

"MEASURING UP: STATUS AND STIGMA
WITHIN A SPECIAL OLYMPIC
FLOOR HOCKEY TEAM"

An Ethnographic Study

By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to discover the Special Olympic floor hockey athletes' understanding of the coaches', teams' and players' goals, priorities and expectations. Traditionally, the viewpoint of the mentally retarded has been represented by professionals and parents on the "outside". The emphasis on the athletes' perspective focused on the "insider" point of view. The rationale was that the results might be beneficial in improving the leadership qualities of the B.C. Special Olympics floor hockey coach and in improving athlete/coach relationships, with the potential result of maximizing the personal growth, development and performance potential of athletes. The question posed was: do the coaches and athletes each have a theory of behaviour that is bound and defined by their respective cultures (the dominant culture and mental retardation subculture).

The subjects consisted of approximately thirty members of a Special Olympic floor hockey team ranging in age from nineteen to forty six years. Four members were female and twenty six were male. They were studied ethnographically utilizing the techniques of participant observation and informal interview in varied settings. The study was conducted from early January through mid April, 1988, and consisted of three phases: orientation to establish rapport and to allow time to blend into the sport setting; observation/conversation and the more focused phase consisting of informal directed interviews.

Data elicited revealed themes related to socialisation, stigma and sport culture. Socialisation and the dominant culture examined primary and secondary socialisation, social stock of knowledge and relevance structures. Impression management, front and back stage performances are strategies employed by the mentally retarded to manage tension. Sport culture is an avenue for the athletes to learn about the social stock of knowledge and the relevance structures of the dominant culture. Dealing with stigma is central in the daily lives of the mentally retarded and is a constant challenge because it is dependent on the interpretations of others...intersubjective reality. Passing and covering are two of the coping strategies utilized by the mentally retarded.

Myths concerning the athletes emerged gradually, revealing that coaches and athletes each have a theory of behaviour that is bound and defined by their respective cultures. Of significance to Special Olympics is the value of uncovering and understanding dominant cultural assumptions and biases in the context of interacting with a subculture such as the Special Olympic athletes, potentially resulting in more effective athlete/coach interaction.

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INTRODUCTION

Biography

"None of my early field experiences were in areas I consciously selected" (Agar, 1980, p. 23). My experience differs from Agar in that an interest in Adapted Physical Education was initiated in an undergraduate course in sport sociology when I researched the American Special Olympics. A number of years later I was involved in a proposal for fitness programming at Tranquille School, an institution for the mentally handicapped, in Kamloops, B.C.. I had never met a mentally disabled person and felt nervous about my ability to provide recreation services to a population I knew nothing about and, frankly, one of which I was afraid.

It took a long time to gain entry through the bureaucratic organization to the wards, a phenomenon I came to know as "gatekeeping". The experience was an introduction to the effects of "bureaucracy on client populations", as described in Bureaucracy and World View, (Handelman and Leyton, 1978) a part of the mental retardation service system which exercises a large percentage of control over the lives of the mentally retarded. I remember being puzzled and disturbed about comments such as "they can't go to the gym after dinner because they always go back to the ward and it would distress them to change their routine" I also remember my first attempts at "programming". The inappropriate preschool music I brought for the fitness class amused the staff who were assigned to help me - "they like rock

music better". In both cases, nobody asked the client. My work on the wards began simultaneously with my volunteer work with Special Olympics. The experiences contrasted. By day I welcomed wards of clients ushered in in street clothes (tight belts, pointed shoes) by staff who rewarded them for participating with pieces of candy. By night I helped to organize sport programs in school gyms and playing fields for mentally handicapped people who lived in the community, were appropriately dressed to participate and came and left the program with dignity intact. A strong desire to effect change (in the capacity of fitness opportunities) in that institution was cut short by the closure or deinstitutionalisation of the school. The closure of the institution was carried out quickly and I remember the hostility of some parents, staff (who depended on it for their livelihoods) and members of the community who feared what impact this would have on their lives. It seemed ironic that there was resistance "for the sake of the patient" in changing the routine from walking back to the wards from dinner to going to the gymnasium, yet a decision to move the same people out of the city and into a community elsewhere could be implemented very quickly with seemingly little debate on the repercussions. This theme of paternalism versus self-determination or segregation versus integration was to recur many times. I decided to pursue further training in the area of mental retardation not realising the import of the experience. In 1985, having spent a short time as a volunteer and employee with the provincial Special Olympic head office, I enrolled in graduate studies and was introduced to Ethnography, the method used in this study.

The study proposal was to discover the Special Olympic athletes' understanding of the coaches', teams' and players' goals, priorities and expectations. The rationale was that the results might be beneficial in improving the leadership qualities of the B.C. Special Olympics floor hockey coach and in improving athlete/coach relationships, consequently maximizing the personal growth, development and performance potential of athletes. The question posed was: do the coaches and athletes each have a theory of behaviour that is bound and defined by their respective cultures (the dominant culture and mental retardation subculture)?

My stated assumptions were that the athletes are capable of expressing knowledge about their experiences, feelings, perceptions and values, and that this knowledge is culturally shared within the group of mentally handicapped athletes. Similarly, I assumed that gaining this knowledge would enhance coach training sessions. I came to know that I was operating under many other culture bound assumptions later in the study.

The research design was ethnographic and the methodology proposed was ethnoscience which utilizes the techniques of participant observation and informal interview to elicit cultural knowledge. I had wanted to implement this methodology in order to replicate James Spradleys' work You Owe Yourself a Drunk or William Whytes' Street Corner Society both of which are rich in linguistic detail. However, problems surfaced with this

methodology because many of the athletes had minimal verbal skills. This happened despite having completed a pilot study with a Special Olympic Soccer team during the previous summer in which the team, with one exception, was verbal. I discovered by exposure to many other teams in game situations and the final tournament that each team is by nature individualistic.

The literature review begins with documentation of four decades of socio-political changes locally, nationally and internationally and such influence on the lives of the mentally retarded. The principle of Normalization and its' application through the movements of deinstitutionalisation and mainstreaming is outlined. Advocacy was key in championing these movements, initially as a support for parents, evolving into a device towards self-determinism for the mentally retarded. The objectives and philosophy of Special Olympics is presented followed by a discussion of the merits of such an organisation and the viewpoints of its detractors, advocates of integrated recreation. Neither viewpoint is that of the mentally retarded. The ethnographic literature reviewed presents an 'emic' or insider perspective of the mentally retarded on various topics such as stigma, coping strategies and competitive sport.

Conducting the study involved a description of the early experiences of fieldwork which include contact with the 'gatekeeper', obtaining informed consent and the ethical implications. The changing role of the ethnographer is examined. Tensions resulting from operating within two paradigms,

positivism and naturalism, is explained and the research design and settings are detailed. Methodological reflections analyze research design problems.

Socialisation and the dominant culture examines primary and secondary socialisation, social stock of knowledge and relevance structures. Impression management, front and back stage performances are strategies employed by the mentally retarded to manage tension. Sport culture is an avenue for the athletes to learn about the social stock of knowledge and relevance structures of the dominant culture.

Dealing with stigma is central in the daily lives of the mentally retarded and is a constant challenge because it is dependent on the interpretations of others...intersubjective reality. Passing and covering are two of the coping strategies utilized by the mentally retarded and when successful is termed Phantom Normalcy.

CHAPTER I

Literature Review

History

"Cultures are not scientific objects.. Culture and our views of it are produced historically and are actively contested...culture is contested, temporal and emergent" (Clifford and Marcus, 1986, p. 19).

Historical scribes recorded the attitudes and conditions experienced by the mentally handicapped. It is certain that no account was presented by the people suffering this condition. Tardicide was commonly practised and the mentally handicapped were assigned roles as court jesters, represented as the 'holy innocent' and committed to asylums throughout the centuries. In the decades just prior to World War Two, Social Darwinist movements resulted in stigmatic identity for the mentally handicapped. The ideology regarding mental retardation policy shifted following World War Two creating a transition in stigma connected with the mentally retarded due to an economic, technological and reproductive boom which resulted in a convergence of events that created a medical issue out of mental retardation rather than "...a concern with deviance..." (Evans, 1983, p. 47). These events included: an increase in the birth of the severely retarded offspring of the "highly educated and articulate population segments" (Evans, 1983, p. 47); the greater survival rate of these offspring due to improved medical

technology; elevated optimism and expanded resources caused by the prosperity of the times and a change in the attitude that retardation was passed on as a family trait to the theory that the causes were genetic or due to diseases such as encephalitis which was influenced by the increase in the birth of upper and middle class mentally retarded children.

By the 1950s, the mental retardation movement was mainly concerned with providing schools and services for the moderately and severely retarded child (Evans, 1983, p. 48). From 1950 to 1970 parent organisations were responsible for developing many direct services in local communities. By the 1980s, the mentally handicapped were becoming self advocates and lobbying change for themselves. What follows is a breakdown of major events decade by decade on an international, national, and local level as related to policies and principles concerning the mentally handicapped. The material is organized in this way to show the origin and evolution of these progressive events.

1950's

International (Denmark)

This decade produced the advent of parent organisations to improve living and education standards of the mentally handicapped. Denmark led the way with the formation of the National Association of Parents in 1951. They lobbied the federal government for improvements in the care system and succeeded in achieving parent representation at this level.

A principle that guided mental retardation policy for the next thirty years was developed in Denmark by Bank-Mikkelsen, head of the Danish Mental Retardation service. The principle: Normalization was defined by him as "...letting the mentally retarded obtain an existence as close to normal as possible " (Wolfensberger, 1972, p. 241).

Canada (Ontario)

In Canada, a parent formulated the first organisation for the mentally retarded in 1948 called the Parents Council for Retarded Children (Simmons, 1985). Volunteers provided the impetus behind this organisation. Parents sought each other out for support in understanding their situation. This 'support advocacy' inspired the parents to start their own schools where the public school system did not provide them and to extend their purpose in developing and operating a range of community services. In the same year, the Minister of Education, Mr. Dunlop, amalgamated the mentally retarded associations to form the Ontario Association for Retarded Children (OARC). In the early fifties, membership in OARC grew from 200 to 900 and professionals started to join (Simmons, 1985).

By 1955, the government provided 30% of the funds needed for the educational programs. Health Minister Dymonds supported the development of smaller mental hospitals as opposed to the large custodial style institutions. His ideology was to "...give the mentally retarded a hand up not a hand out" (Simmons, 1985, p. 169) and thus the initiation of the mental retardation policy

which was to provide care (in the way of institutions) for the mentally retarded where family and organisations could not supply it. But what was not anticipated was the demand exceeding the supply and the ensuing clash between an objecting government and continuing pressure for more services by the OARC (Simmons, 1985).

British Columbia (Vancouver)

Admission of mentally handicapped persons to institutions increased in the 1940s and 1950s (Adolph, 1987). In 1945, Woodlands school was opened and it included a teaching staff of five and a recreational therapist whose major goal was to "improve the socialisation of these subnormal children" (Adolph, 1978, p. 43). There grew a demand for admission for children under the age of six.

B.C. paralleled Ontario in the formation of an Association for the Mentally Retarded conceived and organised by a parent, Mrs. Leola Purdy. In 1952, the Association for the Advancement of Retarded Children was established as a response to the lack of educational opportunity for the severely retarded. One parent from the Vancouver area was personally familiar with the local history..."It just wasn't right that my daughter couldn't be taught by teachers in the school when I, and I'm not a teacher, could teach her at home." The Mental Defectives Act of 1953 allowed patients to be directly admitted to Woodlands rather than being first admitted to Essondale (a place for the mentally ill). In 1954, the Association received a grant from the government and

appointed an executive Director. In 1956 the Education Minister Ray Williston amended the Public Schools Act to allow school boards to fund schools for the mentally retarded. This political move was an acknowledgement by the government of its responsibility for educating the retarded. During the 1950's, the Association organized play programs, recreational programs in the school and, "...in 1957, a young peoples club was formed where square dancing, social evenings and games were participated in" (Vancouver-Richmond Association for the Mentally Retarded, 1977). But until 1959, the opportunities to participate in community activities were minimal due to an apparent concern for risk of injury by Recreation and Parks personnel. In 1959, Tranquille opened as an additional school for the mentally retarded. In the first few years of operation, over 500 Woodlands patients were transferred to Tranquille. In the same year, a pilot workshop was started in a classroom.

1960's

International (Sweden, U.S.A.)

In detailing the Principle of Normalization in 1969, Bengt Nirje, executive director of the Swedish Association for retarded children, stressed the importance of "...making available to all mentally retarded people patterns and conditions of everyday living which are as close as possible to their regular circumstances and ways of life of society..." (in Lakin, Bruininks, & Sigford, 1981, p.391).

In the United States during the Kennedy era, many changes occurred such as legislation providing rights for the handicapped and the formation in 1968 of the First Special Olympics (Sherrill, 1986, p.610).

Canada (Ontario)

In 1962, continued advocacy pressure exerted by the OARC succeeded in passing Bill 131, The Retarded Childrens Education Authorities Act, which provided 50% of the necessary funding for the operation of programs in the public schools systems. The Education Authority, as a result, became responsible for the administration of these programs. "This authority consisted of two representatives from local associations and four from the municipal government" (Simmons, 1985, p. 153).

The following year, 1963, the Roberts Report to Dymond emphasized the importance of preserving family and community services. But without advocacy pressure, the Canadian government would not have taken responsibility for the welfare of the mentally retarded. While Swedish governmental ideology supported the interests of the mentally handicapped, the Canadian government was more interested in political advancement and not in cooperating with community organisations (Simmons, 1985).

Such community organisations as the OAMR insisted on greater representation in mental retardation policy formulation. The result was a committee struck consisting of members from both government and the Ontario Association for the Mentally Retarded.

Through the impetus of the OAMR the medical nursing care model was replaced by a training model which was community based as opposed to that of custodial care.

British Columbia (Vancouver)

During the sixties, the local association for the mentally retarded was able to provide more services, effect some measure of attitude change in the general populace and support the mentally retarded into moving out more within the community. Vocational training expanded to 200 clients being served by the workshops. Contract work provided opportunities for all levels of skill. Workers were paid enough to supplement their government handicapped allowances. It still was difficult to change negative perceptions and attitudes towards the mentally handicapped, thus the attainment of the goal of community living and group home establishment was difficult. The first group home Garry House, was bitterly opposed by neighbours. The goal was to train residents to live on their own. The next step following Garry House was Arlington, a townhouse development which offered semi-independent living for 36 retarded adults.

Meanwhile, in 1969, the Vancouver Association for Retarded Children and the Kiwanis Club brought about change in school board policy which resulted in education becoming a public responsibility. As a result, the Public School Act was amended by Education Minister Peterson allowing the school boards to

provide accomodation for chapter run schools and gave the boards the right to establish and operate their own classes for the retarded.

Oakridge School opened on May 12, 1961 with 113 pupils. It was "Canadas' first school for the retarded to be built and administered under a public school authority" (Vancouver-Richmond Association for the Mentally Retarded, 1980, p. 20).

During the 60s recreation consisted of bowling, square dancing, swimming, camping and social clubs. Recreational activities available to the retarded expanded. In Vancouver there were two social clubs, at Sunset Memorial and Hastings East community centres. In 1962, the Board of Parks and Recreation expanded their summer playground program to include the mentally handicapped and it hired a qualified person to coordinate the activities. In B.C. Special Education grew between 1960 and 1970 by 389% (Winzer, 1987, p.10). At this time, recreation took a turn towards normalization with the formation, in 1971, of a floor hockey team by the Vancouver-Richmond Association. They played Woodlands, David Thompson High, Richmond, Coquitlam Mens club (Vancouver-Richmond Association, 1977).

1970's

Canada

There were some major international influences on policy development in Canada in the 1970s. The CELDIC report in 1970 was an international document describing childrens needs for comprehensive services in the areas of education, health welfare

and justice. Public Law 94-142, the "Education for all Handicapped Children Act", which was passed in the United States in 1975, guaranteed free appropriate education to handicapped children and youth. And International year of the child, in 1979, promoted the rights of the child such that "...any child physically, mentally or socially disadvantaged, shall receive the treatment, education and special services required by his state or situation" as stated in Goguen, 1980 (Csapo, 1980, p. 176).

In Canada from 1970-1980, government policy regarding mental retardation policy shifted from an emphasis on "...large institutions and custodial care towards smaller institutions, group homes and improved community services" (Simmons, 1985, p. 192). The reasons for the policy change were: the Walter B. Williston report; the development of a conceptual scheme termed Normalization; the establishment of policy ministries in the Ontario government and the creation of the Canada Assistance plan which was a method of cost sharing.

Scandal involving the injury and death of two inmates of institutions provided impetus for further reform. In 1971, a Toronto lawyer, Walter Williston, was appointed by the Ontario Minister of Health to investigate these incidents and make recommendations for reform. He recommended that large hospital institutions be phased down as quickly as possible and advised home visiting and counselling services. Mr. Williston also recommended that every mentally retarded child should be with his own family until he reaches adulthood.... Adults should have

access to community-based residences located in population centres and as close as possible to their homes.... Mentally retarded people should be able to draw on the generic educational, recreational, commercial and professional resources of the community in the same fashion as any other citizen (Simmons, 1985, p. 194).

Mental retardation policy in Ontario was further influenced by Wolfensbergers' appointment as visiting scholar at the National Institute on Mental Retardation at York University. His interest was in the systematic planning of service systems and implementation of the normalization principle and of citizen advocacy. As a "moral entrepreneur" (Simmons, 1985, p. 196) he influenced politicians, organisations, parents and volunteers in abandoning scaled down institutions and adopting community integration on all levels.

1980's

Vancouver

The local association in Vancouver during the decade of 1977 to 1987 was increasingly meeting the goals of normalization and integration. There are three integrated preschools. Vocational opportunities are available through a multitude of programs such as workshops, a social education program, vocational training, and work stations.

Examples of vocational opportunities are: Heroes, a generic food service training program formed in 1981; "work stations in industry", 1984, designed to take selected clients from workshops and into productive and profitable positions in places such as McDonalds, Lumberland, and the Canadian Red Cross.

Community living programs broadened by 1979 to include: the Community Apartment program, enabling clients to live in their own apartments in the community; a semi-independent living program entailing supervision from a live-in house manager; and adult group homes.

In accordance with the Normalization Principle, a gradual phasing out of direct recreation and leisure services was superseded since 1977 by advocacy and support services. Examples of these are counselling, education, and skills training in leisure including a one to one leisure friend service (Vancouver-Richmond Association for Mentally Handicapped People, 35th Annual Report, 1986-1987).

In summary, the lives of the mentally handicapped in Canada have been impacted over the past forty years by a multiplicity of forces unleashed by the economic, technological and reproductive explosion of postwar prosperity. Parents became empowered to advocate for educational and social equality by lobbying local and Federal government. Sweden and Denmark laid the

philosophical foundation for this Advocacy movement with the formulation of the Normalization Principle. In the United States, progressive legislative changes and Special Olympics were introduced by the Kennedys.

The subsequent sections detail the Normalization Principle and its implementation by means of deinstitutionalisation and mainstreaming; Advocacy (from Support to Self); and Recreation Integration, a depiction of segregated (Special Olympics) as opposed to integrated sport and recreation.

Normalization/Deinstitutionalisation

"Policy represents the 'broad plans, general principles, and priorities from which programs stem'..." according to Cronbach et al (1981) in (Vitello, 1985, P. 23). Ideology regarding mental retardation policy has shifted in the last few decades and is communicated in terms such as deinstitutionalisation, normalization and mainstreaming. Normalization is a principle that provided a common impetus to the movements of deinstitutionalisation and mainstreaming which paralleled each other in the 1970s' and which are interdependent. Mainstreaming without deinstitutionalisation would be an empty concept and deinstitutionalisation without mainstreaming would be nothing more than dumping the mentally retarded into the community (Vitello, 1985).

Wolfensberger (1972) reformulated the normalization principle from the Scandinavian definition to state "...the utilization of means which are as culturally normative as possible, in order to establish and/or maintain personal behaviour and characteristics which are as culturally normative as possible" (Wolfensberger, 1972, p. 28) The principle requires that we have higher expectations of the capabilities of mentally retarded persons. As long as we perceive retarded persons as helpless, passive and dependent, they are likely to exhibit these behaviours. Conversely, as expectations become more positive, gains in adaptive behaviour can be expected.

The normalization principle is integrative in that retarded persons belong in the community as stated by Gilhool, (1976) in (Vitello, 1985, P. 31). Normalization serves as the philosophical underpinning for the deinstitutionalisation movement. It advocates that disabled citizens are entitled to those legal and human rights that are provided other citizens. Deinstitutionalisation is concerned with the relocation of retarded people from large institutions to smaller community based residential facilities with the underlying assumption being that this community care will improve the quality of life for mentally retarded persons.

"Mainstreaming reflects a policy that is opposed to removing children from regular classrooms and segregating them in special classes" Sarason & Doris, (1979) in Vitello (1985, p. 48). The roots came from the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s in America at which time efforts were made to provide an equal educational opportunity for children from ethnic and racial minorities. Legislation had a significant impact on policies to integrate these children into regular schools.

At the local level the change in policy ideology, mentioned in the first paragraph (p.18), is illustrated in the Right of All Children legislation which supports appropriate education for even the most severely handicapped in more enabling environments leading to deinstitutionalisation. As a direct result of this legislation, students moved from institutions such as Woodlands and Jericho to more deinstitutionalized settings such as Oakridge

School. Today, the 25 students at Oakridge school are multihandicapped as opposed to the early years when the bulk of students were disabled to a much lesser degree (see p. 17). Many of the subjects in this study have been directly effected by this shift in ideology.

Advocacy

Advocacy is defined as "the act of advocating or pleading a cause" and an advocate is "one who pleads the cause of another or to speak or write in favour of" (Funk & Wagnall). Advocacy evolved from support advocacy in the fifties, to organized association advocacy in the sixties, culminating with self advocacy in the seventies.

Advocacy did not exist prior to 1950, at which time parents gathered together at the local level for support of each other. Thus, "support advocacy" (Neufeld, 1984, p. 111) generated the power and momentum of monumental change in mental retardation policies over the next thirty years. In 1958, parent groups organized the Canadian Association for the mentally retarded and eventually a network of provincial associations and local associations which were "to become the principal spawning ground for the advocacy programs of the 1970s" (Neufeld, 1984, p. 115).

It was through the advocacy role of voluntary agencies in the 1960s, such as the National Institute on Mental Retardation, that provided training in the "area of normalization and citizen advocacy" (Neufeld, 1984, p. 116). Though this was supported,

conflict arose from the fact that parents were afraid of losing control over the services that they had worked hard to build up.

In the seventies a number of coalitions of disabled persons, such as 'Peoples First', evolved out of a need for the disabled persons to counteract the overprotective approaches of the then prevailing advocacy groups. This paramount change in advocacy ideology resulted in recognition of a belief that all citizens have a right to live, work and play in the community with dignity.

Special Olympics

According to a coaches training manual, in Canada, physical educator Frank Hayden was responsible for the development of Special Olympics in the late 1960s. He received little or no support from the Canadian association of Mental retardation or from the government.

In B.C., Special Olympics was formed in 1980. Its objectives are: (a) to promote sport and recreation for people who are mentally handicapped, (b) to help instill and improve the self-esteem and physical awareness in, and enhance the capabilities of the individual who is mentally handicapped, (c) to encourage and facilitate fitness, physical recreation and competitive sport activities beneficial to those individuals who are mentally handicapped, (d) to promote through existing sport governing bodies and other agencies, qualified instruction and training, (e) to provide appropriate materials and documentary

resources to aid the development of Special Olympic programs, (f) to make available to those athletes who have achieved the appropriate standards the opportunities to participate in provincial, national and international competitions.

