2019

Factors Influencing Racially Ethnic Minority Youth Participation in Snow Sports

Jennifer N. Whitehead
Walden University

Walden University

College of Education

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Jennifer N. Whitehead

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Dr. Leslie VanGelder, Committee Member, Education Faculty Dr.
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Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

Walden University
2019

Abstract

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MA, The University of Alabama, 2007

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

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Doctor of Philosophy

Education

Walden University

November 2019

Abstract

Low participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports activities may be caused by racism through structural and symbolic factors. The purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences of teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. Using critical race theory as the conceptual framework, a qualitative, phenomenological inquiry was centered on the experiences of racially ethnic minority youth related to potential racism in structural and symbolic factors regarding participating in snow sports activities. Participants were selected by a purposeful, homogenous sampling strategy, and data were collected from semistructured interviews of the 12 participants. Data were analyzed through the use of NVivo12 to search for codes, categories, and themes related to racism and the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. The findings of this study help bring an increased understanding of why there continues to be a lack of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports through themes, such as exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism, which may be useful to schools, resorts, clubs, and similar organizations who educate youth and promote snow sports activities. The results of this study may help bring about positive social change by supporting culturally responsive practices throughout the snow sports industry, which aim to provide fair, equitable, and inclusive opportunities for racially ethnic minority groups to participate in snow sports.

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ProQuest Number: 27665032

ProQuest 27665032

Dedication

To all innocent victims of violence and the dreamers, doers, and champions who work to overcome injustices in our society. This is for you.

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank God for providing me with the strength, courage, and wisdom to relentlessly fulfill my life's purpose. To my parents for their unconditional love and support throughout this entire process and all things in life. To my friends and colleagues, thank you for your constant encouragement and support. you have been an awesome "Krewe" of cheerleaders! To my students, you inspire me daily, and I truly admire your resilience and desire to become your best selves. To my dissertation committee: Chair, Dr. Janet Strickland, and Methodologist, Dr. Leslie VanGelder, thank you for being my "thought partners" and for your guidance throughout this process. To Jennifer Krou and the Walden Academic Skills Center, thank you for being so kind. and for helping me find joy in the midst of perplexity! To the Lorsbach family, I am infinitely grateful that you invited me to Park City, UT where I was first introduced to skiing and snow sports... thank you for a life changing experience! Lastly, to the wonderful staff at Starbucks on Front Street. thank you for the countless caffeinated concoctions that helped fuel the innumerable hours composing this dissertation.

This would have never been possible without each of you!

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

There is low participation among racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports activities (Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council, 2017). Racism through structural and symbolic factors may be the cause (Cooke, Grimwood, & Caton 2016; Harrison, 2013; Thorpe, 2015). Using critical race theory as the conceptual framework, in this study I explored the lived experiences of teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. My inquiry centered on potential racism in structural and symbolic factors related to snow sports activities. The findings of this study help provide an increased understanding of why there is a lack of racially ethnic minority youth involved in snow sports through themes such as exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism, which may be useful to schools, resorts, clubs, and similar organizations who educate youth and promote snow sports activities. Furthermore, the results of this study may bring about social change by supporting culturally responsive practices throughout the snow sports industry, which aim to provide fair, equitable, and inclusive opportunities for racially ethnic minority groups to participate in snow sports.

In this chapter, I provide the background of the literature and problem statement to highlight a lack of racially ethnic minority participants in snow sports activities and why racism may be the cause. Next, the purpose of this study is discussed followed by a

presentation of the research question, conceptual framework, and nature of the study. Finally, definitions, assumptions, scope and delimitations, limitations, and significance of the study are discussed.

Background

Recent research has demonstrated how barriers towards physical activities continue to exist for racially ethnic minority group participants. For example, the Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council (2017) explored how snow sports participants' race, income, and education level influenced participation habits in snow sports activities and highlighted Whites as the highest participating group, while racially ethnic minorities were the least participating group. Likewise, The Outdoor Foundation (2016) reported racially ethnic minorities lagged behind Whites in outdoor activity participation and that U.S. youth had the highest rates in lack of participation due to costs of participation, lack of interest, and lack of time. A racialized activity gap was theorized to be the reason for the lack of racially ethnic minority participants in sports-based activities, in which due to the racialization of sports, non-White youth do not obtain the same health benefits as White youth (Bopp, Turick, Vadeboncoeur, & Aicher, 2017). Floyd and Stodolska (2019) argued for the need to understand factors that affect racially ethnic minority groups in physical activities so that social and health benefits could be addressed, while Koshoedo, Paul-Ebhohimhen, Jepson, and Watson (2015) sought to understand the different types of barriers towards physical activity and racially ethnic minority groups, aiming to address the health and social wellness of participants by combating individual, physical, and environmental barriers. Each of these works relate

to the topic of this study by highlighting the many barriers towards participation that exist in sports-based activities among racially ethnic minority groups.

Just as the previously highlighted research pointed out barriers towards participation in physical activities for racially ethnic minority groups (Bopp et al., 2017; Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Koshoedo et al., 2015; The Outdoor Foundation, 2016; Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council, 2017), this notion was furthered through the theory of racial spatiality (Cooke et al., 2016; Harrison, 2013) and the theory of distinction (Thorpe 2015), which both posited that these barriers exist as racial inequalities within structural and symbolic factors that perpetuate racism, especially in snow sports activities. Specifically, Cooke et al. (2016) and Harrison (2013) illustrated through the theory of racial spatiality that snow sports continue to promote a White-dominated society in a variety of ways, including historical notions, lack of cultural activities and inclusiveness for racially ethnic minorities, as well as biased business tactics, which were each shown to discriminate against racially ethnic minority participants. Similarly, through the theory of distinction, Thorpe (2015) explained how barriers towards participation in snowboarding along with cultural evidence, such as urban, hip hop culture, influenced snowboard participants. Snowboarding was argued to be an elite, middle-class sport although some elements of urban culture existed symbolically through music and styles of dress, which targeted youth participants who were typically White (Thorpe, 2015). The work of Cooke et al., Harrison, and Thorpe relate to the problem statement of this study by highlighting how racism within structural

and symbolic factors may be the primary cause of the lack of racially ethnic minority participants in snow sports activities.

Structural and symbolic factors were found to perpetuate racism in society, which in turn help explain the presence of racism in snow sports activities. From a structural standpoint, Blaisdell (2015) argued racism in schools hindered racially ethnic minority groups' success and claimed that racially ethnic minority groups do not have the same resources as Whites. Similarly, Bloom (2019) pointed out how structural racism is the result of social control over physical activity spaces dating back to the Civil Rights era, while Stodolska and Floyd (2016) noted that White behavior has been the standard to measure social and moral worth, where physical activity spaces are not welcoming, accessible, affordable, safe, or culturally relevant for racially ethnic minority participants.

From a symbolic standpoint, racism was also evident in a variety of factors, including mass media, sports-specific media, social media, and marketing strategies. Mass media, such as television shows, films, and reality television, unfairly characterized racially ethnic minority groups while sports-specific media stereotyped and misrepresented racially ethnic minority participants (Adams-Bass, Stevenson, & Kotzin, 2014; Deeb & Love, 2018; Frazer & Anderson, 2018; Lawrence, 2017; MacArthur, 2014; Towns, 2015). Specifically, Angelini, Billings, and MacArthur (2014) and Lawrence (2017) highlighted how Olympic sports coverage continues to be unfair based on athletes' ethnic background, while Deeb and Love (2018) argued that journalists are responsible for reinforcing negative stereotypes of athletes by reporting biased information based on athletes' race and ethnicity. Similarly, social media was reported to

cause racial divide among the sporting realm through texts, tweets, blogs, memes, and similar applications that negatively portrayed racially ethnic minorities (Dickerson, 2016; Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Goodyear, Armour, & Wood, 2018; McGovern, 2016). Marketing strategies were also revealed to involve symbolic racism, with lifestyle sports identity being marked by symbolic factors, which often promote lifestyle sports through racialized marketing strategies (Atencio, Beal, & Yochim, 2013; Vargas-Barraza, Pelayo-Maciel, & Zepeda-Gutierrez, 2016; Wheaton, 2013; Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018). Each of these works regarding structural and symbolic racism relate to the topic of this study by highlighting how structural and symbolic factors continue to influence society and perpetuate racism in and through sports-related activities.

Importantly, however, culturally responsive practices in lifestyle and sports-based activities were shown to attract and positively affect racially ethnic minority groups. For example, nonprofit and grassroots organizations were shown to increase access for racially ethnic minority participants in lifestyle sports by including socio-cultural factors in their activities (Svensson & Mahoney, 2018; Thorpe, 2016). Cultural responsiveness was also seen in schools where culturally responsive physical education and afterschool programs were implemented that included culturally relevant physical activities and social opportunities (Ruso, Lu, & Francis, 2018; Stodolska & Camarillo, 2018). Lastly, sports-based institutions and similar organizations were shown to include cultural responsiveness by implementing the sport for development and peace model, which focused on sports-based activities, social connections, and leadership style to promote positive social change (Thorpe, 2016; Welty Peachy & Burton, 2017). Each of these

works on cultural responsiveness in lifestyle and sports-based activities relate to the topic of this study by exemplifying how activities can be designed and implemented to be more inclusive and supportive of racially ethnic minority youth participants.

Although some research exists on diversity in snow sports, there is a lack of current data regarding participation among racially ethnic minorities, especially youth. In this study, I sought to provide a better understanding of the current racial landscape of youth snow sports while determining the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. Moreover, I sought to determine if racism plays a role in the continued lack of racially ethnic minority youth participation, which may be helpful to resorts, schools, clubs, and similar organizations that educate youth and promote snow sports activities.

Problem Statement

Racially ethnic minority youth are rarely found among snow sport participants, and this may be caused by racism through structural and symbolic factors (Cooke et al., 2016; Harrison, 2013; Thorpe, 2015). The Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council (2017) claimed that of over 24.7 million winter sports participants in 2016-2017, only 11% were Hispanic participants, 9% were African American, and even less were racially ethnic minority youth. Similarly, The Outdoor Foundation (2016) reported that racial diversity in outdoor activities, such as snow sports, was consistent with previous years where racially ethnic minorities lagged behind in outdoor participation. In general, Whites had the highest participation rates, while African Americans had the lowest (The Outdoor Foundation, 2016). More specifically, The

Outdoor Foundation highlighted that of 142.2 million Americans participating in outdoor activities, 74% were Whites compared with only 9% of African Americans, which clearly demonstrates a lack of racially ethnic minority participation. Cooke et al. (2016), Harrison (2013), and Thorpe (2015) suggested a lack of representation from racially ethnic minority groups in snow sports is due to both structural and symbolic factors that work to secure snow sports social spaces as predominantly White, thereby restricting the participation and representation of racially ethnic minority participants. To understand the depth and source of the problem, it was necessary to determine if and how racial prejudices currently exist within structural factors, such as resort programs, school-based programs, afterschool programs, and club and community-based programs, as well as symbolic factors, such as textbooks, media, Internet, magazines, video games, clothing, films, and music, that are associated with snow sports activities.

The notions of Cooke et al. (2016), Harrison (2013), and Thorpe (2015) concerning racial inequalities in snow sports, along with data from the Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council (2017) and The Outdoor Foundation (2016) suggested that snow sports could be responsible for reinforcing White-dominant culture, resulting in a lack of racially ethnic minority participants on the slopes. Socioeconomic status along with geographic location might be obvious barriers to participation; yet, racism within the snow sports industry could not be ruled out (Cooke et al., 2016; Harrison, 2013; Thorpe, 2015). Although there has been some research on diversity and snow sports, further research into racial inequalities within structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participants was warranted. It was

important to conduct this study to determine if racism is the cause for a lack of

participation among racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports, which may be useful

to resorts, schools, clubs, and similar organizations who wish to implement and

promote snow sports activities.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the lived experiences of

teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches

from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and

symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports.

Structural factors included possible sources of student participation in snow sports, such

as school-based programs, resort ski school programs, afterschool programs, and club

and community-based programs. Symbolic factors included possible sources of exposure

to snow sports, such as textbooks, media, Internet, magazines, video games, clothing,

films, and music. Although some data exist on racial diversity and snow sports, little is

known about how structural and symbolic factors influence racially ethnic minority youth

participation in snow sports. To address this lack of understanding, I employed a

qualitative, phenomenological approach to explore the lived experiences of teachers from

school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from

afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and

symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports.

Individuals who work closely with youth in the snow sports industry were able provide

valuable insight into race-related factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth

participation, which was helpful in explaining the continued lack of racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports.

Research Question

What are the lived experiences of school-based physical education and resort ski school teachers as well as afterschool club and community-based coaches about the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority students in snow sports?

Conceptual Framework

I used critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997) to build upon existing literature from Cooke et al. (2016), Harrison (2013), and Thorpe (2015) who argued racism within structural and symbolic factors related to snow sports activities is likely the cause for lack of racially ethnic minority participation. More specifically, critical race theory guided my exploration of the lived experiences of teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports, which I sought to explain how racism was experienced in snow sports activities. Critical race theory has the ability to provide a critical analysis of race and racism while examining and challenging existing power structures within society (Adams, Rodriguez & Zimmer, 2017; Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Gay, 1994, 2018; Harrison Jr. & Clark, 2016; Hylton, 2010, 2012; Kaschak, 2015; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2016; McFeeters, 2019; Woodley, Hernandez, Parra, & Negash, 2017). The three key

components of the critical race theory framework that were incorporated within this study were racism, experience, and colorblindness. Hylton (2012) argued that critical race theory is an empowering framework that "involves a measure of commitment to social justice and social change, and recognition that 'race' and racism are central factors in the social order" (p. 4).

Nature of the Study

The nature of this study was a qualitative, phenomenological approach. The goal of qualitative phenomenological research is to describe a lived experience of a phenomenon, and by conducting this study using a phenomenological approach, I focused on collecting data that provided meaning to each participant's lived experiences. According to Creswell (1998), phenomenology is a recommended methodology when the study goals are to understand the meanings of human experiences where "researchers search for essentials, invariant structure (or essence) or the central underlying meaning of the experience and emphasize the intentionality of consciousness where experiences contain both the outward appearance and inward consciousness based on memory, image and meaning" (p. 52). Similarly, Patton (1990) argued that the focus of a phenomenological study lies in the descriptions of what people experience and how they experience events and activities. Specifically, by using the phenomenological approach, I sought to describe the lived experiences of school-based teachers and resort ski school teachers as well as afterschool club and community-based coaches who experienced a lack of racially ethnic minority youth participation through their work in youth snow sports activities. By working closely with the snow sports industry, school-based teachers

and resort ski school teachers as well as afterschool club and community-based coaches were able to provide vital information centered on racial inequalities that exist within structural factors, including resorts, schools, clubs, and community-based organizations, as well as symbolic factors, such as textbooks, media, Internet, magazines, video games, clothing, films, and music, that influence youth participation in snow sports activities. Ultimately, the qualitative phenomenological approach assisted in providing greater insight into the phenomenon of a lack of racial diversity in youth snow sports, which may be helpful to those who instruct, facilitate, organize, and promote snow sports activities.

Definitions

Critical race theory: A body of scholarship rooted in radical activism that seeks to investigate and confront the prevalence of racial inequality in society, which is based on the understanding that race and racism are products of social thought and power relations where structures and assumptions involving racial inequalities appear normal in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997).

Racial spatiality: Institutionalized spaces are considered White spaces within a racialized social system that serves to reassure Whites of their dominant position in society (Embrick, Weffer, & Dominguez, 2019).

