

The Foreigner: Race-Based Experiences of Asian Employees

in Intercollegiate Athletics Administration

Kunsoo Shim

Campbellsville University

Akilah R. Carter-Francique San Jose State University

John N. Singer

Texas A&M University

The purpose of this study is to understand the lived experiences of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration. More specifically, this study investigates the reasons why Asians are underrepresented and the role that race plays in their employment and retention. Utilizing a basic interpretive qualitative approach, the researchers conducted interviews with six (N = 6) Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration. Employing Asian Critical Theory, the Asian employees revealed their experiential realities as a marginalized racial group in the intercollegiate athletics context. Four themes were identified by the researchers from the data: (a) Asian cultural value of education over sport/athletic participation; (b) incongruousness of the term "Asians" with sport; (c) language barriers; and (d) exclusion due to race-based view of the "foreigner". As an initial study on Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration, the findings may provide practitioners insight for understanding current experiences on people of Asian descent as employees in the intercollegiate athletics workplace and educate them as to how they succeed. In addition, this study would make a contribution to literature in the sport context by providing experiential knowledge on people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration.

Keywords: people of Asian descent, Asian employees, intercollegiate athletics administration, underrepresentation, race

he purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration. The United States (U.S.) is going through a radical change in terms of its racial and ethnic demographics (Bond & Haynes, 2014), and this change in U.S. demographics is reflected in many ways to include an increased proportion of racial and ethnic minorities in the workforce. A great many of those workers are people of Asian descent who are regarded as one of the most successful and affluent racial minorities in the U.S. (Wu, 1997). Despite their wide range of occupations, people of Asian descent remain underrepresented in some sectors of the U.S. economy (Gee & Peck, 2018). For instance, a report issued by Leadership Education for Asian Pacific (LEAP) (2013) indicates that while people of Asian descent constitute six percent of the U.S. population, they hold only 2.6 percent of the total number of seats on Fortune 500 Boards. Sport, in particular intercollegiate athletic administration, is no exception to this trend.

The 2017 Racial and Gender Report Card (RGRC) (Lapchick et al., 2018) indicates that of the athletic directors at Divisions I, II, and III in the 2016-2017 school year, people of Asian descent accounted for 0.9 percent, 1.4 percent, and 0.2 percent, respectively. In terms of administrative positions (e.g., academic advisors/counselors; compliance coordinator/officer; sport information directors and assistant directors), Asians held—for the same levels and same timeframe—1.6 percent, 1.8 percent, and 0.9 percent of these positions. To this point, Coakley (2016) also argued that men and women in all racial minority categories, especially people of Asian descent, traditionally have been underrepresented in intercollegiate athletics.

While there are a number of documented accounts on the benefits of diversity and inclusion, intercollegiate athletics have been in a stagnant stage and its 1,117 member association (e.g., NCAA) remain limited in their incorporation of diversity and inclusion efforts. Some of the benefits of a diverse and inclusive workplace might bring a positive impact on organizations such as strong work ethic (Kawahara, Pal, & Chin, 2013), a function of role-modeling for athletes (Singer & Cunningham, 2012), work group creativity (Cunningham 2008), and difference as a source of learning and growth (Cunningham, 2015). In addition, according to Pew Research Center and U.S. Census Bureau in 2012, people of Asian descent are considered among the most educated and qualified workforce. Therefore, as one of the ways for creating racially diverse work environments, exploring the lives of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics—in particular why they are underrepresented and the role that race plays in their employment and retention—is imperative and can help bring availability of insights and guidance to create diversity and inclusiveness in intercollegiate athletics.

Acknowledging the lack of Asian representation, there remains a dearth of research examining the experiences for the small percentage of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration. As a whole, research on the experiences for people of color in intercollegiate athletics administration has mainly focused on African Americans (e.g., Anderson, 1993; Borland & Bruening, 2010; Cunningham, 2010; Cunningham, 2012; Cunningham, Bruening, & Straub, 2006; Cunningham & Sagas, 2005; McDowell, 2008; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017; Singer & Cunningham, 2018; Turick & Bopp, 2016).

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¹ People of Asian descent in the U.S. include Asians who have their origins from Asian countries and Asian Americans who have U.S. citizenship (e.g., first, 1.5, and second generation).

Rarely are Asian employees' voices or experiences heard and, in fact, important issues they face have been obscured in intercollegiate athletics administration (Coakley, 2016). As to this obscurity, or invisibility, of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration, Coakley (2016) argues research that pays attention to the experiences of people of Asian descent has the potential to bring continued critical awareness which could lead to the elimination of forms of racial and ethnic exclusion in sport. Given these diversity and inclusion benefits, again, it is necessary to examine the lived experiences of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration, particularly investigating the reasons why they are underrepresented and the role that race plays in their employment and retention.

Intercollegiate Athletics and Marginalization of People of Color

While intercollegiate athletics have grown and developed since its governed inception with students and administrators, people of color have traditionally been underrepresented in many administrative positions in intercollegiate athletics; and thus, scholars have sought to examine the reasons why they have been underrepresented (Agyemang & DeLorme, 2010; Brooks, Althouse, & Tucker, 2007; Singer, Harrison, & Bukstein, 2010). Many researchers have offered explanations for underrepresentation to include institutional racism (Eitzen & Sage, 2003), stereotypes (Brown 2002; Davis, 2007), discrimination (Anderson, 1993; Cunningham & Sagas, 2005), and a lack of role models and mentors (Abney & Richey, 1991; Carter & Hart, 2010; Carter-Francique, 2018), among other factors. For example, Anderson (1993) investigated career option viability for athletic directors and football coaches in Division I schools and found African Americans were underrepresented in the positions of athletic director, head coach, coordinator, and assistant coach, and argued that racial discrimination is institutionalized.