The Canadian Special Olympics developed a program model for implementation in provincial chapters and this model must reflect (a) ...the development , growth and maintenance of year round programs in fitness, recreation and sport for the mentally handicapped, (b) that these programs are open and available to all mentally handicapped people, (c) that the approach to programming is developmental in nature and directed towards providing a full continuum of services in the area of fitness recreation and sport for all participants, (d) that the Special Olympics movement in Canada is community based and relies upon the volunteer sector of our communities to operate the Special Olympics program. It is stated that the "most important aspect of this model is that it is developmental in nature and directed towards providing the mentally handicapped population with a full continuum of services in the field of fitness, recreation and sport."

Recreation Integration

There is tension between some parent groups and agencies such as Special Olympics because, essentially, parent groups support the normalization principle and Special Olympics violates that principle on the basis that it is a segregated program. According to Lord (1979), Special Olympics brings forth "... all the disadvantages of segregation ... which ... continue to affect

the individual. In many cases, people participate year after year with little or no improvement in skills or community involvement...and age inappropriate activities" (p. 115). John Lord (1979, p. 46) discusses the negatives of direct service provision and leader-directed programs which foster consumer dependence. He is critical of large numbers of people with disabilities congregating for leisure experiences. He says that large numbers in themselves make it virtually impossible to have any significant amount of skill upgrading. Small numbers and individual programming allow for more flexible planning while possibilities for using community resources are increased. Small numbers increase the likelihood that others will interact with participants who are disabled and in turn act as role models. Many segregated leisure experiences are inappropriate for personal development. Parental permission must be obtained and the program leaders use language and rewards which are more typical of 10 year olds. Many segregated experiences which are overprotective and have lowered expectations afford few opportunities for risk taking a necessary part of development, daily living and integration.

Hutchinson and Bridge (1988) state that the "...reality is, however, that the integration movement has only had a significant impact on the lives of a small number of people who are integrated in most aspects of their lives"(p.3). They say that it has little impact on the majority of people who remain segregated in their living, school and work environment and that this is due to prevailing attitudes of overprotection, labelling

and segregation; decades of providing services in segregated ways; people rejecting integration for all but the few highest functioning and misinterpretation of the principle of normalization to mean making people normal (Hutchinson, 1984, p. 45). Nichols (1988) concurs with this view adding that one "cannot legislate change in perceptions and attitudes about persons with disabilities" (p. 9).

Special Olympics is an agency that employs reverse integration. Lord and Hutchison (1979) speak out against reverse integration as distortions of integration and list disadvantages such as "hindering community integration; being used to justify an agency's commitment to integration; attracting other devalued groups" (p. 117). Another disadvantage is that a 50/50 ratio or dominance of disabled persons is unlike the ratio in society and is therefore unrealistic for both disabled and nondisabled individuals; such programs often attract other devalued groups, thus further hindering community integration. Reverse integration is often used to justify an agency's commitment to integration, the agency and community thus avoiding their responsibility for providing support services for integration.

Lord (1979) talks about reverse integration advantages as: advocates for persons with disabilities can maintain control over program content and approach; and social interaction occurs first in a safe setting for the individual where supports are available.

The challenge is to discover in each situation the delicate balance between providing advocacy and support and allowing the dignity of risk necessary for each person to develop. Overall, the trend is away from formal services and towards community involvement where members are not "consumers of service, but rather are citizens" (McKnight, 1985, p.15).

Ethnography and Mental Retardation

In the past twenty years, research literature on mental retardation has emerged adopting an approach which recognises the mentally handicapped person's point of view. Such ethnographic work began in 1967 with the research of R.B. Edgerton in the stigma experienced by mentally disabled persons recently released from institutional life. His subjects represented the upper stratum of the hospitals' mildly retarded patients with regard to their IQs, their demonstrated social competence and emotional stability. Interviews and participant observation were the techniques employed.

The emphasis, initially, was on friendly and interested conversational approach and an encouragement to speak about anything they liked. Following this, an attempt was made to maintain an interview schedule which was loosely structured. Interviewers were instructed to lead the patient into description of certain areas of interest, by nondirective questioning (Edgerton, 1967).

Areas of interest focused on seven topics such as: "...where and how the ex-patient lived, making a living, relations with others in the community, sex and marriage and children, their perception and presentation of themselves, and their practical problems in maintaining themselves in the community" (Edgerton, 1967, p. 17). As much participant observation as possible included trips to recreation areas, grocery shopping, sight seeing, social visits in their homes and restaurants.

Notes were never taken in the presence of the ex-patients and some sessions were tape recorded. Friends, relatives, neighbours, and employers were also interviewed. Vignettes and sketches were used as well. The vignettes described those about whom there was a mass of detailed knowledge sufficient "to permit an extensive and objective account of their lives" (Edgerton, 1967, p. 19). They discovered that former patients employed strategies to evade the stigma they experienced. These strategies were passing, covering and locating "benefactors" or normal people to help them in their everyday life.

In the The Cloak of Competence: After Two Decades, Edgerton (1984) restudied the above group of people twenty years later using ethnographic techniques. These people were visited at their homes, restaurants, on errands, shopping trips and other everyday activities. The purpose was to examine the personal and social resources for coping with chronic or acute stress as they aged. They discovered that the subjects were less dependent on "benefactors" and enjoyed life with optimism and confidence.

Edgerton has continued to pursue this mode of research in mental retardation and in 1984 published an article called The Participant-Observer Approach to Research in Mental Retardation outlining the advantages and disadvantages of this form of research. He acknowledges such drawbacks to participant observation as expense and time consumption. However, the advantages of learning how people "actually behave in a variety of contexts and to grasp the meaning these activities have for

them" (Edgerton, 1984, p. 500) outweigh the disadvantages. Edgerton maintains that it is vital to observe retarded persons in everyday life as it naturally occurs as often and in as many settings as possible rather than simply talking about their lives with them. The reason being is that what they say they do and what they actually do often bears little resemblance. And further, this is because "answering the questions of a parent, social worker, or some other person of authority frequently has more to do with attempting to please or placate that person than it does reality"(p.500). Besides, what is said to a stranger is different, often, than what is said to someone familiar. Direct questioning does not work because it invites deception and imposes the questioner's sense of what is important rather than what the individual purports to be of importance. This form of research demands time and rapport. An example is cited of a man whose self portrayal of a sexual sophisticate "masked complete ignorance of sexual behaviour."

Settings are significant as well. Any setting will have its culture: institutional culture stresses productivity whereas the client subculture emphasizes sociability, harmony and the maintenance of self esteem. The "clients culture tolerates and encourages ...fantasy productions, some of which would be considered bizarre by others, including the workshop staff. These "normalcy fabrications" ...serve to enhance self esteem and relieve boredom." This was a dominant feature of Special Olympic athletes. Edgerton stresses, as a final point, the emphasis of this methodology of "seeing things through their eyes" in order

to elicit the meaning life holds for them (Edgerton, 1984).

With the national policy of deinstitutionalisation, the release of many retarded people into the community created issues of concern revolving around community adaptation. Lives in Process (Edgerton, 1984), a collection of articles written by the Socio-Behavioural Group at UCLA examines employment, friendship, speech etiquette, sheltered workshops, stigma and self perspectives using multiple methods of interviews, observations, and quasi-experiments although the foundation of the approach is ethnographic.

Two articles from Lives in Process that draw from ethnographic data are Kaufman's (1984) Friendship, Coping Systems and Community Adjustment of Mildly Retarded Adults and Self Perspectives on Being Handicapped: Stigma and Adjustment by Andrea Zetlin and Jim Turner (1984). The former identifies four types of friendship patterns among young adults and shows the relationship of each to social adjustment. Her study covers 18 months, a period that allowed her to "discuss the process of movement from one type of adjustment to another". Zetlin and Turner (1984) examined the experience of stigma and the strategies employed in coping with this awareness. Again, the study took place over an 18 month period, of prime importance, as rapport developed over time alters the portrayal offered to the researchers. A person initially cast as a "denier" later revealed himself to be a "qualifier". In all of these studies, time is invaluable in examining people who "invoke self

protective adaptive actions to conceal 'spoiled' identity" (Zetlin and Turner, 1984, p. 118). Only when the researcher is perceived as nonthreatening is an open view permitted. In Lives in Process the focus is on studying the lives of retarded people in their entirety and the conclusion is that these people have complex and changing lives.

In 1986, Edgerton published an article on Alcohol and Drug Use by Mentally Retarded Adults. A concern with adverse effect of alcohol and drug use on community adaptation was the impetus for the study. Data was collected from four samples of retarded adults utilizing extensive ethnographic research over the course of several years. The samples were: candidates for normalization; independently living adults; inner city blacks and deinstitutionalised adults. The subjects were seen in various settings such as work, transportation, leisure, shopping trips, visits to friends etc. Conversations covered topics on aspects of work, self maintenance in everyday activities, family relationships, leisure, behaviour in public places, communicative competence, involvement with service delivery system and fantasy as well as alcohol and drug usage. Researchers also interviewed friends, relatives, and employers about alcohol and drug use of the subjects.

Edgerton learned that most of these people were aware that being labelled "mentally retarded" was personally discrediting. The conditions of their lives were painful in that they experienced social and parental rejection, lived in substandard

housing, had limited access to transportation and incomes and suffered anxiety, depression and low self esteem. However, drugs and alcohol were rarely abused because some of the subjects reported they had watched it destroy people who were close to them and they wanted to avoid this.

Dudleys' ethnography Living with Stigma (1983) explores the essence of stigma in all facets of the mentally handicapped person's life using a constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. Twenty seven subjects for the study were drawn from four agencies for the mentally handicapped of mild and moderate retardation who lived either with their parents or in a group home. Additional criteria was a willingness to become involved in the study and the ability to communicate subjective material as well as factual information. Data was collected on ten forms that served to organize the data for the purpose of analysis and preservation in natural form. A journal of observations and a journal of impressions recorded initial contacts and distinguished between what actually happened and what was observed. Another form recorded more focused observations "...in order to direct researchers' attention to stigma-promoting processes" (Dudley, 1984, p. 109). Each participant was allotted an individual packet of forms that organized data within six topical areas to record observations and conversations.

The role and purpose of the researchers was explained to the participant at the beginning of the study. The researchers "...gradually moved into their activities as participants to the

extent that this helped them become inconspicuous and accepted as insiders" (Dudley, 1984, p.110). The participants were told that the informal interviews were conversations and they could talk freely about anything they wanted to, although the researchers attempted to direct the participants into talking about the information areas of the study.

The study was divided into three phases. The initial orientation phase consisted of nonintrusive observations of daily routine activities, made in the first two to four contacts. Phase two was the focused observation period in which researchers visited at varied times and situations in order to observe a sampling of four kinds of activities such as staff/participant i.e. meals, participant/participant, i.e. informal conversations, participant/community i.e. shopping and staff/staff i.e. staff meetings. The third phase was informal conversation which focused on stigma.

Dudley concluded overall that the research participants are "captives" of a "mentally retarded world" that is segregated from the mainstream; that they are very conscious of their stigmatic status; that there are a number and variety of ways that stigma is promoted and that the participants respond to this by being defenseless or actively resisting stigma. Passing as a strategy was also examined.

Edgerton's and Dudley's studies focused on those who were well able to communicate their situations - their subjects were selected. In this thesis, the team was viewed as a whole. There was a greater range of verbal representation that may not make sense on our terms but extends the boundaries of expression from those who are fluent to those with minimal articulation.

Dudley (1985) conducted an ethnographic study The Missing link in Evaluating Sheltered Workshop Programs: The Clients' Input. Sixteen clients in a sheltered workshop were consulted about their work roles and program. Participant observation and in-depth interviewing methods were employed. The 16 clients were chosen based on their: representativeness of the total workshop client population in gender, race and socioeconomic status, I.Q score and period of time as clients of the program; their ability to communicate their views and perceptions and their willingness to participate in the study. Most of the clients were indifferent to pursuing outside employment and spent most of their time talking about nonwork concerns i.e. relationships and most of the clients denied having a disability. It became apparent that the clients needed help "...in understanding the goals and functions of a workshop..." and also of importance is the need to understand "...why they need to disavow particular labels as well as to discover their preferred ways of describing their disabilities" (p. 239). The elicitation of the clients perceptions, interests and preoccupations may indirectly relate to work roles. Dudley concluded that the views and perceptions of clients who are labeled mentally retarded can be "both

relevant and useful in evaluating a sheltered workshop programs' effectiveness" (p. 239).

In Meaning in Life as Experienced by Persons Labeled Retarded in a Group Home, Heshusius (1981) ethnographically studied eight mentally retarded people who lived in a group home and worked in a sheltered workshop. The time period was eight months and the purpose was to investigate some of the ways that these people experienced meaning in day-to-day living (Heshusius, 1981). In other words, 'how do they make sense of their lives?' One of the outstanding differences between this study and many of the other ethnographic inquiries was attention to "presentation of self". The researcher's consciousness of self was documented and monitored in field notes and in presentation of his role to staff and subjects. Heshusius gives a finely detailed account of methodology - grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) - generation of categories and their properties, theoretical sampling, saturation and explanation of patterns; validity and reliability procedures. Themes that emerged can be categorized as follows (Heshusius documents the subjects own words under these thematic titles. She does not impose her own analysis); independence: "we badly want to be more independent than we can be here"(p.136); marriage: "if our present boy/girl friend leaves, we will take another one, for it is important to keep believing that we, too, can marry and live on our own one day, and do the things we want to do just as everyone else"(p.138); physical/sexual involvement, having children and boy/girl relationships: "we do often understand quite a bit about other

persons' behaviour and their situations"(p.138); interpersonal understanding and intrapersonal understanding: "we know that we are in a place for the "retarded" and we know there are things we cannot do (such as reading, writing, cooking good things and math) but that does not make us retarded"(p.138). Ethnographic studies related to sport have also been conducted. Levine and Langness (1983) and Vaz (1982) examine various aspects of coach/athlete relationships.

Levine and Langness (1983) conducted an ethnographic study Context, Ability and Performance: Comparison of Competitive Athletics Among Mildly Retarded and Nonretarded Adults which studied mildly mentally retarded and nonretarded adults performance in competitive athletics, specifically basketball. The team of mentally retarded players was one "...of a large number of private nonprofit organizations in the Los Angeles area organized by parents of retarded adults" (p.529). The other team consisted of seven members of the Southern California Spirit basketball team. Researchers observed all aspects of the game but focused on topics such as "how, and by whom, game strategy was planned and carried out; knowledge and use of rules by team members; arguments with officials and verbal defense of a position; emotional expression of team members before, during, and after play; on court "competency"; and the social and physical conditions under which play occurred" (p. 529).

They discovered that retarded adults "were confronted with simplified rules, emotional (rather than primarily strategic) coaching, lax officiating, and an altered social context within which competition occurred. They played with more anxiety and a lower level of strategic play than nonretarded players" (p. 537). The attitudes towards winning differed for nonretarded and retarded players. Winning was an explicit part of the game for the nonretarded. "For the retarded players self esteem, the spirit of competition and participation, and a normalizing experience were the often-stated purposes"(p. 537). The emphasis of the coaches was on "feeling better" or being "a real human being". "Really" winning, however, was of the utmost importance to retarded players.

Levine and Langness (1983) concluded that "...normalised environments within which retarded adults play can actually deny them an opportunity for 'normal' play, placing their self-esteem and competence 'center stage,'...and contributing to an increase in individual anxiety, thus providing another setting that demands and reinforces 'retarded' behaviour" (p. 538). Basically, competition should not be altered under most circumstances for retarded players. Special olympic athletes were encouraged by coaches to "have some fun out there" and to "remember, good sportsmanship" yet this seemed incongruent with the hype that preceded the year end provincial tournament and the medals and formality of the event. The team all wanted the gold.

Another ethnographic study was conducted in a sport setting and showed a disparity between what coaches' views, opinions and goals were and what young hockey players' perspectives on 'what the game was about'. Vaz (1982) in The Professionalisation of Young Hockey Players studied one minor league of hockey players aged seven to eighteen (average age was twelve) over the winter season of 1969/1970. He recorded observational, conversational and interview data as well as distributing 1915 anonymous questionnaires to boys registered in minor hockey league. Vaz (1982) "...tried to penetrate the official pronouncements on what the game was about." He attempted to look beneath the surface of the "...customar(y) emphas(sis) (on) the importance of fun and recreation, the teaching of sportsmanship, and concern for the growth and moral development of youngsters" (p. 2). He stressed that "since participants in a social situation always act according to the meaning the situation has for them, any accurate picture and understanding of social behaviour requires an examination of the participants' perspectives and their interpretations of the action" (Vaz, 1982, p. 2). Vaz (1982) showed that although young players were expected to respect the rules of the game, they are given no formal instruction in obeying rules although they do receive informal instruction in violating rules. Vaz (1982) presents the athletes' perspectives about hockey regarding winning, sportsmanship, socialisation, rules, and the subculture of violence to list a few.

SUMMARY

The literature reviewed presents the people labelled mentally retarded in the light of past historical conditions and recent monumental changes due to a convergence of social and political conditions which have resulted in educational, legal, vocational, social and recreational advancements.

Literature covering the socio-political scene is presented in counterpoint covering the international, national and local scenes. Nirje in Sweden, Bank-Mikkelsen in Denmark and Wolfensberger in North America pioneered the principle of normalization and set out guidelines for its' application and implementation through the movements of Deinstitutionalisation and Mainstreaming. Simmons (1985) described national political resistance to the normalization principle while local publication by an Association for the Mentally Retarded documented the grass roots lobbying for improved services and catalogued those programs effected.

The role of advocacy has changed over the four decades it has taken to implement the normalization principle. The shift from support advocacy to organised advocacy, to self advocacy reflects the ideological shift from paternalism towards self determinism.

Such philosophical tensions are played out in arenas such as sport where advocates of community integration debate with segregated, direct service oriented agencies over the issues of paternalism (segregation) and self determinism (integration).

Neither viewpoint is that of the mentally retarded. Ethnographic literature reveals the value of the 'emic' or insider perspective. In studying the lives of the people labelled mentally retarded this methodology enables their point of view to be presented. The ethnographic studies reviewed mainly utilized the techniques of informal interview and participant observation over a lengthy period of time in many different settings. While this method is very time consuming and expensive, the knowledge gained from observing true behaviour and subsequent understanding of the meaning of observed behaviour is invaluable.

CHAPTER II

Conducting the Study

Typically, service agencies for the mentally retarded are operated by nonretarded people (An exception is self-advocate groups like Peoples' Choice), who serve as 'gatekeepers': "...actors with control over key resources and avenues of opportunity" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p.38). Approval to conduct the study had to be obtained from the gatekeepers - Special Olympic head office.

The role of ethnographer is not fixed, rather it is dynamic and complex. This complexity results from the ensuing dilemma of conflicting obligations between the ethnographer and athlete/coach, as described on page 42 and 43.

Utilizing an ethnographic research design proved to be effective but evoked tension in the ethnographer with positivist training. Mention is made of the effects on the researcher from this tension between positivism vs. naturalism. Settings in which the study takes place are described followed by methodological reflections.

The Gatekeeper

A proposal was made to B.C. Special Olympics outlining the study. Upon approval, the coach of the Vancouver Floor hockey team was contacted to request permission to participate on his team in the dual roles of volunteer coach and researcher. He was very receptive. Application was made to the UBC ethics committee to acquire approval of the study and once this was attained, the Vancouver Floor Hockey athletes were contacted by letter which outlined the study and requested participation. One parent called me and asked what observing and informal interviewing meant "how many people will be traipsing in?" A telephone call followed the letter to determine interest.

Informed Consent

Informed consent was a delicate issue within the study. When a person is nonverbal and mentally handicapped, how can the researcher be sure that the consent given is informed? All of the athletes were of legal age and therefore consenting adults. Some lived on their own, some in group homes and others with parents. There were many questions to be considered. How much of the explanation that I gave of the study did the athletes understand? Did they really know what they were consenting to? Were they trying to please? Who should give permission to participate - the athletes themselves, their parents (even though the athlete was an adult), their group home caretaker, their foster parent, social worker etc.? What rights do the mentally retarded have? Are they vulnerable and how much should they be

protected and who should provide this protection? According to Neufeld (1984) "The message they are sending is that they wish to speak for themselves and make their own decisions" (p117). But self advocacy is a new concept for the mentally disabled and paternalism and overprotective attitudes are deeply rooted.

Role of the Ethnographer

The role of the ethnographer is described by Agar (1980, p. 41) as an arrogant enterprise:

In a short period of time, an ethnographer moves in among a group of strangers to study and describe their beliefs, document their social life, write about their subsistence strategies and generally explore the territory right down to their recipes for the evening meal...At best, an ethnographer can only be partial.

Agar (1980) says that the group members will assign a "social category" to the ethnographer and that what they think he wants to learn and their decisions on what he is told "...will derive partly from their sense of who he or she is" (p. 41). I felt pressured and consumed by a need to manage these impressions. I had introduced my study to the coaches as focusing on "athlete/coach interaction" and I was concerned about appearing to take a critical view of the coaches or that they might see me as a "spy" working for Special Olympics. At the same time, I did not want this fear to influence my observations.

I wanted to be objective and see whatever was there, not ignore something that might be unpopular to document. At the same time, I did not want the athletes to screen information from me because of a lack of trust. Olesen and Whittaker (1968) in The Silent Dialogue describe a similar dilemma where "...the researcher is caught between conflicting obligations-one, being friendly toward the students and the other, showing respect for the lecturer. On the other hand, the researcher is involved with managing the lecturer's comfort while, at the same time, managing the stance of impassive onlooker..."(p.27).

When I began my fieldwork with a Special Olympic floor hockey team I introduced myself as a researcher and coach, but I was never questioned about my role as researcher despite the presence of my fieldnote pad and occasionally my tape recorder. I was consistently expected to play the role of the coach and friend in that I was sought out to solve athletic and personal problems. Also, when I stood in the middle of the gymnasium and initiated warmup, they complied without question! At the end of the season, along with the "official" coaches, I received a plaque with my name engraved upon it, confirmation of my coaching status. In the gymnasium, I observed, participated with and questioned athletes with regard to their lives as Special Olympians. After practises, occasionally I had coffee with them or drove them home allowing more personal and detailed information on their lives. And as I became aware of the vulnerable complexity in which some lived, my role threatened to

become that of advocate. At times, I found myself unable to see the familiar; I caught myself (or others caught me) making assumptions based on my own experiences and background; and I attempted to "make sense" of their culture because of discomfort with that which did not hold meaning for me personally. In effect it was a kind of culture shock. I constantly agonized over "adequate elicitation" of data. Was I asking enough questions, the right kind and of the right people? I struggled with the quantitative notions of representation and generalisability and reliability (many responses were untrue - and I came to realize that this in itself was of consequence). I felt "the positivist over my shoulder" (Whittaker, 1986, p.54).

RESEARCH DESIGN

The greatest struggle for me as a researcher was in operating under two opposing paradigms: positivism vs. naturalism, for I could not completely dispel past biases. Kuhn (1970) describes the need to recognise the influence of the researchers background and training.

First, at least in order of presentation, is the insufficiency of methodological directives, by themselves, to dictate a unique substantive conclusion to many sorts of scientific questions. Instructed to examine electrical or chemical phenomena, the man who is ignorant of these fields but who knows what it is to be scientific may legitimately reach any one of a number of incompatible conclusions. Among those legitimate possibilities, the particular conclusions he does arrive at are probably determined by his prior experience in other fields, by the accidents of his investigation, and by his own individual makeup (Kuhn, 1970, p.3).

My background and training as a physical educator created problems in moving from a hypothesis testing orientation to a hypothesis generating orientation in ethnography. To let go of the objective, accurate, systematic, predictable, structured approach of the positivist scientist and adopt the flexible, reflexive, interactive, unstructured, subjective approach of the

ethnographer created a conflict within me. As Peter Berger suggests in the Sociological Inquirer, "Like love, a concentration on technique is likely to lead to impotence". The choice of utilizing an ethnographic research design was appropriate, but my insecurity with minimal design structure and an assumption that I could replicate the work of Spradley in uncovering subcultural meanings through the richness of language using ethnoscience methods proved to be too rigorous with this particular culture for reasons which will be elaborated upon later.

