out and make him do any extra stuff or things like that because that doesn't work for him. I don't - I don't think that's his decision to make." Initially she thought that parents at least stayed out of her instructional decisions, "they've never questioned program as far as what we are doing in the water - never - never." But a bit later she realized, "Oh god, well, there was this other parent who questioned that - strokes I was teaching." Anne, the swim coach from Kitchford, echoed that experience, "A parent took their kid swimming and tried to correct their stoke - I was saying one thing and the parent was saying another. I don't agree with that."

Frank gave another example of how parents can constrain coaches when they have differences in their thoughts on how children should be taught or disciplined. "Sometimes I guess the parents' view of what their kids should do doesn't fall in line with what I was taught when I was growing up - for instance the kid's having bad marks in school. So you can't go to football - that's a punishment. That's what we've had a few of. I totally disagree with that. I was brought up that if you join something, you're there for the duration - I don't care if you hate it. You joined it. You're there. The next near if you don't want to play, that's fine. But you joined it, the coaches are waiting for you to come out there, the other kids are waiting for you to come out there and you play. If you're being a dink in school, you go to football and you come right home. No extra time, cause that's a job. You signed up to play. Same with hockey. That's what my parents did - if you signed up to do something - if you have practice till 8 o'clock, you're home five minutes after four when school is out. You go to practice, if you have to be there at 7:30 you're there at 7:30, practice till 9:00, you're home at 10 after 9 and that's it. We've had a lot of parents, - say the kid was out late, he was supposed to be home at 11, he got home at a quarter after. Well "you're not going to football tomorrow" - that's supposed to be a punishment. To me, that's not a punishment - to me it's you go to football and you come home - and then he knows, he's gone to football and all the other kids are going out and having soda pop or having a chocolate bar and gathering around the corner - he's

got to go home. To me that will hurt a kid more than saying you're not going to football. Because that's just going to hurt the kid in the long run. If he doesn't go to practice, then he doesn't play - now you've grounded him Saturday, he won't play Sunday - you wouldn't let him go to practice. That's my view - you might have some coach saying, "oh no - that's the parents prerogative, which it is, and I never said anything is wrong with it - I've mentioned to Mat that it's a pretty shitty way to do it -or to Perry - and they agree. Maybe we have a bias of wanting them at practice - but that's the way I grew up."

At times, the differences parents and coaches have with regard to discipline or teaching are based on conflicting values. When parents promulgate values that diverge from what coaches are trying to communicate to athletes it can be problematic. Hank referred above to how parents often see the sport differently from athletes or coaches and may advocate behaviors or attitudes that a coach is trying to squelch.

Mike, a graduate student in kinesiology, described an experience from a few years ago in which he learned about interacting with parents during competitions. "There was one situation, where it was in a baseball game, and it was a play that happened where our kid made a mistake, a mental mistake - in a game - a base running error. And I didn't get all over the kid. He made a mistake. It was a close game. It was the last inning, the second to last inning. We had a chance to win and he took a side of a situation - he tried to steal a base when he really shouldn't have - and got thrown out. And I had told the kid, that if the ball got past the catcher, I said I only want you to go if the ball bounces a way away from the catcher, cause the kid wasn't very fast. So I ah, you know, I knew what was going on. It wasn't like I made the big dumb play, ok. And anyhow the kid got thrown out, and as he's coming back I told him that's okay, you made a mistake, you knew you weren't supposed to go, things like that happen. I wasn't that upset, I mean, it was one of those things. He thought he could make it. Well, a parent from the stands started yelling at me. He thought I had sent the kid in that situation. He got all over me and wouldn't quit and he just kept it up and I don't know if he was mad at things that had happened before or what. But he called me names and told me I didn't know what the hell I was doing - and all, everything from here to there and finally I couldn't - I couldn't take it anymore, so I told him if he thought he could do a better job. And he said, (imitating) "Well, I could do a damn better job than what you're doing out there with those kids." So I said, "They're all yours." And I left. So he came in and coached them for the last inning. And they didn't win. But that was a big mistake. I shouldn't have done that. I learned. I learned from it, but at that point, it was my first year I had coached. And ah, some times I did things that I knew I shouldn't have done afterwards. If I came to that situation again, I would tell the guy, "Listen, I don't need your abuse out here in front of these kids and in front of other people. If you have something you want to talk to me about, I'll be willing to talk to you. But we're not going to play this game until you either be quiet or until you leave." And I would put the pressure back on him instead of letting him put all the pressure on me. So I learned. I learned. I made a big mistake."

A final finding with respect to parents is a counter-intuitive finding about parents' knowledge of their children's sports. Whereas the literature generally advocates teaching parents about the sports in which their children participate, some of the coaches suggested that the less the parents knew about the sport, the less they were inclined to intervene during competitions. Nigel suggested that on his team "all the parents really don't know anything about soccer. They know that you hit it and when you hit the back of the net it's a goal - most of them

know that. I've got a lot of Canadian kids." And Nigel experienced far fewer difficulties with parents at games than did Sandor who said that most of the parents on his team were European or South American and were well-acquainted with soccer. Clearly there were other factors at work with the two soccer teams, but this was suggestive in a direction that was reported by other coaches. Frank, for example, said that parents did not disrupt games much and he thought this might be partly because "a lot of parents aren't that knowledgeable about football." Moreover, "in hockey it's a whole different deal, they're right there besides the kids on the bench and I think they get more enthused in hockey. The parents are in hockey - in football they just sort of sit back a little more, I think they're not as knowledgeable - that might be the difference." Whereas these data provide some reason to reconsider how and what parents are taught, there remains sound rationale for helping parents to understand the sports their children play. If parents are going to intervene, it seems that it would be preferable if they do so from an informed perspective.

Of the contextual factors that affect coaches, the persons with whom they interact as they coach may have the most powerful influence on them. Of the different kinds of persons, in many cases parents may be the most significant. In an effort to grasp the extent and nature of parental involvement in youth sport, it is interesting to note the degree of sheer physical presence of parents at games. Although there is a great deal of variation in attendance, up to eighty percent of parents attend three-quarters of their children's games (McPherson & Davidson, 1980).

Beyond merely being present, parents may actively exert influence over various aspects of youth sport. Often parents do not believe their child's progress is solely in the hands of the coach. They feel it is their responsibility to make sure their children are prepared for practice, work hard, and do their best. As one talented swimmer's mother said, "We were never parents who dropped the kids off and expected the club to take care of them" (Sloane, 1985, p. 453). Both Janet and Ned described how parents in the "balcony crew" at their swim clubs often sought to affect various aspects of their programs. Janet detailed how parents had organized during the previous year a "coup" that eventually resulted in the dismissal of the head coach. Ned spoke of how parents always had a different idea of how their kids should be coached. He discussed how he and other coaches took steps to keep the parents at a distance.

Parents' involvement as Smith (1988, pp. 301-302) reported, can also be fairly intense.

> Typically, minor hockey families arrive at the arena anywhere from 1 hour to a half hour before a game. While the players dress, parents stand in the lobby talking, usually about hockey. Some parents wear such team paraphernalia as jackets, scarves, hats, or buttons. During the game, parents of players on the same team sit together, sometimes behind their sons' bench, distinctly separate from opposing parents. As the action unfolds on the ice, bodies in the stands strain, faces contort, parents jump to their feet. Organized cheering and spontaneous bursts of applause are frequent. Immersion in the game is total and attuned principally to the performance of one's own offspring. Booing and catcalls are sometimes directed at opposing players, frequently at the referees. Occasionally, groups of rival parents engage in unfriendly verbal exchanges; fights are not unknown. The rougher the game, the greater the likelihood of this sort of misbehavior.

Observations of Hank's hockey games revealed many similarities with Smith's (1988) depiction. There was a great deal of emotion among the parents and obscenities flew across the ice between the opposing teams' parents. Furthermore, in some cases the influence from parents' heavy involvement in their children's sport participation creates considerable stress for their children (Passer, 1984; Scanlan, 1986). Several coaches described how parents tried to teach their children sport skills or tactics that conflicted with what the coach was trying to convey. For example, Hank spoke about how parents may want their children to fight back in hockey games, but he was trying to teach them how to defend themselves without resorting to fighting. Coaches also talked about how parents told their children that they should be playing positions different from the ones where coaches had them playing, such as when one father of a boy on Sandor's soccer team exhorted his son about how he should be playing forward where he could score so many goals. Putting children in the middle of conflicts between parents and coaches will no doubt create stress for them.

Yet children's success and enjoyment in sport can depend on heavy involvement from parents. As children's commitment to a sport grows, the demands on their parents also increase. During the middle years of development, children's sports often become central in family life (Kalinowski, 1985a; Monsaas, 1985). Irrespective of children's degree of involvement in sport, their parents often will play an important role in their sport participation. Just as parents manage their children's peer relations (e.g., Parke & Bhavnagri, 1988), they also influence children's activities in their peer culture (Ladd, Muth, & Hart, 1990), such as sport participation. Although in some situations parents' influences are negligible, for many youth sport coaches success depends, to a significant degree, on effective understanding of and communication with parents. Comprehending the role of parent-coach interactions is crucial to understanding the tensions that may exist in youth sport (Strean, 1990). The cases of Sandor and Nigel, who coached in the same club and who held similar objectives, illustrated quite powerfully the significance of effective communication with parents and parental support. With poor relations with parents and little support, Sandor struggled to coach his team and provide a positive experience for the players. Nigel, who had developed rapport with parents and who had created a support structure of parental involvement, found his situation virtually ideal and he had few tensions as he worked with the young soccer players on his team.

There are several strategies that may be useful in optimizing parent-coach interactions and in helping parents to contribute positively to their children's and to coaches' experiences in youth sport. Clearly, as noted above, communication between coaches and parents is essential. In addition to meetings that coaches may hold at the beginning of the season, establishing other networks for ongoing exchange of information and resolution of conflicts is also important. Identifying an assistant coach or a parent (as Nigel did) as a liaison may be particularly helpful in both demonstrating to parents that their input is valued and providing a clear channel through which they can communicate. Furthermore, as will be discussed further below, the physical location of parents during practices and competitions should be addressed. Although distancing parents from coaches is not a panacea, and may even create some problems, it often may be desirable. Having spectators separated from the coach and the team may help to demonstrate to young athletes where they should focus their attention during competitions. This may reduce coaches' evaluation apprehension and it may allow athletes to listen to their coaches more easily without parental distractions.

Officials. In virtually any sport situation it is rather easy to find some coaches, athletes, or spectators who are dissatisfied with the officials. Officials can be a scapegoat for many problems or poor performances. But officials can also serve as legitimate constraints and affordances. Some officials are well aware of a program's goals and they may even give instructions to athletes during competitions to help the athletes learn the rules or improve their skills. Officials can also impede coaches' attempts to work with their athletes. Nigel talked about how referees can destroy games. Bob explained that "if they had good officiating, Aaron wouldn't have been getting mad - he would trust the referees and say I did that foul and there's no reason to yell. But when you know you got fouled and they didn't call it, you're going to get upset. So when there's good officials, you have more faith in their decisions. You'll concentrate more on the game than the officials." In this case, the officials may have deterred from the learning process.

Janet described how officials at meets in Canada did well, but she had problems in Michigan. "We have great officials and everybody knows each other too - so you can say to them "hey, that was a bad call" "sorry, it's bad" or "write up a protest, we'll take it" and in Michigan, there's no recourse at all and you just have to yell and scream in their face, because they made a mistake. And they will take it out on your swimmers if you do it, and that's happened and that's when my kids really heard it. Because they took it out on a swimmer. I went to an official and I said, "you're wrong, that kid didn't do that. I was standing closer than you and I saw it" and the official turned to me and said, "you'll pay for that" and in the next race, he Dqed one of my kids and he smiled at me and said "he's disqualified." He didn't do anything wrong, but that guy had the power to do that right? And then I really freaked, so they heard that. They shouldn't have heard that." Officials who are more interested in their own power than in what is best for young athletes are an unquestionable constraint for coaches.

Summary. Officials, athletes, other coaches, administrators, and especially parents are key contextual factors as persons within youth sport settings. Many of the complex dynamics of youth sport stem from the role of the many individuals who take part in the context. Insight into how various persons can influence coaches is central not only to understanding coaching, but also to developing strategies for intervening in youth sport. Although considerable agreement exists about the importance of parents and their potential to create problems, more work is necessary to foster optimal parent-coach interactions.