Structural racism: A confluence of institutions, culture, history, ideology, and codified practices that generate and perpetuate inequity among racial and ethnic groups (Pan American Health Organization, 2017).

Symbolic racism: A sophisticated and coherent belief system that consists of a blend of prejudice towards Black people in the United States (Lajvevardi & Oskooii, 2018).

Theory of distinction: The intersectionality of sport and social class, which supports the idea that sporting practice is structured by its relational position within the sporting realm through Bourdieu's ideals of class, habitus, and lifestyle (Stempel, 2018).

Assumptions

The first assumption I made in this study was that the interview questions posed to the participants would sufficiently garner the appropriate information. Next, drawing from Wargo (2015), I assumed: (a) the participants would answer the interview questions in an honest and candid manner, (b) the inclusion criteria of the sample were appropriate and, therefore, assured that the participants had all experienced the same or similar phenomenon of the study, and (c) participants had a sincere interest in participating in the research and did not have any other motives. These assumptions were justified by following proper sampling and data collection processes, which also ensured that each participant's personal information and their responses were kept confidential and destroyed according to the data collection plan. According to Simon and Goes (2013), keeping the research data and participant information confidential was shown to be an effective research procedure that encouraged participants to answer research questions truthfully, and in turn, allowed the researcher to properly answer the research question.

Scope and Delimitations

In this study, I selected participants who had experience working with youth in the snow sports industry through school-based programs, resort ski school programs, and/or afterschool club and community-based organizations to examine their lived experiences regarding a lack of racially ethnic minority participation within these structural entities along with the symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation. I did not consider other snow sports activities or lifestyle sports other than downhill skiing and snowboarding in this study. It is possible, based on the results of this study, that further investigation could be continued in a wider range of outdoor, lifestyle, and adventure-based sports.

Limitations

The limitations of this study included participant trustworthiness and researcher credibility. I interpreted data and used phenomenological reduction since phenomenology describes, rather than explains, the experiences from the perspectives of participants. This method did not allow for perceived notions about data collected, so I had to make sure to interpret data based on the purpose of the study. I addressed any biases by implementing bracketing through memos, along with the use of audit trails, where I recorded thoughts related to the entire research study process, including my personal values and interests. I also protected against biases through member checks and by checking and rechecking data, which demonstrated the findings were the experiences and ideas of the participants rather than my preferences. Other possible limitations included the time-consuming

processes of data collection and labor-intensive data analysis, so I was certain to follow proper data collection and data analysis protocols as recommended by Adu (2013, 2016).

Significance

Although researchers in snow sports have studied diversity regarding gender equality and snow sports culture (Thorpe, 2015), there is less extant data about racial diversity in the snow sports industry. The results of this study helped build an understanding of the continued lack of racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports activities and the race-related factors that exist by considering the lived experiences of school-based teachers and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches of the structural and symbolic influences on racially ethnic minority youth participation. Investigations into racial injustices that exist among educational and community-based programs as well as the symbolic factors that target youth participants may bring social change by exposing racist tactics within the snow sports industry and addressing racial inequalities through culturally responsive practices. Ultimately, with this study, I aimed to provide a better understanding of the current racial landscape of the snow sports industry while seeking ways to better support the recruitment and retention of racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports activities.

Summary

In this chapter, I described the background, problem statement, purpose of the study, research question, conceptual framework, and the nature of the study as well as provided the definitions, assumptions, scope and delimitations, limitations, and

significance of the study. In this qualitative, phenomenological study, I explored the lived experiences of teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. Describing the participants' lived experiences helped bring meaning and deeper understanding of the phenomenon of a lack of racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports activities. Using critical race theory, I examined racism within structural and symbolic factors through semistructured interviews with school-based teachers and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches who had experience working with youth in the snow sports industry. Data were transcribed using NVivo Transcription and analyzed using NVivo12 to search for codes, categories, and themes related to the study topic. The results of this study help bring an increased understanding of why there continues to be a lack of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports through themes, such as exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism, which may be useful to resorts, schools, clubs, and similar organizations who educate youth and promote snow sports activities. Furthermore, the findings of this study may bring about social change by supporting culturally responsive practices throughout the snow sports industry, which aim to provide fair, equitable, and inclusive opportunities for racially ethnic minority groups to participate in snow sports.

In Chapter 2, I discuss literature related to the study topic and provide a detailed overview of critical race theory and how it is used in research to expose and eradicate racism in sports and educational institutions. A detailed account is given of barriers

towards physical activities for racially ethnic minority participants and why racism may

be responsible for a lack of participation in snow sports activities. Finally, I highlight

how culturally responsive practices in lifestyle and sports-based activities can

positively influence racially ethnic minority participants through culturally relevant

activities and social inclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

There is low participation among racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports activities (Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council, 2017). Racism through structural and symbolic factors may be the cause (Cooke et al., 2016; Harrison, 2013; Thorpe, 2015). In this chapter, I provide a review of the literature pertaining to the study topic and explain the conceptual framework. Specifically, I first discuss the theoretical framework, critical race theory, and its use in examining injustices in society, sports, and educational settings. Then, the barriers regarding physical activity for racially ethnic minorities as well as how structural and symbolic factors influence participatory behaviors among these groups, especially in snow sports activities, are discussed. Lastly, I present research on how cultural responsiveness in lifestyle sports and recreation-based activities can positively influence participation among racially ethnic minority youth.

Literature Search Strategy

In order to locate extant literature relevant to the topic, I accessed a variety of databases through the Walden University Library, including Academic Search Complete, Communications and Mass Media Complete, EBSCO, Education Research Complete, Education Source, Educational Resource Informational Center, Hospitality and Tourism Complete, Kids Count Data Center, ProQuest Central, SAGE Journals Online, ScienceDirect, Taylor and Francis Online, Thoreau Mulit-Database Search, and UNESCO Documents Database. I used the following key terms to guide my

search: *adventure-based activities, nature-based activity trends, racism in youth sports, lifestyle sporting trends, critical race theory and sports, barriers towards sports participation, structural racism, symbolic racism, lifestyle sports and media tourism,* and *culturally responsive teaching*. The majority of the research I reviewed was published between 2015 and 2018; however, I included some older references to present findings that were seminal and particularly relevant to the field of study. The area of study, which pertains to the structural and symbolic factors that influence snow sports participation among racially ethnic minority youth, has had limited research conducted in it and is greatly in need of further research given the continuous nature of the problem.

Conceptual Framework

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory is defined as a body of scholarship rooted in radical activism that seeks to investigate and confront the prevalence of racial inequality in society and is based on the understanding that race and racism are products of social thought and power relations, where structures and assumptions involving racial inequalities appear normal in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). Non-White status in the United States has often been considered othered, which has led to the United States becoming an inherently White culture that continues to limit the lives of racially ethnic minority individuals (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). As a result, race and Whiteness have been shown to encompass structural barriers, which has led to the idea of Whiteness having social, economic, and political significance (Kaschak, 2015; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2016). To this end, the social construction of

Whiteness has been characterized as hierarchical relations where social

interaction and organization vary among groups according to race and ethnicity.

Specifically, Kaschak (2015) and Dixon and Telles (2017) argued that social

hierarchy continues to exist based on skin color, where lighter-skinned people are

deemed better or above darker-skinned people, which has resulted in stereotypical

racial norms. To counteract the negative effects of Whiteness, the critical race theory

movement enlisted activists and scholars who sought to transform the relationship

among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). For this reason,

critical race theory also shares sympathetic understandings of the notions of group

empowerment, which makes it an ideal tool used to investigate racism in a variety of

settings, including those found in schools, community-based organizations, and

sports-based institutions.

Four tenets of critical race theory were shown to be the foundation to help explain

and overcome racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). The first tenet, ordinariness, asserts

the notion that racism is so commonplace that it becomes normalized in society

(Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). The second tenet, interest convergence, or material

determinism, refers to the continuance of racism because it advances the privileges of

being White and notes that those in power maintain the system of racism because they

have no material reason to change it (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). Third,

intersectionality, involves the different ways that dominant society racializes various

racially ethnic minority groups at different times in response to shifting needs (Delgado

& Stefancic, 1997). The last tenet, the voice-of-color thesis, operates because of

individuals' past experiences with oppression, where racially ethnic minorities can communicate to Whites what they may not know (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997).

Critical Race Theory in Sports

With the many racial issues seen in both past and present sporting arenas, critical race theory has been implemented as a methodology for researching and explaining injustices in sports-related scholarship. While some researchers have suggested sport is one area of society that does not need a critical race critique due to popular views of equality and inclusion, it has been argued that a critical race agenda would seek to challenge such views since racism continues to exist in all levels of sports (Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Hylton, 2010). Cultural differences were shown to reinforce distractions among varying groups, which often led to subtle or unnoticed racism in sports; yet, Hylton (2010) argued that critical race theory could address these issues through: (a) centralizing race and racism, (b) challenging convention and colorblindness, (c) social justice, (d) centralizing marginal voices, and (e) transdisciplinarity.

Moreover, Hylton (2012) pointed out the continued absence of African Americans in sport literature, while Floyd and Stodolska (2019) argued that leisure spaces and institutions continue to perpetuate racism through historical and environmental influences. Each of these notions led Hylton and Floyd and Stodolska to suggest critical race theory can be implemented as a framework to explore and examine disadvantages, privilege, and racism in society. Furthermore, Hylton and Floyd and Stodolska concluded that a critical race theory viewpoint allows

researchers to get a better understanding of the key components involved in the organization of sports, which is vital when racism is the ultimate target.

Critical Race Theory in Educational Institutions

Similar to its use in sports-based settings, critical race theory has also been demonstrated as an effective tool at examining racism in educational institutions. Adams et al. (2017) argued that the "opportunity gap" (p. xii) in schools continues to keep diverse students from learning equally, while Harrison Jr. and Clark (2016) argued that U.S. education systems have not provided equal education opportunities for all people, stressing the importance of focusing on social justice and promoting diversity through state and national standards. By implementing a critical race theory framework, Harrison Jr. and Clark and Floyd and Stodolska (2019) claimed that critical race theory can help explain race and its function in society as it pertains to education, social justice, and oppression.

Specifically, Floyd and Stodolska (2019) and Harrison Jr. and Clark (2016) argued the need to explore Whiteness in critical race theory by examining identity, privilege, power, and status as it relates to educational settings. Importantly, Harrison Jr. and Clark noted that White is not defined by natural characteristics but rather by the exclusion of who is not White, which emphasized how current changes in demographics that are currently taking place in our nation are one of the driving forces for social justice in all areas of education, including physical education and sports-based settings. From this premise, Floyd and Stodolska and Harrison Jr. and Clark advocated for more diversity and culturally responsive

teaching practices to empower students socially, emotionally, politically, physically, and intellectually.

Critical Race Theory and Culturally Responsive Teaching

A common theme found among the research regarding critical race theory is the use of culturally responsive practices, which were shown to enhance the learning outcomes of participants, especially racially ethnic minorities and those who participated through cultural-based programs. Participation in learning activities involving cultural components increased student participation habits along with their social and emotional abilities (Gay, 2018). Including cultural components in learning is what Gay (1994, 2018) described as culturally responsive teaching strategies, the use of which seeks to educate students as well as address racism in schools and throughout the broader society.

Culturally responsive teaching practices combine cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning more relevant and effective (Gay, 1994). More specifically, Gay (2018) continued to argue significant changes are needed in how racially ethnic minorities are taught in schools, where reforms are needed that focus on: (a) developing a culturally diverse knowledge base, (b) designing culturally relevant curricula, (c) demonstrating cultural caring and building a learning community, (d) building effective cross-cultural communications, and (e) delivering culturally responsive instruction. Gay highlighted how the achievement of students of color continues to be disproportionately

low and argued extensively for instructional interventions using cultural

heritages, orientations, and the resources of racially ethnic diverse students.

Pedagogy in Culturally Responsive Teaching

From Gay's (1994) concepts of culturally responsive teaching, Woodley et al.

(2017) and McFeeters (2019) implemented several strategies within pedagogical

practices in an effort to deliver appropriate instruction in the multicultural classroom.

Factors including the role of the teacher, communication in the classroom, textbooks and

classroom materials, as well as ethnic-centered programs and media each played a

significant role in appropriately educating students of color (Gay, 2018). While the

teacher's role involved becoming cultural organizers, cultural mediators, and

orchestrators of social contexts for learning (Gay, 2018), socialization and

communication in the classroom were shown to be vital to students' success (McFeeters,

2019). For example, social and collaborative activities were conducted that allowed

students to study different cultural groups (McFeeters, 2019; Woodley et al., 2017),

while English Plus combined academic English with native languages of ethnic students

to help support dual language learning (Gay, 2018).

Textbooks were also shown to play a major role in curriculum content of the

culturally responsive classroom, where the quality of textbooks was highlighted as an

important factor in student achievement (Gay, 2018). Quality textbooks were thought to

be a meaningful and relevant part of curriculum through their inclusion of histories,

cultures, contributions, experiences, perspectives, and issues of respective ethnic groups

(Gay, 2018). Moreover, Gay (2018) claimed mass media were vital and powerful

sources of curriculum content in culturally responsive teaching. Although ethnic and immigrant groups are often misrepresented in mass media, Gay found that reflected images that are accurate of people's true cultural heritages can generate positive academic, personal, social, and professional achievement. It was further argued that knowledge must be accessible to students and connected to their lives and experiences, which specifically emphasized the importance of validating students preexisting knowledge with relevant knowledge in relation to classroom materials (Woodley et al., 2017). The central feature in culturally responsive teaching is eliminating racial biases, whereby classroom materials were argued to have a powerful influence on learning that was considered to be critical in developing proper depictions, views, and values of different ethnic groups (Gay, 2018; McFeeters, 2019; Woodley et al., 2017).

Summary of Critical Race Theory Framework

Critical race theory is related to examining racism in structural and symbolic factors in youth snow sports activities by providing a framework that aims to describe and give meaning to the lived experiences of participants regarding the continued lack of racially ethnic minority youth participants. As conveyed by Delgado and Stefancic (1997), critical race theory, through its tenets, seeks to explain and overcome racism through constructs, including centralizing race and racism, challenging colorblindness, and centralizing marginal voices, and aims to challenge social order in educational institutions and sports-based organizations. Furthermore, critical race theory is strongly rooted in social justice, which operates to overcome oppression in society and has been proven to be a trusted theory in examining educational and sports-related scholarship

(Harrison Jr. & Clark, 2016; Hylton, 2010, 2012). Ultimately, critical race theory was established as a means to help promote a more just society through culturally responsive practices (Gay, 2018; McFeeters, 2019; Woodley et al., 2017), which like my goal for this study, aimed to be inclusive of all members by examining the current relationship between identity, power, privilege, and status in educational and sports-based settings.

Literature Review Related to Key Variables and/or Concepts

Barriers to Sports and Physical Activities for Racially Ethnic Minority Groups

Throughout U.S. history, racially ethnic minority groups have faced barriers to sport and physical activity participation for decades. Although the United States is more racially and ethnically diverse than in the past (Chon & Caumont, 2016), racially ethnic minority groups are still facing barriers to participation in physical activities. Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council (2017) displayed how snow sports participants' race, income, and education level influenced participation habits in snow sports activities, which highlighted Whites as the highest participating group, while racially ethnic minorities were the least participating group. Likewise, The Outdoor Foundation (2016) reported racially ethnic minorities lagged behind Whites in outdoor activity participation and reported racially ethnic youth as having the highest rates in lack of participation due to costs of participation, lack of interest, and lack of time. It was reported that sport has become so racialized that racially ethnic minority youth do not obtain the same health and academic benefits of participation compared to their White counterparts (Bopp et al., 2017), as such, researchers have proposed the need to

understand the factors that affect racially ethnic minority groups so that social and health concerns can be addressed (Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Koshoedo, et al., 2015).