Ethnoscience is a general ethnographic method which maintains the assumptions that culture is shaped in the mind, that culture is knowledge. It uses the techniques of participant observation and informal interview to elicit cultural knowledge. Such knowledge is listed, sorted and folk terms are interpreted.

The research design is ethnographic and therefore naturalistic. The athletes were studied in natural sport settings (games, practises and competitions) holistically (in relation to other aspects of the situation i.e. officials, other athletes, parents). The basis for this design was the work of Edgerton (1967, 1984) and Dudley (1978) as well as Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and Levine and Langness (1983), all of whom have used ethnographic techniques of participant observation and informal interview to gain cultural knowledge of the mentally handicapped. The theoretical groundwork is symbolic

interactionism (Blumer, 1969), which includes such concepts and premises as: meaning or significance, the intersubjective nature of reality, the self as subject and object and as a product of social process, and the interpretation of events, persons, and self through interaction with others as a force for maintaining and altering reality (Estroff, 1981). These terms will be detailed in chapter four.

THREE PHASES

The study is composed of three phases: orientation to establish rapport and to allow time to "blend into" the sport setting (approx. 3 weeks duration); observation/conversation which took place during the biweekly practises and games and was approximately one month in length; and a more focused phase consisting of informal directed interviews with those athletes who were verbal (see question outline) and informal conversations with different groups of athletes at McDonalds restaurant close to the community centre. (one month in length - see ethnoscience model Appendix E)

The three phases covered a period of three months from January 5, 1988 to April 15th, 1988 and took place at the Mount Pleasant community centre, Simon Fraser School gymnasium and McDonalds Restaurant on Cambie and Brittania Community Centre (season end provincial tournament).

Phase One

Orientation

On the first night of the floor hockey season, the researcher was introduced as a graduate student and volunteer coach by one of the head coaches. The researcher then explained the purpose of the study including kinds of information that would be sought; the general intent of the study; the importance of confidentiality and the frequency of contact and length of the study. The consent forms were gone over with the group. Parental consent and individual consent were described and emphasized. It was stressed that the athletes could choose to opt out of the study at any time.

Some examples of responses follow. One athlete told me he knew what a study was and had been in studies before and cited the UBC fitness testing a few years prior. Another athlete said he knew what a study was. Yet another said he knew what studies were and had been in studies before "I got thoughts on why (he named a Canuck player) got a suspension". Another said "I was in provincial games". An athlete asked "Is it a test?" Another question posed by an athlete was "What's a study?" One fellow responded (with alcohol on his breath) "I had to fire three people this week because they were drinking and sloughing off behind my back." He told me he worked at Beaver Lumber and might not be able to bring the consent form back because he had to work. Someone else told me that her group home worker would get the form; several other athletes did not speak and so I had no

idea what they understood. I did not feel comfortable about that. A very young looking athlete giggled and nodded and pressed up against me appearing to have no understanding of what I was trying to convey, or any interest for that matter. The coaches were told that the focus of the study was on athlete perceptions of goals, priorities and expectations in floor hockey.

I proposed to blend into the sport setting by playing the role of a coach rather than that of a researcher. I planned to interact with the team in a similar fashion as the other coaches.

Phase Two

Observation / Conversation

This phase consisted of observation/conversation. My role as coach was to assist in the practises, but I had a note pad to record my observations and conversations in my briefcase, close at hand. The question framework that I had designed in my proposal was occasionally used to elicit information, i.e. I would ask questions when the athletes were sitting on the bench such as "what position do you play?"

Phase Three

Focused Observation / Informal Interview

This stage of the study was focused observation and informal interview. The question framework (see Appendix C) was utilized during the interviews only as a guide. Athletes ignored some

questions or led the interview in different directions. But reflexivity is one of the advantages of ethnographic interviewing. These interviews took place on a hallway bench away from the gymnasium and other people. I approached athletes by asking if it was convenient for me to talk to them about their ideas and feelings regarding floor hockey. Often they would reply by saying that they would in a few minutes or after the second period, for example.

Settings

The Community Centre

The Vancouver Floor Hockey team practises at Mount Pleasant Community Centre. It has been the home of the team for eight years. It is easily accessible by bus and car. Most of the athletes live in Vancouver, but some travel from Burnaby and Richmond to play. The athletes travel by bus, car pool, walking, one drives himself and parents drive as well. The athletes travel alone or with friends.

The Teams

The team is composed of approximately thirty players, twenty four consistently turn out to practises. They range in age from 19 years old to 46. Of the thirty players, four are female. Initially, the team practised as one unit but by the beginning of February, an informal assessment by the coaches determined that the team should be divided in two, based on skill level. The "B" team or "Drillers" would carry the highest skill level athletes and practise on Tuesday nights at Mount Pleasant community centre. This team formally comprised three women and eight men. The "C" team or "Blasters" would practise on Monday nights at the school adjacent to the community centre (Simon Fraser School) and it consisted of one woman and twelve men (see practise and game schedule, Appendix B). About six players attended practises sporadically and did not participate in the provincial tournament at the end of the season.

The Coaches

The coaches numbered from four to six and varied from week to week. One coach managed the Drillers and the other head coach the Blasters. The team manager was one of the parents and looked after details such as equipment, schedules etc. and served as liaison, often, between athletes and coaches. She was known as "mom".

Practise Structure

The practise times were scheduled for five to seven o'clock on Tuesdays and seven to eight o'clock on Mondays. The athletes were generally on time and knew the routine. They did not wait for instructions but went to the equipment room and chose basketballs, volleyballs or soccer balls to busy themselves until Barb, the equipment manager arrived and, at that point, whoever was available helped her bring the bags of equipment in. Generally, the coaches arrived one by one and were approached for advice, to chat with, or ask questions with regard to future games. Usually, the gymnasium was free by practise time, although a fitness class was always waiting outside the doors to come in after practise.

I observed the structure of the practise to be free time which was self organized into: shooting baskets; teasing - chasing people around; bouncing a ball around and around the gymnasium; and mini soccer game. As the coaches and volunteers arrived, they would join into whatever the athletes were doing.

The volunteers always allowed the athletes to make these choices. There was a natural and appropriate breakdown of free choice matching abilities and personalities i.e. the best players joined in soccer; the flirtatious and very social chased other people around; the solitary players like Sam and Greg bounced the ball around and around the gymnasium by themselves, apparently desiring no interaction or at least not seeking it (Sam is autistic so this generally is the nature of his interaction even on the floor during practises and games). Shooting baskets was generally done with another person (either volunteer or another athlete) entailing a different kind of exchange with the focus on improving individual skills or showing off techniques i.e. more talking and scoring and concentration on technique. With the fast moving soccer game, the focus was on scoring. Bouncing the ball around the gymnasium allowed one to keep attention focused away from oneself because they were engaged in meaningful activity but didn't have to interact. Teasing activities were socially meaningful and generally involved one sex going after the other. I wondered about this in the sense that individuals came to floor hockey motivated by different reasons or desires: those who wanted to be with people for social reasons; those who wanted to compete and loved the sport; those who simply wanted a place to go "To stay off the street" (see Appendix D - p. 173). For instance, why would Sam come to floor hockey - he is autistic

and seems to not be involved with anybody. He gets there on his own and is on time. Why would Larry come only to complain "I don't want to".

The practise then took the form of a warm up which was led by different volunteers each week and included stretching and running. Some of the athletes could not do the exercises, became dizzy "I can't do that" (standing on one foot) or did them extremely well "I'm double jointed". Many athletes did not appear to understand how to do some of the movements and had to be guided through the movements and constantly told to pay attention and not fool around.

Then generally, there would be a huddle and the head coach would explain what was going to transpire that evening. She was always extremely well organized and had a typed practise plan. She spoke normally and was always calm and gentle and well respected by the athletes - easily approachable. The practise would consist of drills and a scrimmage interspersed with time to get a drink of water. At the end of the practise the athletes would be led in a "cool down" followed by a "huddle" in which the athletes would form a circle in the middle of the gymnasium surrounding the coach to listen to any parting advice before they left for home.

Games

Games were played with normal teams such as the Jewish Community Centre, Super Valu, Mount Pleasant Community Centre Staff and other Special Olympic teams. In two cases athletes arranged games with their work mates (Super Valu). Scores were not recorded because all of the games were for fun. However, all of the scores were close. (see Appendix B for practise and game schedule) According to the coach, the games "...are basically a training ground for the tournament at the end of the season."

McDonalds Restaurant

Mount Pleasant Community Centre is within a few blocks of McDonalds. After the practises or games, this is where I would go with some of the athletes for a drink.

Tournament

Brittania community centre (within a few miles of Mount Pleasant) was the site of the Special Olympic provincial floor hockey tournament April 8, to April 10. The athletes spent two nights at the centre along with all the other athletes from the different regions in B.C. Besides playing games, optional activities included a recreational swim, skating, weight lifting, videos and pancake breakfast. At the conclusion of the tournament, a banquet, awards and entertainment the 'Suspenders' ensued.

Pizza Hut

A team windup dinner was held at the Pizza Hut restaurant at the end of the season. Athletes discussed the tournament, past competitions (drawing strategies on napkins) and gossip. Plaques with team pictures were given, in appreciation, to the coaches and manager.

Methodological Reflections

In this study, I tried to view the team as a whole, allowing for a greater range of verbal representation that extends the boundaries of expression from those who are fluent to those with minimal or no articulation. Initially, an ethnoscience model was proposed (see Appendix E) supported by the work of Spradley (1980). I based my choice of this model on the assumption that there would be, as in Spradley's You owe yourself a Drunk (1970) or Whyte's Street Corner Society (1955), a language unique to the mentally retarded complete with cover terms and componential analysis. But this did not prove viable due to the language limitations of the athletes and the model itself was limiting in that I focused more on language than observation. I discovered that what was most important to the athletes was to sound like the coaches, not maintain an exclusive semantic world.

Biklen and Moseley (1988) wrote an article titled Are you Retarded? "No I'm Catholic": Qualitative Methods in the Study of

people with Severe Handicaps which was published after my research. Had this article preceded my study, it would have influenced the way in which I asked questions, amongst other things.

They state that the

...researcher's major concern is language. The dependence of the qualitative researcher on language, and the image of the ideal informant as an articulate person (i.e. Doc in Whyte, 1955) may call for some creative tactics in the face of the informant who cannot verbally inform (p.161).

The study outlines modifications for informants whose use of language is limited such as: breaking down questions; rethinking the use of small talk in developing rapport as it is based "...on an assumption of mutual understanding and familiarity with typical patterns of communication" (Biklen and Moseley, 1988, p. 157); consulting the informant as to where the interviews should be conducted and observing over a period of time in varied settings.

What I discovered, over time, is that when a group of people are stigmatized, language mechanisms are adaptive. Sabsay and Kernan (1981) report a reliance on others rather than themselves. "That is, rather than being concerned with adequate communicative

design, mildly retarded speakers apparently rely on their interlocuters to seek the information they need to understand or disambiguate the speakers messages and to provide the overall structure for such things as narratives" (Sabaay & Kernan, 1979, p. 293). They point out that "...the mildly retarded almost never ask questions, initiate repair, or use other linguistic means of resolving their own confusion with others' utterances..."

(p.292). I observed that there were times when athletes would sit on the bench for a considerable period during the game, but would never challenge the coach, complain or ask questions about what they were doing. For instance, "what position do you play?" "Beats me" or "whatever the coach tells me". Another example is when I asked an athlete "What is sportsmanship?" He replied "Captain". I restated "I mean, what is a good sport?" He said "I should know it. Its a good workout. Terry's a good goalie. Think about your position. We had a good game. We played a really hard game" (see Appendix D - p. 170).

This leads to another point: subjects may be inclined to please the interviewer because they have very close relationships with group home or other human service system staff and are used to doing or saying what is acceptable to them (Biklen & Moseley, 1988). Athletes would say "the bosses have rights to tell us" referring to the coaches.

Another problem is that "...most qualitative researchers are trained to ask open-ended questions in order to allow respondents to frame answers from their own perspective" (Biklen & Moseley, 1988, p. 158) but these do not work with the mentally retarded. For example, "what do you think about your team?" "It's good" is not as rich an answer as if the question were broken down into parts as Biklen suggests. But otherwise, an open ended question presents too much risk for where "interviewers difficulties tend to center on their inability to understand the actual language of the informant, ...the interviewee may have a difficult time with the concepts of the interviewer" (Biklen, 1988, p. 157).

CHAPTER III

Socialisation and the Dominant Culture

Inappropriate and appropriate behaviour is set by the dominant culture based on economic, social or political determinants. Prior to the principle of Normalisation, the mentally retarded led segregated lives: primary socialisation was impaired. The advent of mainstreaming and deinstitutionalisation necessitated secondary socialising agents, such as the coaches, to introduce and interpret the dominant culture in order to facilitate integration. An understanding of the social stock of knowledge of each culture and inherent relevance structures promotes meaningful communication on the part of the mentally retarded. The desire to "not be like a kid" communicates the internalisation of the athletes awareness of the pervasive paternalism that shaped the formative years of their lives. This contrasts with the normal adult who does not generally share a concern with behaving "like a kid". The assumption is that one's behaviour matures with age. Accessibility to social stock of knowledge requires strategy in the form of impression management, rapport, front stage and back stage performance employed by all actors.

Sport culture is incorporated by the athletes in many ways. Nicknames bestowed upon Special Olympic athletes are reminiscent of those given to Sport Heroes but also reflect aspects of the mental retardation subculture. The stigma of being mentally

retarded is counteracted by the status of being a winner in a sporting arena. Patterns of the mainstream sport culture are evident and point to the normalising influence of Special Olympics.

"I'm Upset, but I'm Trying to Deal with it in a Proper Way"

Goffman in Frazier (1976, p. 34-35) says that what "...first draws attention to the patients' condition is conduct that is "inappropriate in the situation." But the decision as to whether or not a given act is inappropriate must often be a lay decision, simply because we have no formal documentation of the various behavioural subcultures in our society, let alone the standards of conduct operative in each of them.

...Further, since inappropriate behaviour is typically behaviour that someone does not like and finds extremely troublesome, decisions concerning it tend to be political, in the sense of expressing the special interests of some particular faction or person rather than interests that can be said to be above the concerns of any particular grouping... (Frazier, 1976, p. 34-35).

The above quote is illustrated in the following excerpt. When I worked at Tranquille institution, I had great difficulty convincing the staff to bring the residents to the gymnasium after dinner. The gymnasium was situated within half a block of the dining hall. The excuse was that it would disturb the

residents emotionally to have their routine changed i.e. going from the dining hall to the ward vs. going from the dining hall to the gymnasium. Six months later, Tranquille was closed. I was in

McDonalds' in North Vancouver and saw three former residents of Tranquille ordering burgers. Their "routine" was obviously changed, yet they displayed no emotional disturbance.

Bercovici (1981) argues that "...the fact of separation, segregation and isolation from the larger community or culture is, in itself, conducive to the development of 'subculture'" (p. 138). Her view is that the

...individuals concerned, in addition to being inhabitants of a segregated social system, differ from 'normal' persons in the mainstream culture not so much for reasons of physical or mental disability but because of their life histories and their socialisation experiences (which amount to their acculturation) have resulted in a view of both self and the social world that may differ significantly from the 'weltanschauung' of the dominant culture (p. 138).

Berger and Luckman (1967) argue that primary socialisation is more deeply entrenched in consciousness than what is internalised in secondary socialisation as in, for example, the Normalisation movement. Furthermore, socialisation continues through life so

...secondary socialisation ... must deal with an already formed self and an already internalised world. ...the already internalised reality has a tendency to persist. Whatever new contents are now to be internalised must somehow be superimposed upon this already present reality (p. 129).

The above indicates primary socialisation of the mentally retarded may be impaired. The extent of primary socialisation is evident in the following quote:

In a society of this kind, the individual cripple or bastard has virtually no subjective defense against the stigmatic identity assigned to him. He is what he is supposed to be, to himself as to his significant others and to the community as a whole. ... He is imprisoned in the objective reality of his society, although that reality is subjectively present to him in an alien and truncated manner (Berger and Luckman, 1967, p.152).

It has not been long since mentally retarded people could even live in neighbourhoods because of faulty perceptions and beliefs. It has taken much lobbying of municipal council members in the face of neighbourhood opposition before City Council approved the first group home "Garry house" in the lower mainland of Vancouver.

To further this point, Bercovici (1981) discusses the diversion from "culturally prescribed life-patterns" of people who have been institutionalised or reside in group homes. Conversely, normal peers in mainstream society

...engage in all or many of the important institutions of the society that mark the progression of an individual along the path from birth to death. These individuals having been inhabitants of a separate subsystem, have acquired over long years...not just different "behaviours" compared to mainstream persons, but a different set of assumptions about the world and different strategies for physical survival and for the maintenance of self esteem (Bercovici, 1981, p.138).

The life patterns of this group of athletes is interesting in that they, as a group, represent a continuum from institution to integration. Residence, education, leisure, employment and access to transportation and community resources as well as freedom of choice concerning marital and fertility rights have made monumental and historic transitions. For example, some of

the athletes have been institutionalised. Some live in group homes such as Garry House and a few live "semi-independently" in the Arlington townhouse development. Others live with parents in private apartments (living independently under the same roof) or with relatives and foster parents. Still, there are those who have graduated from group home living to independent living in the community. Almost all of the athletes went to Oakridge, a segregated school, although a few have gone or go to regular high schools (special classes) and participate in Special Olympics, a segregated program as opposed to regular recreation programs (although some have attempted to do so). Therefore, the group shares a common life-pattern that differs from the experience of mainstream youth.

This disparity is well stated by Berger and Luckman (1967):

My interaction with others in everyday life is, therefore, constantly affected by our common participation in the available social stock of knowledge. The social stock of knowledge includes knowledge of my situation and its limits. Participation in the social stock of knowledge thus permits the "location" of individuals in society and the "handling" of them in the appropriate manner (p. 39).

The athletes participate in the social stock of knowledge of mental retardation composed of: group homes, behaviour management, special schools, segregated and integrated classrooms, disability allowances, Special Olympics, social workers, therapists and advocates as well as restricted freedom regarding such institutions as marriage, reproduction, consumerism and financial decision making - in sum, the "mental retardation system". The coaches participate in a social stock of knowledge of mainstream culture: nuclear family; continuum of education from preschool to kindergarten to elementary and secondary school, trade/technical school, university or work; little league, community leisure, competitive sport and free choice concerning marriage, children, religion and political activity - all of which flows relatively unimpeded and is available or accessible consistently anywhere in western society. The athletes and coaches each have a separate and distinct social stock of knowledge.

Neither social stock of knowledge is readily available and comprehensible to either athletes or coaches. "This is not possible for one who does not participate in this knowledge, such as a foreigner" (Berger and Luckman, 1967, p. 39). According to Berger and Luckman (1967),

...the social stock of knowledge differentiates reality by degrees of familiarity. It provides complex and detailed information concerning those sectors of everyday life with which I must deal... Thus my

knowledge of my own occupation and its world is very rich and specific, while I have only very sketchy knowledge of the occupational world of others. The social stock of knowledge further supplies me with the typificatory schemes required for the major routines of my everyday life... (p. 41).

A comment by one of the athletes serves as an example, "we learn at the house not to sit at home and watch television Get into a club and do things". Integrating the mentally retarded into the community creates opportunities to view the intersection points as in the above quote. Becoming literate in the new social stock of knowledge is not entirely in the control of the "foreigner". Fellow "foreigners" stratified on a lower or higher scale can help interpret or reflect advances made. An excerpt from a conversation with one of the athletes exemplified this principle:

Pat says take Richmond player off to the side and show them how it's done. Dan and I and some of the other guys have been through what they're going through. We know what they're doing wrong. We can show them the right way.

Change agents (possibly coaches) or friendly natives can smooth the way but there will be those who resent the intrusion of something "foreign", resist and create barriers (possibly leaders of community recreation programs or teams). The typificatory schemes required for the major routines of life are

different today than they were fifty years ago in the institution, but they are becoming one and the same ideally, in the eyes of the Normalisation movement.

My experience of coaching counterpointed impressions stemming from the stock of knowledge of the dominant culture and the submersion and growing awareness of the viewpoints and consciousness of the subculture of mental handicap. When I heard a particular dialogue from the film "I heard the owl call my Name", it clarified the notion of relevance structures for me. Because "My knowledge of everyday life is structured in terms of relevances...The basic relevance structures referring to everyday life are presented to me ready-made by the social stock of knowledge itself" (Berger & Luckman, 1967, p. 42-43). The priest asked his Native guide "How big is your village?" The Native, Mike Wallace replied "White man always say that 'how big is your village' you just don't get it. My village is so big that it never gets rained on because the rain is my village too. And the wind and the sea. Get it? All the history of my tribe and all of its legends. That's my village too and me, I am the village and the village is me. You don't get it." What is the framework behind the question? Is the question relevant semantically? When I ask "what is a good coach?" (See Appendix D - p. 180) and the response is "after floor hockey, take a break, finish, coffee time" it structurally jars my senses. I have to stop and think about this response because my unconscious anticipated response is foiled. I may anticipate a categorical list of attributes such as "patient", "good listener", even "good

knowledge to teach". One may never have heard the word "competition" because of unfamiliarity with the setting in which the word is used. It might be logical to respond out of context such as competition is "one reason you go to jail". An appropriate answer might be elicited if an alternative word is offered such as "winning". When I framed my interview according to sport terminology and jargon, I found the responses reflected streams of consciousness from the mental retardation subculture. For instance, passing and covering would disallow this particular athlete to say "I've never heard that word? What do you mean?" It would be important, rather, to assert an answer in a confident manner, even if it is the wrong answer.

"Not Being Like Kid"

Other themes from the stream of consciousness of mental retardation involved "not being like a kid". Concern with this would not likely be a relevant concern for a team of 'normal' people in their twenties and thirties, who would expect treatment befitting his/her chronological age. Another example is evident in the following exchange "What is a good coach?" "tells us how to get a bus". We, as typical thirty year olds might use our own resources in finding out this information or would automatically know what "getting a bus" entailed i.e. location, time, right amount of money, destination etc. One more age inappropriate comment concerned the question "what are the coaches expectations?" (See Appendix D - p. 182) "They expect us to respect them. To listen. To stay out of trouble and tell us if we're going anywhere. Expect good sportsmanship and good

behaviour and conduct at all times - not like a kid". Yet this very comment sounds like the expectations a coach would have of a child. One more example relates to socialising. "Socialising is really good. You got to have to be really grownup to be around people. You got to act appropriately or people won't want to be with you".

Another dimension concerning relevance structures can be discerned in the athletes' perceptions of the coach. The concern with "not being like a kid" was evident in comments that referred to the coaches as either "being very nice" or not nice "he'll yell and shout at players". An adult from mainstream culture who was high in self esteem would be expected to have the personal power to assert himself in uncomfortable interactions. But the coach was viewed as the ultimate authority "the boss".

My relevance structures intersect with the relevance structures of others at many points...An important element of my knowledge of everyday life is the knowledge of relevance structures of others. The relevance structures of the mentally retarded abutt the relevance structures of the coaches. "Knowing" what was appropriate to share or talk about in the sporting context had to be learned; for example, Cathy, on the very first meeting, told me that Mike (an athlete) her former fiance "he asked me to marry him July 2" had battered her but she was now engaged to Jack. Sam would comment on his own behaviour

in this way "that is inappropriate behaviour" or "that's silly, isn't it? And it's bad for your lips. And the doctor says so". One athlete said to himself during warmup "I should have brought a skipping rope. I should have brought crutches."