Structures

In addition to all the various persons within the youth sport setting, there are a number of structural factors that coaches described as affecting their ability to coach effectively in accord with their ideologies. The team, club, league, association, program, and rules are all examples of structures that were listed as constraints and affordances.

Team. As noted above, many coaches value having a "sense of team," an atmosphere where the athletes feel that everyone is contributing and the good of the group supersedes what may be best for an individual. The team also serves as a structure, the ethos of which can help or hinder the coach's efforts to behave in a given manner. Furthermore, Nigel imputed a team's ability to play well together and to foster play development depends partly on its history together. Larry suggested that once his players were together for a while it helped him in his efforts to teach them how to get along with others. He thought the team culture worked to enhance the players'

interactions. "I think that it does, I mean I'm beginning to sense a little more humility on the part of the all-star guys and a little more mixing among them and yeah, I think it does." Larry said that he had experienced this as an athlete, where "a lot of it is that they were the same sort of jerk or I was the same jerk or whatever, but we just sort of learned to forget a bit of that as you sort of do battle together or something like that."

Club. In several of the case studies, we saw how the club can influence coaches' behavior. Sandor, Nigel, and Midori appreciated the freedom that their clubs gave them to run their teams essentially as they wanted. As Sandor put it, "The club helps because they don't interfere. If you have a problem, just go to them, they're open, if you want them to sit down with a parent, they'll sit down. The club is supportive, they do everything that's possible." Janet noted how the head coach and administrators of the club can be very supportive, but they can also force coaches to stray from their ideologies to conform to club policies. The nature of the club can also be an affordance or a constraint. Midori and Janet reported how the respective recreational and competitive natures of their clubs helped them to follow their ideologies. Janet explained that hers "is a competitive swim club, you have to be keeping that in mind, that it's a competitive swim club. We could call ourselves other things, but we're not." And this competitive orientation determined the short and long term objectives for Janet's coaching.

Midori also noted how the club can be a constraint. For some of the more advanced skaters due to "the limitations of the club, and the size of the club and its purpose, what I recommended for them was to go to another club." She later explained that "the club is just not set up to run CFSA programs, or CFSA test programs, it's only to run these badge programs. And therefore, the people who are running it, the club executives are always volunteers basically, and they have very little experience in setting these things up."

In addition the nature of the club can determine the objectives that a coach should pursue, Midori commented, "in a recreational club like this, the whole thing should be part of their learning experience so they can take something away from the experience that will help them in their future skating. These particular kids don't get a lot of coaching time and spend a lot of time on their own."

The club structure can both impede and facilitate the best interests of coaches and athletes. Granting some coaches maximal freedom will help them to serve the best interests of the athletes. In other cases, clubs serve to protect the best interests of the athletes. As opposed to structures such as leagues, clubs often are able to carry a philosophy through a complete developmental program. As we seek to intervene at administrative levels (rather than directly with individual coaches) it is necessary to understand how clubs, leagues, and other structures operate.

League or association. The league or association is often the most significant organizing body for youth sports. Although some national organizations provide rules or some competitive framework, the league tends to be responsible for the day to day operations of youth sport. The way the league operates can be a powerful affordance or constraint for coaches. With Bob, it was clear that the instructional nature of the league enabled him to focus on teaching, which he valued. For Larry, the league format had created perhaps his biggest constraint, and he said, "in an ideal situation I don't think I would have the all-stars in the house league." Furthermore, the league restricted the time he had with his team by controlling facility access. Larry stated, "it would be nice if there were a little bit of time to practice somewhere in the rest of the season. I guess I'm used to in the leagues I played in, the coaches got their own time; they somehow got the arena and so if they wanted to have a practice they could,

whenever. But this team all the times of practices and games and handed down by the league." Leagues can also affect coaches by determining rules, which will be discussed below.

Program. The program characteristics, such as its recreational or competitive nature, can be constraints or affordances for coaches. Midori said that she worked with "a recreational program designed to get kids a basic skating background so they can continue to just recreational skate through their lives or whatever or prepare them if they care to go through the CFSA test system" which facilitated what she was interested in doing with the skaters. On the other hand, she described above how the badges and incentive elements of the program could be considered constraints to trying to promote the intrinsic enjoyment of skating.

Rules. The rules of conduct for a league or competition will limit coaches' choices. For example, many leagues have rules about playing time. Larry described how a league rule calling for equal playing time was an affordance for coaching in accord with his ideology. He explained, "I like the fact that the shifts are, you know, the buzzer rings and the next lines go out," where the rules and game format made it easy for him to behave in line with his beliefs. For other coaches, such rules are a constraint. Hank described how equal ice time for hockey players was "the rule within the association. And I always tell them that whenever possible, barring injury and that sort of stuff, kids will get equal playing time, except that I'll decide who's on the ice when. That's my prerogative as coach. We're on the buzzer system." Hank suggested that such a rule was a constraint with which he had to comply. Furthermore, a basketball coach explained how as a freshman coach he didn't play all his athletes, but in "the park district league, I played everybody, and tried to get them at least -- well, they had a rule where every kid had to play a quarter or half." Similarly, Bob expressed that the league rules kept him from benching players, which he thought would be helpful in teaching them that they had to work hard. Depending on the purpose of a program, equal playing time and similar rules may be an effective way to constrain coaches to bring them towards meeting program objectives.

Rule changes. Similarly, changes in existing league rules or changes from the "adult version" of the sport can be important factors in a coach's context. Frank described how adding a down and changing the scoring for extra points facilitated his attempts to teach football to his players. He and I had also discussed the problems with having a football league for 10 to 14 year olds. It seemed that the younger players could have a much better experience if the league were split. After the season, the league decided to make a change in eligibility rules so that "the 11 and 12 year olds are going to be put on four teams on Saturdays and they're going to have their games and then they'll also come to our games on Sunday. That's what we're going to try to do for next year. To me it's a great idea - so what if you miss one of our practices. They're still going to be on this other team and they're going to be taught some very simple plays. Like the first couple of Saturdays they'll learn like just for a house league team and practice with us Tuesday, Thursday, go to their game saturday and come to our game sunday. I think that will work out really well."

Summary. Teams, leagues, and rules all emerged as structures that can have significant influences on coaches. Perhaps the biggest constraint that Larry experienced resulted from how the league had interspersed all-star players into the house league. Larry suggested that all-star players had been influenced by a set of values that prevail in the sort of highly competitive play to which they were accustomed. Smith's (1988) findings with hockey

players support the position that standards differ between house leagues and all-stars. He found, for example, players in house leagues perceived that their coaches generally (70%) had low approval of hockey fighting, whereas those in "competitive" leagues players perceived that their coaches had medium to high approval of fighting (68%). In addition, with Bob it was evident that the instructional nature of his league and the administrative control of the program dictated considerably what he could do. Often the league determines to a large extent the quality of children's youth sport experiences.

Leagues tend to be the fundamental structures that administer youth sport. Yet, in many cases, leagues provide limited guidance or supervision for coaches. Coaches like Hank, Larry, and Frank, who are not part of a club or have no supervisor, are often left to their own devices. The quality of the experiences that the children on their teams have is left almost to chance. Once leagues put the organizational structure in place and provide equipment and schedules, they may not be heard from again. One avenue for improving the quality of children's experiences is holding leagues and other administrative bodies accountable for their coaches.

Structural factors can serve as powerful constraints or they can afford coaches meaningful opportunities. Recognizing how various structures currently operate is crucial to understanding youth sport coaching. Changing existing structures can be an efficient and effective means to enhance youth sport.

Facilities and Resources

All youth sports depend on access to facilities and availability of resources. The quality and availability of equipment and practice/competition venues affects every coach either positively or negatively. Funding and fund-raising needs are also always issues. The physical setting of practices and competitions can also affect the behavior of individuals within the setting and the effect of that behavior on both coaches and athletes. The location of parents at competitions emerged as an area of particular interest to several coaches - as both an affordance and as a constraint.

Funds and fund-raising. Many youth sport programs are not well funded. Frank expressed the feelings of many coaches, "we could always use some more money so we wouldn't have to always count nickels and dimes. It costs a lot to insure these kids and for refs, fields, for uniforms, to keep updating the equipment . . . we have to have bingos every month." Limited financial resources are often a constraint for coaches. Coaches, parents, and athletes are often asked, if not forced, to engage in various fund raising activities. In many programs in Ontario, bingos were the primary fund-raiser and coaches had varying degrees of responsibility to organize workers. Sandor mentioned how he had great difficulties getting help with bingos. Frank explained how they had given parents an incentive to help. "We try to get the parents involved - trying to get them into it, we give them incentive, if they come out. Each team has nights where they have bingo, and they're supposed to supply all the people, if it be players, or parents or whoever. They are supposed to supply all the people - the incentive is that if people help us with the bingo - we'll take $10 off their registration fee - they're not doing it for free, they're getting $10 off - so if you have 2 kids playing, that's $20 off." Furthermore, the football league realized that fund-raising could be facilitated with more organization. "What's been happening the last few years it's always been the same people - the coaches, the executives. Some people don't do it, some take advantage. They're getting the benefit of being in the league without doing anything - so now we have a bingo committee and each team has one bingo and we have

the same people working in the back room." Organizing can be helpful, and in many cases parents and coaches' relationships with parents are important in improving the financial status of a team or league.

Sometimes coaches dip into their own pockets to fund their teams. Tom, the PAL track coach told me how, he "had invested a tremendous amount of time and money, - I spent thousands of dollars, I don't mean tens of thousands, but thousands of dollars supporting this organization by myself . . . Where else were they going to get it? It was like - is what you're doing valuable or not? If what you're doing is valuable, then you just do it. If what you're doing isn't valuable then I'm not going to spend a nickel on it. I felt that I was making - and so did my wife, she thought I was making a real contribution to their lives at that point - so it was whatever I wanted to spend on it was basically okay by her. A lot of these kids, their parents were on welfare, and they're not going to give their kids $6 for the entry fee to some race. It's just not going to happen, or the uniforms. You can't, it's not fair to take your kids out of town to a big meet and they show up in cutoff shorts and torn sneakers. It's not good for them, so somewhere they're going to get uniforms and they're going to get sneakers, and they're going to have socks. And that's the way it's going to be."

Tom shared the following story that shows how a shortfall of money can affect athletes. "I remember the first meet I ever took them to, I had one of my kids - he was incredibly gifted - we'd been training for three weeks so it wasn't the training that did very much at this point. This was just incredibly gifted people. And he ran against a kid from Alabama, this was in Florida, who was incredibly experienced at racing - a young boy, but incredibly experienced, and held all kinds of age group records for the mile. And this kid got in the race and he simply didn't want to lose. He was running quarters around that track and it was hysterical and people were laughing at him, and this was a big, big crowd, this was a big meet, all different age groups, not just for kids it was a big meet and he's running around the track and his pants keep falling down. He keeps, he's running around, battling this kid, and hitching his pants up every 50, 70 yards, he's putting his pants together again. And after that I said, it's not fair, he lost by, it was one of the greatest races I've ever seen, and he lost by a whisker. I just - I mean he's running in floppy sneakers that are all torn up you know it's just not fair."

Parent location. In several cases presented above, it was clear that the location of parents at competitions was an important factor for coaches. Larry described how he had greater freedom and fewer problems because the parents sat on the other side of the arena from him and his players. He did add, "I'd rather have them sitting behind me than not there at all. But it's just turned out sort of convenient, especially for someone like myself who is sort of new at it and is feeling my way around - for now it's nice." Midori thought that part of her freedom was due to the fact that there were few parents present at her sessions and those who attended generally waited in the lobby. Frank also said, "during the game we would prefer that the parents sit on the other side. After the game, they can say, "you know that one particular play. . ." - and show the kid that they were watching, that's great. But we don't want them to start going against what we've trying to do, sort of overshadowing us - like on that play you should have done that. But parents are parents and they're going to get into it." It seemed that keeping the parents away from the coach and the players would solve many of the problems that parents create. Sandor noted, however, that even though keeping the parents away from him would make it easier on him, they could still yell at the players and the officials and cause difficulties.

