Journal of Multidisciplinary Research

Journal of Multidisciplinary Research

ISSN 1947-2900 (print) • ISSN 1947-2919 (online)

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http://www.jmrpublication.org

Journal Indexing & Listing

Indexed in <u>ProQuest</u>, <u>EBSCO</u>, <u>Gale-Cengage Learning</u>, <u>CiteFactor</u>, <u>Ulrich's</u>, <u>de Gruyter</u> (Germany), <u>Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek (EZB)</u> (Germany), and <u>Directory of</u> Research Journals Indexing (DRJI) (India).

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Mission Statement

The mission of the <u>Journal of Multidisciplinary Research</u> is to promote excellence in leadership practice by providing a venue for academics, students, and practitioners to publish current and significant empirical and conceptual research in the arts; humanities; applied, natural, and social sciences; and other areas that tests, extends, or builds leadership theory.

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Journal of Multidisciplinary Research

Vol. 6, No. 3

Fall 2014

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Editorial

A warm welcome to the fall edition of the Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (JMR).

According to Don Tapscott, a leading authority on innovation, "collaboration is important not just because it's a better way to learn, but because it is part of equipping yourself for effectiveness, problem solving, innovation, and life-long learning in an ever-changing networked economy."

Our current edition features collaborative work from Boston University, Indiana University, Florida State University, Indiana State University, St. Thomas University, Stone Hill College, the United States Coast Guard Academy, Clemson University, and Mohanlal Sukhadia University in India. This issue of the JMR (Volume 6, Number 3) also features two book reviews. One is on a book written by Don Stuart that stresses collaboration that could advance the economic needs of both farmers and environmentalists. The second is on a book written by David Rose, which focuses on the human and financial rewards of being an angel investor and describes the basics of angel investing.

This issue also contains a student article in the "Student Corner" and a "Life Forward" section featuring an interesting interview with Dennis Curran, Senior Vice President of Labor Litigation and Policy at the National Football League.

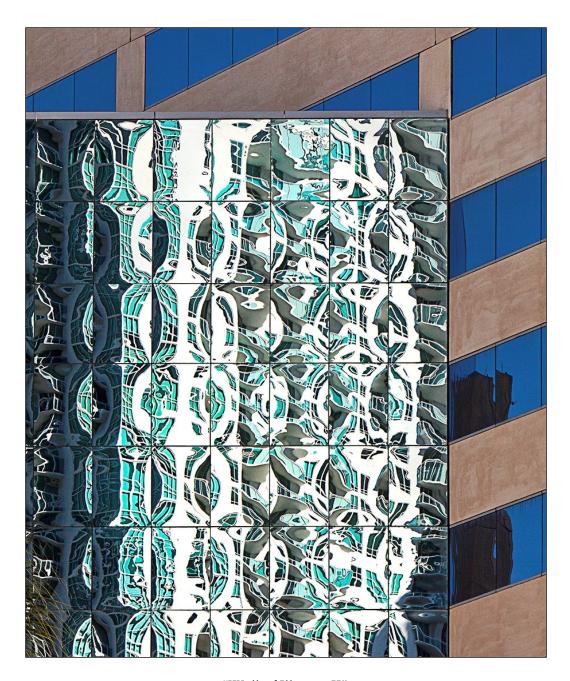
In addition, we are featuring photographs by Lorenzo Pérez Ayuela in the "Spotlight Artist" section.

As we look forward to 2015, I wish you all the very best.

Onward,

Hagai Gringarten, Ph.D.

Editor-in-Chief



"Wall of Illusion II" 2014

Digital photograph by Lorenzo Pérez Ayuela

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Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014, pp. 5-24. ISSN 1947-2900 (print) * ISSN 1947-2919 (online) Compilation Copyright © 2014 by St. Thomas University. All rights reserved.

High School Coaches' Sources of Joy and Unhappiness

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Abstract

The purpose of this study of high school athletic coaches was to understand the greatest sources of joy and unhappiness of the participants in their role as athletic coach. The study utilized an anonymous online survey in which high school coaches responded to two open-ended prompts. A total of 479 coaches responded to the question "What is your greatest source of joy?" and 461 coaches responded to the question "What is your greatest source of coaching unhappiness?" Researchers implemented thematic analysis using NVIVO qualitative analysis software. In order

of highest to lowest frequency four higher order themes of joy emerged: (1) Athlete growth and success, (2) Positive relationships, (3) Coaching roles and contributions, and (4) Team and program development. In order of highest to lowest frequency five higher order themes of unhappiness emerged: (1) Issues with parents, (2) Issues with athletes, (3) Issues with administration, (4) Unmet outcomes and expectations, and (5) External concerns. The study offers recommendations for coach educators, including the beneficial aspects of positively framing coach relationships with athletes and parents.

Keywords: stress, happiness, coach education, emotion, coping, parents, youth sport

Introduction

High school sport coaches can be key adult figures for adolescent athletes (Gould & Carson, 2011) and highly influential on the athletes' sport experience (Stebbings, Taylor, Spray, & Ntoumanis, 2012). Based on Petitpas, Cornelius, Van Raalte, and Jones's (2005) positive youth development framework, youth sport coaches can serve as an external asset to athletes (Forneris, Camire, & Trudel, 2012). Forneris et al. (2012) call for further research on "how stakeholders' perspectives can be better aligned" (p. 21). The purpose of this article is to understand better what high school coaches find most rewarding, their greatest source of joy, and what high school sport coaches find most difficult, their greatest source of unhappiness. We intended to gain a deeper understanding of the coaches' milieu by considering both their greatest source of joy and unhappiness in coaching. Equipped with this understanding, those in sport leadership, administration, and coach development may become better able to support and guide coaches by mitigating what coaches find stressful and enhancing what they find enjoyable such that coaches are more likely to serve as favorable external influences to their players and engage more fully in player growth and development on and off the field.

Richard Lazarus' (2000) cognitive-motivational-relational (CMR) theory provides a rich understanding of what generates emotional experiences, ranging from joy to unhappiness. For example, coaches may experience joy when they face opportunity and unhappiness when they face challenges in sport. Lazarus's CMR theory (2000) offers a transactional conceptualization of stress, emotion, and coping. CMR theory serves as the study's theoretical framework. An individual's cognitive appraisal of such events and experiences leads to the production of specific emotions. Woodman and Hardy (2009) explain that core relational themes mediate the person-environment relationship. A series of appraisals of outcomes (gains and losses), anticipated occurrences (challenges and threats), and experiences that already have occurred (benefits and harms) determine the core relational themes. Based on CMR theory, a secondary appraisal occurs to determine whether the individual can successfully cope with the given experience (Lazarus, 2000). Emotions that reflect unhappiness, then, would be a function of the coaches' appraisal of their environmental stressors reflecting relational themes of loss, threat, or harm.

In the present study, we capture the key aspects of their emotional stress or strain by asking the coaches to share their "greatest source of unhappiness." Unhappiness, a negative emotive experience, is a result of the strain that can result from appraisals of threat and loss (Lazarus, 2000). Joy reflects an emotional outcome of anticipated gains that can result from facing a challenge and appraising that one can meet that challenge. In the present study, we aim to capture the essential components of the positive emotive experience by asking the coaches to

share their "greatest source of joy." The coaches' re-appraisal of each given challenge and their differing ability to cope with those challenges would influence the variability of coaches' emotional experience, from unhappiness or joy (Neil, Hanton, Mellalieu, & Fletcher, 2011).

The research on coach stress provides a window into understanding sources of coach unhappiness. Some of the most common sources of stress for coaches are high expectations and the pressure to win (Frey, 2007; Kelley, 1994; Martin, Dale, & Jackson, 2001; McCallister, Blinde, & Weiss, 2000); time commitment and personal sacrifices (Kelley & Gill, 1993; Kilty, 2006; Olusoga, Butt, Maynard, & Hays, 2010); negative relationships with athletes; high personal expectations (Kelley & Gill, 1993); and lack of resources and support (Frey, 2007; Kelley & Gill, 1993; Kilty, 2006). Sources of stress also include perceived difficulty of successfully teaching athletes responsibility and life skills (Gould, Chung, Smith, & White, 2006; Gould, Collins, Lauer, & Chung, 2007; Kelley & Gill, 1993; McCallister et al., 2000). When a coach's personal philosophy does not match with situational components (e.g., age or competition level of the athletes), stress also increases (Gilbert & Trudel, 2004).

Additionally, researchers have identified parents as a common source of stress for coaches. The types of stress for coaches that originate from parents include the following: general parent stress (Gould, Chung et al., 2006); stress due to trying to appropriately involve parents (Gould et al., 2007); over-involved parents' negative feelings toward the coach cause coach stress, which in turn interferes with the coach-athlete relationship (Jowett & Timson-Katchis, 2005); stress in balancing differing desires and expectations of the parents and the athlete (Martin et al., 2001; Helistedt, 1987); and pressure from parents to win (McCallister et al., 2000). Therefore, since researchers have emphasized that sport coaches consistently highlight parents as negative sources of stress, researchers need to also investigate any beneficial aspects of the parent-coach relationship that influence coaches' sense of joy or happiness.

When coaches cope successfully with some of these same sources of stress (e.g., parents, difficulty teaching life skills) the coaches could experience "eustress," that is, experience sport coach happiness. For example, interviews with elite junior coaches focused primarily on the influence of parents on coach stress revealed that many of these coaches identified only a small percentage of parents as problematic and overbearing. Coaches, however, also mentioned that parents could be a valuable resource (Gould, Lauer, Rolo, Jannes, & Pennisi, 2008; Jowett & Timson-Katchis, 2005).

To date, researchers have not considered the specific sources of coach happiness or joy. Research, however, suggests that an individual's appraisal of stressors is an important mediating factor regarding the impact of stressors (Kelley, 1994; Raedeke, Granzyk, & Warren, 2000; Vealey, Udry, Zimmerman, & Soliday, 1992). For example, coaches who viewed stressors positively (Kelley, 1994) and perceived high rewards, value, and excitement from coaching were less likely to experience burnout (Vealey et al., 1992). Consistent with CMR theory, Frey's (2007) study of the stress of college coaches found that the *appraisal* of whether coaches viewed stressors as either positive or negative contributed to coaches' abilities to effectively cope with the stressors. Other research indicates that appraisal plays an integral role in elite coaches' reactions to stressors (Gould et al., 2008; Jowett & Timson-Katchis, 2005; Olusoga et al., 2010).

Few researchers have examined high school coach stress. In the present study, we were particularly interested in identifying which factors create response patterns that lead to chronic experiences of both joy and unhappiness in high school coaches and considering such findings together. No study to date compares and contrasts sources of coach stress resulting in joy and

unhappiness.

Methodology

The study utilized an online survey to understand better high school coaches' perceived greatest sources of joy and unhappiness. The two lead authors designed the survey. Graduate students (n= 20) and athletic coaches (n= 10) took the survey so that the researchers could check for readability and face validity. After the researchers finalized the survey, five high school coaches completed the survey to ensure, again, readability and to estimate the amount of time the coaches would need to complete the survey. The researchers created the survey for the purpose of better understanding coach values and well-being. The current literature informed the creation of the survey (e.g., Seligman's 2011 PERMA model of well-being); however, the survey was an original study design, and the study's survey consists of 24 main prompts about demographics, coach values, and well-being, and two open-ended prompts about joys and unhappiness in coaching.

The survey asked for descriptive data including gender, age, and coaching role. The section of the survey that provided the data for the present study included two open-ended questions: (1) "What has been your greatest source of joy in coaching?" and (2) "What has been your greatest source of unhappiness in coaching?" The data and themes that emerged from these open-ended prompts are the focus of this article. We chose to ask one question addressing coaches' perceived source of unhappiness for multiple reasons. First, there has been no study to date that specifically considers, concurrently, the source of joy and unhappiness for high school coaches. Second, we intended open-ended questions to encourage respondents to feel free to consider the wide range of possible main sources of joy and unhappiness. Last, the related literature on the topic of stress considers multiple sources of stress, but still has to consider how such stressors may impact the emotional experience of the coach over time. Therefore, this study focused on understanding high school coaches' sources of joy and unhappiness in order to gain insight into what diminishes or enhances coaches' sense of well-being.

Procedure

Participation in the study was voluntary, and researchers did not collect personal identifiers. The Director of the Massachusetts Interscholastic Athletic Association (MIAA) invited all coaches who were part of the association to take part in the study, a total of 3,200 high school head and assistant coaches. Specifically, the MIAA office forwarded, from the researchers, a brief description of the study and an invitation to all public high schools in Massachusetts, whose schools were members of the MIAA. The MIAA's e-mail provided a hyperlink to a Survey Monkey website. The researchers obtained institutional research review board approval prior to conducting the study.

Participants

Participants who answered the prompt, "What has been your greatest source of joy in coaching?" included a total of 479 coaches, including male (n = 362) and female (n = 117)

coaches. Researchers recorded a return rate of 14.9%. Participants who answered the prompt, "What has been your greatest source of unhappiness in coaching?" included a total of 461 coaches, including male (n = 347) and female (n = 144) coaches. Researchers recorded a return rate of 14.4%. The 461 high school public school coaches who answered both prompts included coaches from the following sports: baseball (n = 41), basketball (n = 108), cheerleading (n = 13), cross country (n = 37), field hockey (n = 15), football (n = 61), gymnastics (n = 4), golf (n = 24), ice hockey (n = 26), lacrosse (n = 26), rugby (n = 1), skiing (n = 4), soccer (n = 67), softball (n = 34), swimming (n = 33), strength and conditioning (n = 2), tennis (n = 26), track and field (n = 74), volleyball (n = 34), and wrestling (n = 14).

Data Analysis

Three of the researchers analyzed and coded the coach responses thematically, for both greatest source of joy and greatest source of unhappiness in coaching. The researchers utilized the same approach Harwood and Knight (2009) implemented. The researchers read over each coach response multiple times to immerse themselves in all the coach responses. The three researchers analyzed the data from each of the two open response items, "What has been your greatest source of joy in coaching?" and "What has been your greatest source of unhappiness in coaching?" in order to begin exploring the thematic structure of each set of data. Using the inductive content analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002), the researchers reviewed the coach responses and labeled meaning units to represent each coach's greatest joy and challenge and subsequently grouped those with similar content. The researchers used the same process to group inductively the higher order themes for both sets of data. Unique coach response ranged from 1 word to 200 words per response, for both greatest joy and greatest unhappiness, with the average response approximately 35 words. The average number of meaning units per unique coach response was one, meaning most higher order themes included only one response per coach.

When researchers were independently reviewing the data, preliminary main order themes and sub-themes emerged and thematic structure became saturated for each independent researcher. The same three researchers discussed sub-themes and higher order themes until they established agreement on both levels for all meaning units. The researchers used NVivo (Version 7), a qualitative analysis software package, for thematic analysis.

Results

Table 1 presents unique coach responses and number of meaning units per higher order theme for sources of joy. The four higher order themes that emerged from coaches' responses to greatest source of joy and the number of unique coaches who contributed to each higher order theme are the following: (1) Athlete growth and success (n = 188), (2) Coaching roles and contributions (n = 107), (3) Positive relationships (n = 91), and (4) Team and program development (n = 83). Researchers' analysis of the 469 coaches' responses generated these themes. Though the survey asked coaches to note only their greatest source of joy, some coaches offered more than one answer. The 469 coaches provided 732 distinct answers (meaning units) to the question, "What has been your greatest source of joy in coaching?"

Table 2 presents unique coach responses and number of meaning units per higher order theme for sources of unhappiness. The five higher order themes that emerged from coaches' responses to greatest source of unhappiness and number of unique coaches who contributed to each higher order theme include the following: (1) Issues with parents (n = 180), (2) Issues with athletes (n = 130), (3) Issues with administration (n = 123), (4) Unmet outcome and expectations (n = 111), and (5) External concerns (n = 22). Researchers' analysis of the 566 coaches' responses generated these themes. Though the survey asked coaches to offer only one source of unhappiness, 566 coaches provided 693 distinct answers (meaning units) to the question, "What has been your greatest source of unhappiness in coaching?"

For higher order themes, for both tables, there are two ways that the researchers tallied coach responses. The first way is number of unique coaches, representing the number of individual coaches who contributed to each higher order theme. The second way is n (number of) meaning units. Each meaning unit represented one coach-identified source of joy or unhappiness. Because some coaches identified more than one source of joy or unhappiness, per sub-theme, the number of meaning units was higher than actual number of coaches.