On the other hand, I was constantly wondering what to say to athletes that would communicate meaning between us. I could see this problem existed for coaches as well. During a game, I observed Pat (coach) asking Lisa repeatedly how many shifts she had played. She looked at him but did not answer, only reddening slightly. She did not say she did not know, or ask him what he meant but then he did not ask her if she understood, he did not restate the question either - rather, he gave up "oh, never mind." If one had not played in team sports in school it would not be a term commonly understood. It is not used in television sportscasts. Terminology is not something I heard the coaches explicitly define, although they may have in a previous season.

In the following observation the knowledge of the relevance structures of others is lacking, resulting in poor communication between a coach and an athlete. Just prior to a warmup, I overheard Greg (athlete) complaining about work (he works in a workshop) and a coach saying to him in an unsympathetic way "we all have to work, Greg." He responded enthusiastically "yeah!" His way of intersecting worlds might be as such: see, I work and I know people usually complain about work, and so I am going to complain about work (but I love going to work). Later in the season, Greg approached me and told me that he "worked today.

I'm always on call. The guy I replace gets drunk on alcohol and I have to go in. I work at Varco. My dad works shifts at Mac Bloe. He'd come home, take off his boots and go to sleep. Didn't watch television or nothing. Now he's retired. You shouldn't work shifts (I had told him that I worked nights). It's too hard on you." So work is taken for granted by

mainstream culture but is a status symbol to the athletes. Yet here is an example of mimicking a cultural perspective without actually sharing the feelings personally.

Impression Management

A predominant feature of the study revolved around impression management.

Impression Management is a feature of all social interaction, a necessary condition for continued social interaction. Methodological procedures must be employed which will reveal not only the performances staged for the observer, but the nature of the efforts which go into producing it and the backstage situations it conceals. Participant observation always involves impression management (Berreman, 1962, p.3).

The ethnographer comes to his subjects as an unknown, generally unexpected and generally unwanted intruder. Their impressions of him will determine the kinds of and validity of data to which he will be able to gain access

and the degree of success of his work. The ethnographers and subjects are both performers and audience to one another. They have to judge one another's mistakes, motives and other attributes on the basis of short but intensive contact and then decide what definition of themselves to project; what they will reveal and what they will conceal and how best to do it. Each will convey to the other the impression that will best serve his interests as he sees them (Berreman, 1962, p.11).

Unlike Berreman's description, I came to my subjects (some of them) as a "known", somewhat expected and, if not wanted then, tolerated intruder. Some athletes felt an immediate sense that I was familiar, although they could not place me. One athlete remembered at the very last event of the hockey season, a dinner at the Pizza Hut, "I know you, you were at the fitness test at UBC a few years ago - yeah, yeah I never forget a face." But most athletes were strangers to me and I to them. I did not know the coaches and had anticipated some suspicion and self consciousness. But they were the opposite - friendly, helpful, open and nonintrusive. At the end of the season, I was included in everything and was given a T shirt with the team logo and a framed picture of, and from, the team. It is worth noting that I was surprised to be included in everything: whether it was due to still feeling like an outsider or because I identified more with the researcher rather than the coaching role, I do not know.

I dressed in "coaching gear" such as sweatpants, T shirt and runners, although I always brought a briefcase. But other coaches came in business clothes complete with folders or briefcases and changed at the gymnasium. I felt that I fit in quite well, based on outward appearance.

The athletes impressions of me must have varied because my relationship with them changed dramatically over time. Initially, it was very uncomfortable while we adjusted to one another; I noticed that another rookie coach was having similar difficulties. In my case, one of the male athletes was too forward in situations such as insisting that I give him a ride "somewhere" and I found myself staying clear of him. On one occasion, in particular, I realised at the end of the season that he was calling me coach, treating me with respect and sharing his feelings in an almost innocent way "gee, I haven't played this good in a long time."

In other cases, athletes kept their distance from me, some watched me from across the gymnasium. When I smiled encouragingly to them they would quickly shift their gaze. Later in the season, they were the ones who dallied around me, gossiping and laughing.

In the situation of the male rookie coach, some of the female athletes were bold, running up to him and patting his posterior, bringing a camera and asking to have their picture taken with him. He appeared to be self conscious. He was very

alarmed one practise as he ran towards me and told me that Carol was biting herself and banging her head against the wall and he did not know what to do. I was alarmed as well and we both consulted the head coach, who was completely unperturbed and spoke to the athlete. Later, this same athlete transformed from a withdrawn, nonverbal individual to a chatting, animated person who offered to make us slippers - George (the male coach) got a free pair and she charged me "ten bucks".

It was like the

...popular notion that although impersonal contacts between strangers are particularly subject to stereotypical responses, as persons come to be on closer terms with each other this categoric approach recedes and gradually sympathy, understanding, and a realistic assessment of personal qualities take its place. Moving past the initial tactfulness and distance they are likely to receive; they may attempt to move on to a more 'personal' plane where in fact their defect will cease to be a crucial factor" (Goffman, 1963, p. 52).

This process has been described by Davis (1964) as "breaking through" (p. 128). And there were athletes whose demeanor was consistent throughout the season, such as Grant who compulsively badgered any coach/volunteer within range about the number of new sticks the team owned, what would be served at the tournament banquet or whether we should xerox schedules.

Rapport

The official term for a good relationship with an informant is rapport. Agar (1980) states possible reasons why, past the initial stage, an informant might talk to you: "One is that you are a person who is genuinely interested in and respectful of another's point of view. There usually aren't many people around like that. Second, most people enjoy telling their story to an interested listener (as quoted from an athlete: "I need to talk to someone anyway"). Third, you are interested in adapting to group life - sharing their living conditions, their food and so on. And fourth, you are perfectly willing, probably insistently so, to reciprocate in reasonable ways with the people you work with" (p. 88). I occasionally provided rides home and bought coffee for athletes when we went out after a practice or game. Agar suggests that "you are a potential friend of sort. But you need to select informants who can inform." Agar (1980) also points out interestingly that "...most of them, I think, had characteristics that would have attracted me to someone in ordinary life - though there's always that boundary problem" (p. 88).

My main informant was someone to whom I would have been attracted in ordinary life for many reasons. I really liked him, found him approachable, honest, open, articulate, wholesome, an altruistic person - friend to all on the team. He had been involved in many aspects of the system i.e. local association, B.C. Special Olympics, Oakridge, work stations and had attended Berwick at one point. He was available to go for coffee anytime,

gave me his home phone number, introduced me to his parents (it was Cams' mother who had called after the letter of initial contact had gone out asking "how many people were going to be traipsing through") and knew almost all the athletes in many more contexts than just hockey. Cam did not have any behaviour aberrations that could make communication difficult. He was two months older than me so we had commonality of age. I did not enjoy such good rapport with all informants. I was caught in a few situations where "...each potential source of discomfort for him when we are with him can become something we sense he is aware of, aware that we are aware of, and even aware of our state of awareness about his awareness" (Goffman, 1963, p. 18). A common reply to a question was "why do you want to know?" An example of this is when I was consulting athletes about school programs, ignorant of the connection to stigma because I did not have personal background information on the athletes. "Ed, where did you go to school?" "In New Westminster" (something pricked in my consciousness as Woodlands is in New Westminster and I had known that Ed's family lived in Burnaby). I asked if he remembered the name of the school. He said "I could tell you but it wouldn't be necessary." I said "Okay, I was interested in what kind of physical activity you had when you were young, for example, did you have P.E. and if you did, what did you do in your class?" He said "Well, okay it was Woodlands. We had compulsory recreation, gymnasium, baseball." This reflects the paternalistic theme of institutional life in contrast to the choices Ed is now able to determine for himself. I asked another man what I asked Ed and he said "I went to private school." I

asked all of the athletes the same question but one of the female athletes in the same age bracket told me she had gone to "Our Lady of Sorrows in grades 1,2,3 and then to private school."

This experience shifted me close to the phenomena of going "native" which is defined by Becker (1971) in Reinhartz (1979) as:

...becoming identified with the ideology of the dominant faction in the organisation or community and framing the questions to which his response provides answers so that no one will be hurt...He unwittingly chooses problems that are not likely to cause trouble or inconvenience to those he found to be such pleasant associates (p. 168).

Although, I do not think this had been a problem at all up to this point, it began to be as I learned more and more about the difficult lives some of the athletes led. My sensitivities were alerted by the responses to my questions on schooling. I had evoked memories from the shameful past - it was obvious that nobody wanted to be linked with that institution. It became apparent that this information, according to Goffman (1963), is kept hidden for the purpose of maintaining an identity or disidentifying with the stigma that the symbol of an institution carries with it.

Front and Back Stage

The false fronts or backstage-frontstage impressions had to be broken through as "one reaches threshold after threshold of clarity and understanding only to slide gradually into more murkiness, having recognised how very much more one must know to answer the newer, more precise questions" (Estroff, 1981, xvi). Until I began to spend time with athletes outside of the gymnasium, at McDonalds, driving home or talking on the phone, I thought they were very passive. My impressions changed immediately and different information was revealed to me at McDonalds versus at the gymnasium or in the lobby. That information and the way in which it was conveyed changed according to who was with me. A grouping of four men vs. a boy and girlfriend couple vs. three men and one woman vs. myself and one other athlete. Thus I came to know that language use "...is a behavioural phenomenon that is especially sensitive to the settings in which it occurs" (Sabsay and Kernan, 1981, p. 283). Evans (1983) elaborates by suggesting that conversational repertoires of the mentally retarded are limited not by the handicap but by the limit of experiences.

As rapport developed and as I began to vary the settings in which I interacted with the athletes, I became aware of what Goffman calls "performances". My first month of involvement with the team had resulted in field notes that commented on what "did not happen" more than on what "did occur". My February 22 fieldnotes record my impressions "They don't pair off and have conversations. They don't ask questions i.e. challenge or say

'Do we go here?' 'Is this what you want?' They don't check out anything. The guys don't treat the girl members differently." I believe this was culture-bound. I could see what, according to my background experiences, was not there because I was expecting "certain things" such as "complaining about lack of floor time." As Schutz (1970) said "It suffices, therefore, that I can reduce the others' act to its' typical motive including their reference to typical situations, typical ends, typical means etc" (p.180). But when the front stage performances and back stage performances were revealed I seemed to break through my own culture-bound perceptions.

Front region (or stage) refers to the place where the performance is given.

The performance of an individual in a front region may be as an effort to give the appearance that his activity in the regions maintains and embodies certain standards. The way in which the performer treats the audience while engaged in talk with them as matters of politeness and the way in which the performer comports himself within visual or aural range of the audience but not necessarily engaged in talk with them. A back region (stage) may be defined as a place relative to a given performance where the impression fostered by the performer is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course. The back region is the place where no member of the audience will intrude. Since the vital secrets

of the show are visible backstage and since performers behave out of character while there, it is natural to expect that the passage from the front region to the back region will be kept closed to members of the audience (Goffman, 1963, p. 112).

There were different types of performance. One as a "team" performance and one as an individual "player". The second week of practise, I was standing by the entrance to the gymnasium and overheard thin Cathy and Al talking. Al was very animated - I had not seen him like this before and he was talking quickly "Judy is dear friend of mine. Works at Fraser workshop". Cathy said "I know her from Heroes. I lost my temper. Judy got fired cause she wouldn't work at the Red Cross." I walked up to them anticipating joining into the conversation. "Hi, Al." Al immediately physically "contracted" with his head down, maintaining a posture of absolute stillness while furtively glancing at me sideways. He refused to respond and I felt stupid, like I had done something wrong that I could not correct. The "retarded" posture was more or less the way he behaved at practises but I had caught him offguard. I was still an outsider to him and I was not supposed to know that he could converse in this manner - as though I might have higher expectations of him if I did.

Later in the season, I observed a difference between practises and games where the only members present were team members from Special Olympics and games with nonretarded players.

During practises (and this took a while to realise) athletes did not correct each other, although Sam would flip his hands, spit or repeat phrases over and over. It was as though, we as coaches, were privy to this private culture, as it were. But during games (with outsiders or when outsiders were present) behaviour that was largely ignored or taken for granted became unacceptable and the athletes distanced themselves from it. For example, Sam was told during games with nonretarded people to "put a lid on it. Sam, put a lid on the Camay bit. Sam, shut up." I also observed that the normal spectators pretended nothing was happening, which signified to me, their acknowledgement of his deviance and their lowered societal expectations. The rules were different in many respects. First, the athletes acknowledged the inappropriate behaviour and disidentified with it and secondly, the normal spectators did not acknowledge the inappropriate behaviour as they might have if Sam had been a regular, rowdy teenager.

Coffee times at McDonalds presented another opportunity to observe front and backstage behaviour. Talk was incessant when we left the gymnasium. The content was gossipy, opinionated, colourful and detailed and it became apparent that they all knew each other quite well. But this was in no way obvious at the gymnasium other than boy/girl flirtations. Relationship talk was apparently acceptable material in the sport context whereas sport talk i.e. criticism of each other or talk about the coaches was safer done out of the gymnasium in the restaurant. "Chris (the coach) chewed him (Kevin) out last week for not showing up",

"Remember in soccer, Brian would stand around and we'd do all the work." It seemed the reverse to what I had been socialised to do. Nobody challenged the coaches at practises, but nobody was critical of their team coaches in the backstage region after practises either. The coaches were the "bosses", "teachers", "friends."

Nicknames

Biklen and Moseley (1988) wrote a paper titled "Are you Retarded?" "No, I'm Catholic": Qualitative Methods in the Study of People with Severe Handicaps which described the experience of communicating with mentally retarded informants. One third of the Vancouver Floor Hockey team had difficulty in communicating verbally. The range in linguistic ability was vast and it was tempting to devote most of my time to those who were easy to understand verbally. But there was more involved than just language expressed. What was the significance of the words spoken or the actions displayed? The richness of expression was enormous: nicknames; lying; statistical recitation; silence by choice; compulsive talking; sports talk; imitation laden with themes from contemporary society such as normalisation; behaviour management; gender socialisation; workshop and group home experiences etc. Stack (1975) describes the usage of nicknames in her study on strategies for survival in a black community as a bonding source.

"Gordie Howe and Wayne Gretzky he's not"

Although these athletes were playing floor hockey, transference was made to Ice Hockey. All their sports heroes were Ice Hockey players and references were made constantly to Ice Hockey games, scores and trades. Like Ice Hockey players, these Special Olympic players had nicknames that, in some cases, were borrowed from the ice hockey players but in other cases, were reflective of the characteristics of the particular player. The nicknames were given to a variety of outstanding characters, not just a particular group of friends or the best players.

Grandpa Walker

As Jess said "Grandpa Walker is Steves' nickname". Steve is a huge man with beard and glasses. He drives his own truck which he bought himself and this is rare, nobody else on the team has a driving license. He is goalie for the Drillers. Steve is very gentle but speaks with difficulty and smiles all the time. He is also known as one of the two 'GAS CHAMBERS'. When I asked Jess why Steve was called the Gas Chamber, he made a motion like he was slitting his throat so this along with Steves' proficient goaltending might mean that he is a dangerous player. Steves' Group Home staff came and played a game along with the Mount Pleasant Community Centre Staff against the team.

The Gas Chamber

Jess is the second gas chamber, he usually plays centre and is an excellent player. He is very serious about the game. After Jess had a close call on scoring during one game, he held up two

fingers to show just how close it had been. He came back to the bench and said "It was close. I'll do it by any means. By any means." I asked him what he meant and he said "Anyway I can." He uses colourful language "I'll haunt the other team and make mincemeat out of them", once when the ring went clear across the gymnasium, he commented sarcastically "What went past me? A UFO?" During one particularly exciting game he sat on the bench sweating, waiting to play and was the only team member that I ever heard allude to not being played enough "I'm already rusting". He also was the only player I ever heard challenge the coaches. When Pat once asked him to go defense and he responded "Me? Why defense?" He worked to outdo his personal best "I'm going to score six goals. I'll beat my old record", "I'm going to get a hat trick". Jess paid close attention to technicalities and analyzed plays "Why did they flip it up?" "Two minutes for high sticking" He complimented and acknowledged other players "Great Goal Tending, Terry", "she just stiffed it right in", "you don't get many penalties. Neither do I" and "you can start calling Dan, Greg Adams" (after a particularly good game that Dan had played) but also critiqued them "that was so funny" (after Richmond scored on their own net) or alluding to Sam "Hey Cam, you know why that guy was hitting himself?" Jess provided information on other teams. After Jordan (a mentally retarded referee and former manager of the Burnaby team) asked Pat how to call aggressive playing, Jess said "Lisa, Terry and I are enemies to Burnaby. We used to play with Burnaby. I used to be Captain. Jordan was coach. He's the one who cut us" I asked him why he did that. He said "Beats me". Jess always wears a poker

expression regardless of what he is saying. The rumour was that he was engaged but he never mentioned a girl friend and never talked about the topic of dating or women.

Pokie Alias the Electric Chair Alias the Terminator

Cam plays defense with his girlfriend on the Drillers team. He is a very good player and very popular with the team. The nickname Pokie alludes to "Pokie" Reddick who plays for the Winnipeg Jets. But the other names contradict his nature which is very gentle, nonaggressive and kind. However, it is possible that the names imply some level of irony or respect by team mates and that, even though he does not have a killer nature, he is one of the guys or one of the leaders. He lives at home in his own apartment and is concerned about the welfare of his family and friends. He told me repeatedly that his mother was sick and that his parents were concerned about him "I tell my father and mother I'm doing okay. They ask me. They have confidence in me. They're building up my confidence." He is very altruistic. When I asked what he expected of himself, he said "to be good at the sport I'm in and to help other people. Once I did a volunteer job - I was a courier for wheelchair sports." He said "I like to be friends with everyone...Pat says take Richmond player off to the side and show them how its done. Dan and I and some of the other guys have been through what they're going through. We know what they're doing wrong. We can show them the right way." He

told me that he "met Murray downtown last Tuesday. I took him to a show. I was really surprised. His aunt gave me money to take him. She's blind. Apparently, he doesn't have any friends. She told me that. He lives in Burnaby."

Cam shows a lot of consideration for others "I've got to work 11:00 - 1:30 a.m. There's rodents at Super Valu. I can't say rats cause it might scare Lisa." When Jess complained that he had to play defense, Cam immediately offered to play with him, "I'll help you Jess" Cam did not seem to lack confidence in playing the game but he often checked out his impressions "Hey Jo-Ann, isn't Grant offside?" and he was aware that he lacked social confidence.

He often asked the female coaches how to handle his relationship problems. When he asked Pam if she could give him Lisa's phone number, Pam said "Ask her yourself, Cam, she's right there." He also asked me to check out a note he had written to her to see if it was okay. The romance began at the start of the season and he informed me all the way along how it was going "I finally had my date with Lisa, Jo-Ann. We went to her house and had tea with her mom, and brother and her dog. She's going to come over to my house this weekend and play tennis and meet my mom and dad. She's getting a racquet Saturday. Lisa's my girlfriend. She's also my defense partner." Cam and Lisa talked about sports when they were alone together "I can beat you at bowling so watch it" Cam replied to Lisa "I was going to go nanananana like the Canucks" "Hey there's a swim meet April 23

and a dance in Coquitlam." "Super Valu beat us first. That was actually a fun game. The Jewish Community centre beat by one. We beat Burnaby by two, it was 4-6. We beat Super Valu second. That is the first time I saw a penalty shot on Walker."

In spite of his apparent and admitted lack of confidence, he also had a side of his personality that was quite proud and of high esteem. I was very fond of Cam and he was popular with his workmates at Super Valu and organized them to come and play the team, and also arranged to have the baker make a cake for Barbs' birthday, "Everyone at Super Valu liked the letter Pam wrote, the part about me scoring the goal. Pam was making it a high for me. So they were proud of me, yeah." Like Jess, Cam was observant and analytical. "They're just standing around. Sam's just standing there. I can't believe it. If Lisa and me were defense we wouldn't just stand there", "I play defense right? Sam should have checked that guy. Come on Linda" "Defense should be helping." "Uh oh, the referee is telling Joe Smith off. See that? It (tension) builds up - but it does in any player."

He loved to talk about his travels, awards and Special Olympic experiences "Steve and I were in Calgary Olympics - third place. Jess and Lisa went to Toronto. Right Jess?" He also talked about memories related to his team mates "Right, Terry - we rated fourth in Soccer tournament. We came first place in Chilliwack." "I was his back catcher in Richmond tournament. Keep him off base. He struck out once. We got him on our team. We gave him Joe for Jack." Cam dropped names "Hey Jo-Ann, I'll

bring a picture of me and Douglas Miller. He's the CKVU weatherman." "Jim Robinson was there. He was doing a play by play for us and after awards he announced us one by one" "Some of us were on Wide World of Sports" "I was on the radio." It is not surprising that Cam has had such media exposure, he seems like such a good representative for Special Olympics. Cam spoke of his awards "For the draw I did it for the Progress club. It's sort of like promoting Special Olympics. People come up and say "Cam you did good" "In fact I still have my medallions. Bowling I came in third place. Last time when it was held at UBC I won a gold." He also bragged about getting away with an infraction. "In that game last monday there were no penalties for the other guy. He was telling the referee off. Against Super Valu - they didn't catch me with my stick up against my boss. I did it on purpose. He was going to call a penalty against all except me. I knew he didn't see me."

Cam is observant and reflective. "We should ask Chris tomorrow to use video tape." I said "wouldn't you be nervous?" He replied "you could learn by mistakes." Cam watches his teammates and comments on their behaviour "Apparently, Carol hits Dan when she gets mad. She even hits me. The Drillers have got three girls." or "That's when Tom was with us. He's rough. He'd get in trouble. He takes foolish penalties. Complains to the referee all the time." "Sam was mostly standing around. Jason too. I don't know why he doesn't do much. He makes funny sounds (Sam) and talks to himself. Maybe he's got a problem he's trying to work out. He says Sam be quiet to himself." Later, I asked

George why he thought Sam behaved like that and he said "Apparently he's on medication." During the season, Cam experienced many changes: his mother's illness, his family moving from a lifetimes residence to another municipality, losing his job (Super Valu closing down) and starting another one at McDonalds and gaining a new girlfriend.

Chatterbox

Grant is an athlete in his forties. He is amiable, always smiling but talks virtually nonstop. He is a persistent and hard working player for the Blasters. His main concern is with details. He acts like a general manager and can give an account on practically any technical aspect in the operation of the team "These are good sticks. We bought them last year." He is often given jobs to do by the coach such as distributing forms regarding games or events. He enjoys following laborious procedures and can generally be found in close proximity to the coaches, not the athletes because the athletes are just not interested in this type of trivia. "A lot of people like Grant interferes when people are talking. I have problems when Grant talks - can't hear the coaches." When it was decided that the team would be split and the Blasters would practise at Simon Fraser School, Grant repeatedly gave me intensive instructions on how to get to the school, even though it was right next door to the community centre. The first few weeks, Grant approached me repeatedly to explain rules "two whistles mean the period is over". Four times he explained it to me. Linda knew Grant and mentioned that "Grant got himself into things. I've known him

way past five years. Grant like this program and I think I like it." Cam also mentioned Grant in a social context "Lisa, Grant or Dan would call me to see how my work is. I call to ask how there work is. We socialise on the phone" But Grant had little tolerance for Sam during a game when the team members were spectators "Put a lid on it, Sam" "Sam stop it" it's "unacceptable".

It was characteristic of Grant to worry, for example: "We should get back up goal tenders for sportsfest." His memory for facts and figures was very good "We've got 24 new sticks for the game for both teams. Barb's ordering 12 new sticks for the game. So we'll have 24 new sticks" "Chris is gonna photocopy schedules for the players. All the players should have one too so they know when to play. You have to work tonight, Lisa. In April, Cam has no days off" "I can get Phil after them if they get me in the pool with my clothes on." Grant was like an archivist, recording and recalling details from past events "Oh, what a great meal they catered to us at the bowling banquet. Roast beef, mashed potatoes. They are going to have the suspenders after the banquet and they are going to have 134 athletes for the banquet. The seating capacity is for 200."