Barriers towards participation were shown to exist in sports and physical activities due to an activity gap that is present among different racial and socioeconomic groups (Bopp et al., 2017). Racially ethnic participants described feeling unwelcomed in certain spaces, while access and socialization were major factors in participatory behaviors among racially ethnic minority groups (Bopp et al., 2017). Moreover, it was reported how participation in physical activities among racially ethnic minorities was influenced by four main concepts including: (a) perceptions (i.e., activities not part of racially ethnic minority ethnic culture, no role models); (b) cultural expectations (i.e., style, dress, environmental concerns, household chores); (c) personal barriers (i.e., social and work commitments, lack of social networks); and (d) limited access to facilities (i.e., climate, distance, lack of information, costs of participation), which demonstrate how physical behavior among racially ethnic minority groups existed at individual, physical, environmental, and organizational levels (Koshoedo et al., 2015).

The Theory of Racial Spatiality and The Theory of Distinction: How Structural and Symbolic Factors Influence Snow Sports Participation

The theory of racial spatiality and the theory of distinction were applied to sports-based research to help understand the continuation of racial inequality in lifestyle sports (Radice, 2019; Stempel, 2018). The theory of racial spatiality supports the notion that institutionalized spaces are considered White spaces within a racialized social system that serves to reassure Whites of their dominant position in society (Embrick et al.,

2019). The theory of distinction involves the intersectionality of sport and social class, which supports the idea that sporting practice is structured by its relational position within the sporting realm through Bourdieu's ideals of class, habitus, and lifestyle (Stempel, 2018). It is important to note that cultural experiences and social connections were shown to be key factors in the spatial analysis of lifestyle sports and leisure activities, which further highlights the significance of structural and symbolic influences on lifestyle sports participants.

Historically, like other lifestyle sports, winter sports have been targeted to White upper middle-class citizens, yet snow sports, such as skiing and snowboarding, have been labeled as the Whitest and least integrated sports in America (Cooke et al., 2016). Geographic spaces, such as those in mountainous regions that involve skiing and snowboarding, are often defined by Whiteness (Cooke et al., 2016), which is regulated by cultural recreation preferences and economic factors. Through the theory of racial spatiality, researchers (Cooke et al., 2016; Harrison, 2013) examined how structural and symbolic factors combine to provide racialized discourses of belonging and exclusion in lifestyle sports, which illustrated how processes of racism work to secure snow sports spaces as predominantly White. Through this premise, several factors were highlighted that were associated with reinforcing racial spatiality in downhill skiing, which included: (a) costs of participation, (b) culturally-based recreational preferences, (c) setting, (d) geography, (e) tourism, (f) history, and (g) social codes and behaviors (Cooke et al., 2016; Harrison, 2013).

Similarly, through the theory of distinction, Thorpe (2015) illustrated how barriers to participation in snowboarding, along with symbolic and cultural elements, influenced snowboarding participants. Drawing from the ideas of Bourdieu, Thorpe revealed how snowboarding's social spaces are characterized by different lifestyles that involve concepts of habitus, capital, field, and class. Like Stempel (2018) pointed out, the ideals of habitus, capital, field, and class were shown to contain many different styles and cultures, along with economic and social power, in which Thorpe argued, strongly influenced involvement among snowboarding participants.

The theory of racial spatiality along with the theory of distinction, help explain how structural and symbolic factors influence participation in snow sports activities. These theories assist in understanding how racism within structural and symbolic factors is constructed, which highlight how racism plays a role in the lack of racially ethnic minorities in snow sports activities. Each of these notions align with researchers (Adams-Bass et al., 2014; Angelini et al., 2014; Atencio et al., 2013; Blaisdell, 2015; Bloom, 2019; Deeb & Love, 2018; Dickerson, 2016; Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Frazer & Anderson, 2018; Lawrence, 2017; McGovern, 2016; Rannikko, Harinen, Torvinen, & Liikanen, 2016; Stodolska & Floyd, 2016; Thorpe, 2016; Towns, 2015; Vargas-Barraza et al., 2016; Wheaton, 2013; Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018) who explained how structural and symbolic racism negatively affects lifestyle sports and recreation participation, especially among racially ethnic minority participants.

Structural and Symbolic Racism

The barriers presented above have been described as a confluence of structural and symbolic factors that influences sport participation. These factors were believed to involve racist practices, both intended and not, which deter racially ethnic minorities from participating in certain physical activities. The Pan American Health Organization (2017) described structural racism as a convergence of institutions, culture, history, ideology, and practices that generate and perpetuate inequality among racial groups, while symbolic racism was defined as a sophisticated and coherent belief system that consists of an assortment prejudice towards Black people in the United States (Lajvevardi & Oskooii, 2018). Both structural and symbolic racism have been shown to operate within schools as well as sports and recreation-based settings, which have been reported to negatively affect racially ethnic minority participation in sports and recreation-type activities.

Structural racism: Schools, sports, and recreation. Schools, along with sports and recreation-based organizations, have been reported as structural institutions where racism continues to exist (Blaisdell, 2015; Bloom, 2019; Stodolska & Floyd, 2016). Blaisdell (2015) pointed out that structural racism exists within schools where the effects of poverty and access to sufficient resources hinder the success of racially ethnic minority students. Whites were shown to have more opportunities and resources than other races, which is the result of both historical and ongoing social and political policies rooted in White supremacy (Blaisdell, 2015). Similarly, Stodolska and Floyd (2016) and Bloom (2019), highlighted how many park and recreation service leaders use physical spaces as

a form of social control, where activities are more aligned with the values of White

patrons. Structural policies are based on how Whiteness functions as a form of property,

which operates as the standard used to label social worth. White people, their behavior

and institutions are viewed as positive and the standard for evaluating good morals, yet

racially ethnic minorities and their behavior are regarded with suspicion, leading to

stereotyping and a negative public image of racially ethnic minority groups (Stodolska &

Floyd, 2016).

  It has been well documented in the sports and recreation industry how structural

factors have perpetuated racism, especially with regard to access and opportunity.

Access to physically active spaces was banned for racially ethnic minorities before the

Civil Rights Movement (Bloom, 2019), and like Stodolska and Floyd (2016) pointed out,

lifestyle sports and recreation spaces are being used to create, perpetuate, and reinforce

racism through inequalities involving services that are not assessable, affordable,

welcoming, safe, or culturally relevant for racially ethnic minority participants.

Specifically, access and opportunity were highlighted in how racially ethnic minorities

are less likely than Whites to live in communities and neighborhoods with sports and

recreation amenities, where many racially ethnic minority groups simply cannot afford to

participate in public park and recreation programs. Racially ethnic minorities were also

barred from accessing private facilities (i.e., swimming pools) and programs (i.e., clubs

sports and select teams) via eligibility requirements and steep program costs (Stodolska

& Floyd, 2016). Moreover, a less obvious form of structural inequality revealed that

organizations used loyalty programs towards their customers, which helped fund and

support programs that were usually funded by wealthy White patrons. This resulted in programs giving primacy to those historically associated with certain programs, which supported more White-related interests, thus, deemphasizing concern over social equity and inclusion in recreation-based activities (Stodolska & Floyd, 2016).

Symbolic racism. While it was illustrated above how structural factors perpetuate White-dominate culture (Blaisdell, 2015; Bloom, 2019; Stodolska & Floyd, 2016), research also highlighted how various symbolic factors contribute to racial inequalities within society, where symbolic racism, like structural racism, operates in various forms. Rannikko et al. (2016) argued that media reinforce origin's, traditions, and symbols of lifestyle sports, while researchers Deeb and Love (2018) and Frazer and Anderson (2018) applied the notion of racialized media to explain how media often creates and recreates stereotypes about various racial groups. Mediated racism was displayed in many forms, including images, music, magazines, fashion, and film via mass media, sports-specific media, social media, and marketing, which contributed to how society created meaning of lifestyle sports participants and activities.

Mass media. Researchers have depicted mass media as a major source of continued racism in the United States. For example, Frazer and Anderson's (2018) work revealed how race is often unfairly represented by mass media, while Towns (2015) illustrated how medium form, such as music lyrics, movies and videos are important to the formation and structure of racial representations. Mediums such as television shows, music lyrics, blockbuster films, and reality TV shows, were shown to misrepresent Blacks as violent, over-sexual and misogynists, and it was argued that the type of media

influences conceptions of Blackness, where Blacks and Whites are antagonistic to one another because of the constant and ongoing fight over ownership of space (Towns, 2015). Similarly, Adams-Bass et al.'s (2014) work paid special attention to how the measures of racial socialization, racial identity, Black history knowledge, body image, and self-esteem determine how Black young people interpret associated messages. Black characters were often reflected through negative stereotypical images on primetime television, which was specifically targeted to Black audiences (Adams-Bass et al., 2014). The problem with such a high volume of negative images, according to Adams-Bass et al. is that Black youth may receive negative stereotypical images of Black people as valid, which may negatively affect their identity and self-esteem. Researchers (Adams-Bass et al., 2014; Frazer & Anderson, 2018; Towns, 2015) concluded, the media industry is a key element in American society where racial biases are continuing to be produced and reinforced.

　　Sports-specific media. There is possibly no bigger arena today for racially ethnic minority groups than sport and recreation participation. Researchers have pointed specifically to how media misrepresents racially ethnic minority populations in the sporting arena through symbolically charged agendas (Angelini et al., 2014; Deeb & Love, 2018; Lawrence, 2017). Rannikko et al. (2016) reported that lifestyle sports are created and maintained through global youth cultural representations, which are disseminated by various media outlets. Misrepresentation, along with a lack of representation, were thought to perpetuate racism in society, as the images, messages, and lack of representation were considered to be part of a wider societal problem.

Sports journalists were discovered to be responsible for perpetuating certain racialized sport stereotypes when covering multiracial athletes. Findings indicated journalists discussed multiracial athletes in terms of explaining multiracial identities, identifying their "other" status, questioning and challenging racial lines, and emphasizing their physical abilities (Deeb & Love, 2018, p. 110). Similarly, Angelini et al. (2014) as well as Lawrence (2017) explained how racism continues to be perpetuated through media with regard to Olympic sports coverage. Angelini et al.'s analysis of the London Olympic broadcast showed athletes from different racially ethnic backgrounds (White, Black, Latino, Asian, Middle Eastern) depicted significantly different regarding discussions of athletes' success and failures, athletic strength, athletic ability, experience, and intelligence. It was further noted by Angelini et al. that White athletes received the majority of mentions in the broadcasts in beach volleyball and swimming, while Black athletes had the majority of mentions in track and field, followed by less than 3% of Latino/Hispanic, Asian, and Middle Eastern/Other. One major finding from Angelini et al. illustrated how Asian-dominated sports did not air during primetime, however, White-dominated sports did, resulting in underrepresentation of Asian success, while inflating White athletic achievement. Likewise, Lawrence highlighted how racially-symbolic and socioeconomic biases existed in Olympic sports coverage, which favored White athletes in Winter sports over athletes in Summer sports.

Furthermore, Lawrence pointed out how race (White) and wealth were more prevalent among Winter sports athletes, which revealed how athletes had more opportunity and access to the sports through private education and income. Angelini et

al., Deeb and Love (2018), Lawrence, and Rannikko et al. (2016) concluded that the

racial incidents portrayed by the media serve as a reminder that race remains an

important issue where sports and society have not entered a post-racial period.

  Social media. Researchers have also pointed out how social media influences

sports and health-related activities, which was found to be a source of symbolic racism in

society. Goodyear et al. (2018) argued that social media offers exceptional opportunities

to inform young people's learning about their health, yet a significant amount of

unsolicited and unregulated information on social media reaches young people, which

impacts negatively on their health and wellbeing (p. 3). Social media sites were thought

to tailor what young people see based on the images they follow, post or like, previous

videos watched, commercial advertisement, cookies, and/or topics the site or device

considers that young people will enjoy (Goodyear et al., 2018, p. 6). Floyd and Stodolska

(2019) claimed, leisure and technology spaces are becoming racialized through various

social media outlets as well as through text messages and tweeting, where participants

and fans are partaking in a variety of inappropriate racial dialogue. Online blogging was

also revealed to perpetuate racism, where hostile sports fans were criticized for not

encouraging social solidarity through their virtual communication (McGovern, 2016).

Furthermore, Dickerson (2016) asserted that sports fans and the broader society were

responsible for creating racially mediated images of Black and White athletes in

cyberspace, which celebrated White masculinity, while constructing negative images of

African American athletes through selfish and individualistic ideals.

Marketing. One of the major influences of leisure and recreation participation is symbolic marketing and its incorporation with economics, cultural, and physical spaces (Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018). The use of racial spatiality in lifestyle sports (Wheaton, 2013), acknowledged that social classes are symbolically racialized through participation in lifestyle sporting activities, which supports the idea that "space is not just a physical and geographical phenomenon, but is socially created and sustained, reflecting the interests of dominate groups, and is central in the making and re-making of meanings and identities" (p. 57). For example, surfing and skateboarding were theorized to have become White-dominated sports through media's excessive coverage of blonde athletes as well as through colonial imagery reproduced in films and magazines (Wheaton, 2013; Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018). These portrayals included historical accounts of events such as the Jim Crow era, which supported and reinforced segregated spaces for Whites and Blacks, just as Harrison (2013) and Bloom (2019) pointed out.

Lifestyle sports marketing was also shown to influence consumers by way of racialized symbols, including those seen within media, music, fashion, and similar outlets. Thorpe (2016) highlighted how structural changes in actions sports is due to recent globalization and cultural dynamics, which involves an influx of mass media, corporate sponsorships, mega events, and core participant involvement. While Thorpe pointed out various sources of media, including books, films, and magazines, it was also echoed that digital media, especially social media, were responsible for the symbolic commercialization of action sports.

Racialized marketing was also evident through lifestyle sports studies, which revealed that skateboarding is considered White middle-class suburban activity as a result of socialization and institutionalization through mediated racial discourse (Atencio et al., 2013; Vargas-Barraza, et al., 2016). Vargas-Barraza et al. (2016) highlighted how skateboarding culture is often swayed by familiar artists and participants, which influence marketing efforts by creating authentic images that consumers identify with. More specifically, the marketing campaign "Skurban", which stands for skateboarding and urban (Atencio et al., 2013), demonstrated how mediated events involving a corporate-produced marketing strategy aimed at disrupting the mainstream image of skateboarding by using racially ethnic minorities as commodifiable images to expand their consumer base.

Remarkably, Vargas-Barraza et al. (2016) revealed big brands, like Nike and Vans sought to portray the urban image of skateboarding to consumers to help sell skateboarding shoes, while Atencio et al. (2013) highlighted how companies continued to promote an economically-disadvantaged look through skateboarding fashion to help boost sales based on urban eroticism. While the Skurban marketing campaign implemented popular hip-hop MC's, equipment from Reeboks Dirty Ghetto Kids-DGK, and clothing lines from popular brands, Atencio et al. argued, like Vargas-Barraza et al., that these companies were still mostly targeting White participants for their money. Importantly, however, while the skateboarding marketing campaigns led to more subcultures getting involved in the sport, they also raised concerns related to the dangers of racialized and commodifiable marketing (Atencio et al., 2013; Vargas-

Barraza et al., 2016). Both of these examples bring to light how participants create social identities in lifestyle sports through symbolic influences, which often involve racialized and unscrupulous marketing strategies.