In an interview with Ned, the swim coach, he talked about how his former coach had said to a parent who was sitting right near him, "I like you, but I like you better up there," meaning up in the balcony. When I asked about the balcony he said that he tells coaches to take kids under the balcony and out of sight of the parents when they have to discipline the kids. He said he takes kids under the balcony when he has to "grab a kid. Sometimes you have to do that. They don't get it at school, and they don't get it at home. Little kids will curse at you . . . kids aren't like they used to be . . . the head of my school would put you right over his knee, . . . we never thought about talking back to someone older than us."

In some instances, having the parents in a position to view and evaluate the coach may provide a constraint for the coach that might serve the parents' or the children's interests. What is best for the child is a matter of perspective; coaches and parents and the children themselves may all hold different opinions. When all parties are in general agreement about the purpose of the child's participation, it may be best to arrange the setting so that parents' input during actual practices and games is limited.

Summary. Facilities and resources can affect coaches in both obvious and subtle manners, all of which may be significant. Clearly, availability or deficiency of funding and equipment can expedite or jeopardize what coaches try to achieve. The physical setting of youth sport situations, including the location of spectators, can have indirect, but powerful effects on coaches. Without sufficient funding, programs may become inadequate if not extinct. This category of contextual factors may be essential in defining the boundaries for coaches.

Incentives, Rewards, and Outcomes

Coaches cited both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards available to themselves and their athletes as both constraints and affordances. Competitive outcomes of winning and losing or "previous success/failure (e.g., season record to date)" (Smoll & Smith, 1984, 1989), serve as important situational factors.

Rewards. Extrinsic rewards are often used with the intent to motivate athletes and to increase their enjoyment. As discussed above, such strategies can be counterproductive and may undermine athletes' intrinsic motivation to participate in their sport. In addition to her earlier comments, Janet said, "this is sort of being great for me, cause it's helped with attendance - On the other hand, it's not a great idea for these kids going to the Bahamas and this being their sole reason for wanting to come to practice. Isn't it supposed to be because they want to and they enjoy it and stuff like that? So we're not happy that the trip is on, but it has worked to my advantage because there are kids that are - their attendance has really picked up." She illustrated the mixed blessing of rewards; they can be both affordances to influence athletes' behavior and constraints to developing intrinsic motivation.

Competitive outcomes. Coaches reported that both winning and losing can serve as constraints to and affordances for their coaching objectives. Sandor talked metaphorically about how people wanted to be associated with a winner but would not support a loser. "But all of a sudden, when a winning team comes through, you have more players at practices . . . what I see right now is that since we've been winning, more kids are showing up for practice. So they're developing an appetite now. Before that, they didn't have an appetite. Everybody wants to take part . . . everybody wants to join a winning team, a good ship that really sails . . . Nobody wants to go on a ship (motions swerving) that goes cracking, who wants to do that? When we started losing in the spring I had

people jumping the boat. I had a manager jumping the boat. My assistant coach wanted to jump the boat." He believed that victories were important to run his team and teach his players. "Right now yes, I feel, you can see it on the practices, they are full . . . just watch a team that loses every game, the kids are turned off, the kids get turned off. They don't want to do it. They want to achieve some fame." Many coaches believe that winning helps to motivate athletes and it can be a compensation for athletes who follow their dictates. From Bob's perspective, "You get rewarded for your hard work by winning." Yet, Sandor believed that losing was also important, "You know, I wouldn't like it if we had a team that just won everything. I wouldn't like it I'd want to go higher, somewhere else, where I can lose some. Cause that's where you learn. You can take the loss, but you take the win almost the same way you're feeling a little bit discouraged when you lose, but you're happy when you win, that's good. But if you win, win, win, win, you've got nothing to learn from there nothing to learn."

Nigel also noted how winning can be an affordance and he corroborated what Sandor asserted. "I think probably there would be more problems if we were losing. There would be more pressure from the parents, cause they're not happy. The club would take note of that, I don't know. They have with Sandor. Sandor has had a lot of problems with parents and parents complain to the club . . . He's not hurting any kids, they're just not getting very good results. And the parents are mad about it." you know, it really helps when you win.

Summary. The rewards for both athletes and coaches that are available within a setting can have substantial influence on coaching. In addition, the relative frequency of winning and losing competitions becomes a noteworthy aspect of the sport situation. The incentive systems that coaches develop and the reward structures that exist as part of sport or are otherwise imposed on coaches can have important implications for coaching.

Time

Clearly time is a commodity that always exists in a limited supply. To varying degrees, coaches reported that the finite amount of time that they had with their athletes was a constraint for their pursuit of objectives. Frank, Bob, and Nigel spoke about how time constraints limited their instructional capabilities. Larry believed that the restricted time allotted for games caused the league to have rules that limited actual playing time for the athletes. "I realize that there's a finite hour that they have to play in so these guys get about as much playing time as you can fit into an hour. There's the occasional shift where the guys get functionally 40 seconds of playing time and there's a penalty called and then it's three shifts later that they get back out again, but I can understand why they have to do that. It's sort of a shame." In addition, Frank suggested that with more time he would be able to work toward some objectives that were not sport-specific, such as cultivating peer relations. Although time limitations are an obvious constraint on coaches, they should be taken into account when considering how contextual factors may affect coaching behavior. When coaches feel that they have time to do more than prepare athletes for competitions, they may be more likely to pursue other valuable objectives with their young athletes.

As coaches attempt to employ instructional strategies or work toward any of their goals, they face the omnipresent constraint of time limitations. Because time is a restricted commodity, coaches have to make many decisions about how they are going to use the time they have with athletes. Within the present study, assessments of how coaches used time (both practice time and time they had to communicate with their athletes during competitions) was useful in analyzing the relation between their ideology and behavior. For example, the amount

of time Larry spent joking around with and talking to the lacrosse players about getting along with each other reflected the priority he placed on fun and developing social skills. Analyses of time allocation appear to provide opportunities to learn about many aspects of coaching. One of the difficulties, however, is that some goals, regardless of the priority they are given, require more time to achieve than others. For example, working to develop complex motor skills, teaching complex game strategies or improving cardiovascular conditioning all take a great deal of time. Although coaches may put a higher priority on other objectives, they can meet those objectives in shorter time periods.

Furthermore, simple measures of quantity of time may not be as informative of how effectively time is being used. For example, "time is a critical factor in the learning process, although it alone is not sufficient to ensure successful learning. We are reminded daily that people do spend many years engaged in an activity (cooking, typing, or teaching for example) without ever learning to do it well. What a learner does, how he or she does it, and how things change as the years pass, are certainly more important variables than the absolute amount of time spent at an activity" (Sosniak, 1985, p. 409).

The meanings that coaches give to how they use their time may help to reveal their values and goals for the athletes with whom they work. Analyses of how individuals budget their time and the significance they ascribe to their decisions about time allocation may be informative about many aspects of human behavior. Yet, there are notably few examples of research (Elchardus & Glorieux, 1988) utilizing this approach. The present study calls into question what is learned through simple time sampling procedures; mere quantification of time use tells us little. As we seek new methods to expand our study of coaches, time use analyses that include coaches' interpretations of their time use may provide one profitable avenue.

Social Context

Although certain specific contextual factors emerge as obvious, often tangible, influences on coaches, there are larger scale social influences that serve as both constraints and affordances that may affect coaching behavior. "Much of the variation in involvement and subsequent success in sport is accounted for by the social milieu in which one is socialized as a child. Thus, ascribed social categories and cultural and ethnic values, norms, and ideologies must be considered in any attempt to explain how children become involved in competitive sport, and why the resulting social problems accrue in contemporary North American sport" (McPherson & Brown, 1988, p. 265). The local culture, the competitive context, and the prevalent sociopolitical ideology may modify how coaches behave. Of particular interest is how the social construction of sport can affect coaches.

Local culture. There are often particular elements of a community, town, or region that serve as constraints and opportunities for coaches. Tom, the track coach, mentioned how the community where he coached in Florida affected the weight given to competitive outcomes. He said, "these races were just as serious as anything, anyone at any level does. And they have a lot of reputation at stake, especially the Black kids. Because - it's not the Black kids - but so much as the poor people, because mostly what they have in life is their reputations in the neighborhood. And they have less to go home to. Most of them came from broken homes, and so for them, sometimes losing was losing face, not just losing against a particular person from out of town. They didn't want to have their friends think they didn't win, especially the ones who were sometimes pretty good. And they would

break down and cry."

Janet provided another example of how the local culture can affect a coach's work. She reluctantly submitted her thoughts on how the working class community had a negative effect on her swimming program. "I don't even know if I should say this - the whole idea of what the union stands for seems to be in my mind that you try to get away with as little work as possible and get as much as you can. And it seems to pervade the swimming idea or people's lives. What do you have to work hard to get anything for - You're just going to get it. You just go on strike - they give it to you."

The public perception of sport and appropriate coaching behavior can serve as a constraint. Frank mentioned above how it is difficult to coach players to be aggressive in football. He also gave an example of how public reaction can affect coaching behavior, "We had an instance at one of our games a few years ago when one of the coaches was yelling and screaming "kill that kid, I want you to get him, stick him . . ." That's not tolerated anymore - because of the public's view of it. They don't understand that it's an aggressive sport and coaches get tied up in it. Now we don't do that anymore."

Competitive context. The competitive atmosphere in which coaches find themselves can influence the degree to which they enact their ideologies. For example, Nigel suggested how in some tournaments he feels persuaded to shift his focus from skill development to winning, "like that Ontario Cup game I was telling you about. Like if we get to a final of any tournament, a one-off game, sometimes we have to - we play completely different, just to - because the most important thing there is winning." He explained how he generally told his players that he wasn't concerned about winning and losing, as long as his players got better "I have said that to them many times in league play and even when we get in tournaments, in the first few games, but once we've passed that it's sudden death," a term that may at times be taken a bit literally, and what was important was "just winning."

The social construction of sport. Although youth sport may have a different set of reasons for existing from other forms of sport that function as businesses to provide mass-scale entertainment, a "trickle down" effect from a business model of sport (Strean, 1988) often occurs. The values that are promulgated in sport as entertainment find their way into youth sport. Among these values is heavy emphasis and rewards for winning. Yet at the youth level, athletes have several, often diverse, motives for participation and winning may be more highly rated by, and more important to, the adult in the formal sport program (Lombardo, 1987). This is understandable considering that coaching success is often judged by team performance and success is most commonly defined as "winning" (Sage, 1989). Coaches are subject to a great deal of public evaluation, which is typically based on their winning percentage. Even at the high school level, sometimes coaches' continued employment depends on their teams' success (Lackey, 1986). When coaches use external judgments to gauge their competence, they are likely to be somewhat impelled to win contests. The ideological groundings, and the strength thereof, of coaches may determine the extent to which they adapt their coaching to meet public demands. A major force that impinges on coaches is the societal view of their role. Insofar as a zero-sum model prevails, the concern with pursuit of excellence suggests that the outcome of winning is the criterion of effectiveness whereas in other occupations the process is also included (Chelladurai, 1986).

As a zero-sum game, the pursuit of winning can override the pursuit of many other goals, such as giving all athletes an equal opportunity to participate. As Frank put it, "The object of the game is to win, so the first string gets in there, they do the job. If it's a close game, they stay in there, and the other kids know that. But if it's - if it's out of reach, we put in the second string."

Don, the soccer coach, commented on how the construction of sport affects coaches. "But I really think that if you're going to solve the problem of coaching, you have to solve this Western society's, typically American society's predilection to look at sports as more real than reality. And we tend to do that. I mean, you see it everywhere, in commercials, in most of the popular T.V. shows -- athletic ability, good looks are always rewarded and intellectuality is certainly not, and even if it is rewarded, the portrayal of the intellectual person is always as somebody who is sort of really lop-sided, but the person who's with it and sort of physically fit - may be an absolute zero intellectually - but he seems or she seems always to be able to cope, to fit in, to somehow balance it out. But the nerd, the nerd needs a lot of help. You know, ends up not knowing what color socks to wear to the prom, things like that - puts his tie on backward, doesn't know how to fix his hair, anyhow - I see that as the problem of coaching, the problem of sports."

