Teamwork and Leadership: Competitive Youth Soccer as a Context for Positive Youth Development

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine processes and interactions that characterized positive developmental experiences in sport. A highly competitive and reputable U-17 girls’ soccer team was chosen for the study through purposeful sampling, providing an information rich case from which data could be derived (Patton, 2002). Seventeen players and three coaches participated in this study. Based on an ethnographic methodology data were collected via observations and both informal and formal semi-structured interviews. The data were coded according to the three procedures outlined by Seidel and Kelle (1995): a) noticing relevant phenomena, b) collecting examples of those phenomena, and c) analyzing those phenomena in order to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures. Significant events and underlying themes were recounted chronologically through a collection of vignettes, aimed to provide a contextual lens for the reader. Results revolved around two prominent themes: Teamwork and leadership. These were closely related concepts that required players to demonstrate a wide range of developmental skills for the team to move collectively towards their end goal. Furthermore, teamwork and leadership experiences took both desirable and undesirable forms. For example, at the beginning of the season competition existed amongst the players at the expense of teamwork and leadership. As the season progressed the pursuit of a shared goal allowed the players to view each other as collaborators and teamwork and leadership skills became increasingly evident. At times, however, success on the field was prioritized above maintaining relationships off the field, requiring the coaches to intervene and re-establish equilibrium.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a period of transition accompanied by physical, psychological, and social transformations eliciting novel experiences of emotional arousal (Silk, Steinberg & Sheffield Morris, 2003). It is a time when previously held roles and boundaries are either modified or rejected and an increasingly complex set of new roles is assumed (Danish, Fazio, Nellen & Owens, 2002). Adolescence is often a time of confusion for young people in attempting to define these new roles and boundaries. A vast array of psychological research has approached the transformations during this time in an attempt to provide reasoning as to why adolescents behave the way they do. Risk taking by youth has been of great interest to researchers with biological, cognitive, emotional and psychosocial explanations for this behavior offered over the years in an attempt to understand these adolescents more sufficiently. Unfortunately for adolescents, this has occasionally led to reduced understanding and false generalizations with regards to this negative behavior. As a result, adolescence is now largely perceived as a time of inevitable risk taking for all youth instead of youth risk takers being viewed as an exception. Research in this field consequently developed a preoccupation with deficit reduction and prevention strategies as an attempt to reduce delinquent behavior.

More recently, however, there has been a shift in the focus of adolescent psychology away from deficit reduction and prevention. Positive psychology views individuals as active agents, “No longer...a passive vessel responding to stimuli; rather, individuals are now seen as decision makers, with choices, preferences...”
Developmental theory stresses that systematic change occurs across the lifespan, what is known as ‘relative plasticity’ (Lerner, Bretano, Dowling & Anderson, 2002). This developmental change is affected by the relationship that exists between the individual and his or her changing context (Lerner, 2002), for example, family, peer groups, school, community and culture (Lerner et al., 2002). Healthy development of youth is therefore more likely to occur when there exists a developmentally appropriate match between these two things (Lerner, 2005). Using this philosophy as a foundation, more research has begun to view adolescents, less as passive individuals resigned to negative experiences on the path to reaching adulthood, but as autonomous with the capacity for competence (Seligman & Csikzentmihalyi, 2000). Assets supporting positive development (family, peer groups, etc) are also therefore viewed as an integral aspect within this dynamic process. A framework of positive youth development emerged from these ideas, encapsulating the premise that youth are resources to be developed, as an alternative to the previous deficit reduction approach and that this positive development can readily occur if youth are provided the supportive context for it to occur. Positive youth development aims, through provisions made by supportive adults, to develop adolescents into ‘better people’ (Fraser-Thomas, Cote & Deakin, 2005, p.20). Youth are provided with the necessary skills, values and beliefs that enable them to live a healthy, satisfying and productive life (Hamilton et al., 2004; in Fraser et al., 2005). Extra-curricular activities, such as after-school programs and sports are increasingly popular avenues for developing such skills.

Recognizing individual differences in adolescents is a large focus within
positive youth development. Understanding that there are other contributing factors in the development of youth, however, is also essential. The environmental contexts in which socialization takes place, including school, family, and the wider community, are highly influential in determining the development of youth (Beyers, Bates, Pettit & Dodge, 2003). Collective efficacy refers to the level of engagement by socializing agents across these environmental contexts in supporting and supervising youth (Beyers, Bates, Pettit & Dodge, 2003). The occurrence of collective efficacy is deemed to result in an increased social capital for adolescents (Beyers et al., 2003). Developmental research consequently cannot ignore the role of influencing agents within the context under study.

Despite increasing cognitive and decision making abilities during adolescence, young people in Western society rarely have the opportunity to assume roles entailing responsibility and initiative (Larson, 2000). Youth spend the majority of their waking hours in school and although education challenges adolescents and requires high levels of concentration, this environment often encourages passive adaptation to external rules and scarcely stimulates feelings of intrinsic motivation (Larson, 2000). Recognizing that positive development occurs across many contexts, Larson (2000) hypothesizes that youth activities provide a context in which there is often a high density of growth experiences. He therefore proposes that youth activities are given equivalent status as a focal context of development to school, family and peers. Activities providing similar structure to a school environment yet participated in voluntarily are considered a suitable context in which adolescents can develop both responsibility and initiative (Larson, 2000). Such activities as art, sport,
hobbies and after-school clubs are included within this category of structured voluntary activities. Activities within this category provide intrinsic motivation for youth within a system involving constraints, rules and goals (Larson, 2000). The diversity of these activities and the experiences youth have within them needs to be recognized. The broad category of 'voluntary structured activities' includes an eclectic range of programs in which adolescents frequently participate. To make the assumption that all voluntary structured activities will inevitably provide youth with valuable skills and resources that can transfer to different life domains would, be misinformed and activities need to be judged individually and specifically to know if they will contribute to youth development.

Sport provides an activity that is particularly favoured as a context in which development can occur as sport is readily participated in by a great number of youths and provides ample opportunity for social interaction and learning in a structured environment (Hellison, 2003). Teamwork and leadership, particularly the necessity to interact and build relationships with peers, have been specifically linked to team sport (Danish, Taylor & Fazio, 2003). Due to the level of social interaction in a sporting environment and the tangible goals involved, acquiring such developmental assets as leadership and teamwork appears a realistic aim. These skills require a multitude of behaviour characteristics that can be developed in a group or team setting such as sport offers. Peer helping and social support (Yukelson, 1997), accepting others' viewpoints (Larson, Hansen & Walker, 2005) and maintaining good relationships (Wright & Cote, 2003) are a few of many characteristics deemed essential in aiding a group of people in achieving a common goal. Teamwork and leadership are two
skills that are recognized as important for youth to attain in developing a sense of agency (Larson, 1994; 2007). They are also skills that are viewed as highly transferable to areas outside of sport (Danish, Petitpas & Hale, 1993). If positive youth development is to occur, however, it is essential for us to gain an understanding of the processes and interactions within a sporting context that can equip adolescents with these teamwork and leadership skills.

To summarize the introduction, it has been observed that adolescence has been generalized as a time during which negative behaviour is inevitable for youth. Positive psychology offers an alternative viewpoint whereby youth are seen as active agents with choices and control over their destiny. Positive Youth Development as an extension of this aims to equip youth with the necessary skills to enable them to make healthy and productive choices. This social capital requires collaboration between youth as individuals and the context in which they live, such as their family, school and the community. Voluntary structured activities can be provided within this context to further these opportunities for youth and sport as a specific structured voluntary activity provides an avenue for the development of such skills as teamwork and leadership. These skills are recognized as not simply context specific but also transferable to areas outside of sport, increasing their value as developmental assets (Papacharisis, Goudas, Danish & Theodorakis, 2005).

For the purpose of this research, the rationale underlying this study is to expand the positive youth development research and examine the context of competitive sport as an environment conducive to the development of positive outcomes. More specifically, the purpose of this research is to investigate the
processes, including the influence of socializing agents within this competitive sporting context, that contribute to the acquisition of teamwork and leadership skills as developmental outcomes. Chapter two reviews the literature and frames the purpose of the study in more depth, highlighting the research that has been done and has yet to be done with regard to the development of teamwork and leadership in sport by youth. Positive youth development is first reviewed before a more specific relationship to sport is explored. A range of developmental skills associated with sport are outlined, including research that explores the transfer of these skills to domains outside of sport. The concepts of teamwork and leadership are then more thoroughly dissected, along with the relationship that exists between them. The qualitative research methods and underlying ethnographic methodology adopted to best address the research purposes are then outlined in chapter three before significant events and underlying themes are recounted chronologically through a collection of vignettes, aimed to provide a contextual lens for the reader in chapter four. Chapter five then acts to provide a summary of these findings and additional observations made by the researcher are discussed.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

Positive Youth Development

Positive psychology is what Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) have referred to as the promotion of life development and has been offered as an alternative to the deficit-reduction approach assumed by psychologists in previous years. The field of positive psychology attempts to move away from prevention as a primary concern and instead aims at nurturing valued experiences (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Adolescents have received attention within the positive psychology field with a view to capturing the full potential of all young people (Damon, 2004). A ‘successful adolescent’ is defined as one who has attained the necessary skills to be able to function effectively in a range of environments (Danish, Fazio, Nellen & Owens, 2002). More specifically, research on Positive Youth Development (PYD) has attempted to link an array of youth activities with positive development that will contribute towards their preparation for adulthood (Larson, 2000).

What constitutes adolescence is a difficult question to answer; however it is generally considered a time when there is an increasingly complex set of new roles and previously held roles are either modified or rejected (Danish et al., 2002). PYD aims at “understanding, educating, and engaging children in productive activities” (p.15) as an alternative to correcting or treating youths for maladaptive tendencies (Damon, 2004). The unique approach of PYD is further highlighted by Petitpas, Cornelius, Van Raalte and Jones (2005). They make a clear distinction between
developmental activities focusing on growth and skill acquisition and intervention and prevention programs designed to either stop or reduce negative behaviors or keep participants from experimenting with negative behaviors. This realm of research is based on the foundation that all youth possess the capacity for positive development (Lerner, Dowling & Anderson, 2003).

The potential for systematic change has been defined as “relative plasticity” (Lerner et al., 2003, p.173). Relative plasticity opens up a more optimistic and proactive view that the characteristics and ecologies of individuals can be assorted to promote positive developmental change (Lerner et al., 2003). Positive youth development research has attempted to understand what contributes to this developmental change to foster motivated, directed, socially competent, and compassionate children and adolescents; what it is that can equip them with the skills necessary for them to take charge of their lives (Larson, 2000). Skills learned in a specific context that can be transferred to other life domains are referred to as life skills (Papacharisis et al., 2005). Life skills are a combination of both interpersonal and intrapersonal skills, respectively defined here as the ability to communicate with others in a variety of situations and including both physical and mental skills (Danish, Petitpas & Hale, 1993).

Organized youth activities have been recognized (Larson et al., 2004) as a site for positive youth development whereby this growth and skill acquisition has the potential to take place. Community programs and extra-curricular activities provide a context in which fundamental personal and social resources that are typically not learned in school can be nurtured (Larson et al., 2004). Youth activities have provided
a unique domain within adolescents’ lives in which youth constantly report experiencing both high motivation and high concentration (Larson, 2000). Due to the vast array of youth activity on offer to adolescents, however, there has been difficulty defining the most effective form of activity in promoting positive developmental outcomes. Larson (2000) analyzed the development of initiative in youth and found that structured voluntary activities provided the best context for this development. Structured voluntary activities are defined as activities that are not a requirement for school and provide a system involving constraints, rules and goals (Larson, 2000). Initiative is suggested as a core requirement for other components of development such as leadership. The proposed benefits of structured voluntary activities for youth development consequently appear of use.

*Sport as a Context for Development*

Sport as a structured voluntary activity provides one such context through which developmental skills can be attained. Sport has the participation level necessary to reach a large number of youth in the community with 54% of Canadian children aged five to fourteen participating in some form of organized sport activity (Kremarik, 2000). Unfortunately, this figure decreases for females as they move through adolescence (Pederson & Seidman, 2004); however sport still remains a primary voluntary structured activity that has the potential to provide both feelings of intrinsic motivation and challenge to youth (Larson, 2000).

As adolescents’ interest in sport becomes more focused, concern about their performance and competency also tends to increase and training and competition objectives become important. Setting goals to reach these objectives can help athletes
gain self-efficacy and competence (Danish et al., 2002). Goals will later be discussed as central to definitions of both teamwork and leadership. It is striving towards a collective goal that can bring about both of these skills. Goals in sport are also fairly tangible, short-term and easily measured giving a better opportunity to see the value in setting these goals (Danish, Taylor & Fazio, 2003). The ability to collectively experience goal setting not only aids youth by giving them a target to work towards, requiring leadership and teamwork to do this, but also increases youths' ownership and sense of responsibility in attempting to achieve these goals (Martinek & Ruiz, 2006; Larson, Walker & Pearce, 2005).

It is the connection between sport skills and skills for successful living that lead investors in sport to believe that sports can have beneficial psychosocial development beyond the sport itself (Danish et al, 2002). Sport participants are challenged emotionally, socially and physically (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005), providing the opportunity for holistic development. The sport environment itself is also highly emotional and interactive, providing frequent opportunities to both learn and display personal and social qualities (Hellison, 2003). The opportunity for exploration of self in addition to personal strengths and limits (Dworkin, Larson & Hansen, 2003) is also provided in a safe environment whereby the consequences of potential negative situations resulting from this exploration are minimal (Danish et al., 2002). A sporting environment provides participants with ample opportunities to interact with others in ways that have moral significance and the discussion of whether sports build character remains a contemporary one (Light Shields & Light Bredemeier, 2005). Team sports especially challenge participants to achieve a level of
cooperation as a direct result of the social interactions encountered and also require participants to coordinate efforts with others to achieve a common goal.

Despite claims that sport has the potential to develop life skills in youth, it needs to be recognized that participating in sport does not necessarily lead to positive developmental outcomes (Papacharisis et al., 2005). The pathways within sport that lead to positive youth development also remain largely unknown (Larson, 2000; Larson et al., 2004). As an opposite extreme, therefore, the possibility of negative outcomes cannot be ignored. Sport has been negatively associated with higher alcohol use (Eccles, Barber, Stone & Hunt, 2003), excessive pressure to win, often leading to reduced self-esteem (Martens, 1993) and higher anxiety (Brustad, Babkes & Smith, 2001), violence and aggression (Gardner & Janelle, 2002), poor displays of sportsmanship (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005) and negative adult influences (Dworkin & Larson, 2006). With these in mind, both the structure and context of a sporting environment become increasingly important if sport is to facilitate positive outcomes. Not only do adults interested in the positive development of youths want to avoid such negative outcomes in sport, but sport needs to be guided in such a way as to encourage and actively promote the development of youths’ individual strengths. Although the sports literature has raised concerns regarding such forms of negative experience, they are not unique to sport (Larson, Hansen & Moneta, 2006). As has been mentioned, sport as a youth activity, if managed in the right way, can provide an ideal environment for positive developmental outcomes.

Developmental Skills

Some youth organizations have been criticized for not meeting the
developmental needs of their participants, with youth experiences often enjoyable and safe yet lacking connections to developmental content (Kahne, Nagaoka, Brown, Quinn & Thiede, 2001). Skill development is often not systematic and long term relationships between youths and adults remain largely undeveloped (Kahne et al., 2001). As a more general construct of PYD, Lerner (2004) provides the five C’s of desired outcomes in youths if programs such as these are offered: competence, confidence, connections, character and caring. Competence refers to a positive view of one’s actions in domain specific areas including social, academic, cognitive and vocational. Confidence is an internal sense of overall positive self-worth and self-efficacy. Connection is achieving positive bonds with people and institutions. Character is defined as respect for societal and cultural rules: a sense of morality and integrity. Caring refers to having a sense of sympathy and empathy for others. Ways in which other developmental research relates to the ‘5Cs’ will be discussed below. These characteristics are considered important for youth development (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005).

Similar to connection, Barber, Eccles and Stone (2001) found that youths in sport reported less social isolation. Further to this, Larson (1994) outlines the use of sport, not only for less social isolation, but as a vehicle for actively encouraging social integration through the ability of sport to foster relationships with adults, peers and family, and the subculture of sport as a community in itself. Barber et al. (2001) found that youth also reported higher self-esteem through sport participation, relating to the second ‘C’, confidence. Smith and Smoll (1990) have linked self-esteem to coach behavior specifically. Children with low self-esteem responded more positively
to coaches who were highly supportive towards them, using encouragement and reinforcement. Alternatively, children with high self-esteem were less affected by coach behavior, evoking positive reactions from a wide range of people deemed important to them and therefore less affected by the reactions of just one person (Smith & Smoll, 1990). Pederson and Seidman (2004) examined girls’ levels of self-esteem and team sports. Through team sport experiences in early adolescence, self-esteem was shown to improve in mid-adolescence. Team sports, it is argued, provide opportunities for prosocial interactions with adults and peers in order to achieve collective goals (Larson, 2000; Pederson & Seidman, 2004).

In addition to self-esteem as an indicator of feelings of confidence, Larson (1994) proposes the development of self-concept, also a product resulting from feelings of competence. Sport appears to provide the ideal opportunity for this development of self-concept; however, research to support this is reduced considerably once other variables are controlled (Larson, 1994). In a comparative study by Larson, Hansen and Moneta (2006) grade eleven students reported high rates of initiative, emotional regulation and teamwork experiences in sport, consistent with suggestions that sport provides a highly emotional and interactive environment (Hellison, 2003). Emotional or self-regulation could be categorized as the development of character: the respect for societal and cultural rules as sense of morality and integrity.

Teamwork could, however, relate to all five C’s in Lerner’s construct (2004), due to its ability to foster positive self-worth and sense of achievement, along with opportunities for meaningful interactions. Initiative is another dimension, along with
self-reflection and self-direction, of what Larson (1994, 2000) generically refers to as agency. Agency here is defined as the ability to be intrinsically motivated to direct attention and effort toward a challenging goal (Larson, 2000). The natural intrinsic motivation of adolescents in activities such as sport can be redirected so that it becomes an adult-like structure of agentic behavior (Larson, 1994). As mentioned previously, initiative is suggested as a core requirement for the development of other skills (Larson, 2000) therefore the high rates of initiative reported in sports may provide a foundation for this further development.