Possible Framework for Underrepresentation of People of Asian Descent in Intercollegiate Athletics

Although the aforementioned studies have contributed to the general understanding of underrepresentation of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics, it is also necessary to have a more comprehensive and systematic analysis for this issue. To this point, Oshiro and Singer (2017) presented at the North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM) that a multilevel framework can be useful and have the potential to better understand the underrepresentation of Asian Americans in professional administrative positions in intercollegiate athletics. The framework includes the macro-level (i.e., systematic racism in U.S. society), the meso-level (i.e., institutionalized isomorphism, organizational cultures of similarity), and the micro-level (i.e., human and social capital). Oshiro and Singer (2017) argued that from a macro-level perspective, the AsianCrit version of Critical Race Theory (CRT) can be utilized to examine how systematic racism in the U.S. has affected the experiences and underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics. From a meso-level perspective, they also discussed how institutionalized isomorphism and organizational cultures of similarity perpetuate the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics. Lastly, from a micro-level perspective, Oshiro and Singer (2017) argued human and social capital that are unique to the Asian population might contribute to the understanding of underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics.

People of Asian Descent in Intercollegiate Athletics

While this multilevel framework might have implications for a better understanding of the underrepresentation of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics, people of Asian descent remain excluded from the conversation about the underrepresentation of people of color in intercollegiate athletics. Only a few studies have investigated their status and experiences in sport in general, including the role of culture and gender for Asian Americans in sport (Shin & Nam, 2004; Wong, 1999), Asian Americans masculinities in the media (Yep, 2012), personal history of Asian American professional players and its relevance to Asian culture, (e.g., Dalrymple, 2012; Franks, 2008; Yoo, 2005; Yorkey & Florea, 2013), and marketing perspectives toward Asian Americans in sport (Chabria, 2003; Clarke & Mannion, 2006). Therefore, little is known about the experiences of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration; and thus, examining the experiences of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration is imperative for expanding our understanding of people of Asian descent specifically, and people of color broadly in this particular sport context. For more detailed information about employment status of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration, please see the Table 1.

Table 1
Percentages of Asian employees in NCAA Division I in 2012-2017

	Athletic Directors	Head Coaches		Assistant Coaches		Professional Administrators
School Year	%	% Men's Sports	% Women's Sports	% Men's Sports	% Women's Sports	%
2017-2016	0.9	0.8	1.8	1.2	2.3	1.5
2016-2015	0.6	0.7	1.6	1.1	1.9	1.5
2015-2014	0.9	0.8	1.5	1.2	2.0	1.3
2014-2013	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.2	2.0	1.5
2013-2012	0.9	0.8	1.2	1.1	2.0	1.6

Note. Adapted from Lapchick's (2018) Racial and Gender Report Card: College Sport.

Perceptions of People of Asian Descent in the U.S.

The general perception of people of Asian descent in the U.S. society could help us better understand their underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. According to scholars, people in U.S. society often collectively perceive people of Asian descent through stereotypical lenses such as the model minority, perfidious foreigner, and a homogeneous cultural group (Cheng, 1997; Hurh & Kim, 1989; Kibria, 2000; Paris, 2003). Furthermore, scholars purport that the perceptions for people of Asian descent were created and perpetuated by Whites in an effort to maintain and control power in American society as well as limit the range of occupations people of Asian descent were eligible to pursue and enter (Lee, 1996; Lowe, 1996; Nakanishi, 1995; Suzuki, 2002). These three stereotypes produce distinct characterizations

and false information about people of Asian descent in the U.S. society. Consequently, there is a framework to aid in understanding their lived experiences and provide actionable steps towards social justice.

Asian Critical (AsianCrit) Framework

In an attempt to understand the perspectives and the experiences of Asian Americans, scholars who study the experiences of Asian Americans have employed many approaches based on core tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Buenavista & Chen, 2013; Gee, 1999; Lee, 2016). Emerging from critical legal studies, CRT challenges racial inequalities by empowering voices and lived experiences for people of color hoping to eliminate race-related social oppression and exclusion (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). While CRT is a useful theoretical framework to empower and examine the lived experiences for people of color, some Asian scholars recognized the need to have a new critical race view for Asian Americans in U.S. society due to social and cultural uniqueness of Asian Americans such as immigration status, acculturation, and generation status (Chang, 1993; Liu, 2009; Museus & Iftikar, 2014). In recognition of this need, Museus and Iftikar (2014) suggested an Asian critical (AsianCrit) framework that provides a unique set of tenets that are useful in analyzing and examining the ways race and racism affects Asian Americans in U.S. society. In other words, the Asian critical theory can be a useful framework or lens for better understanding the ways in which race and racism affect the lives of people of Asian descent in American society.

The AsianCrit perspective has several tenets that are interconnected. Museus and Iftikar (2014) put forward seven: (a) Asianization; (b) transnational contexts; (c) (re)constructive history; (d) strategic (anti)essentialism; (e) intersectionality; (f) story, theory, and praxis; and (g) commitment to social justice. Among these seven tenets of the AsianCrit, the current study utilized three tenets to better understand the lives of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics: Asianization, transnational context, and story, theory, and praxis. Thus, the three tenets employed for this study center the role of race and racism, acknowledge the influence of globalization, and value the narrative voice.