Cultural Responsiveness in Lifestyle and Sports-based Activities

While research demonstrated how barriers towards participation in lifestyle and sports-based activities currently exist among racially ethnic minority groups, data also supports the notion that culturally responsive sports-based programs could help promote and encourage participatory behaviors among racially ethnic minority youth. Furthermore, culturally responsive sports-based programs were proven to promote positive change by helping to eliminate racism within society by using sport as a vehicle to discuss racism, prejudice, diversity, and inclusivity among stakeholders (Intosh & Martin, 2018). Researchers (Intosh & Martin, 2018; King & Church, 2015; Ruso et al., 2018; Stodolska & Camarillo, 2018; Svensson & Mahoney, 2018; Thorpe, 2016; Welty Peachy & Burton, 2017) recognized the increasingly significant role that lifestyle sports and leisure play in the construction of identity, citizenship, health, and the economy, and argued that racially ethnic minorities as well as society could benefit from culturally-based sports programs, which were found within nonprofit and grassroots organizations, schools, and similar sports-based organizations.

First, nonprofit and grassroots organizations were key in supporting culturally-responsiveness through sports-based initiatives. Thorpe (2016) claimed, lifestyle sports have typically been the domain of privileged, White, narcissistic youth, yet, many nonprofit organizations and movements have been recently established that focus on

social and cultural factors to help attract racially ethnic minority participants. For example, several nonprofit sports organizations were shown to implement an array of innovations including social transformations and process-related improvements to effectively promote social change through sports-based initiatives (Svensson & Mahoney, 2018). Likewise, Thorpe revealed that nonprofit and grassroots organizations sought to include technology, creativeness, and social inclusion within action-sports programs, which were reported to be detrimental in bringing about positive change among participants.

Second, schools were important sites for culturally responsiveness through lifestyle and sports-based programs. Activities were implemented through physical education classes as well as through afterschool programs, which sought to include and engage youth through fun, safe, and supportive environments. Specifically, culturally responsive physical education (Ruso et al., 2018) was conducted by creating supportive learning environments, student-centered programs, alternative instructional models, authentic tasks and assessments, as well as school, family, and community partnerships, which helped increase students' participation and enjoyment (Ruso et al., 2018). Furthermore, culturally responsive programs in physical education and afterschool programs were reported to enhance transferable skills, help with language learning, and foster social inclusion of immigrant youth (Stodolska & Camarillo, 2018). It was argued that immigrant youth who participate in recreation and sports through culturally responsive programs learn more about their culture, preserve cultural traditions, and

better assert their place in destination communities (Stodolska & Camarillo, 2018, p. 531).

Thirdly, culturally responsiveness was found among sports-based institutions and similar organizations that incorporated the sport for development and peace model, which was used as an intervention tool to help develop positive physical, social, and psychological skills among youth (Thorpe, 2016). Here, young people were encouraged to take ownership of their space in leisure environments in order to maintain social connections with the lifestyle sporting culture (Thorpe, 2016). Moreover, leadership style was shown to be an important factor in the sport for development and peace model, which sought to unite people regardless of race, social background, or nationality. Through the sport for development and peace model, servant leaders were required to be: (a) driven by altruistic callings, (b) practice emotional healing, (c) demonstrate wisdom, (d) use persuasive mapping, and (e) demonstrate organizational leadership in order to promote highly effective positive change (Welty Peachy & Burton, 2017). It is important to note that social connections and leadership style were especially important when working with marginalized youth, where servant leaders were encouraged to be cognizant of student needs, while empowering youth to create positive social change (Welty Peachy & Burton, 2017).

Summary and Conclusions

As demonstrated by the research, there is clearly a disconnect between racially ethnic minority groups and lifestyle sports, especially snow sports activities. Reasons include barriers within structural and symbolic factors that target lifestyle sports and

recreation-based activities (Bopp et al., 2017; Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Koshoedo et

al., 2015; The Outdoor Foundation, 2016; Physical Activity Council, 2017), which,

through the theory of racial spatiality (Cook et al., 2016; Embrick et al., 2019; Harrison,

2013) and the theory of distinction (Stempel, 2018; Thorpe, 2015), are considered

White-dominant spaces. More specifically, snow sports were argued to be the least

racially integrated physical activities (Cook et al., 2016), which lead one to question if

racism within structural and symbolic factors is the cause for the continued lack of

racially ethnic minority youth participants in skiing and snowboarding.

Research highlighted how racism in structural and symbolic factors is the cause

for a lack of racially ethnic minority participation in lifestyle sports (Adams-Bass et al.,

2014; Angelini et al., 2014; Atencio et al., 2013; Blaisdell, 2015; Bloom, 2019; Deeb &

Love, 2018; Dickerson, 2016; Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Frazer & Anderson, 2018;

Goodyear et al., 2018; Lawrence, 2017; McGovern, 2016; Rannikko et al., 2016;

Stodolska & Floyd, 2016; Thorpe, 2016; Towns, 2015; Vargas-Barraza et al., 2016;

Wheaton, 2013; Wheaton & Thorpe, 2018). Importantly however, while racism in

structural and symbolic factors related to lifestyle sports participation were shown to

clearly perpetuate White-dominant culture, researchers revealed how social inclusion and

culturally responsive practices in lifestyle sports and recreation-based activities could

help increase participatory behaviors among racially ethnic minority youth (Intosh &

Martin, 2018; King & Church, 2015; Ruso et al., 2018; Stodolska & Camarillo, 2018;

Svensson & Mahoney, 2018; Thorpe, 2016; Welty Peachy & Burton, 2017).

Moreover, through culturally responsive framework (Gay, 1994, 1998), researchers McFeeters (2019) and Woodley et al. (2017) advocated for social change through culturally responsive teaching practices that sought to educate racially ethnic minority youth by providing a diverse and inclusive curriculum from which to learn. More importantly, however, each of these factors were shown to be key elements that align with the critical race theory framework (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997), which as demonstrated, has been implemented to help bring social change by examining and eradicating racism in educational and sports-based settings (Adams-Bass et al., 2014; Floyd & Stodolska, 2019; Harrison Jr. & Clark, 2016; Hylton, 2010, 2012).

In Chapter 3, I will highlight the research method and procedures, which investigated racism in structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. As noted above, racism in lifestyle sports, especially snow sports, is a topic of research that warrants further investigation. Critical race theory guided the qualitative phenomenological study, which explored the lived experiences of snow sports instructors regarding the structural and symbolic influences on participation of racially ethnic minority youth, in hopes of explaining why there continues to be a lack of racially ethnic minority youth involved in snow sports activities.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative, phenomenological study was to explore the lived experiences of teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. Cooke et al. (2016), Harrison (2013), and Thorpe (2015) suggested structural factors, including school-based, afterschool, community outreach, and resort ski school programs, along with symbolic factors, such as textbooks, media, magazines, video games, clothing, and music, each play a role in influencing racially ethnic minority participation in snow sports. Investigating structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation from the point of view of school-based teachers and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches allowed those closely related to the snow sports industry an opportunity to share their lived experiences.

I conducted this phenomenological investigation to capture the lived experiences of participants through descriptive analysis to help better understand the continued lack of racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports as well as the elements related to skiing and snowboarding that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation. In this chapter, I highlight the research design and rationale; role of the researcher; and methodological procedures, including participation selection logic; instrumentation; procedures for recruitment, participation, and data collection; and data

analysis plan. Furthermore, issues of trustworthiness and ethical procedures related to the study are also discussed.

Research Design and Rationale

I employed the phenomenological research design to understand the influence of racism within structural and symbolic factors that determine youth snow sports participation. In semistructured interviews, school-based and resort ski school teachers as well as afterschool club and community-based coaches described their lived experiences of their personal connections and histories to the snow sports industry. My use of the qualitative, phenomenological research method gave voice to participants by recording their individual perspectives to identify and develop themes and categorize them into patterns, theories, or generalizations, which offered varied end points, as recommended by Creswell (2009). While not much has been written on the topic and the population being studied, I, following the suggestions of Moustakas (1994) and Creswell, sought to listen to participants and build an understanding based on what was heard.

I used a purposeful, homogenous sampling procedure to select teachers from school-based and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations who had previous experience working with youth in snow sports activities, specifically in skiing and snowboarding. In this study, I followed Moustakas' (1994) and Creswell's (2009) recommendations for phenomenological work, in which the researcher identifies the essence of human experiences about a phenomenon as described by participants. The following research question guided this study:

What are the lived experiences of school-based physical education and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches about the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority students in snow sports?

I did not choose an ethnographic design because the ethnographic researcher derives at a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants (see Creswell, 2009, p. 13), which was not fitting for researching the phenomenon of a lack of racially ethnic minority youth participants in the snow sports industry. Similarly, the narrative research design was also eliminated as a qualitative design choice due to the strategy of inquiry being a method where the researcher studies the lives of individuals and asks one or more individuals to provide stories about their lives. That information is then often retold by the researcher into narrative chronology, which combines the researcher's life with the participants (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). Likewise, case study was not selected since a case study requires attention to be paid to the individual, a group, or an event, while in phenomenology the attention is paid to the lived experiences of individuals (Moustakas, 1994). Phenomenology is a methodology as well as a philosophy and is strongly rooted in social sciences. Unlike the case study design, phenomenology produces qualitative data that mainly explore the subjective meanings that people produce. Moreover, I did not employ the case study design because case studies are appropriate when there is a unique or interesting story to be told, which are often used to provide context to other data (e.g., outcome data), offering a more complete picture of what happened in the program and why (see Neale, Thapa, & Boyce,

2006). Phenomenology, on the other hand, offers data that are designed to understand the lived experiences and perspectives of participants and allows the researcher to reveal the "essence of things and provides insights into social phenomenon" (Katsirikou & Lin, 2017, p. 469). Neither ethnography, narrative research, nor case study would have allowed me to set aside my own experiences in order to understand those of the participants in the study, as noted by Nieswiadomy (1993).

Role of the Researcher

I explored lived experiences of school-based and resort ski school teachers along with coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding racism within structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. I served as a moderator throughout the data collection process. An audio-recording device and voice memo computer application were used during telephone interviews, and data were transcribed verbatim in all correspondences. I also implemented bracketing through memos, which allowed me to monitor my own perspectives and biases. Tufford and Newman (2012) stated that bracketing is a method used by researchers to mitigate the potential deleterious effects of unacknowledged preconceptions related to the research, thereby increasing the rigor of the project.

I have 11 years of experience teaching in K-12 public education, having served as physical education director and athletic director for some of the highest needs charter schools in a southern urban area. I have taught a variety of grade levels using research-based curricula, including sport education, skill themes development, and health-related

fitness. I have also served as head coach for numerous athletic teams at the youth, middle school, and high school levels. My employment experiences did not affect the data collection process because I did not have any supervisory or instructor relationships with participants.

Methodology

Participant Selection Logic

In phenomenological research, researchers must search out participants who have the experience needed to adequately answer the research question(s) (Englander, 2012). In keeping with Englander's (2012) notion, I used purposive sampling to select participants based on predetermined criteria related to teaching and coaching youth in the snow sports industry. More specifically, participants were required to have teaching or coaching experience working with youth in skiing or snowboarding through at least one of the following structural entities: PK-12 school-based physical education or resort ski school programs or afterschool club and community-based organizations. I contacted potential participants through an e-mail questionnaire to determine if they met the criteria required to participate in the study. Upon meeting the criteria set forth, participants were then e-mailed the informed consent documentation. According to Giorgi (2009), the phenomenological method in human science recommends that one use at least three participants, while Creswell (1998) argued five to 25 participants was sufficient for phenomenological research. Since I used a criteria-based selection process in this study, the number of participants was limited to 12; however, with the use of probing questions, I sought to gain in-depth, thick, rich descriptions, relying on quality over quantity, as

suggested by Legard, Keegan, and Ward (2003). Legard et al. argued that probing needs to continue until the researcher feels they have reached saturation, which is a full understanding of the participant's perspective.

Instrumentation

      Interviews. Using a self-produced interview instrument, school-based and resort ski school teachers as well as afterschool club and community-based coaches completed semistructured interviews by telephone regarding their lived experiences of racial inequalities within structural and symbolic factors that influence participation habits of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. Specifically, I asked the participants open-ended and probing questions to gain thick, rich descriptions regarding programs that are offered, how racially ethnic minority youth are targeted towards participation, knowledge of racist tactics, and cultural influences. Interviews were recorded using two audio-recording devices, and data were transcribed verbatim, from which I sought to gain the perspective of participants' lived experiences and the meanings related to these experiences. Follow-up telephone interviews were also conducted, audio-recorded, and transcribed verbatim, which were used to clarify participants responses to the initial interview questions and gain additional insight into the phenomenon being investigated. I also recorded handwritten notes during each interview.

      For researcher-developed instruments. I developed the semistructured interview instrument used in this study based on the ability of predetermined, open-ended questions, and probing questions to sufficiently answer the research question related to the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth

participation in snow sports. Open-ended and probing questions allowed for in-depth information to be collected, which afforded a well-rounded analysis of data. Furthermore, I designed clear instructions concerning the interview process and procedures as well as easy to understand interview questions that flowed in logical order.

Qualitative researchers routinely employ member checking, triangulation, thick description, peer reviews, and external audits to ensure content validity (Creswell & Miller, 2000). I followed this advice in this study; for example, by using member checking where I took the gathered data and my interpretations back to the participants so they could confirm the credibility of the information and narrative account. Furthermore, I had participants review their raw data and comment on the accuracy so that they added credibility to the qualitative study by having a chance to react to both the data and the final narrative (see Creswell & Miller, 2000). I also used bracketing as a way to validate data. Creswell and Miller (2000) claimed that bracketing allows individuals to reflect on the social, cultural, and historical forces that shape their experiences (p. 127). Lastly, audits were implemented to provide a clear documentation of all my research decisions and activities, following the recommendation of Creswell and Miller. For example, I focused on documenting the interview process through journaling and preparing memos, keeping a research log of all activities, developing a data collection chronology, and recording the data analysis procedures clearly, as advised by Creswell and Miller. Each of these processes and procedures helped establish the validity and reliability of the data collection process.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

I served as the primary data collector for this study. I collected data from a self-produced semi-structured interview instrument. Data were collected during telephone interviews with school-based teachers and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches, which lasted approximately 45 minutes each. Data were also collected from 11 of the 12 participants during follow-up telephone interviews following the initial interviews and data collection processes, which lasted approximately 15 minutes each. One participant was not available to complete the follow-up interview due to being out of the country. I used two audio-recording devices to collect data during all interview sessions and I transcribed data verbatim. Prior to participating in the interview process, participants were informed that the study was voluntary, and they could exit the study at any time. Furthermore, participants were informed that debriefing may also take place between myself and each participant where any additional questions, comments, or concerns related to the study would be addressed. I also developed a plan to address the possible lack of participants in the study which included opening up the selection criteria to include participants from various snow sports activities, not just skiing and snowboarding.

Data Analysis Plan

Data collected from semistructured interviews were analyzed using NVivo12 to search for codes, categories, and themes related to racism and structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. Specifically, recommendations from Adu (2013, 2016) were followed which sought to

reduce data and capture significant ideas or issues related to the phenomenon being investigated. Adu highlighted three stages of qualitative analysis using NVivo that were followed during this study. First, during the precoding stage I became familiar with the data by analyzing each interview transcript to capture significant information from the data and put data into "containers" (Adu, 2016), or nodes and subnodes. Importantly, during the precoding stage, I was also sure to check for researcher influence and biases through bracketing and memoing as recommended by Adu (2016).

Next, the coding stage allowed me to assign labels or themes, better known as parent nodes or "big containers" (Adu, 2016) to each node to determine the unique relationship between nodes. This part of the coding process allowed me to figure out underlying ideas and meanings of nodes using descriptive or thematic coding as recommended by Saldana (2013). Furthermore, the coding stage allowed the researcher to merge nodes and document the meanings of nodes by using reflections and visuals such as word clouds to better understand the phenomenon being investigated.