Interestingly, however, students also reported lower rates of positive relationship experiences in sport than in other youth activities (Larson, 2000). These findings appear consistent with Hansen, Larson and Dworkin (2003) who found that youth in sports reported higher rates of negative peer interaction. They theorized that this could relate to the competitive nature of sports that leads to social comparison among teammates. In a positive light, youths reported frequent learning experiences related to self-knowledge, emotional regulation and physical skills (Hansen et al., 2003).

Lerner (2004) has neatly encapsulated desired developmental assets for adolescents into his five Cs framework; however, it is evident that these five ‘Cs’ has been researched by other people with regards to sport. With regards to teamwork and leadership specifically, acquiring each of the five C’s (confidence, competence, character, connection and caring) would provide an athlete with the necessary assets to be able to demonstrate these two skills competently. Connection and caring are assets that relate to maintaining successful interpersonal relationships, deemed
essential in the teamwork and leadership literature (for example Moran & Weiss, 2006; Larson, 2007). Confidence and competence provide youth with the belief that they can successfully use their teamwork and leadership skills in a particular environment (for example Danish et al., 1993). Character, having respect for societal and cultural rules, relates to morality and integrity (Lerner, 2004) and provides the foundation for all developmental assets. Teamwork and leadership may be evident in a sport environment, but as mentioned, these behaviours can be negative as well as positive. It is character and morality that will distinguish the desired from the undesired behaviour in this study. The breadth of skills that collectively comprise and provide a foundation for teamwork and leadership are discussed more thoroughly later in the literature.

A sixth ‘C’, contribution, has thus far not been mentioned (Lerner, 2004). It is suggested that youth who acquire each of the five Cs will be well positioned to be able to ‘give back’ by contributing within their community. This in itself is another form of leadership. The idea of using skills learned in one context and applying them to outside environments is termed ‘skill transfer’ and is discussed below.

Skill Transfer

Whether developmental skills learned in sport are transferable to other areas of life or whether they are specific to a sport context is a topic of interest for both individuals and organizations that either invest in or consume sport. Danish et al., (2002) support the notion of life skills. These are valuable behaviours and attitudes learned in sport that can be transferred and applied to adult pursuits (Danish et al., 2002). Skills learned in sports such as performing under pressure, solving problems,
meeting deadlines and challenges, setting goals, communicating, handling both success and failure, working with a team and within a system, and receiving feedback and benefiting from it, according to them, are capable of transferring to other domains of life (Danish et al., 2002). Hellison (2003) has proposed the Personal and Social Responsibility Model as a framework using sport to teach responsibility with the intention of skill transfer to a wider setting. The model has five developmental levels (see figure 1 below) and includes self-control and respect for others, effort, self-direction and goal-setting, caring for others and lastly, attempting to foster these skills outside of a sport-specific context.

**Level I:** Respecting the rights and feelings of others
Self-control
The right to peaceful conflict resolution
The right to be included

**Level II:** Participation and effort
Self-motivation
Exploration of effort and new tasks
Courage to persist when the going gets tough

**Level III**
Self Direction
On-task independence
Goal-setting progression
Courage to resist peer pressure

**Level IV**
Helping others and leadership
Caring and compassion
Sensitivity and responsiveness
Inner strength

**Level V:** Outside the gym
Trying these ideas in other areas of life
Being a role model

*Figure 1. Personal and Social Responsibility Model*
The text on the page is too blurry to be legible or transcribed accurately.
Using sport activities as a vehicle, the model aims to help youths learn what they are responsible for and maximize empowerment. Leadership is highlighted as a potential positive outcome of the model; the acquisition of both the necessary skills and confidence to lead others (Hellison, 2003).

Sport has been identified as having the capacity to build both character and moral reasoning, important in developing both teamwork and leadership (Light Shields & Light Bredemeier, 2005). It is suggested that moral reasoning can be developed when opportunities are provided in sport to nurture and practice capacities for role taking, empathy, conflict resolution, and various sub-skills related to moral judgment (Light Shields, & Light Bredemeier, 2005). On an individual level, this definition would suggest a link between moral reasoning and leadership skills, however, displays of role-taking, empathy and conflict resolution on a collective level may indicate high levels of teamwork. With regard to whether these skills are transferable or context specific, Light Shields and Light Bredemeier (2005) have suggested that moral reasoning within sports would depart from moral reasoning in everyday life due to participants viewing sports as “set apart” with separate boundaries. The ability for skills learned in sport to transfer therefore remains unclear and suggests that transfer is dependent on an array of varied factors.

Research has shown that programs constructed specifically for the purpose of developing psychosocial skills, using sport as a vehicle to do so, have been successful (Martinek & Schilling, 2003). It has also been shown that sport can have both positive, negative or few outcomes at all. It does, however, remain to be seen if sport, without psychosocial development as its primary focus, can result in positive youth
development. More specifically, it remains to be seen whether teamwork and leadership skills can be developed through participation in competitive sport. Team sports provide opportunities for prosocial interactions with adults and peers in order to achieve collective goals (Larson, 2000; Pederson & Seidman, 2004). Both teamwork and leadership involve such meaningful interactions in working towards shared goals, either through leading others or collectively striving for success. Both of these concepts are discussed in more detail in the following two sections.

**Teamwork**

When reviewing the literature about teamwork in sport, team cohesion and teambuilding are two areas of research with which teamwork appears inextricably linked. It is essential, therefore, that each of these terms is defined and explained in relation to one another. An instrumental definition of teamwork as a developmental competency is, however, difficult to come by (Guest, 2008). As an easier alternative and point from which to begin, teambuilding and cohesion will instead be defined. It is generally agreed that teambuilding is designed to enhance group cohesiveness to produce a unified group that has an increased level of group effectiveness (Carron, Spink, & Prapavessis, 1997). Cohesion is “a dynamic process that is reflected in the tendency of a group to stick together and remain united in the pursuit of its instrumental objectives and/or for the satisfaction of member affective needs” (Carron, Brawley & Widmeyer, 1998, p.213). Teambuilding is therefore a deliberate method or intervention that strives to bring about change with regards to team cohesion (Carron et al., 1997). Yukelson (1997) outlines eight core components to consider in building a successful team. ‘Successful’, it is assumed, refers to a
cohesive team that realizes its potential with regards to effectiveness. The eight components given are: a) shared vision and unity of purpose (common goals); b) collaborative and synergistic teamwork; c) individual and mutual accountability; d) team identity; e) positive team culture and cohesive group atmosphere; f) open and honest communication; g) peer helping and social support; h) trust at all levels (Yukelson, 1997). These components highlight the use of teamwork as simply one aspect in a teambuilding intervention that attempts to achieve unity and group effectiveness. Accountability, positive team culture, effective communication, peer helping and social support, and trust are all viewed here as separate to ‘teamwork’ and are instead viewed as individual components that, if adequately applied, will lead to a ‘successful’ team (Yukelson, 1997). In the developmental literature, however, these components are identified within teamwork and labeled as essential in successfully working as a team (Larson et al., 2005, Larson, 2007). The components are consequently viewed as developmental assets that are necessary to successfully work collaboratively within a team. The terms ‘cohesion’ and ‘effectiveness’ are thus not mentioned in the developmental literature. Unity and success in achieving the end goal is secondary to the learned experiences gained whilst striving for the end goal (Larson et al., 2005). Other developmental assets mentioned in the literature with regard to working as a team are: taking responsibility within a group, accepting others’ viewpoints, giving people space, recognizing individual differences and collaboration (Larson et al., 2005), getting and giving feedback, and leading and being led (Larson, 2007). ‘Success’ in the developmental literature with regards to teamwork is thus defined by the advancement from an egocentric perspective to that
of a sociocentric perspective for youth (Larson et al., 2005; Larson, 2007). Individuals with a sociocentric perspective understand and give priority to the "subjective realities and agency of other team members" (Larson et al., 2005, p.173). The positive behaviours and attitudes that result from this progression are consequently viewed as developmental teamwork assets (Larson et al., 2005; Larson, 2007).

The differences in the use of the term 'teamwork' show how differently it is viewed in terms whether it is a process leading to another outcome or if it is an end product in itself. According to Bloom, Stevens and Wickwire (2003) if cohesion is the desired outcome then team building (and within it teamwork) is the process to facilitate its development. Other research has referred to team building as an intervention in a seemingly "fix all" approach to increase productivity, resolve interpersonal conflicts, clarify roles and allocate individual resources (Hanson & Lubin, 1986; in Hardy & Crace). The idea of teamwork as a product in itself is less apparent across the research spectrum. Larson et al. (2005) have however, identified working as a team as a developmental outcome of a youth program that they implemented.

Cohesion is also viewed as both a process and a product. Positive team culture and cohesive group atmosphere is viewed by Yukelson (1997) as essential in a teambuilding intervention. Team building can have both direct and indirect influences on team processes by directly affecting team changes, such as interpersonal communication and decision making, and indirectly working through input variables such as team cohesiveness (Hardy & Crace, 1997). Here team cohesion is not viewed
as an output but viewed as part of the process. The product on this occasion is viewed as individual and team changes in addition to team performance (Hardy & Crace, 1997).

Improved team performance as an outcome is frequently mentioned in both the team building and team cohesion literature (Voight & Callaghan, 2001; Carron, Bray, & Eys, 2002). Carron, Bray and Eys (2002) found a very strong relationship between cohesion and success in sport teams. It has alternatively been argued that while the connection between improved team processes and improved team performance may seem logical, research does not support this link (Tennenbaum et al., 1992 in Hardy and Crace, 1997). According to Smith and Smoll (1997), the goals of team building in youth sports are usually interpersonal and not performance oriented. Justification for team building would appear, therefore, to be the individual and team changes that occur as a result. This is more consistent with the developmental literature that outlines improved interpersonal relationships as the core focus of teamwork.

Teamwork thus far remains without an instrumental definition that is necessarily agreed upon in the literature. The ‘overlap’ in literature has however been outlined and gives, if not a definition, a list of characteristics that comprise “teamwork”. The term ‘teambuilding’ in the sport psychology literature and ‘teamwork’ in the developmental literature thus appear to be similar in nature, if viewed aside from the process/product argument.

Regardless of definition, there appears to be consistent ideas regarding how teamwork and teambuilding are encouraged in sport. Bloom et al., (2003) outline the
fundamental elements of teambuilding that emerged from a study they conducted with expert coaches. The coaches provided phrases such as group dynamics, group cohesion, team chemistry, trust and camaraderie. Overall, these coaches viewed team building as a group of people brought together to establish mutual goals and to unify individuals to achieve those goals (Bloom et al., 2003).

Crace and Hardy (1997) have taken a different approach to team building by intervening, not at the team level, but at an individual level. They view a team as a collection of individuals with individual values. The challenge, then, is to sensitize athletes to both their own qualities and the qualities of their teammates, that is, mutual understanding and respect (Crace & Hardy, 1997). Kamphoff, Gill and Huddleston (2005) show further benefits of fostering mutual respect in sport teams. They did a study examining the relationships among jealousy, cohesion and satisfaction with university athletes. It was discovered that, as predicted, jealousy was significantly linked to lower cohesion and satisfaction. They concluded that if jealousy decreases cohesion on a team, team processes (including those associated with team building) may be disrupted.

Larson (2007) found three types of reciprocity between youths and the people with whom they interact. The exchange of helping and being helped, giving and receiving feedback and leading and being led by others were all exchanges recognized by youth as being mutually beneficial. These types of reciprocity occurred as a result of learning from experience, taking others' perspective, and a growing trust that led to the development of collective norms (Larson, 2007).

Despite the related benefits of teamwork in sport, it needs to be re-emphasized
that participation in sport does not necessarily lead to teamwork as either a process or a product. The pathways within sport that lead to a unified team consisting of members striving to achieve the same goals need to be explored.

Other processes suggested for team building include creating an environment and structure conducive to team building and providing teamwork activities. With regard to team environment, coaches highlighted the importance of organization and planning in providing consistency and stability for athletes and an overall positive environment (Bloom et al., 2003). The coaches in the same study also stressed the need for athletes to “buy into” the coaches’ vision of the team (Bloom, 2003). This appears similar to clarified roles and role acceptance, considered within the category of team structure in Carron et al (1997) as two principles underlying the team-building process in sport. Carron et al (1997) consider togetherness, when teammates are frequently put in close proximity, and distinctiveness, as aspects of the environment that can be manipulated to facilitate team building. Distinctiveness, or more specifically, team identity, is also recognized by Voight and Callaghan (2001), in addition to positive team culture and open and honest communication. Communication was also a theme found in Holt and Sparkes (2001) study of team cohesiveness. Communication here was between players on the team. Positive communication both during play and outside of the playing arena improved group integration to achieving goals. Within the category of team structure, largely relating to cohesiveness, Prepavessis, Carron and Spink (1996) also state both leadership and conformity to standards as important processes. The behavior of leaders influences task cohesiveness; however the leaders in this instance are team leaders and not the
athletes themselves. Conformity to group norms contributes to enhanced cohesiveness and these norms are considered highly resistant to change, therefore long-lasting (Prapavessis et al., 1996). Voight and Callaghan (2001) offer the need for a shared team vision and both individual and team accountability to enable team building to occur on a structural level. Very generally, sacrifices, goals and objectives, and cooperative behavior have been provided as processes that have to occur within a team if team building is to exist (Carron et al., 1997). The coaches in Bloom et al.'s study (2003), however, were very specific in their ideas for activities that could be done throughout a season to increase team building. These activities were categorized as social, physical or psychological. Activities included initiations and potluck dinners and training camp retreats. Traditions such as team clothing were also maintained to uphold team identity (Bloom et al., 2003).

It is generally agreed across the literature that the coaches or leaders involved in sport play a pivotal role in bringing about team unity, whether through promoting cohesion, teamwork or teambuilding (for example, Murray, 2006; Smith & Smoll, 1997; Bloom et al., 2003). Leadership is consequently tied into teamwork by the leadership shown by coaches in sport. Both the sport psychology literature and the developmental literature recognize the influence of leadership in bringing about improved team interaction. The following discussion identifies the ways in which a coach can influence teamwork.

In Bloom et al.'s study (2003), coaches reported that their roles were to facilitate, moderate and supervise the team so as to ensure that their functioning was not compromised. The coaches felt that their own leadership style was a strategy and
that they adopted a subtle leadership style by “setting the tone” at the beginning of the season and then stepping back to allow other leaders to emerge (Bloom et al., 2003).

Ensuring role clarity and role acceptance among players is also highlighted as a crucial part played by the coach (Carron et al., 1997). Although they did not mention the coach specifically, role clarity and acceptance was also mentioned by Holt and Sparkes (2001). They did an ethnographic study of cohesiveness in a sports team over a season. One of the four main themes found was the need for clear and meaningful roles in maintaining team cohesion suggesting that preventing role ambiguity is essential in team processes. Selfishness was also a theme found, relating largely to the need to maintain mutual respect among players and coaches. Selfishness was a direct influence of the integration of the group toward performance; therefore effectiveness of task completion was reduced when players perceived a team member as displaying selfish behavior (Holt & Sparkes, 2001).

In teams where coaches provided social support, training and instruction, and positive feedback, levels of cohesion were higher (Murray, 2006). Smith and Smoll (1997) discovered that coaches were often unaware of how they behaved in various settings. In the intervention that they provided they attempted to increase the coaches’ awareness of their own behavior. In their Coach Effectiveness Training (CET), intended to mediate team building in youth sport, guidelines were given to coaches. “Winning” was redefined in terms of effort and improvement and coach-athlete interactions were based on a positive approach. Athletes were to be encouraged to support one another to increase social support and were also involved in decision-making processes regarding such issues as team rules (Smith & Smoll, 1997).
The level of structure provided by leaders is also mentioned in the developmental literature with regard to youth agency. Allowing youth agency improves the development of responsibility, an essential aspect of teamwork (Larson, 2007). With sport being such a highly structured environment, allowing youth to experience ownership is often difficult. Larson (2007) has, however, suggested that youth feel most empowered to engage in developmental change when there is an optimal balance found by leaders between youth agency and providing structure and support. This he calls an "intermediate structure" (Larson, 2007, p.14). Finally, Larson (2007) specifies that leaders, in facilitating teamwork development, cultivated an ethos of helping and guaranteed interpersonal safety for the youth involved.

From the literature, coaches as adult leaders have been identified as playing a central role in facilitating and directing the teambuilding process and leadership skills by adult leaders are a crucial element in bringing about the development of teamwork skills in athletes. It is this leadership by coaches, rather than by the athletes themselves, that has been more widely explored in the teamwork and teambuilding literature. In this study, not only will coach leadership be explored with regard to the development of teamwork and leadership in youth, but leadership by the athletes themselves will also be explored.

The research has shown that teambuilding can either be considered part of a process to bring about other change or can be viewed as the product in itself. The teamwork in this research will be considered both a process and a product in bringing about developmental change in youth.

Teamwork appears to have a strong link to leadership as two aspects of
teambuilding that can bring about increased cohesion (Carron et al., 1997). It is only
the leadership of coaches and the effects of this on a team that has been explored in
the literature. It is presumed that if the leadership shown by a coach is so highly
influential in bringing about cohesion and collaboration in a team, that leadership
shown by athletes may have the same influence on teamwork. There is, however, no
evidence to show whether this leadership can be produced by the youth themselves in
bringing about team building. In the study by Larson (2007), following the
intervention youth were said to be able to articulate the change process and cast
themselves as the producers of this change. If youth are going to gain the benefits
from team building, therefore, it would appear that they have to be predominantly
involved in the process. The coaches in this procedure need to assess the balance
between allowing these youths agency and providing structure and support. The
interventions used in the mentioned literature, whether sport-related or not, were
constructed specifically for the purpose of developing teambuilding. As with the
research on psychosocial development, it remains to be seen if sport as a natural
instigator and not a deliberate intervention, can initiate and guide teambuilding.