Don also noted that "Competitive sports are competitive only in the sense that somebody probably loses and somebody probably wins. They were never meant to be competitive on the personality side. They were never meant to be competitive in saying, "I am better than you." What's important about a person is who they are, what's least important is what they do. So if I say I did better than you, the answer to that is big deal. Okay, as a matter of fact, I can rejoice in your doing better. I used to tell my kids, "hey, you've got an opportunity. This team you're playing is fantastic, and they're going to play well and you're going to have so much fun because you know that everything you do, you're doing against the best. And if you don't win, and you probably won't, but if you don't win, that's okay, but go out and do your best, because these people will allow you to do your best, because they're the best." That's a hard thing to say. I've seen a lot of kids, even at the 4th grade level, who were just terribly disappointed, who would go through all the kinds of behaviors you see after the Superbowl - the defeated team behaviors, throwing the helmet on the ground, weeping, stuff like that. In 4th grade they're doing this, at a park district soccer game. And you don't even keep track of the won/loss records."

Although "big-time" sports are in the business of entertainment, they serve as a model for other forms of sport, including youth sport. The emphasis on outcome and the values that are communicated through mass media sport suggest to many people what sport should be like in any form. Yet, Ben, who had coached age-group swimming in New England said, "you've got 50 kids entered in an event and there's only going to be one winner. What does that make everyone else? There's got to be more to it than winning." He suggested that children's focus should be shifted from outcome to process.

This business model of sport is part of the social construction of sport that is a constraint that affects how coaches and young athletes view sport. Sandor commented that "in hockey you can do that, put little hooks on them, and release the hook. If you watch a game on TV - basically the sport is like that." But does hockey for children have to be the same entity as hockey for adults? Hank seemed to think so: "if you can't play the game without getting a stick laid across your back, and cry about it, then you should take up tidily winks, because that's

what this game is about." Is it really? Is this why there is an association to provide youth hockey in Ontario? Hank suggested "you have to enculturate them a little bit into the nature of the game and then deal with them from there." In a similar fashion, the nature of the game may constrain the values that can be promulgated. Frank said, "Football is not a gentleman's sport - It's hitting. It's hitting somebody harder. The harder you hit them, the more they feel it and the less you feel it. You're out there trying to hit somebody hard so you don't get hurt. It's a contact collision sport. People have to understand that it's not just (prissy voice) "now I don't want you to hit him." You're saying, "hit the kid." I don't care."

Similarly, we saw with Bob how even in an instructional league, the importance of playoffs that is seen in big-time sports is apparent. Bob talked about how he was not all that concerned with winning during the season, but in the playoffs "that's when everything counts." Clearly these are not values that are important to the league or its objectives. But the social construction of sport teaches coaches and athletes that what they see on TV is what they should be doing. As Frank added, "You're there to have fun, of course, play football and all that, but when you're in competitive sports, that's the idea of the whole thing to win the championship."

And the influence begins early in children's lives. As Janet recounted, "These are kids 6 and 7 years old, now, in the first races ever, I don't know what their background in competition has been, but this is the first meet of anything and they say "I won" -"I came second" "I won a ribbon" or something like that. They already know about competition and we say, "Well, what was your time?" So they know early on about winning." Coaches may be trying to teach athletes to reference their achievements to their own past performances, but the pervasiveness of the business model of sport is difficult to overcome. As Janet suggested in another interview, "the way swimming is set up, a lot of times only the best swimmers will stay in the sport. It's hard to get kids to focus on their own improvement when the awards and everything go to the best" and the sport situation is really one of social comparison.

New answers arise from new methods and new ways of thinking. One of the ways to create better understandings of youth sport coaching is to challenge some of the assumptions that are often brought to our thinking about children's participation in sport. A fundamental assumption, that may better be an open question is that of the meanings and purposes of sport itself.

Within sport psychology, perhaps without exception, "sport" is taken as a given. Questions are not generally raised about how the social construction of sport may influence individuals as they engage in various forms of sport participation. Even when the role of sociocultural factors in children's development in sport is recognized, sport itself is not considered (e.g., Weiss, 1991). Yet Lenk (1979) argued that the critical analysis of the ideology of sport and its philosophical basis is without doubt one of the most urgent tasks facing us. The meanings and goals of sport as a zero-sum game are communicated to children at a young age, as Janet explained above.

Several instances within this study support the notion that sport should be an open question or a problematic. To wit, when Frank or Sandor asserted that "winning is the name of the game"; when Hank said, "if you can't play the game without getting a stick laid across your back, and cry about it, then you should take up tidily winks, because that's what this game is about"; when parents tried to persuade Midori that the skaters should

enter competitions; when Nigel said that sport is all about winning and losing; or when Bob said that it was okay to be concerned about learning in the beginning, but that was changing "because the playoffs are coming around and when you win, you have the rights of bragging" it was evident that they were not asking questions about what sport entail or what sport for children should mean. It might be useful, however, to consider how sport could be constructed differently for different purposes.

The central goals of sport for children, for example, may best diverge greatly from sport for professionals. Youth sport should be "selling" programs that benefit children's development. The product of professional sports is competition. Whether it is a pennant race, a tournament, or a championship game, the outcome orientation is maximized and consumers want winners. Whereas evaluations of or comparisons between pro athletes or pro teams help to sell the product, such judgements may best be minimized in youth sport. External evaluative pressure and emphasis on social comparison information appears to have negative consequences for children's interest (Boggiano, Main, & Katz, 1987; Deci & Ryan, 1985), their pursuit of challenging tasks (Elliott & Dweck, 1988), and their use of learning strategies (Ames, 1984). Furthermore, zero-sum competition can decrease children's perceptions of competence and their intrinsic motivation (Vallerand, Gauvin, & Halliwell, 1986). In an effort to decrease social comparison, administrators of youth sport may well consider doing away with scoreboards, publicized league standings, and playoffs, all of which increase the focus on outcomes, competition, and social comparison.

Many youth sport coaches seem to view sport in such a way to suggest that their perspectives derive, at least in part, from a trickle-down of mass-media sport. The media's portrayal of sport, especially if supported by either peers or parents, provides a powerful model to overcome (Orlick, 1983). Although some of the elements of sport may be the same in all its myriad forms, some basic components might best depend on the purpose of the league.

Summary

Ranging from what coaches contribute to the sport situation to how the social construction of sport affects coaches, there are a wide range of factors that coaches experienced as constraints and affordances. Some of these factors served to make life easier or more difficult for coaches. Other factors had a more salient effect on coaches' abilities to coach in accord with their ideologies. The qualities that individuals bring to their coaching situations, the responsibilities they have, the structures in which they operate, the persons with whom they interact, and other elements of the environment are important to consider when seeking to understand youth sport coaches. It has long been recognized that situational factors are vital influences on behavior. This examination of contextual factors provides an empirical base to address how youth sport settings may influence coaches. With analyses of specific contexts and individuals, in addition to extant knowledge of coaching behavior, more optimal understandings of youth sport can be acquired.

Coaching Behavior

The purpose of the previous two sections on coaching ideology and contextual factors was to put the information that coaches reported into a useful framework. The exploration of coaching ideology and the contextual factors that influence coaching behavior was the focus of this investigation. The intent within the two previous sections was to be inclusive and to consider these factors broadly. The examination of coaching behavior

within this study, however, was limited to two purposes. These reasons were (a) to identify specific coaching behaviors to discuss with coaches how ideology and context may be influencing those behaviors and (b) to assess the general relations among ideology, context, and behaviors for these coaches. For the eight coaches who were observed during practices and competitions, the assessments of behavior were done with the intent of establishing the degree of concordance between coaching ideology and these behaviors. Consideration was given to how various contextual factors may have increased or decreased the degree to which coaches followed the ideological stances that they espoused.

As stated above, the efforts to understand and to categorize coaching behaviors have been extensive (e.g., Smith, Zane, Smoll, & Coppel, 1983). Within several studies (e.g., Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979; Smith & Smoll, 1990), researchers have attempted to quantify the occurrence of particular coaching behaviors precisely. For the purposes of the present study, the interest was more in assessing behavior generally while focusing on ideology and contextual factors. For example, if coaches expressed that they valued learning and skill development, their behavior was assessed to see what they did to foster these goals. Such factors as the content of practice sessions, and the attention to skill development during competitions were considered.

Many of the elements of the Coaching Behavior Assessment System (CBAS; Smith, Smoll, & Hunt, 1977) were practical in considering coaches' behaviors. Classifying coaching behaviors into reactive and spontaneous behaviors (Smith, Smoll, & Hunt, 1977) was a useful heuristic for this study. Coaches' reactions to certain events, such as athletes' performance attempts, have been shown to have significant influence on athletes (e.g., Smith & Smoll, 1990). Examining coaches' various reactive behaviors helped to reveal whether they put their ideologies into action. Looking at spontaneous behaviors illustrated what coaches attempted to bring into the sport situation, particularly in practice sessions. Whereas some coaches engaged in a great deal of instruction and worked from a set agenda, others spent a great deal of time talking with athletes, asking questions to get their input, and sharing decisions. Examining coaches' spontaneous behaviors as a class helped to show what values and goals coaches stressed through their behavior.

In addition, many of the behavior categories (e.g., mistake-contingent technical instruction, keeping control) within the CBAS served as codes for the analysis of coaching behaviors. What became evident, however, was that the twelve behaviors identified within the CBAS were too limited for the concerns of this study. The CBAS was developed and has been implemented by and large for measuring coaching behavior during competitions. It does not account for many of the behaviors that coaches engage during practices. Furthermore, the CBAS is based, to some extent, on assumptions from behaviorism. The Coach Effectiveness Training (Smoll, 1991) that has been used with the CBAS tends to suggest that reinforcement is good and more reinforcement is better. A more contemporary understanding of reinforcement suggests that other factors should be considered. For example, the work of Deci (1975) and Lepper and Greene (1975) suggested that we should consider whether reinforcement is controlling or giving competence information. The contingency of reinforcement was a consideration in the present study. Whether coaches praised athletes based on outcome, effort, or quality of performance was an important point. Further, the category of reinforcement does not take into account the implicit or overt attribution for a desirable performance or effort by an athlete. Effusive praise for mediocre performances

is another problem (Horn, 1986) that is not addressed by the CBAS.

By working inductively from field observation data, the analysis of coaching behaviors for this study expanded the CBAS framework to include 30 categories of behavior (see Appendix A). The expansion included differentiation of existing categories (such as reinforcement and general communication) and the creation of new categories such as mediating between athletes, responses to injuries, communication with parents and officials, seeking information from athletes, leading training or practices, and record keeping.

Moreover, it became clear that simply quantifying the frequency with which coaches engaged in given behaviors was too general for the purposes of the present study. For example, while using the CBAS, many of a coach's behaviors could be classified as general communication. Yet, the content and effect of such communications can differ markedly. To wit, when Larry entered the lacrosse players' locker room and found them talking about the heavy metal bands that they liked, he joined in the conversation and they continued talking about music as they walked out to play their game. One boy said that he liked Guns N' Roses and another responded, "You're an idiot, they suck." Larry intervened and explained that different people have different tastes and even though the second boy disagreed he could do so in a nicer way. In another setting, when Hank came into the baseball player's dugout and the boys were talking about what they did the night before, he scolded them, "Gentlemen it's time to start thinking about the game." Whereas both instances could simply be recorded as general communication, considerable information about these coaches would be lost. By attending to the specifics of behaviors, as well as the categories into which they could be placed, more thorough consideration of each individual coach was possible.

Based on analysis of coded field observations it appeared that, in spite of great situational influences, the dominant values and central themes of coaches' ideologies were clearly evident in their coaching behavior. For each of the coaches depicted in the case studies, it was apparent that they were able to coach in accord with their highest priority values. Whether it was social development, skill development, discipline, participation, working hard, or winning that coaches sought most, they behaved in manners to foster their most valued outcomes. To offer some examples, Larry overcame the pressures placed on him by the lacrosse all-stars to be more win-oriented and he kept his focus on the players having fun and learning to get along with other people; even though another coach and some parents pushed for more controls on the figure skaters, Midori persisted in giving the skaters choices and trying to promote their enjoyment of physical activity on their own terms; in spite of very limited support and significant parental interference, Sandor coached so that the soccer players would enjoy their participation and work hard in skill development; and although he coached in a low-key instructional basketball league, Bob maintained a focus on hard work and competitiveness.