Greatest Source of Joy Theme 1: Athlete Growth and Success

- 1. High school sport and other high school success. Coaches' reported watching their players succeed during high school as their greatest source of joy. Coaches identified such success on and off the field. One coach wrote, "Being there when kids succeed . . . seeing their faces and the pride that those faces reveal." Another coach wrote, "My greatest source of joy has been [to be] able to watch my players develop tremendously on and off the ice through the 3+ months we have been together." Coaches also talked about the joy they felt when "seeing kids achieve their individual and team goals." Another coach aptly summarized the essence of this overall subtheme, "seeing my players succeed, sometimes on the field, but most importantly in their life."
- 2. Athlete personal development (confidence, self-esteem, values). Coaches pointed to witnessing the social and emotional growth of players both as people and as athletes, referring to the athlete's development of "values," "character," and "confidence" such as becoming "good" and moral citizens within their community" and becoming "successful in their lives, as friends, colleagues, parents, sons, grandsons, etc." One coach wrote, "seeing . . . how ('my kids') treat their teammates and opponents. They show great poise and respect." Coaches wrote about joy of coaching the whole individual and watching former players "grow into successful human beings."
- 3. Athlete learning and skill development. Coaches valued athletic skill development in sport. Coaches consistently referenced words such as "click" and "ah-ha," and "get it" as joys when describing the experience of witnessing athletes learn. One coach wrote, "watching athletes learn to reach and accept their potential," whereas another wrote, "seeing athletes improve and get excited about their success, when things 'click' for them." Examples included witnessing players "improve their tennis skills," "succeed on the field, court," and "develop tremendously" while in sport.
- 4. Athletes' post high school success and sport involvement. Four coaches wrote detailed responses about the joy of watching players succeed post high school, such as joy the coaches felt when players remained in contact post playing days, players transitioning from player to coach, and when players found life lessons and value garnered through playing sport. One coach stated, "witnessing the after high school success of my athletes brings me great joy. Coaches hearing from and about them years and years after they have left the program is truly gratifying." Coaches also referenced the joy in tracking the athletic success of former players, as one coach stated, "several

of these girls are now participating in college track and field; their continued participation makes me feel fulfilled."

Table 1 Greatest Sources of Joy for Coaches

Higher Order Themes	
(number of unique coaches/n meaning units)	Sub Themes (<i>n</i> meaning units)
1. Athlete Growth and Success (188/304)	 High school sport and other HS success (214) Athlete personal development (59) Athlete learning and skill development (27) Athletes' post high school success and sport involvement (4)
2. Coaching Roles and Contributions (107/157)	 Positive influence (42) Creator of positive, safe team environment (35) Teacher of life lessons and sport (29) Mentor coach (22) Motivator (17) Satisfaction of being a coach (12)
3. Positive Relationships (91/175)	 Relationships with student-athletes (89) Relationships with former players (59) Relationships with other coaches (15) Relationships with parents (8) Personal relationships (4)
4. Team and Program Development (83/96)	 Growth of a team from a collection of individuals (46) Winning and championships (17) Team cohesion (16) Creating a successful program (12) Growth of team(s) over time (5)

Note. For higher order themes, there are two ways that the researchers tallied coach responses. The first way is number of unique coaches, representing the number of individual coaches who contributed to each higher order theme. The second way is n (number of) meaning units. Each meaning unit represented one coach identified source of joy. Because some coaches identified more than one source of joy, per sub-theme, the number of meaning units is higher than actual number of coaches who offered greatest source(s) of joy.

Table 2 Greatest Sources of Unhappiness for Coaches

Higher Order Themes (number of unique coaches/n meaning units) 1. Issues with Parents (180/219)	Sub Themes (<i>n</i> meaning units) 1. Interfering parents and difficult interactions (95) 2. Putting own child above team and school (44) 3. Unrealistic expectations (30) 4. Negative classification of parents (30) 5. Lack of parental involvement (20)
2. Issues with Athletes (130/130)	 Athletes who do not work hard (54) Athletes not reaching potential (24) Athletes making poor choices (25) Athletes feeling entitled (16) Existential concerns (7) Sad to see them go (4)
3. Issues with Administration (123/133)	 Unfair, unequal, general lack of support (80) Limited resources (46) Conflicting values (7)
4. Unmet Outcome and Expectations (111/164)	 Lack of success in coaching process (73) Win-Loss record (37) Time demands and difficulty balancing personal life and work (34) Roster issues (20)
5. External Concerns (22/47)	 Poor conduct of other teams and coaches (30) Lack of community support (17)

Note. For higher order themes, there are two ways that the researchers tallied coach responses. The first way is number of unique coaches, representing the number of individual coaches who contributed to each higher order theme. The second way is n (number of) meaning units. Each meaning unit represented one coach identified source of unhappiness. Because some coaches identified more than one source of unhappiness, per sub-theme, the number of meaning units is higher than actual number of coaches who offered greatest source(s) of unhappiness.

Greatest Source of Joy Theme 2: Coaching Roles and Contributions

Coaches noted having multiple roles as a coach and contributing in a variety of ways to an athlete's and a team's success as sources of joy. These roles included creating a positive team culture as well as influencing, teaching, mentoring, and motivating their athletes. Most coaches saw their greatest contributions as developing and reinforcing skills and lessons that were transferable off the field.

1. Positive influence. Thirteen of the coaches specifically noted valuing being a positive "influence" on their athletes, with statements including "Being able to influence the lives of these players for years to come" and "Being a positive growth influence on the teenagers in our

community." Coaches talked about being "positive role models" and "making a positive difference in their [the players'] lives." One coach wrote, "There's not a better feeling when you know you had a little something, or believe you have, something to do with a young person's success."

- 2. Creator of positive, safe team environment. Coaches valued creating a positive team culture, such as "creating a positive learning environment" and "experience," where athletes learned skills applicable to their lives off the field. Some coaches' joy stemmed from their ability to create environments that allowed athletes to grow as players and adolescents. One coach wrote about the joy of offering a safe environment, "knowing that I am providing a safe environment for the young adults in my community for the couple of hours we are together after school." Another reported that joy from coaching arose from "Helping develop a positive team environment."
- 3. Teacher of life lessons and sport. Most coaches, who mentioned teaching, emphasized, "teaching life lessons" through sport in addition to teaching sport specific skills. Multiple coaches mentioned the desire to teach their athletes skills that were valuable, "beyond the fields and the classrooms," including "leadership," "sportsmanship," "teamwork," "dedication," and "compassion." One coach wrote, "Sports can teach you a lot about life and how to cope with difficult situations."
- 4. Mentor coach. Coaches found great joy in mentoring players on and especially off the field through providing "instruction" and, at once, "guidance" to their players. As role models, coaches talked about displaying "positive leadership" and demonstrating, "fairness, equity, and passion for the game." Coaches identified the joy of helping athletes navigate "difficult times." One coach reached the "crowning joy which makes all the nonsense a coach has to put up with worthwhile," when a note from a former athlete read, "because of you, I am a better person."
- 5. Motivator. A few coaches talked about the joy gained through motivating and empowering athletes. One coach wrote about the joy of empowering athletes by showing them that they have "options" and "can change situations." Another coach wrote, "Finally realizing that I can be a good coach and give a lot to the girls, especially. Because I have been through many changes and overcome things, I can motivate them to care, have self-respect, stand-up for themselves and in general coach the whole person."
- 6. Satisfaction of coaching. Coaches found a lot of joy in simply being a coach. Coaches constantly used "love" to describe how much they enjoyed negotiating the tactical aspects of the game and sharing their personal passion for a sport with their team. One coach wrote, "I enjoyed the preparation for competition, the analysis of performance, and the attempts to find ways to improve my team." Another coach talked about the joy of "sharing my sport with the next generation."

Greatest Source of Joy Theme 3: Positive Relationships

1. Relationships with student-athletes. Coaches experienced joy when, "Making connections with players" and "creating bonds and trust with the athletes." Coaches valued forming relationships with student-athletes outside of the classroom, and "Bonding with kids outside of a formal academic setting." One coach's response accurately summed up the majority of the coaches' responses, "The interaction I have with my players each season is always my favorite part of coaching."

- 2. Relationship with former players. Coaches enjoyed keeping in contact with former players long after they graduated and having former players come back and watch games. Some coaches valued having former players return to coach alongside them, "Having kids who competed for me want to come back and coach along with me." Many coaches talked about the friendships they developed and maintained with former players, "Having athletes return to visit or invite me to their weddings." Coaches valued the long-term friendships that developed with athletes or parents as their greatest source of joy.
- 3. Relationships with other coaches. Some coaches pointed to their relationships with other coaches as their greatest source of joy. They enjoyed, "Getting to know and respect the opposing coaches" and simply establishing, "Relationships with other coaches."
- 4. Relationships with parents. Coaches reported joy from the coach-parent relationship. One coach wrote, "My associations with players and parents over the past 37 years will always be treasured in my memory." Another coach commented, "I have learned from parents who have 'been there and done that." Coaches wrote about valuing relationships they built with parents, which coaches characterized as "lifelong relationships with (athletes) and their families... that last far beyond coaching." One coach stated his greatest joy came from the respect he received, noted as the "respect from... the parents of (his) players."
- 5. Personal relationships. Four of the coaches referenced their personal relationships as their greatest sources of joy without offering an explanation for the connection to coaching. One coach wrote, "meeting my wife, enjoying the kids," which suggests coaching as a career may offer a valued type of family time. A second coach wrote, "Relationships with my peers inside and outside of coaching," which also suggests that coaching allows a valued type of social interaction.

Greatest Source of Joy Theme 4: Team and Program Development

Coaches cited developing and maintaining successful teams and programs as a greatest source of joy. Aiding team and program development meant encouraging the progress of a team and program through the growth of individual athletes, winning games and championships, enhancing team cohesion, and supporting the growth of successful teams and programs.

- 1. Growth of a team from a collection of individuals. A number of coaches found joy in, "Developing teams from individuals." Coaches wrote about how individual athletes "come together" to support each other and "reach its [the team's] potential." One coach succinctly noted, "Transforming a group of individuals into a team and getting them to buy into the fact that even in a sport like tennis, supporting each other and working together has a profound impact on your chances of success."
- 2. Winning and championships. For many coaches, developing a successful team meant winning. They took satisfaction in being on the winning end in important games, seasons, and championships. As one coach stated, "There is nothing better than having a team that has the right chemistry and everyone respects each other and we work hard to try and have a successful season, which does include winning." Coaches highlighted the simple joy of winning. One coach wrote, "I do also like competing and winning."
- 3. Team cohesion. Coaches reported watching their teams come together as a cohesive unit as a great source of joy. One coach wrote, "Seeing my players bond as a team, picking each other up when they are down, and executing something that we work on in practice." Coaches

found great joy when this cohesion prevailed off the field, "The team takes care of one another and supports each other through all challenges in and out of school."

4. Creating a successful program. Coaches indicated the creation of a successful program as a source of joy. For some coaches, creating a successful program meant taking a struggling team and turning it into something that other coaches, officials, and administrators noticed and complimented. One coach noted, "I am also pleased that, after three years of coaching at the varsity level, I have received compliments from veteran coaches and officials for running my program 'the right way." One coach wrote, "I love seeing a team come together and watching the amazing progress that my athletes have made over the season, both personally and as a team." Coaches defined successful programs as programs that were competitive year after year.

Greatest Source of Unhappiness Theme 1: Issues with Parents

- 1. Interfering parents and difficult interactions. Parental interference emerged as a major concern for coaches, on and off the field. One coach stated, "Parental interference. In the last 5 to 10 years, the level of parental meddling has increased exponentially." The interference was termed "misguided" by some coaches. One coach wrote, "Misguided and over involved parents. I have been subject to anonymous letters, angry calls at home and once assaulted...." Such parental interference often focused on playing time. A coach recalled, "They screamed and yelled, listening to nothing being said. The poor child came up and apologized the next day." One coach stated, "Sometimes parents get involved and blast you because their daughter did not make the team or is not playing enough or is not in the right position to be successful." Coaches used terms like "misguided," "interfering," and "unsportsmanlike" to describe such parent behavior.
- 2. Putting own child above team and school. Parents trying to secure an unfair advantage for their child was a heavy burden for some coaches. Parents wanting to prioritize their child over other athletes, meaning they wanted their child to receive more attention and playing time over teammates, regardless of their child's ability. Parents' expected prerogatives for all sport opportunities for their own children created issues with coaches. One coach stated, "I'm disappointed that many parents are only interested with the success of their own child many times at the expense of other team members...."
- 3. Unrealistic expectations. Coaches noted parents' unrealistic expectations for their child's playing time and future sport possibilities as a great source of unhappiness. One coach stated, "Too many parents have unrealistic dreams of their kid playing in college and feed them ridiculous and undue praise. These parents forget why kids should play sports for fun!"
- 4. Negative classification of parents. Some coaches (n=14) simply wrote "parents" when asked their greatest source of unhappiness. Other coaches offered specific descriptors to explain the categorical negative connotation of parents. Coaches offered concise issues with parents, including, "crazy parents," "cut-throat parents," "selfish parents," "parents that don't get 'it," and "parents and their ideals."
- 5. Lack of parent involvement. Lack of parent involvement and support also served as problematic. Some examples of how coaches characterized uninvolved parents include "totally unsupportive of their own child's welfare" and parents unwilling to support their child or team. Specifically, some parents were unwilling to "reinforce rules and discipline," and one coach summarized a "lack of parental involvement in our community."

Greatest Source of Unhappiness Theme 2: Issues with Athletes

- 1. Athletes who do not work hard. This sub-theme includes issues such as "athletes late for practice," "students not following through with their commitments," and "athletes giving up or not trying." One coach stated, "The athletic kid who doesn't work hard or has a poor attitude not changing over his four years of high school. That to me is the biggest source of frustration, unhappiness as a coach." Similarly, another coach wrote, "I also feel unhappy when a player is participating without heart; he doesn't really want to play. Why he plays is troublesome to me."
- 2. Athletes not reaching potential. This sub-theme included athletes' academic and athletic underachievement. In terms of poor academic performance, one coach wrote, "Watching the student-athletes do so poorly in classes that they actually fail off the team makes me very sad. It makes me feel as though no one has taught them how important education is when they were younger." Another coach summarized his disappointment when athletes do not meet their potential, "The kids that do not reach their potential academically, athletically, or personally. The one common problem is that you wished you as a coach had done more."
- 3. Athletes making poor choices. Coaches noted that athletes made poor choices that interfered with academic and athletic success. One coach stated, "Having to deal with chemical health violations, I just felt depressed and let down. How could they do this to the team? Their community?" Another coach stated,

When I lose athletes to other temptations that have a very negative influence in their life as I personally feel that I have failed to keep them focused and motivated in a sport that could teach them about teamwork, responsibility, hard work, commitment, sacrifice and lifelong lessons that could help them throughout their lives.

- 4. Athletes feeling entitled. Players' attitudes of entitlement and selfishness, including the expectation to start without putting in sufficient effort emerged as a source of unhappiness. One coach stated, "The sense of entitlement of today's high school athletes" is a "source of deep stress for many coaches." He went on to say that, "unfortunately, many good coaches leave because of it."
- 5. Existential concerns. Coaches' existential concerns included athletes suffering major injuries, having to work to support financially their families, and committing suicide. This subtheme speaks to the deep concern some coaches have for their student-athletes' well-being beyond the athletic field. One coach wrote, "Seeing players have their dreams shattered by injury," and a second coach wrote, "Having a former player take his own life."
- 6. Sad to see them go. Coaches' commitment and care for their athletes and the bond they developed with them is reflective of this sub-theme. One coach wrote, "Seeing each senior graduate. Although I'm thrilled they have made it through, it is very sad to see them go."

Greatest Source of Unhappiness Theme 3: Issues with Administration

1. Unfair, unequal, and general lack of support. Coaches expressed an overarching sense of sport administrators not treating coaches fairly or not supporting the coaches. A number of coaches addressed inequitable financial support of teams, individual athletes, and coaches. Others pointed to unfair compensation. One coach wrote, "I am a bit resentful that some

coaches...only practice and compete for approximately half of my season and still receive the same amount of pay." Some coaches reported that administration support of coaches is tied to success or teams winning. Coaches pointed to the frustration that arose when their administration failed to support them dealing with disgruntled parents, "The lack of Admin. support when dealing with fuming parents. The coach is often put in a position of constant self-defense." A few coaches noted the strain of coordinating fundraising efforts while trying to coach, "Dealing with lack of funding from the city and the school district."

- 2. Limited resources. Coaches raised concerns about limited resources included substandard facilities, limited access to training venues, and limited financial support. Coaches expressed frustration over the lack of decent uniforms and inadequate coaching salaries. Others commented on lack of coach development opportunities. Another coach wrote about the pay to play issue as a source of unhappiness, "How today's student has to come up with so much money, just to play." A range of factors, from participation fees, travel costs, equipment, and specialty coaches, represent some of the student-athlete costs.
- 3. Conflicting values. Administrators valuing winning over the development of athletes' skills represented coach-administration value conflicts. One coach wrote,

[My greatest source of unhappiness] is my Athletic Director...his main focus is winning teams that make the tournament. He wants us to schedule weaker teams just to make it in. I do not have the same philosophical views as him. I want the players to develop the qualities that playing organized team sports gives individuals.