Leadership

Leadership is the ‘process whereby an individual influences a group of
individuals to achieve a common goal’ (Northouse, 2004, p.3). Loughead and Hardy
(2005) highlighted four words within this definition for particular focus. Process
indicates that leadership is not a trait or characteristic but an interactive occurrence.
Influence deals with how the leader affects the followers, and groups provide the
context for leadership to occur. Lastly, leadership is concerned with directing
individuals toward a goal.

The dynamic and fluid nature of leadership development is important to understand (Martinek, Schilling & Hellison, 2006). For strategies of leadership development to be successful, it needs to be recognized that not all leaders respond in the same way and nor should the same be expected of all leaders (Martinek, et al., 2006). Thus far in the review of the leadership literature, the categorization of leadership as a process is already apparent. Whether the need for effective leadership to increase performance or the importance of leadership in motivating and uniting individuals in order to increase team cohesion (Glenn & Horn, 1993), leadership is viewed as a process leading to an outcome, and rarely viewed as an end in itself.

As this study is interested in positive youth development, it is the leadership and teamwork shown by the athletes that is important. Despite a lack of research in the area, athletes have been recognized as an important source of leadership in the effective functioning of a team (Glenn & Horn, 1993; Moran & Weiss, 2006; Loughead, Hardy, & Eys, 2006). Leadership on teams is displayed by particular athletes, in either a formal (team captain) or informal capacity (Carron, Hausenblas & Eys 2005). Athlete leaders are also categorized as being team leaders or peer leaders (Loughead et al., 2006). Team leaders are those with a wider influence within the group (at least 50% of their team identified them as a leader) and peer leaders provide leadership to at least two teammates (Loughead et al., 2006). Despite differences in the type of leadership, the main objectives for athlete leaders, defined by the literature, remains the same; to influence a group of team members to achieve a common goal (Loughead et al., 2006).
The limited research on peer leadership (Moran & Weiss, 2006) has examined both psychological and personal predictors of leadership (Glenn & Horn, 1993), the impact of social and contextual variables in leader-athlete development (Wright & Cote, 2003), the nature of peer leadership in sport, specifically, who these leaders are and the quantity of leaders (Loughead & Hardy, 2005), social, psychological and ability characteristics of peer leaders (Moran & Weiss, 2006), personal characteristics of both team and peer leaders (Loughead, Hardy, & Eys, 2006), the development of compassionate leadership (Martinek, et al., 2006), and leadership dispersion as it relates to satisfaction of teammates (Eys, Loughead, & Hardy, 2007). It is the impact of social and contextual variables in leader-athlete development (Wright & Cote, 2003) and the development of compassionate and caring leadership among adolescents (Martinek et al., 2006) that relates most closely to the leadership that will be examined in this study as these studies begin to explore how leadership characteristics and behaviors are developed. These studies also focus on leadership as a developmental outcome, contrasting with other research framing leadership as a means for another outcome.

The influence that coaches have on their athletes has already been mentioned with regard to teamwork and team building and cannot be ignored here. Despite this, there appears to be no research to date that has studied the relationship between coach leadership and its influence on athlete leadership. The literature on athlete leadership has alternatively focused on other reasons why certain youth show leadership behaviours. Martinek, et al. (2006), do however, mention ‘shaping’ youth leadership (p.156). Although specific methods for shaping this leadership are not defined for
program leaders, they are implied. The article highlights the need to empower youth, to 'plant the necessary seeds of confidence' (p.144), encourage peer teaching, and understand that not all leaders respond in the same way. Although mainly invisible, adults do appear to be important in their ability to structure environments conducive to youth leadership. Adult leaders, including coaches, have also been mentioned for their influence with regard to teambuilding (Smith & Smoll, 1997; Bloom et al., 2003), team cohesion (Turman, 2003; Lightshields, Gardner, Light Bredemeier & Bostro, 1997), and teamwork (Larson, 2004, 2007). As athlete leadership is also recognized as part of the teamwork and teambuilding process (Carron & Spink, 1996; Larson, 2007), it appears safe to assume that adult leadership can also influence athlete leadership. Consequently, the leader behaviours displayed by the coaches over the season were also viewed in relation to the leadership displayed by the players on the team.

A review of the athlete leadership literature gives insight into those youth who are more likely to show leadership in a sports team and the form this leadership is likely to take. The need to lead, teach and care for others has been deemed an innate feature of all people, regardless of age (Martinek et al., 2006). According to this, all adolescents are capable of leadership behaviors. If so, then one would ask why it is that not all adolescents assume leadership roles. One reason provided in explaining this is that youths' perceptions of leadership are misinformed, inclining towards the belief that leaders are a particular category of people. This makes youth unaware of their own capacity for leadership (Martinek et al., 2006). The need for compassionate leadership becomes increasingly important during adolescence when peer pressure
and the need to belong are heightened (Martinek et al., 2006). The importance of peers in the development of leadership is therefore highlighted, especially during adolescence.

Sport in particular provides a setting where youth spend time with their peers, and where identity development and socioemotional growth can take place (Moran & Weiss, 2006). Moran and Weiss (2006) go as far as to say that children who take part in school and other activities, such as sport, cannot disengage from their peers and consequently peer acceptance or rejection is an unavoidable aspect of these peer interactions. The intricate exchanges occurring within an interactive sports team, among peers and between players and coaches, requires a detailed examination in order to fully understand how the development of leadership behaviors is facilitated. Spending time and getting involved with older peers was a feature found by Wright and Cole (2003) that played a positive role in developing leadership. Establishing rapport and maintaining good relationships with peers was also a common theme in leadership identification in their study. Popularity and being highly skilled is a prominent theme in the development of both formal and informal leaders in sport.

Glenn and Horn (1993) did three individual ratings of leadership and discovered that players’ own individual ratings placed instrumentality and expressiveness as indicators of an effective leader. Moran and Weiss (2006), in their follow-up of this study, also found that self-ratings of leadership behavior were conceived in terms of psychosocial characteristics and not athletic ability. In contrast, coaches and peers rated skill competence as a primary characteristic of effective leadership. Skilled players are therefore more likely to be picked by coaches for
formal leadership positions such as team captain (Lee, Coburn & Partridge, 1983).

Loughead et al. (2006) distinguish between athletes’ functions as a leader (task, social and external). Task related functions refer to assisting the achievement of group goals. Social related functions help satisfy individual psychosocial needs. External related functions relate to representing the group at meetings. They concur then that once divided into specific functions, ability in a team leader only becomes important depending on the requirements of the environment. More specifically, it is essential to have task leaders that are starters on the team as they must lead the team onto the playing field and have the respect of teammates. It is less essential, therefore, to have social leaders as starters since team member relational activities occur outside of the playing environment (Loughead et al, 2006). Specific behavioral characteristics of task and social leadership are given by Eys et al. (2006) and provide better insight into what athlete leadership might look like within a team. Behaviour of task leaders was specified as a) helping to focus the team on its goals, b) helping to clarify responsibilities for teammates, c) assisting in decision making, d) offering instruction to teammates, and e) helping the team to perform to the best of their ability. Comparatively, social characteristics included, a) contributing to team harmony, b) ensuring teammates are involved and included in team events, c) helping to solve interpersonal conflicts that may arise within the team, d) offering support and being trusted by teammates, and e) treating team members in a fair and consistent manner. Although rather generic, these characteristics go some way in helping inform the study, providing specific behaviours to identify with this particular group of players. It should be highlighted how similar some of these leadership characteristics
are to those characteristics exemplifying teamwork, mentioned in the previous section.

Despite the division of such roles, however, players themselves have been shown to prefer leaders who serve a range of functions, and not just performance-related. In a study by Eys, et al., (2007) with regard to the functions served by leaders on sports team, a balance across task related functions, social related functions and external related functions resulted in an increased satisfaction with team performance and team integration. This would indicate that the equilibrium has to be found between performance related leadership, such as ability, and social related leadership. Unfortunately, the research by Eys, et al. (2007) only measured the quantity of leadership displayed (dispersion and the number of characteristics held) and not the quality of this leadership. Investigating the quality of this leadership may provide greater insight into athlete satisfaction on a more individual level. Regardless of leadership function (task, social, external), however, players in formal positions are more likely to be viewed by their peers as team leaders (Loughead et al., 2006).

The athlete leadership reviewed thus far mainly focuses on identifying those adolescents most likely to show leadership behaviours in addition to the form this leadership often takes. The processes involved in the development of leadership are less explored, but as processes are a focus for this investigation, the limited literature is examined. Martinek et al. (2006) assessed the development of leadership in youths through two leader programs. Empowerment and peer teaching were two important dimensions in the implementation of the programs. Empowerment has emerged as a frequently-used term in the developmental literature, whether relating to leadership or
other positive developmental outcomes. Its use here is in planting the necessary seeds of confidence for leadership to occur (Martinek et al., 2006). Leaders in the programs were taught life skills using Hellison’s Personal and Social Responsibility Model (2003) with the intention of fostering a sense of responsibility, moving away from autocratic, top-down notions of leadership (Martinek et al., 2006). By the end of the programs four stages of leadership had been identified. Needs-based leadership was displayed at stage one. Leaders at this stage were concerned with fulfilling their own needs, both physically (safety and support) and socially (a sense of belonging and attention). Once these needs were established leaders advanced to a focus on planning and helping others before becoming reflective leaders at stage three, whereby learning became reciprocal. By the fourth stage, compassionate leadership was developed, with leaders demonstrating inclusivity and an ethical concern for relationships with others (Martinek et al, 2006). These stages of development provide an interesting foundation for the development of leadership in sport, in transcending from a leadership based on individual needs to a leadership addressing the needs of others. This is similar to Larson’s vision of the progression from egocentrism to collaboration in youth through the development of teamwork (Larson, 2007).

Processes that contribute to the development of leadership skills have been less researched, especially within the context of competitive sport. Adolescence as a period in a child’s life where leadership skills are crucial for survival into adulthood has been highlighted. As with the teambuilding literature, coaches appear to play a vital role in the development of leadership in youth. It is important to recognize the differences in perceptions of leadership and how this can affect research regarding
leadership development. Both youths’ misinformed perceptions and differences in perceptions of leadership characteristics between coaches, peers and players themselves have been outlined. The different forms that leadership can take within a sports setting is also an interesting finding in the literature review. Leadership does not simply arise in an easily measured formal appearance, such as team captain. Leadership can also take a more informal appearance that is more difficult to recognize initially and examine once discovered. The reoccurring theme of empowerment in fostering developmental outcomes is again worth mentioning. Discovering the balance between allowing youths’ agency to encourage their development and providing structure and support is necessary for adult leaders in sport. Finally, leadership, as with teambuilding, has been defined as a process leading to increased performance or team cohesion. Less literature has defined leadership as a product with benefits in itself. The leadership in this study will be viewed as both a process and a developmental outcome, along with teamwork.

Finally, justification is needed for the choice of a female compared to a male team as the sample for this study. The acquisition and development of skills such as teamwork and leadership have been mentioned for their ability to empower youths and enable them to view themselves as agents of their own development (Larson, 1994; 2000, 2007). The importance of empowering girls and women in particular has been recognized in association with core issues such as physical and sexual violence (Jong-Wook, 2008). Developing a sense of agency is a few of many ways in which physical and emotional health improvements can be made (Jong-Wook, 2008).

In addition to this, gender differences have been found in relation to peer
interactions (Rubin, Bukowski & Parker, 1998) and in the leadership literature (Glen & Horn, 1993; Moran & Weiss, 2006), but not in regard to teamwork and teambuilding. For youth to be successful in their social relationships they need to have developed a certain degree of social competence (Rubin et al., 1998). This is the ability to maintain positive interactions with people (Rubin et al., 1998), essential for leadership and teamwork as both of these processes require a collective group of people. The gender differences that exist in social and peer interactions will therefore impact not only leadership, but also teamwork. All-female groups differ in their interactions to all-male groups with regards to agenda and interaction ‘styles’ (Maccoby, 2000). As a comparison, girls develop styles that facilitate interaction where boys develop styles that limit interaction (Leaper, 1994; in Ruble & Martin, 1998). As an example of this, girls are more likely to focus on relational issues during social interaction, such as establishing close connections with others (Crick & Grotepeter, 1995). Socializing agents such as peers and coaches have also been recognized as ‘shaping’ behaviour (including interactions) based on gender difference from a socialization perspective (Maccoby, 2000). For these reasons, a female youth team, under the guidance of an all-male coaching staff, provided a rich setting in which to observe social interactions and the impact of these interactions on teamwork and leadership. The findings, however, make no claims of generalization or linear relationships linking gender with the discoveries made. Gender is simply highlighted here as one of many factors that may have contributed to the dynamics and behaviours within this team and as a justification for choosing a female team for this particular study.
It has been emphasized throughout the review of the literature that the processes that lead to positive youth development remain largely undiscovered. Sport as a specific context possesses the structure necessary for the facilitation of PYD and offers an essential research forum in which the pathways leading to positive developmental outcomes need to be identified. The importance of interactions and the relationships that are developed between adolescents and other social agents in the development of leadership and teamwork has been highlighted frequently.

The influence of coaches with regard to leadership and teamwork is clearly outlined in the previous literature; however less research has attempted to discover the interactions between youths and their peers as a process leading to leadership and teamwork. It has been shown that youths can bring about change themselves if the balance between the structure and level of agency is found. It is proposed, therefore, that research is needed to discover the most productive environment for youths if they were to adopt leadership behaviors and contribute to team building.

Research surrounding leadership and teamwork as it relates to competitive sport has previously had a focus on performance as a motivational factor. Other research that has not viewed performance as imperative has very often been an intervention strategy using sport as a vehicle for other outcomes. The research here seeks to view competitive sport in its natural element, recognizing that performance will be a motivating factor for the participants themselves yet not for the researcher. It will attempt to discover if a balance can be found between competition as a driving and potentially detrimental force in the development of youths and sport as a non-competitive intervention.
Finally, there has been vast evidence providing leadership and teamwork as a process leading to other outcomes with less evidence viewing either teamwork or leadership as a product in their own right. It is clear from the review, however, that both teamwork and leadership are closely linked, regardless of whether one leads to the other. Teamwork and leadership will therefore be viewed as interchangeable in that one may contribute towards the other, yet both, if they exist, will also be viewed as developmental outcomes within a positive youth development framework.

Having reviewed the literature, it is clear that sport is widely promoted as a vehicle for holistic development; however the processes within sport that lead to psychosocial development remain largely unknown. More specifically, leadership and teambuilding skills as developmental outcomes have arisen from the literature as two essential assets for adolescents to nurture in their transition to adulthood. With the sensitizing concepts of teamwork and leadership gained from the review of literature, the processes involved in this seemingly bi-directional relationship will be examined with a view of discovering how these skills, considered within the PYD literature, can be facilitated through sport. The purposes of this ethnographic study are threefold. The study; a) attempts to discover the processes that exist within a competitive soccer environment that may contribute to the development or enhancement of teamwork and leadership skills in female adolescents, through the use of observational techniques and interview methods; b) explores in what way socializing agents such as coaches and peers contribute to this development, again through observations and interviews; and c) investigates to what extent the leadership and teamwork behaviors change throughout the duration of the competitive season using fieldwork.
CHAPTER 3:

RESEARCH DESIGN

In attempting to discover the processes and interactions contributing to the development of leadership and teamwork, qualitative data collection methods were used. The need for a deeper understanding of the development of these leadership and teamwork could only be satisfied through use of qualitative research methods (Larson, 2000). Qualitative research has two unique features in that the purpose is to learn about some facet of the social world (Rossman & Rallis, 2003) in an attempt to understand the meanings people attach to their own lives (Patton, 2002). The other is that the researcher is the means through which the study is conducted (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). The researcher in this study played an instrumental role in the data collection as a participant observer. This is discussed more thoroughly in a later section of the research design.

Interpretivism

It has been suggested that in developing a research proposal, a framework should be constructed based on what methodologies and methods will be proposed and the justifications behind these choices (Crotty, 1998). A theoretical perspective (Crotty, 1998) or research paradigm (Patton, 2002) is the worldview and philosophical stance that is held in relation to the choice in methodology. It is generally agreed that a continuum exists with researchers at one end using purely quantitative methods adopting a positivist standpoint. According to this, researchers at the other extreme using purely qualitative methods generally take an interpretivist stance. Interpretivism portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed,
complex and ever changing (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). Alternatively positivism seeks to discover an objective reality (Newman & Benz, 1998). A chosen research paradigm comprises the researcher’s ontological, epistemological, and methodological premises (Guba, 1990; cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The rationale for the chosen paradigm for this study was primarily based on the methodological premises deemed most appropriate for the study, without compromising either the epistemological or ontological views held important. Due, therefore, to the purpose of the research study, a naturalistic and interpretive paradigm was chosen as a framework. This paradigm provided a foundation underlying an ethnographic methodology in an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of this sporting culture (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). There was an acknowledgment of multiple truths apparent in others’ lives with the adoption of this paradigm (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995) in addition to relativist ontology (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

*Ethnographic Methodology*

A large proportion of the research that has been done with regard to PYD has attempted to correlate youth activities with positive developmental change through quantitative measures (Larson, 2000). Problems have been identified with these correlational relationships, however. Once factors such as socioeconomic status and parental support have been controlled, the strength in the relationships between participation and positive developmental outcomes are reduced, and in some cases disappear completely (Larson, 2000).

Ethnography as both a process and a product makes no such correlational
Interpretive theory assumes a subjectivist epistemology whereby knowledge is created through the interactions that occur between the researcher and the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Ethnography therefore provides a holistic view of human behavior that is situation specific and does not claim generalizability.