The present examination of coaching behavior served mostly to facilitate the analysis of coaching ideology and contextual factors. During this process, questions were raised about current approaches to measuring and understanding coaching behavior. Although the attempt here was to shift the focus from behavior (where it typically has been) to persons and situations, ultimately we must return to behavior. It will be important, however, to include assessments of coaches and contexts when behavior is given greater attention.

Summary of Findings

The following section will summarize the findings discussed above relative to coaching ideology, contextual factors, and coaching behavior. First, among the coaches studied, there was a great variety of values, beliefs, perspectives on coaching, and objectives for youth sport. Furthermore, some prevailing values that have been generally thought to be in opposition (winning, fun, development) were seen by several coaches as being complementary. Coaching ideology can be seen as including values relating to positive biopsychosocial outcomes for children, reproducing status quo ideals, performance enhancement, affiliation, and sociopolitical perspectives.

In addition, there is a also a wide range of contextual factors that may have strong influences on coaching behavior. These factors extend from intrapersonal to societal characteristics. Yet, in spite of these powerful situational influences, the dominant values that coaches espoused were clear forces in determining their coaching behaviors.

Finally, this study identified many elements of coaching ideology, contextual factors that serve as both constraints and affordances for coaches, and coaching behaviors in both training and competitive situations. Although identifying *what* factors are relevant to the relations among these factors is important, the more significant contribution of this study is that it identified *how* these factors affect individuals in their coaching lives.

The final chapter will provide conclusions based on these findings and will suggest implications and future directions based on these conclusions.

Chapter Four - Conclusions, Implications, and Future Directions

The purposes of this chapter are (a) to provide specific and general conclusions based on the findings of this study, (b) to discuss further the implications of the findings for youth sport, (c) to discuss what this inquiry may offer to current understandings of youth sport, (d) to suggest future directions for the study of youth sport and youth sport coaches, and (e) to propose some strategies for intervention in youth sport. Whereas the previous chapter was inclusive and demonstrated the breadth of factors associated with coaching ideology and context, the present chapter will focus on particular issues that appear most significant to understanding youth sport coaching. The format will be such that for a given topic (e.g., coaching ideology) conclusions will be presented followed by any discussion of potential implications and contributions. Future directions for research will then be discussed and the chapter will conclude with further suggestions for intervention.

One of the goals of the present study was to examine youth sport coaching from a holistic perspective by observing naturally occurring events. The intent was to study coaches--their ideologies and the contexts in which they coach--as well as coaching behavior. Most previous research has focused solely on behavior. It became evident that time invested in learning about individuals who coach youth sport is well spent. Furthermore this study supports Gould's (1988) assertion that examining the "highly complex physical and social environment" of youth sport is an important project for research on children's sport. As perhaps the first effort to attend to the intricate web of factors in the youth sport context in one study, a step was taken toward grasping the complexity of youth sport situations. The analysis of various elements of coaching ideology and contextual factors provided a means to assess how both persons and situations may contribute to coaching behavior and may help to explain factors that may influence coaches.

Whenever disparate approaches or sources provide convergent information, the confidence in that information can grow. So we can look upon it positively when specific assertions based on the present data agree with contemporary wisdom about youth sport procedures. The general statements offered here about how youth sport practices should change are largely in accord with the current advocacy. What the present study adds to the extant literature is a wide array of groundings in the particular. Although there has been agreement that certain factors (e.g., parental involvement) are essential to the outcomes of youth sport, any descriptions of why or how particular factors operate have been sparse.

The novel qualities of this study revolve around its attempt to capture real youth sport coaches and their world. Whereas individual researchers and practitioners may have a personal awareness of many of the components of youth sport and ideologies of coaches discussed here, this study offers documentation and description of specific coaches and contexts and it provides a framework for considering coaches, contexts, and behaviors. Whereas other approaches have provided insight into the links between coaching behavior and athletes, the perspective taken in the current investigation allowed an exploration of the dynamic interactions among coaches, contexts, and behaviors.

Coaching Ideology

The multi-dimensional construct of coaching ideology that emerged from coaches' reports regarding their values and beliefs appears to offer a profitable viewpoint to look at some of the personal characteristics of coaches.

The components of coaching ideology discussed above were formulated based on coaches' reports. These factors (e.g., positive biopsychosocial outcomes, sociopolitical perspectives) are tentative and further consideration and refinement based on more data and analysis may help to further differentiate the various factors. One of the benefits of ideology is that as a contested concept (Sparkes, 1989) it is pliable and can be developed in further research. Some factors that may warrant further consideration include coaches' beliefs about power, the rights of individuals, and modes of discourse; their attitudes toward life, and their views about the place of sport in society. These were factors that appeared to be central components of ideology, but were not pursued with participants in great detail.

Whereas the construct of coaching ideology may require refinements, it offers several advantages. First, it moves us away from sterile or simplified views of coaches. Ideology helps us to recognize that coaches are not simply oriented toward one value such as winning, development, or enjoyment. Although it has been suggested that coaches "must choose between" these objectives (Martens, 1990, p. 3), coaches in this study reported that they believed that objectives such as winning and development can be complementary. It appeared that coaches may have an operational hierarchy of values, but they sometimes act based on their perceptions of the urgency of an objective (e.g., winning a given contest) rather than its relative value. Understanding the relative value that coaches assign to various objectives, however, may be a useful direction for future research (cf. Courneya & McAuley, 1992). It may also be the case that pursuit of coaches' intrapersonal objectives is at times incompatible with meeting objectives for children's outcomes.

Other discussions of coaches' values (e.g., Lyle, 1986) have oversimplified what is clearly a very complex construct. Coaches' ideologies include values and beliefs that range beyond their objectives for children's outcomes of participation. Furthermore, the literature suggests that coaches may be humanistic or development-oriented, but it does not describe in what fashion these values are manifested. The data presented here reveal how a coach shows a commitment to such values as social development or physical fitness. In trying to understand a coach's behavior, it seems appropriate to look at the unique characteristics of his or her ideology. Moreover, it may be useful to determine which characteristics are unique and what makes each coach unique. As coaches attempt to understand themselves and reflect on their thoughts and practices as advocated by a long procession of educational thinkers (from Dewey, 1904 to Hellison & Templin, 1991), the perspective of coaching ideology offers a great number of factors for them to consider.

The above discussion of coaching ideology may raise consciousness about important aspects of coaches. Coaches' reports add to our understanding of their instructional role and their comments provide insight into such issues as their attitudes about winning, which have been associated with withdrawal from sport (Gould & Petlichkoff, 1988). In addition, as investigators attempt to understand better the role of fun and enjoyment in sports (e.g., Harris & Ewing, 1992; Scanlan & Simons, 1992) this study provides an initial attempt to assess coaches' perceptions of what is fun for children. These understandings of the personal attributes of coaches are highly relevant and can be joined with assessments of the unique facets of given contexts to help to explain coaches' behavior.

Coaching Ideology, Intentions, and Coaching Behavior

Although assessing coaching ideology may be helpful in gaining understanding about coaches, we need to be cautious in what we decide that ideology tells us about behavior. Within this study, for all of the coaches their highest ideological priorities appeared to influence their coaching behavior. Whereas they deviated from their stated perspectives in specific instances, the overall character of their behaviors were in accord with their ideologies. But this need not be the case with all coaches. Perhaps in some cases, situational or other influences will override coaches' personal intentions. The predictive ability of coaching ideology could be better established through other forms of inquiry.

Youth sport coaches generally appear to have good intentions for their athletes and they seem to take into account children's physical and psychological well being. But there are problems in assuming that the intentions based on one's ideology will link closely to coaching behavior. As Ajzen (1985) maintained, actions are controlled by intentions, but not all intentions are carried out. Some intentions are completely abandoned, whereas others are revised to fit changing factors. Furthermore, coaches must see their behavior as being under their volitional control for intentions to influence behaviors, as is consistent with Ajzen's (1985) notion of the role of perceived control in predicting behavioral intentions. The degree to which ideology can help to explain coaching behavior will be greatly impaired whenever nonvolitional factors exert a strong influence on the behavior in question. By examining contextual factors, we can understand better many of the nonvolitional factors that may influence coaches. Such factors may either preclude coaches from engaging in intended behaviors or force them to execute behaviors they would prefer to avoid. For example, reasons for some of the discrepancies between ideology and behavior may have to do with how coaches respond to high levels of public evaluation that were described above. With even a modicum of needs for approval, it might be difficult for a coach to follow intentions that would be viewed negatively by observers. For example, although Ned, the swim coach, felt it was necessary at times, he would not grab a swimmer in front of the crowd. In addition, such factors as league rules or a supervisor can exert forces that constrain coaches' volitions. As Bob coached in the basketball league, it was clear that he felt that many decisions were beyond his control. He spoke about how he would like to bench a player, but he could not because of league rules. He also stated that the content of the instructional sessions was determined by Mr. Miller, so he had to use drills and focus on given skills that he did not necessarily want to do.

In spite of problems in linking intentions and behavior, this study suggests that many of coaches' intentions stem from their most highly regarded values. Furthermore, even with considerable contextual constraints, coaches' values appeared to have great influence on their coaching. For example, in spite of tremendous pressure from her head coach, Janet maintained her stance on what she would do with her swimmers based on her beliefs about what would be best for their training development--even if it meant putting her job on the line. Similarly, Sandor overcame strong pressures from parents about how he should run his soccer team (including personnel decisions and program goals) and he focused on helping the athletes develop as players and as people, in accord with his primary values.

Clinical experience and theories that address behavior change, such as self-regulation, suggest that "value systems are a miserably difficult thing to try to change" (F. Kanfer, Personal Communication, April 12, 1991).

The implications of this are (a) that more attention to selection of youth sport coaches may be worth considering and (b) we need much greater understanding of how contextual factors can inhibit or enhance coaches' ability to put certain values into practice.

Although we should continue our current efforts to "change" coaches' values through education, we will be more effective with deeper understandings of the varieties and complexities of coaches' ideologies. Coaches continue to hold a central role in youth sport and they re the most direct target for implementing changes (Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979). Greater awareness of coaches and cognizance of what they confront will help lead to more educationally and socially relevant programs that have been advocated (e.g., Watson, 1986). Consideration of coaching ideology can serve as a means for researchers and practitioners to understand coaches more fully.

Contextual Factors

In a similar fashion, the discussion of context provides a framework for analysis and demonstrates how many significant factors can operate in youth sport. This research has provided descriptions of and insights into social realities of youth sport that tend to be neglected in more generalized quantitative research (cf. Goodman, 1988). The simple demonstration of the importance of considering situational factors when looking at coaches is a contribution. The need to expand attention to context holds true not only for youth sport, but for much of the research on the psychology of physical activity. The specific factors that were outlined provide direction for research and intervention in youth sport. Furthermore, regarding factors as constraints and affordances provides another beneficial perspective for analysis of youth sport situations.

There are a variety of values or ideological positions held by coaches and parents of young athletes. Different contexts will help to foster various values. For example, the situational factors that will facilitate the development of talent may differ from the factors that will lead to positive biopsychosocial outcomes. The appropriateness of the motivational climate should be determined with regard to the objectives of participation in sport. Whatever the goals may be for a given program, it is important to recognize how contextual factors can constrain and afford the realization of these goals.

The analysis of contextual factors in the lives of coaches reaffirmed the importance of looking at the situation in addition to the person when trying to understand behavior. Once again, there was great variety in the situations in which coaches operated and the benefit of considering coaches idiographically was further supported. It was quite clear that certain situational factors differed greatly in the effect they had among coaches. For example, the degree to which parents were an influence diverged markedly in the experiences of Larry or Midori as opposed to Sandor.

The quality of children's sport experiences depends to a large extent on the quality and competence of adult leadership (Martens, 1978), which has been shown to depend to a great extent on situational factors. Coaching effectiveness is partly determined by individuals' abilities to understand and to respond appropriately to contextual factors. Indeed, part of effective leadership involves managing the team or organizational culture (Schein, 1985). Coaches benefit from being aware of team and league goals, roles, norms, structures, functions, patterns, and processes. By working with formal and informal leaders, coaches can understand and influence aspects of the team or organizational culture to facilitate the attainment of given goals. In this fashion, the coach

leads indirectly; rather than interacting directly with athletes, the coach manipulates the environment to influence athletes. For example, coaches might arrange the locker room or organize practice sessions to foster more social interaction among team members. Many improvements in youth sport can be achieved by working with coaches; coaches have been identified as the point in the "athletic triangle" where intervention will be most successful (Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979). The present study suggests, however, that many changes can be effected by manipulating contextual factors, which may be facilitated by intervening at the league or other administrative level.