Asianization

The tenet of Asianization asserts that racism and nativistic racism are endemic and permanent in U.S. society, and that people in the U.S. racializes Asian Americans in different ways (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). The tenet of Asianization emphasizes the ways in which U.S. society racially categorize all Asian Americans into a monolithic group and regards this racial group as a successful model minority, perpetual foreigners, and a threatening "yellow peril" (Chon, 1995; Espiritu, 2008; Lowe, 1996; Yu, 2006). U.S society oppresses Asian Americans through this common mechanism of Asianization (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). In fact, the term "Asia" or "Asian" was originally coined by ancient Greeks to differentiate themselves from people living in the eastern and southern parts of Eurasia (Bowring, 1987). However, we as race scholars in the sport industry acknowledge and value that there are social, cultural, economic, and political variations among this group of people (Bowring, 1987).

Transnational Contexts

The tenet of transnational contexts of the AsianCrit perspective underscores the importance of historical and contemporary national and international contexts in order to better understand the experiences of Asian Americans (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). In other words, while CRT values the importance of historical contexts for a better understanding of people of color in U.S. society, this tenet analyses and prioritizes transnational contexts. This is because a comprehensive understanding of the experiences of Asian Americans can be obtained with knowledge of how Asian Americans have been influenced by both historical and contemporary processes extending beyond national boundaries to include—processes such as imperialism, colonialism, and the global economic movement (Choy, 2000; Museus & Iftikar, 2014).

Story, Theory, and Praxis

The tenet of story, theory, and praxis emphasizes the notion that counter-stories, theoretical work, and practice are key components for analyzing the experiences of Asian Americans and for supporting Asian American communities (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). Based upon the works of CRT scholars (e.g., Yamamoto, 1997) and TribalCrit Scholars (e.g., Brayboy, 2005), the tenet of story, theory, and praxis asserts that counter-stories illuminate theory and practice, that theory gives logical guides for practice, and that practice uncovers counter-stories and uses theory for positive purposes for Asian American lives (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). More importantly, the tenet of story, theory, and praxis centers on the voices and perspectives of Asian American scholarly work and suggests marginalized scholarly works can and must inform theory and practice (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). Hence, the two research questions (RQ) guide this study:

- RQ 1: Why is there a perception of underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletic administration?
- RQ 2: How might race play a role in the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration?

Method

Participants

The participants in this study were six (N = 6) self-identified Asian employees who worked or are currently working in U.S. intercollegiate athletics at NCAA DI Institutions. Their positions were diverse, including a marketing coordinator, volleyball coach, athletic director, senior associate AD, game analyzer for soccer team, and athletic trainer. The racial/ethnic classification included two (n = 2) self-identified Koreans, three (n = 3) self-identified Korean Americans, and one (n = 1) self-identified Thai American. The participants' ages ranged from 25 years of age to 42 years of age with 34.5 years of age as the mean (SD = 6.57). The years of work experience for the participants ranged from 1 year to 18 years with 6.6 as the mean (SD = 6.91). The participants' gender was one (n = 1) female and five (n = 5) males (See. Table 2).

Table 2 Characteristics of Participants

Participant	Demographics/Education	Characteristics
1. Peter	25 years old; male; born in South Korea and immigrated to the U.S. (when he was 8 years old); U.S. citizen; Korean American; 1.5 generation; exercise science (bachelor) and sport management (master)	Played football at a Division II institution; marketing coordinator (past) and sport analyst at a sport agency (current); 1 year of work experience; mainly spoke Korean at home and culturally influenced by his parents who value Korean culture
2. Michael	42 years old; male; born and raised in the U.S; U.S. citizen; Korean American; second generation; religion (bachelor), theological studies (master), and practical theology (doctoral)	Played volleyball at a college; volleyball assistant and head coach (past) and professor at a school of theology and ministry at a Division I institution (current); 8 years of work experience; rejected his Korean traditional value and heritage and attempted to assimilate into American society because of his father who had experienced racial discrimination in the U.S.
3. Joe	40 years old; male; born in South Korea and immigrated to the U.S. (when he was 8 years old); U.S. citizen; Korean American; 1.5 generation; biology (bachelor) and MBA (master)	enjoys football; athletic director (IT operation) at a Division I institution (past and current); 17 years of work experiences; only spoke Korean at home and values Korean culture and heritage influenced by his parents; stating "No matter what I am in the eyes of the majority of Americans, I'll never be American, and I'll always be Korean American."
4. Julie	36 years old; female; born and raised in the U.S.; U.S. citizen; Thai American; second generation; psychology (bachelor) and J.D degree	enjoys basketball; a senior athletics administrator at a Division I institution (past) and executive senior associate athletics director and a chief operating officer at a Division I institution (current); influenced by her parents who value education over participating in sport.

5. Sung Min

34 years old; male; born and raised in South Korea; came to the U.S.(when he was 28 years old); Korean Citizen; Korean; first generation; exercise science (bachelor) and sport management (master)

played soccer as a student athlete at a college in South Korea; game analyzer for women's soccer at a Division I institution (past) and soccer assistant coach at a non-profit organization; 1 year of work experience; maintains Asian culture as a core value due to his short length of residency in the U.S. (6 years)

6. Min Soo

30 years old; male; born and raised in South Korea; came to the U.S. (when he was 27 years old); Korean Citizen; Korean; first generation; sport science (bachelor), athletic training (master), and currently working on doctoral study in athletic training

enjoys soccer and basketball; athletic trainer at a Division I institution (past and current); 1.5 years of work experience; influenced by Asian culture in terms of education

Notes. The names of the participants are pseudonyms

Procedures

Prior to initiating the study, Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was obtained from the researchers' university, and a research email invitation was sent to Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration in the U.S. In order to reach out to the potential participants, the researchers utilized two methods. First, the researchers used the personal names and their institutions from Lapchick and colleagues' (2013) College Sport Racial and Gender Report Card. Once they were identified, the researchers sent out research participation emails. The researchers also utilized listserv email from North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (NASSS). While there were other organizations such as North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM) and National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), NASSS was the organization that had the most accessible data to use by the lead researcher. Employing a purposeful sampling method (Patton, 2002), we identified six Asian employees based on our sampling criteria (i.e., Asians/Asian Americans; working in intercollegiate athletics administration). We also utilized the technique of snowball sampling to aid with increasing the number in the research sample. The researchers asked the participants to recommend individuals who would participate in the study. Upon selection, face-to-face and phone interviews were arranged based on participant schedules.