Grant worried about his friends as well. He said to Linda when she told him she had had twenty dollars stolen "When you get home, Linda, you should put it in your wallet." Although Grant

was a master of detail, conscious of every move of the team, he was run over three times in front of his apartment. So the nickname Chatterbox was appropriate and self explanatory. "Grant was crying last night when the practise was cancelled."

Lazybones

Sam is autistic. He is very good looking, extremely tall and big boned and wears cutoffs at practise. It is not his looks that are disconcerting but his behaviour (spitting, repeating nonsense phrases such as "snow, nuisance, bobby bubbles", shaking his hands in front of himself spasmodically, to list some of the behaviour) which appears to be a mystery to other players who comment on it "Maybe he's got a problem he is trying to work out. He says - Sam, be quiet - to himself." "Apparently he's on medication." "Remember when Pat had to tell Sam to play up front?" "Hey, Sam, you know why the guy was hitting himself?" Although the other athletes do not comment to Sam on his language or behaviour during practises, it bothers them when outside teams come for games and they tell him to stop "Sam, put a lid on it." More often, though, they look to the coaches to control him "Pam, Sam's playing Woody Woodpecker in the washroom. Sam's acting up", "Pam, Sam's making noises." To which Sam blows his lips and says "Thats silly, isn't it? And its's bad for your lips. And the doctor says so." He blows his lips again and says "That ones too much. Put a lid on the Camay bit. Bobby bubbles, bobby bubbles. Camay, Camay, Camay, Camay. No more camays, that's silly." Lisa says "just ignore him." Grant says "put a lid on it" and Sam replies "Put a lid on it and don't take it

off. Sam, put a lid on it and don't move it, right?" "You're driving me up the ceiling with that silly game" "Bobby bubbles. Enough is enough. Sam that's too much. Can it. Enough is enough. 1970. Oh. Oh. Oh. What's your name? Oh. Oh." You want me to stop rattling? That is inappropriate behaviour. That is unacceptable behaviour" "Pig, pig, don't be a pig." Lisa says "All should be about the same level, not Jason and Sam on team." His language consists of nonsensical phrases such as "nuisance. Snow. workshop." "So that's Super Valu? They're here? So you can't see it." Sam stands out on the gymnasium and rarely connects with the team members or the play. But he never missed a practise or game and was always on time. I tried to connect with him and felt frustrated because verbally or visually, I could not reach him. But this may have been the source of frustration for his team mates who couldn't understand him either. In a way, Sam was stigmatized amongst the "stigmatized". He was an outsider within this group.

The Playmaker

"What do you call her? Honey?"
"The Playmaker." (They all laughed uproariously)

Linda first appeared on the floor hockey scene on January 26. I noticed her sitting on the bench engrossed in a notebook that she held on her lap. She was small, young looking and sweet, wore glasses and had a very lovely smile. I sat down beside her and noticed that the notebook was filled with math calculations. I asked her what she was doing and she said she had a math test to study for. She told me "I work at Heroes. Oh

yeah, I know everybody. We're all good friends." I asked why she did not play and she said "I can't. My knees have been operated on." I said "So you come out to support them" She said "Yes, yes, I sure do support them" and laughed. The following week Linda showed up with forms to register for the team. Later, when I interviewed Linda I was surprised when she told me "I came out to watch. Then I got into it. You talked me into it. You asked me if I was going to start and I wanted to learn how to play." She seemed to know exactly what to do and played very well. The next week, she snuggled up to Len, a mentally retarded athlete from a different team. The week after that Linda was behaving the same way with Jack, who supposedly was engaged to Cathy who never showed up again after the initial practise.

Linda became quickly proficient at the game and scored a goal during the Richmond game. In the first week of March, the team had organized a birthday party for Barb and, although Bob came with a girl called Shelley, he ended up sitting against the wall with his arm around Linda.

When I interviewed Linda, she told me she was born in 1969, but I knew her age was 43. "I'm not shy" was an understatement. Linda had a lot of initiative, was very verbal and physically expressive. She referred to the coaches as "the bosses" who "teach". They "teach us what to do on the floor and listening to them" and "they are the ones teaching us to be nice. To teach us to learn more" but she also talked about the "bosses rights" as "the bosses have a right to teach us. If we play dirty they have

rights to tell us not to play the next game." She said that she wanted her team mates to treat her "really nice. Not to be screamed at. To have respect for us." and the coaches to treat her "same thing. But they are the ones teaching us to be nice. To teach us to learn more." She told me that Pat was a good coach "the way he talks to us - very nice. Tries to tell me what I'm supposed to do on the floor. Barb too. I have been places where people are not too good. At work. Screaming and yelling. I didn't like the way the other coach pushed me last night. I thought he was going to hurt me. And I was hurt inside myself. If he just said excuse me, but I didn't like that pushing me. I like people when they hug me. I'm used to that."

On the last day of practise, Linda appeared completely unstrung. She cried and told me that the real reason Scott was going to quit the team was because of the pressure Tom was putting on him to give him money. She said tonight Tom was bothering her for money. I asked her if she wanted to go to the washroom. She came with me and told me that a girl on the other team was threatening her with a knife. She said that Hugh still calls her after having put his hands down her pants. She was upset about Tom bothering her about money and Joe had raped her friend. She seemed to feel better after she had told me all this and we went back to the game. But Murray approached her and did what he had seen all the other male athletes do - he put his arm around her and she encouraged it. She said that what the players should do is "when they are talking to us you should stand there and listen to them and not walk away" and later she again

referred to "listening to the coaches more." She said that she "listen(s) when people tell me. That's how I've always learned." She said that "we learn at the house not to sit at home and watch television. Get into a club and do things." and that "I come up face to face socialising with other people. To get out in the world to know what's going on. Like socialising with you. I know you very well." She told me that Carrie and Lisa "we go out together. Lisa and me work together. Like socialising on a team. We own the house."

On March 8, Linda told me she had gotten married before Christmas. This was following the interview in which she told me she lived in a group home. George, the volunteer coach had heard and he intercepted Bob who was cuddling Linda "You better watch out, she's a married lady." Linda blushed. Later, we discovered that "being married" was Linda's fantasy.

The referees' game, in which the Vancouver team were spectators, offered a view of Linda's relationships with her teammates. Cam had told the Burnaby Lisa "See my girlfriend, Lisa?" to which she had responded "you going out with him?" and Linda interjected "I got these two together." Then I heard Linda say to someone "You're gonna get it tomorrow at work" and Burnaby Lisa again said "You guys work together?" incredulously. Linda said to Grant "Be there. I always talked to the staff about it" "I have to take my orange pill tonight before bed. I got to take one tomorrow morning and one at 1:30." Linda said to the two Lisas "I had to tell the staff. The staff had a meeting.."

Later she said "Someone stole my twenty dollars. I have that many twenty dollars." She held up her fingers to indicate how much it was. She said "You twit. I'm scratchy cause I have allergies."

On March 21, Cam, Steve, Linda, Terry and I went to McDonalds for coffee after the game for the referees. Linda talked about Bob putting his hand down her pants in the change area in the gymnasium at Mount Pleasant community centre. She told Cam "I've got to talk to you privately. It's a person." She whispered to him and he replied "you should have screamed." Terry said "I'm the captain. You should have told me. I wouldn't let any of that garbage happen. I don't let that happen on my team." But Linda behaved in an extremely provocative and flirtatious way towards the athletes. "Up your nose with a rubber hose. Oh that's dirty sex talk." Steve was extremely uncomfortable, Cam spilled his drink and left to get something to clean it up. Linda said when he left "Camie is nervous. He's worried about something. I don't know what's bothering him." The conversation turned to sports and later Linda interjected "I think Steve likes that big fat one. The pregnant one. Oh Sharon is going to have a baby on Saturday." Terry asked "Twins?" Linda said "No. Lisa's lying. It's a big baby." I asked who Sharon was and Linda said "She's my boss." Linda told me that she was going to "Violence school" to learn how to deal with it. She told me she had her tubes tied last year. And she told me about her marriage, even bringing wedding pictures of herself and "Bill".

When I had coffee with four of the male athletes on the team, one of them, Terry, mentioned that he had one girl on his team "Oh well, I don't mind. She's good. Linda." Steve responded "What do you call her? Honey?" Terry quickly retorted "The Playmaker" They all laughed uproariously. Originally, I interpreted this comment as an allusion to her flirtatious reputation. Later, I came upon an article in the Sports section of the Vancouver Sun covering "Rocket Richard" which contained the quote "He wasn't the greatest skater or the best playmaker but inside the blue line he was a fury that goaltenders never forgot". Linda's nickname suddenly had a double meaning. She was considered a good player by the guys and 'Playmaker' was a nickname that Terry had coined, Terry being the sports jargon buff. I had not heard the term before but having this new information and considering the above facts shed new light on the meaning of the nickname. Of course, the other fact was that the guys had laughed "uproariously" and in such a way that implied a connection to her flirtatious behaviour. It was witty!

The Coaches

Dudley

This was the name that Carrie had given the new volunteer male coach, George. The girls on the team were infatuated with him. Carol was nonverbal the entire season and George had been disconcerted because he caught her biting herself and banging her head against the wall and had sought help from the head coaches as in what to do about it. Later, when Carol began to talk, she

brought George a pair of slippers that she had knit for him. She giggled and offered to make me a pair when I admired her work. She said "Sure. That will be ten dollars." Carrie wanted me to take a picture of her and George. The male athletes flocked around George as though he were an idol.

Red

That was my nickname. I was teased constantly because of my purplish (artificial) hair colour. Lisa said "If God gave you that colour (my natural colour is brown) then you should leave it. Why do you colour your hair?" On the other hand, Carrie was fascinated and asked me if I had dyed it even more purple and wanted to know exactly how I had done it. She wanted to know what colour it used to be. I felt like a freak! For the rest of the season I was referred to as "Hey, Red!"

Sport Culture

"How about games?"

"Not only the game but the practise teaches them exactly how to win. Passing, shooting, one on one, two on two, shooting and passing. Workouts and exercise. But the main thing is the reds play the yellow. Two points - a win is two points"

"Do you know what the priorities are?"

"Everybody should have priorities. We are a part of the community and we'll always be a part of the community. We are people trying to accomplish what we want, what we believe in. Important thing is to recognise we are here as equal individuals and therefore we should be treated as individuals. Our needs should be attended to because that's what our priorities are"

"You sound experienced."

"Eighteen years plus seven years in a league. Eight years in B.C.S.O."

Ed (Special Olympic Athlete)

This section presents the perspective that sport and mental retardation are social constructs reflecting societal conditions. In a historical sense, games and play have given way to sport. Sport and its meaning has changed in accordance with politics and technology. Similarly, the meaning of mental retardation has been transformed through economics and politics. Measurement is significant in modern sport in order to objectify success and productivity. The mentally retarded are keenly aware of social measurement and now, due to the integration movement, must find ways to "measure up". Sports enhances status and provides one way to achieve this by means of secondary socialisation into the dominant culture.

Measurement of Mental retardation is

...based on observable behaviours over which a person who is perceived to be incompetent is assumed to have no control because of intellectual impairments. This absence of control, coupled with intellectual deficits, leads to the devalued status of 'mentally retarded'" (Manion & Bersani, 1987, p.236).

Observation and measurement of behaviours and determination of "normalcy" may be approached from the biopsychological or socio-anthropological perspectives. The first perspective derives its measures of mental retardation on the use of two models: the pathological and statistical. The pathological basing normalcy on the absence or presence of symptoms and the statistical on the measurable traits which are intelligence and adaptive behaviour in the case of mental retardation.

However, the socio-anthropological perspective recognises mental retardation as an "...acquired social status, defined and perceived according to the type of performance expected of persons holding that status" according to Wolfensberger, (1975) in (Manion & Bersani, 1987, p. 237). This perspective emphasizes the interaction between an individual and his environment and society.

... mental retardation then is a social role or a social construct determined and defined by the collectively prescribed behaviours and role expectations of a given social network...behaviour becomes contextual and reflects tenets of the culture in which it occurs. Therefore it can be concluded that mental retardation is a social construct, subject to social manipulation increasing or decreasing its prevalency simply by redefining the concept of 'normalcy' (Manion & Beraani, 1987, p.238).

Sport, like mental retardation, is a social construct. Its real nature and meaning is transitory and uncertain. This was exemplified by George Herbert Mead who discussed the relationships between games and play and the social self through the symbolic interactionist tradition. It is through this tradition that one is able to view sport as a reflection of societal systems and all that entails: values, beliefs, attitudes etc. Jean-Marie Brohm (1978) reaffirms that sport reflects or mirrors the social conditions that encompass it. Positivist science has penetrated sport and physical education in the last 15 years and is "...able to give an orderly, uncomplicated view of the world of sport and leisure" (Sparks, 1985, p.2).

Historically, the seeds of positivism in sport and leisure were planted and grew in the Industrial Revolution and "its conquests in the field of technology where work and production became the ideal and then the idol of the age" (Huizinga, 1955).

Brohm (1978) reiterates the notion that modern sports has been shaped by capitalist industrialisation. From this age, dominance of "experimental and analytical science, philosophy and reformism, Church and State, economics ... pursued in dead earnest" over "everything imaginative, fanciful and fantastic" (Huizinga, 1955, p. 192) changed the nature of play forms. Record keeping became statistics. Rules have become increasingly strict and detailed. Key words are technology, systematisation, and accuracy and efficiency and value is measured.

Manion and Bersani (1987) elaborate on the influence of the Industrial Revolution and its' emphasis on urbanisation and industrialisation where "...production as a measure of value in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" had placed the mentally retarded in the position of being "considered not capable of becoming productive members of society" (p.234).

It is clear that capitalist industrialisation influenced culture in recent history by the embodiment of measurement in current cultural values. Performance, production, time, intelligence, can all be measured.

The introduction of the intelligence test by Binet and Simon helped maintain a negative attitude toward mental retardation based on the fear of genetic origins and heritability factors. It was meant to be a diagnostic

tool for special education but became a rigid, quantitative device measuring intelligence as a fixed and selective quantity (Manion & Bersani, 1987, p. 235).

The socio-anthropological perspective sees mental retardation as a social status to which a person is assigned:

... due to behavioural patterns manifested by the individual and the evaluation of that behaviour by the culture. An achieved status is acquired through virtue of an individuals' perceived competence or incompetence as it is evaluated by others in the social system. This social status is not structurally specified in the organisation of a system but rather exists as a social category that can be activated or developed as the need arises (Manion and Bersani, 1987, p.237).

Blumer (1969), Edgerton (1967) and Bogdan and Taylor (1975) support the socio-anthropological definition of mental retardation as an abstract notion which is dependent upon societal values, beliefs and processes.

It would follow that if sport and mental retardation are social constructs, then any shift in societal values would alter the definition, direction, and role of each. The Normalisation principle, deinstitutionalisation and mainstreaming movements represent such a shift. In this study, the athletes displayed a keen awareness of stigma and an even keener drive to "act

appropriately". There was always an interplay between "appropriate behaviour" and winning or scoring. The gymnasium seemed to provide a forum for increased status athletically and socially.

Moving from stigmatic identity towards raised social status is viable for the mentally retarded through the medium of sport. Physically disabled Rick Hansen and Terry Fox are examples. Increased visibility of physically and mentally disabled individuals on television and other media (such as Chris Burke, actor who has downs syndrome) combined with high profile agencies like Special Olympics and its' associations with the media and sports personalities, medals and competitions, travel and tournaments mirror current societal values and are status enhancing. This viewpoint represents the collective perspective of Special Olympic athletes which was elicited through ethnographic techniques.

The view that segregated sport is status enhancing has detractors: those who advocate integration and oppose segregated events for its' attention on stigmatic group identification of deviance. However, this is misleading. One cannot put an actor onstage without knowing the name of the play or having script in hand. There must be an introduction. Himmelfarb & Evans (1974) describe a theme of liberation whereby the individual is free to embrace the deviance rather than disown it. Within a group of ones "own" there is freedom to retreat 'backstage' if the performance is less than adequate. But it is a stage, and within

this segregated group is the opportunity to 'rehearse'. The network of friends within the subculture is important as a support and the coaches are the prompters offstage, filling the role of supportive 'script interpreters'. To have to compete before learning the skills or possessing the tools is a setup for failure. The Special Olympic team provides the setting for acquiring the semantic knowledge necessary. I argue that only an 'etic' or outside view could dogmatically pressure for absolute integration. The result could be intense culture shock and an even greater need to implement coping strategies to disavow the perceived differences in intellect. But this viewpoint is an outsider perspective and not the concern of this study.

Collectivity has strength as it was discovered that athletes seem to find an opportunity to "measure up" within the sport domain. The greater difficulty lies in "measuring up" in a social context. Appropriate behaviour is a goal that all work towards. The measure of "appropriateness" is an elusive and difficult attainment and leaves the athlete vulnerable to stigmatic experiences for which coping strategies are employed while success and achievement in athletics is more readily measured and rewarded in predictable and concrete ways in the form of trophies, medals, and team membership. Stigmatic symbols over time are replaced by status symbols - "last night I won, I just started but I won." According to Huizinga (1955) "Winning means showing oneself superior in the outcome of a game. Nevertheless, the evidence of this superiority tends to confer upon the winner a semblance of superiority in general. In this respect, he wins something more than the game as such. He has won self esteem,

obtained honour and this honour and esteem at once accrued to the benefit of the group to which the victor belongs"(p.50).

Membership in the culture of mental retardation is assured but "a chance to get into the game" (Special Olympic slogan) and obtain membership in the dominant culture can be achieved and sport is one of the mediums.

Team membership in Special Olympics seems to provide a stable, predictable, yet challenging environment for the athletes. It was important that they remain with the same sport club in their neighbourhood to be with their friends. Special Olympic pins, trophies, jackets, badges etc. were status symbols and worn proudly. Travel and contact with media and sports personalities as well as celebrities also provided status and was a source of bragging. An understanding of sport terminology ranged broadly as evidenced by the responses to the informal interviews in the Appendix D. Knowledge of national and international teams including sport statistics was extensive in the case of some avid floor hockey athletes. Competition was important but it was also important to be a good sport (see Appendix D - p. 170).

Athletes attended hockey for numerous reasons ranging from "staying off the street", which was generally an encouragement that originated from group home staff "not to sit at home", to "competition" or for "fun" (see Appendix D - p. 173).

There was a good understanding of penalties, strategy, competition, socialisation, sportsmanship and drills. But there was confusion as to definitions of cool down and warmup (see Appendix D - p. 175). In some cases, the informal interviews did not produce clarity as to whether or not the athletes understood a sport term but conversation indicated that the term was understood. An example occurred at the tournament banquet where a good grasp of "team" was displayed. Dan said there had been good coaching: "the team played as a team not as individuals, total team spirit and effort, excellent goal tending". Jeff attributed their gold medal wins to "good team spirit, everybody did their jobs, everybody was cooperative, good coaching strategy. Other team played dirty. They were taking the body and high sticking a lot too. Using the stick in the back - cross checking. Referee wasn't calling penalties." Dan added "practises paid off, positional play how to run get your wind all paid off."

There were many parallels between young hockey players attitudes depicted in the ethnographic study The Professionalisation of Young Hockey Players (Vaz, 1982) and the Special Olympic athletes. One example was deliberate tripping in a game "they didn't catch me with my stick up against my boss. I did it on purpose" a Special Olympic athlete was overheard to say. Likewise, a young hockey player in the Vaz study was questioned "Do you think its ok to break the rules to win the game?" "Oh, yeah" he responded (Vaz, 1982, p. 80).

Another parallel related to sportsmanship. An ice hockey player was asked "Do you think hockey teaches you sportsmanship?" and he replied "yes". We shake hands at the end of the game and say "good game" and we're just - I can't explain it, but it teaches me more sportsmanship" (Vaz, 1982, p.55). Similarly, a Special Olympic athlete defined it as "we shook their hands. We play our best." and "they don't shake hands after the game. I think that's a bad attitude" (see Appendix D - p. 170).

A study that focused on nonretarded and retarded basketball players, Context, Ability and Performance: Comparison of Competitive Athletics Among Mildly Retarded and Nonretarded Adults concluded that retarded adults "...were confronted with simplified rules, emotional (rather than primarily strategic) coaching, lax officiating, and an altered social context within which competition occurred" (Levine & Langness, 1983, p.537). I observed that, initially, nonretarded teams were lax in applying themselves to the game. However, once the first period was over, generally, they played seriously, because the Drillers were very good players. Scores were close. Assumptions were shattered.

Another parallel between this thesis and the above mentioned study relates to coaches. Coaches for the retarded players encouraged them to "have fun" and "it's just a game" but the athletes were very serious about winning. To them, it was not "just a game".

Predictability

The structure of Special Olympics provided the athletes with predictability which supported the social network and maintenance of friendships "Hey, there's a swim meet April 23 and a dance in Coquitlam", "That's the day track starts (Grants' birthday), the 7th of April" and "On the 29th of this month we get our uniforms." It is also a stable environment for learning and practising skills.

Glamour

Conversations at McDonalds, on drives home, at the banquet and tournament and at the Pizza Hut or in the lobby of the community centres were filled with mention of celebrities and events: "Some of us were on wide world of sports", "I've been on VU13 after I've been to Indiana", "John McKeachie came over to shake our hands." Special Olympics offered opportunities that would never otherwise be possible. These experiences were status enhancing to the athletes.

Travel

Many of the casual conversations revolved around the excitement of travel experiences as members of Special Olympics: "Steve and I went to Calgary", "we both played in Campbell River", "You know that number 1 guy, he went to Indiana with me." Travel broadens knowledge of the world. At one time the mentally retarded persons' view of the world was much narrower. It is a normalising experience because travel to sport events is similar to what professional athletes do.

Famous Athletes

The names of famous athletes are dropped in conversation "We beat the stuffing out of the Lions (B.C.) - Al Wilson." Mixing with sports celebrities enhances status through association.

Sport Terminology

Sport culture is absorbed through television sportscasts for a lot of athletes. One night I called an athlete at home and I could barely hear what he was saying for the sportscast on the television. Terry told me that "Canucks made a deal with Philadelphia today. Canucks signed one team Canada player - signed Berry. He might play tonight. I hear Berrys good. Pat Quinn good. Every night after the game he sits down and thinks...He talks to Brian." I asked who Brian was. "Assistant manager. I think Pat Quinn talked to him about the Berry guy. If he say let's sign Berry so Pat Quinn calls him up and says sign that paper. Now nobody can take him. He's the property of the Vancouver Canucks." It was interesting to me how eager the athletes were to be interviewed and I wondered if they felt, more or less, like hockey stars. Terry referred to himself as a "free agent".

Sports Statistics

In the lobby before a game between the Burnaby team and the Vancouver team I overheard and recorded bantering between athletes from the two teams that reflected knowledge of detailed facts. "I'm the oldest player. I'm a veteran." (Ed) Lance responded "I've played thirty years." Ed scoffed "Thirty years

ago was 1958. They didn't have it. I think Gordie Howe has the record for power play goals. Wayne Gretzky scored 92 goals in one season." Lance said "#66 is Jo-Anns favourite player. Richard Vemieux is #66. Richmond got eliminated from the playoffs last night by Vernon. Kamloops is going to eliminate the New West Bruins."

CHAPTER IV

Stigma

Stigma refers to an attribute or attributes which are deeply discrediting. The mentally handicapped represent a subculture which deals with stigma daily. Challenging the label 'mentally retarded' becomes complex because this subculture's belief system is grounded in intersubjective reality. Negative difference combined with a voice that is discredited by the dominant culture makes meaningful communication elusive.