Given the importance of context that has been demonstrated above, one of the most promising methods for leagues to offset problems is for them to impose structural or rule changes that maximize skill development, promote safety, and enhance fun (Pooley, 1986; Weiss & Gould, 1986). Leagues could do both coaches and athletes considerable good if they were to provide more supervision, support, and continuing education for coaches. Although many changes have been advanced with the goal of keeping children involved in youth sport, these steps may be more important because of the effects they have for those children who are involved in sport at any given time. Children often drop out of sport for good reasons, such as the program is not meeting their developmental needs (Strean, Treasure, & Roberts, 1991). Of the changes advanced (e.g., providing unstructured leagues, reducing the size of equipment), several are supported by the present study:

1. Organizing instructional programs with games of minimal organization rather than organized games - The instructional league in which Bob coached provided a structure that could foster skill development and limit the focus on competitive outcomes. Further departure from standard league formats might allow for even greater focus on fun and development with even less attention to winning and losing.

2. Decreasing the number of players on a team and having more teams - Frank's football league realized that the players could learn more and have more fun by creating more and smaller teams and allowing athletes to play with and against children of their own age.

3. Eliminating [or perhaps separating] all-star competitions and competitive traveling teams - It was evident from Larry's experiences that highly competitive leagues and all-star team leagues can have purposes that diverge from those of recreational leagues. It is the judgement of local groups whether or not all-stars or travel teams are appropriate for their youth sport programs. It does seem worthwhile, however, to organize leagues for those athletes who want to enjoy participation without heavy emphasis on competition or competitive outcomes. Furthermore, there are advantages and disadvantages of heterogeneous leagues that need to be considered. Players could be grouped not only by talent, but also based on participation motives. There are potential benefits of instructional leagues, house leagues, and competitive clubs. Often the positives can be maximized by recognizing the differences among the various structures and allowing children to participate under the most appropriate conditions. In addition, matching coaches to situations so that their ideologies fit with the mandate of the given programs is another possible intervention strategy.

4. Making rule changes to adapt the game to the children's needs - Changing the number of downs and the scoring system for points after touchdowns were examples of rule changes in Frank's football league that helped to meet the children's needs. The use of a buzzer to insure equal playing time in Larry's lacrosse league and Hank's hockey association were other instances of rules that helped to meet children's needs. In addition, Corbin and

Laurie (1980) found that parents generally supported program changes designed to reduce competition and focus attention on fun and skill development. Furthermore, if leagues do advocate such values, then it seems incumbent upon them to install equal playing time rules or to justify situations in which some players spend a majority of game time on the bench.

It appears to be important to examine structures that exist in youth sport and to consider changes such as those suggested here. Presumably those adults who have participated in developing and providing organizational structures for children's sports have wanted to offer enjoyable competitive opportunities for kids. The breakdown can occur when leagues hand over ultimate control to individual coaches. Coaches may have good intentions, but they may need substantial guidance to deliver a sound program. As discussed above, there are a variety of reasons why good intentions are never carried out. In many situations, the fun and spirit of play have been subverted by a focus on the ends (i.e., winning) rather than the means. But the pressure placed on children, the loss of enjoyment, and the blows to self-esteem are in no way justified by winning games. Ideally, leagues would select coaches carefully and then provide continuing education and supervision. In the vast majority of cases, this is not realistic. By adopting appropriate rules and structures, however, leagues can help to constrain some of coaches' negative behaviors and afford more desirable behaviors. In this manner, leagues may help coaches to structure their coaching situations to meet athletes' developmental needs more fully. Another area that also deserves considerable attention is the instructional aspects of youth sport.

Youth Sport as Instructional Context: Teaching and Learning

Youth sport programs, to varying degrees, should be viewed as instructional settings. Many personal characteristics that coaches displayed and discussed related to their teaching effectiveness. To provide quality instruction, coaches need not only a commitment to the importance of different kinds of learning, but also an understanding of how children learn.

Yet, it seemed that coaches often had limited ideas about how children should learn in youth sport or they lacked teaching strategies to facilitate learning. For example, Bob suggested that the basketball players just have to "try to learn when they come. I tell them what to do, what to improve and if they do, they'll become a better ball player. It's up to them, because you can't become a better ballplayer over night." As we discussed how one might teach skills he had little to say. When I asked if Mr. Miller, the instructional leader, gave them any help with how to teach he said, "No -- well actually he showed us when you're showing a dribbling drill, you should either get the ball and do it yourself and show them, than just telling them, "okay now, just dribble around your right leg." They might not know what you're talking about. So, yeah, he does sometimes, he shows us." Bob and several of the other coaches, such as Sandor, Nigel, Larry, and Janet essentially relied on standard drills in which players worked on particular skills that were stripped from the context in which they would be used. They did not seem to have much rationale for why this approach might be effective. The point here is not to criticize coaches, but to address what might be the basis for their understandings (or lack thereof) of how to teach sport skills.

We often look at studies of development to understand learning. Unfortunately, most research on the development of the mind begins with assumptions that are in conflict with what learning is all about. Developmental psychology has directed a great deal of attention to understanding those changes in the child's

behavior that occur without special environmental intervention (Feldman, 1980). In contrast, less is known about learning, the portion of human development that results from environmental intervention, such as study, coaching, or experience.

One of the few famous attempts to describe the longitudinal development of learning is that of Alfred North Whitehead (1929) who defined three stages of learning: romance, precision, and generalization. It is the romance stage that holds most relevance for youth sport. As described by Whitehead (1929, pp. 17-18), "romance is the first stage of apprehension. The subject matter has vividness of novelty; it holds within itself unexplored connexions (*sic.*) with possibilities half-disclosed by glimpses and half-concealed by the wealth of material. In this stage knowledge is not dominated by systematic procedure."

Whitehead further suggested that in the stage of romance, the emphasis has to be on freedom, to allow the child to see for itself and to act for itself, which is in accord with more recent assertions about the importance of personal choice and self-determination for children. Malone and Lepper (1987), for example, described challenge, interest, and perceived control as factors that should be embedded in the structure and design of learning tasks. They argued for tasks that provide personal challenges and give students a sense of control over either the process or the product, and that tap students' interest over time. Romance, according to Whitehead, is an awakening or arousing stage. It sets in motion the possibilities, through continued engagement (in physical activity or other settings), of the acquisition of precision and subsequent fruition.

It might be noted that both Whitehead's romance stage and the early stages of talent development described by Bloom (1985a) involve more creating an interest in learning than skill acquisition per se. Their findings do not appear to have worked their way into the mindset of many coaches of young athletes. Although several of the coaches, such as Sandor, Nigel, and Janet, suggested that they were concerned with preparing their relatively young athletes for future participation, they seemed to focus more on immediate improvement than on allowing the children to explore their sport and deepen their enthusiasm for long-term participation. With better knowledge of learning and developing talent, coaches will be better equipped to help athletes to maintain interest and to achieve higher levels of performance.

Moreover, a systematic pattern to successful learning may well exist, but in order to identify it we need to disengage the concept of learning from the much broader one of human development. Learning is distinct from human development, and the distinctions are such that our understanding of the latter may not tell us as much about the former as we think. John Gardner (1961) reminded us, "the process of learning through life is by no means continuous and by no means universal. If it were, age and wisdom would be perfectly correlated, and there would be no such thing as an old fool--a proposition sharply at odds with common experience" (p. 139).

With a more appropriate understanding of learning as a joyful process of exploration, coaches may be better equipped to provide instruction that enhances, rather than detracts from, the fun of youth sport. The early years of learning, even for people who go on to become very accomplished in their chosen area, are generally playful and filled with immediate rewards (Sosniak, 1985). Coaches who are interested in developing talent in young people would do well to recognize the importance of fun in early experiences in sport. Helping coaches to recognize the importance of quality instruction is paramount. This may be achieved by promoting the value of

teaching and educating coaches about how children learn.

Future Directions

The continuing importance of youth sport participation in children's lives warrants continued examination of its many aspects. This study has demonstrated that some of our efforts in studies of youth sport can be well-directed toward understanding the individuals who coach youth sport. The countless facets of youth sport coaches' lifespaces may all influence those coaches' interactions with young athletes. Some possibilities for future studies of coaches include analysis of the antecedents of coaching ideology. The life stories of coaches, including family background, athletic participation, and social and societal influences, may help to elucidate how individuals develop the perspectives they bring to coaching. Past research (e.g., Harris, 1983; Scanlan & Lewthwaite, 1986; Smith & Smoll, 1990) has shown that coaching behavior influences children, but little has been said about what influences coaching behavior. The construct of coaching ideology and the contextual factors discussed here are clear candidates to examine as determinants of coaching behavior. Assessments of coaching ideology may also provide a source for considering the origin of coaches' goals, which has been suggested by Carpenter (1991) as an important project for youth sport researchers.

Although certain aspects of coaching have been well studied (e.g., Smith, Smoll, & Curtis, 1979; Smith & Smoll, 1990), future studies could attend to other components of coaching behavior and their effects on youth sport teams. Ilgen and Fuji (1976) stressed the importance of field studies relating group performance and morale to behavioral data on leaders. They suggested that the greater the importance of a leader's behavior to subordinates and the increased time frame over which leader-subordinate interactions occur may produce stronger relationships in a naturalistic field setting that those that have been obtained in the laboratory. And Smith and Smoll (1991) have argued that sport offers an inviting but largely untapped naturalistic environment for behavioral research and intervention. The present study also demonstrates that existing categories used in behavioral research such as with the CBAS, have limitations. More attempts to expand categories and to move beyond behavioral research with assessments of coaches and contexts are also warranted. Interpretive, meaning-oriented research (Noel, 1989) can complement more traditional methods used in youth sport research.

The breadth of contextual factors described in the present study may also indicate some possible future directions for other studies of youth sport that do not necessarily focus on coaches. One implication of this study is to reassert the utility of considering how behavior is a function of both persons and situations. As we seek to learn about children's experiences in sport, we may benefit by expanding our focus to include more examination of situational influences.

A great deal of work in educational settings has demonstrated the importance of considering context. For example, Maehr (1991) demonstrated that "school culture" can account for up to 41% of the variance in students' motivation. He proposed that school leadership creates a psychological environment that leads to the "meaning" of school achievement. In addition, Ames (1987) has focused on the motivation enhancement effects of the nature and design of tasks, teaching practices, and classroom management. Similar projects in youth sport settings might guide future coaching education and intervention strategies. There appears to be an assumption that sport settings are inherently motivating and little attention has been paid to the motivational aspects of early youth sport

experiences.

Although a broad range of cognitions and perceptions might be integral to the psychological environment of an achievement context, those working in this area (e.g., Ames & Ames, 1989; Ames & Archer, 1988; Dweck, 1988; Nicholls, 1984) have initially concentrated on the stress placed on certain purposes and desired ends. Furthermore, research on classroom psychological environments has focused principally on the two goal stresses of "Mastery" and "Performance" (Ames & Maehr, 1988). The work of Nicholls (e.g., 1984) has also spawned much interest in looking at "task" and "ego" involved goals in the sport domain. A tremendous amount of attention has been given to the role of goal orientations in youth sports (e.g., Newton & Duda, 1992; Treasure & Roberts, 1992; Walling, Crawford, Duda & Wigglesworth, 1992; Yin, Boyd, & Callaghan, 1991). The findings of these studies converge to suggest the importance of helping young athletes to have a task-orientation when they participate in sports. Although this perspective has much to offer our understanding of children's experiences in sport, it might be more useful if greater attention were given to issues that are not as clearly related, or do not relate to achievement orientation, such as affective and social outcomes of sport.