The participants all agreed with and consented to participate in one 30 to 60 minute interview. One participant was interviewed by face-to-face semi-structured, in-depth interview (Patton, 2002), and five (n = 5) participants were interviewed with telephone and Skype because of geographical limitations. Two participants did not speak English fluently; therefore, the lead researcher, who is a fluent Korean speaker, invited them to speak in their native language (e.g., Korean) for the interviews. Once the interviews were complete, the researchers employed Brislin's (1970) model of translation procedure to ensure accurate and valid translation.

Interview Guide

The interviews were divided into three question sections in an effort to understand the role race plays in Asian employees' recruitment, work place experiences, and retention in intercollegiate athletics administration in the U.S. The first section was designed to understand the participants' background (e.g., age, gender, sport participation, generation status), cultural upbringing (e.g., "how do you describe your cultural upbringing compared to or within the U.S culture?"), and career path (e.g., "Please tell me about your journey and involvement in intercollegiate athletics administration."). The second section was aimed to understand the participants' perceptions of Asian employees' underrepresentation (e.g., "Please tell me about your perception of the representation for people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration?", "Why do you think people of Asian descent are not well represented in intercollegiate athletics administration?"). The third section was designed to understand how race influenced Asians' employment and retention in intercollegiate athletics administration (e.g., "Do you believe that race or racism has affected your career in intercollegiate athletics administration? Yes, or No. Please explain.").

Data Analysis

After the interviews were conducted, each was transcribed verbatim. As stated above, for two participants who spoke only Korean during the interview process, Brislin's (1970) forward and back translation processes were carried out. Open (raw data themes), axial, and selective coding were used to analyze the data and to form themes and dimensions (Jones, 2015). During the open coding phase, numerous codes were created as preliminary categories and some of the open codes were assigned as a priori based on the tenets of AsianCrit (Chang, 1993; Jones, 2015 Liu 2009; Museus & Iftikar, 2014). After the opening coding process, the preliminary categories were reduced into axial codes (emerging themes) which could be grouped together based on their similarity. Finally, in the selective coding process, the researchers selected some quotations from the data to illustrate the themes that were created in the axial coding process. We as researchers acknowledge that although our approach for the current study was mainly inductive in nature; it was also deductive in the way that the theoretical framework (AsianCrit) was used to support and provide a greater understanding the lives of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics.

To ensure credibility and trustworthiness, several qualitative research techniques were employed. First, for peer debriefing, the researchers contacted scholars who were in sport management disciplines but not involved in the current study to aid in the review of transcribed data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Second, to accomplish the accuracy of the data all participants were informed, there were no right and wrong answers to the research questions (Shenton, 2004). Lastly, for member checks, all participants were given the opportunity to review the transcripts and through this technique any ambiguities of language and meanings were reduced (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

In terms of the authors' positionalities, the first author is an Asian from South Korea who came to the U.S. to study sport management in a graduate school. He spent 11 years in the U.S. and experienced being raced and marginalized in and out of school, which provided the opportunity to immerse himself into the lives of the interviewees (Kerwin & Hoeber, 2015). He is currently working as a professor at a predominantly White institution of higher education (PWIHE). While the first author's background was helpful to capture the nuances and

complexities for the data analysis (Young, 2004), the second and third author, who are African American female and male respectively, had significant research experiences on the role of race and racism in sport and, particularly in the context of intercollegiate athletics in the US and also provided insights as an "Outsider" into understanding of the experiences of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletic administration (Fletcher & Brah, 1996). Indeed, Fletcher (2014) and Brah (1996) argued that qualitative study can benefit from confronting researchers' differences with the use of an 'Outsider' technique.

Results

The purpose of this study is to understand the lived experiences of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration. More specifically, this study investigates the reasons why they are underrepresented and the role that race plays in their employment and retention.

The participants in this study shared their perspectives about why and how people of Asian descent are underrepresented in intercollegiate athletics administration. For research question one (1) (reasons for the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration), three central themes were identified by the researchers from the data analysis: (a) Asian cultural value on education over sport/athletic participation (i.e., family influence and educational competiveness in an Asian country), (b) incongruousness of the term "Asians" with sport, and (c) language barriers (i.e., lack of communication skills and limited network). For research question two (2) (role of race in the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration), one theme, (d) exclusion due to race-based view of foreigner, was identified by the researchers.

Asian Cultural Value on Education over Sport/Athletic Participation

According to Seal (2017), people of Asian descent in the U.S. emphasize education, and believe that a higher level of educational achievement is one of the ways to survive and succeed in American society. Acknowledging this minority status and situation, people of Asian descent are likely to major in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) (Xie & Goyette, 2003). Hence, with regard to reasons for Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration, the most salient response was Asian cultural value on education. All of the participants felt that Asian culture tended to place more value on education over sport/athletic participation and focus on educational pursuits in STEM. The participants felt that the cultural emphasis on education and STEM majors led to Asians' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletic administration. In other words, because Asian culture does not see the value of sport and sport participation, most people of Asian descent in the U.S. are not willing to participate or work in sport-related industries. This theme presented two sub-themes of family influence and educational competitiveness in an Asian country to articulate the participants' perspectives.

