2020

Reimagining the Polynesian Pipeline Phenomenon: An Intersectionality of Race & Athletics in the College-Going Decisions of Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander High School Student-Athletes

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This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Samara Suafoa as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education.

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Abstract

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Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) high school student-athletes are highly sought after by collegiate athletic programs across the country, creating the Polynesian Pipeline phenomenon (Johnston, 1976; Tengan and Markham, 2009; Uperesa, 2014; Vainuku and Cohn, 2015). However, the college graduation rates of NHOPIs remain comparable to those of other minoritized communities. Utilizing an adapted conceptual framework of college access (Ogbu, 1990; Tierney and Venegas, 2009) which argues that college-going decisions are impacted by multiple environmental influencers, this study examines the role of the Polynesian Pipeline one of those contextual factors in the college choice process for NHOPI student-athletes. Furthermore, this study hypothesizes that the Polynesian Pipeline substantially influences the college-going decisions of this specific population of student-athletes due to the unique forms of capital it offers. Designed as a qualitative study, phenomenology is used to accentuate the NHOPI student-athlete voice, which has been critically underexplored. Using purposive sampling, participants were initially identified through NHOPI community athletic organizations as eleventh and twelfth grade NHOPI student-athletes. Thereafter, snowball sampling was used to identify additional participants. Lastly, themes were derived from demographic survey and one-on-one interview responses. Findings suggest that the Polynesian Pipeline is a significant contextual factor within the college choice process for NHOPI high school student-athletes which heavily impacts their attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions about going to college. Additionally, findings argue that for this

unique population, the intersectionality of race and athletics should be considered during the college choice process.

Keywords: *Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islanders, Polynesian Pipeline, student-athletes, college-going decisions, minoritized, familism, grid iron capital, the Grid Iron Myth*

Dedication

I dedicate this entire body of work to my namesake, my grandmother Ms. Lote Iusitina Suafo'a, who invited me to the kitchen table while dipping her crackers into her tea to tell me stories about my family's migration to the United States from Samoa. Thank you for all of your wisdom and insight, your ferocious zest for achieving the "American Dream," your persistence and resilience, and your ever-so-famous "use your brain" attitude. I carried you with me through these university doors and my only hope is that my completion of this degree brings you great pride.

Acknowledgements

Without the guidance, allyship, and advice of my advisor and chair, Dr. Kyo Yamashiro, completion of this degree would have been impossible. I am grateful for your patience with me in this process and for allowing me the space to share my narrative and to have the courage to tell my story through the work with integrity. In addition, I am tremendously appreciative of the time, effort, and expertise of my committee members: Dr. Dina Maramba, Dr. William Perez, and Dr. Victor Thompson. It was an honor to work under your direction.

To my steadfast Urban Leadership cohort members Heidi Akin, Danielle Jenkins-Frierson, and Dena Guerry: From day one to the finish line, I thank you all for the laughing and crying sessions, the happy hours and lunch dates, the virtual and in-person meetings, and for the friendships that have thrived amidst the adversity of this program. I'll see you each at your finish line.

To my Critical Scholars of Color Dr. Keisha Goosby and Andre Chenfeng: Thank you for pushing me to think critically about the issues faced by our communities of color, teaching me how to apply that same critical lens to my own scholarly work, and reminding me of the responsibility we have in telling our stories in spaces which weren't designed for us. For your feedback, guidance, love, and constant reminders of the importance of self-care, I sincerely thank you both for traveling the journey with me.

To my dear friend, mentor, and colleague Dr. Claudia Bermúdez: You have proven to be my most persistent advocate, always nudging me to advance and grow personally and professionally. I would have never ventured down the CGU path if not for your encouragement. I am most grateful for your sincere sisterhood and for always helping me "fix my crown." Thank you for paving the way for another brown sister in pursuit of a Ph.D.

To the NHOPI parents and family members of the young adults I had the pleasure of working alongside in this process: I sincerely thank you for entrusting your children with me and believing in this work. The story could not have been told without the voices, rich experiences, and heartfelt narratives of our young people. It was a priority of mine to honor them by producing work which reflects them in the most authentic version of themselves.

Due to the extraordinary amount of time and energy spent away from the homefront in order to tend to my scholarly responsibilities, I want to express my most sincere gratitude to my partner-in-crime, Mr. Christopher Vaimili, for holding things down especially with the boys. Thank you for listening to my late-night ramblings about my dissertation topic and all things related to our community. Mostly, I thank you for encouraging me to remember who I am and from where I come primarily when I was suffering most from Imposter Syndrome.

To our next generation of young men, my sons Toma & Tuite'elagi and my nephews TeKanaelauvaka & Kanivaloaloahulitepakihamoa: My hope for you is that you accept the position in the family we have carved out for you. Your only job is to serve one another and others through the work that has been placed in your hands. Do good work, always. I love you boys to the moon and back and twice around again!

To my sister, Dr. Bernadette Tyrell: You planted this seed the day you graduated from USC but then again, you've always raised the bar for me. I am forever indebted to your sisterhood, allyship, and friendship. Thank you for allowing me to close the deal by offering mom and dad two daughters who they can proudly refer to as doctors. You are the other half of my heart. I love you endlessly.

To the two who have no choice but to claim me, my mom and dad, Mr. and Mrs. Etuale Suafo'a: Thank you for your "almost" 50 years of marriage and for demonstrating to us the epitome of unconditional love and commitment. I love you for loving me through my assertive acts of bucking the

system, never following the plan you scripted for me, taking the road less traveled just because that's innately who I am, and not just marching to the beat of my own drum but creating my own beat and cadence in the process. Your rearing has allowed me to find my voice and to stay true to my convictions which may be the only two things that allowed me to survive this program. This degree is yours. I love you both with all of myself.

Finally, because it is my obligation to uphold the value of the collective practices instilled within my own culture, to my Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders: May we continue to engage collaboratively in the raising up of our next generation by standing in our truths and having the courage to interrupt false narratives which hinder our own growth. The task is arduous but possible and my hope is that I have contributed positively to the work so that those who are next in line can take it and blaze new trails.