Ethnography as a genre of inquiry is based on the guiding assumption that any human group of people interacting together for a period of time will evolve a culture (Patton, 2002). The aim of ethnography is therefore to understand the culture of a particular group from the perspective of the group members themselves (Tedlock, 2000). In attempting to understand the culture that exists within the soccer club studied and how this culture affected the development of teamwork and leadership, ethnography was an appropriate methodological choice for this study. Supporting this is the proposition made by Holt and Sparkes (2001) that suggests group dynamics, such as those existing within a soccer team, as an area ripe for ethnographic research. In addition to this, it has been suggested that data deriving from both observational and field study methods will help advance PYD research and complement existing survey approaches (Larson, 2000). Ethnography as a methodology and ethnographic data collection methods were consequently chosen for this study. More specifically, the ethnographic methods chosen for data collection were the use of observations and both informal and formal interviews.

Sample

A youth girls' soccer club was approached regarding the study through purposeful sampling. The club was a highly reputable youth sports organization in the region, providing an information-rich case from which data was derived relating to
the purpose of the study (Patton, 2002). The under-17 team was specifically chosen due to their known success, both locally and internationally, in order to attempt to discover the culture surrounding this successful and highly competitive team and how this related to PYD. The participants of the study were consequently the three male coaches on the coaching staff and the seventeen players who were selected to play on the team. One of the coaches had been with this team since it had first formed and the other two coaches had been appointed two seasons previously. All three coaches had a number of years experience of coaching, however, each coach varied in their level of soccer-related instructional experience. Roles and responsibilities were distributed among the coaches with regards to management and organization of the team, communications, administrative duties and soccer-specific instruction at practices and games. Each player on the team clearly understood the varying roles held by their three coaches.

The players themselves had all played competitive soccer for a considerable length of time and a high number were striving for soccer-related university scholarships after leaving high school. The majority of the players had played with the team during the previous two seasons with only one new addition to the team in the 2007/08 season. Other players had been with the team for a lot longer and had consequently experienced team changes over a number of seasons. The parents of the players were particularly evident during training sessions and matches, often demonstrating a high degree of social support.

The season consisted predominantly of league and cup matches, however, the team also participated in a number of tournaments in an attempt to showcase the
players’ playing abilities to several American universities. The main tournament documented in the results and discussion, was however, for experiential purposes and not for showcasing talents.

Research Site

The research took place at every available opportunity during the pre-season and the playing season. The researcher collected data during training sessions that were either soccer or fitness oriented and occurring in gymnasiums or the playing field, and also during games, both ‘home’ and ‘away’ fixtures and during tournaments.

Gaining Entry

Creswell (2005) reveals contacting the ‘gatekeeper’ as the primary step to gaining entry into the research setting. The gatekeeper is defined as a person who can legitimately grant or withhold access to the setting for the researcher (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Berg, 2004). The head coach and assistant coach of the under-17 girl’s soccer team were contacted initially via email and a follow-up meeting was arranged to discuss details of both the research and the season ahead. During the meeting, building a foundation of rapport was a primary concern. Gaining this foundation on which to develop further is deemed as essential in, firstly, establishing and, secondly, maintaining both competence and sincerity as the researcher (Patton, 2002). By gaining the acceptance of the coaching staff, the players readily engaged in the study (Patton, 2002). It was important, however, to avoid any players feeling coerced into participating (Hill, 2005). The researcher hence made it clear to all the players that their position on the team would not be affected by their level of
participation in the study.

'Resocialization'

The ethnographic researcher must decide the extent to which she or he will take on an insider role or an outsider role with regards to the culture being studied. Emerson et al. (1995) has highlighted the inevitability of some degree of 'resocialization' for the researcher. In order to become an 'insider' the researcher needs to begin to experience events and meanings in ways that approximate members’ experiences (Emerson et al., 1995). The researcher in this study attempted to transition from the outsider to an insider by assuming more of a member role within the team culture. There have been concerns around the researcher as both insider and outsider. The difficulty faced for the researcher as an outsider is that of making the strange seem familiar in order to truly understand the members’ experience as they see it (Woodward, 2004). A difficulty faced for the insider is that of being able to maintain analytical distance and attempting to make the familiar seem strange (Holt & Sparkes, 2001). By being an outsider initially, during the pre-season, and transitioning to become an insider as the season progressed, a dual perspective was gained and the researcher was able to overcome at least some of these difficulties.

Another consideration is the effect that the presence of the researcher may have on the participants. Normal activities and behaviors may change as a result of this influence. Kraine and Baird (2005) have proposed “blending into the setting” to minimize the effect of the researcher’s presence. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) have called this invisibility, so that the researcher role, not the researcher themselves
becomes transparent and unobtrusive. In order to do this it is suggested that social norms of the group are learned along with any common behaviors and customs of the group (Kraine & Baird, 2005). This is what Emerson et al. (2005) refer to as the ‘resocialization’ process.

**Ethics**

More attention is beginning to be paid to understanding children’s own priorities and interpretations in the practice of research and enabling children to express their opinions regarding decisions that affect them is deemed important (Hill, 2005). Alderson (1995) has identified key ethical issues to be addressed when working with children (in Hill, 2005). Some of these are discussed.

**Research Purpose.** Revealing more information about developmental outcomes associated with youth sport involvement will help researchers to understand how people experience sport. This information may have important implications in structuring youth sport. As such, the current study represents important descriptive work that provides a platform for explanatory work in the future.

**Confidentiality.** The issue of what to report on and how much to disclose about participants who have invested trust in the researcher’s ability to represent them is at the forefront of all ethnographic research (Patton, 2002). The participants in this study were assured that any personal information would remain confidential. To ensure confidentiality, personal information was stored in a locked file cabinet (in a locked office) to which only the investigators had access. Due to the length of time spent in the setting by the researcher, anonymity was not ensured as participants’ names were known throughout the study and were used to identify and distinguish
between participants during data collection. These personal identifiers were, however, replaced by a coding system once data collection was complete for use during data analysis. Personal identifiers are not used in the reporting of results. Participants were informed that anonymity is not appropriate to this research project in the information letter along with the consent form prior to data collection.

**Informed Consent.** Although no obvious deception was involved in this research study, there are always some aspects of deception in ethnographic work due to the researcher adopting a particular role specifically with the intent of conducting research (Patton, 2002). The players, along with the coaching staff and their parents were, however, fully informed about all aspects of the research before recruitment. The coaches were briefed initially, allowing the researcher to enter the setting. A meeting was held by the researcher to give the players information regarding the study before the consent forms were given out. The parents were then informed through the information letter and accompanying consent form, requiring both player and parental consent.

**Methods for Data Collection**

As previously stated, the ethnographic methods used to collect data were observations and both informal and formal interviews. Before entering the field, wider literature was reviewed in order to develop sensitizing concepts to orient the fieldwork to be done (Patton, 2002). These sensitizing concepts related to the research questions that framed the study, to the development of teamwork and leadership skills and how these can be influenced through interactions with coaches and peers. The sensitizing concepts gained from the literature included the need for role clarity and
role acceptance, establishing rapport and maintaining good relationships with peers, the creation of a positive team culture and honest communication, that youth are given responsibility and made to feel empowered, proximity and team identity, and finally the opportunity for team activities.

Despite the use of this framework in providing a ‘sense of reference’ (Blumer, 1969:148; cited in Patton, 2002), new themes and sensitizing concepts emerged throughout the study and existing ones were modified (Patton, 2002).

Observation. Described as the backbone of ethnographic research, observation can generate an understanding of the workings of a social group (Silk, 2005). In addition to the use of observation as a method consistent with the choice of an ethnographic methodology, the leadership literature also specifies the need for behavioral assessment by observing and recording leadership in natural settings (Smoll & Smith, 1989). There are many different characteristics of observation and the degree of involvement with regards to the researcher’s role can also vary along a continuum from the researcher as a complete participant to the researcher as a complete observer (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). It has been suggested that a researcher can only accurately represent a culture in all its complexity by participating in that culture (Krane & Baird, 2005). The researcher in this instance took on the role as participant-observer (Tedlock, 2000) by becoming a ‘helper’ within the team. The researcher’s role comprised helping out where needed in addition to being a supporter, confidante and friend to both the players and coaches. This was initially a difficult role to negotiate and the researcher’s situational identity (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2003) within the team was dynamic, constantly changing over the course of
the season. The various power structures that existed within the organization made relating to each and every member (coaches, parents and players) on their own level particularly difficult. These ‘webs of power’ (Sparkes, 2002) were recognized immediately on entering the field and an identity for the researcher was negotiated over time. The researcher’s privilege of power and how this may have affected the behaviour of the players was considered in attempting to create an appropriate situational identity. In discovering an appropriate identity, this role served as a middle ground in reaching both the coaches and parents at the higher end of the hierarchical structure, while simultaneously allowing the researcher to relate to the players as much as possible. Given the age of the researcher (mid 20s) and being a female within an all-male adult coaching staff, it was somewhat easier for the researcher to negotiate this role and mediate between both parties of participants. Through observations the researcher gained an understanding of the team culture from a holistic standpoint. Initially, a form of descriptive observation (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2003) was adopted by the researcher as “what to look for” was informed only by the deductive process of the literature review and was not necessarily relevant to this specific team culture. Observations were framed around teamwork and leadership as two varied concepts and the features of both teamwork and leadership defined in the literature served as a foundation for the time in the field. Time in the field and immersion in this team culture allowed a more filtered approach of focused observation to develop (Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2003).

Fieldnotes. Due to the researcher’s level of participation within the research setting, fieldnotes were made immediately after leaving the field. These notes
included memos detailing the social and interactional processes that occurred in the field (Emerson et al., 1995). It was intended originally that the researcher would document social and interactional fieldnotes, a descriptive research log and a reflective journal as three separate documents in order to maintain a divide between the researcher's interpretation of the setting and the physical, behavioral account of the setting (Krane & Baird, 2005). When it came to documenting observations, however, placing thoughts and memoirs according to the three categories was problematic. When the researcher initially entered the setting, not being familiar to the environment, there was little to write about other than descriptive accounts of the setting. According to the three categories of documentation the researcher found herself with one entry in her 'research log', plenty to be reflexive about but without any fieldnotes to give either any context. Descriptions (of the setting and participants' behaviour) along with reflexive processes were consequently combined so that each supported and gave context to the other.

**Interviews.** Interviews were used in this study to follow up information gained through initial observations (Krane & Baird, 2005). They were both informal and formal with regards to their structure.

The conversational interview has been referred to as “ethnographic interviewing” and constitutes a major fieldwork method (Patton, 2002, pg. 342). Conversational style interviews are highly unstructured and questions flow from the immediate context (Patton, 2002) without any prior categorization that might limit this flow (Fontana & Frey, 2003). These interviews occurred throughout the soccer season between the researcher and the participants in an attempt to better understand
the behaviours and interactions occurring within the team (Fontana & Frey, 2003). Information was therefore pursued based on what emerged from observations or from previous conversations with others in the setting.

Formal interviews were carried out with seven players in addition to the three coaches, chosen as informants who would best provide insight into the team culture (Frey & Fontana, 2003). The seven players were chosen for several reasons. Some players for their observed behaviour and interactions relating to teamwork and leadership, other players for the comfortable relationship they had developed with the researcher, increasing chances of yielding a richer type of data, and others for their ability to successfully articulate their experiences. Due to the emergent nature of ethnographic research, the formal interviews were carried out at the end of the soccer season. This also ensured that the researcher and the team members had built a trusting relationship, increasing understanding of one another and making it easier for the researcher to take the role of the participants (Frey & Fontana, 2003).

Questions were initially structured based on what was already known about teamwork and leadership from the literature. These expected themes and the resulting questions were then modified as new questions emerged throughout the observational data collection process. The interview followed a semi-structured style, providing structured questions for each interview that were divided into five sections. ‘Warm-up’ questions were used initially to build rapport (Patton, 2002). These were followed by teamwork-related questions and then leadership-related questions. The participants were asked to define the two concepts and provide examples of what their own teamwork and leadership experiences were over the season. The fourth section
included questions relating to both teamwork and leadership collectively, ending with a fifth section reviewing the participants' perceptions of the researcher. Although semi-structured, the interview questions were only used as a guide from which the interviewer and interviewee could build conversational discussion (Patton, 2002). As a result, all the interviews varied in breadth and depth, lasting between 30 minutes and one and a half hours.

**Analysis**

Inductive data analysis was conducted as an early and ongoing process during the data collection phase, allowing the research design to emerge over time (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). For the ethnographer, analysis is a continuous and simultaneous process alongside the research design and data collection (Burgess, 1984).

In this study the analytical techniques were used sequentially (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). Fieldwork deriving through the observations and informal interviews was analyzed as an ongoing process immediately after the researcher entered the site for the first time. The data gained from the formal interviews at the end of the season were then analyzed, using the themes found in the fieldwork data for comparison, to support existing themes and create emergent ones.

The following specifies the various ways in which the collected data were analyzed and interpreted. This analysis phase often comes to a close prematurely, with the researcher arriving at a focus too soon (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The researcher consciously revisited the data a number of times in an attempt to avoid this.

Following observations made during training sessions and games, fieldnotes
were recorded immediately after leaving the field. As the informal interviews took the shape of conversations during the observation process, these conversations were recorded and analyzed as fieldnotes. In some instances exact quotations were recorded and in others it was simply the general topic of conversations that was recorded. The formal interviews were transcribed verbatim from an audio and digital recorder.

As mentioned, interpretation of the observational data was an ongoing process and initial impressions gained from within the field were recorded as events played out over the season. Once both observation and interview transcriptions were available the researcher became fully immersed in the data by reading and rereading the transcripts (Esterberg, 2002). The NVivo program was used for data management and using the constant comparative method of analysis (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) data were organized into smaller units of meaning. Having broken the data into meaning units, it was discovered that little meaning actually remained. Themes were repetitive, irrespective of context, and structured in such a way that they were stripped of their wholeness (Willis, 2007).

The holistic approach of the study that was reflected in the research methods was consequently undermined by the analysis phase. The process of categorizing the data in this way did, however, familiarize the researcher with the data more thoroughly so that when data was re-organized according to significant events over the season, a number of approaches had been considered. Based on ‘knowing’ the data and being familiar with the culture of the soccer team, the fieldnotes and interview transcripts were organized chronologically based on interactions and processes that occurred
over the season. Linking back to the research questions, these interactions and processes were perceived as significant to the development of the players' leadership and teamwork skills, either in promoting or preventing development. Having decided which 'events' would best address the study's purpose and remain a true reflection of the group of people within the study, the interview and observation data were then organized into themes that would shape and be shaped by the chosen events. These underlying themes supported a more informed understanding of how processes and interactions affect youths' developmental skills and are presented in a contextual manner, increasing authenticity for the reader. In this way, the data were coded according to the three procedures outlined by Seidel and Kelle (1995; 55-56): a) noticing relevant phenomena, b) collecting examples of those phenomena, and c) analyzing those phenomena in order to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures. In this way, the data was not "broken down" in the hope of reducing the data, but was alternatively expanded, transformed and reconceptualized (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Decontextualizing the data (Tesch, 1990) allowed the data to be segmented in a way that the portions of data were comprehensible in isolation whilst also retaining their full meaning (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The data was then recontextualized (Tesch, 1990) and organized in a manner that would best answer the research questions posed by the study.

Legitimization

Sparkes (1998) has reflected on what he refers to as a 'legitimization crisis' with regard to how validity has been framed within qualitative research. Schwandt (1996) has suggested a continuum of legitimacy with steadfast adherence to strict
claims of validity on one end, and at the other end is the belief that researcher should not concern themselves with issues of validity; that no set of criteria will pose valid means to assess the quality of research. It has been argued that different philosophies have different criteria against which to compare qualitative research (Patton, 2002). This suggests that a specific set of criteria exists within the interpretive paradigm of research and Denzin and Lincoln (1998) and Sparkes (1998) offer a criteria list including trustworthiness, credibility, transferability and confirmability. Sparkes (2002), however, embraces diversity when utilizing judgment criteria within diverse qualitative methodologies, suggesting that the criteria used should be specific to the individual research. It is for this reason that some aspects of the parallel perspective were adopted, however, these were modified within an interpretive perspective to apply to this specific study (Sparkes, 1998). The study’s main priority is therefore to convince its intended audience that every measure possible was taken to ensure its trustworthiness. It does not rigidly follow a strict set of criteria in order to prove its ‘worth’ across all research paradigms as has been suggested is a common occurrence (Tedlock, 2000). Lincoln and Guba (1985) show agreement in stating that naturalistic enquiry operates as an open system; it can never compel, it can at best, persuade.

Trustworthiness and Quality

Trustworthiness has been used as a qualitative term that parallels that of validity in quantitative research (Sparkes, 1998). It provides an avenue through which to support the quality of one’s data collection and interpretation, simultaneously incorporating the subjective nature of qualitative research into its evaluation (Krane & Baird, 2005). In order to enhance both trustworthiness and issues of quality in this
research, a number of measures were taken during the data collection and the analysis.

*Credibility.* The use of ‘rigorous methods’ by Patton (2002) and the measures taken to ensure ‘credibility’ by Lincoln and Guba (1985) appear to be consistent despite the varying labels. Prolonged engagement (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) in the research setting is one such measure that was ensured in this study. The researcher was in the setting, not only for the actual playing season spanning four months, but also prior to that for the pre-season training spanning four months, and additionally after the season had ended whilst conducting the formal interviews. The researcher was therefore in the field for a total of twelve months from January, 2007 to January, 2008. Building trust and learning the culture are specified as benefits developing from this prolonged engagement (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Triangulation of data sources (i.e., the researcher’s, players’ and coaches’ perspectives) and data collections techniques (i.e., observation and interviews) are suggested in order to help establish trustworthiness (Patton, 2002). This, however, assumes that there is a “fixed point” that can be triangulated (Richardson, 2000), contrary to the underlying interpretivist epistemology and ontology of this study that deem there to exist multiple truths and not only one. Crystallization as an alternative to triangulation, suggests that the focus of the study (the crystal) is multi-dimensional with many different angles from which to approach, changing the way it is viewed depending on the angle from which it is viewed (Richardson, 2000). Leadership and teamwork make up the crystal, the central focus. They are themselves viewed as separate entities whilst simultaneously reflected within one another, approached at
different angles using various data collection methods, reflecting an infinite array of ‘truths’ as a result of the multiple perspectives that shape them. To ‘crystallize’ rather than ‘triangulate’ parallels the deeper and more holistic understanding we strive to achieve through the use of qualitative research (Richardson, 2000).