Family influence. Some of the participants discussed Asian cultural value on education over sport/athletic participation, and stated that this cultural value on education was related to family influence. For example, a participant commented that because of Asian cultural value on education influenced by their parents, Asians are unwilling to work in sport-related industries. This participant also stated that her parents often pushed her to focus on education and she

believed that this educational focus by her parents might influence her to go to law school and receive a Juris Doctorate degree. The following quote shows this perspective:

My parents were very strict. We (herself and her sisters) were only allowed to go to school and played sports after school. Other than that, we had to be home and anything done socially was with my parents. The parents asked me after college to graduate school. Asian Kids are expected to go to med school, law school, or be an engineer or get a PhD, I said that I wanted to go [to] law school, but what I was interested in was to work in sports. So I started doing internships while I was in law school. (Julie)

Consistent with this participant's comment, the participants also emphasized that in Asian culture, education is the priority and its basic foundation that are reinforced by their families. The following quotes illustrate this emphasis:

I'm pretty sure it's common with most any Asian families that education is one of the highest priorities, because it's a basic foundation. (Joe)

Asian American family in terms of seeking there are a lot better ways for their child to go to school and make money after school than going into sports. So I think some of the family pressures are there... to be a doctor or lawyer. (Michael)

I think Asian parents are likely to want their kids to study related to law, medical, and engineer area. (Sung Min)

Thus, the participants believed that family (e.g., traditional Asian parents) plays a significant role in shaping values of Asian Americans (e.g., educational value), and that these educational values led to Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. Along with family influence, transnational context (e.g., culture of origin) is also important when understanding the experiences of Asian Americans in the U.S. society (Museus & Iftikar, 2014).

Educational competitiveness in an Asian country. Some of the participants discussed that Asian cultural value on education over sport led to the underrepresentation of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration. However, these participants further explained why people of Asian descent view education as more values than sport/athletic participation. The participants mentioned that the high level of educational competitiveness in Asian countries influenced and reinforced Asian countries to value education more. The following quotes illustrate this perspective:

Especially in South Korea, you know such a competitiveness to get to anywhere like from high school even to college, it's harder, much tougher, to get into college in Korea compared to the United States. So there is always that stronger emphasis on academics in Asian culture, especially in South Korean culture. (Peter)

Compared to the U.S., South Korea is a very small and competitive country. So in attempt to survive in such a small society, South Koreans do not have time to enjoy sport

and to invest their time to play sport. But in the U.S., sport can be regarded as part of education. American parents have their kids play at least one sport. (Min Soo)

Since these participants were foreign-born and stayed in the U.S for a relatively short period of time, it is likely that their perceptions were influenced by their origin culture (e.g., South Korea). In fact, Ock (2016) stated that 68.8 percent of South Korean students take private lessons (e.g., cram schools), additionally, with compulsory education courses provided by the Korean government. While the participants emphasized Asian cultural aspect of education, some of the participants also discussed racial assumptions about people of Asian descent in the U.S. society.

Incongruousness of the Term "Asians" with Sport

People of Asian descent are often regarded by dominant views as a monolithic racial group, which leads to the fact that they suffer from stereotypes such as being a model minority or a perfidious foreigner. This is in part because U.S. society ignores ethnic diversity within Asian American population (Lee, 1996; Lowe, 1996; Nakanishi, 1995; Suzuki, 2002). The participants recognized this reality, discussing the assumption that the term "Asians" is incongruous with sport which led to Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. For example, one participant stated:

So I found that very interesting, kind of just playing into the whole stereotypes of Asians in America about the studious nerdy type who really may not be able to play professional, let alone collegiate sports. I know that there are Asians in collegiate sports but I don't know the actual percentages. So my perception of what American sports is towards Asian Americans is that they have disfavorable view generally and maybe as a result of that, won't even recruit or begin to recruit Asian Americans for especially high division I sports. (Michael)

This participant felt that U.S. society does not see Asians, as a racial group, with the ability to play sports, but rather as a hyper-successful racial minority stereotyped as being the intellectual or "nerdy type". The participant added "I wonder if it adds into the kind of public perception and therefore construct a narrative that "Asians like sports doesn't mix" and as such "Asians like playing high level of sports does not mix." The participant perceived that while Asian Americans are capable of playing sports and having physical prowess (e.g., Jeremy Lin, Hines Ward, Michelle Kwan, Michelle Wie), U.S. society often assumes that Asian Americans do not have sufficient sport background and knowledge which probably are recommended capabilities for being hired in intercollegiate athletics administration. The following section includes stories of participants who elaborated on their experiences as an employee and foreign-born Asian or Asian American in intercollegiate athletics administration.

Language Barriers

Some of the participants also perceived that language barriers were one of the reasons for Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. While these three participants speak English, two of them (Min Soo & Sung Min—spent less than six years in the U.S) do not speak English fluently but Peter speaks English very fluently because he came

to the U.S. when he was 8 years old. Scholars contend that people of Asian descent were underrepresented in occupations where language skills are important in the workplace (e.g., occupations in management, personal selling, and service) and that language barriers were one of the factors that led to Asians' marginalization to peripheral areas of the U.S. economy (Hune & Chan, 1997; Suzuki, 2002). The following subthemes reflect the specifics of this reasoning.