Greatest Source of Unhappiness Theme 4: Unmet Outcomes and Expectations

- 1. Lack of success in coaching process. Another source of coaches' unhappiness stemmed from the coaches' perceived shortcomings in their own coaching abilities. Coach identified shortcomings included "not making everyone's experience a positive one" and "a general lack or failing to reach and teach athletes." Coach comments, such as these, reflect aversive emotions stemming from the coaches' personal negative appraisal of their own effort or not having enough time to devote to the sport.
- 2. Win-loss record. Coaches identifying losing or issues with their win-loss record was an expected source of unhappiness. Coaches commonly noted, within this sub-theme, statements like, "Losing the big game," "Not winning more games," and simply "losing, I hate losing." One coach stated, "Whenever one of my teams fails, I take it personally." Another coach reported unhappiness due to his players' suffering: "The losing that my players have had to endure, even when they have tried their best." Other coaches addressed the difficulty of not meeting outcome expectation. One coach stated, "The biggest source of unhappiness has come from not reaching goals and expectations."
- 3. Time demands and difficulty balancing personal life and work. Coaches consistently referenced the difficulty of balancing their personal life and work as a source of unhappiness. One coach stated, "The demands on coaching are huge and often times unrealistic." Coaches expressed aversive feelings associated with coaching time constraints that included feelings of guilt and feeling overwhelmed and exhausted. Another coach stated, "There is always the guilt of not being home to cook dinner, or miss my daughters [sic] game when she plays."
 - 4. Roster issues. Coaches reported the task of making cuts as problematic. One coach

stated, "Cutting someone from the team and dashing their dreams or hopes. Cutting is the worst." Coaches described having players with limited skills when attempting to field a competitive team as a source of unhappiness. Finally, coaches who chose to cut an athlete for inappropriate behavior resulted in coaches' unhappiness, another type of roster issue.

Greatest Source of Unhappiness Theme 5: External Concerns

1. Poor conduct of other teams and coaches. Coaches indicated poor sportsmanship of opposing coaches and players as a source of unhappiness. One coach wrote, "The biggest negative in coaching has been the increase in unsportsmanlike conduct by fans, parents, and some teams we compete against in our league." Some coaches identified poor conduct of opponents such as opposing coaches running up scores and generally other teams and coaches not playing within the spirit of the sport. One coach wrote,

Playing against teams and opposing coaches who will do anything to win at all costs and view instruction below winning. This is humiliating and degrading to my team especially when the other team is far above us in talent already.

2. Lack of community support. Some coaches also noted *Lack of Community Support*, which encompassed coaches taking issue with booster clubs, coaches noting a lack of community development programs, coaches feeling under-appreciated, and coaches emphasizing a lack of community financial support. In one representative quote, a coach wrote, "The lack of support from the outside community." In addition, coaches mentioned community members' focus on performance outcomes versus development of the whole person.

Discussion

Framed within CMR theory (Lazarus, 2000), the study's results reveal that coaches appraised specific factors within their coaching experience as both gains (greatest sources of joy) and as threatening (greatest sources of unhappiness), with the results of the study highlighting the coach participants' commonly shared greatest sources of joy and greatest sources of unhappiness. The study has allowed for a richer understanding of how coaches as a group experience the demands of high school sport coaching by considering both joy and unhappiness, concurrently. Study results indicated a paradox, with some of the greatest sources of joys for coaches also emerging as the greatest sources of unhappiness including parents, athletes, and their purpose as coaches. Such inconsistent qualities, however, emerged only across coaches with no single (unique) coach identifying any one factor that served both as a source of joy and unhappiness.

Parent and Coach Paradox

Coaches most frequently noted *Parents* as their greatest source of unhappiness. The results of the present study found parents to be aversive stressors for coaches with *issues with parents* representing by far the most frequent source of coach unhappiness, which aligns with previous research of pre-collegiate coaches (e.g., Gould, Chung et al., 2006; Martin et al., 2001), Previously research (e.g., Jowett & Timson-Katchis, 2005; McCallister et al., 2000) highlighted

specific problems with parents such as difficult interactions with parents and unrealistic expectations from parents.

Paradoxically, coaches also noted parents as a greatest source of joy. Few studies have reported the positive contributions of parents to the coach experience (i.e., Gould et al., 2008; Jowett & Timson-Katchis, 2005). Coaches infrequently citing parents as positive factors in the coaches' experience may attribute to the fact that other studies have smaller sample sizes or because researchers infrequently study the positive aspects of the coach's experience. Parents as a source of joy may offer a counter narrative to the common discourse found in the media and coaching circles that parents' values are at odds with coaches' values. Therefore, for coaches to conclude that parents will *only* detract from the coaches' well-being would be a mistake. Further, coach educators teaching coaches and administrators to be able to view parents in a different light could alter the tone and nature of some aspects of the coach-parent relationship. Parents' negative behaviors (e.g., being confrontational) remain problematic, though, regardless of coach perception.

Athlete and Coach Paradox

By far, coaches' most frequent source of joy was the Athletes. Coaches most frequently valued Athlete Growth and Success, including athletes' success in sport, success out of sport, and lifelong success. Similarly, the coaches in Lacroix, Camire, and Trudel's (2008) study of Canadian high school coaches reported coaches highly prizing the holistic development of their athletes, which included teaching, motivating, and mentoring their athletes. Paradoxically, athletes also served as a source of unhappiness for the coaches. The coaches' second most frequently reported source of unhappiness, Issues with Athletes, is consistent with previous research. For example, Kelly and Gill (1993) noted the stress of negative relationships with athletes and Gould and colleagues (Gould, Chung et al., 2006; Gould et al., 2007) reported the negative stress associated with trying to teach athletes responsibility and life skills. While sport coaches having issues with athletes is not a new finding, some distinct sub-themes emerged that offer a more refined understanding, such as Athletes Making Poor Choices and Athletes Feeling Entitled.

Coach Values Paradox

A paradox of coaching purpose emerged within the entire participant group. Coaches highly valued their contribution to the personal development of their athletes, since the coaches most frequently identified *Athlete Growth and Success* as a source of joy. Yet, coaches also valued winning, a frequently cited source of greatest joy for the coaches. Barnson's (2014) study of high school sport coaches also identifies a paradox of purpose, specifically how coaches often strive for an array of "success outcomes," from the personal development of singular athletes to producing winning teams, because "coaches want it all" (p. 71).

Community-Coach Values Clash

A clash of coaches' values became apparent around the higher order theme Athlete Growth and Success, which often conflicted with the perceived priorities of parents, athletes, and

community. Examples of coaches' priorities that conflicted with the value of athlete development included *Interfering Parents and Difficult Interactions*, parents *Putting Own Child above Team and School*, *Athletes Feeling Entitled* and administrators who prized winning over other goals. Forneris et al. (2012) also found a lack of alignment between coaches and other sport stakeholders (athletes, parents, and administrators), specifically in terms of what each group expected and perceived regarding life skill and values development. Coaches' and other sport stakeholders' values conflicting echoes previous coaching research findings (Gould et al., 2007; McCallister et al., 2000).

Other "Greatest Unhappiness" of Coaches

This study highlighted coaches' *lack of success in coaching process* as a newly identified area of stress for high school coaches. Essentially, some coaches were introspective and self-critical, blaming themselves for the failings of their athlete(s) or team, which ranged from not meeting job demands, to their athletes not realizing their own potential. The present study identified *roster issues* as a greatest source of coach unhappiness, further contributing to a more refined understanding of coach stress.

Considering Both Joys and Challenges of Coaching

This study indicates that considering both the joy and unhappiness, concurrently, allows a more balanced understanding of factors that contribute to and thwart the well-being of the coach. If a coach is joyful or unhappy in his or her work over time, it is likely to have an impact upon his or her student-athletes. Coaches' perception of parents and players, as positive challenges or threats, are predictive of subsequent coach emotional responses (Lazarus, 2000). Athletic directors, coach educators, and coaches themselves can work toward authentically "perceiving" parents and student-athletes as allies, in place of perpetuating a default mind-set that sees parents or athletes as only problematic. Coaches who begin by perceiving parents and athletes as allies might be more likely to experience a positive self-fulfilling prophecy in this regard. For coaches who face difficulties with particular parents or athletes, it would be helpful for them to keep in mind the valued aspects of generally interacting with both parents and student-athletes.

Many high school coaches are highly committed to success on the field and engage in helping shape the lives of their student-athletes. Coaches, themselves, understand the inherent challenges and paradoxes in the coaching profession. Coach educators and coaches themselves bringing coaches together in formal, non-formal, and informal ways could serve many constructive aims and aid in shared learning (Trudel, Gilbert, & Werthner, 2010).

Coaches categorically casting all parents in a negative light will only reinforce adversarial relationships between coaches and parents, leading to increased severity of stressful interactions. Instead, coach educators and administrators can offer coaches examples of when parents are sources of positive support and can remind coaches of the good (the joy) that generally comes from coaching.

Limitations

Researchers recruited the sample through one state's interscholastic athletic association, and the coach participants responded via an online survey with an average 14.7% return rate for the two prompts. Coaches' responses to only two open-ended prompts informed the results of this study. In-depth interviews or asking coaches to rank their stressors would have allowed for a deeper understanding of coach joy and unhappiness, offering a more nuanced, rich understanding of coach relationships with their most significant joys and challenges.

Further Research

Parental attitudes and behaviors, which impact athlete attitudes and behaviors, warrant further investigation. The clash between coaches' and parents' values indicates a pressing need to better understand parental values and motivations. In addition, we recommend that researchers explore the positive aspects of coach-parent interactions, so that coaches can cultivate these aspects to enhance coach happiness and well-being. Some coaches experience an internal values clash: a high value on the holistic development of the athlete and, for some, a high value on winning. Other qualitative coach research (e.g., Lacroix Camire, & Trudel, 2008) confirms coaches experiencing such internal tension. The type of climate that coaches create is especially important for fostering positive psychosocial development in adolescents (Gould, Lauer, & Flett, 2012; Stebbings et al., 2012). We recommend that researchers investigate the potential relationship between the environment coaches create and coaches' joy and unhappiness, given coaches have a powerful impact on the quality of the athletes' experience and development.

Conclusion

This article is one of the first to address concurrently the sources of joy and unhappiness of high school sport coaches. Parents and athletes both emerged as chronic stand-out stressors and, in some instances, sources of great support for coaches. In our win-at-all-costs society, we often blame coaches for their excessive focus on winning. This study highlights the high value a large group of coaches placed on the holistic development of their athletes. With such an approach, many coaches also reported a values conflict with administrators, the community, parents, and even athletes themselves, between holistic development of all student-athletes and winning. Armed with this evidence, sport psychology consultants, school administrators, athletic directors, and athletic coach educators will be better prepared to support coach joys, minimize coach unhappiness, and promote the alignment of the philosophies of key stakeholders in high school sport towards holistic student-athlete development and away from a strictly winning-at-all-costs approach.

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Discussion Questions

- 1. How can coaches learn to align the goals of various stakeholders such as parents, administrators, and the community in order to reduce coaching stress?
- 2. What strategies could coaches utilize to handle sources of unhappiness and to strengthen sources of joy?
- 3. How can coaches balance the coach-value paradox? Do holistic athlete development and winning have to be at odds?

To Cite this Article

Baltzell, A. L., McCarthy, J. M., LoVerme Ahktar, V., Hurley, D., Martin, I., & Bowman, C. (2014, Fall). High school coaches' sources of joy and unhappiness. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 6(3), 5-24.

Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014, 25-37. ISSN 1947-2900 (print) • ISSN 1947-2919 (online) Compilation Copyright © 2014 by St. Thomas University. All rights reserved.

Gender Effects on Sport Twitter Consumption: Differences in Motivations and Constraints

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Abstract

This study sought to identify gender differences among sport fans who utilize Twitter, and subsequently build a valid and reliable tool for measuring important motivation and constraint elements based upon any observed differences. In order to identify which factors strongly motivate respondents to use sport-related Twitter and which keep them from using it, this study recruited 1,077 participants. The instrument in use assessed four types of motivations (i.e., information, entertainment, pass time, and fanship) and constraints (i.e., accessibility, economic, skill, and social constraints). The current study utilized a one-way MANOVA in order to examine gender differences in relation to sport social media usage motivations and constraints.

Results revealed significant differences in both entertainment and pass-time motives and accessibility constraints between female and male users.

Keywords: sport, social media, Twitter, gender, motivations, constraints

Introduction

Social media platforms have become increasingly popular among sports fans because of their ability to provide access to sport events at any time (Boyle & Haynes, 2002). Twitter, an important tool of social media, has rapidly become a popular online means of communication in the sport industry (Clavio & Kian, 2010) for sharing news in both professional and collegiate sports (Sanderson, 2011). Particularly, the use of Twitter by college student sports fans reached new heights in 2011 when 68.4% of the students indicated they possessed a Twitter account (Clavio & Walsh, 2013). In this sense, Twitter has been an effective marketing tool to attract more fans and consumers, expanding the audiences (Trail & Kim, 2011), and allowing sport organizations to build and manage brands (Pegoraro & Jinnah, 2012; Rinaldo, Tapp, & Laverie, 2011).

Recognizing the significant impact of social media in sport, it is vital for both academicians and practitioners to explore the motivations and constraints for sport consumers in Twitter usage. Yet, while a great deal of research into the motivations for web-based online sport consumption has been conducted (e.g., Browning & Sanderson, 2012; Hur, Ko, & Valacich, 2007; Seo & Green, 2008; Suh, Lim, Kwak, & Pedersen, 2010), only limited research has been carried out on the motivating factors for Twitter usage. Furthermore, as women comprise a majority of Twitter users (59%) (Skelton, 2012), it has become more important to identify whether there are statistically meaningful differences between the major factors affecting male and female Twitter users. To date, previous studies attempted to identify the gender differences in social media usage but limited themselves to motivation and usage patterns (e.g., Clavio & Kian, 2010; Clavio et al., 2013; Haferkamp, Eimler, Papadakis, & Kruck, 2012; Raacke & Bonds-Raacke, 2008), and research is lacking on the constraints that prevent people from connecting with sport organizations through social media. Because motivating factors and constraints influence consumer behavioral patterns considerably, more studies on constraint factors for Twitter users' behaviors are necessary in the context of sports in order to determine sports fan attitudes and perceptions of social media (Lim, Chung, Frederick, & Pedersen, 2012).

Hence, the purpose of this study is to investigate the gender effects on motivators and constraints among sport fans in sport Twitter consumption (STC) and to build a valid and reliable tool for measuring important motivation and constraint elements based upon any observed differences.

Gender and Social Media

Thompson and Lougheed (2012) found that more than 80% of undergraduate males and females make Facebook a part of their everyday activities, and the female users have different patterns within their habits, perceptions, and attitudes related to communication on the social networking site (SNS). Females tended to spend more time than intended on Facebook; more frequently lose sleep due to Facebook; have feelings signifying a closer friendship with Facebook

friends than friends seen daily; develop a negative self-body image of themselves through Facebook photos; develop more stress through Facebook, and feel more addicted to Facebook (Thompson & Lougheed, 2013). Further differences found that females inclined to have more Facebook friends and post more photos than males. Males leaned toward visiting their Facebook site more than females whereas females tended to spend more time on Facebook (Moore & McElroy, 2012).

On another popular SNS, Pinterest, different behavioral patterns have been found between male users and female users (Gilbert, Bakhashi, Chang, & Terveen; Ottoni, Pesce, Las Casas, Franciscani, Meria, Kumaraguru, & Almeida, 2013). The study of Gilbert and colleagues (2013) confirmed that 80% of the "pinners" were female, which supported the demographic statistics Wallace (2013) found, with the population of North American Pinterest users being 83% female. Gilbert et al. (2013) also found that men may pin content within Pinterest that is less interesting to the rest of the Pinterest community since female Pinterest users receive dramatically more re-pins. A surprising finding was females tend to have fewer followers (Gilbert et al., 2013). Moreover, the study of Ottoni and colleagues (2013) showed the differences on gender roles and behaviors in relation to the use of Pinterest. Males displayed their pins in a way that echoed their preferences or tastes, while females took advantage of the commercial capabilities within Pinterest. Females also showed stronger signs of interaction and communication within Pinterest than males. These results indicate that females tended to show an exertion in reciprocating social links. Females were also more active in content generation, and used their profile of pins to describe their positive emotions and affection, whereas males tended to be more emphatic in their representation.

Among Twitter users, Clavio and his colleagues (2013) found that female sport fans rated a variety of informational and commercial functions of sport team Twitter feeds more highly than their male counterparts, including functions relating to in-game updates, game results, individual player news, contests and giveaways, and ticket promotions and discounts. The study also found that female sport fans were significantly more likely to respond to Tweets sent out by team Twitter feeds than were males.

Studies investigating the human behavior of social media have found that certain personality traits within males and females can influence their desires to interact through social networking sites or via instant messaging (Correa, Hinsley, & De Zuniga, 2010; Ehrenberg, Juckes, White, & Walsh, 2008). It appears to be possible to link these personality traits to extraversion, emotional stability, and the openness for new experiences. Correa and colleagues (2010) found that the more males seemed to be anxious and extraverted within their personality, the more they tended to use social media. Emotional stability within males also has negative relation to social media use. Females had positive correlations to social media use through extraversion and openness to new experiences.

Motivations and Constraints in Social Media Consumption

For a better comprehension of consumer behaviors toward STC, it is necessary to identify both motivational and constraint factors that influence individuals' STC and overall Twitter usage behaviors. Witkemper, Lim, and Waldburger (2012) examined four motivations in sport consumption that influence consumers; Information Motivation (IM), Pass-Time Motivation (PTM), Fanship Motivation (FM), and Entertainment Motivation (EM). The constraints in the

study of sport Twitter consumption were Economic Constraints (EC), Social Constraints (SOC), Skill Constraints (SC), Accessibility Constraints (AC), and Interest Constraints (IC). The researchers found that motivations with Twitter use by consumers lie within the desires for information and entertainment, suggesting that social media enables sport organizations to gain initial opportunities to interact with their consumers. Moreover two constraints – social and skill constraints found decrease in the likelihood of fan experience in this study.