Se'i lua'i lou le 'ulu taumamao

Pick the breadfruit on the far-off branches first

-Samoan Proverb
(Thank you A.A.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Tables

Table of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

"You're a Samoan football player and you're smart? We usually don't see that around here," were the comments a counselor made to my son as he attempted to register for ninth grade coursework at a large, comprehensive high school in Southern California. As his counselor, her primary responsibility should have been to conceptually grasp the idea that he was both an athlete and a scholar and then under that premise, place him on a rigorous college-bound educational pathway that would support him in achieving both his athletic and academic goals. However, she made no attempts to acquaint herself with my son as an incoming student. Not once did she request to review his middle school transcripts or ask him questions about his middle school academic experiences before haphazardly enrolling him in remedial ninth grade classes. Rather, an assumption was made, which at the time seemed to be racially and ethnically fueled, about the young man standing before her dressed in a football uniform with a vowel laden Pacific Islander last name that she lackadaisically attempted to pronounce.

What I realized in the aftermath of this incident was that her preconceived postulations about my son could have inflicted catastrophic consequences on his journey to higher education had I not been there to intervene and advocate on his behalf. Additionally, I wondered about other minoritized parents who have less contextual knowledge than I do, as a teacher and educational leader, of how the public K-12 school system operates. For example, parents of minoritized students who are underrepresented in higher education (i.e. Blacks, Hispanics, Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islanders, and American Indians/Native Americans) tend to have less than a bachelor's degree, live in poverty, and maintain single-parent households when compared to parents of White students (Aud, Fox, and KewalRamani, 2010). By extension, these risk factors tend to leave minoritized parents at the mercy of entrusting the high school

educational agents charged with the responsibility of setting up their children for maximum academic success.

Aside from this experience with my son, I also reflected on my own high school experience as a Samoan student-athlete growing up in Honolulu, Hawaii. Retrospectively, I thought about the supports, or lack thereof that existed along my educational path and helped shape my own perceptions and attitudes about going to college as an NHOPI student-athlete. Together, these two personal events piqued my interest about today's NHOPI high school student-athlete, the experiences they are having through high school, and the ways in which those experiences mold their college-going decisions. Moreover, I was particularly curious about the reasons why sports are so prominent along the K-12 educational trajectories of NHOPI youth.

To explore these questions, this study begins with a summary of NHOPIs in the United States (U.S.) and the data pertaining to their rapid population growth and current standing in educational attainment at the K-12 and college levels. This study will then describe a muddled version of the NHOPI narrative as depicted by inaccurate data reporting practices within the U.S. while underscoring the ways in which this false narrative has contributed to NHOPIs being an invisible population. Next, a historical backdrop of NHOPIs and sport in the Pacific is provided to help explain: a) the prominence of sport within the history of the NHOPI community, b) the establishment of the "Polynesian Pipeline," the syphoning of NHOPIs to colleges around the country via athletic opportunities as a phenomenon (Johnston, 1976; Tengan & Markham, 2009; Uperesa, 2014; Vainuku & Cohn, 2015), and c) the role of sport particularly within various contexts of college choice for NHOPIs. Thereafter, Tierney and Venegas's (2009) cultural framework of college access, which draws on the seminal work of Ogbu's (1990) Cultural-

Ecological Theory, is used in this study for theoretical grounding. Ogbu's theory examines societal and school factors alongside community forces which affect a minority group's ability to achieve "educational parity with dominant groups" (Ogbu, 1990, p. 45). Therefore, Tierney and Venegas (2009) use the constructs of Ogbu's (1990) Cultural-Ecological Theory to highlight the critical role environmental influencers play as high school students make college-going decisions. Tierney and Venegas' (2009) framework of college access is also used in this study because it builds upon previous college choice literature. Finally, an adapted conceptual model of college choice for NHOPI high school student-athletes is proposed following the review of the college choice literature. This adapted model emphasizes the Polynesian Pipeline as a noteworthy environmental factor which can impact the college-going decisions of NHOPI student-athletes.

Background and Problem

Prior to the 1960 Census, no racial category existed for anyone identifying as Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (Pew Research Center, 2015). However, in 1960 the categories of Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian were included as options in census data collection, but by 1970, the categories were again reduced to the singular category of Hawaiian (Pew Research Center, 2015). Racial categories were again expanded in 1980 to include Hawaiian, Samoan, and Guamanian, and by the 1990 Census, the category of Other Asian or Pacific Islander was added to the existing list of 1980 options (Pew Research Center, 2015).

The racial and ethnic makeup of the country was also changing in the 1990's as an increase in interracial marriage resulted in a growing category of multiracial individuals that had never before been represented in large numbers. Moreover, there was an influx of immigrants, mostly from Latin American and Arab countries, residing in the United States at the time (Lee,

2001). So, the racial categories in the 2000 Census underwent the most drastic alterations as they were revised to reflect the changes of the country's population. The 2000 Census racial categories specific to NHOPIs were revised to include Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Guamanian/Chamorro, and Other Pacific Islander. The 2000 Census marked a victory for the NHOPI community as the larger Asian/Pacific Islander (API) category was separated. Additionally, while this expansion of racial categories was beneficial for the NHOPI community, so was the option of 2000 Census respondents being able to select all races that applied when indicating racial identity. In other words, for the first time in the country's history, the 2000 Census offered multiracial respondents the choice of selecting multiple racial identities (Lee, 2001).

Since the 2000 Census, the United States Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has used the term Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) to identify any individual with origins in Hawaii, Samoa, Guam, or other Pacific islands located in the Oceanic regions of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia (United States Census Brief, 2012). According to the 2010 Census report, there are over 1.2 million NHOPIs living in the United States with the largest populations residing in Hawaii and California Communities (Community of Contrasts, 2014). Two thousand ten Census results also contend that the NHOPI population is the fastest growing ethnic group in the country, having increased by 40% between 2000 and 2010, a rate rivaling that of Asian Americans and Latinos (Community of Contrasts, 2014). This rapid population growth may be attributed to the two previously mentioned changes in the way NHOPI data were collected in the 2000 Census: 1) the expansion of racial categories, and 2) the option of selecting more than one race. To make a case in point, NHOPIs identifying as one race accounted for approximately 365,000 in 1990 and grew to 399,000 in 2000, an increase of 9.3%

(McGregor, Davianna and Moy, 2003). However, when multiracial responses were accounted for in the 2000 Census, the NHOPI population increase spiked to 140% totaling 874,000 NHOPIs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Of the 1.2 million 2010 respondents identifying as NHOPI, approximately 1,225,195 individuals identified as NHOPI alone or as an NHOPI in combination with another race in comparison to 874,414 individuals in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

With respect to the educational outlook of this vastly developing population, research also supports a steady increase in the number of NHOPI student-athletes who are taking advantage of college access via the Polynesian Pipeline (Johnston, 1976; Tengan & Markham, 2009; Uperesa, 2014; Vainuku & Cohn, 2015). While research documents the flow of high school NHOPI student-athletes being recruited to colleges in the U.S. as originating in the islands of Hawaii and Samoa (Franks, 2009), contrary to the way in which the Polynesian Pipeline has been defined in the literature, this study suggests that the present day Polynesian Pipeline refers more to the racial and ethnic backgrounds of the student-athletes than to the geographical location from which they come. In other words, an NHOPI student-athlete residing in one of the fifty states, who accesses college or professional opportunities via their athletic status, is referred to in this study as a byproduct of the Polynesian Pipeline. By extension, this study broadens the definition of the Polynesian Pipeline by also including individuals who identify as Melanesian or Micronesian. In short, this study expands the definition of the Polynesian Pipeline to include a pathway to college and beyond via sport for NHOPIs and NHOPIs who are currently in that pipeline or who have previously been in the pipeline and return to the community to serve as a viable resource.