Lack of communication skills. Sung Min and Min Soo had recently come to the U.S. and spoke broken English which refers to a poorly spoken and/or written version of English. More specifically, the participants described that since English was not their first language, their communication skills were lacking (e.g., misunderstandings of meetings with, emails from, and interpersonal conversations with co-workers); and, they believed that this lack of communication skills led to Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. The following quotes illustrate this perspective:

Although I can speak English and do not have great difficulty with it, I cannot speak English as much as other normal Americans can. Whenever I had a meeting with my head and assistant coach about game analyzing, sometimes I felt the limits to speak English for explaining or expressing my thoughts and opinions. (Sung Min)

I believe that Asians in the U.S. need to practice and develop their English skill to be hired in American college sport. (Min Soo)

Thus, the participants perceived that lack of communication skills resulting from incompetency in English may impede people of Asian descent to access or maintain a job in intercollegiate athletics administration. Indeed, people of Asian descent are often stereotypically regarded as less fluent or poor communicators by the U.S. society (Sy, Tran-Quon, & Leung, 2017). Along with this perception, limited network can also be one of the reasons for Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration.

Limited network. Peter cited that the language barrier could be one of the reasons for Asians' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration sharing, "Especially with, like say, international students coming to U.S. to get their degree and starts to work in sports, there is always that language barrier, it is tough for them." He further explained that because of the language barrier that Asians faced, there is very limited network for people of Asian descent to get involved in American college sport. He stated:

You always hear people saying 'It's who you know, not what you know' and obviously not having a lot of Asians in sports makes it hard make connections that way. I think that definitely having Asian connection might help to increase the Asian representation in college sport. (Peter)

While some Asian Americans are reluctant to build a network because of lack of language skills and placing more value on technical competence rather than social competence (Sy, Tran-Quon, & Leung, 2017), this participant emphasized the importance of building a professional network for being well-represented of Asian Americans in intercollegiate athletics administration. The

following section describes how race plays a significant role in underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration.

Exclusion Due to Race-Based View of Foreigner

To understand how race influences Asian employees' employment and retention in intercollegiate athletics administration, it is also important to discern how the participants define racism in their daily life. In general, their definitions of racism provides fundamental knowledge for us to be more familiar with how the participants viewed racism regarding Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) argued racism is defined based on three important elements: "(a) one group believes itself to be superior; (b) the group that believes itself to be superior has the power to carry out the racist behavior, and (c) racism affects multiple racial and ethnic groups" (p. 61). While Solórzano and colleagues (2000) defined racism based on the notions of superiority and power dynamic in American society, three participants felt that racism is more related to racial incidents. These participants focused on exploitation, and one participant stressed the embedded nature that race and racism play in U.S. society. For examples, the following quotes illuminate these perspectives:

I am not sure what exactly means to me but for me, they admitted that I am a hard worker. They believed if they hire Asians, Asians will be working hard (Min Soo)

And now you can't be as blatant and I know that there's different ways of racism, but I think it's mostly subversive it's imbedded. (Michael)

While all of the participants felt that racism existed in American society based on their definitions stated above, only three of them discussed the significance of racism regarding Asian professionals' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. One participant (Michael) explained that he left his job as a volleyball head coach and is currently working as a director and professor at a university. One of the reasons he stopped his career as a volleyball head coach was that he felt that he was excluded from or marginalized in American volleyball communities (e.g., White Nativistic environment; Bhatia, 2004). He said that to pursue a volleyball coaching career in the U.S., coaches should be part of or actively engaged in the American Volleyball Coaching Association (AVCA). However, he felt there was racism in the organization because he had little White-based racial network to get involved in or even did not want to "...brownnose someone (i.e., Whites) to be acknowledged in the organization".

The participant (Peter) also felt the same way stating, "Asians are getting excluded due to the absence of an inherently racial network in American college sport". This participant added that Asians have a hard time getting involved in or immersing themselves into mainstream American college sport, which ultimately led to Asian employees' underrepresentation. Lastly, the participant (Sung Min) felt that he occasionally isolated himself and could not interact with his coaching staff and players. He explained:

Sometimes I felt isolated. I am not sure isolating is part of racism but my soccer team mainly consists of Whites and I was only one Asian in this team. So we did not often talk

each other. I think it is just "they (soccer team members and coaching staff) do not take care of me. (Sung Min)

Thus, the participant felt that his racial profiling in the team might contribute to social isolation, which can be one of the reasons for Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics. Researchers also argue that as a consequent form of racism, people of color often experience social isolation and disengagement (Burden, Harrison, & Hodges, 2005; Nicholson, Hoye, & Gallant, 2011).

To summarize, throughout the interviews the findings revealed that the participants felt that there were three reasons for the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration: (a) Asian cultural value on education over sport/athletic participation, (b) incongruousness of the term "Asians" with sport in the U.S., and (c) language barriers. In addition, the participants also felt that there was (d) exclusion due to race-based view of a foreigner.

Discussion

In 2015, the U.S. Census Bureau released "Projections of the Size and Composition of the US Population: 2014 to 2060" report accentuating Asian Americans are one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups—from 5.3 percent in 2014 to 9.3 percent of the U.S. population in 2060 (Colby & Ortman, 2015). Despite this rapid growth of the population, people of Asian descent are not well-represented in sport, particularly in intercollegiate athletics administration. Sport management scholars have scarcely explored this issue. Thus, the purpose of this study was to investigate the reasons why they are underrepresented and the role that race plays in their employment and retention in intercollegiate athletics administration. We discovered that Asian employees can be underrepresented in intercollegiate athletics administration due to (a) Asian cultural value on education over sport/athletic participation (i.e., family influence and educational competiveness in an Asian country), (b) incongruousness of the term "Asians" with sport, and (c) language barriers (i.e., lack of communication skills and limited network). We also found that for the role that race plays in their employment and retentions, there might be exclusion due to the race-based view of the foreigner for Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration.