Lastly, the postcoding stage allowed me to present the findings of each theme along with its respective meaning using evidence from the data. Again using visual representations, I added credibility to the findings by designing concept maps and cluster trees to assist in answering the study's research question related to the lived experiences of school-based teachers and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches regarding the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. This study did not have any discrepant cases, however in the event that discrepant cases were involved they

would have been reported and explained in detail as the complexity of data would have allowed for a more subtle and nuanced analysis since, according to Hsiung (2010), contradictions in the data can give rise to unexpected findings, which ultimately strengthen theory (para. 1).

Issues of Trustworthiness

As recommended by Shenton (2004) proper procedures were followed to ensure trustworthiness of the study, which involved credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. First, establishing credibility sought to ensure methods such as operating with transparent recruiting procedures including informed consent policies and detailed written discussions of any discrepant findings accurately represented the phenomenon. Next, transferability was established to offer sufficient contextual description by providing thick, rich descriptions of context through the data collection instrument along with participant selection criteria and data collection procedures. Dependability was established by providing sufficient procedural details that would allow the study to be replicated, which included detailed descriptions of the research design and data collection process, along with reports of any flaws, missteps, or changes in procedures of the study. Furthermore, dependability also included member checks as well as detailed audit trails where the researcher recorded thoughts related to the entire research study process.

Along with audit trails, I checked and rechecked data for confirmability, which demonstrated that the findings were the result of the experiences and ideas of the participants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher. First, the

role of the researcher was explained in-depth, which included my affiliation with the setting and phenomenon. Next, a detailed audit trail and data analysis plan assisted in establishing confirmability. Furthermore, confirmability involved validating the accuracy of data with participants before constructing the final narrative. Lastly, confirmability also involved me incorporating reflexivity as a method to ensure trustworthiness, which involved keeping a journal during the research process to record important decisions regarding methods and logistics, as well as taking an account of personal values and interest, as recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

Ethical Procedures

The Walden University Institutional Review Board approval number for this study is 02-27-19-0156861. I followed all Walden University Institutional Review Board's policies on studying human participants, which ensured all participants were treated fairly and their personal information kept confidential. I gained written consent from all participants through an informed consent form that outlined the confidentiality procedures of the study. The consent form informed participants that taking part in the study was voluntary and they could end their participation at any time. Debriefing also took place with participants in which they were informed of how to contact the researcher with any additional questions, comments, or concerns related to the study.

Ethical concerns related to recruitment materials and processes demonstrated the researcher's efforts to first, respect the privacy of participants by using an informed consent, which informed participants that their personal data were protected and kept confidential throughout the study. Next, I informed participants that participation in the

study was voluntary. I did not pressure or influence participants to participate in the study and made sure to give participants adequate time and the ability to freely consider if they wished to take part in the study. Thirdly, an accurate, concise, and clear description of the study was presented to participants, which was easy to understand and free of scientific or technical jargon. Lastly, I provided an unbiased presentation of participation in the study, which did not mislead or trick participants into participating. For example, participants were informed that there was no benefit to them for participating such as compensation or special treatment for taking part in the study.

Ethical considerations for data collection were also followed as recommended by Hammer (2017). Hammer argued informed consent and maintaining scientific integrity were vital to qualitative data collection. Informed consent documents were used, which outlined participants right to voluntarily participate in the study along with other important information including the risks and benefits of taking part in the study, exiting the study, and the privacy and protection of participants' personal data. Maintaining scientific integrity followed Hammer's suggestions to make sure participants fully understood the interview questions and had the ability and capacity to answer the questions presented. I also ensured the research question was appropriate for the audience (Hammer, 2017). I made certain to protect the privacy of all participants and their personal information, the study data, and work, to eliminate all biases related to the study as noted. Lastly, I followed procedures recommended by Hammer to disseminate the research findings properly, which involved accurately presenting the data of the study including the results of the study.

Data collection followed all of Walden University's policies and procedures for ethical data collection. Data remained confidential and stored electronically on an internal and external drive, which was accessed through a secure laptop computer. All paper copies containing data, data analysis, or other sensitive material were shredded. Consent forms and other personal and confidential data were locked in a file cabinet in my home in which no one else had access to. All storage devices will be destroyed after 5 years.

Summary

A review of the literature demonstrated that there is a lack of racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. The reason for this deficit, according to Cooke et al. (2016), Harrison (2013), and Thorpe (2015) is rooted in racism, which includes structural and symbolic factors related to snow sports that negatively influence participation of racially ethnic minorities. In this chapter, I highlighted the purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study, which was to explore the lived experiences of teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. The research design and rational were also discussed along with the role of the researcher, methodology procedures, and how trustworthiness was ensured during the study. In Chapter 4, I will describe the setting and participant demographics, summarize the data collection and data analysis processes, provide evidence of trustworthiness, and report the results.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative, phenomenological study was to explore the lived experiences of teachers from school-based and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. Structural factors included possible sources of student participation in snow sports, such as school physical education, resort ski school, afterschool, club, and community-based programs. Symbolic factors included possible sources of exposure to snow sports, such as textbooks, media, Internet, magazines, video games, clothing, films, and music. The following research question guided this study:

> What are the lived experiences of school-based physical education and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches about the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority students in snow sports?

Through gathering data from semistructured participant interviews, I was able to derive the themes of exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism to help explain why there continues to be a lack of racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports. In this chapter, I discuss the study setting, demographics, data collection, data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, results, and a summary.

Setting

I conducted semistructured interviews with the participants over the telephone. Two recording devices were used to record each interview, including an audio tape recorder and a voice memo recorder computer application. I also took handwritten notes during each interview. Initial interviews lasted no longer than 45 minutes, and follow-up interviews lasted no longer than 15 minutes.

Demographics

Participants had experience working with youth in snow sports through resort programs, school-based programs, and/or club and community-based organizations. Participants represented various geographical locations across the United States, including California, Colorado, Montana, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Table 1 displays the number of participants represented from each state.

Table 1

Number of Participants Represented from each State

State	Number of Participants Represented from each State
California	2
Colorado	3
Montana	1
New Jersey	2
Pennsylvania	1
West Virginia	1
Wisconsin	1
Wyoming	1

Data Collection

I collected data from 12 participants during semistructured, telephone interviews. One, initial, semistructured interview per participant took place over the telephone, which lasted no longer than 45 minutes, followed by one follow-up interview per participant, which lasted no longer than 15 minutes. Follow-up interviews were conducted with 11 of the 12 participants because one participant was not available due to being out of the country. Data were recorded using an audio tape recorder and voice memo recorder computer application. I also took handwritten notes during each interview. Upon completion of each interview, I uploaded the audio file to NVivo Transcription and made sure all data were properly transcribed verbatim by listening and relistening to the audio file of each interview. Once all interviews were transcribed properly, I uploaded the transcripts into NVivo12 for data analysis.

Data Analysis

While carrying out data analysis, I followed recommendations from Adu (2013, 2016) and sought to reduce data and capture significant ideas or issues related to the phenomenon being investigated. Adu highlighted three stages of qualitative analysis using NVivo that were followed during this study. First, during the precoding stage, I became familiar with the data by analyzing each interview transcript to capture significant information from the data and put the data into "containers" (see Adu, 2016) or nodes and subnodes. Next, the coding stage allowed me to assign labels or themes, better known as parent nodes or "big containers" (see Adu, 2016) to each node to determine the unique relationship between nodes. In this part of the coding process, I

merged nodes and figured out underlying ideas and meanings of nodes using descriptive or thematic coding, as recommended by Saldana (2013). In the postcoding stage, I presented the findings of each theme along with its respective meaning using evidence from the data. Visual representations were also used during the postcoding stage, which allowed me to add credibility to the findings by designing concept maps and cluster trees to assist in answering the research question related to the lived experiences of school-based and resort ski school teachers as well as afterschool club and community-based coaches regarding the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. Each of the three data analysis stages are explained in detail in the following subsections.

Stage 1: Precoding Stage

Stage 1 (i.e., precoding) of the data analysis process allowed me to search for codes, categories, and themes related to racism and the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. I reduced the data to themes (i.e., nodes and subnodes) specifically related to the research question, which allowed me to then determine commonalities among participants' responses. Eventually, the following common themes emerged related to structural and symbolic factors associated with youth participation and snow sports: exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism.

Stage 2: Coding Stage

Stage 2 (i.e., the coding stage) in the data analysis process involved me further coding the themes from Stage 1 (i.e., exposure, access, cultural representation, and

racism) into parent nodes, either structural factors or symbolic factors that were thought to influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. I then used data collected from the initial interviews and follow-up interviews to merge themes, which allowed me to determine underlying ideas and the meanings of nodes using descriptive thematic coding. Further analysis helped to reduce the data, which again focused on the three themes related to structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports: exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism.

Stage 3: Postcoding Stage

Stage 3 (i.e., postcoding) allowed me to present the findings of each thematic node (i.e., exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism) along with the parent node (i.e., structural factor or symbolic factor) and its respective meaning using evidence from the data. Using data analysis tools, specifically the Explore function in NVivo12, I designed the following concept maps and cluster chart (see Figures 1-4) to assist in answering the research question.
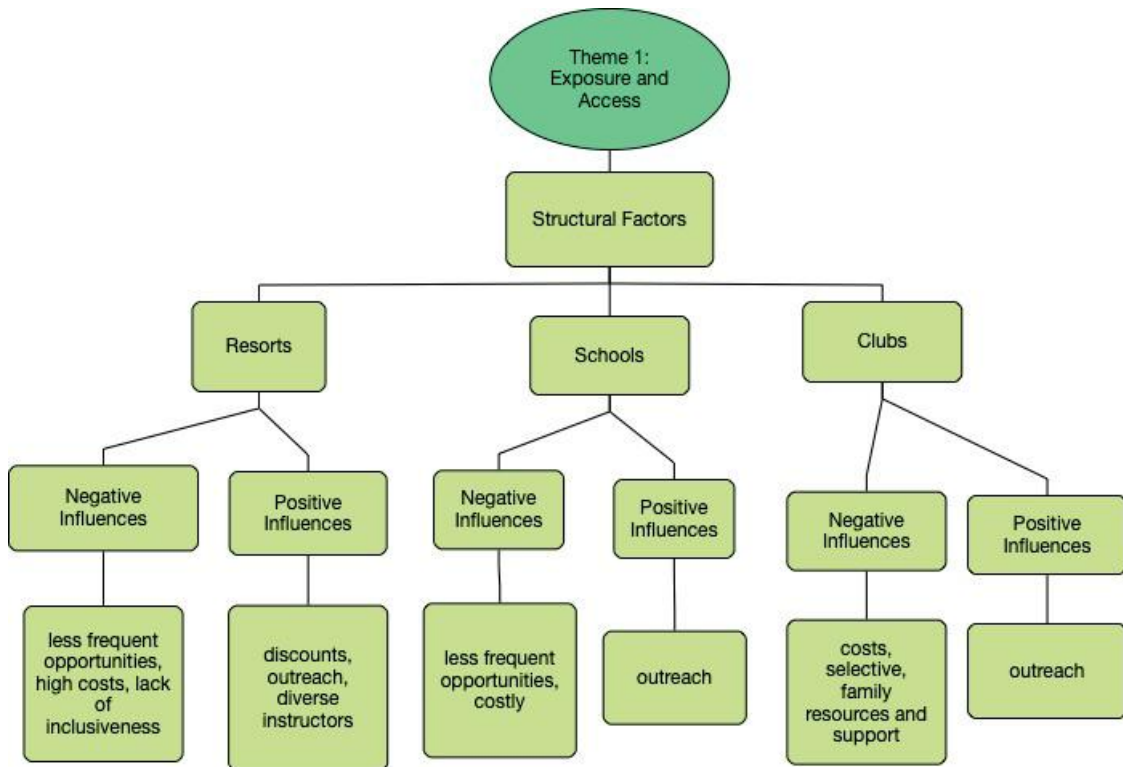
Figure I. Theme 1: Exposure and access.
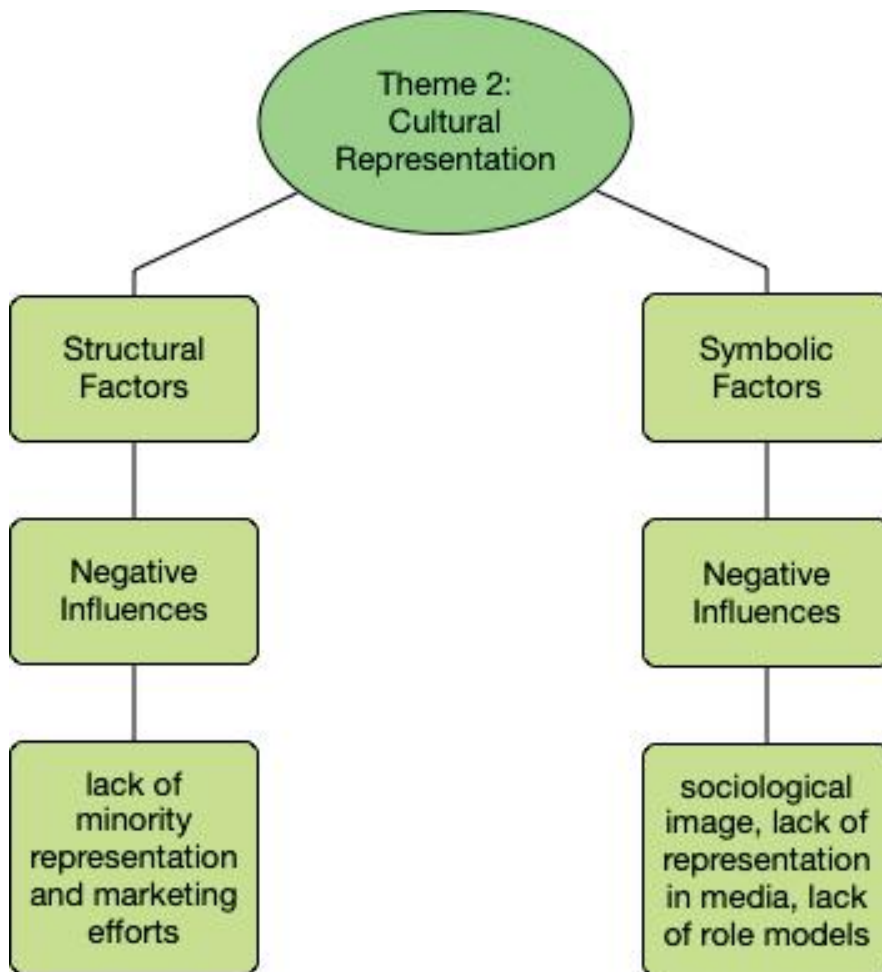
Figure 2. Theme 2: Cultural representation.
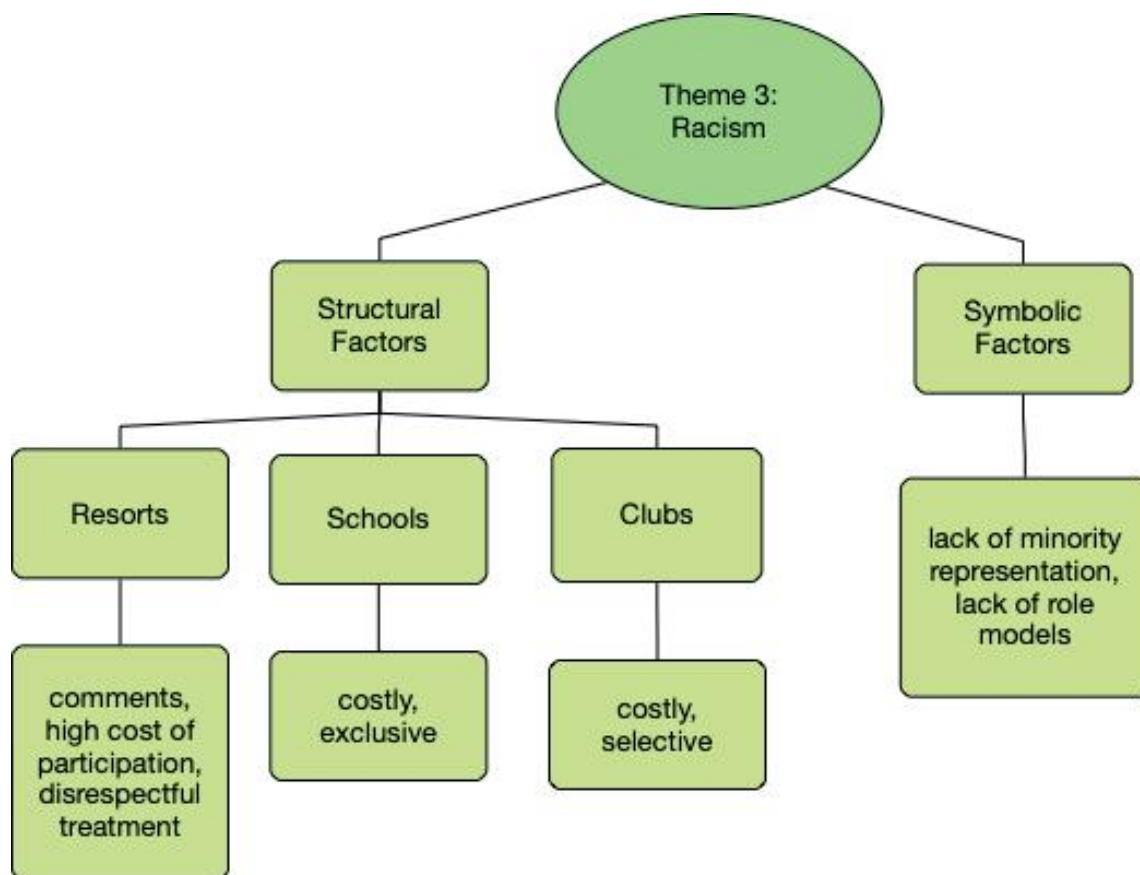
Figure 3. Theme 3: Racism.