However, despite the fact that the NHOPI population is steadily increasing in size coupled with a noticeable escalation in the number of NHOPIs gaining access to college via sport (Pelley, 2010; Vainuku & Cohn, 2015), NHOPI college completion rates remain comparable to other underrepresented ethnic groups (NCES, 2018). The National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) "Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups" report (2017) states that in 2014 a dismal 15% of NHOPIs ages 25 and older obtained a bachelor's degree. While the data on NHOPI degree attainment are comparable to Blacks (20%) and Hispanics (14%), it is radically dissimilar from that of Asians (52%) and Whites (34%). Additionally, in 2010 the six year college graduation rate of NHOPI student-athletes was reported as being a mere 70%, a rate comparable to Blacks (68%), Native Americans (76%), and Hispanics (79%) (NCAA, 2016).

Yet, simultaneously, there is a wealth of research documenting models of the college choice process for high school students as well as the influential factors and forms of capital that impact student decisions within various stages of the college-selection process (Cabrera and La Nasa, 2000; Chapman, 1981; Henrickson, 2002; Hossler and Gallagher, 1987; Litten, 1982; Perna, 2006). Unfortunately, much of that research deems college choice as a linear process and lacks consideration of the intersectionality of contextual factors that play into an individual's "aspiration formation," primarily for students from marginalized communities who are typically underrepresented in higher education (Bergerson, A., 2009, p. 3). Furthermore, literature on the college choice process for student-athletes is limited. More specifically, the majority of the literature on NHOPI student-athletes maintains a heavy focus on male student-athletes participating in high revenue generating sports such as football and rugby, which restricts the research on sport in the Pacific to issues centralized on masculinity. Lastly and most poignantly,

there is an "underdeveloped body of critical scholarship on sport in the Pacific" (Uperesa and Mountjoy, 2014, p. 264) and a "growing need to explore absent and emerging voices and cultural practices in regard to sport-related migration in, from, and to the Pacific Islands" (Molnar and Kanemasu, 2014, p. 175).

The Muddled NHOPI Experience

Until the release of the 2000 Census report and changes made to data collection practices at the federal level, all ethnic groups represented in the NHOPI community were included under the larger Asian American/Pacific Islander (AAPI) umbrella. As a result, Teranishi, Behringer, Grey, and Parker (2009) assert that "…Pacific Islander students, within higher education access and admissions debates, are either misrepresented or used by the opposing factions within the debate to further their own interests of maintaining or dismantling affirmative action" (p. 60). Additionally, Poon et al. (2016) argue that the homogenization of Pacific Islanders with Asian Americans silences the voices and experiences of this distinct demographic category of individuals. By considering all ethnic groups in the AAPI collective as one, some communities such as NHOPIs fell victim to the Model Minority Myth, a common misconception that all ethnic groups included under the AAPI umbrella were successful within the educational context (Museus, 2011; Museus and Kiang, 2009; Teranishi, 2012). For example, in the aggregate NHOPI data were often indistinguishable from other Asian sub-groups. Because data for Asians and Pacific Islanders were not disaggregated, assumptions were far too often made about the AAPI group being homogenous which resulted in aggregate patterns being falsely assigned to NHOPIs.

Museus and Kiang (2009) claim that it is a common misconception that AAPIs in college all perform at the same high level of success. They reference a study conducted by Berkner, He, and Cataldi (2002) which asserts that 71% of all AAPIs attending four-year institutions were able

to earn a bachelor's degree within 6 years. However, when Pacific Islanders and Southeast Asians are separated from the larger AAPI aggregate, the data show that some sub-groups within the Pacific Islander and Southeast Asian categories such as Samoans and Laotians are nowhere close to the previously stated 71% total AAPI benchmark. Rather, between the years 2008-2010 it was reported that only 10.3% of Samoans and 12.4% of Laotians ages 25 and older held Bachelor's degrees (Teranishi et al., 2013). Hence, this practice of combining all Asian populations together with Pacific Islanders resulted in policy makers and institutional leaders being grossly misinformed.

While the previous example demonstrates the problems associated with using aggregated AAPI data when making educational or policy decisions at the postsecondary level, the 2015 Condition of College and Career Readiness annual report published by the ACT (2016) uses disaggregated data which discloses a much more accurate version of the NHOPI K-12 experience in relation to college and career readiness. For example, a key finding reveals only 17% of NHOPI high school students in 2015 having met the ACT College Readiness Benchmarks in all four subject areas as compared to 28% of all other students (ACT, 2016). Additionally, this same report claims that when students are "…in 8th grade, the most important predictor of 12th grade GPA was student grades, followed by academic achievement" (ACT, 2016). So, the fact that 53% of NHOPI students completed a core English course and only 36% completed a core Math course as compared to a national average of 67% and 45%, confirms that NHOPI high school students are not receiving the curricular preparedness necessary for being deemed career and college ready (ACT, 2016).

Hence, as a result of a lack of data disaggregation for the NHOPI community, most conversations about K-16 education that reference AAPI data do not consider the sub-groups under

the AAPI umbrella disadvantaged or underrepresented communities (Museus & Kiang, 2009). Pang, Han, and Pang (2014) provide a more in-depth discussion of such examples that refer to the AAPI group as "whiz kids" or "geeks" who "raise the grading curve" (p. 378). It should also be mentioned that the NHOPI community itself is a multiracial and multiethnic group which includes individuals possessing indigenous Pacific Islander ancestry as well as those who were born and raised in the islands. In other words, some may claim indigenous ancestry from the islands of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia but may also possess a mix of European, Asian, Hispanic, or African American (Franks, 2009). This identity mosaic also contributes to the difficulty educational researchers have had when attempting to accurately document the success of NHOPIs. Together, the absence of disaggregated data, the presence of the Model Minority Myth, and the complex issues of identity have perpetuated a muddled version of the NHOPI educational experience.