The participants felt that there are cultural values on education over sport/athletic participation which possibly lead to the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration. Understanding Asian employees' cultural values are important because a profound understanding of the lives of people of Asian descent in the U.S. is achieved by knowing how they settled and where they came from (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). Indeed, according to the Pew Research Center (2012), 59% of Asian Americans are immigrants. They were born abroad, not in the U.S. Considering the tenet of transnational context highlights the importance of historical and international contexts (Museus & Iftikar, 2014), the theme, Asian cultural value on education over sport/athletic participation, supports this tenet of the AsianCrit.

The participants also cited their parents, and Asian American parents in general, as the immediate source for their awareness of Asian cultural values. Thus, it appears that the first theme, Asian cultural value of education over sport/athletic participation, contributes to the transmission of cultural values through their parents. Many Asian scholars argue Asian American parents are likely to retain the values and traditions of their homeland and seek to pass

these down to their children (Chao, 2000; Inman, Howard, Beaumount, & Walker, 2007). In this sense, it is likely that the participants were influenced by their parents who would retain Asian cultural values that prioritize education over sport/athletic participation.

The findings revealed a stereotype that the term "Asians" is incongruous with sport in the U.S., and how the stereotype about people of Asian descent could be attributed to their underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. The tenet of Asianization refers to the reality that American society lumps all people of Asian descent into a monolithic racial group (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). Consistent with this tenet, this research study found that the participants perceived American society places all people of Asian descent into a single nonsport participating racial population who do not have sport background and knowledge; and, that this characterization has led to Asian employees' underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics administration. Scholars have argued that people of Asian descent were "Asianized" as a single racial group such as perpetual foreigners and threatening yellow perils (Lee, 1996; Lowe, 1996; Nakanishi, 1995; Suzuki, 2002).

For people of Asian descent in U.S. society, their lives are influenced by social stereotypes that are created based on the notion of Asianization (Chang, 1993; Liu, 2009; Museus & Iftikar, 2014). One of the most popular of these is the model minority stereotype. The model minority stereotype refers to the social concept that people of Asian descent are too successful to be considered a disadvantaged minority racial group (Cheng, 1997). In other words, the political and social structures rooted in American society itself allow Asians to succeed and achieve their "American Dream" (Hurh & Kim, 1989; Lee, 1996). At a glance, the description of "model minority" seems complimentary of people of Asian descent and their struggle for social, political, and educational rights. However, this social stereotype actually plays a detrimental role as it implies that people of Asian descent need no social or organizational support (Lai, 2013). This social logic is applicable in this study. The theme of incongruousness of the term "Asians" with sport may lead to a lack of intercollegiate athletics interest in or support for people of Asian descent because people in intercollegiate athletics administration might assume that Asians are uninterested in sport or do not have any sport-related background, skills, or knowledge which are key qualifications for a certain position such as coaches, administrators, and athletic directors.

Among the rationales from this study, "language barriers" is the most salient reason that is inconsistent with previous research on the underrepresentation of people of color in intercollegiate athletics administration. This is in part because this finding was illuminated through the story of two of the participants that had lived within the U.S. for only a short period of time and shared that English was not their first language. The participants were not born in the U.S. and did not have enough chances to learn English before. The participants, thus, presented their race and corresponding native language as contributing factors to the underrepresentation of people of Asian descent as well as a personal barrier that may impede people of Asian descent from the pursuit of positions in intercollegiate athletics administration. This finding becomes clearer when considering the occupational interests of people of Asian descent. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2007), the occupational demographics for people of Asian descent in the U.S. consisted of 25 percent computer engineers, 30 percent medical scientist, 17 percent physicians, and 14 percent dentists. However, people of Asian descent represented only one percent of social service workers where language and communication skills are the primary requirements in the job description. Thus, the participants' language challenges imply that people of Asian descent with lower levels of colloquial English skills might struggle in positions that require high levels of verbal communication, such as intercollegiate athletics administration.

For the role that race plays in the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics, the participants felt that people of Asian descent were excluded from intercollegiate athletics because of a race-based view of foreigners. While this cannot be generalized to all of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics, there may be some who experience this in their employment and retention. This finding also is consistent with the notion of nativistic racism, which is rooted in the tenet of Asianization. Chang (1993), a pioneer of AsianCrit, defined nativistic racism as an "informal mechanisms of oppression" (p. 1287). Nativistic racism refers to the discrimination of people of Asian descent due to a prevailing view that they are forever or perfidious foreigners that make them likely to be excluded from mainstream American society (Chang, 1993).

The current study points to AsianCrit's tenet of story, theory, and praxis. This tenet recognizes the reality that the voices of people of color (e.g., Asians) and the work of intellectuals of color have been marginalized historically; so, the voice and experiences for people of Asian descent are due attention also (Museus & Iftikar, 2014). Additionally, this research study argues knowledge from the voices and experiences of people of Asian descent should be discussed, and that it is needed to inform theory and practice. A number of scholars have suggested the underrepresentation of people of color (e.g., Black/African American) in intercollegiate athletics is due to (a) institutional racism (Eitzen & Sage, 2003); (b) stereotypes (Brown, 2002; Carter-Francique, in press; Davis, 2007); (c) discrimination (Anderson, 1993; Cunningham & Sagas, 2005); and, (d) a lack of role models (Abney & Richey, 1991). However, the knowledge from the participants in this study revealed factors for the underrepresentation of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration appeared to be "Asian cultural value on education over sport/athletic participations," "incongruousness of the term Asians with sport" and "language barriers." Hence, the participants 'perspectives, or experiential knowledge, revealed similar and different rationales for the underrepresentation for Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration. Thus, in order to truly promote diversity and inclusion initiatives in intercollegiate athletics, in particular for people of Asian descent administrators need to be aware of these possible reasons. By doing so, we can expect that intercollegiate athletics would be able to create a more inclusive work atmosphere which possibly result in positive organizational outcomes.