The study of Hur and colleagues (2007) confirmed that consumers have motivation to pursue sport consumption for its convenience, up-to-date information, diversion, socialization, and economic benefits in their conceptual model. The constraints presented within their study show concerns for privacy, delivery, product quality, and online customer service.

Gender Effects on Motivation

In an investigation examining the motivations of Twitter users, Witkemper et al. (2012) found that gender is a significant predictor of STC among college students. According to Clavio and Kian (2010), female Twitter followers of a retired female athlete were more likely than males to use the Twitter feed because of their perceived like-mindedness with the retired athlete. Their desire to buy the athlete's products, find news on the retired athlete, be a longtime fan, or just simply to appreciate the retired female athlete's posts on Twitter are the underplying reasons for their frequent use of the Twitter feed in comparison to males. Males' tendency to follow the Twitter feed was due to the physical attractiveness of the retired female athlete (Clavio & Kian, 2010).

Among celebrities, Stever and Lawson (2013) found that female celebrities used Twitter 56.17% of the time to post specifically about information that was personal. By contrast, male celebrities posted about personal information only 18.83% of the time. It is worth noting that none of the other categories had a gender effect for Twitter use, including the areas of work, communications with other celebrities or fans, and making jokes (Stever & Lawson, 2013).

Gender Effects on Constraint

Raymore, Godbey, and Crawford (1994) investigated whether the perceptions of constraints within leisure – be they intrapersonal, interpersonal, or structural, – were connected to gender, self-esteem, and socioeconomic status. The scholars noted that self-esteem has a negative connection to the constraints within leisure. Their significant findings led to evidence of females having a lower self-esteem, thus having higher amounts of constraint within leisure than males. Further results of the study by Raymore and colleagues revealed that socio-economic status was unconnected to perceptions of interpersonal and structural constraints, but did show a negative relationship to the perceptions of intrapersonal constraints. Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter (2002) conducted a study aimed at investigating how perceived intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints on nature-based travel differed depending on gender as well as socioeconomic status, family life cycle, and age. They found there were no gender differences in the constraint dimensions.

In the sports realm, neither Zhang, Smith, Pease, and Lam (1998) nor Funk, Mahony, and Ridinger (2002) found gender differences regarding the perceptions of constraints on ticket prices of a sporting event they are contemplating attending. On the contrary, significant gender

differences within intrapersonal constraints reside within the perceptions of recreational sport participation. Alexandris and Carrol (1997) indicated that women generally have more constraints in sport participation than men. The significant difference in the individual-psychological and lack-of-knowledge group dimensions of the constraints in the study explains this phenomenon.

Despite the great amount of sport fan behavior studies, no study has investigated the gender effects on consumer behavior among Twitter users specifically in the context of sports. To fill this gap, we established two research questions as follows:

- RQ1. Are there significant gender differences in motivational factors for sport-focused Twitter consumption?
- RQ2. Are there significant gender differences in constraint factors for sport-focused Twitter consumption?

Methodology

In order to identify which factors strongly motivate respondents to use sport-related Twitter and which keep them from using it, data were collected using an online survey of male and female college sports fans enrolled at a large public university in the Midwestern United States. Students were first asked to provide demographic information, including their gender, and then to respond to questions about motivation and constraints. In addition to the demographic questions, we divided the survey instrument into two parts to assess motivations and constraints. Based on the study by Witkemper et al. (2012), the scale examined (1) four areas of motivations including information motivation (IM), entertainment motivation (EM), pass time motivation (PTM), and fanship motivation (FM), and (2) four areas of constraints including economic constraint (EC), accessibility constraint (AC), social constraint (SOC), and skills constraint (SC) using a five-point Likert-type scale made up of three items each (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). For example, for the "Pass-Time Motivation" factor, the survey asked participants to respond to the following statements (see Table 1 for the whole section): "I follow athlete Twitter accounts because it gives me something to do to occupy my time," "I follow athlete Twitter accounts because it passes the time away, particularly when I'm bored," and "I follow athlete Twitter accounts during my free time." Overall, there were a combined total of 24 items measuring the four different motivations and constraints. Please refer to Witkemper et al. (2012) for indicator loadings, construct reliability values, average variances extracted, and means for the factors and items used in the present study.

Table 1 Factors for Sport Twitter Consumption

Motives and Constraints Items

I follow/would follow athlete Twitter accounts because...

Entertainment

- ... it is exciting
- ... it is cool
- ... it is amusing

Pass-Time

- ... it gives me something to do to occupy my time
- ... it passes the time away, particularly when I'm bored
- ... during my free time

I do not follow/would not follow athlete Twitter accounts because...

Accessibility

- ... there are no appropriate places for me to get access to the Internet
- ... I do not use Twitter because I do not have a personal computer
- ... athletes on Twitter are not easy to access

We analyzed the motivations and constraints of gender in terms of their STC using SPSS 20.0. Analyses include but are not limited to Cronbach's internal consistency, descriptive atatistics, correlation analysis, and Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). Cronbach's internal consistency analysis gauges inter-item reliability for each element. Descriptive statistics provide overall demographics, motivations, and constraints in the use of sport Twitter. A correlation analysis examines the relationship among the sport Twitter usage motivation and constraint factors. To examine gender effects in STC, we also utilized two one-way (gender) MANOVA of the multiple dimensions of event locations related to motivations and constraints respectively.

Results

We collected demographic information – including gender, age, ethnicity, and educational level – from the study's respondents. Using convenience sampling, participants (N = 1077) were recruited from an introductory level business school class and sports management courses. Previous Twitter knowledge was not required to participate in this study because the presence of previous knowledge can be a factor for the perception of potential constraint factors such as skill, accessibility, and social constraints. The sample included both male (n = 651) and

female (n = 426) participants. The majority (99.8%) of participants was between 18 and 34 years old, representing 45% of Twitter users in the United States (*Quantcast*, 2011). The overall participants ranged in ages from 17 to 40 (M = 20.12, SD = 1.49).

Table 2 presents results of inter-item correlation and Cronbach's alpha that examine the reliability of each motivational and constraint factor. For motivational factors, the Cronbach's alpha values for IM (α = .88), EM (α = .86), PTM (α = .85), and FM (α = .86) achieve acceptable levels based on previous research (e.g., Biehal, Stephens, & Curlo, 1992; Kwak et al., 2010; Yi, 1990). For constraint factors, the Cronbach's alpha values EC (α = .81), AC (α = .80), SOC (α = .80), and SC (α = .77) also achieved acceptable levels, indicating the scaled measures were likely to be reliable in this sample.

Table 2
Means and Standard Deviations of Motivations and Constraints by Gender

	Total		Male		Female	
	M	SD	М	SD	M	SD
Motivations						
Information	3.19	1.03	3.15	1.05	3.25	0.98
Entertainment	3.08	1.00	3.03	1.01	3.16	0.98
Pass-time	3.14	1.00	3.04	1.01	3.30	0.93
Fanship	3.21	0.99	3.26	1.07	3.13	0.98
<u>Constraints</u>						
Economic	2.42	0.97	2.43	0.98	2.40	0.97
Accessibility	2.09	0.90	2.13	0.93	2.03	0.86
Socialization	2.59	0.91	2.60	0.92	2.56	0.88
Skills	2.44	0.91	2.42	0.91	2.48	0.90

As revealed in the second table, the overall means for each motive ranged from a low for entertainment (M = 3.08, SD = 1.00) to a high for fanship (M = 3.21, SD = 0.99). Information (M = 3.19, SD = 1.03) was the second most important factor influencing university students in their use of sport Twitter, followed by pass-time (M = 3.14, SD = 1.00). The overall means for each constraint ranged from a low for accessibility (M = 2.09, SD = 0.90) to a high for socialization (M = 2.59, SD = 0.91). Skills (M = 2.44, SD = 0.91) was the second most important factor influencing college students use of sport Twitter, followed by economic factors (M = 2.42, SD = 0.97).

As can be seen in Table 3, results revealed the existence of gender effect on both motivations (Wilks' λ = .946, F(1,1075) = 6.693, p = 0.00 , = .054) and constraints (Wilks' λ = .979, F(1,1075) = 5.688, p = 0.00 , = .021) in STC. Among four factors of motivation, two yielded a significant difference between females and males. First, there is a significant difference

in entertainment motive (F(1,1075) = 4.937, p = .027, with women (M = 3.16, SD = 0.98) more likely to use sport Twitter to find enjoyment than men (M = 3.03, SD = 1.01), and the pass-time motive (F(1,1075) = 18.795, p = .000, with women (M = 3.30, SD = 0.93) more likely to access Twitter to simply spend time than men (M = 3.04, SD = 1.01). Furthermore, in terms of constraints, only the accessibility constraint shows a significant difference <math>(F(1,1075) = 9.488, p = .002, with men (M = 2.13, SD = 0.93) more likely to have anxiety about following the athlete or team via Twitter than women (M = 2.03, SD = 0.86).

Table 3
Differences for Motivations and Constraints between Females and Males

Source	DV	F	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender	Motivations			
	Information	2.861	.091	.003
	Entertainment	4.937	.027*	.005
	Pass time	18.795	.000*	.017
	Fanship	1.944	.164	.002
	Constraints			
	Economic	2.273	.132	.002
	Accessibility	9.488	.002*	.009
	Social restriction	2.774	.096	.003
	Skills	.037	.847	.000

Note. *p < .05.

Discussion

The commonly accepted initial discovery at the turn of the 21st century of a perceived digital divide between new and social media use and gender support a view that the findings in this study are surprising (e.g., Jackson, Ervin, Gardner, & Schmitt, 2001; Leung, 2001). In addition, this perception of a digital divide points to a possible realignment in both the concept of computer-mediated female fan's interests and constraints and the possibilities for realignment of the social media audience. With this in mind, the main purpose of the current study was to identify meaningful gender differences in motivations (i.e., information, entertainment, pass-time, and fanship) and constraints (i.e., economic, accessibility, social, and skill).

In response to questions related to the first research question (RQ1), the result of the one-way MANOVA test confirmed that there are significant differences in both entertainment and pass-time motives between female and male users. To be more specific, for female respondents, entertainment and pass-time factors play an important role in making a decision to

engage in STC than other factors such as information and fanship. These findings suggest that when assessing marketing efforts by sports organizations, it is important to consider these motivational factors based on gender in order to devise effective strategies to enhance the use of sport Twitter. To enhance STC intent in consumers, it is necessary for sport organizations to utilize social media to create more interest in their enterprises. In regard to entertainment, a sports entity can use social media to promote events as well as upcoming games. Not only does this offer consumers entertainment, but it can also make it appealing for Twitter users to spend their free time checking in on their favorite teams or athletes. Regarding college students who use Twitter simply to spend free time sport organizations need to improve their options for consumers by concentrating on useful applications for mobile phones. Of equal importance to comprehending the motivations, practitioners and marketers need to examine ways to overcome constraints.

In response to the inquiries affiliated with the second research question (RQ2), only the accessibility constraint shows statistically significant differences in constraint factors between gender groups. This result reveals that an accessibility constraint has a greater negative influence on making a decision to engage in STC for male users than it does for female users. Therefore, it is important for marketers to decrease male consumer concerns related to accessibility anxiety. Giving consumers a detailed explanation could solve this constraint factor. For example, sport organizations might develop promotional videos or visual aids focusing on male sport Twitter users to inform this audience about how to navigate their information in order to connect with their favorite athletes and to help them understand the security procedures that are in place with social media networks.

Conclusions and Future Recommendations

Twitter is a medium that sport organizations can use more effectively to connect with sport Twitter consumers at relatively low costs. In addition, social media sites can help firms achieve higher levels of communication than with more traditional communication tools (Kaplan & Haenlin, 2010). The results suggest that factors influence STC based on gender among college students. There are many choices for sport organizations to improve their relationships with fans. For example, findings from the current study indicated that Twitter is a good tool to develop the relationships with fans. Sport management, marketing, and communication professionals within sport entities can use suitable strategies to target users to position themselves to meet their needs. Specifically, they might focus on using social media primarily as a source of entertainment for their consumers and an accessible outlet for them to pass time.

As with all research, there are some limitations related to our study and areas for further research. First, the current study utilized only college students. Due to this demographic, the investigators cannot generalize the results beyond this population. Future research should examine whether there are differences in motivation and constraint factors in STC based on gender among diverse groups of Twitter users. In addition, in this study it was impossible to capture constraints from individuals who have not recently used Twitter. We recommend that future studies target samples of active Twitter users to more accurately generalize to this population. We also suggest that scholars continue this line of research and expand such investigations to include diverse social media to understand the influence it has on sports consumers. Last, scholars are encouraged to explore gender effects on the patterns of other social

media usage such as Facebook, Myspace, LinkedIn, YouTube, Digg, or Fantasy Sport Sites. Strengthening this understanding could lead to more effective sport marketing strategies designed to assist sport organizations in connecting with fans while also working to enhance social connections and relationships between sport industry stakeholders (e.g., consumers, practitioners, advertisers).

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Discussion Questions

- 1. Do you think the usage of social media platforms other than Twitter (e.g., Facebook, Myspace, Instagram, YouTube, and Digg) also shows significant gender differences in motivations and constraints toward sport social media usage?
- 2. In this study, four motivation factors and four constraint factors for building effective marketing strategies through Twitter were mentioned. What other factors would there be?
- 3. In this study, it was mentioned that it was impossible to capture constraints from the individuals who have not recently used Twitter. What would be an effective way of capturing constraints from respondents who have not recently used Twitter so that the reliability of future studies could be improved?

To Cite this Article

Yoon, J., Smith, C., Kim, A. C. H., Clavio, G., Witkemper, C., & Pederson, P. M. (2014, Fall). Gender effects on sport Twitter consumption: Differences in motivations and constraints. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 6(3), 25-37.



"Reflection #654" 2008

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Interest Group Formation and Mental Health Care Consumers in the United States: The Effects of Stigma, Fiscal Policy, and the Affordable Care Act

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Abstract

One of the most pressing problems facing people with mental illness in the United States in the 21st century is the lack of an interest group or pressure group that exerts influence on governmental or political decision makers. This article examines the mechanics and prospects of the formation of such a group, discusses barriers to formation of one such as stigma and lack of fiscal support, and explores the potentially positive impact of the Affordable Care Act on interest-group formation.

Keywords: Affordable Care Act, Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, Health and Education Reconciliation Act of 2010, stigma, mental health care politics, interest groups

Introduction

The Affordable Care Act (ACA) was designed to mitigate the burgeoning healthcare crisis in the United States (U.S.). With millions of people in the U.S. unable to purchase health insurance for a variety of reasons, from lack of financial resources to denial of coverage due to preexisting conditions, the Obama administration attempted to achieve what previous administrations had not: provide access to affordable health care coverage for those who desired it. This is a broad-based piece of legislation that affects multiple groups at many levels. This article focuses on one particular group, the population of those with mental illness in the U.S. It is of great import to study the effects of the ACA on this particular group because lack of adequate mental health care, especially for people with serious mental illnesses (SMIs) such as bipolar disorder or schizophrenia, has myriad negative consequences. Chronic homelessness, overburdened hospital psychiatric wards, and jails and prisons functioning as de facto psychiatric hospitals are just some of the problems caused by a mental health care system that has been far from effective in ameliorating some of the worst societal conditions. This is not just a small

segment of the population that has little import beyond those who suffer from mental illness and those who care for them. An estimated 43.7 million people in the U.S. suffered from an episode of mental illness in 2012 alone (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2013). Some of the ACA's mental health provisions, which this author will discuss in detail later, could go a long way toward helping those who suffer from mental illness and perhaps change the direction of mental health care as we know it.

Communities, Interest Groups, and the Potential for Change

Still, one piece of legislation cannot create a new paradigm in mental healthcare. Granted, the federal government has traditionally been a greater friend to people with mental illness than any other level of government. The list of federal legislation aimed at protecting this vulnerable part of the population is impressive. The 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the Mental Health Parity Law of 1996, the Mental Health Parity and Addition Equity Act of 2008, and the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 are all examples of federal efforts to level the playing field in society for those with mental illness, ranging from declaring mental illness to be a disability under the ADA to making mental health benefits part of the services in state-offered insurance plans (Cummings, Lucas, & Druss, 2013). Fundamental change must take place in both the mental health community as well as in the healthcare delivery systems at the state and, most importantly, local levels.

Political influence in mental healthcare is most felt at the state level, and the first step in creating a better future for those with mental illness in the U.S. is for the population, including those who suffer from SMIs, to bond together in some form of community. Compared to racial, ethnic, or sexual preference groups, there is little sharing of a sense of commonality in the experience of having a mental illness or being one of their caregivers. The prevailing feeling is that most of those with mental illness are "going it alone" in dealing with stigma, with inadequate support services or a complete lack of essential services. To be fair, there exist local support groups and organizations such as the National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI) and the Depression and Bipolar Support Alliance (DBSA), but these are largely composed of the upper strata of the mental illness community. They traditionally have insurance, access to good psychiatric care, and the support of friends and family. This group does not typically include those who are homeless, incarcerated, or simply too ill to function in a communal setting. Granted, there will always be those who are beyond the help of modern psychiatric treatment. Still, the application of proper medication and counseling can accomplish making those who are treatable functional in society.