NHOPIs and Sport

Unbeknownst to sports historians and the general public, NHOPIs have excelled in American athletics for over 100 years (Franks, 2009). By most accounts, the popularity of sport amongst the NHOPI community originated in the late 1800s with American football in the islands of Hawaii and Samoa, a United States territory (Franks, 2009). For males, football began as a social pastime on the islands. However, football soon after took on a more organized fashion in a few schools on the island of O'ahu in Hawaii. By 1890 Punahou, a private school established for children of the Hawaiian haole (Caucasian) elite, launched their first organized high school football team (Franks, 2009). In 1903, Kamehameha, a private school established for children of indigenous ancestry, followed suit (Franks, 2009).

Additionally, on the islands of Samoa, sport was most likely introduced by Navy personnel who participated recreationally while stationed at the base in the village of Pago Pago in the 1950s (Tengan & Markham, 2009). As a result of that military presence, many members of the Samoan community joined the naval reserve known as the Fitafita guard. In 1951, the Navy transferred territorial administration to the Department of the Interior and as a result, members of the Fitafita were granted free passage into the United States (Tengan & Markham, 2009). Thereafter, many Samoans migrated to Hawaii and to urban cities on the West Coast such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. It was during this period of time referred to as The Great Migration of 1952 when Samoans were officially exposed to American sports and in particular, the sport of American football (Tengan & Markham, 2009).

While sport has been present in the history of NHOPIs in the United States for more than 100 years, research emphasizes that an investigation of NHOPIs and their participation in sport for either recreational purposes or as a means of access and mobility cannot be viewed separately. MacKenzie (2014) posits that sport in the Pacific must be considered as "part of global flows and interactions, as semiotics, as a path for migration and social mobility," (p. 448). More importantly, because of the history of colonialization in many of the geographical locations from which indigenous NHOPIs have migrated, the popularity of sport amongst the NHOPI community cannot be discussed in isolation or without taking into account the "crucial importance of colonialism and the construction of indigenous masculinities in both past and present" (Jolly, 2008, pg. 1). To put it succinctly, the historical underpinnings related to the stereotype of NHOPIs by the colonizer as a physical people with natural athletic ability, prowess, and the genetic gift of size, quickness, and violent impulse have contributed to the ways in which NHOPIs view themselves as well as perceptions others have of them with regard to sport

(Clement, 2014; Hokowhitu, 2003; Hokowhitu, 2004; Lakisa, Adair, and Taylor, 2014; Stewart-Withers and Brook, 2009; Uperesa, 2014). As an illustration, Hokowhitu (2003) explains that the "control of power/knowledge by the colonizer" has contributed to the social construction of the Maori culture; the indigenous people of New Zealand (p.192). Therefore, in order to understand the purpose of and demand for sport within the NHOPI community today, the narrative of the NHOPI athlete must be told within the historical context of colonialization.

In addition to telling the NHOPI athlete narrative within the historical context of colonialization, it must also be told amidst the racial undertones that have long-accompanied the NHOPI athlete narrative. For example, in his 1976 Sports Illustrated article entitled Shake 'Em Out of the Coconut Trees, Johnston (1976) writes, *"What is coming on is a swarm of Polynesian warriors-not your run-of-the-reef, gin mill flamethrowers, but strong, fierce men, six to seven feet tall, who seem to have stepped into the 20th century from some secret museum of oceanic antiquities."* This comparison of NHOPIs to savage warriors and the parallels drawn between their physical bodies and a so-called natural gift for physical competition allows the NHOPI body to be commodified (Cruz, 2010; Tengan & Markham, 2009). These stereotypes of the brown body possessing inherent physical giftedness also becomes problematic for NHOPI youth who are in the formative years of understanding their identity (Fitzpatrick, 2013). Furthermore, because of the multiracial and multiethnic backgrounds of the NHOPI community, (Franks, 2009) research argues that for adolescents who have unexamined ethnic identities, when race or ethnicity is not yet salient, issues around identity development are likely (Tatum, n.d.). Together, the potential for racialization as a result of the Polynesian Pipeline and the complex way in which NHOPIs experience identity development encourage narrowed understandings of what NHOPIs believe to be possible for themselves as they transition from high school to college

and beyond. In other words, it is commonly assumed that any member of the NHOPI community solely aspires to have an athletic career while somehow placing less importance on their own academic success.

Even so, sport initially served as a way for NHOPIs living in the islands to experience transnational mobility (Uperesa, 2014). Tengan & Markham (2009) explain that there is a complex intersectionality between culture, history, politics, and economy which is crucial to the conversation about NHOPIs and athletics. As a Samoan athlete says in their article about the presence of NHOPIs in the National Football League and elite universities, "…there are only two ways off the rock. It's to join the army or get a scholarship for education or sports" (Tengan & Markham, 2009, p. 2413). The concept of sport as serving multiple purposes for NHOPIs is defined by Kwauk (2014) as "the plurality of sport" (p. 306). She identifies this plurality of sport as having three purposes (a) sport as a ticket, or mobility from here to there; (b) sport as a viable pathway, especially for those who are deemed academically unfit; and (c) sport as "tautua," or service to the greater NHOPI community such as the church, village, and family (Kwauk, 2014, p. 306).

Nonetheless, research documents Bill Naphia'a as the first NHOPI student-athlete to be recruited from the island of Hawaii by St. Mary's College which was located in Oakland, CA at the time (Franks, 2009). Thereafter, between 1910 and the late 1940s, Hawaii high school standouts were gradually recruited by mainland colleges to play football (Franks, 2009). In 1927, after being recruited from Hawaii to play football for the University of Dayton in Ohio and having a very successful college career while there, Walter Tin Kit Achiu became the very first athlete of NHOPI ancestry to play professionally in the National Football League (NFL) (Franks, 2009). Additionally, by the 1930s and 1940s, "barefoot leagues" (Franks, 2009, p. 2400) were

well underway in Hawaii and following the establishments of these organized leagues, recruitment of NHOPI high school football players from Hawaii by colleges on the continental U.S. steadily began to increase (Franks, 2009; Tengan & Markham, 2009; Uperesa, 2014). Through 1940, all of the NHOPI student-athletes being recruited by colleges and professional leagues for their athletic talents came from the islands of Hawaii.