Normalization principles create interface between mainstream culture and the mentally retarded and the result is that dealing with stigma becomes consuming as they struggle to appear normal. Managing the ensuing tension necessitates the development of coping strategies composed of various passing and covering techniques. Success in these efforts is described as Phantom Normalcy, constantly subjected to risk of exposure.

Intersubjective Reality

"Our interpretations of others interpretations of us not only can confirm but can alter who we think we are, who others think us to be, and who they think they are" (Estroff, 1981, p.220). Estroff describes the process of "...identification, interpretation, experiencing, knowing and changing of self through interactions with others" (Estroff, 1981, p.220). He discusses the social construction of negative difference and that those whose formerly incongruent actions, meanings, experiences and conflicts when placed in contact with each other provides a

basis for producing and maintaining an intersubjective reality. Cam portrays this in his statement "Dan and I and some of the other guys have been through what they're going through. We know what they're doing wrong. We can show them the right way" or Eds' assertion that "we are part of the community. We are people trying to accomplish what we want, what we believe in. Important thing is to recognise we are here as individuals and therefore we should be treated as individuals". Ed expresses a sense of empowerment and collectivity and Carrie adds to this recognition in saying that "volunteers get to feel more comfortable around handicapped people. Communication like that. Communication like this and that. Vice versa."

The significance concerning this study of athlete/coach interaction, in my mind, was clashing of cultural expectations. If I, as a coach, react to behaviour that appears strange, immoral, unusual, than a search for the athletes' meaning concerning the behaviour is necessary before judging or rescuing is in order. Although I believe it never is. The significance relates to the coaches' role. All behaviour makes sense. Estroff (1981) discusses the intersubjective nature of reality as referring to "common sense knowledge and reality of one person by others"(p. 128).

Another domain in which there was disparity in assumptions was dating and marriage. An athlete told a new, volunteer coach and I that she "got married before Christmas" (Linda). I congratulated her and she showed me her ring and said she wanted

to bring wedding pictures the following week (this she did, though neither she nor the "groom" were in wedding apparel). Later in the evening, one of the male athletes was cuddling up to her and the new, volunteer coach said "you better watch out, she's a married lady." The athlete (Bob) looked annoyed and said "I know." At the time this acknowledgement served to affirm Linda's claim, in my mind. However, further into the season, Linda's compulsive flirtation with the male team members continued. In conversation, I mentioned to the team manager that Linda had claimed to be married but that she lived in a group home and I hadn't realised that married couples lived in group homes. The manager retorted "Oh, she's not married, they live in separate group homes - it's a fantasy of hers." I felt embarrassed for Linda, at having exposed the truth. And it also created some measure of insecurity in my work. Of note are the viewpoints of several ethnographers concerning this phenomena. Whittaker and Olesen (1968) say that "...whether the students were presenting "reality" for us, whether respondents were telling the truth - caused us little or no anxiety. With our notions of intersubjectivity in field research, we conceived of the outlook of each individual as characterized by "multiple realities" ...the actors controlled our images of them by editing information about themselves, giving us only part of the details, or only part of the situation as it had occurred" (p. 41).

Another aspect of this was the trap that Linda had unwittingly placed herself in. As Estroff (1981) describes "the product acts back on the producer" (p.219) meaning that

...persons produce meanings, realities and significances that they experience as other than their own product; the product gains an existence independent of the producers' volition. At some point in the conscious firming and sharing of the constructed reality, it becomes real in an even more massive way and it can no longer be changed readily" (p. 219).

As time went on, Linda's compulsive flirtation forced her to abandon her "married lady" facade for when George (the volunteer coach) said "you better watch out, she's a married lady", it indicated that the coaches were taking her seriously. She dropped the facade when she became aware that we were aware that it was a facade. She completely stopped mentioning her "marriage" and became known as the "playmaker" by male members of the team. Her identity changed as members freely related to her in ways they did not with other female members of the team. Of course, the team managers comment to me, which Linda had overheard, blew Linda's cover and may also have influenced her conversion. This is what Goffman refers to as passing which will be discussed in more detail later.

Dealing with Stigma

The Interactionist paradigm suggests that "meaning is derived from and produced through interpersonal communication and exchange" Blumer, (1969) in Estroff (1981, p.216).

According to Berger and Luckman (1967)

...objects and experiences possess few absolute, inherent qualities, but are endowed with qualities and significance through persons encounters with them. These encounters are interpreted and understood by persons on the basis of their commonsense knowledge, which has been established, confirmed and altered through their interaction with other persons who have had similar encounters and made similar interpretations. Meanings and significance are decided upon and learned by negotiating with others. A minimum of common knowledge and shared meanings is essential to communicate (Estroff, 1981, p.217).

Estroff (1981) elaborates: "...shared knowledge and meaning at a tacit everyday, commonsense level is not only the foundation for interaction, but it is also generated, maintained and altered by interaction" (p.217).

When I began my fieldwork with the floor hockey team, the most notable experience was in not knowing how to communicate with the team members: in not knowing how to behave or interpret

their behaviour. It was like tuning a television, watching the lines rolling rapidly down the screen and gradually slowing until the picture is clear, but I never did get the picture completely free of the rolling lines: they only slowed enough to allow me glimpses of the performance. The very awareness of my discomfort with communication suggested an awareness of 'difference'.

Goffman (1963) clarifies this experience:

When normals and stigmatized do in fact enter one another's immediate presence, especially when they there attempt to sustain a joint conversational encounter, there occurs one of the primal scenes of sociology; for, in many cases, these moments will be the ones when the causes and effects of stigma must be directly confronted by both sides. The stigmatized individual may find that he feels unsure of how we normals will identify him and receive him (p. 13).

My first encounters consisted of a few athletes encroaching intensely on my personal boundaries - some touching me, flirting, staring for uncomfortable lengths of time or leaning up against my body. Others were suspicious and kept distance between us, backing away if I made an approach at conversation, averting their eyes if I caught them watching me. I made many mistakes and was shocked at how transparent my stereotyped perceptions were and how quickly I made assumptions. Some of the athletes were normal looking and I discovered that I made unrealistic demands on them (see Appendix A, Sam p. 154). Others "looked" more

handicapped and I underestimated their abilities (see Appendix A, Ed p. 156). I was judging mental ability on physical appearance and when I realised this, I began to wonder how many times this happened to the athletes and what this was like for them. I felt flustered and unsure of myself and of course lacked awareness that these relationships would change over time as we grew to "know" each other. My impression was "this is the way it is" without notions of staging performances or stigma management techniques.

Gradually, I became aware of some of my assumptions, possibly stemming from the dominant culture. Some examples following will illustrate this with respect to dating and employment. The subculture of mental retardation appeared to work under a different set of assumptions largely rooted in tension management strategies. The athletes did not seem to feel comfortable in making mistakes, learning through "trial and error" as it were. Directly checking out perceptions would require a measure of self esteem and risk of ridicule or invalidation. Rather, the strategies employed were designed to avoid this. When someone said "Cathy got fired from working at the Red Cross", I imposed my interpretations regarding "being fired" and thought about wrongdoings that might be connected with dismissal. The athletes, too, understood the term in this way as is illustrated in the quote "I had to fire three guys this week because they were drinking and sloughing off behind my back" (Tom). I came to learn that "being fired" is an experience shared by many athletes and their friends because there were no

other explanations available, apparently, to account for the loss of a job, such as being laid off. But its' meaning was apparently related to vocational trends and was explained by the team manager, an athletes' mother, as such: "places like McDonalds only hire athletes for a short period of time, although there is big PR around it. The kids think they are fired. The kids come to me and tell me that they don't know what they did."

The difference between my experience of being let go on the job and the athletes might be in challenging or questioning the reasons for being let go. Instead, the athletes left the job assuming they were fired, and to be fired meant some wrongdoing had been committed as Lisa indicated "Judy got fired cause she wouldn't work at the Red Cross" which they felt unable or were unwilling to check out. It also says something about the dominant cultures lack of taking the responsibility to clearly communicate what was going on which may, as illustrated by my misperceptions, be a result of faulty assumptions.

Coping Strategies

How does a retarded person respond to that "torn up" feeling? What kind of defense mechanisms do retarded people develop? Most retarded people must rely on very simple psychological tactics or, as Sternlicht suggests in Evans (1983, p.125) the more primitive defense mechanisms such as repression, regression, fixation, denial, undoing and isolation.

Excerpt from Fieldnotes February 22, 1988:

Carrie asked me to help her get her earrings off. Her ears were bleeding. She said she was depressed and asked me to come into the equipment room. She was mostly incoherent but agitated. "learning to deal with it in a proper way" (her anger). "If I get down I feel sick - feel my forehead. I get down right here (she pressed her abdomen) I'm churned up inside." She mentioned a worker in the group home. "When she's okay, she's okay but watch out when she's not." Carrie did not play at all tonight which was completely unusual.

Passing and Covering

According to Goffman (1963) in Dudley (1983), passing is the ability to sometimes "...pass as someone with a less stigmatic identity or as a normal person" (p.73), while "...covering could be viewed as a special form of passing in situations where the person's identity is not known, as willingness to admit to the possession of a stigmatic attribute does not necessarily mean openly volunteering this information" (p.80). One of the most common ways of denying mental handicap is to try to "pass" as normal. There are many ways of passing, some of the most common methods are: concealing associations, mastering facts, asking questions, unrealistic domestic and occupational aspirations, and excessive reserve.

Concealing Associations

Goffman (1963) describes a person who wished to conceal his disability as one who will notice disability revealing mannerism in another person. "Moreover, he is likely to resent those mannerisms that advertise the fact of disability, for in wishing to conceal his disability he wishes others to conceal theirs" (P.86). Kevin criticized others on a regular basis "pull up your pants" "don't eat in here. you're not supposed to eat in here." During games with normal players or spectators, a group of players drew attention to Sams behaviour which they never did during practises "Sam, put a lid on it."

Mastering Facts

Evans (1983) says "...that some try to master facts to make themselves sound precocious such as memorization of sports statistics or the dates of historical or personal events" (p.125). Ed, during warmup, commented to no one in particular "Buddy Holly crash. They found all his stuff - watch with initials on it intact" I asked him how he knew and he said "I heard it eight years ago" and during a conversation with members of the Burnaby team in the lobby of the Recreation centre "Wayne Gretzky scored 92 goals in one season." Grant was often reciting numbers and details completely out of context "Oh, what a great meal they catered to us at the bowling banquet. Roast beef, mashed potatoes. They are going to have the suspenders after the banquet and they are going to have 134 athletes for the banquet. The seating capacity is for 200" (March 21).

Asking Questions

Another method was to ask questions compulsively to draw attention away from their handicap. "In being on the asking rather than answering end of an interaction, they did not have to display what they knew or did not know" (Evans, 1983, p. 126). Grant was notorious for asking questions such as "Do we have enough xerox copies?", "Have you got the schedule for the tournament?" But when I tried to interview him, he was very uncomfortable and just looked at me in silence. It was possible that the coaches inadvertently cultivated this quality by giving him jobs to do such as distributing forms to the athletes.

Unrealistic Domestic and Occupational Aspirations

Another predominant passing mode was apparent in unrealistic domestic and occupational aspirations. Tom told me that he was the boss at Lumberland and had to "fire three guys." Jordan aspired to an executive position with Special Olympics.

Excessive Reserve

Excessive reserve provides a defense that many utilize:

They avoid all behaviour that might upset others or cause them to laugh. Some become very skittish, going to great, sometimes absurd lengths to avoid contact with normal people....Some retarded people play possum, or something else. Retarded persons may adopt the passive style for a number of reasons. For some, it is a mask that covers aggression. For others it is a

reaction to feelings that it is futile for them to try to control their environments (Evans, 1983, p. 128).

Jess, Jack, Al, Carol and to an extent many others in varying degrees exhibited this tendency. It was apparent that this was a coping strategy because they became more open and relaxed as the season progressed, and they were animated in other settings. Others, like Carrie, Carol, Grant manifested the confrontation with tasks that they were ill equipped intellectually to handle by becoming anxious and fearful. Carrie expressed anxiety as above; Linda said "I thought he was going to hurt me. And I was hurt inside myself." Carol said "feel my stomach", I did, and I could feel her heart racing.

There were three athletes who were non verbal for physiological reasons. As it turned out, and this could only have been discovered over an extended period of time, a fourth person whom I had classified as nonverbal because I had never seen her speak to anyone, approached me at the end of the season with a question "how do you explain what a seizure is?" It turned out that she was very articulate but "Often they create difficulties for him (outsider) as "defenses", to keep him at a distance or at least to stall him off while he is considered and examined more closely" (Wagner, 1981, p. 5).

Furthermore, Biklen and Moseley's article (1988) described how:

...institutional staff assert(ed) that (a) man had no language, although his friends in the group home insisted and the researcher observed that he spoke and communicated just fine. The informant did not experience the setting of the test as comfortable enough to risk talking, so he never did (p. 160).

A similar experience occurred when I was presenting a coaching clinic in Port Alberni years ago at the inception of Special Olympics in B.C. The athletes were dead silent in the gymnasium as they tried out the game of floor hockey. This contrasted with what is typically a rowdy, noisy sport. The former coach of the Port Alberni team had since moved to Vancouver and is a regional coordinator, often assisting with the Vancouver team. I mentioned my impressions to her in that the athletes seemed so competent and she noted "they're really getting the concept of the game." One way to make sense of this behaviour was to attribute the silence to lack of experience. This brought to mind Evans (1983) quote "conversational repertoires of the mentally retarded are limited not by the handicap but by the limit of experiences"(p. 122). Adding to this is a comment by one of the parents of the nonverbal athletes when I commented on how much he had improved over the season "well, they said he would never be able to take the bus alone but he does that now, no problem."

Gender

Awareness of gender roles and attitudes were displayed by the athletes where in order to pass as normal female athletes talked openly about the topic but male athletes did not. Cathy told me that Jack was her fiance and Gary her ex-fiance "but he used to beat me up. He asked me to marry him July 2." The male athletes rarely mentioned marriage or dating with the exception of Keith who confided that his girl friend's name was Carrie and he had met her at church; he tended to be quite flirtatious and macho. When he first spied a new female volunteer he squealed "woo woo"! Some male members displayed interest in the opposite sex nonverbally by putting their arms around women or standing too close. Later, in the season, I heard that Jess was engaged although he never mentioned a girl friend or appeared interested in women in the same way that Terry never talked about dating yet showed up with a girlfriend at the tournament banquet. When I pointed out to him that "I never knew you had a girlfriend", he replied "You got to concentrate on the game." Bob brought his girlfriend Shelley along to a practise and wanted to know if she could join. But he proceeded to spend the evening with his arm around Linda. Both Henshel (1972) and Edgerton (1967) suggested that their subjects would marry anyone as did Heshusius (1981) for "Just to have one (a girlfriend or boyfriend) was of great importance"(p.97) in order to gain membership into the dominant culture.

Seizures

Athletes look to coaches as 'normalcy' guides into the dominant culture for coping strategies in relation to their stigma. One of the afflictions commonly experienced is seizure. One athlete suffered seizures during the final tournament and another athlete sought out advice on how to manage information concerning her seizures. This topic is common and acceptable within the environment of Special Olympics as: Goffman (1963) describes back places where:

... persons of the individual's kind stand exposed and find they need not try to conceal their stigma, nor be overly concerned with cooperatively trying to disattend it. Here the individual will be able to be at ease among his fellows (p. 81).

Carol approached me with the question "if I asked you a question would you tell me? How do I tell people what a seizure is? I mean I had a seizure yesterday. How do you tell people what it is? It's hard to explain." I suggested we ask Barb (the manager) as I did not know what to tell Carol. Barb told her "Tell them it's like you're daydreaming." She talked about her son Greg's massive seizures and Ed, who was seated beside us, rocking back and forth on the bench, retorted "I don't know why, he never does anything" which puzzled me but may not to someone versed in the causes of seizures. Carol said "Well, when I have a seizure, I don't know what I'm saying and I say weird things." Carol felt comfortable talking to us about her problem although

it was apparent that she did not feel the same way about other outsiders. The gymnasium was a safe place to report her anxiety and embarrassment about having public seizures.

Similarly, Bob had two seizures during the tournament and was thus banned from playing any further for his own safety. He admitted that he had forgotten to take his pills and was distraught and behaved violently when told that he couldn't continue to play. The team members silently watched him seizure twice and his angry reaction at having been benched. The rule concerning seizures was specific to play in Special Olympics and something that was understood and easily related to within team members and coaches.

Phantom Normalcy

According to Goffman (1963), Phantom Normalcy is achieved when a retarded person successfully passes as normal. "There are degrees of phantom normalcy, and each has its risks. The moderately successful passer fools some of the people some of the time or is led to believe he does" (p. 126-127). Linda exemplified this in her "role" as a married woman (see p. 94). She succeeded for a long period of time because she employed all the cultural symbols such as a ring, wedding photo and dates as proof of her marital status. She was consistent in her verbalization of her marital status but not her behaviour as regarding dominant cultural rules such as fidelity and commitment. It was this that gave her away. Another similar example is noted. One of the first nights of the season, I

noticed a girl sitting on a bench with a notebook. She said her name was Linda and she was doing her math homework. Later, I discovered that Linda was in her forties and did not go to school.

One athlete did not scheme to pass as normal but responded spontaneously to a challenge of his sport cultural knowledge. Brian is a Special Olympic athlete from another team who was visiting the Vancouver team one practise. I overheard an exchange between himself and a member of the Super Valu team during a break at the game. The Super Valu member asked Brian "Do you play basketball?" Brian said "yes." The Super Valu player asked "what position?" Brian said "Second position." The Super Valu player said "pardon?" Brian looked uncomfortable and repeated "second position." The Super Valu player said "pardon?" Brian looked even more uncomfortable and repeated "second position" blushing. The degree of distress was apparent in his face. Both Linda and Brian were exposed in their passing attempts.

Language

There were phenomena associated with language in the occurrence of speech errors connected to stigma and coping strategies which on a larger scope grew out of socialisation within the broader society (primary socialisation). Besides speech errors which often led to confusion "I went to violence school", I was initiated into the mechanism of what Goffman (1963) refers to as "phantom normalcy" which taught me to reduce

literal interpretations of what was said (time took care of this problem). Sometimes it was obvious "I had to fire a couple of guys" (the chances of this athlete being a supervisor are small) and other times it was not "I got married before Christmas" (it was plausible that any of the athletes could have been married). And, of course, I still had trouble comprehending the speech of nine of the athletes that came consistently to practise. There were athletes who talked but made no sense to me, either because they had a condition such as autism in which they withdrew periodically and carried on monologues that were disconnected "nuisance. snow. workshop." or did not connect to my line of questioning "What do you think about your team?" "It's good" "why?" "I like Burnaby best" and I asked "What position do you play?" "I like Burnaby." After this exchange, I asked Barb, the equipment manager, why Al focused on Burnaby and she provided me insight into the context of his answers "Because his friends were talking about the game against Burnaby last night. They were talking about Burnaby and that Jordan was there. He wasn't at the game last night and he has never been to Burnaby."

Another example of speech that appeared out of context, initially, was during a warm up when we were doing side stretches. It was silent in the gymnasium and Ed blurted out "Buddy Holly crash. They found all his stuff - watch with initials on it intact." I was standing next to him and asked how he knew this and he replied "I heard it eight years ago." Later, I remembered that at the beginning of the practise, Chris, the coach, had asked everyone to make sure they took off their

watches and jewelry. I did not know how to make sense of this, I wondered if Ed's comment regarding Buddy Holly's watch was related to Chris's advice. Evans (1983) suggests that, as a defense mechanism, some "...devoted themselves to mastery of statistics or facts that would make them sound precocious i.e. the memorization of sports statistics or the dates of historical or personal events" (p. 126). In the lobby, one night, I was sitting on a bench listening to a verbal exchange between members of the Burnaby team and the Vancouver team, Ed said "I'm the oldest player. I'm a veteran." Lance (Burnaby player) countered with "I've played thirty years." Ed retorted instantly "Thirty years ago was 1958. They didn't have it. I think Gordie Howe has the record for power play goals. Wayne Gretzky scored 92 goals in one season."

Ten members of the team were difficult to comprehend because of inarticulation or incomprehension and this represented more than a third of the team. Exacerbating the problem was that I focused deliberately on speech rather than nonverbal behaviour, initially, because of the model I was operating under and secondly, because it was impossible to check out or make sense out of observations with someone who I had to ask to repeat themselves over and over. Occasionally I had help from other athletes in interpreting nonverbal behaviour but it was a problem within this study. One athlete approached me imitating a rabbit with his hands on his head, hopping and laughing. He always did it, and only to me, and I never knew what it meant. Jason, the youngest on the team, was almost nonverbal and behaved in a very

coy and cute way. He would sidle up to me say "hello", knock on my head and giggle. He often hugged the coaches and they allowed him to do this which I thought was inappropriate. During games, he would play but would slowly back off the floor towards the wall, only to be gently pushed back on. By the end of the season, he was staying on the floor and making attempts to hit the ring. Simon, was also nonverbal and his behaviour was extremely erratic. He, occasionally had to be taken off the floor for hitting other players. At the same time, he would be smiling and laughing. Goffman describes the "in-group deviant" wearing a happy and acquiescent mask to cover a chronic sense of inferiority. There were at least four people who behaved in this manner although they would never acknowledge feelings of inferiority and I do not know how one would elicit information that would confirm that notion.

CHAPTER V

Conclusions

Athlete/Coach Interactions - "Myths" understandings

In the early days of science, it was believed that the truth lay all around us...was there for the taking...waiting, like a crop of corn, only to be harvested and gathered in. The truth would make itself known to us if only we would observe nature with that wide-eyed and innocent perceptiveness that mankind is thought to have possessed in those Arcadian days before the Fall...before our senses became dulled by prejudice and sin. Thus the truth is there for the taking only if we can part the veil of prejudice and preconception and observe things as they really are...(Medawar, 1979) in (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p.12).

"Myths" understandings emerged gradually. But first had to come an awareness that myths existed. The literal interpretation of what lay before the researcher preceded this.

Viewing mental retardation as a social construct shatters one myth, namely that it is a biological property bestowed upon a person at birth. If mental retardation is perceived in a cultural sense, where culture, by definition, is "...the body of learned beliefs, traditions, and guides for behavior that are shared among members of any human society," where "...behavior

that the members have acquired by observation, by imitation, or by instruction at the hands of other members of that group" (Barrett, 1984, p.54) then the limitations imposed on those labelled mentally retarded do not arise from retardation, rather from the dominant cultures perception itself.

Another myth predominating is that the mentally retarded cannot represent themselves. The purpose of the study was to elicit the athletes viewpoint, because rarely was this undertaken. Rather, the voice of the parent or official was heard. However, in spite of this intention, I made assumptions regarding who could articulate their viewpoints which were largely based on appearance and behaviour and resulted in inadequate representation of the team.

Myths have been generated by recreation professionals who fear misapplication of the normalization principle. Reverse integration and segregated sport is seen to be damaging in that a (50/50 ratio is unlike the ratio in society and is therefore unrealistic for both disabled and nondisabled individuals). The athletes themselves looked to the coaches as secondary socialisation agents who helped them "how do I explain a seizure?" interpret and model the dominant culture values and behaviour in a neutral environment.

Mentally retarded people do not learn. This myth was disproved many times in the study. Improvements in performance, questions regarding social customs of dating and work, aspirations towards work and competitive goals all indicated ability to learn. "I just started but already I won" articulates the awareness and stimulation of improvement and success.

The myth that mentally retarded people are not aware of the stigma attached to being mentally retarded is disproved by the elaborate coping strategies employed to allay the pain resulting from being treated as inferior.

The myth that athletes are not critical or analytical about their experiences or the people surrounding them was contradicted by the exposure to front and back stage performances. What appeared to be true in one setting was false in a different setting, for example, the athletes did not criticize or challenge coaches or gossip in the gymnasium. But in McDonalds, rapid fire analysis of plays, strategies and team mates was observed.