One would be remiss in omitting from this community the caregivers of those who suffer from SMI, an estimated one in 17 of the U.S. population. Stress levels are inordinately high in families that are primary caregivers to those with mental illness (Anderson & Lynch, 1984). Caregiver support groups exist, but there is a high dropout rate due to time restrictions and other mundane factors such as transportation issues (Hellar, Roccoforte, & Cook, 1997). Relieving the stress on these individuals through a larger sense of a shared experience that a coherent, organized community could provide would both benefit the caregiver and strengthen the movement toward a true community.

With the creation of a coherent and visible community, the next logical step is to establish an interest group that is capable of producing change in the mental health care delivery

system, which is critical to lifting up a mostly ignored and stigmatized group. The existing organizations such as NAMI and the DBSA serve mostly as information providers (such as NAMI's rating of state mental health care services) or as guides, helping those with mental illness navigate the byzantine corridors of the current mental health care system. They do not exert true political pressure as do other groups, such as the National Rifle Association. This is most evident in an example from NAMI Augusta's "Learning To Lobby" article that appeared in its organizational newsletter: the newsletter explains lobbying and then, in a soft-pedal approach, the organization discusses how to contact governmental representatives (such as by phone calls or e-mails) and advises members to be fair, kind, and willing to compromise (National Alliance on Mental Illness, 2009).

It would be a gross understatement to say the literature on interest group formation and function is vast, and the mental health consumer community can gain much from it. Ranging from Mancur Olson's touchstone *Logic of Collective Action* (1965), which focuses on incentives to joining interest groups, to literature on the origination and maintenance of groups (Walker, 1983), the density of the interest group systems (Lowery & Gray, 1993), their diversity (Gray & Lowery, 1993), and the competition and dynamics of coalition building (Holyoke, 2009), there is an almost inexhaustible supply of cogent literature on interest groups in general.

What makes the formation of an interest group out of the mental health community difficult is that mental healthcare consumers are one of the most stigmatized groups in the United States, a significant barrier among several that needs to be overcome. An example of a group that has overcome societal biases is Haitian-Americans, who were classified as a risk group for AIDS and then endured a further stigmatizing ban on blood donations by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). Haitian-American physicians mobilized groups in major metropolitan areas, paralyzing the cities targeted and forcing the FDA to repeal the blood-donation ban (Brezenski, 2011). Another example are the gay and lesbian rights groups that began to organize in force in the 1950's (Nownes, 2004) and that since have seen unprecedented victories on gay rights issues ranging from same-sex marriage to antidiscrimination legislation at both the federal and state level. Thus, stigmatized groups or groups of those that endure heavy social sanction can achieve political goals in the face of seemingly overwhelming opposition.

This brings about a chicken or egg sort of conundrum. To create an interest group that can advocate for badly needed change in the mental healthcare system requires that the vast majority of its members be mentally well enough to organize, but the system and society itself erect significant barriers to mental health consumers attaining the wellness necessary for them to participate.

The Legacy of Deinstitutionalization

Public policy on caring for those with chronic mental illness, like most American public policy, is steeped in incrementalism. From the nation's birth, care for those with mental illness was the province of localities, far from the influence of any governmental entity. Indeed, some of the most successful of models were those of religious organizations such as the Quakers, who favored pastoral settings in which patients could roam pleasingly manicured grounds with no restraints, whether fully recovered or not (Whitaker, 2002). This approach made sense from a human behavior perspective: do not completely remove those with mental illness from the community and lock them away since they benefit from communal interaction and suffer when

they become the "other" rather than part of the group (Vincent, 2008). In the nascent years of the discipline known as psychiatry, this method gave way to experiments with patients that often verged on torture such as repeated dunkings into icy water (Whitaker, 2002). This led to the asylum model, in which the patients were to be completely removed from communal sight and warehoused in large, state-constructed mental hospitals with the costs shared by local communities (Grob, 1994). This system remained largely in place until the post-World War II era. The National Mental Health Care Act of 1946 marked the federal government's first major foray into the mental health field. It created the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and emphasized slowly dismantling the old state asylum system in favor of a municipal care model that emphasized both ongoing and preventive care (Grob, 1994). News outlets' and major magazines' shocking exposés of the horrifying conditions at some major state mental institutions provided further impetus, where patients were routinely mistreated and housed in ghastly conditions (Whitaker, 2002). With the general public duly outraged, what came to be known as the community mental healthcare system (CMHS) picked up steam and culminated in the Community Health Act of 1963, which began the closing of the door on the era of the asylum and a reverting back to a community-based approach, as in colonial times, but with a governmental angle. States were only too happy to shed the costs of running the asylums, resulting in a reduction of the total state asylum population by 80% by the 1980s. Those with mental illness in need of hospitalization are now almost the sole province of private psychiatric facilities and the few free-standing state hospitals still left. As of 2010 there were only 204 state hospitals in the United States, with 2,198 closed in 2009 and 17 states considering closing more (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2012). This has contributed to an increase in the homeless population and a cyclical relationship with the criminal justice system for those who simply cannot be cared for at the community level and who are in need of long-term institutionalization. The one-size-fits-all strategy of deinstitutionalization has simply ignored the sector of the population with mental illness.

Overall, the effect of deinstitutionalization has been a net negative. Many mental health public policy scholars have concluded that the effort to integrate those with mental illness back into the community has been a dismal failure. The establishment of Community Mental Health Centers (CMHC) has been spotty and piecemeal, leaving many without essential services (Mechanic & Rochefort, 1990). The system has also failed in the area of providing adequate housing for those who are well enough to reenter the community at large. Assisted living facilities, or ALFs, are the backbone of community reintroduction. ALFs are supposed to provide the residents with housing and to monitor medication compliance and regular visitations with either a CMHC or counselor, key factors in keeping the patient well. This provides a positive chain reaction. Residents of ALFs who remain on their medication regimen have a greater chance of gaining employment and eventually leaving the ALF to live on their own. This lowers the number of unemployed people with mental illnesses and opens up a spot for another patient in the ALF to begin his or her journey back to what society would call a normative living situation. The ALF model, as it currently stands in many communities, is either nonexistent or, poorly run and beset by a number of problems, the most exasperating of which is the establishment of ALFs themselves. Often times, local mental health officials have difficulty even finding sites on which to start an ALF. As with drug rehabilitation center halfway houses, ALFs often encounter ferocious resistance from potential neighbors who organize themselves into an opposition group that can delay the approval of the establishment of an ALF for months, even years (Winerip, 1994). Many of those that are established hardly meet the minimal standards of care for the residents. ALFs are supposed to maintain a staff of trained mental health professionals who can oversee the premises, evaluate the fitness of the residents to stay there, and, most importantly, dispense medication and ensure medication compliance. This, however, is not the case in many instances. Some are little more than glorified flophouses run by unscrupulous owners and staffed mostly by illegal immigrants (Early, 2006).

The ALF situation is indicative of the care for those with mental illness at the state and local level. A NAMI report in 2009 graded the United States as a whole as worthy of a "D" in delivery of mental health services on the traditional A through F scale (National Alliance on Mental Illness, 2011). Forty-five of the 50 states received grades of "C" or lower, with all earning a grade of "D" or "F" in at least one of four criteria categories: Health Promotion and Measurement, Financing and Core Treatment/Recovery Services, Consumer and Family Empowerment and Community Integration and Social Inclusion. It is little wonder that many dependent on these services end up either homeless or incarcerated.

Homelessness and Mental Illness

It is estimated that 20% to 25% of the homeless population in the United States suffers from an SMI (National Coalition for the Homeless, 2009). Some studies put the estimate as high as two-thirds. In addition to suffering from untreated mental illness, most of the homeless have a myriad of other health problems due to lack of proper preventative care. Drug and alcohol addiction are also common problems. The homeless present perhaps the most glaring need and most daunting challenge for those who wish to establish a mental health pressure group - uplifting the lowest of those on the socioeconomic spectrum who most likely are experiencing the worst symptoms of their particular SMI. Reaching out is difficult as many are reluctant to trust figures of authority due to negative experiences with law enforcement, for example. The first and most obvious step is getting them in contact with a CMHC or similar agency that can diagnose the illness and prescribe a course of treatment. Almost all need some sort of psychotropic medication, and medication regimen compliance is perhaps the most important step in getting that person off of the street. Unfortunately, these efforts are beset by many problems, including the CMHCs themselves (Page, 2007). More often than not, the homeless with mental illnesses find themselves in a vicious circle of multiple encounters with the criminal justice system.

The Incarcerated Homeless and Mental Illness

The homeless population as a whole has more than a passing familiarity with the criminal justice system. Many are arrested repeatedly for petty offenses such as disturbing the peace or possession of small amounts of illegal drugs. This situation is just as difficult for the police as it is for the arrested. When a person is suspected of having a psychotic episode or is obviously suffering from delusions, officers on the scene are required to take that person to a hospital for evaluation. The more homeless on the streets who are arrested, the more pressure there is on emergency rooms that become psychiatric holding tanks where patients may wait for hours before being evaluated by a staff psychiatrist. This also costs the police untold amounts in time and money. Often times, officers spend hours waiting in emergency rooms for psychiatric beds to

become available (Colberg, 2011). By default, police have often become the first responders to situations involving those with mental illness.

If law enforcement has become the first line of contact for the homeless with mental illness then jails and prisons have become the 21st-century model of the old institutional system. Indeed, 15.3% of adults jailed were homeless for at least a short time before landing up behind bars (DiPietro & Klingenmaier, 2013). In some cities and counties, persons with mental illness constitute up to 20% of those incarcerated in jails (Burdi, Hijek, & Pesantes, 2011). Both police and mental health experts agree that jail is no place for those with mental illness since adequate treatment is near nonexistent due to understaffing. This is a situation that from a moral and community standards standpoint must be remedied. Due to the ineffectiveness of the current community health care delivery system in many areas across the country, a solution seems unlikely, leaving people with mental illness and little means at the bottom of society's barrel.

Stigma and Self-Identification

While lifting up society's most economically disadvantaged and making those with mental illness well enough to participate in a movement to improve their lot is a tall order, getting people with an SMI or other mental illnesses such as depression to self-identify maybe even more difficult. This is due to the social stigma attached to mental illness. There is even callous disregard for those with mental illness, who are sometimes seen as disposable in our society. An example of this can be found in the efforts to erect a safety barrier on the Golden Gate Bridge, a favored site of suicides by those suffering from mental illness. Opponents to the barrier argued that it would affect the bridge's aesthetic value, which to them was far more important than the life of a suicidal person suffering from severe depression or an SMI. To wit: a supporter of the barrier was confronted with an individual who opposed it and maintained that there should be a diving board put in place instead (Bateson, 2012). There are perhaps untold millions in the United States who require mental health services but refuse to utilize them. We tend to treat mental illness today as we did cancer in the middle of the twentieth century. The word "cancer" was never uttered aloud, certainly not in front of the patient and if mentioned at all it was referred to privately in hushed tones as "The Big C" or under some other innocuous pseudonym (Carter, 2010). The shroud of silence was brought on by stigma. That stigma, however, was eradicated. Cancer survivors today are celebrated for their battles, people are publicly urged to get cancer screenings, and its victims are worthy of compassion and sympathy. The stigma that tied so many tongues in the 1950s has been banished to the dustbin of history.

Why are we unable to do this with mental illness? The problem lies in the fact that mental illness stigma is a multifaceted phenomenon that involves the individual afflicted as well as society at large. Diagnosis itself comes with a stigma, both public and personal. Society at large may see the person as undependable and less able to perform certain tasks. The person in question fears being labeled as a "mental patient" and thus avoids mental health care (Ben-Zeev, Young, & Corrigan, 2010). Public stigma is then internalized into self-stigma which involves reinforcing negative views of people with mental disorders in general and more damaging, in oneself (Corrigan, Watson, & Barr, 2006). This also can adversely affect one's ability to perform at work (Corrigan et al., 2010). They may feel that gainful employment is out of their reach and fail to search for a job, thereby becoming dependent on family or public assistance. People with severe disorders that involve psychosis are on a different level than others with mental illness

altogether (Henderson, Evans, Lacko, & Thornicraft, 2013). We trust them less, see them as unfit, and often times wish to disassociate ourselves from them, whether it be the tattered old woman pushing a shopping cart down a city sidewalk or the gated-community neighbor with the well-manicured lawn who has a severe manic episode and has to be treated at the psychiatric unit of the local hospital.

Combating Mental Health Stigma

Stigma, without question, is the number one impediment for the consumers of mental health services in organizing themselves into a cohesive community that can advocate for needed change in the mental health care delivery system. Whether it be the person who avoids treatment because of it or the person who does seek treatment but "stays in the closet," the effect is the same. Meaningful political organization of any type is stymied. It almost seems incongruous that stigma still exists in a supposedly enlightened society. When large pharmaceutical companies realized that a great deal of profit could be made from treating depression with medication, the catch phrases "depression is not your fault" or "would you begrudge a diabetic their insulin" were born. This seemed to transform the attitudes of the general public towards those with mental illness, at least in terms of those who suffered from depressive episodes. The advent of the "Prozac Nation" phenomenon in the early 1990s seemed to make it so. Almost every day large pharmaceutical companies were trumpeting the latest breakthrough in the treatment of depression. With it came a gradual acceptance of depression as a mild condition, certainly not to be feared and those afflicted became less subject to social sanction or ostracism. That is, unless the person suffered an episode severe enough to be incapacitated or hospitalized for any period of time. Then, the tenor of the entire conversation changes and that person is grouped among those who live with SMIs such as bipolar disorder or schizophrenia.

Eradicating mental health stigma is important on many levels, not just the personal and political but also the fiscal. Overall, mental health programs receive less spending increases than health care policy in general (McSween, 2002). This disparity can be seen at the both the federal and state levels. The 2014 federal budget for the National Institutes of Health (NIH), which houses both the National Cancer Institute (NCI) as well as the National Institute on Mental Health (NIMH), increased the budget for the NCI by \$63 million while decreasing the budget for NIMH by \$12 million (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2013). To its credit, the current administration has increased the overall budget of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration (SAMHSA), the agency most associated with efforts to combat mental health stigma, by \$4 million but the Community Mental Health Services Block Grant, which is critical to providing mental health services and education at the most basic level, is frozen at its 2012 level.

In the states, the most important financial players in the delivery of mental healthcare services, the situation is fairly bleak. In fiscal years 2009 through 2011, the average total budget cuts in general mental health services across all states was \$701 million per year (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2012a). Cuts in mental health budgets have been the rule rather than the exception in the vast majority of states. Almost all budget areas have been subject to sometimes drastic cutting, but mental health services seem to have undergone some of the severest downsizing, absorbing \$1.8 billion in total cuts across all fifty states since mid-2008 (Wyatt, 2011). Although some states have showed remarkable restraint in

cutting mental health budgets, mental health service agencies in others have endured devastating reductions. Kansas has cut roughly 16% of its funding for mental health care with additional budget proposals on the table calling for an additional \$15 million in cuts (Lambe, 2011). In 2010, Oklahoma trimmed its mental health agency budget by \$20 million (Biehn, 2010) while Washington State cut nearly \$19 million (Josephson, 2011).

The fiscal consequences of mental illness stigma should not be ignored and have received attention at both the federal and state level. On June 3, 2013, during the White House's National Conference on Mental Health, President Barack Obama called for an end to mental illness stigma, and Vice President Joe Biden drove home the point that it is "Okay" to talk about mental illness (Killough & Aigner-Treworgy, 2013). The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration has been active through its National Mental Health Anti-Stigma Campaign, "What a Difference a Friend Makes." Its 'toolkit' for community organizers in the "Community Conversations About Mental Health: Information Brief" provides information for individuals at the community level to begin conversations about mental health, including disabusing people of the notion that people with mental illness are more violent than the general population, a major plank in the public stigma platform. States have also joined the effort. California enacted the Mental Health Services Act that makes reduction of stigma its centerpiece (Clark et al., 2013).

The Impact of the ACA

The ACA can do little to ameliorate the problems above, such as stigma and state mental health budget reductions. It is not designed to create a whole new paradigm in treating people with mental illness in America as did the drastic changes brought about by deinstitutionalization. What it can do is provide a minor overhaul to the current mental health care system as we know it and attack problems that plague mental healthcare consumers such as lack of access to care, a fractured community delivery system, homelessness, and incarceration. Although the ACA is not a panacea, it will do a great deal of good for those whose ultimate goal is creating a politically active group of people able to do something about issues such as stigma and lack of funding in critical mental health policy areas.