Negative case analysis was also considered during the analysis phase of the research. This involves accommodating patterns or trends in the data that are not consistent with those existing trends and altering categories by either broadening them or changing them (Patton, 2002), providing a useful means in making data more credible (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It does, however, need to be considered that the insistence on ‘zero exceptions’ may be too rigid and in studies such as ethnography this will be almost impossible to satisfy (Kidder, 1981; in Lincoln & Guba, 1985). If it is satisfied, the study may run the risk of being less believable to the reader (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). A final measure of ‘credibility’ or ‘rigor’ that has been proposed and will be used in this study is that of member checking. Member checking occurred as an ongoing process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) with the participants in which interpretations and understanding of the data were discussed throughout the season. In addition to this, after analysis was complete, the central points within the study findings were presented back to the entire team for clarification of representation and opportunity was given for feedback.

Transferability. Although the majority of ethnographies do not claim generalizability, the extent to which they are deemed transferable by the reader is important. It is the researcher’s responsibility to provide the database that makes transferability judgments feasible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This was attempted by
providing thick description of the fieldwork process for the reader to make a judgment about whether a transfer can be considered a possibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

**Dependability and Confirmability.** Both dependability and confirmability are similar in the ways that they apply to the issue of trustworthiness. Both the process and product of research are addressed and the data collection and interpretations of the study examined to assess whether they are grounded in real events and not the researcher's own constructions. An audit trail has been suggested to 'prove' this (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It needs to be recognized however, that within ethnographic research, the researcher will inevitably shape the analysis based on their own epistemological assumptions and consequently how they interpret these 'real' events. An audit trail only, therefore, provided a map of how the researcher came to a conclusion based on certain events, and does not disregard the researcher's own 'constructions'. Krane and Baird (2005) have highlighted the obligation of the researcher to express her or his epistemological beliefs in order for the reader to assess the research in terms of how consistent it is considering its underlying epistemology (Krane & Baird, 2005).

*The Role of the Researcher and the Participants Within the Data*

**Representation of the researchers.** As previously mentioned the researcher as participant observer was the instrument through which data was collected, making the researcher and the researched inextricably linked (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The researcher makes no attempts, therefore, to write herself out of the text (Sparkes, 2002) and instead the data is presented with an understanding that, although it
represents the perspectives of the players, coaches and the researcher, it has been viewed through and framed by the researcher’s own epistemological lens (Halas, 2001). Ten vignettes frame the study chronologically and ‘visually’ for the reader. Some of the vignettes have been used to introduce ideas and supporting literature as they relate to the development of leadership and teamwork. Others remain without interpretation to compliment and add layers to the ‘story’. These vignettes provide thick description (Sparkes 2002) through their narrative content, staging and contextualizing the data before interpretations are discussed as they relate to theory. Four categories of narrative representation are outlined by Markula and Denison (2005): personal experience narratives (both literary and essayistic), and research stories (literary and essayistic). The researcher here places herself very much in the setting, reporting as she sees. However, the data is collected about others and is not personal, making the narrative a research story. The method of presenting the data combines both literary and essayistic styles of writing. Often it mirrors the fieldnotes closely and is recounted using the participants own words. In other vignettes, framing the context requires more literary use of language (Markula & Denison, 2005).

The narrative form used here should be judged, not by ‘typical’ narrative structure, but by its content and function (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Each vignette and consequent discussion are linked together by the central focus they all share in attempting to address the research purpose. Each section consequently discusses the development of teamwork and leadership as it relates to positive youth development, and is introduced in a way that contextualizes this discussion for the reader. Supporting theory should only be viewed as providing one interpretation of the
presented data and the reader should make their own interpretations based on this.

Representation of participants. Issues of whether a researcher can adequately represent the lived experiences of another social group frequently arise within the ethnographic realm of research (Emerson et al., 1995). The oppositional roles of the researcher as an insider or an outsider have been discussed. Krane and Baird (2005) have, however, discussed representation in terms of the overpowering issue of what the researcher should present out of the wealth of information gathered about participants. They imply the potential social ramifications that revealing certain information can have. Through the continuous member-checking process previously mentioned, issues of participant representation were addressed during the analysis process, before the final report was written. Representation was also consistently at the forefront of the researcher’s mind during the writing process. The next chapter attempts to best represent different events that occurred over the season and the participants directly involved in how these events played out.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following series of vignettes give a chronological account of the season based on the observations made by the researcher and the transcripts derived from the formal interviews. Narrative is used for contextual purposes to provide the reader with a foundational understanding of the team culture and the way in which certain events played out over the season. Often the vignettes are purely narrative, left open to interpretation for the reader, providing a chronological link for those vignettes with supporting theory. These supported vignettes open with narrative to provide context, before theory is discussed as it relates to this team more specifically. The events underlying these vignettes were specifically chosen for their ability to capture the interwoven and continually unfolding journey experienced by the individuals on the team. The events chosen were also heavily supported by both the fieldnote and interview transcripts, providing a balance between the perspectives of the researcher and those of the participants.

The story begins at the start of the pre-season, opening with the first training session. The "Glass Tank" focuses on the researcher's position in this new environment. The boundaries of observer and observed are not well defined in an environment in which the unfamiliar researcher is as much the 'observed' as the participants. The second vignette, "The 'Me' in Team", documents the way in which the players at this early stage in the season are unable to view each other as teammates. Competition rather than cooperation exists to limit collaboration and establishment of teamwork and leadership. "Double Vision" continues this premise
with the ‘team’ split down the middle forming two groups of players. “Synthesis” serves to demonstrate how soccer as a common ground for the players began to erase the boundaries that had previously separated the team. The fifth vignette, “Atmospheric Morality”, provides a comparison of two games played against the same opposition during the season. The two games illustrate the influential nature of coach behaviour in determining the level of morality displayed by the players on the team. The remaining five vignettes narrate a week-long tournament for the team, a tournament that became, from both a team and researching standpoint, one of the most significant points in the season. “Road Trip” and “Red” orient the reader and show the continuing unification of the team. “Seventeen and Old Enough” then discusses the level of responsibility given to the players by the coaches and the implications of this responsibility with regards to the development of teamwork and leadership skills. During the week, as players became more familiar with people outside of the team, factions began to form and the players no longer did everything as a whole group. “Web of Whispers” examines the conflict and disagreements that occurred as a result of these ‘outsiders’ and the varying forms of conflict resolution shown by the players in the coaches’ absence. Before the final vignette, the section “Researcher Observation: Part I” offers insight into the concept of “90 Minute Leaders”, the varying transfer of leadership skills between on and off field scenarios by different players. Both parts one and two are formatted differently from the other ten vignettes as they were not events that could be narrated in the same way. The final vignette, “What Do We Smell?” completes the narration with the championship game of the tournament. The chapter is then culminated with “Researcher Observation:
Part II”, which discusses the importance of shared and realistic goals for a team.
The Glass Tank

I count the number of players. Eight. I congratulate myself. Now I have something to write in my notes. The school gym I am in and the people I am surrounded by are unfamiliar to me. The interactions and events are like any other soccer training session I have attended. Yet there is an understanding that everything I am witnessing is unique – exclusive to this particular group of people, occurring at this particular moment in time.

“Who’s your friend?” The player is of course referring to me; the equally unfamiliar outsider that her coach has brought to the training session. I am immediately pulled into the setting and can no longer watch from a comfortable distance as I attempt to justify my presence. I am struck by the relaxed nature of the interactions that occur between the players and the coaching staff. The coaches welcome players as they arrive, genuinely pleased to see them. There is an atmosphere of reminiscence. Stories are told, understood only by those that journeyed through the previous season together. I smile and laugh in the appropriate places, awkwardly aware of myself.

The ‘Me’ in Team

Sixteen. The number of players attending training has gradually increased since the first week. Players are divided into three small teams by the coaches in order to play a series of games. While two teams play against each other, there is one team sat to the
side of the gym on the stage. My researcher ears pick up on several players discussing the arrangement of teams. The players believe that the coaches have put all the good players on the same team. They are unhappy in this observation but do not voice this to the coaches. Even at this early stage, comparison to peers seems to affect the team. The team has not been firmly established for the season, with trials to be carried out. Without a secure place on the team, this comparison in ability is perhaps a sign of insecurity. The players on the stage are united in their discontent towards the coaches. When the next game is about to begin one of the players is told to hurry by her coach while attempting to tie her shoelace. “He can fuck off” she says to another player, not loud enough for her coach to hear yet deliberately loud enough for the group of players who comprise her audience.

These same individuals also collaborate in their dislike towards other players in the training session. Coming off after playing a game one of the players announces, “I’ll kill myself if I have to fucking play against her one more time”. There appears to be an invisible line that exists to divide this group of players from the others that is upheld and reinforced through comments such as this. This division is notable for its ability to unite the group of players who have earned social approval from one another.

The general feelings of division and mistrust that are particularly evident during this early phase in the pre-season are exemplified when a player searches for her exercise tubing at the end of the session. “I bring my shit here and it gets stolen”. A similar reaction would be far less likely to occur further along in the season.

There are many aspects to this sequence of conversations that are prominent
when looking through a positive youth development lens. At this point in the season, there is no ‘team’ of which to speak. There are also no ‘team mates’. This is simply a group of individuals who attend training each week. The majority of these individuals are the same players that made up the ‘team’ the previous season. However, the arrival of new players has created an environment of instability, played out through displays of mistrust and disrespect. The accusation made by one player that ‘somebody’ (another player) had stolen something belonging to her demonstrates this mistrust between players. Trust is identified as a foundational element necessary for the development of teamwork in a study by Larson (2007). This trust leads to the acquisition of collective norms and a common group identity and without trust as a foundation, players cannot progress towards a collective identity (Larson, 2007).

Hartup and Laursen (1993) propose that competition between individuals can lead to intragroup conflicts. Competition has been defined as “situations in which the interdependencies existing between two individuals constrain their access to rewards” (Hartup & Laursen, 1993, p47.). Interdependency, as the very basis of teamwork, is consequently threatened by the nature of competition when it serves to exist within a team. The development of collaborative skills is said to be hindered as a result of competition (Hansen et al., 2003).

In this particular context, there are several rewards for which the players strive. The final team has not yet been selected for the season and the some of the players do not have a guaranteed place in the team. The competition this creates leads to rivalry with peers (Brustad et al., 2001). This, however, does not appear to be the primary reason for the competition that exists, as most of the players are confident
they will be included in the squad. The players’ desire to prove their ability appears to derive more from a general social comparison in establishing their authority and individual identity within the group. In addition to ability, this establishment of ‘place’ in the group is largely determined socially and the players seek social acceptance from other players. In this instance, striving for this acceptance among selected peers has been made at the expense of respect towards other players and their coaches, such an important requirement for both teamwork and leadership.

Competition has also been explored with regards to moral development. Bredemeier and Shields (1996) have reported that competition may impede athletes from taking the perspective of others. The competition in this context refers to the competition that exists within the game itself and not between players on a team. However, based on the observations made in the initial phases of the season, competition within a team also appears significant in regards to this. Taking the perspective of others is essential when using both teamwork and leadership skills. It requires “using one’s own experience to imagine the impact of different actions on others’ experiences” (Larson, 2007, p.10). The inability to consider the needs of others is referred to as stage one in leadership development, namely ‘needs-based leadership’ (Martinek et al., 2006). Youth in this phase of leadership development cannot fulfill a leadership role as they are preoccupied with fulfilling their own needs. Only once their lower-level physical and social needs are satisfied (Maslow, 1970) can players progress to the second stage of development in the pursuit of compassionate leadership (Martinek et al., 2006).

It would appear that minimizing the competition between players as early as
and as much as possible will serve to reduce the affect that competition has in preventing teamwork and leadership skills. The sooner competition can be replaced by cooperation, the sooner the individual goals held by players can become common objectives for which the ‘team’ collectively strives (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961 in Carron et al., 2005). A suggestion for coaches as to how competition between players can be reduced is for the creation of a mastery climate over a performance climate. Shields and Bredemeier (2005) outline this as the second of two critical dimensions in viewing sports teams as communities in which youth can build character. The ability of the coach to create an environment that encourages task motivation over ego motivation and celebrates effort over performance is an important role in attempting to reduce social comparison (and competition) between players. In a mastery climate, each player is viewed as an important figure in leading the direction of the team whilst striving to achieve the team’s collective goals (Shields & Bredemeier, 2005).

III

Double Vision

I always kind of felt that way, that there was, you know there was that one kind of group to try and get into and I don’t think I necessarily have the same personality as some of them... And so it seemed like another clique slowly started to form and it was like, the girls that were kind of from the away towns (laughs), that we started to mesh together and I think part of it was because we were willing to drive so far to come to this team and we already all kind of had that same work mentality. So,
I think that's kind of what caused the two kind of cliques, the two groups in this team. But the more time we spend together, the less apparent it is that we're kind of divided.

From the outside looking in there are two groups. It is a weekend tournament and there appears to be a distinct divide in the team whenever they are in social situations. They go for breakfast. Two groups. They are given a tour of the university. Two groups. They have lunch. Two groups. They wait to play. Two groups. Consistently. Two groups.

There is one group of players who, it is obvious by their interactions, know each other well. Then there is everyone else. Thrown together, it seems, simply by not being included in this exclusive culture that has evolved within the team. This is not a team culture. It is a secondary, less overt culture that exists to create division among the players.

IV

Synthesis

The game ends. Each player shakes hands with her opponents and walks off the field. They sit down. They are all together. There are no longer two groups. If only temporarily, the immediate needs of the environment require the team to work together and view each other equally.
Atmospheric Morality

Game 1: Saturday, June 16th

"Be an example to your players"

A long awaited cup game against one of the biggest rivals in the league. The stories that circulate about contests between the two teams date back longer than most of the players. It is anticipated that this will be a heated game and the antagonism is only heightened by the coaches’ references to previous meetings between the two teams.

The game begins. One of the players is quickly brought down by an opposing player. The coach gets angry and questions the referee's decision not to call a foul. He shouts across the field, "Ref, where was the call?" His calls are met by the opposing team’s coach telling him to be an example to his players. A heated dialogue takes place between the two coaches with other coaches, players and parents becoming increasingly involved.

One of the influential players on the team, who is off the field at the time, begins to shout at the other team's coaches and players. The unsportspersonlike comments that ensue flow all too naturally from the player's mouth. Eventually her coach turns around and tells her to be quiet. The coach, by his own actions, has simultaneously shown his approval and condemnation for the same behaviour. This inconsistency makes the players increasingly frustrated and statements about hurting or "taking out" opposing players continue to be voiced.

At half time the players come off, angry at the game. Both coaches tell the girls that they have to calm down and the coach that had shouted at the referee apologizes
to the players for his behaviour, admitting that he shouldn’t have shouted. He then
tells the team that if any player “says anything to the other team next half then you’re
off”, in an attempt to settle the players. The second half is quieter than first. Coaches
and players remain angry at the referee but manage to contain their anger and not say
anything.

Game 2: Friday, July 13th

“Just play the game”

Same team. Different game. Again, speculation surrounds the game, but this time it is
regarding politics and whether the game ought to be played at all having originally
been forfeited by the other team. In contrast to the last game, however, this game is
approached differently by the coaches. In the pre-game team talk the players are told
that the only people who can beat them are themselves, referring to players getting
frustrated at the opposition and at decisions made by the referee. They are also given
strict instructions about discipline by the coaches and are told not to “get involved
with their coaches, the referee, the linesmen or their players” and to “just play the
game”. Despite being a goal behind for some of the game, the game is played out in
stark contrast to the previous game. The coaches modeled the behaviour they had
requested of their players and the players followed suit.

The two games serve to demonstrate how highly influential coaches can be
with regard to the moral behaviour displayed by the players. Coach behaviour in the
first game negatively influenced player behaviour with players showing disrespect
and aggression towards the opposition. The behaviour of the coach towards both the
referee and the opposing coach created a particular ‘moral atmosphere’ (Power,
Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989) within the team, affecting the moral functioning of the players. It is noted that regardless of an individual’s moral capabilities, if the collective norm or moral atmosphere is lower then moral functioning will be lower (Power et al., 1989). Moral atmosphere is viewed in this instance as relatively stable, making the assumption that a team’s moral functioning would also remain stable across varied scenarios. When viewed comparatively in these two games however, moral atmosphere appears to be more situational and dynamic. The coach’s behaviour in the initial game created a low stage of moral reasoning and was reflected in the group’s resulting behaviour. Conversely, when coaches discouraged any negative behaviour in the second game and made deliberate attempts to promote a high moral atmosphere in the team, the players complied and abstained from the negative behaviour they had displayed in the previous game. The concept of a moral atmosphere is supported by the notion that a player’s moral indices can be influenced by perceived approval from their coach, teammates or their parents (Stuart & Ebbeck, 1995; cited in Weiss & Stuntz, 2004). The coach’s reactions towards the referee and the opposing team served as reinforcement to the players that such behaviour is legitimate.

Alternatively, a new set of more positive collective norms were established for the second game. The coaches in the second game not only voiced their desires for the players “not to get involved” with the officials and the opposition but they also modeled this behaviour themselves. Holt and Sehn (2008) found that often coaches emphasize that players are to show respect for others, however, do not model such behaviour themselves. This was highlighted when the coach told the player to “be
quiet” and stop shouting at the opposition coach having modeled this same behaviour just previously. In support of this, it is suggested by Light Shields, LaVoi, Light Bredemeier and Power (2007) that coaches’ behaviour is more important to athletes than simply expressed attitude and in order for a positive learning environment to be created coaches need to be aware of the impact they have on the players (Danish et al., 2003). In addition to this, the method used by coaches to promote positive behaviour, or dissuade negative behaviour, is important. At half time in the first game the coach apologized for his behaviour towards the referee and acknowledged his own faults. Directly discussing situations such as this that arise in games is viewed as a positive method to teach moral values such as fair play and sportspersonship (Ewing, Gano-Overway, Branta & Seefeldt, 2002). It is important to note in these examples, however, that it is not necessarily positive behaviour that is being taught here as an alternative to negative behaviour. Abstaining from negative behaviour does not promote positive behaviour. Players simply being told not to “say anything to the other team” is highly unlikely to result in those players showing respect to the other team and they will simply be more likely to refrain from disrespecting them. It appears therefore that the initial negative behaviour became non-negative, rather than positive behaviour. In attempting to promote a higher moral atmosphere so that players go one step closer towards displaying positive behaviour towards others, coaches need to develop shared team norms that resemble good sportspersonship (Shields et al., 2007) and they need to model and reinforce these behaviours consistently (Ewing et al., 2002) so that they become stable and not simply situational.
VI

Road Trip

We are at the airport with our bags packed, waiting to get onto a plane that will take us to the United States. For many of the players this is a trip of firsts, filled with new experiences.