I chose the topic, athlete/coach interaction: the athletes perspective because I suspected that the coaches would make assumptions, based on their own sport socialisation, as to what the athletes comprehended. This proved to be true; there were disjunctures. I did not expect to catch myself in this net, although, logically, as a member of the dominant culture I, too, would make similar assumptions. Ethnocentricity: "the tendency

to evaluate other cultural practises from the vantage point of one's own culture" (Barrett, 1984, p.8) defines this experience thereby illuminating the origin of cultural myths.

In terms of future implications for Special Olympic coaches, attention to this concept could result in more effective athlete/coach interaction because it "... allows us to see alternative realities ..." (Spradley, 1980, p. 16) resulting in a deeper level of understanding of the athlete's point of view.

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APPENDIX A

The Actors

B.C. Special Olympic athletes have varying backgrounds. Some have been institutionalised at one point in their lives and others have never been. Some have been integrated into normal schools while others have never been to school. Some live at home with their parents, others in group homes, still others alone or with friends. They are young, old; male, female; employed and unemployed; married and unmarried. But they all have two elements in common. One is their mental handicap and another is their membership in B.C.S.O. (a non profit organisation providing sport for the mentally handicapped) It is these commonalities that bind them together as a subculture.

The Drillers (B Team)

DAN

Is the team captain. He was born in 1959 and went to school at Oakridge. He looks perfectly normal and has a high level of skill in hockey. He has, since last season, become responsible for leading his team in warmups which he designs: has the team form a circle around him and does: shoulder rolls, side bends, stretching ham strings, situps, pushups, up and down on toes stretching calf muscles, leg stretches to the side, running from side to side, jogging around the gym and drills which he also develops, for example, two sides are formed and Dan stands in front moving his arms forward, sideways etc. requiring the person on each side to move in the direction he indicates as quickly as

possible. Dan's father was a former soccer star in England. He still lives with his parents and works in a greenhouse. He is capable of initiating and leading his team mates, of talking to them diplomatically regarding their behaviour or misbehaviour; of maintaining consistent stable behaviour. Dan plays center.

JACK

Was born in 1961 and went to school at Oakridge. He lives with his parents and works at Fraser Workshop. He is very difficult to understand when he speaks. He looks unresponsive and maintains a bored or detached look, although one time he surprised me when I put my hand on his shoulder and patted it and said "good going, Jack" and he impulsively hugged me. He occasionally loses his temper. He has apparently been engaged and flirts with Linda. Jack is thin and very quick on the floor, very motivated to score when he plays, however, often he just sits on the sidelines. His parents came to the sportsfest along with his brother, sister in law and their children. Jack plays wing. He calls me "my coach" which makes me feel good.

GARY

Was born in 1962 and went to Kits High. He lives with his parents and works at Fraser Workshop. He is attractive and very expressive emotionally. He has a terrible temper and according to a female spectator known as Cathy (who says they were engaged,) he beat her up causing her to break off the engagement. He is also known to do the notorious Tiger Dance but I can't describe it because the head coach, Chris, wouldn't let him

demonstrate it saying "no, it's gross, I don't like it. He goes loony." He is a good player usually playing wing. His father often comes out to watch.

JESS

Was born in 1964 and went to Oakridge. He lives in his own apartment and is going to school to learn electronics. He looks normal but, like Jack, wears a detached suspicious look - poker face. He is known for his nickname obsession i.e. he calls various team mates the terminator, the gas chamber, Miss Piggy and uses cliches i.e. "what was that going past me - a UFO?" (referring to a hockey ring). He has a dry sense of humour and this was apparent when he sat a long time on the bench and said "I'm already rusting." This was the only reference of any athlete nearing a complaint to lack of floor time. He is very determined and usually fixes on getting a "hat trick" or beating "my previous record." He is very supportive of his fellow players and wears a hockey sweat shirt to practise. He kept his distance from me for a long time, eventually relaxing and chatting. He usually plays centre.

STEVE

Was born in 1953 and went to West Point Grey special class. He lives at home and works in regular industry. His mother recently died. He is a huge red headed bearded fellow who wears thick glasses and has a difficult time expressing himself verbally. When he does, he sometimes stutters. He drives his own truck, which he bought with his own money, and he is very

wary of people bumming rides from him. He will not go a yard out of his way to drive someone. He was very friendly to me right from the start and would usually approach me by saying "Hi" and standing right up to me, chest to chest, in an unbearably uncomfortable proximity (with Steve, this was just genuine friendliness). He is very popular and is an excellent goal tender. Although I felt he could be quite coy and mentioned dancing "three fast ones and one slow one" with a girl at the Port Alberni tournament, he showed extreme annoyance and discomfort around Linda's flirting.

CARRIE

Was born in 1967 and went to Oakridge. She is in the semi-independent living program, in an apartment of her own with a house manager to provide support, but was previously in a group home and didn't seem happy "when she's okay, she's okay (worker in home) but watch out when she's not..." She is attractive, athletically gifted and quick and she expresses her emotions often and in a dramatic way. But she has problems with her temper and she is constantly checking out as to whether or not her behaviour is appropriate. "If you see me frustrated, say 'don't be frustrated'" or "Am I handling myself better even though I'm pissed off?" Carrie is highly competitive and becomes very tense during games. She loves to win but talks at length about good sportsmanship. She sought out my advice on a number of issues from colouring her hair to camera care and asked me to take off and hold her pierced earrings, take pictures of her "make sure you get a picture of me really moving" and listen to

her when she was upset "I'm churned up inside". She was interested romantically in George, the volunteer coach from UBC. She was not interested in any of the mentally handicapped guys. She appeared to be very high strung. She was chosen to compete in the B.C. games and was very excited about that. She plays wing.

LISA

Was born in 1965 and went to Oakridge. She lives at home. She is thinking about moving to a group home "I might move to a group home but I don't want to be too far away from my parents. My mom says whenever I'm ready. I could go to a group home in Burnaby but that's too far from my friends. I got to get a job before I move to a group home." Later in the year she got a job at Heroes. Lisa looks handicapped, speaks in a very slow drawl, her posture is hunched and she looks sideways, not directly at the person she is speaking to (she also wears glasses). Cam is her boyfriend but she wants to be able to play the field "we get to dance with whoever we want." She has interesting things to say about herself "Let me win and all that...I always say that before I play" and has a wide variety of interests, tennis, swimming. She indicates that she might have a religious background "if God had wanted you to have red hair he'd have given you red hair" (to me) and uses the phone to stay in touch with friends. Her position is Cam's defense partner.

CAM

Was born in 1954 and went to Vancouver Tech. He lives in a private apartment in his parents home and worked at Super Valu but after the local store closed, he got a job at McDonalds which he likes as much as the one at Super Valu. Cam is known as Pokey after Eldon (Pokey) Reddick of the Winnipeg Jets and he is very friendly and sweet. He is tall and overweight and wears glasses. He gives the appearance of being shy and often asks for help in doing the right thing such as asking me to check over a note to Lisa or asking Pam to give him Lisas phone number. But he appears to have insight into what his problem is "they're building up my confidence" he said about his parents. He has a lot of empathy for fellow players "we were helping the weaker group...Dan and I and some of the other guys have been through what they're going through. We know what they're doing wrong. We can show them the right way." Cam is very proud of the association he has had with famous people through Special Olympics and talks about this a lot "Next monday, I'll bring my medallion and picture of me and Doug Miller. He's the CKVU weatherman" and "I was on the radio" and "Some of us were on wide world of sports." Cam never displays anything but gentlemanly behaviour and has great respect from his team mates. He is always happy to go for coffee and is my main informant, has most peoples phone numbers and has been around a long time. He plays defense and has scored two goals this season.

SCOTT

Was born in 1961 and went to Oakridge. He lives at home and has a job. Scott is over six feet tall but the most gentle person on the team. He is regularly provoked by Simon and refuses to fight "I don't want to fight. What should I do?" is the request he made to Chris and Barb. He, it was later discovered, was being pressured by Tom to give him money and the account is, that he stayed away from hockey because he was afraid of Tom. Scott is a slow player mostly due to his bulk but is a good defenseman and seems to follow the game well. We never really interacted.

JEFF

Was born in 1953 and went to Oakridge. He lives at home and works for a company. Jeff is a good looking man and is very good natured and gentle. He is one of the gang consisting of Terry, Jess, Gary, Dan and Jack. He is a good player and usually positions as wing. He is articulate but rarely spoke. He talked more at the banquet during the tournament about his opinion regarding the success of the team. He seemed to enjoy and want to analyse the performance of the team at the tournament. His parents came to watch him play at the tournament.

The Blasters (C Team)

TERRY

Was born in 1963 and went to Lord Byng. He lives at home and works at Fraser Workshop and also does janitorial duties at UBC. Terry is goal tender for the C team and is a very hard

working player. He is devoted to sports and when I asked him if why he never talked about his girl friend, he said "got to concentrate on the game." Terry loves to use sport jargon. He talks about himself as having been "a free agent" and about the "Canucks (having) made a deal with Philadelphia today...I think Pat Quinn talked to him about the Berry guy. If he say lets sign Berry so Pat Quinn calls him up and says sign that paper. Now nobody can take him. He's the property of the Vancouver Canucks." Terry is popular with everyone and is very shrewd at manipulating rides -- Steve stays a mile away from him but I found myself somehow driving "just a little way" all the way down East Hastings. He also managed to sneak his girl friend into the tournament banquet, he is a real wheeler and dealer. Terry is good at psyching up the team.

KEVIN

Was born in 1954 and lives in Arlington group home. He works at Pandora/Varco. Kevin has Downs Syndrome, is small and wears thick glasses. He is very serious and concerned about following rules as he admonished Carol a few times "You are not supposed to eat in the gym." He has a lot of opinions and considers Pat the boss. He is a good player but is difficult to understand. His good friend is Al with whom he lives and works. During the tournament Kevin told me he would bring pictures of his family. He spoke much more to me in this setting than the practises and games.

AL

Was born in 1955 and lives in the Arlington group home. He works at Pandora/Varco. Al, appearance wise, is one of the most disabled of the group. He wears thick glasses, limps heavily and, like Cathy, looks sideways at the person he is speaking to (if the person is not familiar to him). He also is very difficult to understand and tends to repeat what he has immediately experienced. For example, when I was interviewing him, he responded to all my questions with some reference to Burnaby. I asked Barb why that would be so and she said "Because his friends were talking about the game against Burnaby last night. They were talking about Burnaby and that Jordan was there. He wasn't at the game last night and he has never been to Burnaby." Al, of all the athletes seems the most anxious to be associated with anyone of higher functioning. He often says "Jordan, he's my friend" or "Len, he's my friend." He is very chatty with the mentally handicapped and loves Chris, the head coach, but is very reticent with unfamiliar normal people.

LEE

Was born in 1962 and went to Oakridge. He works at Pandora/Varco and lives at Arlington Group home. Lee has Downs Syndrome and is very thin. He is nonverbal. Lee always wears a worn out bowling badge on his T shirt and uses hand signals at times. He is an excellent player. Although all seemed to like him, he did not mix much. He understood the drills and followed them well and was agile and flexible.

JASON

Was born in 1970 and is a student at John Oliver high school. He has lived with his foster parents since he was two. He is in a Trainable class but takes P.E. from a regular physical education teacher and plays with "the guys" in soccer. He is classified as moderately handicapped according to his mother but he appears very low functioning. He giggles a lot and generally stands on the floor watching and giggling at the play. He is very friendly and often approached me "how are you" He hugs the coaches and seems very happy. Jasons mother says he never stops talking at home but he never interacted verbally with me other than his behaving in a teasing manner. His mother says he has a great sense of humour but doesn't think he is handicapped or at least does not show it if he does. She says, he does forget and understands people but has a hard time meeting people. His teacher says that he really picks up in P.E. then regresses and that she thinks it could be due to the skills not happening on a regular basis or not transferring from hockey to school and vice versa or that it is emotional.

LARRY

Was born in 1965 and went to Oakridge school. he lives with his foster mother and works at Pandora/Varco. Larry has downs syndrome and is very overweight. He is a bit difficult to understand but talks all the time about his girl friends and church and when he spoke, he stood in very close proximity - too close for comfort. He often behaved defiantly and stubbornly in practises, laying down on the ground when he didn't want to do

something, or crying "I don't want to be on this team, uh, uh. I don't want to." Larry did not seem interested in the game at all and spent most of his time trying to get attention from the coaches. He could be a most courtly and charming individual.

SAM

Was born in 1961. He is looking for a job through Jobs West and is also looking for a residence. Presently he is living with his father, one of the athletes told me his mother died a short time ago. He is autistic, very tall, large and good looking. Sam never misses a practise, always comes in cutoff jeans and holds the hockey stick directly in front of him like a cane. He does not interact with other players but often makes repetitious noises "bobby bubbles, bobby bubbles", "Camay, Camay" and sometimes he spits or blows his lips and corrects himself "That's silly, isn't it? And its bad for your lips. And the doctor said so. Is that appropriate behaviour or inappropriate behaviour?" During practises, nobody corrects Sam but during games when normal players are present, they correct him and act as though they are embarrassed. Sam does not seem connected to the game any more than he is to the players. He has been going to school to get training for a job but has yet to succeed in finding a job.

MURRAY

Was born in 1962 and went to Burnaby South High School. He lives with his blind aunt in an apartment and works at Atlas on Powell "a regular company." Murray is difficult to understand

but is very mild mannered. He doesn't interact much with anybody and according to Cam "Apparently he doesn't have any friends. His aunt paid me to take him to a show. I was surprised." Although after watching Linda flirt with many of the males on the team, he made an attempt to imitate this at the end of the season but looked as though he felt extremely self conscious. Murray plays hard but is not too concerned with the results of the games.

LINDA

Was born in 1944 and says she went to Our Lady of Sorrows in grades 1, 2, and 3 and then went to Oakridge. She was living in a group home but is now in a semi-independent apartment situation and is not employed. At the beginning of the season, Linda came as a spectator and was sitting on the sidelines "doing math homework" - she said she had a test to study for. I had asked her why she didn't play and she said "I can't. My knees have been operated on" (later she told me she just had a tubal ligation) but she joined the next week and turned out to be a very competent player as Terry said "she's good". When I asked her what her reasons for playing were she said "You talked me into it. You asked me if I was going to start and I did. I wanted to learn how to play." Linda has a problem around men and has had involved flirtations with at least five team members although she purports to be married. She has an extensive fantasy world. At the end of the season she became distraught saying that a team member had put his hands down her pants, another girl on the other team was threatening her with a knife, Tom was bothering

her about money and Don (member of another team) had raped her friend. She also was going to have serious surgery and when I last talked to her was going to "Violence school." But Linda is very articulate and well groomed and has a pleasant manner, however she does take centre stage.

ED

Was born in the early 1940s (he says he is 46) and was reluctant to say where he went to school. "In New Westminster. I could tell you but it wouldn't be necessary...oh well, Woodlands." His mother recently died and Ed lives on his own in an apartment although he is close to his family who took him "to Hawaii six times and Mexico." He formerly played with the Vancouver Richmond Association team in 1972 and went to Special Olympics in Winnipeg in 1974. He says that floor hockey was inferior because there was no competition. He is a philosopher and has wry wit and yet is capable of taking off his pants in the gym to change into his sweats. He is tall, slender, though he is concerned with his weight - "they're (other team mates) not concerned with taking off the weight but as you get older it's important" and he has thick glasses and often has trouble with his sight when he is playing. Ed is voracious in his pursuit of a goal. Nothing stands in his way in his determination to win. He talks constantly about hockey scores, details about teams and he is critical of referees and his team mates performance, sometimes displaying disgust at their incompetence "some players weren't up to doing anything" or "I don't know why, he never does anything." Ed is articulate and an avid Canuck fan and is full

of comments and information about the hockey world. He is one of the most opinionated people on the team. I had called him one night at his home and the T.V. was blaring so loudly I could hardly hear him. Ed also never looks a person in the eye.

CAROL

Was born in 1967 and first went to school at the Childrens' Foundation (because of severe emotional problems), then went to Oakridge and then regular high school. She lived at home (after the hockey season). Her brother always brought her to practises. Carol is attractive and an excellent player and scores often. When she misses a shot, she sometimes bangs her head against the wall or bites herself, a behaviour that very much alarmed a volunteer coach. She takes her purse wherever she goes and usually has food tucked inside and a cup of coffee with her as well. Although she knows she is not to do this, nothing stops her from trying. Carol said almost nothing for the first two months, and I was shocked when she approached me and said "If I asked you question would you tell me? How do I tell people what a seizure is?" I had never interviewed her because I assumed she was nonverbal. She is autistic. She was very fond of one of the volunteer coaches and made him a pair of slippers. When she asked me if I would like her to make me a pair, I said sure and she replied "That'll be ten dollars." She talked about her medication and seizures and physical discomfort and like Carrie suffers pain in her abdomen (stress?)

GRANT

Was born in 1946 and went to "private school." He lives in an apartment on his own and makes money by looking after the cleaning of the building. He is small and balding and talks nonstop. His nickname by the team members is "chatterbox"... "he talks too much." Grant is concerned with detail "we've got 24 new sticks for the game for both teams. Barbs ordering 12 new sticks for the game... Oh what a great meal they catered to us at the bowling banquet.. roast beef, mashed potatoes. They are going to have the suspenders after the banquet and they're going to have 134 athletes." He is sometimes given the task of handing out forms with athletes names on them. His speech is slow and he always has a smile on his face. He really appears to enjoy himself during the games. At the tournament, his parents came to watch and his brother was a score keeper. He seems confident. Grant calls Pam, the coordinator at home to check out details and make sure nobody has forgotten anything. He would make a good team manager. However, he is apparently absent minded when it comes to himself: he forgot his shoes and Pam had to run to his house to get them before a game and he has been run over three times in the same spot by a car.

BOB

Was born in 1963 and lives in the Arlington group home. He works at a lumber yard. Bob initially was scary to be around. He said nothing but leered and stood extremely and uncomfortably close to my body and for the first few practises asked for a ride home and did not easily take no for an answer. By the end of the

season, he was normal in his interaction with me. He regularly bears cuts and bruises "I had a seizure at work and hit the concrete. I was lifting heavy boxes." He is tall and looks normal but moves and reacts slowly. His speech is slow and laboured, sometimes it appears as though he is on drugs of some sort. He had a problem with Linda in being accused of taking advantage of her and he brought a handicapped girl to practise to get her "on the team" but he is a good and determined player. He had to be physically restrained from playing at the tournament after having been disqualified following two seizures on the gymn floor.

JAKE

Was born in 1967 and lives with foster parents. He is native Indian and was very friendly and chatty at the start of the season. He told me about "Pow wow" that he attends with his social worker and described the things he had learned at Riley Park Community centre. We played basketball and he showed me the shots he had learned at the centre and told me he weight lifted there as well. In mid February, there was an incident in which Greg alleged Jake strangled him in the washroom and Jake did not return to hockey after this. My assumption was that the reason was connected to this incident, but I found out later that that was not the case at all.

SIMON

Was born in 1959 and went to Oakridge. He lives in the Arlington group home. Simon is nonverbal and hyperactive. He looks quite handicapped and has trouble in controlling his emotions in the gym although he always has a smile on his face. His body is rigid and it is difficult to know what he understands but every practise he brings a helmet to a coach for assistance in putting the strap on. He is fussy about the fit and sometimes tries on a lot of helmets before he is happy. When he got a new pair of sweat pants, he pointed this out to us proudly. Simon had trouble in warmup and needed assistance in positioning his body. During games, he could get upset easily and was guided off the floor to cool down.

GREG

Was born in 1961 and went to Oakridge. He is an only child and lives at home with his parents. Greg works at Panndora/Varco. His mother Barb is the equipment manager for the team. Greg is mentally handicapped, hemiplegic and has a shunt in his neck. He is more of a loner in that he does not interact with other players - does not converse. But he talks a lot and is always cheerful. He told me "I'm always on call. The guy I replace gets drunk on alcohol and I have to go in." He told me I should not work shifts "It's hard on you" as apparently his father worked shifts before he retired. Gregs' attention span is short and it was difficult to get an interview with him although he always was asking if I would interview him.

TOM

Is a former Vancouver player. I first met him when I was working with the Burnaby Soccer team and he was a spectator at a Burnaby Sports Club game against the Burnaby Blue Hawks. He was so proud of his coach Phil Leblond. Tom came to the practises this past season infrequently but was feared. He reeked of alcohol on occasion and bragged of having to fire someone. He extorts money according to players and the equipment manager who told me that Special Olympics could do nothing as long as he didn't interfere in the gymn. He would apparently approach athletes outside the centre. Tom assumed that because he was a good player he could not show up to practises but be allowed to compete in Sportsfest and was very upset when Chris said he could not.

JORDAN

Is a mentally handicapped Burnaby coach/manager/player. He is married to Patti, lives in a house, drives a car, works at Vancouver General Hospital and seems to be everywhere at once. He fantasizes about being a director/leader/man of importance. Jordan is manipulative and devious according to athletes. Jessa said "Lisa, Terry and I are enemies to Burnaby. We used to play with Burnaby. I used to be captain. Jordan was coach. He's the one who cut us." I asked why he cut them and he replied "Beats me" They don't trust him and call him "Jordanie" except Al who says he is his friend. Jordan presents another face to normal

coaches and outsiders - eager to please, humble such as in posing a question to the coach Pat "How do you call aggressive playing?" and Pat responded with "I don't know. You're the Ref".

APPENDIX B

Practice and Game Schedule

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>COFFEE</u>
JANUARY 5	ORIENTATION	MT. PLEASANT	
JANUARY 12	PRACTISE	MT. PLEASANT	
JANUARY 19	GAME-JEWISH COM. CNTR. VS. VAN. TEAM	MT. PLEASANT	
JANUARY 26	GAME-Super Valu VAN. TEAM	MT. PLEASANT	
FEB 2	GAME-Super Valu VAN. TEAM	MT. PLEASANT	
FEB 8	PRACTISE	S.F. SCHOOL	
FEB 15	PRACTISE	S.F. SCHOOL	
FEB 16	GAME-BURNABY TEAM VS. VAN. TEAM	MT. PLEASANT	
FEB 22	PRACTISE	S.F. SCHOOL	
FEB 23	GAME-Super Valu VAN. TEAM	MT. PLEASANT	
FEB 29	GAME-RICHMOND TEAM VS. VAN. TEAM	S.F. SCHOOL	
MARCH 1	PRACTISE	MT. PLEASANT	
MARCH 7	PRACTISE CANCELLED		McDONALDS 4 ATHLETES
MARCH 8	GAME-MT. PLEASANT COMMUNITY STAFF VS. VAN. TEAM	MT. PLEASANT	
MARCH 14	GAME-BURNABY TEAM VS. VAN. DRILLERS	S.F. SCHOOL	McDONALDS 2 ATHLETES
MARCH 15	PRACTISE	MT. PLEASANT	
MARCH 21	GAME-SURREY TEAM VS. BURNABY TEAM	S.F. SCHOOL (REFEREES PRACTISE)	McDONALDS 4 ATHLETES
MARCH 22	GAME-COQUITLAM TEAM VS. VAN.	MT. PLEASANT	
MARCH 29	GAME-BURNABY VS. VAN	MT. PLEASANT	

APPENDIX C

Question Framework

The purpose of the study was to discover the athletes' understanding of: 1. the coaches' goals, priorities and expectations; 2. teams' goals, priorities and strategies; 3. players' goals, priorities and expectations.