However, in the early 1950s, the political shift that resulted in the aforementioned Great Migration of 1952 allowed high school student-athletes of Samoan ancestry to emerge onto college and professional recruiting platforms. Between the 1950s-1970s, Samoan men dominated the grid iron. Franks (2009) argues that throughout this period of time, Samoan athletes were playing football for some of the most reputable college programs on the Pacific coast such as the University of Southern California (USC), the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), and Washington State University. By most accounts, this was the onset of what is popularly known today as the Polynesian Pipeline (Johnston, 1976, Tengan & Markham, 2009; Uperesa, 2014). Moreover, Dick Tomey, who was the head football coach at the University of Hawaii between 1977 and 1986, is noted in the literature for creating a steady recruiting pipeline of Samoans and other NHOPI student-athletes in Hawaii to mainland colleges as well as to the NFL (Tengan & Markham, 2009). Over the course of his career at the University of Hawaii, Tomey is most notorious for helping three brothers, Al, Niko, and Pete Noga, access college and the NFL via their athletic accomplishments (Tengan & Markham, 2009). Prior to the Noga brothers being recruited to their respective colleges, never before had a string of NHOPI siblings experienced success not only at the college level but at the professional level as well. Through the 1970s, there was an overwhelming presence of Samoans being recruited to college programs on football scholarships and also competing in professional athletic

programs. When Wilson Faumuina was drafted in 1970 to play for the Atlanta Falcons, the media deemed him part of the "Samoan invasion of the United States" (Franks, 2009, p. 2407). By the end of the 1980s, the Polynesian Pipeline seemed to have bulldozed two pathways of access and mobility for NHOPI student-athletes, particularly Hawaiians and Samoans: one from high school to college and another from college to professional sports.

At the same time, present day sport for NHOPIs has taken on new purpose and meaning. For example, Uperesa and Mountjoy assert (2014), sport for NHOPIs in the past

> "…reconfigured routes of movement for Islanders…sporting prowess (has since) taken on new and heightened meanings: as a counter-representation to persistent stereotypes, as a proud representation of a nation, as an alternative pathway toward a promised future, and as a site of cultural resurgence."

However, she continues by arguing, "In the contemporary moment of growing inequality, state retrenchment, widespread commoditization, and narrowing routes of upward mobility, people throughout the region find hope, meaning, confidence, and spectacular expression in sport" (p. 265).

It is imperative then that this evolved purpose of sport for NHOPIs also be considered alongside the prevalent role of U.S. media in the lives of today's youth. As an example, Carrington (1986) suggests that the mass media is more influential in encouraging a young black boy or a boy from a blue collar background to participate in sports than is his own family, peers, or school. Ultimately, he argues that black males are often socialized into sport via the tremendous influence of the media. By extension, researchers also emphasize the critical role that the "U.S. Mediascape" plays in not only increasing media visibility for NHOPI athletes but also in portraying NHOPIs in accordance with overt physical markers (Henderson, 2011, p. 278).

For example, many argue that because the dominant discourse used in media depicts NHOPIs as big, strong, physical savages who are naturally gifted and born to play, the way others view NHOPIs as well as the way NHOPIs view themselves is grossly impacted (Henderson, 2011; Hokowhitu, 2004; Lakisa et al., 2014; Uperesa, 2014).

To take a case in point, Henderson (2011) claims that popular narratives in the U.S. about the Samoan male include body mass as a physical marker which contributes to a narrowed perception of Samoan masculinity. Moreover, Hokowhitu (2004) argues that the Maori man is typically portrayed as violent and physical in mainstream film and literature which therefore assumes what he calls "an imagined reality" (p. 262). Additionally, Lakisa et al. (2014) assert that because the media focuses exclusively on overt attributes of NHOPI athletes, other critical qualities such as work ethic and the extreme discipline required to prepare for a respective sport are underemphasized and devalued. In turn, they also argue that there is a message conveyed to the athlete himself, that sport above all other alternatives should be of the highest priority (Lakisa et al., 2014). It follows then, that contemporary sport has become an avenue for NHOPIs to combat these racialized perceptions others hold of them as well as a way for them to create new ideas of possibility of self.

Nonetheless, as a result of the Polynesian Pipeline serving as a dual pathway of access and mobility for NHOPI student-athletes, clusters of NHOPIs have been consistently funneled through the college and professional world of sport over the course of the past 100+ years (Tengan & Markham, 2009; Franks, 2009). This in turn has created a plethora of NHOPIs who have been able to return to their communities and serve as direct resources of vital information. Therefore, because of its prominence within the NHOPI community, the present-day Polynesian Pipeline now possesses the ability to influence the college-going decisions of NHOPI student-

athletes in positive or negative ways, which provides a strong rationale for why it needs to be investigated as a contextual factor in the college decision making process for this particular population.

Moreover, while it is estimated that although NHOPIs make up only 0.5 percent of the U.S. population (U.S. Census, 2012), male NHOPIs make up 1.8% and female NHOPIs make up 2.4% of all Division I, II, and III NCAA athletes (Lapchick and Marfatia, 2017). Additionally, while the literature on the Polynesian Pipeline and the actual number of NHOPIs currently participating in professional sports is scant and inconsistent, those that do make reference to statistical data insinuate that this particular racial and ethnic group has emerged onto the professional platform in impressive numbers. For example, the data on male NHOPIs playing professional football and rugby is most prominent in Polynesian Pipeline literature. Some statistical estimations made in the literature are as follows:

- Males born to Samoan parents are 56 times more likely to go to college on a football scholarship and to the NFL than their peers (Pelley, 2010)
- Samoan males playing football in North America are 40 times more likely to play professional football than any other ethnic group (Miller, 2006)
- Five NHOPIs were selected in the first 66 picks of the 2015 NFL Draft, the most ever in the first three rounds of this prestigious nationwide athletic event (Steinberg, 2015)
- Over 70 (of a total of approximately 2,200) players in the NFL are said to be of NHOPI descent (3.2%) with 30 of those players coming from the islands of Samoa alone (Steinberg, 2015)

- More than 200 NHOPIs have played professionally in the National and Canadian Football Leagues which is 28 times more likely than any other ethnic group (Phillips, 2016; Vainuku & Cohn, 2015)
- One in four players in the National Rugby League (NRL), one of the most prestigious international athletic leagues in the world, are NHOPIs (Stewart-Withers & Brook, 2009)

Aside from professional football and rugby leagues, there are also NHOPIs scattered across a myriad of other professional sporting programs including the National Basketball Association (NBA), the Professional Golfers' Association (PGA), Major League Baseball (MLB), the Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC), the Premier Volleyball League (PVL), and the Association of Volleyball Professionals (AVP) to name a few.