The ACA and Access to Private Insurance and Medicaid

Probably the most tangible benefit is the availability of private insurance to those people with SMIs who had no access to care. This was primarily due to insurance companies routinely denying coverage to those with SMIs or offering policies that failed to cover mental health care outright. The new insurance marketplace ensures that those with SMIs will now be able to purchase insurance and will not be denied coverage for a preexisting condition or face astronomical premiums due to poor health, mental or otherwise (Koyanagi & Siegwarth, 2010). The private insurer must now also allow for the children of policyholders to remain on the rolls until age 26, leaving enough time for people who show signs of mental illness early in their teens to be cared for until that age. This is significant because over 90% of people with severe mental illnesses are unemployed (Koyanagi & Siegwarth, 2010), and a lack of income almost guarantees no mental illness health care. Some of the consumers with mental illness are far too sick or disabled by seriously debilitating conditions, such as bipolar disorder or schizophrenia, to navigate

the system. There is no guarantee that the extension of the coverage time will be significant to those who suffer from these conditions or that they will be well enough to return to the workforce. It does, however, improve their chances of being able to function in a work environment due to additional years of treatment.

Although access to insurance is a major step forward, there still are significant problems that are not solved by insurance availability. Having insurance does not always mean access to care. There is a significant shortage of practicing psychiatrists and psychologists in the United States today. More often than not, the graduates of our nation's medical schools gravitate toward more lucrative specialties such as cardiology, to name just one. The latest statistics show that per 100,000 people in the United States, there are 14.4 psychiatrists, 30.9 psychologists, and 54.4 counselors (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration, 2012b). This shortage is even more acute in states that are primarily rural where even primary medical care is often nonexistent or a substantial distance away, deterring those who would seek to utilize psychiatric services. Psychotropic medications are often the most effective way of dealing with SMIs and their availability is crucial. That being said, states such as Alabama (with 81% of its population living in counties with high shortages of prescribing professionals), West Virginia (85%), and Idaho (97.8%) are nearly bereft of practicing psychiatrists, leaving little recourse for those who are in dire need of their services (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Administration, 2012c). Geographic disparity in terms of care for those with SMIs is still a major problem despite the newly opened insurance marketplace.

The shortage of practicing mental health professionals is exacerbated by another problem: the reticence of the existing psychiatric community to accept private insurance. Processing insurance claims is time consuming and requires the hiring of additional staff. Psychiatrists themselves in solo practices certainly do not want to go through the mundane steps of processing insurance claims or dealing with a government agency on a regular basis. This is the main reason why more than one-third of people who sought psychiatric care ended up paying for it out of pocket, and cost is the principle reason why people with mental illnesses avoid seeking care (Thomson-Deveaux, 2014).

For people dependent on Medicaid, the future is brighter. Before the ACA, single adults who did not qualify previously will now be eligible. Previously, individuals who did not qualify because they were not declared disabled or caretakers of children will now be eligible for the rolls. This also applies to those denied because they did not receive SSI (Supplemental Security Income) disability benefits (Koyanagi & Siegwarth, 2010). This can only be seen in a positive light, as millions of low-income Americans will now have access to care that Medicaid restrictions had denied them in the past. This innovation could induce many to seek the care they need but were shut off from due to overly harsh regulations; they can also now seek care in the government-based system should private psychiatric care be unavailable to them.

The ACA and Community Care

This is perhaps the area in which the ACA will have the most impact in. David Mechanic, one of the leading scholars on behavioral health care in the United States, lauds the ACA as one of the greatest opportunities to remedy the grave errors in delivery of community care brought about by deinstitutionalization. Mechanic (2012) details several reasons why mental health care in the United States is capable of undergoing somewhat of a renaissance under the

ACA. First, states as well as the federal government will now have the wherewithal to actually implement policies that can lead to the detangling of mental healthcare services at the community level. This has the capacity to cut down on waste and facilitate the delivery of better overall services. The homeless population, one of the most neglected under the current system, would now reap the benefit of a coordinated effort of Medicaid, social services, and housing programs that would aim to prevent homelessness, which more often than not leads to incarceration.

Perhaps the most important to the behavioral health community would be the death knell of the old-style assisted living facilities, which were rife with mismanagement and substandard care delivered in disorganized fashion, and overwhelmed community mental health centers. Medicaid now encourages the creation of health homes that care not only for those with mental illness but offer the opportunity for integration of services that go beyond that of simple mental health care management (Mechanic, 2012). This is significant because many of the lower income people with mental illness suffer from a variety of other maladies due to low contact with primary care providers. Thus, those who suffer from heart disease, uncontrolled diabetes, or substance abuse in addition to mental illness would have those problems addressed as well.

The ACA is also the source of other important benefits beyond access to insurance and Medicaid benefits that few in the public know about or have considered but are of great import to the mental healthcare consumer. For instance, there are employment programs that aid getting those with mental illness back into the workforce, even providing advice on how to prepare for a job interview (Mechanic, 2012).

Conclusion: A New Era for Mental Health Care?

It is too early to say whether or not the ACA will bring about a sea-change in the care for the nation's mental health consumers. Still, it does some important things that can bring about the ultimate game-changer by making it feasible for mental health care consumers and their allies to organize and voice their concerns as a unified group that will be listened to and heeded by mental health care decision makers. What the ACA does is give the system a chance to redesign itself into a model that makes people well, fights homelessness, encourages integration back into the workforce, and invites innovation that will deliver quality community care while eliminating wasteful (and traditionally harmful) practices. It does not, however, eliminate the problem of the still-persistent stigma of mental illness and its debilitating effects, nor was it designed to do so. It doesn't force the states to implement the much-needed health home option; it just gives them an excellent incentive to do so, such as a 90% federal Medicaid match for the first two years (Mechanic, 2012). The ACA is not a magic bullet that will remedy every error of the past fifty years but if implemented properly, it will give a traditionally marginalized group the chance to take some much-needed steps toward standing firmly on its own two feet.

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About the Author

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Discussion Questions

- 1. A major problem facing those living with serious mental illness is integration back into society at large. With all the problems associated with the assisted living facility (ALF) model, is it feasible to consider expanding the new 'health homes' by adding transitional living accommodations?
- 2. Budget cuts in state mental health services that reduce resources have negative externalities that affect the criminal justice system, law enforcement, and hospitals. Yet, mental healthcare is one of the areas most likely to be cut severely in a budget shortfall. What sort of measures or circumstances would it take to reverse this trend?
- 3. With the closing of a large number of state mental hospitals, many of those who suffer from severe mental illness and cannot be integrated back into society find themselves with few alternatives. Should states consider halting the reduction or even adding more long-term psychiatric beds despite the negative reputation associated with the quality of care at staterun facilities?

To Cite this Article

Brezenski, T. F. (2014, Fall). Interest group formation and mental health care consumers in the United States: The effects of stigma, fiscal policy, and the Affordable Care Act. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 6(3), 39-52.

Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014, 53-65. ISSN 1947-2900 (print) • ISSN 1947-2919 (online) Compilation Copyright © 2014 by St. Thomas University. All rights reserved.

Implications of Emerging Electronic Payment Systems in India: A Strategic Overview

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to study the implications of the development of electronic payment systems in the Indian markets. The electronic payment systems that emerged as a technological innovation, to provide customers with an efficient and secure means of payment, can have far-reaching implications for the country's banking system, the role of its central bank, its monetary policy, and its economy. This article identifies the policy issues that arise from the growth of these modern payment systems and discusses the possible policy responses by the Reserve Bank of India to mitigate such impacts. The article concludes that while we cannot slow down the pace of technological innovations, understanding these implications can contribute to finding policy responses and solutions, and building effective safeguards into the system.

Keywords: electronic payment systems, paper based payments, cash usage, monetary policy, non-banks

JEL Categories: E41, E5, E52, E58.

Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed significant reforms in our payment and settlement system. Technology has driven far-reaching changes, slowly replacing older methods of payment with a number of innovative methods. These innovations – what people refer to as electronic payment systems – are reshaping the payment processes. They are influencing users in the choice of payment instruments, making retail transactions easier and cheaper for customers and challenging the lead role of physical cash in retail payments. However, there are other implications too. For the Reserve Bank of India (RBI), it raises several policy issues – it impacts seigniorage revenues of the RBI; implementation of monetary policy; and the reliability, soundness, and effectiveness of the retail payment mechanism. Although a number of studies have discussed the potential of electronic payments to replace traditional cash or paper based payments, there is little theoretical or empirical work on the implications and risks associated with electronic payments, especially in India. This article is an attempt to ascertain the implications that substitution of cash payments by different electronic payment media has on cash usage, monetary policy, and operational activities; systemic risk and security issues; and necessary technological and regulatory changes in the Indian context. It then provides possible policy responses to the challenges these systems pose. It contributes to the literature by relating a technological innovation to its practical implications for the nation's economy and its legal and regulatory system, and it sets an agenda for future research.

The article consists of four parts: The first part reviews the relevant literature and discusses the methodology. The second part describes electronic payment systems and trends in the growth of electronic payment systems, and it examines the policy issues and challenges arising due to development of such systems. The third part reviews the possible public policy responses to such implications by the RBI. The fourth part presents the conclusions and outlines areas requiring further research.

Recent Studies on Electronic Payment Systems

Hancock and Humphrey (1998), in their study, comprehensively discussed the steady and significant change from paper-based systems to e-payment systems and its impact on cash use, cash holdings, seigniorage, demand for money, risks in the payment system, payment system efficiency, and monetary policy issues. Bradford et al. (2009) discussed the changing risk profile of payment systems and their increased vulnerability due to the growing role and significance of non-banks in retail payments after the introduction of e-payments in the United States and Europe. A recent study on the impact of recent payment innovations on cash usage in Canada (Fung, Huynh, & Sabetti, 2011) found they do have a significant negative effect on cash usage in Canada. The Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems (2012) Report provides insights into innovations in retail payments and states that they cut processing costs and increase social welfare but also raise serious policy issues for Central Banks as they impinge on the responsibilities and tasks of central banks as catalysts and supervisors of payment systems.

Methodology

The article attempts to discuss conceptually the divergent impacts of the increasing substitution of cash payment systems by electronic payments systems in India. It then discusses the policy issues arising from such developments to understand the implications and decide on the necessary future action.

To study the emerging trends in payments, this research uses secondary data. The Websites of the Reserve Bank of India, the Bank of International Settlements, and reports of the Committee on Payments and Settlement Systems provide the data on the share of paper based vs. electronic transactions. The article uses statistical methods for analysis of this data and a multiple regression model to establish the relationship between value of currency in circulation and growth in electronic payments as well as the total number of transactions by non-banks.

Electronic Payment Systems

What constitutes electronic payment systems varies from country to country due to a variety of regulatory regimes and the growing number of innovative instruments, but they broadly constitute all payments that customers and payers make over the internet or by use of other electronic media and include internet payments; mobile payments; stylized prepaid, debit, and credit cards; EBPP (electronic bill presentment and payment systems); CTS (Cheque Truncation Systems); person-to-person electronic payments by NEFT (National Electronic Fund Transfer); retail payment options like ECS (Electronic Clearing Service); and large value payment options like RTGS (Real Time Gross Settlement).

These alternative payment technologies are slowly becoming a close substitute for cash and have led to an increase in the role of non-banks and non-cash payments in the payment process. The following sub-sections examine the implications of these developments in India.

Trends in Growth of Electronic Payment Systems

Figure 1 shows the slow and steady rise in volume of electronic transactions as compared to paper-based ones.

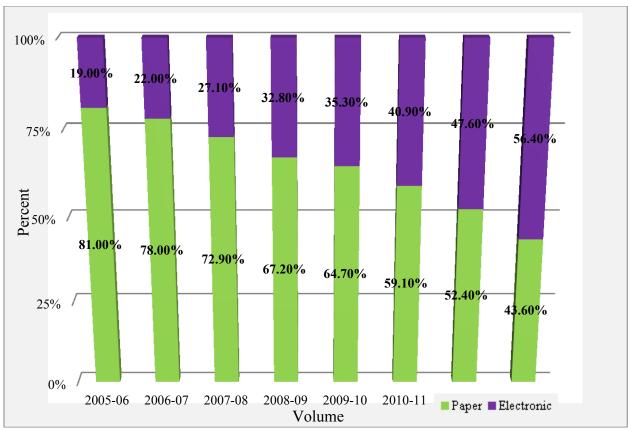


Figure 1. Share of paper based vs. electronic transactions in India (by volume). Note: Author's elaboration. Data Source: Reserve Bank of India, 2010, 2011.

The graph shows a rise in the share of electronic transactions by 37.4 percent from 2005-06 to 2012-13.

Development of Electronic Payment Systems and Emerging Policy Issues

Impact on Cash Usage

The switch to electronic payments impacts cash usage. Since electronic payment systems are initially targeting small-value transactions, their major impact would be only on circulation volumes and values of coins and notes of small denominations. Table 1 and Table 2 show the value of banknotes in circulation as percent of total and as a percentage of GDP respectively.

Table 1 Banknotes in Circulation

Denomination	Value (as percent of total)							
	End - March							
	2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013							
Rs. 2 and 5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4		
Rs. 10	1.6	1.8	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2		
Rs. 20	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6		
Rs. 50	4.6	3.6	2.7	1.7	1.6	1.5		
Rs. 100	23.1	20.1	17.6	15	13.4	12.4		

Source. Reserve Bank of India, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013.

Table 2
Banknotes and Coins in Circulation

Value (as a percentage of GDP)								
End-March								
2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	
11.59	11.74	11.85	12.27	12.34	12.17	11.88	11.78	

Source. Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems, 2010, 2013.

A glance at Table 1 and Table 2 above shows the value of currency notes in circulation, both in terms of percentage of total and as a percentage of GDP, fell for small denomination notes viz., Rs. 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100, in most of the period. The decrease in small denomination notes in circulation is due to the rise in electronic transactions by 37.4%, from 2005-06 to 2012-13.

Impact on Operational Activities

Development of electronic payment systems affects the operational activities and services banks offer. The change to faster payment processing may have a significant impact on liquidity. The slow but steady progress toward near-real-time and real-time processing in retail transactions might blur the distinctions between retail payment systems and large-value payments and may cause a shift in customer payment volumes away from the Real Time Gross Settlement Systems. This may lead to issues of cost recovery for the RBI. The RBI may need to reconsider incorporation of new technological developments in their own systems to support innovations; otherwise, better service provision by non-banks and private service providers may render the operational role of the RBI obsolete in the long run.

Table 3 shows increases in payment transactions by non-banks in total, in number per inhabitant, and in average value per inhabitant. Table 4 shows an increase in the number of branches of non-banks per million inhabitants (i.e., the increasing role of non-banks in payment systems each year).

Table 3
Payment Transactions by Non-Banks in India

	Year							
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total number of transactions in millions	1,372	3,015	3,781	4,432	5,487	6,601	7,686	8,542
Number per inhabitant in millions	1	3	3	4	5	6	6	7
Total value of transactions (Average value per inhabitant) in USD thousands	5	7	13	15	20	nav	nav	nav

Source. Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems, 2010, 2013a, 2013b.

Table 4
Institutions Offering Payment Services to Non-Banks

	Year							
	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Number of branches or offices per million inhabitants	69.9	71.5	73.8	76.2	77.2	85.4	90.0	94.7

Source. Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems, 2011.

The cumulative effect of the growth in electronic payments, and the increasing number of transactions by non-banks in India, will reduce cash usage, as is evident already from the decrease in value of currency in circulation as percentage of GDP. Table 5 presents the results of Ordinary Least Square Regression for the above variables.

Table 5
Pooled OLS, using 8 Observations

V1-Dependent Variable: Currency in Circulation as Percentage of GDP							
Mean dependent var	11.95250	S.D. dependent var	0.272646				
Sum squared resid	54.79223	S.E. of regression	3.021926				
R-squared	0.952080	Adjusted R-squared	0.944094				
F(2, 6)	59.60478	P-value(F)	0.000110				
Log-likelihood	-19.04794	Akaike criterion	42.09587				
Schwarz criterion	42.25475	Hannan-Quinn	41.02427				
rho	0.390544	Durbin-Watson	1.000242				

The results show the two variables above explain about 95.21% of the reduction in cash in circulation, and the p-value shows the results are robust and significant.

Impact on Seigniorage Revenue

The responsibilities entrusted to the RBI include currency management function that focuses on issue of notes, which are accepted legal tender in India. The cause of concern is that electronic money used in electronic payments will impact the RBI's balance sheets to the extent it substitutes cash. The difference between production cost and face value of currency in circulation is the direct seigniorage revenue to the RBI. Besides this direct benefit, there is an interest benefit too. As cash in circulation is a non-interest bearing liability of the RBI, a substitution of cash payments by electronic payments would lead to corresponding reduction in asset holdings of the RBI and a loss in interest earned on these assets. Loss of seigniorage revenues could become a major cause of concern if the use of electronic payments becomes extensive and widespread, as the RBI would have to depend on other sources of revenue in such a case. At present, the RBI's seigniorage revenue is large, compared to its operating costs, and only a substantial fall will make it inadequate to cover its operating costs. But, a substantial rise in electronic payment transactions in India may not augur well for the RBI's revenues.