Figure 4. Types of media mentioned by participants.

Figure 1 demonstrates how the theme, exposure and access, operates in structural

factors, specifically in resorts, schools, and clubs, which both positively and negatively

affect racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. Figure 2 outlines the

theme of cultural representation, which was demonstrated to negatively affect racially ethnic

minority youth participation in snow sports through both structural and symbolic factors.

Figure 3 highlights how the theme of racism was evident in both structural and symbolic

factors related to snow sports activities. Figure 4 illustrates a word cloud of

specific types of media mentioned by participants regarding the symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

As recommended by Shenton (2004), proper procedures were followed to ensure trustworthiness of the study, which involved credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. First, establishing credibility sought to ensure methods such as operating with transparent recruiting procedures including informed consent policies and detailed written discussions of any discrepant findings accurately represented the phenomenon. Next, transferability was established to offer sufficient contextual description by providing thick, rich descriptions of context through the data collection instrument along with participant selection criteria and data collection procedures. Dependability was established by providing sufficient procedural details that will allow the study to be replicated in the future, which include detailed descriptions of the research design and data collection process such as reports of any flaws, missteps, or changes in procedures of the study. Furthermore, dependability also included member checks as well as detailed audit trails where the researcher recorded thoughts related to the entire research study process.

Along with audit trails, I checked and rechecked data for confirmability, which demonstrated that the findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the participants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher. First, confirmability involved explaining the role of the researcher in-depth, which included my affiliation with the setting and phenomenon. Second, a detailed audit trail and data

analysis plan also assisted in establishing confirmability. Thirdly, confirmability included validating the accuracy of data with participants before constructing the final narrative. Lastly, confirmability also involved me incorporating reflexivity as a method to ensure trustworthiness, which included keeping a journal during the research process to record important decisions regarding methods and logistics, as well as recording personal values and interest, as recommended by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

Results

To answer the research question,

What are the lived experiences of school-based physical education and resort ski school teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches about the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority students in snow sports?

I used semistructured telephone interviews to collect data from 12 participants who had experience working with youth in snow sports activities. Data were analyzed using NVivo12 to create themes related to structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports, which included exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism. Each of the themes along with its meaning related to structural and symbolic factors is explained below.

Theme 1: Exposure and Access

Exposure and access were seen as a vital component among structural factors, specifically in resort programs, school-based programs, and club-based organizations, which was thought to influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow

sports. Participants noted how exposure and access operated within structural factors both deterred and supported racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. Specifically, regarding exposure and access, P12 stated,

> I can't speak on behalf of all minorities, but I just know that minorities that I work with just happens to be an area that is not very affluent. I guess you could even label it low socioeconomic, and so, you know, these kids just have no exposure to snow sports. I would say almost all of them.

Similarly, P3 mentioned, "Well, exposure is the number one thing." and went on to state,

> I've always believed on a social and cultural level that if Black kids had a true opportunity to really be engaged in skiing in a way where they could do it and then somehow afford it, and had the proper access, that they would excel at it like any other sport that they've had an opportunity to really be a part of.

P11 shared a similar notion,

> I think just exposure, you know. I think that kids, any kids, you know, if they've got something they've never been exposed to and they don't have the means to it, if there's barriers whether it's financial or whether it's family, culture, or whether it's transportation, I think if they're not exposed to it that that is a huge barrier.

Notions of exposure and access continued throughout participants' responses, which highlighted several factors that influenced racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. Most participants believed that exposure and access were a major cause for the continued lack of racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports, while also highlighting how several factors worked to attract and retain racially

ethnic minority youth participants. The following section will outline how exposure and access play a role in both negatively and positively influencing racially ethnic minority youth participation in structural factors, specifically in resort programs, school-based programs, and club-based organizations.

Resort programs. Resort programs were believed to play a vital role in influencing racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. Several participants highlighted how barriers towards participation negatively affect racially ethnic minority youth participants by making it difficult to participate, while others mentioned how resorts positively influence participation by working to provide better exposure and access for racially ethnic minority youth participants. Barriers within resort programs included less frequent opportunities to participate in quality programs, high costs of participation, and lack of inclusiveness of resort programs, while activities that supported racially ethnic minority youth participation included resort discounts, partnerships with outreach programs, and employing racially ethnic minority snow sports instructors at resorts.

First, the frequency of opportunities for racially ethnic minority youth to participate in snow sports was a common trend as participants responded that resort-based programs for racially ethnic minority youth occurred less often (i.e., single day occurrence) while programs that catered to wealthier, mostly White youth, occurred more frequently (i.e., throughout the week, weekends, weeks, months, and/or years long). When asked about the frequency of snow sports programs offered to racially ethnic minority youth, P6 stated, "Usually there would be like a single day on a weekend

sometimes, or the whole weekend, like 2 days." and P9 mentioned, "There are kids from (Anonymous) that have programs that are just for a day, some of those kids are also coming from like the boys and girls club, things like that." Similarly, P10 stated,

> I mean these kids still aren't getting to be in any competitions or anything that's going to help take their skiing or snowboarding to the next level, whereas you know the other kids that are coming from money and are able to travel and afford all the equipment, you know, they're getting a lot more opportunities.

Likewise, P4 explained,

> So, your Black kids in the ghettos might be brought up here for a day once during his school experience and then looks around and... 'Yeah, this is fun', but that's it. then they go back into their regular environment and that singular experience doesn't stack up to the daily reality.

> Second, the costs to participate at resorts was flagged as a major barrier towards participation as participants mentioned resort fees were "too expensive" and "inaccessible financially" for racially ethnic minorities due to several factors including the high costs of transportation to and from resorts, lift ticket prices, gear rentals, lesson expenses, on-mountain meals, and so on. For example, P10 stated,

> It's too expensive. As far as equipment, they definitely need a ski pass. Furthermore, I see a lot, like you know the kids I work with, the only time that they're ever on the hill is with me. So that one time a month, whereas the kids that aren't necessarily quote unquote minority are out there you know every weekend, sometimes during the school week, they're out there a lot more and getting a lot

more exposure. and then they're getting to go out with their parents and families, whereas kids that I work with, you know, their parents can afford that.

Similarly, P6 mentioned, "Yes, so certainly the costs of skiing and snowboarding is really high... high to get in to." and P4 explained,

The Black population from the inner cities where the median income is such that there's no way in hell that parents can afford to send their kids up here. Skiing is a very expensive sport. For example, if a family of four came up here to (Anonymous) and dropped a thousand bucks in a weekend without battin' an eyelash. If you have parents who are earning $15,000 a year. that's not going to happen.

Likewise, P3 pointed out,

A youth ski racer needs a pair of slalom skis, you need a pair of GS skis. you could have a pair of downhill skis, you need some training skis, training pairs, you need helmet. You have $8,000-$10,000 worth of gear that has to be updated every year.

Moreover, P11 stated,

But you know, if we were to buy tickets outright for these kids, I mean it's $150 a day just for the lift ticket. Then if you think about all the gear is very, very expensive for everyone, and you know, I just think a lot of our kids just don't have to, have the means to be able to do that.

Thirdly, resorts lack of inclusiveness was seen as a deterrent towards participation as participants mentioned that resorts make "no effort" to specifically include or recruit

racially ethnic minorities in their snow sports clientele. For example, P6 stated, "I did not see any effort to specifically attract like minority participants." while P1 mentioned, "Our ski resorts that I work for to my knowledge does not specifically target in their marketing any minorities." Similarly, P8 stated, "I've never seen a resort do anything special to do that." and P12 noted, "They don't market it in sort of like deals, or anything like that."

Additionally, regarding inclusiveness, participants also mentioned that resort settings were less welcoming to racially ethnic minorities in larger groups. For example, P3 stated, "So the mountain treats us well, it's when there's a large crew of us. its other patrons that seem to be, trying to think of the right word, not antagonistic, but more anxious about our large presence." P3 went on to explain how people would be surprised,

> Because there were so many of us, they had no idea, and so people were also shocked. some of the other patrons or a guest would be shocked to see so many Black folks because typically we're accepted if we are not in mass.

Similarly, P12 mentioned, "If all of a sudden you brought, I don't know, a thousand Black people or a thousand Mexican kids, you know, like our whole entire school just showed up... It might be a different story." and P10 explained a similar situation regarding large groups of racially ethnic minority youth at resorts,

> So, we go to this one pizza place and it's kind of hit or miss, but sometimes when we get there, because they are typically not White kids, they definitely get treated differently. I've watched big groups of kids the same age as mine that are, you know, White coming in. ... By the way they're treated very kindly, and then my kids they're like, 'I don't know why you guys always think you can just come in

here' and you know, 'there's too many of you' and you know, 'you're not allowed to bring outside food' and you know. just kind of giving us a hard time.

Conversely, several participants noted that resorts, especially those on the West and East Coasts' that are geographically closer to larger cosmopolitan areas, helped to provide better exposure and access for racially ethnic minority youth in a variety of ways. First, participants mentioned how some resorts offered discounts, deals, and gear rentals to help offset the high costs of participation. For example, P6 stated, "Specifically at the ski resort that I taught at, they were really focused on bringing groups of people so they had these group deals and stuff." and P5 noted, "So, I know that our resort does have a special program called (Anonymous) and it does attract probably on the more socioeconomic, kind of, lower end and they have special programs for them just based on the cheaper side." and P1 highlighted, "I know the ski area does definitely gift" and went on to note "It was free lift tickets, free rentals, and then some of us would volunteer as a free lesson."

Second, several participants mentioned the use of "outreach programs" as a vital component in helping provide exposure and access to racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. When asked about what influences racially ethnic minority youth to participate in snow sports P4 mentioned, "Now we also have some outreach." and P8 highlighted, "(Anonymous Outreach Organization) does it, we specifically recruit from low income areas." P8 later noted, "There really is no better way that the industry can advertise to build its future other than this outreach." Likewise, P12 explained, "The closest thing I've seen is obviously through what (Anonymous Resort) does with

(Anonymous Outreach Program) in partnering with (Anonymous Outreach Program) and making it really accessible."

Thirdly, participants mentioned how one of the major way's resorts attempted to provide better exposure and access to racially ethnic minority youth participants was through efforts to racially diversity ski and snowboard instruction by hiring racially ethnic minority instructors. For example, P4 pointed out how a prominent ski instructor organization recognized "cultural differences" and P2 noted the importance of having African American instructors,

> I guess it's an eye-opener for the kids themselves. they have chaperones, some are parents of the kids, or just like chaperones at their organizations, they're you know, I guess they are a little surprised to see people of color that work there as well. Just a visual of us being there.

P2 went on to explain,

> I never said to myself Black people don't snowboard; I didn't really think of it that way... But just the visual I think, you know when anybody sees I have a person of color doing this, then it's not so crazy, you know, then I can definitely do it myself. So, I don't know what the draw would be you know, I can only speak for myself, but, when the kids come out there, they try it, some of them are a little apprehensive I would say, for the first maybe few hours or whatever, but then they start to see myself as well as others, that it's not so bad. 'I could do this.'

Participants also mentioned the importance of resorts providing inclusive snow sports instruction by hiring Spanish-speaking instructors. Specifically, P4 stated, "During the winter we recruit Spanish speaking students from South America, from South Africa, and what have you, to come up and work during their summer vacation." and P5 explained,

> We get a lot of Chilean and Argentinean people here for their summer vacation who are instructors. and so we do have a lot of their own Spanish speaking and English speaking. and they do a lot of our Spanish speaking lessons so they can connect with kids easier than adults and give them a better experience in their own language... and so the resort has been able to provide those experiences for our guest with those employees that have been attracting them and helping making them feel more comfortable.

School-based programs. Participants spoke of how schools were often a hindrance to racially ethnic minority youth participants by providing more exposure and access for private schools and schools in "more affluent" areas as well as through "highly selective" school-based snow sports teams. Participants spoke of how schools did not provide opportunities for racially ethnic minority youth due to the high costs of snow sports and as a result, schools were thought to focus on typical sports such as soccer, basketball, swimming, and track, as according to P12, "They don't really see skiing as something that can be that great of a benefit."

While school-based programs were often described as costly and exclusive, many participants also noted how schools partnered with outreach programs to make snow

sports more accessible to racially ethnic minority youth participants. For example, P4

mentioned,

> Some of the schools are private schools obviously of affluent parents. There are
>
> Jewish schools, yeshivas, where the kids come out and then on the occasion
>
> inner schools will reach out to bring their primarily Black kids out for a day's
>
> exposure to skiing.

Similarly, P10 stated, "Those schools are definitely where there's far more money, the

poorer schools don't have those same opportunities." and P3 claimed,

> It comes down to what part the school plays except that the school may have a team,
>
> but it's going to be based on the kids who are the highest performers that ski, which
>
> is tied to how much access those kids had to it early on in their lives. Although
>
> participants mentioned how school-based programs were costly and

exclusive, some participants mentioned how schools, especially those located closer to

larger cosmopolitan areas, involved outreach programs and other public school-based

initiatives to help provide better exposure and access for racially ethnic minority youth

participants. Specifically, school-based outreach programs were said to play an essential

role in involving racially ethnic minority and low-income youth. When asked about

outreach that involved racially ethnic minority youth and snow sports, P8 stated,

"Outreach saves lives of minority kids." and P11 explained,

> So, the way that we with our program we work really closely with the schools to
>
> advertise and send the kids our way that could benefit from our services and so

we say that we work with a vulnerable population, which would be, you know,

layman's terms would be an at risk population.