Despite the inconsistencies in NHOPI student-athlete statistics, their presence in collegiate and professional sport is evident. In other words, even though the data fluctuates, there is an indication in the literature that the Polynesian Pipeline exists and that as a result of its presence, there are a plethora of college and professional opportunities of which NHOPI student-athletes can take advantage.

It should be said then that in conjunction with contemporary sport and the collectivist values of the NHOPI community, which encourages the interdependence of its members (Lakisa, et al., 2014; McLaughlin and Braun, 1998), there is an intensified expectation of the byproducts of the Polynesian Pipeline within the NHOPI community to help in the shaping of the educational trajectories of its young people. In short, it is imperative that the prevalence and influence of the Polynesian Pipeline as an environmental factor within the college choice process for high school NHOPI student-athletes be investigated.

Purpose of the Study

Therefore, the purpose of this phenomenological qualitative study is to investigate the influence of the Polynesian Pipeline on the college-going decisions of NHOPI high school student-athletes. Primarily, it will (a) examine the Polynesian Pipeline as an environmental factor within the college choice process, (b) consider when in the college choice process the Polynesian Pipeline holds the most influence, (c) investigate the unique forms of capital it offers, and (d) identify the ways in which NHOPI student-athletes activate or use those forms of capital when making college-going decisions. At this stage in the research and as previously explained, the Polynesian Pipeline will be framed in the context of race and ethnicity and defined as the syphoning of individuals identifying as NHOPI high school student-athletes to college and professional sports via athletic opportunities. Therefore, this study aims to answer the following primary research question*: In what ways does the Polynesian Pipeline influence the college choice process for high school NHOPI student-athletes?* It also aims to answer subsequent research questions:

1. In which of the four environments: (1) family, (2) school, (3) out-of-class, and (4) community does the Polynesian Pipeline have the greatest impact on the college-going decisions of high school NHOPI student-athletes?
2. What types of capital does the Polynesian Pipeline contribute to the college-choice process for NHOPI student-athletes?
3. What types of capital do NHOPI high school student-athletes draw upon when making college-going decisions?

4. At what point in the college choice process (pre-disposition, search, choice) do NHOPI high school student athletes access the most capital as they make college-going decisions?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for several reasons. First, it highlights the educational experience of one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the country. The NHOPI community has been grossly understudied primarily due to a lack of data disaggregation. In most research, NHOPIs have been homogenously lumped together with the larger Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) group which has inflated college graduation rates and painted an inaccurate narrative of the NHOPI educational experience.

Second, this investigation argues that the Polynesian Pipeline is nested within the environmental factors that shape college going decisions and consequently may hold instrumental influence over the college going choices of NHOPI student-athletes. Therefore, examining the Polynesian Pipeline as a contextual component may help to explain their process of making college-going decisions.

Next, this study calls attention to the Polynesian Pipeline which has historically placed tremendous emphasis on college access via sport. In fact, as Lakisa et al. (2014) argue, present-day popular media almost exclusively portrays the NHOPI student-athlete as having innate physical talent but limited intellectual ability. As a result, while the Polynesian Pipeline may be an asset to NHOPIs in terms of providing them with a pathway to college access, it may also potentially be a deficit to the NHOPI community by under-emphasizing the importance of academics. Therefore, this study investigates sport as a pathway to college as one which may promote the racialization and exploitation of an already socio-economically and educationally

marginalized community (Community of Contrasts, 2014). In essence, this study will examine the ways in which the Polynesian Pipeline may contribute to a reproduction of inequality for NHOPI student-athletes. Hence, this study calls for a reimagining of the Polynesian Pipeline so that its historically athletic foundation can be balanced by an academic focus. Thereafter, NHOPI student-athletes may potentially be encouraged to select colleges that complement both their athletic and academic abilities which might then subsequently help them persist.

Most importantly, though, this study highlights the student-athlete's voice in a field that is dominated by the perspectives of educational agents primarily teachers, counselors, and coaches. By understanding the role of the Polynesian Pipeline as NHOPI student-athletes make college-going decisions, family members, the greater NHOPI community, and educational agents may be much more equipped in proactively encouraging NHOPI student-athletes to make college decisions that better support their ability to commit to and complete college successfully.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Introduction

Aside from the experience I had with my son, I was also fortunate to play high school sports which allowed me to access higher education via athletic opportunities. Additionally, I have been able to identify a myriad of personal, cultural, and historical happenings along my forty-four-year lifeline which together have piqued my curiosity about the NHOPI student-athlete experience.

The most profound occurrence came in 2010 when the television show 60 Minutes released a documentary entitled *Football Island* (Pelley, 2010). While I believe that the intent of the documentary was to showcase the ways in which the sport of football provides both educational and economic opportunities to youth living on the island of Samoa, I came away from viewing it with pressing questions and concerns. Although the general consensus of NHOPI family members and friends that I spoke to about the documentary was that the film brought positive attention to the athletic contributions of the NHOPI community, my personal opinion was much different. Personally, I felt that although sport may very well afford opportunity for upward mobility, a great deal of caution should have also been exercised to prevent the racialization of an entire group of people. It is this looming line of questioning that helped develop my own social constructivist worldview: an understanding about the Polynesian Pipeline phenomenon based on my experiences as a student-athlete within the NHOPI community. Furthermore, possessing a constructivist worldview allows me to understand the ways in which my own background shapes my interpretation of how NHOPI student-athletes are making college going decisions. It also helps me position myself in the research so that I am

able to acknowledge the way in which my own interpretations flow from personal, cultural, and historical experiences (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