Practical Implications & Conclusion

This investigation also offers several practical implications for sport management practitioners as well as people of Asian descent who seek to work in intercollegiate athletics administration. Through the interviews and the use of AsianCrit, the participants' reasons for the underrepresentation of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration illuminated social and cultural nuances. Acknowledging Asians cultural value of education over sport and athletic participation is important. With such a cultural slant, it may be plausible that Asians find value in education within the sport academic context through the pursuit of higher education in academic fields such as sport management, physical education, exercise physiology, and sport medicine. For instance, studying "sport management" as a bachelor's, masters, or even doctoral degree seeker may create a larger pool of people of Asian descent eligible to work in intercollegiate athletics administration. The field of sport management could aid in increasing the racial diversity of its students by recruiting students of Asian descent and promoting the educational value in the field of sport management.

In addition to cultural influence on people of Asian descent, certain stereotypes (e.g., model minority, forever foreigners) for people of Asian descent have negatively influenced their experiences in the workplace (Cheng, 1997; Hurh & Kim, 1989; Kibria, 2000; Lee, 1996; Lowe, 1996; Nakanishi, 1995; Paris, 2003). While the NCAA and the Minority Opportunities Athletic Association (MOAA) have celebrated its institutions, athletic departments, and conferences that embrace the notions of diversity and inclusions (e.g., Award for Diversity and Inclusion of 2015 and 2016: Northern Illinois University; Colorado State University), there is a lack of social campaigns and efforts that deal with Asian stereotypes in intercollegiate athletics administration. Thus, practitioners in intercollegiate athletics administration should make an effort to spark a renewed interest in stereotypes toward people of Asian descent. For instance, in April of 2014, the Asian American Student Association (AASA) conducted an "I am not" campaign that aimed to understand and/or dispel Asian stereotypes. In this campaign, they were successfully aware of normal stereotypes of Asians and contacted non-Asian people to explain that some of stereotypes were false (e.g., Asians are not good at sports; Purcell, 2014). Thus, to bring the concept of diversity in their organizations, the NCAA and its member institutions should implement these types of social campaigns that speak to all marginalized racial groups as an initial diversity program.

Arguably, people of Asian descent have been marginalized in hiring practices in intercollegiate athletics, and this has been omitted from diversity discussions. In 2016, Mark Emmert, the president of the NCAA, asked universities and colleges to join the pledge for diversity and inclusion and more than one hundred institutions signed this pledge (NCAA, 2016). However, it remains apparent that people of Asian descent are not prominent with the NCAA's efforts in promoting diversity and inclusion. To this point, and while the findings are not generalizable, this study is beneficial to provide people in the NCAA and its member institutions with an opportunity to consider the historical significance of racially marginalized groups (i.e., people of Asian descent) and the potentially positive outcomes from committing racial diversity in intercollegiate athletics administration (e.g., attraction of Asian American fan base, employee satisfaction, creativity: Cunningham, 2008). Concomitantly, this study may incite people of Asian descent in and aspiring careers in intercollegiate athletics to ponder the current realities they face as racial minorities. Lastly, this study contributes to the sport management and diversity issues in sport by documenting and validating historically marginalized voices and experiences for people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration.

Future Research

Several avenues for future research have emerged from what has been discussed. First, there is value in exploring this racial group in other sport contexts, such as the professional leagues. This approach could possibly shed light on the varied experiences of people of Asian descent because they have likely taken different paths to their professional sport positions. Second, there are many opportunities for a researcher to explore the experiences of people of Asian descent who seek to work in intercollegiate athletics administration, and what challenges they face in their job interviews. This experiential knowledge will be more valuable for researchers to better understand the nature of people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics administration. Third, considering three of the participants from this study left their positions in intercollegiate athletics administration, it would be beneficial to explore the reasons why people of Asian descent in intercollegiate athletics leave their administrative positions and careers.

Fourth, utilizing the newly emerged Asian critical theory as a lens in the sport context will bring distinct perspectives on people of Asian descent that have been traditionally explored based on CRT. This is because people of Asian descent have a unique culture, heritage, and immigration history similar to the uniqueness of other racial minorities (e.g., Blacks, Hispanics) in America. Lastly, since there is no comprehensive and systematic approaches or theoretical development to understand the underrepresentation of People of Asian descent in sport, it would be beneficial to study conceptual frameworks (e.g., multilevel framework) for better understanding of the unique experiences of people of Asian descent in sport, particularly in intercollegiate athletics administration.

Limitations

There were limitations which may have influenced this study. First, the results from this qualitative research were limited in terms of transferability due to the qualitative methods that yielded a small number of the participants. Second, while the researchers expected to have a diverse group of people of Asian descent, most of the participants who voluntarily responded were Korean Americans and Koreans. Five of the six participants were of Korean origin; therefore, the results were based on the ethnic perspectives of Korean culture and heritage and may not be reflective of other Asian ethnic groups. One rationale for this participant pattern may be that they recognized and had ethnic familiarities with the lead researcher's Korean last name. Third, data interpretation and conclusion may be subjective, and be affected by the researchers' personal background and bias (Merriam, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994). However, this was mitigated by using peer debriefing to confirm the interpretation and conclusion with peers that were critical race scholars in the field of sport management. Lastly, despite the researchers' desire to have more participants across a variety of job positions, their efforts were limited due to the dearth of Asian employees in intercollegiate athletics administration.

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