Impact on Monetary Policy

Another impact of substantial rise in electronic payments is its effect on the formulation and implementation of monetary policy. If the usage of e-payment systems expands massively to substantially substitute cash, it impacts the size of the Central Bank's balance sheets and its ability to influence short-term (money market) interest rates. This effect would result first from an impact on the demand for RBI reserves, and second, from the RBI's ability to supply these reserves. An impact on demand for reserves would result if there is substitution of e-payments to such an extent that it leads to a reduction in banks' demand for settlement balances from the RBI. The substitution of electronic money for reservable deposits with the RBI also would result in the same consequence. Table 5 shows that value of transferable balances held at the Central

Bank as a percentage of GDP has shown steady decline. An impact on the RBI's capacity to supply these reserves would result if growth in electronic payments would be up to an extent that leads to shrinkage of the RBI's balance sheet due to reduction in its income-earning assets. In both these situations, it is conceivable that there would be an impact on the RBI's operating procedures and mechanisms used to set money market interest rates.

Table 6
Transferable Balances held at the Central Bank

Value as a percentage of GDP							
v arue	as a p	ercenta	age of v	JDI			
2008	2009	2010	2011	2012			
5.17	5.44	5.43	3.97	3.20			

Source. Committee on Payment and Settlement Systems, 2013.

Legal and Regulatory Implications

These new payment systems mechanisms have brought to the fore many legal issues viz. whether existing banking regulations apply to e-payment arrangements, whether the electronic money issuers issue is an infringement on the monopolistic privilege of the RBI of issuing bank notes, and whether the RBI can itself issue electronic money for use in electronic-payment systems. A huge concern that arises is whether the legal rights and obligations of the involved parties – customers, issuers, system operators, and acceptors in an e-payment system – are well-defined and whether there is certainty regarding liability in the event of fraud, theft, accident, or default of any participant.

Security Implications

Other policy issues that are of great concern are issues relating to the security of electronic payment systems. First, all electronic payment systems are vulnerable to security breaches at any level – consumer, acceptor (i.e., merchant establishment), and issuer. These security breaches could involve attempts to disrupt the system, to steal devices or data stored onto devices, and to alter data stored on devices or being transmitted through the system. This vulnerability to security attacks is a direct cause of concern for the RBI as the issuers of electronic money generally bear losses resulting from such security breaches. Second, security breaches in electronic money transactions may be difficult to detect as such detection depends on maintenance of records in central databases of RBI and Directorate of Revenue Intelligence such that individual transactions are traced to individual devices. Many electronic payment systems allow direct transfers between users, and either the information on such transactions is not complete or the central database receives it with a significant lag of time. Third, electronic payment systems that allow cross-border payments over information systems networks, and in which customers can transfer electronic money balances directly without intervention of the issuer or systems operator, are very attractive for money laundering and other illegal activities.

Issues Relating to Oversight of Payment Systems

The Payment and Settlement Systems Act, 2007, and the Payment and Settlement Systems Regulations, 2008, provide statutory backing to the RBI to exercise oversight over the payment and settlement systems in India. The Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 has entrusted RBI with the responsibility of development of payment systems that are safe, secure, sound, efficient, accessible, and authorized (RBI, 2010, 2012). For this purpose, the RBI needs to monitor closely innovations in payment systems and assess the risk profile of payment innovations through an understanding of the underlying technology and business processes. This necessitates technological expertise that is not a core competency of the RBI.

The growth of electronic payment systems has increased the role of non-banks in payment process and since the regulatory framework surrounding non-banks is lax in India, it poses a challenge to the exercise of oversight over payment systems. There is an imperative need to enact new regulations for monitoring non-banks involved in retail payments and to fill regulatory gaps with regard to security and fraud. There is also a need for additional resources to monitor and keep track of new developments.

Possible Policy Responses by the RBI

Regarding cash usage reduction, seigniorage revenue, and monetary policy impact, the RBI must consider the following:

The RBI should investigate how innovative electronic payment systems will affect cash usage in the Indian economy. If it anticipates or observes substantial cash usage reduction, the RBI should analyze the resulting impact on its seigniorage revenues, operations, and cash distribution.

The response to seigniorage revenue reduction and impact on monetary policy would depend on the extent to which electronic payments replace cash and the maximum size of open market sales of Government securities and bonds that RBI would have to make for monetary policy implementation in special circumstances. In case of substantial substitution, the RBI could consider taking some of the following steps to offset the loss of seigniorage and shrinkage of balance sheet size:

- Issuing e-money itself without operating e-money schemes.
- Expanding non-interest bearing reserve requirements to cover e-money.
- Encouraging Government entities, PSUs, and private sector banks to hold larger deposits at the RBI, by paying interest on reserve balances.
- While framing monetary policy, adapting its monetary aggregates to include electronic money that domestic and foreign institutions issue.
- Assessing the potential effects on liquidity due to faster processing of e-payments.

Regarding legal and regulatory implications, oversight function, and security aspects, the RBI must consider the following:

- Whether the same regulations that exist for traditional payments should govern electronic money and payments.
- Whether it should regard e-money balances as deposits and if deposit regulations are applicable to them.
- Whether it should extend specific banking regulations to specifically include non-banking financial institutions involved in electronic payment systems.
- If money laundering is a cause of concern, the RBI should regulate the type of payment instruments, the issuers of such instruments, and the maximum value that customers can hold on such instruments to prevent transfers of large amounts of money outside India without use of authorized banking channels.
- Evaluating changed risk profiles due to innovative products and filling regulatory gaps to
 ensure such payment systems are sufficiently secure to avoid possibility of any loss to
 customers due to fraud.
- Strengthening cooperation with other central banks and international oversight bodies to develop oversight standards (common minimum standards) for cross-border payment innovations, e.g., SecuRe Pay Standard at the European level that the Forum on Security of Retail Payments evolved.

Other Measures:

- Enhancing technological expertise to assess and oversee such technological innovations.
- Undertaking nationwide education campaigns to foster public awareness on innovative payment systems and their security aspects.
- Reassessing the adequacy of data collection methods and adapting them to match technological developments. It may require operators of payment systems to monitor and report transaction data.

Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

Fast and efficient payment systems are essential for smooth functioning and stability of the financial markets. The RBI has prepared the Payment System Vision Document (2012-15) "to proactively encourage electronic payment systems for ushering in a less-cash/less paper society in India" (RBI, 2012). The RBI's initiatives have resulted in deeper acceptance and penetration of retail electronic payments. Transactions using innovative electronic payment products are forming an increasing proportion of domestic and cross-border retail payments. Though technology can provide safe, efficient, accessible, and affordable payment systems, there are attendant risks they pose to customers, banks, the RBI, and the nation's economy. These are critical issues that can have far-reaching implications if the RBI and the Indian Government do not incorporate necessary safeguards into the system by amendment in the Banking Regulations Act, 1949, and the Information Technology (Amended) Act, 2008. The BIS and CPSS have been regularly surveying electronic payment systems around the globe to examine policy issues

they raise for Central Banks and to recommend appropriate policy responses to Central Banks. Future research should focus on addressing these issues. Learning from the experiences of Central Banks in other countries where electronic payment systems are highly popular, the Reserve Bank of India and the Indian Government must adequately address all of these policy issues and challenges. Only then will it successfully meet the objective of empowering customers with the benefits of technology.

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Discussion Questions

- 1. What other measures could Central Banks take to minimize risks due to growing use of electronic money and electronic payment systems?
- 2. Currency management is an important function of Central Banks. What would be the likely impact if we move to a cashless society, with non-banking entities outside the control of Central Banks issuing e-money? Is it desirable?
- 3. Should future studies examine the impact of e-payment systems internationally?
- 4. What changes are necessary in the organizational structures and personnel requirements of banks if e-money replaces physical cash?

To Cite this Article

Chelawat, H., & Trivedi, I. V. (2014, Fall). Implications of emerging electronic payment systems in India: A strategic overview. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 6(3), 53-65.



"Building Just Before a Nervous Breakdown" 2008

Digital photograph by Lorenzo Pérez Ayuela

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Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014, 67-72. ISSN 1947-2900 (print) • ISSN 1947-2919 (online) Copyright © 2014 by St. Thomas University. All rights reserved.

Gender Imbalance

Shanti K. Nair

Abstract

This article addresses the influence of gender role stereotypical behavior, where the expectation for women is to balance a career and take care of the family while for men only to provide for the family. Literature focuses on the influence of these gender roles on the marital relationship from a multicultural context. The article evaluates patterns of communication, sharing of household responsibilities, and co-parenting help in decreasing disengagement and pressure among couples. The article addresses deconstruction of patriarchal societies through social justice and advising women of their basic rights to receive treatment of dignity and respect as a positive measure toward change in the marital relationship. The article examines the implication of insufficient research on the impact of reversed in traditional gender roles, in which the perception is that women are more powerful in the marital relationship.

Keywords: gender, multicultural, social justice, marital relationship

Gender Roles

The development of gender role research has evolved through the 1960s and 1970s theoretically. Foundation of gender roles as a basis for this research was a key factor in research. Gender roles are determinants of a societal division of labor, which categorizes men and women. These categories result in certain expectations of men and women to fulfill occupational and family roles. Such diffuse gender roles produce both different and interacting influences based on their experiences, which has an impact on the marital relationship. As expectations link to a broader gender role framework, they can apply to various situations. Although occupational roles of both genders have undergone changes, women in United States are more likely to undertake caretaking responsibilities and balance a career, while the expectation is for men to focus only on breadwinning for the family. The social construct that men and women possess different traits elicits this stereotypical behavior (Deikman & Schneider, 2010).

While women take on multiple roles of balancing career and family, they are better adjusted to performing these roles successfully. Although there are several benefits to taking on these roles, the struggle in managing the responsibility of taking care of the family and working toward a successful career creates pressure for women. They are faced with the dilemma of

prioritizing their roles. This situation is a double-edged sword for women, who are expected to fulfill the traditional role of homemaker and financially support the family.

Women experience inter-role conflict when different domains cause them stress due to demands of a specific role based on certain gender-based cultural ideologies (e.g., parenting and homemaking). Inter-role conflict has been linked to a decrease of well-being and an increase in symptoms of depression, anxiety, anger, stress, and guilt (Deikman & Schneider, 2010).

Work-family conflict (WFC) causes inequality in family responsibilities between men and women. In recent decades, men have become more involved in sharing the household work and child rearing responsibilities. Women have planned their career according to the family's needs. According to a 1992 National study (Zhao, Settles, & Sheng, 2011), women had to compromise on career choices due to family demands, while the expectation for men was not to restrict their career. As men's involvement in housework did not help women spend family time, the women had to take part-time jobs (Zhao, Settles, & Sheng, 2011).

Gender role constructs are a worldwide phenomenon. This brings many questions to mind. How many times have we heard the common cliché of men providing for the family as being 'a man's job' or taking care of the family being 'a woman's job'? Why can there not be reversal of roles or sharing of tasks? Where did we learn the taken-for-granted assumptions of gender roles? These gender differences are significant in the way men and women balance the work and family dilemma.

Women prioritize family and home expectations, and men emphasize the time spent out of work to devote more time to their family. These gender patterns are a reflection of social norms in many societies and influence work-family interactions. Studies support traditional thinking that women bear the burden of work overload causing tension and conflict in the marital relationship. Changes with expectations of men becoming involved in housework have created more conflict for them in terms of reduced job-satisfaction. Division of labor is an important negotiation couples make in balancing work and family by negotiating work-sharing and deciding each member's responsibility. The couple's perception of fairness in sharing parental responsibilities determines the marital success. Men have an inclination to share only gender-appropriate household work. Literature on occupational attainment suggests women's careers restrict when they must take time out from working to shift their focus on child rearing. They even face discrimination in the workforce in the form of denied opportunities to grow in their careers (Zhao, Settles, & Sheng, 2011).

Despite the adversity women endure based on their gender, they gain strength from spirituality. Through spirituality, they perceive their role as a calling. They embrace this mission as helping their well-being and spiritual development. Barnett and Baruch (1985) conducted a study on the impact of working and taking care of family on women. The sample of 238 employed married women with children reported a high sense of subjective well-being, compared to women who were employed and without children, and those who were unemployed with children.

According to Reid and Hardy (1999), positive outcomes were balancing family and career, enhanced self-esteem, identity strengthening, and support networks including material and social resources. It entails financial independence for the women and an opportunity to expand their social network beyond the home and family. Limitations of this research are a paucity of significant studies that are a true representation of a diverse population that account for socioeconomic status and assumptions of multiple roles at a cross-cultural level (Oates, Hall, Anderson, & Willingham, 2008).

Women face a social limitation causing them to cut back from the workforce as a solution to maintaining a career and undertaking family responsibilities. Weishenker (2006) conducted a study on dual-earning families to ascertain from adolescents (N=194) their expectations of women in terms of having a career. Most of the adolescents expressed the expectation of having their future partners work in only part-time jobs and of focusing mainly on raising children. Their responses depended on their mothers' perspective on career choices. The study supported the hypothesis of gender egalitarianism being the more common phenomenon in recent times, as opposed to the imbalance of power between genders of the past. It is a culturally varying trend. Compared to other nations, the United States does not have definite public policies on genderrelated issues. The concept of fathers reducing their work to take care of the children is extremely rare. It is due to the assumption that the earning power of a man determines his masculinity. Even with the evolution of working women, it is not noteworthy to change the gender role expectations. An alternative for women is to hire help in caring for the children, which is possible only in wealthy families. Ironically, in many Third World countries, hiring help to take care of the family is the norm at different socioeconomic levels. A question of whether people perceive staying at home to raise children as a sacrifice by women depends upon their inclination in making the choice to pursue a career or be a homemaker. Women who work in male-dominated professions face the biggest challenge economically by reducing their work hours. In contrast, women who work full-time suffer work overload and stress. Due to these concerns, it would be interesting to observe how future generations of women cope with the working-home care dilemma (Weishenker, 2006).

Breaking from the control and oppression of male dominance is a construct shaping women even in the Latin culture. Women within the Chicana community in Mexico living through the subjugation of male dominance become strengthened and resolute toward quiet resilience. They deconstruct the common stereotypical discourse of being silent spectators and falling into the victim role in a male dominated society. An example is the case of Ana, who comes into her own, despite the circumstances of forced child labor and rising above the constraints of gender based tyranny. With determination, she becomes empowered and grows into a confident young woman to make an impression on this patriarchal world. She sends the clear message that a woman deserves an equal place in society (Carillo, Moreno, & Zintsmaster, 2010).

From a religious context, Christianity had burgeoned into a renewed awakening with the Breakaway of the British Monarchy. King Henry VIII revolted against the Church laws that did not allow divorce or polygamy. Having the need to produce a male heir, he started his own Church that allowed him to remarry several times. He treated his wives like objects, with the sole purpose of producing a male heir. He even took extreme measures to execute one of his wives with the ruse of infidelity. This was evidence of the tyrannical rule during his time in power, in which society subjugated women to an inferior status based on their gender.

With regard to the gender role differences in a marital relationship in recent times, a comparative study of Israeli and U.S. societies participants egalitarian relationships. Both followed a liberal ideology of sharing household duties, with women having the opportunity to work outside home. Women were known to be more liberal than their husbands. In contrast, gender differences prevailed in the way couples dealt with conflict. Men preferred to utilize harsher tactics, and women were more inclined to take a softer approach to resolving conflicts. While men exercised their right to implement reward, coercion, and legitimacy, women used

reference, helplessness, and indirect information to diffuse the conflicting situation. The reason for these differences is the underlying expectations of each spouse. An interesting pattern evolving from the need for compliance is the use of softer tactics across various types of relationships. Resolving marital issues depended upon interdependence and socio-cultural variables (Schwarzwald, Koslowsky, & Izhak-nir, 2008).

A significant irony is the tension between traditional ideology in Asian cultures and the liberal Western ideals that create incongruent gender expectations. This is particularly prevalent in the Chinese culture. In light of the gender differences in marital relationships that consistently have been a pattern for decades, men have expressed more marital satisfaction than women. Women have either been bearing the stressful position of playing the single societal role of a housewife or working woman with the expectation of being a provider and a caretaker of the family. Women are more inclined to make marriage their social identity and a means of gratification. Their reactive response is to internalize their emotions that manifest through depression. However, there is a paucity of research to confirm the correlation between well-being and gender in a marital context. The influence of gender in the relationship attributes to couples' perceptions of division of labor, and satisfaction of balancing work and family life. In addition to the gender paradigm that largely influences marital roles, work relationships and the network of friends that render the emotional support largely impact the way couples perceive their marital relationships (Ng, Loy, Gudmunson, & Cheong, 2009).

Over the years, the gender role disparity has evolved into a more negotiable paradigm. There is a sharing of responsibilities, and we see women grow in the workforce to positions of prestige and power. For example, the world has seen more women leaders who have proved their mettle in being capable of becoming successful rulers. A few are Margret Thatcher (Britain), Indira Gandhi (India), Chancellor Angela Merkel (Germany), Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (Argentina), and Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed (Bangledesh). In recent times, even a deeply patriarchal culture like India has witnessed change in attitude toward women holding positions of power. By electing women as Prime Minister and President, India is ready to prove to the world that a woman deserves a place in society equal to a man. These women diminish the polarity of gender based on characterization of stereotypical behavior. Society should perceive women as capable, intelligent, and confident individuals, rather than isolate them through the lens of gender. It would contribute to the rich narrative of an evolving postmodern world that embraces and respects womanhood while appreciating their individuality, self-assurance, dignity, and strength.