Similarly, P1 noted, "There is a (Anonymous Program), it's called, which allows all kids in fifth grade in public schools to participate in winter sports." and P4 stated, "Now we also have some outreach with schools in and around the area."

Additionally, each of these outreach programs were said to help with the costs of participation while educating students about snow sports, and often involved other components within their program such as social-emotional workshops and various outdoor adventure-based activities. Specifically, P11 mentioned, "We're an adventure-based group mentoring program. It's basically an afterschool program and on the weekends, we take the kids on outdoor adventures, so all winter long we are taking the kids skiing and snowboarding up at (Anonymous Resort)." P11 went on to explain,

We work really closely with the schools, with youth probation, with therapist in

the community, and. our greatest referral source is probably the kids telling

other kids about our program. And then, we do let them know that, you know, two

pieces of our program, the social-emotional workshops and then the outdoor

adventures are big. The outdoor adventures are a big piece of it.

Similarly, P1 noted,

We do have a nonprofit called (Anonymous) that specifically targets, not

minorities, but it does target low-income kids. It gives them an opportunity to try

out alpine skiing and soccer in summer. and that ends up being a minority

program by default.

Likewise, P9 explained,

So, for kids to get into our program they have to hit two of 27 some options of

quote unquote risk factors. So it could be social issues, it could be income, it can

be all kinds of things, and they have to. but a lot of our kids have English as a

second language and low income, and so that's why minority kids that we serve.

and so our program does serve for sure a lot of minority kids, and one thing that

it's like a big thing that our program offers is access. They can get a season pass,

like, an almost free rate and they've got mentors that they go out with, so they get

familiarity with the mountain (Anonymous) program where they're with

instructors. They learn how to ski and snowboard and then in the summer, this

programming we take 'em hiking and rock climbing. So, you know, that's like

one example of a program that serves a lot of kids.

Club-based organizations. Aside from outreach-type club programs, including

parallel integration clubs, snow sports club-based organizations were described as being

very limited, highly selective and requiring an extensive amount of family resources and

support. Specifically, participants mentioned the limited and selective processes involved

with recruiting youth participants. For example, P7 explained,

I think a lot of organizations that are set up for people who have already a circuit in

the sport, so you're always seeing that, you know, that ski clubs are always

coordinating activities amongst folks who have a long tradition of skiing,

snowboarding, and snow sports. So that's not going to reach out and grow the

demographic, that's just going to kind of keep a really well maintained dedicated

base of support, that outcome of folks who already love the sport and have been

doing it and they can go back and check that they've been doing it for

generations... it stands.

Similarly, P3 noted, "Usually the connected kid is going to be the non-minority kid

because other people have had more access to being connected. and I'm not trying to

just blight the industry, that's kind of America."

Furthermore, participants mentioned how family resources, such as time and

money, are critical for youth participation in club-based activities. For example, P1 noted

how snow sports were difficult to participate in "if the family resources are not there."

while P3 stated, "So, we've not been able to replicate the development of ski racers

outside of their parents." and went on to explain,

So it comes down to the family economics to be able to afford that, that time

factor associated with a parent being able to devote to that, and then if they have

other siblings, and the other family dynamics of other parents have to supplement

and carry the load with the rest of the children. So, there are a lot of pieces that

come into play.

Likewise, the need for parent support was also evident in P4's statement,

We have the kid's camp where there is a program devoted strictly to kids from

about ages 4 on up to about 12 years of age, and then these kids are taught in

groups of similar age and skill development. Now in this case, the parents bring

the kids out and we just take them as they come.

While participants mentioned how club-based organizations often negatively influenced racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports, two participants mentioned how community and club-based organizations, especially parallel integration organizations, sought to provide better exposure and access for racially ethnic minority youth. For example, P1 highlighted the incorporation of a "Latino ski program" while P3 explained, "(Anonymous Organization) would host a learn to ski program every year where it was, it would subsidize the transportation. all of the ski costs for minority youth to participate in skiing experiences." These programs were believed to increase exposure and access of racially ethnic minority participants through cost-effective strategies as well as through culturally responsive practices.

Theme 2: Cultural Representation

Cultural representation through structural and symbolic factors was thought to heavily influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. Among structural factors, the majority of participants noted how there continues to be a lack of racially ethnic minority youth representation, while companies and organizations were said to not target racially ethnic minority participants nor make any effort to promote diversity within youth snow sports. Symbolically, participants highlighted the sociological image of snow sports as being exclusively White, along with a lack of racially ethnic minority representation in media, as well as an absence of racially ethnic role models and professionals as factors that negatively influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. The following section will demonstrate how

cultural representation operates within structural and symbolic factors related to racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports.

Structural factors. Cultural representation within structural factors highlighted an overall lack of racially ethnic minority representation in snow sports activities as well as a lack of effort by companies and organizations to include racial diversity in their marketing and promotional materials. Several participants mentioned a lack of racially ethnic minority youth representation in snow sports including P11, who stated,

> I would say we probably have about three percent of the kids that we work with that are Hispanic and then, I think, about two percent that self-report that they are African American, and about one percent are Native American. And we're, it's pretty low diversity.

Similarly, P9 mentioned, "There's less participation in it." among minority youth and P5 noted, "There's like. there's a lot more White people."

With regard to marketing and promotional activities, two participants mentioned how their organizations attempted to market and attract more racially diverse clientele, however the majority of participants pointed out the lack of effort by companies and organizations to target racially ethnic minority participants in snow sports. For example, P11 explained, "So the way that we with our program we work really closely with the schools to advertise and send the kids our way that could benefit from our services." and P5 mentioned their organization's mailers as trying to "represent instructors as being somewhat racially diverse even though that's like on the small percentage of things." Conversely, P1 noted, "Ski resorts that I work for to my knowledge does not specifically

target in their marketing any minorities." and P4 stated, "We don't do any particular

marketing to minorities as such." Likewise, P9 mentioned, "These companies aren't using

any minorities in their advertising. They're not, they're not showing that minorities are

going out and participating in snow sports." and P12 explained, "They may see that as a

sort of a waste of advertising, so I don't even think they even try."

Symbolic factors. Cultural representation through symbolic factors was also

discovered as having a major influence on racially ethnic minority youth participation

in snow sports. Participants noted the magnitude of imagery and racially ethnic

minority youth seeing themselves represented in snow sports activities, yet they pointed

out the severe lack of racially ethnic minority representation across all forms of snow

sports-related media. First, participants highlighted how the sociological or "White"

cultural image associated with snow sports continues to deter racially ethnic minority

youth participation along with a lack of racially ethnic minority representation among

professional ski and snowboard participants.

When asked about symbolic factors and the sociological image associated

with snow sports, P8 responded, "Snow sports are typically historically associated

with Caucasian people." Similarly, P6 mentioned, "I've definitely noticed like skiing

and snowboarding seems to be like an incredibly, incredibly, like White activity." and

P4 stressed how skiing is seen "as a White man's sport."

Next, several participants highlighted how media plays a role within the cultural

representation of snow sports by portraying activities as exclusively White-focused. For

example, P4 noted, "Media exposure is you know a very, very White completion." while

P8 stated, "Advertisers use images that they think their target audience will relate to and its primarily Caucasians." Furthermore, P12 mentioned, "I think of all the ads that I've ever seen for snow sports, is definitely White." and P11 explained,

> You know, when I think of, like looking at powder magazine or, or seeing commercials for (Anonymous Resort), or you know, I'm not seeing a lot of people of color you know advertised in these in these things. You know, since I'm thinking of it, you know, so I would say, like, kids are probably not feeling represented in the skiing community, in the snowboarding community, you know. I would imagine that, that's gotta be a barrier as well.

Thirdly, participants noted the lack of racially ethnic minority role models and professionals represented throughout snow sports media, which was also thought to be a factor in the lack of racially ethnic minority youth participation. For example, P4 stated,

> Go on site to (Anonymous Website) and take a look at the people involved. Take a look at the pictures that they present. Take a look at the at the champions, go to (Anonymous Ski Association) and review what they are saying. It's still a White man's sport and the media reflects that.

Similarly, P10 mentioned, "I feel like most of the people that are successful in snow sports are, you know, White individuals, at least in the United States." and P6 explained,

> I would imagine that there are some snowboarders who are Black, I mean, I, I don't think that there is, a. I don't think that there is a proactive effort by magazines and companies who are recruiting professionals to be on teams and

stuff; it doesn't feel to me like there's an active effort to include or

portray minorities.

Furthermore, P6 went on to explain,

I've also watched a lot of professional snowboarding events and stuff, and pretty

much every professional snowboarder is like White, White American, or

European, or something like that. There's almost no other races that are like

professional and like, I wonder, I mean I have also wondered, it's like I feel like

there are not any like role models, like professionals, for people to look up to I

guess.

Moreover, P5 mentioned, "Most athletes who do represent their sport, there are some in

the Olympics that are Asian and all different countries, but I would say the majority of

them are White." and P1 highlighted, "role models are important for future generations"

as skiing does not have many "successful minorities."

Additionally, participants frequently mentioned the specific type of media

involved in influencing racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports

including: advertisements, TV, billboards, films, articles, commercials, companies,

magazines, flyers, posters, placards, photos, websites, music, and videos. For example,

P2 explained,

You know, Pennsylvania is pretty close, Jersey is pretty close, and in New Jersey

there's only a few places you can go skiing, or snowboard, and like, you know

during the winter you see advertising for the different mountains and stuff. and

let's say there's a family on the billboard, usually they are White.Not really just

not a lot of diversity I noticed with the advertising and publications and stuff. There are some, but not a lot. I do notice when they are there, but they are few and far between.

Similarly, P1 mentioned, "Because I cannot think of ski-specific or snowboard-specific ads that do contain people of diverse races or ethnicity, other than general outdoor companies." and P4 explained, "There is no promoting of Blacks. I was looking at the advertising of placards, posters, and what have you... you see all White people, White men and women."

Likewise, P7 explained,

I voraciously look through magazines that are related to snow sport and if I see an image that's minority I do back flips, and you know there are very few times that I will. So, but I still keep looking and I do find them, which is amazing, Well, it's not amazing, it just makes me validated, makes me happy and makes me part of the culture. makes me have a warm receptive feeling from our culture. But, when it's not there, I'm looking for it because its missing, and I'm very disappointed that I don't see just random, random articles, random spreads or advertisements in every in every piece of media that I touch, that I consume. I certainly don't see many things on the major media that's related to snow sports, but if they are snow sports, I really don't see any kind of special things that I can identify relating to minorities that are involved. and I think that that's a miss.

Although participants highlighted an overall lack of cultural or racially ethnic minority representation across different types of snow sports media, one participant

specifically pointed out the consistent use of hip hop music and urban culture in snow sports media, but explained that the participants remain exclusively White. Specifically, P2 noted, "I follow a lot of snowboarders on YouTube and stuff like that, and I do notice they do a lot of hip hop in their music and stuff." When probed about the racial identity of the participants in the videos, P2 stated, "Well, yeah most of them are White." and went on to explain the use of urban clothing styles in snow sports, stating, "Especially with freestyle skiers and snowboarders, they wear baggy clothes, they may use certain slang that originated in Urban environments, stuff like that, and it's a skateboard culture, too, some borrow it from the skate culture as well."

Theme 3: Racism

Racism was a reoccurring topic among participants' responses regarding the factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. Structural factors were shown to perpetuate racism through resort operations, as well as through costly and selective practices within school-based programs and club-based organizations. Similarly, racism was believed to operate within symbolic factors as participants mentioned the promotion of an exclusive socio-cultural image of snow sports along with a lack of racially ethnic minority representation within snow sports media. The following section will highlight how racism exists within structural and symbolic factors related to snow sports activities.

Racism in structural factors. Eight of the 12 participants mentioned they had experienced racism, whether intentional or not, in some capacity within structural factors related to snow sports. Four participants reported they did not experience racism directly,

however P11 pointed out, "But it doesn't mean it doesn't exist" while P12 stated, "I'm sure there's been some microaggression that's probably not even detected or noticed" and P3 noted, "I'm sure racism exists." Participants recalled how resort settings often perpetuated racism through comments about and toward racially ethnic minorities, high costs of participation, and poor-quality instruction, along with disrespectful treatment by resort staff. Similarly, school-based programs were described as being expensive and exclusive, as were club-based organizations, which were described as costly and selective. The following section will explain how racism operates within structural factors related to snow sports activities.

Racism in resort settings. While P12 stated, staff are usually "bending over backwards for minorities" and are "trying to help" minority participants, other respondents highlighted how racism within resorts often occurs. Specifically, racism was demonstrated in three different ways within resort settings including comments about and toward racially ethnic minorities, high costs of participation and lack of quality instruction, and disrespectful treatment by resort staff. First, several participants mentioned they overheard negative comments among staff members in locker rooms, behind closed doors and amongst patrons who were not racially ethnic minorities. For example, when asked if racism was ever experienced in structural factors, P8 responded,

> Sure. All the time, but, it's pretty minimal. but it does happen sort of on a consistent basis. I've heard comments from known patrons making disparaging remarks, 'You don't belong here, you don't look like you belong here, I didn't know Mexicans skied'... stuff like that.

Similarly, P6 stated, "I am sure there was racist talk behind closed doors" and went on to explain,

> Well I mean, I worked in (Anonymous) and as you can imagine (Anonymous) has pretty significant racism going on. I can't think of any specific titles, likes very specific examples because it was a long time ago, but they're like for sure, I experienced teachers making inappropriate comments, like behind closed doors kind of thing.

Likewise, P9 highlighted, "there's tons of people that will make comments that are totally out of line." and P12 referred to others' making racist comments by pointing out "the words of the day."

Next, the cost of participation at resorts along with low quality instruction was also mentioned as a form of racism within structural factors related to snow sports. When asked about racism, P5 stated,

> How things are set up with our culture where there is opportunity cost that. it costs money to even travel up here even if it's just for a day. There's gas involved, the car, the time, being able to, you know, whoever you're going with. be the person that can take you. and then also like, if it's even possible to spend that money on a lesson, much less rent gear. So, it just kind of like that. The distance and time and all those factors that go into that can make it more difficult.

Similarly, P10 noted, "Similar to experience, costs is prohibitive to many people" and went on to point how demographics and location to ski hill are related to access, extra support, transportation, costs, and gear, by explaining, "You get more exposure if you

live closer." Furthermore, P10 reiterated how "racial economic factors" influence racially ethnic minority participants in snow sports, which again highlighted how racism plays a role within structural factors related to snow sports activities.

Regarding the quality of instruction at resorts, P7 made the point that typical snow sports instructors do not have experience working with racially ethnic minority youth and noted how Black instructors can "relate better and connect more" to racially ethnic minority youth participants. P7 went on to describe racially ethnic minority youth's instruction during snow sports lessons as occasionally being "lack luster" compared to Caucasian students' lessons. Specifically, P7 explained,

> Yeah, I think that there's a there's a tendency in teaching to just let people kind of go through the ropes and you can size up your students and take really valiant efforts at making sure that they're going to get the skill and the challenge that is due them in any session, but, I think that you get to have. some students' just find that the energy that's placed on their, their lesson is average. They may, they may. they show a lot of just naturals... Well, um, not naturals, but they might show a lot of skill and interest and have something really going on and the lesson may not cater to really get them going because I think in some ways instructors want to just bring somebody back to their parents and say, 'Well, look you know, Junior's doing really, really well' and you know, 'You should just keep coming back and bringing the'. but, if you're not really doing perhaps, a lesson for someone who looks like they're going to be a regular, you may just get a lesson that might go through the ropes. So, I think when you have minority students who

are taking lessons it really depends on if you have a private lesson forum, a group lesson forum. they may go through hour and a half, 2 hour group lesson, and they may show all the promise in the world, but the instructor may just say, 'Hey thanks a lot.' and just kind of let the let the hour go by without really advancing what can be accomplished.