Bergin (1989), who identified goal content categories for adolescents' out-of-school learning activities, demonstrated the utility of a broader perspective. Those goals mentioned most often were affective (feel good), self-assertive (competition), and integrative (social). By using Ford and Nichols (1987) taxonomy of human goals, he was able to demonstrate that students hold many goals that are unrelated to achievement and can not be identified as mastery or performance goals. Ford and Nichols (1987) have generated a taxonomy of human goals that attempts to provide a comprehensive, mutually exclusive classification for describing goal content for human behavior in situations not limited to achievement. Their framework may provide a more inclusive perspective for analyzing goals. For example, in addition to task goals, many of the goals that coaches reported could be viewed as (a) affective goals, including bodily sensations and physical well being; (b) self-assertive social relationship goals, including self-determination and superiority; and (c) integrative social relationship goals, such as belongingness and equity.

Furthermore, as investigators consider children's goals in sport, they may benefit from expanding their conceptual lenses. The results of this investigation suggest that coaches have many non-achievement related goals for children in youth sport. Coaches suggested, for example, that they wanted children to enjoy physical activity, to feel independence, to have a sense of ownership of their sport, and to feel like part of a team. Because both coaches and children also have additional goals, such as those related to enjoyment and social development, it will be useful to expand our view of the sport setting to include other factors. A setting may foster a mastery orientation without guaranteeing a positive experience for children. If young athletes are not given opportunities to develop friendships, to enjoy their participation, and to have sufficient playing time, then a mastery orientation will likely not be enough. In addition to the strategies advocated for classroom interventions (Ames & Maehr, 1988), we might consider allotting time to give children chances to pursue non-achievement behaviors.

Instead of focusing on improving skill at all times, coaches could encourage children to focus on the pleasure of moving. Instead of concern with skillfulness, coaches might try to help children feel comfortable with how they are moving. Sport differs from the classroom because it is essentially a motor activity. When we use

frameworks that were developed for thinking about classrooms, we are bound to focus on achievement and to miss much of the essence of sport.

Although this is a desirable project, as advocates and investigators continue to argue for "mastery" or "task" orientations in sport, they will do well to recognize how contextual factors (ranging from coaches to children's broad social contexts) affect what they experience in achievement situations. If efforts are to move beyond accruing evidence of the desirability of particular dispositional goal orientations, then future investigations should consider how contexts can be manipulated to foster such orientations.

A final avenue for future research involves more than considering a broader array of topics. It relates to conducting research from a novel perspective.

Commentators on sport psychology research have expressed concerns about where research is conducted (Martens, 1979), how theory is used (Dishman, 1983), what methods are employed (Strean & Roberts, 1992), and which paradigm is appropriate (Hanson & Newburg, 1992; Martens, 1987a). Although authors have alluded to epistemological and ontological issues such as sources of knowledge and the doctrine of objectivity, they have generally ignored the fundamental problems presented by a subject-object metaphysics. A new Metaphysics of Quality (Pirsig, 1991) has emerged, which circumvents many of the traditional difficulties of social research and could be of particular use for the study of values. Within this framework, four discrete hierarchical patterns of value are proposed: inorganic, biological, social, and intellectual. Although a full exegesis of Pirsig's (1991) metaphysics is beyond the scope of this study, this structure could be particularly useful in further examination of the dimensions of coaching ideology and of youth sport coaches as moral agents.

Youth sport is a highly complex physical and social setting (Gould, 1988) that has significant effects on millions of children. There are many fascinating avenues for future investigations. Yet, as we continue to increase our understanding of youth sport through research, we must also continue to apply our current knowledge as productively as possible.

Further Suggestions for Interventions

In accord with the perspective taken in this study, interventions should attend to both persons and situations. We should continue to educate coaches and parents and we should consider more thoroughly how youth sport contexts can be manipulated to facilitate selected objectives. One aspect of many situations that could be addressed is how the importance of competitive outcomes is constructed by individuals and programs.

Intervention and coaching education programs such as Coaching Effectiveness Training (Smoll & Smith, 1981; Smoll, 1991) assume the centrality of winning and losing and accept the zero-sum paradigm whole-heartedly (cf. Orlick & Pitman-Davidson, 1988). Although they try to elevate other participation motives (e.g., skill and fitness development), they accept sport's heavy achievement-orientation and they encourage seeking victory. Fun is the paramount objective for children. There is an inverse relation between fun and stress regardless of victory and defeat. Winners do not have more fun than losers (Scanlan & Lewthwaite, 1984; Scanlan & Passer, 1978, 1979). It follows, then, that a focus on outcome is not essential for athletes to achieve their primary goal. Furthermore, the focus on victory, or even striving for victory, may increase stress and reduce fun.

Several strategies have been identified for improving youth sport (Martens, 1988a, p. 22). The need for

the following are supported by the present study: (a) continue improving coaches' education about sport sciences and sport-specific knowledge, (b) educate parents about their role and contribution to their children's participation in youth sport, and (c) de-emphasize the value in our society of being a winner, and emphasize the value of pursuing personal excellence.

Delivery of Coaching Education

As we come to understand youth sport coaching better and the quality of coaching education increases, we need to find ways to train more coaches. As a recent documentary on coaching education in Canada (Scherberger, 1991) suggested, "It's bewildering to think that very few of the thousands of people who coach our minor league, recreational, and even school teams have any formal training at all. Yet we are willing, almost without thought or question, turn our children over to them in a situation where they have ultimate control.

Geoff Gowan, President of the Coaching Association of Canada stated, "We have a very strange value system, I believe, in the sense that if you have a pet, an animal, and that animal is sick you don't send it to your next door neighbor because your next door neighbor loves animals. You send it to somebody who's had six years of university education and training, called a veterinarian. And yet by the same token we're prepared to send a young boy or girl to that same next door neighbor simply because they're prepared to give up a little bit of their time and they're enthusiastic about sport, but they may know very little about coaching. So it's important I think for parents to ask the question "who is coaching my son or daughter and has that individual, that man or woman, taken the trouble to attend one or more of the National Coaching Certification Program courses."

To the largest extent possible, coaches should have opportunities to receive the best coaching education available. Yet, all too often the demand for coaches exceeds the supply of willing individuals (Feltz, Lyman, DeJong, & Chase, 1991) and even minimal standards for coach selection are difficult to maintain. But the quality of children's experiences in youth sport programs should not be left to the chance that the coach might provide a positive experience. Administrators and coaching educators should make some decisions about the purposes of given programs and the appropriate values to be promulgated and coaching behaviors to be displayed.

Some lessons can be learned from those individuals who enjoyed their early sport experiences and continued for many years to achieve excellence. Bloom (1985a) reported that talented individuals began their learning with coaches who liked children and rewarded them with praise and signs of approval. The coaches were extremely encouraging and excited about their sport and what they had to teach these children. Much of the introduction to the sport was playful activity, and the learning at the beginning of this stage was much like a game. The coaches: gave a lot of positive reinforcement, and only rarely were critical; set standards and expected the child to make progress, although this was done largely with approval and praise; were skillful in helping the child make progress over relatively short periods of time; were good at finding flaws in the child's performance and helping the individual correct them; set tasks to be accomplished each week and checked children on their progress; and also found ways of praising and encouraging the child for what he or she had accomplished.

As alluded to earlier, individuals who coach children who are in the early stages of their sport participation should recognize these qualities of coaches who provided positive introductions to organized sport. Coaches should be guided in how to determine at which level of sport they should coach. Perhaps those with strong interests in

winning league championships could be steered away from coaching at the entry level. Maybe if Janet worked with swimmers at a higher level she would be more satisfied with the athletes' motivation. Part of Hank's contentment in coaching seemed to be due to his careful consideration of which level of athlete he wanted to coach in both hockey and baseball.

A Final Word on Interventions

As researchers and practitioners who continue to seek to enhance the quality of youth sport experiences for athletes and coaches, we will do well to recognize that coaching is complex and idiosyncratic. Understanding and intervention need to be done somewhat on an individual basis. As Hellison and Templin (1991) suggested with respect to teachers, some principles hold up in most situations--principles derived from research and theoretical constructs, and a certain level of knowledge about the community, the league, the athletes and oneself. But the application of those principles in a specific setting requires insight, even artistry. So much of good coaching depends on the uniqueness of the coach, the athletes, the setting, and the moment. And as Denzin (1989, p. 105) asserted, *"The perspectives and experiences of those persons who are served by applied programs must be grasped, interpreted, and understood if solid, effective, applied programs are to be put into place."*

Final Remarks - A Personal Comment

It is has been a difficult task for me to draw to a close this project that has been the focus of my academic life for over a year. I was at an impasse as I was trying to finish this final chapter. I was fortunately pulled away from my struggle to attend a technical coaching course. Having sequestered myself for the past few weeks, it was important to be shocked back into the reality of the real world of youth sport coaches. During the eight hour clinic, not a word was spoken about the purpose of youth sport, the responsibilities coaches have to children, or the values that should be promoted through sport experience. Nothing was said to coaches about how they might deal with challenges from athletes, parents, other coaches, leagues, or anything else. Although the coaches were empowered with greater knowledge of their sport and they were given drills that might help them to teach various skills, they were not instructed on how to go about using this knowledge. In the theory courses that complement these technical courses within the NCCP, the coaches will be given information about a number of sport sciences. At no time will this education program challenge coaches to reflect on and to clarify their values.

During all these sessions about various skills, I began to recall how Goodlad (1988) suggested that coaching requires a moral intention to create certain kinds of human beings or else it could be performed by machines. What this coaching education program was doing was helping to make more efficient machines. What I hope this study has demonstrated is that the personal ideologies that individuals bring to their coaching makes them quite different from machines. Efforts need to be focused to prepare coaches with more than knowledge of their sport and sport sciences. Interventions should incorporate personal assessments of ideology. Coaches should also be helped to understand the complexity of their coaching contexts and prepared to deal effectively with some of the challenges that they are bound to face.

As the importance of sport continues to grow in the lives of children and adolescents, and in North American society, we need to continue to examine how involvement in sport influences individuals. Within youth sport, some of our investigations should incorporate consideration of coaches. Part of our analysis should include

their coaching ideologies, how they select goals for athletes and how personal and contextual factors influence whether these goals are enacted. With more comprehension of how contexts affect coaches we will be more prepared to educate and to empower new coaches. With better understandings of youth sport coaches as people, we will be more equipped to help them serve young athletes.

Note 1 - Initially, I planned to rely on personal and professional contacts to find participants for this study. During my dissertation proposal meeting, Dr. Rainer Martens suggested that I go out and watch coaches and select them on the basis of their behavior. I was somewhat doubtful about the willingness of strangers to share their thoughts and give of their time. I was foolishly wrong. Most of the participants were selected from many coaches in a given league or situation after I watched them coach. This decision, I believe, added immeasurably to the quality of this study and I would like to express my appreciation to Rainer for his contribution.

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Appendix A - Chart of Factors of Ideology,
Contextual Factors, and Observed Coaching Behaviors

(Note: All information was presented to the participants in chart form)

"COACHING IDEOLOGY"

I. BELIEFS (e.g.)

A. Competition is good/bad etc.
B. Youth sport as "funnel" or "weed out"
C. Children should be happy
D. Coaches should be positive
E. Children should learn life lessons in sort

II. VALUES

(1) positive biopsychosocial outcomes for children,
(2) reproducing status quo ideals, (3) performance enhancement, (4) affiliation, and (5) a sociopolitical perspective.