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About the Author

Shanti K. Nair's (shantiknair@yahoo.com) story is one of creativity, hope, independence, and resilience - themes she tries to highlight in the lives of her clients, in her work as an Employment Specialist. She consults with non-custodial parents to assess and explore their employment options, and to deal with their individual barriers to attaining their career goals and navigating career transitions. She has delivered this via one-on-one coaching and training in the context of Vocational Counseling. Her expertise has been in providing ongoing individual, group, and family counseling responsive services for learners in need of support. She has extensive experience in assisting learners in the development of educational, personal-social, and career competencies. She is a published author, having written the article "Transitional Experience from East to West," in Women Moving Forward, Volume One: Narratives of Identity, Migration, Resilience and Hope. She also has researched information for study on social patterns of individuals with spinal cord injury, contributed to a documentary that created awareness and addressed the need for greater accessibility for individuals with disabilities in India, and participated in a visual exhibition to showcase women with physical disabilities in order to raise awareness and to encourage one to re-examine their perspective of "difference." She was the recipient of the "Women Moving Forward 2005 Award" for exemplifying hope and resilience in helping women move forward.

Discussion Questions

- 1. What would be the impact of gender inequality from a global standpoint?
- 2. How do gender biases influence family dynamics?
- 3. How does one's worldview of gender role evolve in the postmodern age?
- 4. How do power and control differ in Eastern culture compared to Western society?

To Cite this Article

Nair, S. K. (2014, Fall). Gender imbalance. Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, 6(3), 67-72.

Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014, 73-76. ISSN 1947-2900 (print) • ISSN 1947-2919 (online) Compilation Copyright © 2014 by St. Thomas University. All rights reserved.

Life Forward

Senior Vice President of Labor Litigation and Policy National Football League



Dennis Curran is Senior Vice President of Labor Litigation and Policy for the National Football League and is General Counsel of the NFL Management Council, the collective bargaining representative of all NFL clubs. He has been employed by the NFL since 1980.

Mr. Curran has been one of the chief negotiators for the NFL of a series of collective bargaining agreements (1982, 1993, 1998, 2002, 2006, and 2011) reached with the NFL Players Association (NFLPA). He also manages all labor related litigation filed by players or the NFLPA. Mr. Curran supervises a legal staff that provides counsel to the NFL clubs in interpretation and

implementation of the Collective Bargaining Agreement and that represents the clubs in grievance arbitrations.

As General Counsel, he directs compliance with the NFL Salary Cap and represents the league in cap circumvention cases. His staff also administers, along with the NFLPA, a series of benefit plans including the Retirement and Disability Plans, the NFL Severance Plan, the Player Annuity Plan, and the Player Care Foundation.

Prior to his work with the NFL, Mr. Curran served as Labor Relations Counsel to National Airlines and Pan American World Airways. After law school, Mr. Curran was an Assistant State Attorney in Miami-Dade County, Florida, where he directed investigations of public corruption and organized crime cases along with trials and appeals to the Florida Appellate courts.

Mr. Curran received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Boston College in 1971 and his J.D. degree from the University of Miami in 1975.

Interview* by Raul Fernandez-Calienes

Managing Editor, Journal of Multidisciplinary Research

Q1. Based on your in-depth knowledge of the sports industry, what would you say are contributing factors to an athlete's success or failure?

The foremost factor in any athletic success is demonstrated superior talent in performing the sport. While natural ability (size, passing, blocking, catching) either is there or is not, dedication to training and to one's coaches can maximize natural ability, so a less naturally talented player can sometimes outperform other more talented players.

Q2. How has the nature of professional football changed since you started your career?

The National Football League (NFL) has evolved in many ways. It has expanded three times (from 28 clubs to 32). It has maximized its exposure through scheduling of games on Sunday nights and Thursdays, and it has capitalized on the electronic revolution to produce football-related content for new devices as they are introduced. It now plays regular season games overseas and becomes a more year round presence through promotion of the Draft and the Indianapolis Combine. The labor problems of player free agency and sharing of revenues have largely been solved through the Salary Cap and agreed-to free agency parameters.

Q3. Why did this type of career move intrigue you, and how did you get started?

I was a college and professional football fan and season ticket holder of the Boston College Eagles and the Boston (New England) Patriots but had no aspirations of working in the

^{*} Appreciation goes to the Honorable David Levy for his assistance in making this interview possible.

industry until after moving to Miami and completing law school. An opportunity developed at the NFL that utilized my trial experience obtained at the Dade State Attorney's office in Florida, and arbitration and labor work at National Airlines.

Q4. What is a typical day for you like?

I travel about 100 days a year for various arbitration hearings, court dates, Boards of Trustee meetings, and union meetings.

When not traveling, I will prepare for those matters and meet with my staff to see if I can assist them with their cases or negotiations. When collective bargaining occurs, most of the time is spent in preparing proposals and conducting negotiations.

Q5. How would you describe the working atmosphere and the people with whom you work?

The NFL has excellent facilities and talented workers in all departments. In addition to my immediate Legal/Labor staff, the public nature of our legal proceedings and collective bargaining requires close coordination with the Legal and Public Relations Departments. Many other departments (Football Operations, Officiating, Broadcasting, Player Engagement, etc.) help with the development of proposals for the player's union in a collaborative manner so a unified "NFL" position is created.

Q6. Can you suggest any particular skills or talents that are most essential to be effective in your job?

One has to have a feel for negotiation and compromise when that is called for in litigation or collective bargaining but also have the temperament to refuse a bad deal and fight through litigation or labor actions.

Q7. What have been the most rewarding or fulfilling experiences in your life personally, professionally, cross-culturally?

Personally, 41 years of marriage and raising 3 children to adulthood has been fulfilling, if not financially rewarding (tuitions are expensive!!).

Professionally, having maintained the confidence of 3 Commissioners, their staffs, and the owners of our Clubs over 34 years must mean I'm doing something right (or I'm an exceptionally good bluffer).

Q8. What have been the most difficult challenges you have ever faced?

The periodic labor challenges are probably the most difficult. The 1982 and 1987 strikes, replacing our players for three games in 1987, the 2011 lockout, and the extensive antitrust lawsuits are probably the best examples of obstacles that needed to be overcome.

Q9. What sources of strength have you drawn upon to face such challenges?

The support of family and friends on a personal level. Professionally, having the backing of the people and organization that created and produces the country's most popular sport has always made things easier.

Q10. What Message do you have for the next generation of persons who choose to pursue sports or sports management?

I don't have a capital "M" Message. Working hard and developing skills that can be valuable both in and out of sports may help in the search for a job in the industry. Sometimes hard work and professionalism helps create your own "luck" and, similar to a player competing for a position, give you an edge in that competition.

To Cite this Interview

Fernández-Calienes, R. (2014, Fall). Life forward: Dennis Curran, senior vice president of labor litigation and policy, National Football League. *Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 6(3), 73-76.

Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014, 77-78. ISSN 1947-2900 (print) • ISSN 1947-2919 (online) Compilation Copyright © 2014 by St. Thomas University. All rights reserved.

Book Review

Book Details

Rose, D. S. (2014). Angel investing: The Gust guide to making money and having fun investing in startups. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 271 pages, \$35, hardcover, ISBN 978-1-118-85825-7.

Reviewer

Barbara Bibas Montero, M.B.A.

Synopsis and Evaluation

Described by *Business Week* as a "world conquering entrepreneur," David S. Rose is a leading expert and visionary on the topics of future technology, venture investing, and entrepreneurship. In his book *Angel Investing: The Gust Guide to Making Money and Having Fun Investing in Startups*, he discusses the human and financial rewards of being an angel investor and proceeds to take the reader step by step through the basics of angel investing in a simple, non-intimidating manner.

Until recently, angel investing has been available only to an exclusive club of high-stakes players who love risk and the excitement of investing in promising new ventures. Angel investing now has entered the mainstream with crowdfunding and lower investment requirements, thanks to the JOBS Act, or Jumpstart Our Business Startups Act, of 2012. In the U.S. alone, investing in startups has exploded into a more than \$20 billion-per-year activity over the past decade. Millions of people are looking to see how they can get involved as investors, and there's no better place to start than by reading this comprehensive book.

The author shares anecdotal wisdom, actual cases, and great technical advice while he effectively demystifies investing with vitally important guidelines. He covers a range of topics, such as how to find opportunities and perform due diligence as well as decrease risk and make money while having fun. He even provides helpful templates of valuation and term sheets, a glossary, and a list of valuable resources for angel investing. The book is useful not only for investors but also for founders, entrepreneurs, and supporting organizations.

But being an angel is not for everyone, Rose admits (pp. 12-13). To be successful and better enjoy the experience, one has to have such personal characteristics as a long-term view measured in years; the ability to tolerate losses, risk, and failure; an even temperament; and a general love and respect for entrepreneurs. He goes on to say that being an angel investor is

much like being an entrepreneur—one who is regarded as crazy for having "voluntarily entered into [an] Alice-in-Wonderland world of rollercoaster ups and downs" (p. 13).

Regarding the financial life of a startup, it was interesting to learn that "a majority of companies started in the U.S. begin and end with the first stage: the founders' own money" (p. 53). From there, out of 600,000 total startups, the number of those that are able to get outside funding drops exponentially: from friends and family, only 25%; from angels, only 2.5%; from early-stage venture capital (VC) funds, only 0.25%; and, finally, only 0.025% will get later-stage VC funds. The golden ring is making it to an initial public offering, which, with the exception of less than a couple dozen startups, none will ever achieve. As a co-founder of a startup, I personally was pleased to see that our company fell into a rare breed of those that had made it to later-stage VC funding and still continues to thrive.

Rose dedicates one of the chapters to the subject of impact investing (or social venture capital), which is the fastest-growing segment of the early-stage finance world (p. 189). The goal here is to benefit society intentionally, and it "involves putting money behind companies that strive to produce social or environmental benefits" (p. 189). Interestingly enough, the shift to more mindful investing has led to new ways of quantitatively measuring success. Investors now target a *double bottom line*, thus forming a blended societal and financial value.

As an entrepreneur, I found Rose's personal stories most fascinating and relatable—he understands the "thrill of victory and the agony of defeat." If this book had been available when we were going down the Alice-in-Wonderland rabbit hole, it might have helped us avoid certain pitfalls and sleepless nights, but then we would have been deprived of the entrepreneurial golden experience of kick-in-the-pants failure and the invaluable lessons learned. If you can survive it, you have earned your place at the table. David S. Rose helps you get there.

In the Author's Own Words

"As a crucial cog in the machinery of entrepreneurship, angel investing plays a vital role in launching and nurturing the businesses that will shape the world of tomorrow—the companies that will help millions of people live richer, longer, healthier, more prosperous, and more enjoyable lives, even as they build significant assets for their founders, their employees, and, yes, their investors" (p. 204).

Reviewer's Details

Barbara Bibas Montero, M.B.A. (bbibas@safetypay.com), is a co-founder of SafetyPay, a Miami Beach-based global payments company, where she currently serves on the board of directors. She has authored several business white papers and case studies on financial technology as well as numerous articles for a South Florida magazine, where she also served as an editor for a regular column. She holds an M.B.A. from the Thunderbird School of Global Management and a B.A. from Boston College. Recently, she was accepted into the Wharton Fellows Program.

To Cite this Review

Bibas Montero, B. (2014, Fall). Review of Angel investing: The Gust guide to making money and having fun investing in startups by D. S. Rose. Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, 6(3), 77-78.

Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 2014, 79-81. ISSN 1947-2900 (print) • ISSN 1947-2919 (online) Compilation Copyright © 2014 by St. Thomas University. All rights reserved.

Book Review

Book Details

Stuart, D. (2014). Barnyards and birkenstocks: Why farmers and environmentalists need each other. Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 280 pages, \$28.95, paperback, ISBN: 978-0-87422-322-4.

Reviewer

Catherine Mobley, Ph.D.

Synopsis and Evaluation

To learn more about the state of affairs in farming and the environment, one need look no further than some recent newspaper headlines: "California's drought is hurting farmers but helping environmentalists" (UK, *The Guardian*, 3/18/14) and "New water rules worry those who work the land" (*Denton (TX) Chronicle*, 9/7/14). Such accounts could easily lead one to conclude that the differences between farmers and environmentalists are insurmountable.

Fortunately, Don Stuart's book, Barnyards and Birkenstocks: Why Farmers and Environmentalists Need Each Other, provides an in-depth account of the positive developments in farmer-environmentalist collaborations. Stuart provides numerous cases and scenarios that involve farmers and environmentalists, mostly in Washington State. Despite this geographical focus, however, the lessons Stuart learned are valuable for citizens and policy makers in others regions who are facing similar challenges.

Stuart is explicit about the conflict that has dominated the relationship between farmers and environmentalists. However, rather than sounding hopeless, his ensuing analysis and narrative provide a clear way forward for creating stronger alliances between these two groups of stakeholders. In Chapter 1, he outlines the eight tools that will ensure a "farming-friendly environmental community" and an "environmentally-friendly agricultural industry." The remainder of the book, organized in 15 chapters, presents several of these tools and ultimately enhances understanding about the complex nature of agricultural and environmental policy.

In Chapters 2 through 4, Stuart provides the context for better understanding the farmerenvironmentalist paradox he mentions in Chapter 1. Here, the reader learns more about the value of farmland, agriculture's environmental risks, and the many opportunities and benefits that communities would sacrifice if farms were to disappear. Chapters 5 through 7 focus on the pros and cons of voluntary incentives versus regulations, while Chapters 8 and 9 provide information about taxes and government spending, and environmental markets, respectively. In Chapter 11, Stuart clarifies the value of two additional policy tools, zoning, and conservation.

Stuart presents the power of the market in shaping farming practices and environmental advocacy in Chapter 10. Considering there has been a five-fold increase in the number of farmers markets in the past two decades, this discussion on the influence of the local food movement on farming practices may resonate with many people who themselves participate in this movement as consumers. In Chapter 12, Stuart tackles key environmental challenges head-on by detailing the impacts of climate change on agriculture and vice versa. The detailed information about the Farm Bill (Chapter 14) ultimately demystifies a complex process about which many citizens know very little. Stuart presents facts throughout the book and documents them thoroughly in his detailed notes, contained in a 30-page section at the end of the book.

Stuart concludes his book by describing two potential scenarios, or "visions," for the future: either "agriculture dies and the environment suffers" (p. 235) or "agriculture prospers and the environment flourishes" (p. 239). Fortunately, Stuart's book provides us with plenty of stories, strategies, and suggestions to ensure that, as a society, we can achieve the latter scenario, rather than the former. As Stuart describes, accomplishing this more hopeful scenario will require facing some hard truths (which he describes throughout his book), but would ultimately "restore farmer confidence in the future" and provide a "new sense of possible for the environment" (pp. 240-241).

Fortunately, Stuart provides us with some specific guidance for achieving this positive vision. His "tools for dialogue" include researching the environmental benefits of farmland; redirecting farm subsidy programs; developing a scorecard for community efforts to support agriculture; promoting local food labeling and marketing; and offering community education about farming and the environment, among a list of nearly a dozen possibilities (pp. 231-234).

Stuart's book is appealing to several audiences. Teachers and students in courses on policy making, sustainability, and food and agriculture would benefit from "real world" examples. Policy makers could benefit from the knowledge about how to inspire collaboration and achieve consensus between stakeholders that are often in conflict with one another. Finally, citizens themselves would gain much from this book, most notably by learning how they can support the various individuals and groups ultimately responsible for ensuring a healthy, sustainable, and economical food system.

In the Author's Own Words

"Farmers need environmentalists and environmentalists need farmers for the same two reasons. First, neither one is going to go away.... Second, each is necessary to the success of the other" (p. 13).

"It is also good news that the circumstances which have driven our farmers and environmentalists into their current politically-charged corners are entirely of our own making. We can undo what we have done" (p. 14).

"If farmers want to make a stronger case and improve their success at convincing the public, they need to look for ways to make the environmental case for agriculture, just as environmentalists need to make the economic one for the environment" (p. 210).

Reviewer's Details

Catherine Mobley, Ph.D. (camoble@clemson.edu), is a Professor of Sociology at Clemson University. She has more than 15 years of experience conducting evaluations, developing surveys (traditional and web-based), conducting in-depth interviews, and moderating focus groups. Her research in environmental sociology focuses on identifying and modeling unique predictors of environmental attitudes, intentions, and behaviors. To date, this body of research has been supported by a variety of sources, including government agencies (the National Science Foundation), non-profit organizations (Saluda-Reedy Watershed Coalition), municipalities (Greenville County), and Clemson University (Restoration Institute/Carolina Clear). She has also been asked to collaborate on numerous additional research projects, which have benefitted from her expertise in environmental sociology, her skills in utilizing a mixed methods research approach, and her interest in interdisciplinary approaches to studying sustainability.

To Cite this Review

Mobley, C. Review of Barnyards and birkenstocks: Why farmers and environmentalists need each other by D. Stuart. Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, 6(3), 79-81.



"The Three Towers" 2008

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This journal is made possible by the generosity of Dr. Craig Reese and the financial support of the St. Thomas University School of Business.

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