Thirdly, regarding treatment by resort staff, two participants mentioned how racially ethnic minority youth were treated differently by resort staff members compared to White patrons. For example, P10 explained that resort staff were more welcoming to White youth groups compared to racially ethnic minority youth groups when dining at an on-mountain establishment. Specifically, P10 stated, "I can definitely tell they're annoyed that we're there." and went on to explain how the resort staff was unaccommodating to their needs. Similarly, P12 explained how resort operations unfairly treated a racially ethnic minority youth group based on an allegation of a stolen cell phone,

So, the phone, we got the phone back. we checked the phone bag and the bag actually had nothing to do with us apparently. So long story short, (Anonymous Resort Staff) was like 'Yeah, we don't want to participate' with us anymore because they're, you know, they got to protect their paying customers. And I get that, but there might have been a little bit of racism or classism involved with that. **Racism in school-based programs.** Racism was also believed to be apparent in

school-based programs in how snow sports activities were typically disregarded in lower income areas and only offered to more affluent schools. For example, P8 responded,

"There is resistance. There's a residual resistance." regarding the school district implementing snow sports for racially ethnic minority youth. P8 went on to explain, while teachers were helpful in efforts to promote snow sports outreach services to racially ethnic minority youth, the school district itself was not cooperative, "I've never seen them reach out to me and say how can we integrate. because I've tried, but it's always been rebuffed." Likewise, P3 mentioned, "So the school becomes a prohibiter based on qualifications of the of a kid's ability, which is going to be tied to something that the school didn't have anything to do with creating." and P10 explained,

> So, we do have some schools here that do that incorporate snow sports into their curriculum. So, like, they'll like leave school to go ski for half a day or for a day, but those schools are definitely where there's far more money. The poorer schools don't have those same opportunities. It's more like the schools that offer it are. like one school in particular, is a private school, so that's obviously. I mean they do, you have some scholarships, but most of the kids that go there are White. and then there's another public school, but you have to be accepted to that, its specifically like a ski training school, and again, I mean those kids. the kids that participate in that are the kids that come from money. If you don't, if your parents aren't fairly well off then you're not able to participate in things like that, so, and those schools are in areas that are, I guess the socioeconomic level is definitely higher where those schools are located.

Racism in club-based organizations. Racism was believed to operate within club settings through highly selective processes and high costs of participation. For

example, P3 noted, "My experience from what I've seen with clubs is things get difficult depending on the caliber of ski races because the top get small. there's only so many slots." P3 continued to expand on the limited opportunities offered at higher levels, mentioning, "I believe there are tricks and biases applied at higher levels." where the more connected kid was thought to have better access to privileged ski passes and elite coaches due to the higher socioeconomic level of the parents.

Likewise, P7 stated, "I think that there's a very big thing about overlooking the very positive talents that are brought to bear." and went on to explain,

> They tend to put other factors in front of being talented, of being hungry, and being dedicated that don't happen in the majority culture. and you have folks who are very talented, but don't fit the M.O. of you know, the clean cut, sharp, you know, picture perfect vision of folks that are really successful, and so, when you try to move forward you're getting a lot of, you're getting a lot of static.

Furthermore, regarding racism in club-based organizations, P4 commented about the "cultural differences in certain clubs" and pointed out intolerance towards "people with less experience coming in."

Racism in symbolic factors. When asked about racism in symbolic factors related to snow sports, participants mentioned the lack of racially ethnic minority representation as a form of racism, and like before, participants highlighted how companies often make no effort to include racially ethnic minorities in their target audience, while reiterating how imagery and marketing affect racially ethnic minority youth participation. Similar to P7 who pointed out that racially ethnic minority

representation in media is "missing"; P9 also mentioned the "lack of representation" in snow sports media regarding racially ethnic minority participants. Likewise, P3 stated, "So the representation in media has, has almost always excluded us." and P11 mentioned, "I'm not seeing a lot of people of color, you know, advertised in these in these things." Additionally, P4 reiterated how "whatever publication and media exposure. is you know, a very, very White complexion." and P8 noted how companies do not represent racially ethnic minorities in snow sports because "it's not perceived as profitable." Furthermore, P12 explained how some companies "might really try to play into that whole inclusivity thing, you know and so, I don't know. it seems like I haven't seen that with snow sports."

Participants again highlighted the importance of imagery and seeing prominent racially ethnic minority figures in professional competitions. For example, P6 mentioned how Black professional snowboarders "are not represented in the media." while P1 stated, "You know, if it's in the big magazines or even our (Anonymous Organization), all the national team members I believe. I'm pretty sure are all White." Likewise, P10 pointed out that people who win the "ski and snowboarding competitions. that usually is White people that are winning those things." and P2 mentioned how a popular television show portrayed the negative stereotype that "Black guys don't ski" and went on to comment about the cultural representation in Olympic and X-games media, "I might see, you know, a lot of Europeans and a few Asians sprinkled in there. there's not a lot of Black people."

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the setting and demographics related to this study along with the data collection and data analysis procedures. Evidence of trustworthiness and the results of this study were also explained. The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to explore the lived experiences of teachers from school-based programs and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. Structural factors included possible sources of student participation in snow sports, such as school physical education programs, resort ski school programs, afterschool programs, and club and community-based programs. Symbolic factors included possible sources of exposure to snow sports, such as textbooks, media, Internet, magazines, video games, clothing, films, and music. Semistructured interviews were conducted and NVivo Transcription was used to transcribe data verbatim while NVivo12 was used to code and analyze data. Major themes were derived from data including exposure and access, cultural representation and racism, which were shown to operate within structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports activities. In Chapter 5, I will display the study findings as it relates to the literature in Chapter 2, followed by limitations of the study along with recommendations and implications for social change.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative, phenomenological study was to explore the lived experiences of teachers from school-based and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports. Structural factors included possible sources of student participation in snow sports, such as school physical education, resort ski school, afterschool, and club and community-based programs. Symbolic factors included possible sources of exposure to snow sports, such as textbooks, media, Internet, magazines, video games, clothing, films, and music. I conducted semistructured interviews and used NVivo Transcription to transcribe data verbatim, while NVivo12 was used to code and analyze data. Major themes were derived from data, including exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism, which were shown to operate within structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. The key findings highlighted how structural factors sought to provide exposure and access for racially ethnic minority participants through outreach-type programs that typically included discounted or cost-free lift tickets, free gear rentals, and transportation, while other findings suggested racism is involved in how snow sports are carried out in resorts, school-based programs, and club-based organizations through high opportunity costs, selective practices, biased snow-sports instruction, and differential treatment of racially ethnic minorities on the slopes. Furthermore, racism was also evident in symbolic factors

related to snow sports, where racially ethnic minority groups were said to be excluded and underrepresented throughout all types of snow sports media. In this chapter, I discuss the implications of these findings with respect to the literature review and the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 2. In this chapter, I also explain the limitations of the study, implications for social change, and recommendations for future research on the topic.

Interpretation of the Findings

The findings of this study corroborate with those of researchers discussed in Chapter 2 with regard to exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism within structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports. Researchers in Chapter 2, like the results of this study, demonstrated how structural and symbolic factors both positively and negatively influence racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports. Like the Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council (2017) highlighted, the findings of this study illustrate a significant lack of racially ethnic minority youth representation in snow sports. Just as the work of Cooke et al. (2016), Harrison (2013), and Thorpe (2015) suggested, the lack of racially ethnic minority participants in snow sports may be a result of racism within structural and symbolic factors related to snow sports activities. Specifically, the findings of this study support the notions of Cooke et al. and Harrison included in the theory of racial spatiality, in which they claimed racially ethnic minorities are often excluded in skiing through factors such as expensive costs associated with the sport, cultural-based preferences, recruitment into the sport, geographical location, and discriminatory tactics.

The results of this study also echo Thorpe's work regarding structural and symbolic factors in snowboarding, which highlighted how snowboarding was marketed and targeted to an elite, upper-middle class clientele while including urban hip hop symbolism in its efforts to promote the sport to mainly White individuals.

Additionally, the findings of this study support the works of Harrison (2013), Ruso et al. (2018), Stodolska and Camarillo (2018), Stodolska and Floyd (2016), and Svensson and Mahoney (2018), which demonstrated how structural factors could help attract and retain racially ethnic minority participants in sports and recreation-based activities. Specifically, the findings of this study confirm that clubs and community-based organizations often partner with schools and resorts to help provide better exposure and access to snow sports for racially ethnic minority youth participants. Particularly, like Gay (2018), McFeeters (2019), and Woodley et al. (2017) highlighted, the use of culturally responsive practices were demonstrated in this study through a variety of ways, including lifestyle sports and recreation-based activities that incorporated language immersion instruction and socio-cultural activities, which were thought to provide better exposure and access to snow sports for racially ethnic minority youth participants. Furthermore, participants also mentioned the use of parallel integration strategies as a way to positively attract and retain racially ethnic minority youth participants, just as Wheaton (2013) and Harrison suggested.

Moreover, the findings of this study highlight the importance of structural entities using symbolic factors, including media and marketing, to attract racially ethnic minority participants, just as Wheaton and Thorpe (2018), Rannikko et al. (2016), and others

indicated. Participants pointed out the importance of imagery and racially ethnic minorities being represented throughout all levels of snow sports and media sources, in which, like P7 described, "makes me validated, makes me happy and makes me part of the culture." Furthermore, while the findings of this study reveal some effort by structural and symbolic factors to attract and retain racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports, participants, again like those in Thorpe's (2015) study, stressed that the efforts by these companies and organizations were few compared to those targeting non-racially ethnic minority clientele.

Through the critical race theory framework, in this study I sought to examine racial components of youth snow sports with regard to racism and experience. Critical race theory related to examining racism in structural and symbolic factors in youth snow sports activities by serving as a framework that helped to describe and give meaning to the participants' lived experiences regarding the continued lack of racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports. While Delgado and Stefancic (1997) and Harrison Jr. and Clark (2016) claimed critical race theory could operate successfully within society and educational settings to examine racial injustices, Hylton (2010, 2012) argued critical race theory could help explain colorblindness in sports-related activities. Along with racism, which was evident in both structural and symbolic factors within the findings of this study, colorblindness was also apparent in how resorts and clubs often sought to use snow sports as a "common ground" among participants while ignoring important cultural factors related to race and ethnicity. It is also important to note that colorblindness was seen in how performance-based measures were implemented, along

with privilege and wealth, in efforts to recruit, retain, and promote youth participants. While racial-ethnicity may not have been a factor in some resort, school, or club-based settings, participants mentioned how oftentimes money was, as P12 pointed out, "Ultimately, I think the resorts just care about the bottom dollar they don't really care what race." Again, this highlights the significance that wealth, privilege, and prestige play in the success of racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study included participant trustworthiness and researcher credibility. I sought to use proper data collection procedures and data analysis processes including the use of NVivo Transcription and NVivo12, which helped with the time-consuming and labor-intensive processes of data collection and analysis. I interpreted data using phenomenological reduction to describe participants' perspectives, while addressing any biases by implementing bracketing through memos and audit trails, where I recorded thoughts related to the entire research process. Member checks were also implemented along with the checking and rechecking of data, which helped to ensure that the findings were the experiences and ideas of the participants rather than my own.

Recommendations

Further research into the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports is warranted. It is important to determine how structural factors, including how resorts, schools, and clubs can better attract and retain racially ethnic minority youth participants, while also determining how symbolic factors can be utilized within snow sports to appropriately represent and include

racially ethnic minority participants. Furthermore, it is important to determine the extent and underlying causes of racism that currently exist within snow sports to better understand how to eliminate prohibitive, exclusionary, and discriminatory practices within the snow sports industry. My recommendations include the use of culturally responsive teaching curricula within schools, resorts, clubs, and similar organizations that implement youth snow sports activities. I also recommend implementing culturally responsive staff trainings and professional development opportunities for those that instruct, organize, and promote activities within the snow sports industry.

Implications

With this study, I sought to provide a better understanding of the current racial landscape of the snow sports industry while seeking ways to better support the recruitment and retention of racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports activities. Specifically, I aimed to understand the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports while exposing racist tactics within the snow sports industry and addressing racial inequalities through culturally responsive practices. The results of this study have the ability to bring about positive social change by supporting culturally responsive practices throughout the snow sports industry, which aim to provide fair, equitable, and inclusive opportunities for racially ethnic minority groups to participate in snow sports. The findings of this study may be useful to resorts, schools, clubs, and similar organizations who educate youth and promote snow sports activities.

Conclusion

There is low participation among racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports activities (Snowsports Industries America Physical Activity Council, 2017) that may be caused by racism through structural and symbolic factors (Cooke et al., 2016; Harrison, 2013; Thorpe, 2015). Using critical race theory as the conceptual framework, in this study I explored the lived experiences of teachers from school-based and resort ski school programs as well as coaches from afterschool club and community-based organizations regarding the structural and symbolic factors that influence racially ethnic minority youth participation in snow sports. My inquiry centered on potential racism in structural and symbolic factors related to snow sports activities. The findings of this study help provide an increased understanding of why there continues to be a lack of racially ethnic minority youth involved in snow sports through the emergent themes of exposure and access, cultural representation, and racism, which may be useful to resorts, schools, clubs, and similar organizations who educate youth and promote snow sports activities. Specifically, the findings of this study highlight how barriers within structural and symbolic factors, such as costs and exclusiveness, negatively influence racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports while simultaneously demonstrating how outreach programs and similar initiatives provide increased opportunities for racially ethnic minority youth to participate through inclusive activities and culturally responsive practices. The findings of this study may help bring about positive social change by promoting important concepts related to the lack of racially ethnic minority youth participants in

snow sports while supporting culturally responsive practices throughout the snow sports

industry.

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Appendix: Interview Questions and Probes

The interview:

Research Question:

What are the lived experiences of school-based physical education and ski resort teachers and afterschool club and community-based coaches about the structural and symbolic influences on the participation of racially ethnic minority students in snow sports?

I will use open-ended and neutral questions as well as probes at the end of the interview.

What can you tell me about working with racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports? How do schools, clubs, resorts attract and retain racially ethnic minority youth participants?
How do schools, clubs, resorts disengage (keep out) racially ethnic minority youth?
What do you think influences racially ethnic minority youth participants in snow sports activities?
Do you think or/Have you ever experienced racism towards racially ethnic minority youth in snow sports? If so, can you explain/give example?
What can you tell me about your experience (racism) in structural factors (schools, clubs, resorts)?
What can you tell me about your experience (racism) in symbolic factors (media, magazines, movies, music, fashion, TV, ads, tourism, etc.)?

Examples of probing questions include:
1. "You said_____; will you please elaborate on that experience?"
2. "I want to make sure I understand you, will you please provide another example of that feeling?"
3. "What did you mean when you said_____?"
4. Is there is something related to the topic that you would have liked me to ask?
5. What did that experience mean to you?
6. Can you give me a specific example?
7. Is there anything else you want to share?

Follow-up interviews will be conducted using questions generated based on answers from participants' initial interview responses.