Activity 1
Authority 5
Character 2
Club 4
Commitment 1,2,3
Competition 3
Dedication 1,2,3
Democracy 5
Development 1,2,3
Discipline 2,3
Effort 2,3
Enjoyment 1
Equality 5
Excellence 3
Fairness 5
Fitness 1
Fun 1
Health/Safety 1
Independence 1
Learning 1,2,3
Organization 3
Ownership 1
Participation 1
Personal control 5
Positive affect 1
Power/control 5
Praise 1
Pride 1,2,3
Protestant Work Ethic 2,3
Publicity 4
Respect 2
Self-Determination 5
Self-Esteem 1
Skill Development 1,3
Social Development 1,4
Sportsmanship 2
Teaching 1
Team 4
Team Spirit 4
Winning 3
Work 2,3

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

I. Intrapersonal Factors

A. Ability to communicate
B. Ability to teach
C. Ability to control emotions
D. Ability to manage athletes' behavior
E. Ability to organize
F. Experience
G. Knowledge
H. Age
I. Gender
J. Energy
K. Status (pro/amateur)
L. Psychological needs
M. Self-esteem
N. Motivation

II. Responsibilities and Duties

A. Administration
B. Scouting
C. Family

D. Job
E. School

III. Persons in the Environment
A. Administrators
B. Assistant Coaches
C. Athletes
D. Captains
E. Children
F. Co-coaches
G. Fans
H. Head Coaches
I. Managers
J. Officials
K. Opposing coaches
L. Parents
M. Supervisors

IV. Structures
A. Club
B. League
C. Program
D. Team
E. Rules
F. Association

V. Facilities and Resources
A. Cost of playing
B. Equipment
C. Access/availability
D. Fund-raising
E. Location of Parents
F. Location
G. Money

VI. Incentives and Rewards
A. Intrinsic
B. Extrinsic
C. Competitive Outcomes

VII. Time

VIII. Social Context
A. Competitive context
B. Cultural context
C. Social construction of sport

COACHING BEHAVIORS

I. Reactive Behaviors
A. Responses to problems between athletes
1. Mediating between athletes
B. Responses to misbehavior
1. Management/Keeping order
C. Responses to mistakes/less than desired performances
1. Punitive technical instruction
2. Mistake-contingent technical instruction
3. Mistake-contingent encouragement
4. Negative feedback/punishment
D. Responses to injury
1. First aid

E. Responses to desirable performances
    1. Positive reinforcement (general)
    2. Praising effort
    3. Praising ability
    4. Touching
    5. Celebrating
F. Responses to "bad calls"
    1. Complaining/arguing with officials
G. Responses to team play
    1. Evaluation
H. Responses to specified competition and practice performances
    1. Record keeping

II. Spontaneous Behaviors
A. Hustles/Encouragement/Psych-up
B. Technical instruction/demonstration
C. Tactical instruction
D. Precautions for health and safety
E. Tactical direction/strategy advice
F. Technical direction
G. Questioning/seeking information
H. Administrating
I. Communicating with officials, parents, coaches, etc.
J. General communication/giving information
K. Planning
L. Organizing
M. Leading training/practice
N. Directing
O. Giving choices/sharing decisions

Appendix B - Interview Schedule

[Note: the following is a menu of questions that were used during this study. This schedule evolved during pilot interviews and continued to evolve throughout the study. Not all questions were asked of all coaches, nor was the listed order followed in all cases. These questions were used over several interview sessions with each coach. The initial questions served as a "warm-up." Other questions were used differently, depending on what involvement I had with the coach at that time.]

Establishing background, coaching attitudes, objectives, and behaviors:
What is your background as an athlete?
How did you get into coaching?

Do you have team rules?
If so, What are they?
How were they established?

If the athletes on your team were 5 years younger/older would you do anything differently?
(if yes) What?

[High school coaches probably earn about 30¢/hour and youth sport coaches are almost always volunteers, so I imagine you're not in it for the money.] What rewards does coaching offer you?

Is there anything that irritates you when you're coaching?
Some coaches will say that other people (former coaches, parents, athletes) have influenced their coaching. Are there any people who stand out as having influenced your coaching? If so, how?

[If not answered in above]
Is there a particular coach whom you admire?
What do you admire about that person?
Has this person influenced how you coach? How?
Have you tried to emulate him/her in any particular ways?

People talk about all kinds of things that children should get out of youth sports. Realistically, what do you think the kids on your team(s) get out of participating in youth sports?
Is there anything else you'd like to see them get out of it?

Have you had any formal education/training? If so, what?
Do you think it has affected your coaching? How?
Do you have any mottoes that you use in coaching?
Do you have a coaching philosophy? How would you describe it?

ADDITIONAL Qs:
* If you had a sort of magic wand, and you could change youth sport in any way you wanted to, what would you do?
* management/ constraints/ ecology?
* Ball Park - Anything else that I haven't asked about . . .?

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EDUCATIONAL HISTORY:

1993 (Ph.D)	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois Concentration: Sport and Exercise Psychology
1988 (M.A.)	University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa Concentrations: Philosophy and Psychology of Sport
1986 (B.A.)	Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa Major: Philosophy

CERTIFICATIONS:

A. Teaching Certifications

1992 (November)	Ontario Ministry of Education, Primary/Junior
1986 (May)	State of Iowa, Elementary Education

B. Coaching Certifications

1992 (April)	Canadian Coaching Association, NCCP Level I Soccer
1991 (November)	Canadian Coaching Association, NCCP Level II Theory
1988 (August)	The Athletics Congress, Level II Coach - Jumps specialization
1987 (December)	The Athletics Congress, Level I Coach
1986 (May)	State of Iowa, Coaching Certification, K-12

C. Aquatics Certifications

1990 (December)	American Red Cross, Water Safety Instructor
1990 (April)	American Red Cross, Lifeguard Instructor

PROFESSIONAL HISTORY:

Summer 1993 -	**Instructor**, Department of Kinesiology, University of Windsor.
Spring 1993 -	**Fitness Consultant**, Windsor Indoor Racquet and Fitness Centre
Fall 1992 -	**Research Associate**, Department of Kinesiology, University of Windsor
Fall 1991 -	**Assistant Coach and Sport Psychology Consultant**, University of Windsor Soccer.
Fall 1989 - Spring 1991	**Research Assistant**, Department of Kinesiology, University of Illinois. (Dr. Glyn Roberts -psychology & Dr. Inez Rovegno - pedagogy).
Fall 1988 - Spring 1991	**Teaching Assistant**, Department of Kinesiology University of Illinois. Courses: Social Science of Physical Activity; Bowling in Physical Education Activities Program.
1990 - 1991	**Diving Coach**, Central High School, Champaign, Illinois.

1989 - 1990	**Sport Psychology Consultant,** Athletic Association, University of Illinois.
1987 - 1988	**Graduate Assistant Coach,** University of Iowa Track & Field.
1987 - 1988	**Teaching Assistant,** Department of Physical Education and Sport Studies, University of Iowa. Courses: soccer, fitness, and bowling in Physical Education Skills Program.
1981 -	**Youth Sport Coach,** Teaneck, NJ; Grinnell, IA; Iowa City, IA; Champaign, IL. Sports coached: soccer, basketball, track & field.

HONORS:

A. Grants and Scholarships

Travel Grant, Canadian Society for Psychomotor Learning and Sport Psychology, Fall, 1991.

Graduate College Thesis Grant, University of Illinois, Spring, 1991.

Graduate College Conference Travel Support Grant, University of Illinois, Spring, 1991.

Fellowship, Department of Kinesiology, University of Illinois, 1988-1989.

B. Teaching Awards

Chancellor's Award for Teaching, University of Illinois:
Rated Excellent, Spring, 1991; Fall, 1990. Social Science of Physical Activity

Rated Outstanding, Spring 1990. Physical Education Activities Program

Rated Excellent, Fall, 1989; Spring, 1989; Fall, 1988. Physical Education Activities Program

RESEARCH PROGRAM:

A. Research Interests

1. Youth sport: coaching effectiveness and parental influences

2. Pedagogical issues in physical activity

3. Philosophy of science

4. Naturalistic inquiry and qualitative methodology

B. Research Investigations in Progress

1. Implications of a Metaphysics of Quality for social research on physical activity

2. Expert knowledge in elite coaches

SCHOLARLY WORK:

A. Doctoral Dissertation:

Strean, W. B. (1993). Coaching ideology: Contextual factors and implications for practice. University of Illinois, Urbana, IL.

B. Master's Thesis:

Strean, W. B. (1988). A philosophical analysis of the business and educational models of intercollegiate athletics. University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA.

C. Refereed Publications

Strean, W. B., & Roberts, G. C. (1992). Future directions in applied sport psychology research. The Sport Psychologist, 6(1), 55-65.

Strean, W. B. (1987). Confessions of a Freudian's offspring. Current Issues in Psychoanalytic Practice, 4, 39-41.

D. Refereed Papers Presented at Professional Meetings

Strean, W. B., Rodgers, W. M., & Widmeyer, W. N. (1993, June). Fitness class and instructor characteristics associated with participants' enjoyment of fitness classes: Perspectives from instructors and participants. Paper

presented at the North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity, Brainerd, MN.

Strean, W. B., & Treasure, D. (1993, March). Meeting the developmental needs of children and adolescents in physical education and sports: Aims and objectives. Symposium presented at the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance, Washington, DC.

Strean, W. B. (1992, October). New directions for interventions in youth sport: Considering context. Symposium presented at the Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology, Colorado Springs, CO.

Strean, W. B. (1992, October). An exploration of youth sport coaching ideology. Paper presented at the Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology, Colorado Springs, CO.

Strean, W. B. (1992, June). Youth sport coaching ideology: Contextual factors and implications for practice. Paper presented at the North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity, Pittsburgh, PA.

Strean, W. B. (1991, February). The construction of coaching ideology. Paper presented at the Midwest Sport and Exercise Psychology Symposium, Urbana, Illinois.

Strean, W. B. (1990, October). The physically awkward child: Physical competence and children's peer relations. Paper presented at the Canadian Society for Psychomotor Learning and Sport Psychology, Windsor, Ontario.

Strean, W. B. (1990, September). Youth sport parent-coach interactions: An interpretative pilot study. Paper presented at the Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology, San Antonio, TX.

E. Invited Presentations

Strean, W. B., Treasure, D., & Roberts, G. C. (1991, November). Youth sport and values for developing athletes. Paper presented at the Canadian Society for Psychomotor Learning and Sport Psychology, London, Ontario.

Strean, W. B., Levine, H., & Scanlan, T. K. (1991, June). Key issues in qualitative research. Symposium presented at the North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity, Asilomar, California.

Strean, W. B. (1988, March). Introduction to applied sport psychology. Presented to Centerville High School Track & Field Team. Centerville, IA.

F. Invited Lectures

Strean, W. B. (January, 1990 - April, 1991). Invited lectures to undergraduate classes: Social Science of Physical Activity; Introduction to Sport Psychology; Coaching Strategies for Basketball, University of Illinois. Lectures included: Attention and concentration in physical activity; Imagery and performance; Relaxation; Ideology and youth sport; Social reinforcement; Coaching effectiveness: Research findings and implications for practice; Sport and higher education: Business versus educational models; Sport and education: An historical overview and educational attainment of intercollegiate athletes; Aggression in sport; Attributions in sport; Personality theories; Motivational factors in sport.

Strean, W. B. (1990, February - April). Introduction to sport psychology. Invited lectures to undergraduate classes (Introduction To Psychology), University of Illinois.

ATHLETIC EXPERIENCE AND HONORS:

Grinnell College Service Award (1986). First athlete in Grinnell's modern era to earn 12 varsity letters.

Grinnell College Varsity Soccer (1982 - 1985). Midwest Conference Champions (1984); Southern Division Midwest Conference Champions (1983,1984); Leading scorer Midwest Conference (1983).

Grinnell College Varsity Swimming & Diving (1982 - 1986). Midwest Conference Champions (1983 - 1986); All-conference diver (1983 - 1986).

Grinnell College Varsity Track & Field (1983 - 1986). Team captain (1986); All-conference decathlon (1985); All-conference high jump (1985).

ACTIVITIES AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE:

A. Membership in Professional Organizations

American Alliance of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (AAHPERD), 1987 to present.

Association for the Advancement of Applied Sport Psychology (AAASP), 1988 to present.

North American Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity (NASPSPA), 1988 to present.

B. Committee Service

Graduate Student Representative of the Department of Kinesiology Educational Policy Committee, University of Illinois, (Spring 1989-Fall 1990).

Member of College of Applied Life Studies Academic Integrity Committee, University of Illinois, (Fall 1988 to Spring 1992).

Executive Committee Member of the Graduate Student Association in Kinesiology, University of Illinois, (Fall 1988-Spring 1989).

C. Service for Scholarly Journals

Editorial board member for Contemporary Thought in Sport Psychology and Human Performance. (1991 to present).

Guest reviewer for Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology (1990 to present).

D. Other Services

Organized and served as site director for the Midwest Sport and Exercise Psychology Symposium, University of Illinois, (1991, February)

Assisted with organization and presentation of Symposium on Motivation in Exercise and Sport, University of Illinois, (1989, November).

Editor of Newsletter for Graduate Student Association in Kinesiology, University of Illinois. (Fall 1988-Spring 1989).

E. Non-academic interests and pursuits

Film, Isshinryu karate, volunteer for the Canadian Cancer Society.