When we arrive we are met by a chaperone who takes us to the university residence we will stay in for the seven days we are there. There are several events occurring at the university we are staying in and the halls are brimming with students and other teams from all over the world. This is the trip the team will end up referring to afterwards to as the trip of a lifetime.

VII

Red

...it was so cool because it was like a mini Olympics so we just felt kinda we were representing Canada sorta.

We were unique because we were a Canadian team. Yes there were other Canadian teams there but just their own little group were unique, we wore the same colour.

The bus is divided inside by two colours. Green for the Irish. Red for the Canadians. The two teams are on their way to the playing fields for the opening ceremony of the tournament. The girls in green begin to sing a traditional song. They finish and wait expectantly for the girls in red to strike back in patriotic fashion. They do. When they
have finished the Irish are immediately into another song, and the Canadians scramble frantically among themselves, laughing at their inability to think of another song to sing.

The strong connections are already beginning to hold between the girls in red. They have been challenged by others. Others who don't wear the same colours as them.

VIII

Seventeen and Old Enough

"The coaches also let us do what we want a lot of the time. Like they still look after us but, like in Minnesota, other teams had curfews and they weren't allowed to do certain things, but our coaches didn't do that which was great".

The instructions are simple: "We have a game at 9.00am. We are meeting downstairs at 7.30, ready to leave". These are the only instructions given to the players the night previous to one of their games. The residence hallway is a highway of activity, girls rushing in an out of rooms in attempt to find something to wear for their, as yet, undecided evening events. Shouted questions and suggestions are occasionally heard from any one of the many dorm rooms, discernable from the general hum of noise that follows the group everywhere they go. In literal terms, based on the simple instructions given that night, these players can go and do whatever they want to in the next twelve hours as long as they are ready to leave for their game by 7.30 the next
morning. Those are the instructions. There is, however, a multi-layered structure in place that lies as a foundation to those few words given in the exchange between the coach and the players. The meaning that is embedded in these instructions ensures that the players are not only ready to leave the following day, but they arrive having eaten breakfast, are well slept and they are all wearing their uniform.

Although there doesn’t appear to be much in the way of structure here, the coaches have created an environment of responsibility for the players, acknowledging that “they’re seventeen and old enough” to accept this responsibility and act accordingly. There are rules and goals in place that are not necessarily spoken of, yet the girls acknowledge that being given this responsibility is a privilege. They also know that if they act inappropriately, the coaches may take this privilege away from them. The players appreciated the freedom they were given by the coaches and accepted the need to make appropriate choices.

*I don’t know, it seemed like that was kinda good for our team though too because we all like understood like on the games that we needed to wake up early in the morning, we knew we had to go to bed, like, early.*

Research has shown that youth feel a sense of increased ownership when adult leaders give them responsibility to make choices and decisions themselves and have made known their appreciation of this (Larson, 2007). Sport in itself provides an environment conducive to agentic behaviour that can be channeled within an adult-like structure (Larson, 1994). Although sport provides the ideal opportunity for this,
the pressure to produce a winning team can often lead to coaches assuming too much control over their players (Smith & Smoll, 1989). When this occurs, player agency is reduced and coaches can easily undermine youths' social and personal development (Hansen et al., 2003).

The coaches on this team often found an optimal balance in which they provided sufficient structure for the players with regards to rules and expectations, yet simultaneously allowed a high degree of youth agency (Larson, 2000). One player demonstrates how, by being given 'freedom' by the coaches, they became agents of their own development, (Larson et al., 2004).

...we had so much freedom over there too, like. I don't know, we all had to make the right choices and like we all really stayed together to make sure we all like kinda went to bed and like would be there to eat and would make sure that we were all there ready to play and like pump up and stuff.

It is highlighted here how the players learned not to rely on the coaches to ensure that all players were ready and motivated to play. They instead took responsibility for one another, coming to view themselves as responsible through a process of self-discovery (Larson et al., 2004). Allowing this self-discovery gives players the opportunity to make authentic choices and decisions (Martinek & Ruiz, 2005) and reinforces to the players that their coaches view them as capable of making good decisions.

Two additional techniques to promote ownership and keep environments
student-centred are for adult leaders to show acts of humility and cultivate a culture of fairness (Larson et al., 2005). With acts of humility, players can better see their coaches as fellow human beings. The coaches on this team would readily admit to being wrong throughout the season and would apologize to the players when they were wrong. This is reflected in the relationship the players shared with their coaches, with the majority of players viewing their coaches as friends.

*And also they're kinda on like a, we respect them as coaches obviously, but they're kind of on a friend basis so it makes it more comfortable to talk to them.*

The player makes a point of saying that being on a friend basis with their coaches does not mean that they do not understand the coach-player relationship any less and still respect them as coaches. However, by being on a friendship level with their coaches, these players can also view their coaches as fellow collaborators in the teamwork process.

*...you wanna win, obviously you've got to play up to the standard, but they're pretty lenient coaches, they're not super strict*.

As a result, players can more easily understand when coaches occasionally need to exercise their authority.

There were mixed feelings from players on the team regarding whether a culture of fairness was promoted by the coaches. One player felt that at the beginning
of the season the coaches didn’t view all players as equally capable on the soccer field and would consistently assign responsibilities to the same players.

“And like when things happen they’re always like, you take the kick or you do this, right?”.

She does however continue to explain how this changed as the season progressed and the coaches began to view all the players in a more equal way.

“And then by the end of the year it’d be like, oh okay whoever, just go do that or whoever do that, because we all have, like, understood that everyone could do it”.

Dworkin and Larson (2006) have reported that youth are particularly sensitive to unequal treatment. Feelings of injustice appear to increase social comparison. This in turn serves to reduce players’ sense of empowerment and their contribution to the team’s endeavours.

In other ways, coaches did manage to cultivate a culture of fairness as outlined by Larson et al. (2005). Adult leaders in their youth development program acted authoritatively, explaining their decision-making processes so that players could understand it. Research by Gauvain and Huard (1999) outlining the effects of authoritative over authoritarian guidance was done with parents. They discovered that youth made more contributions when parents used open-ended, non-directive, scaffolding techniques and involved their children in planning (Gauvain & Huard,
Larson et al. (2005) consequently suggest the use of similar techniques for adult leaders in youth programs. When the coaches here made decisions they encouraged players to question them.

"...and when you show them something or explain something to them, but if it doesn't make sense to them they'll ask you about it...to the point where they can understand it".

In some instances, when the coaches ran out of patience for democracy, they used authoritarian leadership. In these situations the players would openly reject this style of leadership and either ignored the decision or became angry at the coach. This is supported by Larson et al. (2004) whereby strong adult-directed leadership was strongly rejected by youth. It is preferred then that a culture is created that is less authoritarian and instead emphasizes youth input and leadership (Larson et al., 2004).

When learning environments are strictly controlled by adult leaders, youth cannot explore and try out their ideas (Martinek & Ruiz, 2005). On most occasions, the coaches on this team actively encouraged players to express their opinions and ideas.

I have ideas for plays and maybe like outside social events for the team and stuff like that...So, in that area, you know what I mean? So I'll be like, "Hey, can we try the corner kick this way?" He's like "Yeah let's try it once, if it doesn't work then we'll just modify it a bit".
The coach here not only listens to the player’s ideas regarding the way the team takes corner kicks in the game, but allows her to test her idea in an authentic way. In addition to this, he also responds to the suggestion by saying that “if it doesn’t work then we’ll just modify it a bit”. The player is consequently not put in a position where her idea will lead to failure. If it doesn’t work, they will modify it, suggesting further collaboration of ideas until her initial idea succeeds. This positive exchange should consequently encourage the player, and other players, to readily make suggestions and offer ideas, knowing that they will not be rejected by the coaches. Building trusting relationships are essential so that players can feel comfortable enough to take risks and understand that making mistakes is a normative part of learning (Petitpas, Cornelius & Van Raalte, 2008). Allowing players to give input and make suggestions also helps players to be empowered and gives them a sense of ownership within the team (Martinek & Ruiz, 2005).

Listening to and obtaining feedback is a technique given for adult-driven programs to ensure that they remain student-centred and both ownership and engagement of youth remain high (Larson et al., 2005). The fine line between having control and allowing agency is shown in the following scenario. At half time during one of the games, one of the coaches was about to begin the team talk when one of the players also began to talk to the team. She was told to be quiet by another coach, as he perceived her behaviour as disrespectful. The player apologized and explained that she had just wanted to give some feedback regarding the game. The first coach then told her that it wasn’t him that had told her to be quiet; “I want to hear what you think”. This occurrence demonstrates clearly how power struggles exist in every
interaction between coach and player and can materialize through various forms of communication. The form of communication that results can so easily prevent youths from voicing opinions and feeling ownership. It also demonstrates how difficult it is at times for coaches to achieve a “give and take” environment (Martinek & Ruiz, 2005), allowing both control (over youth) and empowerment (of youth) simultaneously. Larson (2007) suggests an “intermediate structure” is provided where both constraints and self-discovery are promoted in equal proportions.

It is important throughout this that although youth input is the priority here, adult leaders nevertheless have a responsibility to act intentionally in creating the youth-driven process (Larson et al., 2004). When leaders leave youth completely to their own devices without any structure it is as equally unproductive with regards to development as when leaders exert too much control (Larson et al., 2004). On one occasion during the trip, players were left to the guidance of two of the parents because the coaches had left early to go to register at the playing fields. The players were due to meet in the lobby at a particular time in order to catch the bus to the fields. Four players were late meeting the group. Once at the field, without a coach to initiate the warm-up, the players sat chatting to one another. Despite assuming the responsibility before every other game in taking the players through the warm-up, neither of the captains carried out this responsibility in this instance. In addition to this, once the coaches did arrive it quickly became apparent that most of the players had not brought drinking water with them to the game. The absence of coaches during these couple of hours resulted in players becoming disorganized and stalling in their pursuit of their goal. It is suggested that if the coaches had reinforced expectations for
the players, giving them an idea of what was expected of them (Martinek & Ruiz, 2005), the players would have more readily shown leadership in preparing themselves for game without their coaches being present. Larson et al. (2004) outlines some stages through which youth transgress in developing responsibility. They say that initially, youth are surprised in their capacity to be successful. Coaches should therefore not only reinforce expectations of them as previously mentioned (Martinek & Ruiz, 2005) but actually assign tasks to players. Behaviours that otherwise might not be attempted for fear of failure will be attempted to accomplish the task, helping players to realize their own capacity to take responsibility and be successful. Assigning tasks will also give players ownership over the results of completing, or not completing the task properly. When players become familiar with their success in attempting to take responsibility within the team environment, they begin to view this success as indicative of a stable characteristic (Larson et al., 2004). Responsibility becomes internalized and players are more likely to willingly demonstrate related behaviours.
IX

Web of Whispers

"Why are we arguing over boys?"

"You’re just jealous because they like us more than you"

By mid way through the week the team was divided:

"It was like the most random thing. I think it was about who we were hanging out with when we were in Minnesota, like the other teams that we were spending time with, and it all of a sudden became this like jealousy thing..."

The outsiders that had served to unite the team previously had made their way in and the cracks began to show. The team was pulled in three directions. Three groups with their own off-field agendas. The players who had spent the first few days getting to know one another in a different environment and remained, for the majority, a collective unit began to let ‘others’ into their group. The players who had become to know each other and their team’s collective norms based on familiar environments (training sessions and games) were unprepared for this new environment that brought with it new and unfamiliar behaviours.

"And we really haven’t seen each other in that kind of way right? Out of soccer...”

Based on previous experiences, the players had developed expectations, or ‘schemata’
about each other (Hartup & Laursen, 1993). When players began to act in varied ways according to the new environment they were in, discontent between players began to emerge.

Conflict is defined as overt behavioural opposition, typically viewed as disagreement or incompatible behaviour (Adams & Laursen, 2007). Conflicts between peers are particularly evident in circumstances in which individuals are socially interdependent (Hartup & Laursen, 1993). Closed situations, defined as those in which participants have no choice as to who their companions are or whether they want to interact with them, are environments in which individuals are especially interdependent (Hartup & Laursen, 1993). Sports teams, by this definition, are closed situations whereby players come together with the primary intention of achieving a common goal. They do not choose who their teammates are. They are dependent on one another to the extent that achieving the goals that they share relies heavily on working collaboratively (Senecal, Loughead & Bloom, 2008). The likelihood of disagreements, it is proposed, is higher in these environments due to the greater demands that closed situations pose, such as the exploration of different points of view and the need to negotiate solutions (Hartup & Laursen, 1993).

Framed in this way, conflict between players is not necessarily a negative occurrence and provides developmental opportunities such as negotiation and compromise (Laursen Finkelstein & Betts, 2001). Interacting with peers, even during conflict, involves cooperation, reciprocity and mutual understanding (Youniss, 1980). Conflict provides the opportunity to develop each of these skills because taking a standpoint against another person subsequently requires regarding the other person’s
viewpoint (Maynard, 1986, in Hartup & Laursen, 1993). Peer interactions thus provide an optimal atmosphere for the development of justice, kindness and concern for others (Youniss, 1980). How leadership and teamwork skills are evident as a result of conflict and what affects the extent to which these skills are used is demonstrated below.

One player (P6) assumes a leadership role in attempting to resolve one area of division on the team. Here, the player is not directly involved in the occurring conflict but feels she can bring the two conflicting parties back together. She explains her method of mediation:

“*I don’t know, I feel like, if there’s a problem on the team I really want to sort it out. I would talk to (player’s name) about it and then I would go talk to the girls and I would try and back up both things and work it out and by the end of the trip we were kinda just like... I felt like it was a bit sorted out. It’s just like, I tried to smooth things over so I feel like in this team I try to just keep things good between everyone.*”

As a result of the discontent in the team with regards to their views of each other’s behaviour, the player here used negotiation skills and attempts to take the viewpoint of both parties to resolve the discontent felt from both sides.

The type of relationship between youths has been highlighted as affecting the extent and form to which conflicts are resolved. The form and trajectory an interaction takes is shaped by the relationships in which it is embedded (Rubin et al., 1998). The extent to which the peers are friends largely affects the interaction that takes place. The player below explains how the relationship between her and a player
involved affects her reasoning for attempting to resolve the situation:

"And so like, I mean I wouldn't want people talking about me, plus (player's name) is my friend. So like this is my friend being talked about so it needed to be fixed or it needed to be backed up somewhat. So I kind of defended her 'cause she sure could not defend herself in that situation. So that was one instance that I did step in and they respected me for it so."

Friends are more committed to resolving conflict with friends (Rubin et al., 1998). This suggests, however, that friends are also more likely to act as a mediator in conflicting circumstances that does not directly involve themselves if it involves a friend of theirs. Friends are also more likely to pursue disagreements and arguments with conflict resolution strategies such as negotiation (compromise and third-party resolution) than they do with acquaintances or non-friends (Laursen et al., 2001). Sport friendships also provide a context in which conflict resolution strategies, such as learning to reach mutually beneficial solutions, can be learned (Weiss & Stuntz, 2004). The player here resonates with her friend and acknowledges that she would not want to have the same experience, displaying empathy and understanding in her negotiations. Empathy is defined as feeling with others, an emotional response that connects people with one another (Saarni, Mumme & Campos, 1998). It is a form of perspective taking by way of assessing another's emotional state (Saarni, et al., 1998). The development of both empathy and understanding of peers are often developed through such interactions (Youniss, 1980; Dworkin et al., 2003).

The alternative, interactions involving non-friends, is demonstrated in the
following statements. Players who were not friends chose not to make attempts to resolve the division. The first statement shows how certain players did not use conflict strategies to actively resolve division and instead chose to discuss it with other peers.

“No, they really didn’t talk to her, they talked about her.”

The statement below demonstrates players who opted to remove themselves from the conflicting environment as an alternative to attempting to use conflict strategies. It is especially interesting to note that in this situation, one of the players who opted to leave the environment was also the player who chose to mediate when it involved a friend of hers.

“(Player’s name) and I just took ourselves out of that situation. We just left, ‘cause we were like, we’re not dealing with it. And by like twelve o’ clock at night, everything was fine. And the team was totally back.”

Disengagement from conflict is not necessarily seen as a negative aspect in the developmental research and ‘walking away’ from dispute is viewed as a form of conflict resolution (Laursen et al., 2001). Other examples of players choosing to walk away from conflicting situations rather than attempt to negotiate them are shown below. Reasons given for this are that players want to maintain a positive view of themselves and that they do not want to be seen as taking sides.

“I like to stay away from it altogether because I don’t wanna be brought into it. ‘Cause I like to keep a clean image.”
I don’t really take sides, so I kinda hear both of them out but that’s something I can’t really fix, do you know what I mean? ‘Cause it’s kinda like their issues and it wasn’t really soccer related, so we kinda just played it out. I mean all the girls really don’t take sides on that because they’re both friends with them right?

Youths’ desire to maintain a positive view of themselves is affected by their investment in an activity (Hartup & Laursen, 1993). A competitive soccer team such as this, based on the commitment (financial, time, effort) shown as part of being a member of the team, provides a particularly relevant ‘activity’ for these adolescents where investment is high. Youth are thus more inclined to want to maintain a positive view for themselves and attempt to avoid disagreements in activities in which they are ego-invested (Hartup & Laursen, 1993).