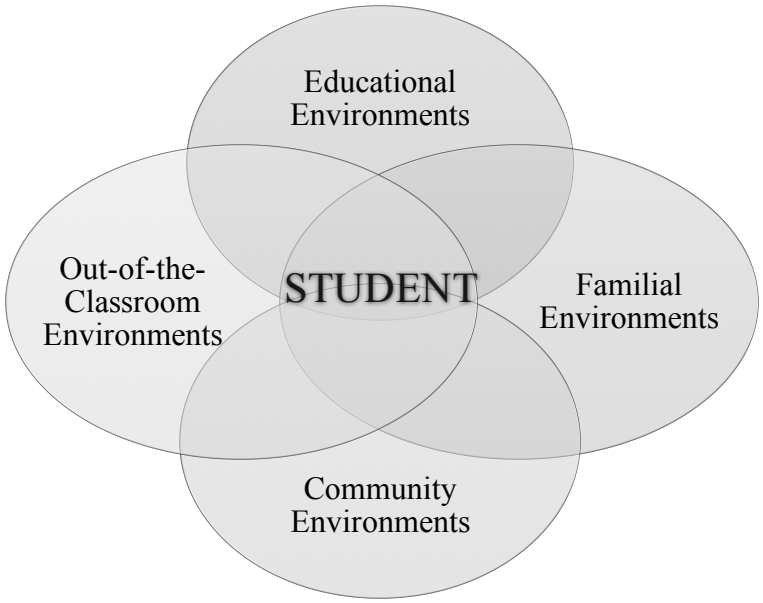
Thus, it is important to me that I use this study as a way of understanding the complexity of views my study participants hold around this topic so that I am able to tell their stories accurately. Moreover, due to the fact that data on the NHOPI community has been buried in the larger AAPI experience, maintaining a constructivist vantage point and seeking out theoretical frameworks which support my research goals is imperative. Hence, for the purpose of this qualitative study, I chose to use Tierney and Venegas' (2009) model of student college access which is based on a cultural framework to create an adapted conceptual model to guide my research.

A College Access Model

Tierney & Venegas (2009) propose a cultural framework that explains how students make college-going decisions through an access and equity lens (Bergerson, 2009). Specifically, they argue that a student's college-going decisions are shaped by four specific contexts or what they refer to as environmental influences: 1) educational, 2) familial, 3) community, and 4) out-of-class. Moreover, they claim that their model is a non-linear process that places students at the center of their own decision making who take into consideration all four environments which impact their college-going choices in a variety of ways. Although Tierney & Venegas (2009) write explicitly about the college decision making process with regard to students accessing financial aid, their framework is equally valid in examining how the four contexts influence student opinions and attitudes about accessing college in general.

Figure 1

Cultural Framework for Financial Decision Making (Tierney and Venegas, 2009)



Tierney, W. G., & Venegas, K. M. (2009). Finding Money on the Table: Information, Financial Aid, and Access to College. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 80(4), 363–388.

Despite the myriad of college-choice models that exist within the research, Tierney & Venegas' (2009) framework was selected for this study for two specific reasons. First, as previously mentioned, a great deal of caution should be used when examining sport within the NHOPI community. As Spaaj (2009) asserts, sport and NHOPIs must be investigated in relation to other social spheres such as the government, the labor market, family, and education. Therefore, Tierney & Venegas' (2009) framework of college access is most helpful in this study as it allows the author to examine the Polynesian Pipeline as an influential factor within each environment. Next, most models of college choice are designed as a linear process or view college choice either through an economic lens or a sociological lens pertaining to status attainment (Perna, 2006). Although many of these models integrate the influence of certain forms of capital, they do not account for differences across students in the resources they have

access to (Perna, 2006). Furthermore, Tierney & Venegas (2009) shed light on how "different environments have varying levels of influence over student choice" (Bergerson, 2009). This is a critical contribution to the body of college choice literature as it underscores how students within the same high school, for example, are provided with varying levels of access to key resources depending on their socio-economic status (Bergerson, 2009).

Literature Review

It is estimated that there are over 14 million students enrolled in more than 4,000 postsecondary institutions across the country (United States Department of Education, 2000). Moreover, postsecondary education is said to offer individuals, states, and the nation a multitude of benefits. For example, American economists argue that postsecondary education improves the country's ability to compete economically, create increased levels of citizen productivity, enhance government revenues, encourage social equality, and ultimately develop a more educated workforce (Hossler and Palmer, 2008). For all of these reasons, year after year high schools are charged with the grand responsibility of increasing the number of students who will choose to continue their formal education by earning a degree from a two- or four-year university (Hossler and Palmer, 2008). However, research also posits that the college choice process is extremely complex (Cabrera and LaNasa, 2000; Henrickson, 2002; Perna, 2006; Tierney and Venegas, 2009) therefore necessitating strong pre-college guidance for all high school students (Hossler and Palmer, 2008; Hossler et al., 1999; McDonough, Korn, and Yamasaki, 1997).

College Choice

College choice is an empirically studied field (Cabrera and La Nasa, 2000; Chapman, 1981; Henrickson, 2002; Hossler and Gallagher, 1987; Litten, 1982; Perna, 2006). For the most

part, research contends that college choice is a developmental, comprehensive process that involves students enduring a multitude of steps that ultimately lead to college enrollment (D. Chapman, 1981; R. Chapman, 1984; R. Chapman and Jackson, 1987; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Jackson, 1982; Litten, 1991; Martin and Dixon, 1991). One of the most widely cited process models in the college choice literature is Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) three phase model which explains that students experience a linear progression toward college choice through three phases: predisposition, search, and choice.

Similarly, more recent research on college choice focuses on extending Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) model by examining the three phases within the college choice process separately. This research expands the field of college choice as it investigates the influential factors that have the greatest impact on student decisions as well as the point within the process those particular factors carry the most weight (Cabrera and LaNasa, 2000; Galotti and Mark, 1994; Hossler, Schmit, and Vesper, 1999; McDonough, 1997; Perna, 2006; Perna and Titus, 2004). Despite the various theoretical frameworks that have been applied in college choice literature, almost all researchers agree that the college choice process is complex and longitudinal (Cabrera and LaNasa, 2000; Henrickson, 2002; Perna, 2006; Tierney and Venegas, 2009).

Nonetheless, although the college choice process for high school students has been empirically studied, the research postulates that the process changes for student-athletes as their decisions are influenced by factors specific to their athletic status (Letawksy, Schneider, Pedersen, and Palmer, 2003; Mathes and Gurney, 1985). As an illustration, the student-athletes in Johnson, Jubenville, and Goss' (2009) study considered the opportunity to earn playing time in their respective sport and their relationship with the head coach as being the two most

influential factors when making college-going decisions. These factors are unique to student-athletes as they are not factors other college-bound students take into consideration.

College Choice as a Three Phase Model

As previously mentioned, Hossler and Gallagher's (1987) three phase model of college choice is most popular within the college choice literature. They posit that during the predisposition phase, students make a conscious decision about attending college after high school. Next, students actively search for information about schools they are interested in. Finally, they choose a college to attend. Additionally, research stresses the myriad of factors that influence students during each phase of the process which help guide their college-going decisions (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Jackson, 1982; Litten, 1982).