I began interviewing athletes informally on March 1, 1988, and continued throughout this month. On the first day of practise, as I spoke to each athlete individually, I told them that I was interested in their opinions about how the team worked, how they felt about the sport etc. and that I would be asking them later in the season to speak to me. They seemed interested and some alluded to other interviews they had participated in "special olympics called me to their office. They did a little interview and did a story." Later on in the season, I recognised that many of the athletes watched a great deal of sport on T.V. and I wondered if the enthusiastic cooperation in being interviewed reminded them of sports personalities being interviewed "after the game." I centered my questions around the following framework but often I was short circuited by a limited verbal ability or understanding of what I was getting at. I generally followed where the athletes led me.

1. What does the athlete understand of the coaches' goals? What is his/her definition of a goal? Does he/she have specific or broad goals? Does he/she have weekly goals or seasonal or both? Are his/her goals individual oriented or team oriented?

Are his/her goals competitive natured; towards behaviour modification; team sportsmanship; personal development; fitness; socialization; integration? Are his/her goals consistent? Does he/she adjust his/her goals often, occasionally, or at all? Does he/she think they are realistic and attainable?

2. What does the athlete understand about the coaches' expectations?

What is his/her definition of expectation? How does he/she define mental handicap? How does he/she perceive ability of the individual? Of the team? What are his/her expectations of comprehension of skills, drills, strategy? Does he/she expect the athlete to have personal goals? Does he/she expect to involve the athlete in decision making or goal setting? Does he/she expect good attendance and proper behaviour, or what are his/her expectations regarding attendance, behaviour, dress? What type of relationship does he/she expect to have with athletes?

3. What is the athletes' understanding of the coaches' priorities?

Is it competition; recreation; socialisation; sportsmanship? Is it a priority that he/she "know" each athlete? What are his/her priorities in practise session? In seasonal planning? Do they differ? What is his/her philosophy? Is an athletes' personal development of special interest?

4. What are the athletes' goals?

Why does he/she participate in floor hockey? What does he/she expect to achieve in a practise session? In the season? Does he have long range goals i.e. longer than the season? What does he perceive team goals too be? Are his goals status oriented (passing and covering), materialistic (trophies, medals) or altruistic (getting friends to participate, helping team mates)? Are they consistent from week to week? Are his goals collective (team) or individual? Does he want to model the coach or any other team member?

5. What are the athletes' priorities?

Are his/her priorities competitive; recreational; or related to socialisation? Are his/her priorities personal or oriented towards the team (i.e. if winning is a priority, then is it winning as a team or achieving his/her personal best)? Is his/her relationship with the coach a priority over and above his/her relationship with his/her peers? Is the sport a priority in his/her life?

6. What are athletes' expectations?

What does the athlete expect of the coach? i.e. friend, teacher, father figure, authoritarian/disciplinarian, counsellor, role model. What does the athlete expect of himself/herself? i.e. high level of skill, popularity, punctual attendance? What does the athlete expect of his/her team mates? i.e. loyalty, companionship, support? How does he/she expect to be treated by

his/her coach and peers? What does he/she expect of practise sessions? Of the season? Of competitions? Is there a difference among these?

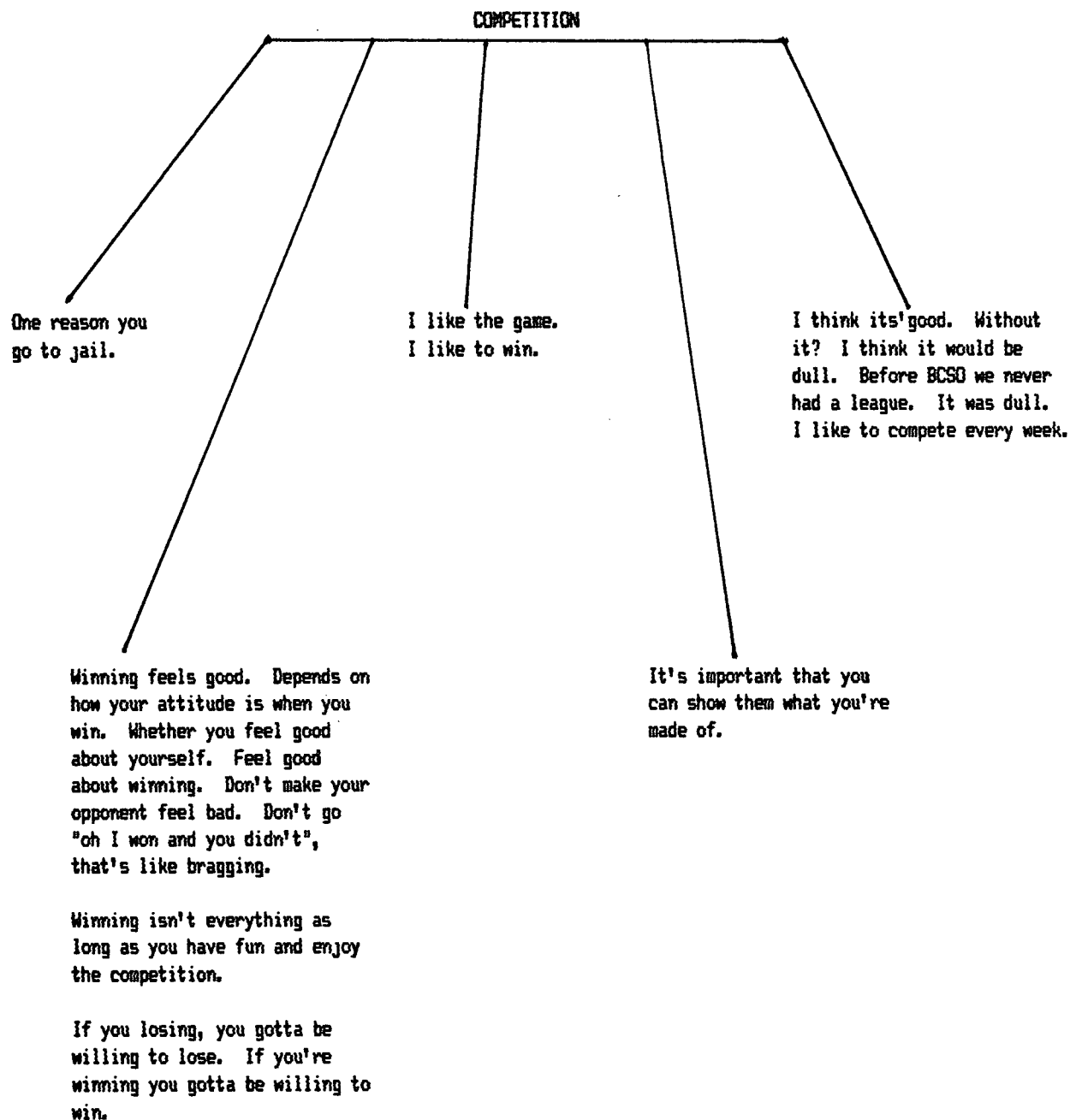
7. What are the definitions that the athlete applies to the following terms

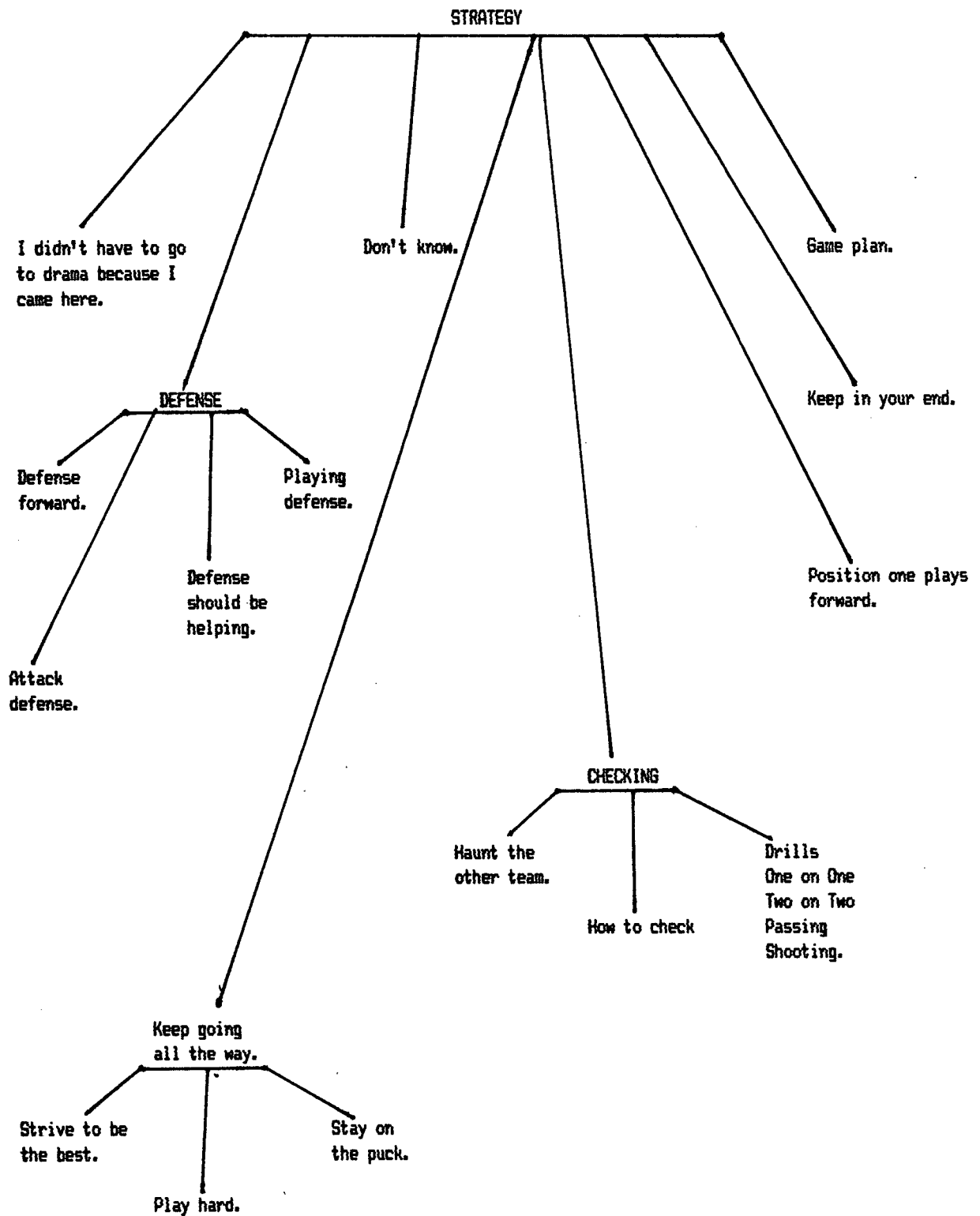
team	competition	practise
coach	recreation	game
goal	strategy	athlete
expectation	drill	priority
skill		

What does the athlete see as "role of coach", "role of athlete", "role of team". What are the characteristics of a good coach? A good athlete?

APPENDIX D

Taxonomy





SPORTSMANSHIP

No swearing.

Expect good sportsmanship and good behaviour and conduct at all times, not like a kid.

Captain, I should know it. It's a good workout.

It's good for everyone to know how he's doing. I felt good, I moved up and scored. When we did that - everyone was quiet and then after the goal they cheered and said nice going.

A good team is in Richmond tournament. Good team we shook their hands. We play our best.

There is good sportsmanship. On some of the teams there isn't. I don't want to mention all of them, but Burnaby is tough. They don't shake hands after the game. I think that's a bad attitude.

Always should be good sportsmanship, excitement, enjoyment. Good sportsmanship is "a person shouldn't get mad. A person shouldn't go off to one player. Everybody tries to do what they can do. Everybody should realize there's always a next time. Now Jake, he hasn't come back. Some people that are so anxious to win they'd want to do anything, it irritates them. They don't accept defeat. They're here to win but for fun too.

Maybe he thought he did something wrong to Greg (Jake). I thought it was wrong what he did to Greg, totally wrong. There are lots of good sports on our team. But the worst behaviour I seen is too much yelling on bench. Can't hear what the coach is saying. Can't hear the referee or the line change.

PHYSICAL FITNESS

Don't come to hockey
for that (fitness).

I'm 41 years old and I need to burn off
as much as I can. That's the reason I
think there should be too much activity.

I do it every Wednesday
two exercise classes.
One by where I work, I
like fitness very much.
I lost quite a few
pounds here, about ten
pounds.

WHAT IS A TEAM?

To learn to play
hockey, learning
more.

In Richmond
Tournament - good team
we shake their hands
we play our best.

To raise money.

Everybody together.
It's every individual
not just me.

REASONS FOR COMING OUT

Competition

To practise

I came out to watch, then I got into it. You talked me into it. You asked me if I was going to start and I did, I wanted to learn to play.

For fun.

It's an activity for me besides work.

To stay off the street.

I like the sport.
I love the game.
I like it, I don't like Richmond.
Too much cliqueness. Here it's much nicer. I love floor hockey.

I come here for recreation, socialisation and leisure.
Socialize.

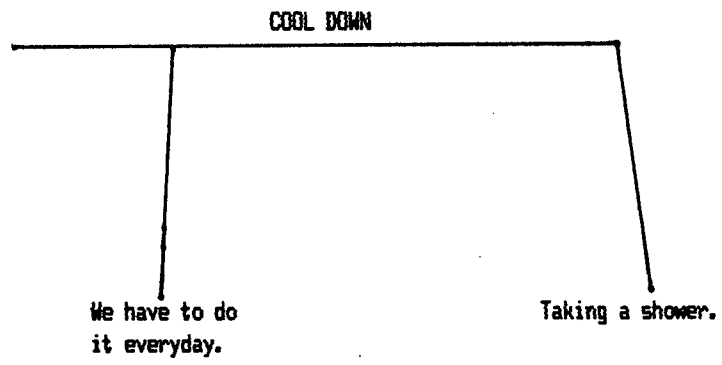
I got to keep fit. They're not concerned about taking off the weight but as you get older it's important.

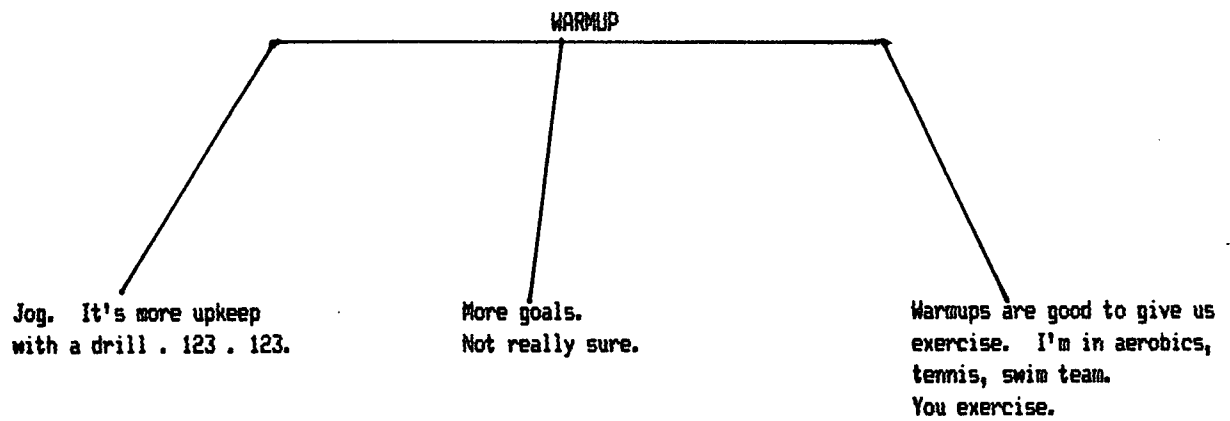
Basic reasons - for fitness,
I like to keep active.

Exercise.

For the exercise.

Fitness.





PENALTIES

If you get a penalty
its' two minutes.

Hooking, smashing, high sticking
tripping.

For high sticking. No fighting.

No high sticking. No fighting. No
arguing. No pushing. No slashing.
No tripping either. High sticking,
slashing any kind of thing.

High sticking, slashing, body checking,
Smashing with stick, shouting, pushing.
Agressive playing, talking back to
coaches, violence.

SOCIALISING

Socialising is really good. You have to be really grown up to be around people. You got to act appropriately or people won't want to be with you

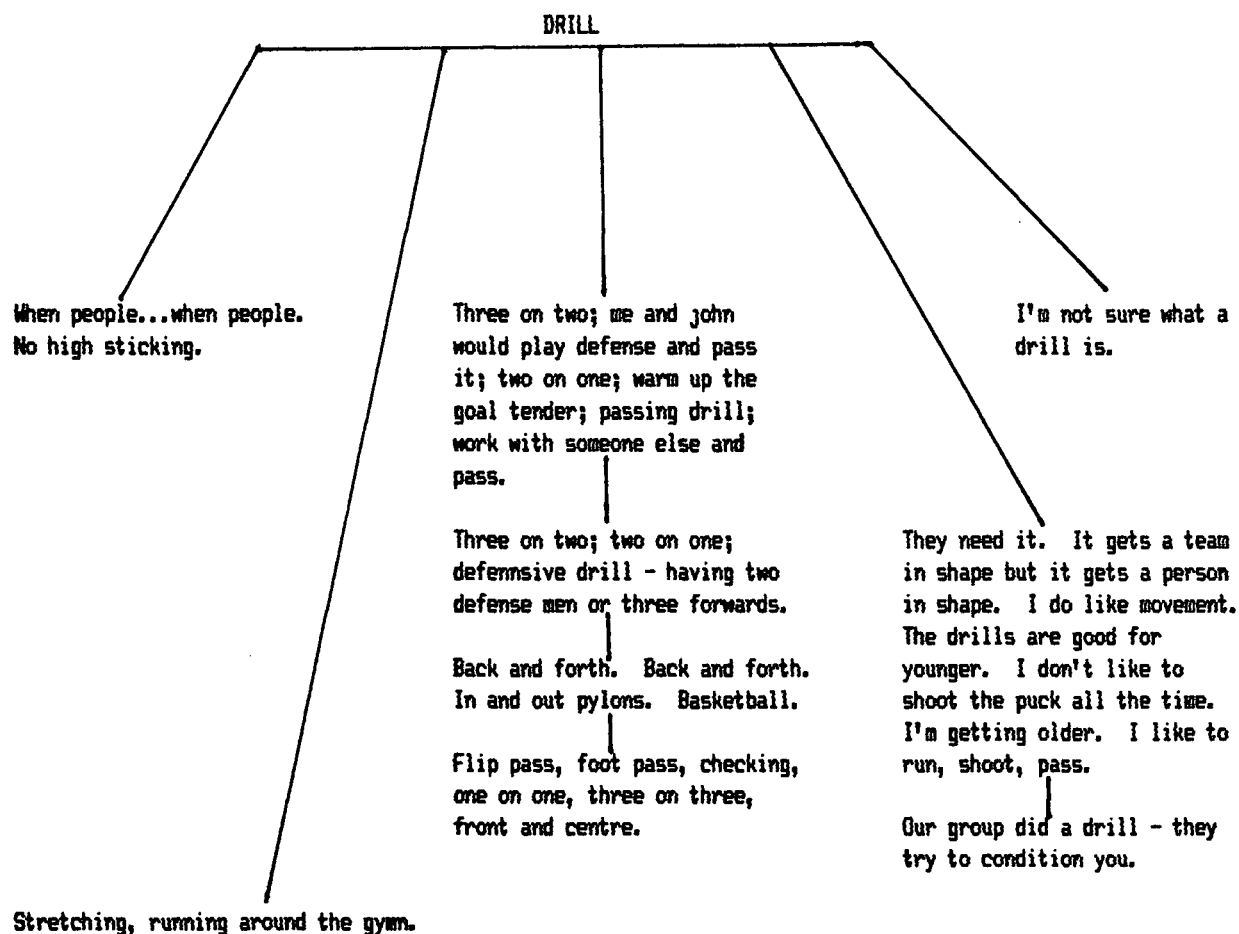
I come here for recreation, socialisation and leisure.

Every monday and tuesday its' a thing for me to get away from home. We learn at the house not to sit and watch T.V. Get into a club and do things.

It's a place to come and learn and meet other people and that's socialisation

I think it's important. Lisa, Grant or Dan would call me to see how my work is. I call to ask how their work is. We socialise on the phone.

Talk to friends. Introduce ourselves, shake hands and say.....my name is so and so.



BAD COACH

Turn out to be like Jordan,
pushy, demanding and stuff
like that.

I didn't like the way the other
coach pushed me like that last
night, I dthought he was going
to hurt me.

Too soft.

He'll yell and shout
at players.

Puts you out of position.

COACHES ROLE

As a player and a friend or whatever, when we are not playing.

Bosses have a right to teach us.

To teach us how to play in sports.

Teach forward, jogging, touching the wall, come back.

It's a job.

They're working for special Olympics.

It's the players who decide if a coach loses his job.

Coaching is a stressfull job.

Coaches have a tough responsibility trying to motivate and keep a team up.

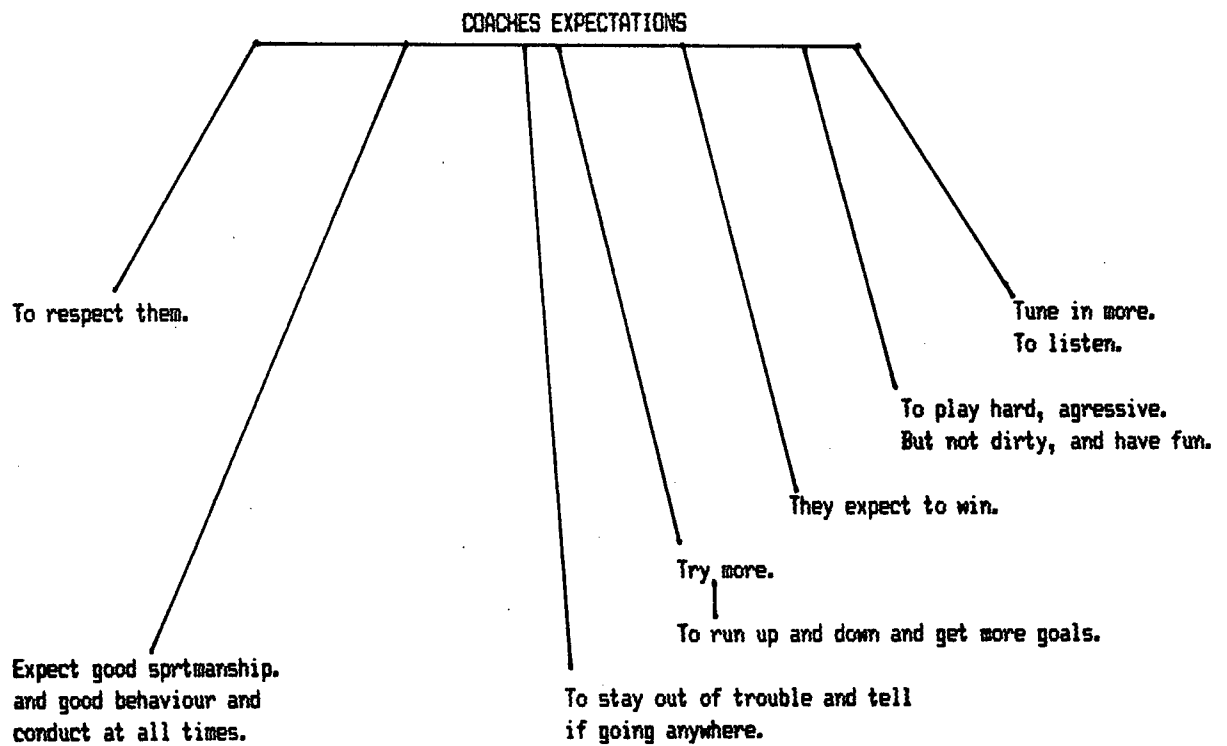
For coaching.

To make them understand the game a lot better.

Make sure we're on different lines.

For helping on differnt lines (the players).

Some coaches get picky, you don't have to be told one hundred times.



APPENDIX E

ETHNOSCIENCE MODEL