A second form of reasoning as to why players did not attempt to mediate here was because the conflict “wasn’t really soccer related”. This will be discussed more elaborately in the next section, however, it is of interest to highlight early on that the common ground that soccer provides between the players is influential with regards to the extent that teamwork and leadership skills are shown.

It is apparent that interactions, such as those surrounding conflict, are influenced by the type of relationship players have with one another. Players appear more inclined to withdraw from conflict that doesn’t directly involve them. However, if the conflict involves a friend, players appear more inclined to sacrifice their desire of maintaining a positive image to help resolve the matter. ‘Friends’, rather than
‘team mates’, have a stronger and more holistic relationship and players will expend more effort in attempting to minimize the effects of social conflict (Hartup & Laursen, 1993).

When asked about conflict, players gave examples of incidences both within and outside of the game of play. However, each player clearly distinguished between on- and off-field conflicts and distinctly separated the two as very different events with different meaning attached to them. As mentioned, soccer provides players with a mutual interest and the team collectively strives to achieve their goal of winning. This common goal drives players in solving conflict and division with the team so that it does not affect their pursuit in achieving this goal. Conflict occurring off the field was consequently viewed as acceptable if it did not affect the team when they came to play. Accounts of this distinction between off-field conflict and playing the game are given below by four players:

It was kinda like something that happened in the dorm but then once we got out on the field it was different.

...like we haven’t had anything major on the team that has caused a shift that has affected our game.

But, it really didn’t affect play, so that’s the important thing I’d say. Um, by the end of the trip they were good.
Because we’re there for soccer, you know? Like we work as a team so it’s not like on the field you’re not gonna, it’s not like, “Oh, don’t pass to that person” or don’t do that, ‘cause we’re over that. You know, we’re seventeen years old, you’re not gonna shun a player out... so in that sense we have a good, kinda. strong relationship on the field.

In attempting to prevent conflict from affecting the team’s performance, players would appear to more readily avoid conflict with players, and in unavoidable instances, will use conflict strategies to resolve division. This is consistent with the research stating that peers in interdependent friendships are more likely to employ compromise and withdrawal to settle conflict (Bradford Brown, 2004). It would appear that it is not only the term ‘friend’ that is important here, but also ‘interdependent’. The presence of a shared goal appears to affect the use of teamwork and leadership skills positively. However, if performance is the sole motivator when peers are interacting and there is an acceptance that anything can happen off the field as long as when they play they are united, there is likely to be little transfer for teamwork and leadership skills when peers are not interacting in the game. Players who demonstrate exceptional leadership and teamwork skills on the field, openly admit to not showing the same leadership and teamwork in settings aside from the soccer field.

Like I’ve tried but I know I don’t put forth the biggest effort because I know that I don’t have a lot in common with them. I have soccer in common with them. And that
seems to be kinda almost where it ends. I mean on the field, it’s, you’re just a player, you’re just a team mate.

This shows that when winning is the only common factor among a team, players are less likely to be motivated to expend time and effort into their relationships off the field. Consequently, this player’s teamwork and leadership, shown so readily while playing, does not transfer to the outside setting because her feelings of interdependency do not extend beyond the field. This is further demonstrated below, where a player actively avoids interactions due to acknowledged differences in personality.

Um, with the girls who are different to me I just, I usually kinda keep my distance. Um, I know that we kind of clash personality wise so I don’t necessarily hang out with them all that much. I’m not usually super excited when we’re going away on some trip...And you know, it’s fun but I know that if I’m there to play soccer, I’m there to play soccer.

This is contrary to the study in which Larson et al. (2004) reported youths acquiring a type of interpersonal capital as a result of forging relationships with other peers different from themselves and developing understanding across dimensions of human difference. There does appear to be some level of understanding between the players on the team who would not normally interact outside of soccer in their cooperation on the field. Shared goals are said to provide peers with a source of common ground on which to develop trust and meaningful interactions over time (Larson et al., 2004).
There does however, appear the need for a deeper level of understanding of difference for interpersonal skills to develop on a wider scale in the multiple settings that exist within competitive sport itself.

For transfer of teamwork and leadership skills to wider settings and not just for use on the soccer field, it is suggested that athletes have to realize that these skills are valuable in these alternative settings (Danish et al., 1993). The role of the coach is again highlighted here as influential in this process of realization. The coach can help players understand the value of the skills they possess in these wider settings so that players more readily attempt to use these skills in a range of environments (Danish et al., 1993). In Coach Effectiveness Training (CET) created by Smith and Smoll (1993), coaches are given guidelines that help them maximize youths' enjoyment of sport and their chances of deriving the benefits of participation. It is suggested that coaches create an environment whereby winning is viewed as an important goal for the team, however winning is not the most important objective. Success is also not defined by the team's win-loss record and instead success is found in striving for victory (Smith & Smoll, 1996). This relates closely to the previous review of creating a mastery environment over performance (Shields & Bredemeier, 2005). If viewed in relation to the development of teamwork and leadership, it would suggest that although the end goal is important, the processes and interactions that exist as a result of striving to reach an end goal are of equal importance. It is the interactions that occur in the process of attempting to win games through which youth have an optimal chance of developing their teamwork and leadership skills. Coaches need to make sure that performance does not counter this development with an over-emphasis
relating to its importance and instead ensure that players understand that interactions occurring off the field are of equal importance to the team as their interactions on the field. A closer look at on and off field differences with regards to leadership is further explored below.

**Researcher Observations: Part I**

As a guide to the reader, the 'Researcher Observations' (Parts I & II) follow a different format from the other vignettes. These observations are not part of the chronological recount of events previously shown. They instead serve as topics of discussion relating to the research purposes of the study that were observed over the course of the season and were not necessarily based on one event that could be narrated in a way that was consistent with the other vignettes. Existing theory is used to illustrate and provide support for particular ideas, additionally supported by data derived from interview and fieldnote transcripts.

**90 Minute Leaders: On and Off Field Leadership**

*I feel like I'm more of a leader on the field than off the field.*

Ninety-minute leaders. There are a lot of them on the team. Over the time it takes to play a game, the team boasts a collection of leaders, all prepared to give input; to guide, encourage, motivate. After the ninety minutes is over, the leader in them submerges, waiting patiently for the next ninety minutes to arrive.

There are different factors that affect when a player chooses to apply their leadership and teamwork skills and in which settings. The initial part of this section will look at the transfer (or apparent lack of transfer) between the soccer field and
settings off the field. It will also attempt to provide reasoning for this. The second part will look at players who claim to be leaders in situations outside of this soccer team but within this team shy away from leadership.

The transfer of leadership and teamwork skills between on and off field settings has previously been discussed with regards to players having a narrow focus; that of “when it comes to game time”. It was shown here that the importance of teamwork and leadership was solely linked to performance and without a performance focus in off-field settings, these interpersonal skills were lacking. It is also apparent, however, that it is not simply a narrow focus with regards to performance that inhibits transfer of these skills and that there are other reasons why players’ skills are limited to specific situations. It is important, therefore, that this is explored further to provide coaches with possible suggestions in attempting to encourage players to use and refine their skills in a wider variety of situations.

*Functions of Leadership and Mastery*

Different forms of leadership have been widely explored by researchers within a competitive sport context. On a team, athlete leaders serve two functions: task and social (Carron, Hausenblas & Eys, 2005). A leader that serves a task function helps the team accomplish their task objectives by keeping them focused, offering instruction and assisting decision making (Carron et al., 2005; Loughead et al., 2006). A leader serving a social function is more concerned with satisfying the needs of team members and maintaining harmonious interpersonal relationships (Carron et al., 2005; Loughead et al., 2006). It would appear that both these functions would be important on and off the field of play. The task function of leadership has, however,
been shown to be highly related to playing ability; players displaying leadership with a task-focus were more likely to be starters than non-starters (Loughead et al., 2006). It is suggested that players who lead their teammates on the field require the respect of their teammates, heightened because of their playing ability (Loughead et al., 2006). One of the coaches agrees with this and views ability as crucial for leadership on the field.

...it helps to be a strong player to be a leader. If you’re a weak player, people don’t look up to you. That’s the thing I find. So to be a leader on the field you’ve got to be a strong player. But you can be a leader off the field because it doesn’t depend on your talents, it’s just your personality.

For social leaders, ability appears less important as relational activities occur both on and off the field (Loughead et al., 2006). The player below views herself as more confident on the field than off and perceives her teammates as more likely to listen to her in on the field situations.

Well, yeah. I think more on the field. Like I feel more confident on the field, that has a lot to do with it because like off the field it’s more like as that cliquey thing and I’m in the middle and I will tell people but I don’t think a lot of people listen kind of thing. But on the field a lot more people listen to me and stuff.

The player articulates both how she personally feels in the two different settings and how she perceives other people respond to her in the two different settings. She feels less confident off the field and feels that the social groups that exist
in the team when off the field affect her ability to be a leader and feel listened to. Efficacy, and feelings of confidence, have been identified by Danish, Petitpas and Hale (1993, p.354) as being increased when adolescents master their environment. This in turn leads to increased exploration of their abilities within this mastered environment (Danish et al., 1993). When players feel confident in their abilities on the field they will be more likely to explore their capabilities and feel worthy of showing leadership on the field (Weiss, Smith & Theeboom, 1996).

**Social Status**

It also appears that social comparison can affect a players’ view of themselves within their team with regards to more than just playing ability. The player above perceives herself as being in the ‘middle’ of the cliques that exist within her team and that results in her feeling less listened to in off field scenarios. The following player also feels that she is less of a leader off the field than on as she feels she is an ‘outsider’ to the players who go to school together and are closer as a result.

*Um, I’m more of a leader on the field in that case, just because the girls are so close together. They go to school together, so that like, I can’t really be a leader in that situation because they have their own things to talk about...it’s hard to be a leader, off (the field), coming from being an outsider, you know what I mean? I can’t really be like, just they kinda have their own thing.*

Both players have mentioned the changes to team structure between on and off field situations. The team that serves as a unit when on the field, breaks into
smaller units (with “their own things to talk about”) when they are not playing, what
the player below calls ‘cliques’. When asked why she felt she was not as influential
off the field she says:

*Um because, dealing with the cliques, because some people I feel like they won’t
wanna listen to me and some people would get mad.*

When the team structure changes in this way, the players’ ability to lead also changes.
Players perceive themselves and their leadership differently according to the
environment they are in. Due to the different requirements of the group across the
varied settings, players’ social standing (peer status and worthiness) within the group
(Weiss et al., 1996) also appears to vary between on the field situations and off the
field situations. It is players’ perceptions of their own peer status within the group
that can promote or prevent leadership in the varied settings. Players who view
themselves as an ‘outsider’ or ‘middle’ player to the units that comprise the team in
off-the-field settings are less likely to have high efficacy and a sense of mastery in
those environments, therefore are less likely to explore their leadership and teamwork
skills in these settings.

*Perceptions of Leadership*

It is interesting to note how players’ perceptions of their own leadership vary
as to how others view them. One of the players who earlier mentioned that she feels
like less of a leader off the field, is identified here by one of her coaches as one of the
stronger leaders in off the field situations.
Like (player's name) is also a very good leader off the field. In her way it's more a respect. They like her, they like the way she is.

The player has a different perspective of her own leadership compared to her coach. Glen and Horn (1993) have discussed how perceptions of leadership can vary depending on whose perspective is considered and explored three perspectives when viewing leadership (self, teammate and coach). It may also be that leadership is personally defined by different team members and their views of what leadership ‘looks like’ are not consistent. The player mentioned appears to have a different perception of leadership from her coaches, teammates and the researcher. The player does not view herself as a leader when off the field. However, she is noted (by her coaches, teammates and the researcher) for her interpersonal skills when interacting with her teammates. Throughout the season the player did not confine herself to one group and instead talked to and included all her teammates both on and off the field, mentioned earlier as fulfilling the social function of leadership. She gives an example of this herself:

But just in general, I try to go through a lot of the groups and just be like, like on the flight I was kinda going through the groups, like “Hey, how’s it going”, trying to spread myself around but it’s hard to be a leader, off (the field), coming from being an outside, you know what I mean? I can’t really be like, just they kinda have their own thing.
The player recognizes the way in which she tries to talk to all the players in the group, however, does not perceive this as leading off the field. Players do, alternatively, recognize leadership behaviours in on-field situations more easily.

Um, I feel like I’m more of a leader on the field than off the field. On the field it seemed like I really communicate with everyone. Like I would, like no matter who it is I would just talk to them and I’ll tell them what like, if the ball, like I’m, like “Man on”, like I’m one of the ones who will yell and tell you. I’m like “Ball here” and like try to direct people. And when people score I’m always the first, or like when people do something then I’m always the first one to be like “oh good job” and stuff right and like, really help people.

The player easily illustrates the ways in which she uses leadership and teamwork skills while playing, outlining communication, direction and supporting teammates as some of the behaviours she demonstrates during a game. The suggestion being made here is that it may not necessarily be that players are not showing an equal amount of leadership off the field as they are on, simply that they are failing to recognize their behaviours as leading and as a consequence feel less confident in their abilities to lead off the field.

Players also may find on-field tasks and responsibilities such as giving instruction (“man-on”) and support (“good job”) more clearly defined than those off-field. In preparing youth for leadership roles, Hellison, Martinek and Walsh (2008)
distinguish between technical and adaptive challenges. Technical challenges provide problems that have prescribed solutions whereas adaptive challenges are situational, dynamic and have no clear solution to them (Hellison et al., 2008). On-field situations would appear to provide players with more technical challenges that they can easily find solutions for as experiences on the field are fairly consistent and predictable. Off-field situations are, however, far less predictable. There are no specific solutions to the challenges that may arise in these environments and challenges are therefore more adaptive. It may be that players find it easier to show leadership behaviours in attempting to overcome technical over adaptive challenge because of their familiarity and consistency, but also that they can more easily recognize such behaviours as leadership.

**Skill Acquisition**

In addition to how individuals perceive their own leadership and teamwork, the opportunities to exhibit these skills can also be affected by other people. Players mention that often their teammates do not respond to their efforts when they attempt to contribute to the group.

*Um, I would probably say it out loud but no-one would probably listen. But yeah, I think, like I would be the one to say it out loud but most people would just be like, wait until everyone agrees or at least like a portion of the team would agree and then we would go and stretch kind of thing.*

When players’ attempts are met with such responses by their teammates, it makes
them less inclined to continue with their efforts. There is a need to understand that learning developmental skills such as those required for teamwork and leadership is similar to any other form of skill attainment and that players will experience setbacks (Danish et al., 1993). When players experience initial failures in attempting to develop their leadership and teamwork skills in alternative settings, coaches need to give encouragement so that players do not begin to doubt their own abilities (Danish et al., 1993). Danish et al. (1993) also discuss identity foreclosure and how striving to achieve personal identity can result in youth settling for environments that feel comfortable to them, limiting their exploration of alternative environments. As a consequence, their range of developmental skills is also limited (Danish et al., 1993). Playing soccer may provide this sense of comfort and safety for certain players, allowing them to display leadership and teamwork while playing. This on-field environment may, however, lead to identity foreclosure at the expense of off-field leadership and teamwork opportunities. Coaches, therefore, need to create clear opportunities for players to use their skills in both on and off-field contexts and reinforce skill development with support and encouragement in order to build players’ confidence in their abilities (Petitpas et al., 2005).

There are a number of suggestions given as to why players may feel that they cannot transfer their leadership and teamwork skills from the field to settings outside the field. When players are confident in their ability to contribute to their team they will feel more comfortable in that environment and more likely to practice and develop their interactive skills. It would appear that most players have a higher sense of efficacy while they are playing as it provides them with a familiar and predictable
environment in which to test their abilities. It is, however, preferable that players feel 'safe' enough to attempt to refine their skills in off-field settings in addition to on-field settings. Petitpas et al. (2005) reinforce the need for coaches to create clear opportunities for players to use their skills in varied contexts and reinforcing skill development with support and encouragement in order to build players' confidence in their abilities.

X

What Do We Smell?

Some would say it was electricity. Whatever it was there was something in the air. A presence, a charge. Something that filled the bus and infiltrated into each and every person on the team. The words 'extremely motivated', written in my notes in an attempt to sum up the atmosphere that followed the team around that day, do not even begin to illustrate the eclectic range of emotions experienced by all of us on the way to the game, the final game of the tournament, the championship game. Playing music before games had become routine for the team. Particular songs served as motivating anthems during the entire trip but on this occasion these songs seemed to have more meaning. Embodied, not simply listened to. To an outsider this was a group of people, obviously connected, not only by the logo worn by each of them but by their familiarity and enjoyment of one another. Observing the interactions on the bus, nobody new to the team could appreciate the social complexities that existed among this collection of individuals. On this day, each player belonged, regardless of the
length of time they had played on the team, or the social status they had held so far in the season.

Further along the highway, one of the players realized that she had forgotten her cleats with no time to go back and get them. She informed a few of her teammates, apprehensive of their reactions. On any other day this may have been met with less supportive comments, but the sense of unity that bonded the players at this time extended to meet the problem that faced them and the players rallied together to help.

On arriving at the fields, the players launched straight into warming up in preparation for the game. Warm ups had often served as a site of contention for players during the season as differing priorities were regularly highlighted. Some players viewed this time as an opportunity for socializing and for others, the level of intensity and focus didn’t match their expectations. When a mutual appreciation was present among every player of the importance of the game about to be played, the warm up was visually more efficient. Despite the high intensity, the jovial nature among the players and coaches continued right into the game, a game played with high intentionality and purpose yet without any sense of win-at-all-costs. This was a deliberate intention of the coaching staff that had been reiterated throughout the tournament but could have easily been jeopardized for this final game. The coaches appreciated that the experience was more important for these girls than the results of the games. Despite this, or because of it, the team won their final game and in doing so became champions of the USA Cup. In continuing their solidarity, the players refused to collect their trophy without one of their players who had received an injury during the game and had gone to the hospital tent. They waited for her arrival and
cheered on her return. On returning to the university residences, however, the atmosphere of unity and sense of belonging that was still present among the majority of the team had already begun to diffuse for two of the players. The overwhelming closeness that, in the moment, felt both real and unwavering was just as easily shown to be short lived and, for some, had never been present at all. While the team celebrated winning the game that evening, two of the players were elsewhere, the concept of unity already elusive to them.

**Researcher Observations: Part II**

**Eat it, Sleep it, Drink it: 15 Games in 14 Days**

On returning from the tournament, the team went ten days without playing any soccer. Previous to this deserved break, poor fixture scheduling, bad luck and the week-long tournament had resulted in the team playing fifteen games over a two week period. Seven days into the fifteen the coaches began to use the phrase “fifteen games in fourteen days” as a motivating tool. “Fifteen games in fourteen days”. It became a slogan for the team. The focus for the team was to ‘survive’ the fourteen days. In the face of adversity, the team was never more united in striving for their goal. In addition to the ‘appearance’ of unity during this period with observations noting the team’s obvious camaraderie, teamwork and leadership skills also emerged through attempts to maintain positive relationships in pursuit of their goal.

Although repeatedly highlighted that winning should not be the one and only focus of a sports team if teamwork and leadership skills are to be given the chance to develop, winning does remain important.
Winning as a Realistic Goal

Sport provides a unique setting where competition differentiates it from many other activities participated in by youth (Danish et al., 1993). Competition and winning provide teams with goals in which to strive. It is in striving to achieve these goals that can encourage the development of teamwork and leadership skills in youth. Competition has been defined as a “situation in which comparison of an individual’s performance is made with some standard of excellence” (Martens, 1975, p.74). Danish et al. (1993) have highlighted that this comparison need not necessarily be measured by another’s performance but competition can be based on the individual or team’s actual or expected performance. It is important therefore, that goals that are set in competitive environments are based on expectations of self and not others. Martens (1993) contributes that it is more important to achieve realistic and personal goals than it is to win. This, although maybe unintentionally, can portray winning in a negative way. The team’s primary goal during the fifteen games in fourteen days was to win every game. Winning for this team was a realistic goal. For them, winning did not undermine development of teamwork and leadership but served to enhance it.

...obviously we worked our butts off playing 14 games in like two weeks. That was awesome teamwork, like, we were all tired and hurt. So like we really pulled together as a team to win that, I thought.

Development as a Product of Goal Setting

A group goal has been described as a “future state of affairs desired by enough
members of a group to motivate the group to work towards its achievement" (Johnson & Johnson, 1987, p.132). The fifteen games in fourteen days provided a group goal for this team. Although unforeseen as a goal at the beginning of the season, once the situation arose, it almost became a sub-goal for the players and coaches to reach within their longer-term goal of winning their division. Each one of the players was invested and motivated to ‘survive’ the fifteen games and preferably win them. The player here notes how the team began to ‘click’ both off and on the field as a result of these games.

*Um, I mean we had that span of two weeks, we had what like fifteen games in fourteen days or something like that. And that I think was when I noticed the biggest change. Not only in the team and how well we cooperated with each other but how we played together. Um, you notice things just starting to click.*

The observation made here that the team cooperated more successfully as a consequence of this intense period of games suggests that goals can successfully lead to improved teamwork skills. This is supported by Widmeyer and Ducharme (1997) who claim that goal setting provides a team focus and this singular focus can serve to promote intergroup communication, team commitment and team satisfaction.

*But like, I thought we all got along well and if someone needed help someone would be there and we really communicated a lot better this year than we have like in most. And, I don't know what that's from, maybe probably just winning and like*
understanding that we all wanted to win so badly.

The player here speculates that the team’s commitment to achieve their goal (to win) resulted in the players’ improved communication with each other. It appears not, therefore, the accomplishment of achieving their goal that mediated development, as suggested by Danish et al. (2003). It was in striving to achieve their goal that communication as a teamwork and leadership skill improved. This is further demonstrated by one of the coaches who observed that despite the hard work it took, communication between players did not suffer and the team remained as a unit for one another to work through it.

*I mean they were injured, they were worn out, they were broken down, and they just, right to the very end, stuck it out. No complaining, no whining, no arguing, no bitching about this is too much, they just did it.*

Another way in which a shared goal can promote the development of teamwork skills is shown below where two players demonstrated reciprocity with each other through the exchange of helping others and being helped (Larson, 2007).

*And like, like even teamwork, like (player’s name) taught me to do better goal kicks, which is crazy great for me...I mean we’re technically battling for each, for the same position right? But the fact that she would help me is teamwork to me.*
The common goal that the players' shared and trying to achieve this goal outweighed the competition they had between one another for a position on the team. Consequently, the player opted to share her knowledge in helping her team mate improve her skills.

**Inclusive Goal Setting**

The fifteen games in fourteen days have been discussed as a sub goal that unexpectedly occurred during the season. This goal was not therefore created and discussed within the team. It arose less intentionally simply as a way of motivating the team for the coaches. The team did however have a longer-term goal that was decided upon before the season began.

*We asked them, we did like a little interview at the beginning of the season. And we basically asked them what their goals were for the year. Where they would like to be, where would they like to get to? And the majority of them had said “we wanna make the OYSL”, which is the top league in Ontario.*

*The three coaches and the sixteen girls all basically had the same goal... when we interviewed each girl, every one of them, every one of those sixteen told us at the beginning of the season and at the end of the season the year before, their goal was to get to the OYSL. So I think if you all have a common goal then you're all working towards the same thing, teamwork is much easier.*

The players on the team decided that they wanted to try to win the league that they
were in so that they could be promoted into the higher league. The players were involved in the decision-making process and the youth themselves had set the goals that they wanted to achieve for that season. Including the players in the goal-setting process allowed them to experience the challenges that arose as their own and worked to overcome these challenges (Larson et al., 2004). It also prevented the coaches from placing unreasonable demands on the players. By collaborating with regard to goal-setting, both player and coach expectations were evenly matched (Dworkin & Larson, 2006). As a result of these shared long-term goals, when adversity arose unexpectedly during the season, such as having fifteen games in fourteen days, the team was better prepared to see it as a short-term phase within their longer-term plans.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study was to investigate the processes, including the influence of socializing agents within a competitive sporting context, which contribute to the acquisition of teamwork and leadership skills as developmental outcomes. Three research questions provided a more specific focus within the broader purpose of the study. These research questions intended to; a) discover the processes that exist within a competitive soccer environment that may contribute to the development or enhancement of teamwork and leadership skills in female adolescents; b) explore in what way socializing agents such as coaches and peers contribute to this development; c) investigate to what extent the leadership and teamwork behaviors change throughout the duration of a competitive season. It was intended that analysis of the data would produce themes that related to processes, socializing agents and change over time as three distinct categories that would address these research questions. It was also expected that the development of teamwork and leadership as two different concepts would be discussed in relation to the three research questions. During the data collection and subsequent analysis, it became clear that the processes, socializing agents and change that affected the development of teamwork and leadership were too closely integrated for separation according to the research questions. Teamwork and leadership were also found to be two very similar concepts and in places, shared behavioural characteristics.

As a beginning point of this chapter therefore, leadership and teamwork will be defined once more for the reader and the intertwined nature of the two concepts
will be discussed. The results will then be summarized as they directly relate to the three research questions. The processes and socializing agents that served to promote or prevent teamwork and leadership will be readdressed along with an overview of the changes that occurred over the duration of the season. The influences of processes and socializing agents will be viewed and discussed collectively as there were no processes that occurred that did not affect or were not affected by socializing agents on the team. The chronology of the results has been maintained in this section to better demonstrate the changes that occurred over the season. Examples are also given where the boundaries between influencing processes and socializing agents and the consequent changes become less clear.

The literature review posed teamwork and leadership as two processes, involving similar characteristics, but nevertheless as distinct and separate. As a reminder, teamwork was viewed as a process where a group of people collectively strive towards a shared goal. Leadership, alternatively, was viewed as a process where a particular individual influences the group of people to achieve this shared goal. The definition of teamwork therefore suggests that each of the groups’ members have an equal share of power and choose to work collaboratively in achieving their goal. The leadership definition, by comparison, implies a hierarchy of power in which the leader sits at the top and the remaining group members sit subordinately at the bottom.

By this definition of leadership, the team here could be divided into four categories: One group of players felt comfortable in the team for multiple reasons (e.g., they have been on the team a long time, their playing position is secure, they are
friends with coaches’ daughter, etc) and these players readily showed leadership. A second category included players who were given access to leadership by way of an official role, such as team captain. The third group consisted of players who show leadership in a range of situations but these skills are situational and change with the environment (inside/outside the team and on/off field). Often these players, who are leaders and captains in other environments and on other teams, do not display the same skills on this team. The fourth category of players did not readily show leadership in any environments.

By this definition of leadership, not every player can be a leader as was suggested in the literature (Martinek et al., 2006). If ‘power’ and the ability to pull a group in a specific direction are necessary for a leader to exist, then ‘inclusive leadership’ as an ideal is not realistic. This is also not consistent with research stating that peer leaders are perceived as more democratic in their behaviours than their coaches (Loughead et al., 2005). It is its own definition then that appears to prevent leadership from being inclusive and the term ‘leadership’ can hold different meaning according to whether it is shown by a peer or coach.

During the season, players on the team who were not recognized as leaders consistently helped the team in reaching their goals. These players listened to what their teammates had to say without judgment, mediated when conflict arose, made new players feel welcome and included, and were respectful of outsiders. Without acknowledgement and with equal shares of power, these players guided their team through the season towards their end goal and were as much a part of the team’s success as any of the other players. However, by definition, these players were
demonstrating teamwork in maintaining interpersonal relationships, and not leadership. If leadership were viewed more similarly to teamwork, the concept of inclusive leadership would be more realistic and a greater number of youths would have access to leadership. The traditional view of leadership remains important and control is indeed necessary at times.

However, without the players who are willing to listen to their teammates, this traditional leadership would cease to exist. The term leadership, therefore needs to expand to include all players who facilitate in leading their team towards its collective goal, very similar to teamwork. One of the coaches on the team summarizes this well:

> And again I, that's what makes me feel most happy about the team and most proud of the team that there isn't that one...I really believe it's collective. And I don't know how else to say it, I mean I can't say that there's one leader on the team.

The leadership and teamwork of the players in this study consequently involved a wide range of developmental skills necessary for the team to move collectively towards their end goal of promotion to a higher league, creating inconsistency between the literature and the data collected. It is suggested, therefore, that the relationship between theoretical definitions of teamwork and leadership and operational definitions requires further exploration.

A number of processes occurred over the season that acted to enhance the requirement, and therefore the development, of teamwork and leadership. At the start of the season there was no ‘team’ of which to speak and the group was divided into
smaller divisions of players. Competition between players in terms of their social and soccer position on the team resulted in players seeking this establishment at the expense of group unity. Consequently, players did not view each other as collaborators and leadership and teamwork were not evident. As the season got underway, players began to feel more established and comfortable in their environment. In addition to this, the players had a common goal that required cooperation, giving the players a new sense of interdependency. Interactions between peers as socializing agents were consequently affected by this process of change. It was at this point in the season that players began to explore their leadership and teamwork skills, evident in their interactions with one another. It would appear, therefore, that it was the process of moving from competition to collaboration that affected the socializing agents and their interactions with one another. The influence of the coaches as socializing agents in aiding the move away from this competition between peers cannot, however, be ignored. This demonstrates the complex nature of the processes that occur over the season and the way they can be influenced by and in turn influence the interactions that exists between the players and coaches.

The results demonstrated how the coaches on the team acted as socializing agents in the development of teamwork and leadership and were influential in bringing about both desired and undesired behaviours in the players. The development of moral leadership was one example of where coach behaviour was shown to directly affect the moral atmosphere of the team and consequent behaviour of the players. Once again, the comparative games demonstrate how such incidences occur as natural processes during a season, but it is the reactions to these processes by
socializing agents that affect whether developmental skills are promoted or prevented, and whether resulting behaviour is desired or undesired. Despite agreement (Bradford Brown, 2004; Laursen, 1996) that peers have increasing influence throughout adolescence when compared to adults, it would appear that coaches in sport remain an integral part of youth development. In setting a 'moral atmosphere' for players, collective norms are established by the coaching staff on a team. Coaches have to ensure that their own behaviour models the behaviour they wish to see from their players. It must also be recognized that abstaining from negative moral behaviour does not necessarily result in positive moral behaviour. Coaches consequently need to go one step further in producing moral leadership in players, using situations that arise in games to turn this abstract ideology to into a reality towards which players can strive.

A second theme that highlighted the coaches as significant contributors to the development of teamwork and leadership was that of responsibility. The importance (and difficulty) of coaches discovering an 'intermediate structure' between control and agency according to the age group of the players was demonstrated in this environment. The players on this team were given a great deal of responsibility, both on-field during warm-ups and off-field during tournaments, allowing them to experience agency and ownership over their own learning. On occasion, however, the coaches may have needed to address situations where players started to stray outside the boundaries. It is suggested in the literature that players are reminded of their responsibilities and what is expected of them (Martinek & Ruiz, 2005) in addition to being assigned tangible tasks so that ownership is increased (Larson et al., 2004).
Peers as socializing agents became particularly prominent during the week-long tournament when the players had a high amount of independent time away from their coaches. During this time, disagreements occurred between various players. Inevitable disagreements that occur during a season should not, however, be viewed negatively. They should instead be considered an aspect of peer interaction that give adolescents the opportunity to refine their teamwork and leadership through such skills as mediation, compromise, negotiation and knowing when to disengage and walk away. Players appear to be more willing to use conflict resolution strategies when discontent involves a friend on the team. Alternatively, circumstances involving players they regard only as teammates (non friends) are more likely to be met with disengagement as players strive to maintain a positive image for themselves and do not want to be seen taking sides. Players also appear more inclined to resolve discontent if it might affect the performance of the team on the field. Performance, as an incentive to use conflict resolution strategies in maintaining team relationships, makes sport a unique environment that can provide opportunities such as this. However, when performance becomes the only motivator to maintain these relationships, teamwork and leadership skills are neglected in off-field situations. Players consequently need to be made aware that mediating as a teamwork and leadership skill is important in maintaining relationships in all situations, not simply so that it does not affect their performance. Although players appeared to prefer to resolve discontent independently from their coaches, reinforcing the need to maintain good relationships in off-field situations may justify the need for occasional coach input.
In addition to a preoccupation with performance in preventing leadership and teamwork in off-field situations, other factors were highlighted by the players in reasoning why they felt like they were better leaders on the field than off the field. These were influenced by both processes and socializing agents. Players’ leadership appeared to be affected by peer interactions and they generally said that they felt less confident in their leadership off the field. They mentioned how the structure of the team changes between the different settings (on and off field), breaking into smaller units in off-field situations. These were commonly referred to as ‘cliques’ and affected how the players viewed themselves and their social standing within the group. It is players’ perceptions of their own peer status within the group that can promote or prevent leadership in the varied settings. Players who feel a sense of mastery in a particular environment are more inclined to explore their abilities within the mastered environment (Danish et al., 1993). As a result when players viewed themselves as an ‘outsider’ or ‘middle’ player to the units that comprise the team in off-the-field settings, they were less likely to have high efficacy and a sense of mastery in those environments, making it less likely that they would explore their leadership and teamwork skills in these settings.

It is also interesting to note that perceptions of leadership varied across the team and it has been suggested that leadership is personally defined by team members and their views of what leadership ‘looks like’ are not consistent. With regards to leadership as a process, players appear to more readily recognize leadership behaviours in on-field than off-field situations, such as giving instruction ("man-on") and support ("good job"). On-field situations would appear to provide players with
more technical challenges that they can easily find solutions for as experiences on the field are fairly consistent and predictable. Off-field situations are, however, far less predictable and challenges are therefore more adaptive. It may be that players find it easier to both show leadership behaviours in attempting to overcome technical over adaptive challenge because of their familiarity and consistency, but also that they can more easily recognize such behaviours as leadership.

With regard to change over the season, the team became increasingly cooperative as the season progressed with the week-long trip acting as the catalyst that culminated this change. The team was consequently at its most cohesive, and the players displayed the most leadership and teamwork, at the midpoint of the season. At this time the players were optimally challenged and collaboration needed to peak in order to achieve their goals. Optimal challenge and a singular focus as a process therefore resulted in improved interrelations among the players and coaches in attempting to achieve their goal. This is similar to the need for youth to be highly motivated and engaged for the development of initiative and self-directed action (Larson, 2000). During this time of optimal challenge, teamwork and leadership skills were most evident from the players, shown through improved cooperation and communication within the team, and players demonstrating reciprocity in the exchange of helping each other. Strong team goals that optimally challenge a team appear crucial for collaboration and collaborative developmental skills to occur. The team faced an adverse situation in having 15 games in 14 days but the coaches turned this around and made it into a positive goal to work towards. Players consequently worked together to strive for this goal. It is important that goals are specific to the
individuals involved and realistic so that players are optimally challenged. Striving to win is therefore only important if this provides a realistic goal for the team. Additionally, winning is important as it distinguishes sport from other activities in which youth participate. However, winning and performance should not be achieved at the expense of enjoyment and agency for players. It also must be reinforced that teamwork and leadership should not simply be refined in order for increased performance by the team. This takes away from development and inhibits transfer to a variety of situations. This is difficult, however, when teamwork and leadership are consistently viewed merely as processes leading to the achievement of a common goal as the intended end product. Maintaining harmonious relationships in a group, a feat requiring a great number of developmental skills to achieve this, needs to be recognized as an achievement rather than a means to an end. Teamwork and leadership skills should therefore be encouraged and developed regardless of performance or the end goal that has been collectively established.

The conclusion demonstrates how teamwork and leadership and the behaviour characteristics they share are affected by both processes and socializing agents. It has also been shown how these skills are shaped over time, just as the processes and interactions that occur on the team change over time. Some processes have been shown to occur as a natural and inevitable part of a season and are not instigated by the players or the coaches. It is the reactions to these processes by socializing agents that are important in shaping the development of teamwork and leadership in the players on the team. Coaches and players should not act passively in response to particular processes and simply expect that developmental change will occur as a
result of these processes. Socializing agents have to instead act intentionally in bringing about not only teamwork and leadership, but also desirable and moral forms of teamwork and leadership.
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