While use of Hossler & Gallagher's (1987) model has been beneficial to the field, it has also been critiqued by its adversaries. Some claim that it fails to indicate how the process works for students who are underrepresented in higher education, students of color, and students of low socio-economic status (Cabrera and LaNasa, 2000; Hossler et al., 1999; Kern, 2000; McDonough, 1997). Additionally, others argue that college choice is not as linear of a process as Hossler and Gallagher (1987) claim. Rather, emerging college choice research asserts that student decisions are heavily influenced by various layers of context and environmental factors and therefore are made much more fluidly (Cabrera and LaNasa, 2000; Perna, 2006; Tierney and Venegas, 2009). In conclusion, the more recent research on college choice asserts that when the college choice process is investigated in a linear fashion, even if students move through the aforementioned three phases of choice, the process itself is oversimplified (Bergerson, 2009).

Social Capital within College Choice. Research defines social capital as resources linked to the membership of a group which facilitate upward mobility (Bourdieu, 1986;

Coleman, 1990; Light and Gold, 2000; Perna, 2006). Simply put, Qian and Blair (1999) describe social capital as a resource advantage. Specifically, social capital examines the nature of the relationships and interactions occurring amongst group members and the ways in which those relationships influence choice making behaviors (Coleman, 1988; Coleman, 1990; Light and Gold, 2000). Within the system of education, common examples of social capital for students are (a) parents and extended family members, (b) educational agents including teachers, counselors, and coaches, and (c) other institutional agents such as church leaders or community members who interact with the student on a daily basis. Research argues that these relationships, which develop over time, influence the attitudes, perceptions, and decisions of youth about going to college (Espinoza, 2011; McDonough, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

For minority students who may have limited access to educational experiences and opportunities due to the restricted availability of resources within their social class position, social capital becomes even more imperative in the process of shaping their perspectives, beliefs, attitudes, and decisions about going to college (Barnett, 2016; Lareau, 2011; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Espinoza, 2011; McDonough, 1997). Hence, the significance of family involvement and development of high quality relationships between children, parents, and extended family and community members (Lareau, 1989; Valadez, 2002; Ainsworth, 2002; Israel, Beaulieu, and Hartless, 2001). Therefore, social capital has an immense influence on the college choice process.

In particular, research on college choice identifies influence by parents, peers, and educational agents as having significant weight on the college-going decisions of high school students (Galotti and Mark, 1994; Flint, 1992; Maramba, Ozuna, Palmer, and Yull; 2015; Ryan, Groves, and Schneider, 2007). Flint (1992) argues that parents play a seminal and persistent role

in the predisposition phase by nominating or name dropping specific colleges as a way of indirectly influencing their child's college consideration. Furthermore, he claims that parents "implicitly or explicitly convey information" about certain schools even if they do not state specific names of institutions which influences student decisions (p. 703).

So too do Maramba et al. (2015) as they posit that a student's initial motivation to attend college comes from various support networks such as parents, peers, and mentors because these are the people who most directly voice their encouragement and expectations about going to college. While Galotti and Mark (1994) also suggest that students rely on their parents, classmates, and friends in order to gather information about specific schools, they claim that students rely upon the feedback provided to them by educational agents such as coaches to help navigate the college choice process. To summarize, these networks of people serve as forms of social capital which greatly influence the college choice process.

Cultural Capital within College Choice. In addition, researchers endorse the strong influence of cultural capital in the college choice process (Bianchi and Robinson, 1997; Dimaggio and Mohr, 1995; Espinoza, 2011; Valenzuela and Dornbusch, 1994). Although the definition of cultural capital varies tremendously in research, Bourdieu (1986) refers to cultural capital as the cultural knowledge, mannerisms, tastes, attributes, and language skills that derive from one's parents and family. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) argues that cultural capital defines one's class status. Other definitions of cultural capital explain it as school or navigational knowledge (Coleman, 1988; Light and Gold, 2000) or "college knowledge" (McDonough, Antonio, Walpole, and Perez, 1998, p. 34). Conventional examples of cultural capital within the college preparation and application process are (a) the knowledge involved with distinguishing high school course work necessary for college preparedness, (b) understanding how and when to

complete college applications, (c) knowing when to take college preparatory exams such as the ACT and SAT, and (d) learning how to establish relationships with and actively seek help from key educational agents.

Moreover, research emphasizes that minoritized students lack the cultural capital necessary for accessing higher education because often times their parents and extended family members possess low levels of education and may therefore be unaware of how to help their children apply for college or find information about specific schools of interest (Espinoza, 2011). For minority students, parental education, income, and occupation become predominant predictors of the cultural capital investments they receive (Bianchi and Robinson, 1997; Dimaggio and Mohr, 1995). In other words, if parents have cultural capital; a college education and well-paying job, they are able to transmit or pass on that capital to their children in the form of information (Dimaggio & Mohr, 1995; Sun, 1998). On the contrary, Valenzuela & Dornbusch (1994) claim that working-class parents, who do not possess cultural capital, are unable to pass on the college knowledge that is vital to their child's ability to navigate through the system of education successfully. Therefore, it follows then that working-class children are left to seek out that information from other people or attempt to figure it out on their own.

Additionally, Lareau (2011) argues that parents structure their children's lives and the activities they participate in based on their social class habitus. Habitus is defined as a permanent mental structure or outlooks and beliefs about life (Bourdieu, 1986; Light and Gold, 2000; McDonough, 1994; Reay, 2004). Lareau (2011) posits that parents' social class habitus shapes children's life experiences and outcomes. For example, middle-class parents tend to adopt a cultural logic of child rearing that stresses concerted cultivation of children (Lareau, 2011). They involve their children in activities which promote specific tastes such as art, drama,

and cooking programs. Middle-class parents choose activities which they believe will allow their children to gain important institutional advantages which will translate into the real working world (Lareau, 2011; Schmid, 2001). In contrast, working-class parents adopt a cultural logic of child rearing that emphasizes natural growth (Lareau, 2011). Based on their social class habitus, they involve their children in activities which include long stretches of leisure time, daily interactions with kin, child-initiated play, and clear boundaries between adults and children (Lareau, 2011). Ultimately, parents choose activities based upon resources within their social class positions and the cultural capital they possess relative to their class position (Lareau, 2011; Bianchi & Robinson, 1997; Schmid, 2001). Collectively, the research suggests that cultural capital vigorously influences the college choice process.

To put it another way, Nora (2004) investigates the influence of precollege psychosocial factors on college choice, particularly the constructs of cultural capital and habitus. Her examination of the values and belief systems students have about school prior to going to college claims that within the final phase of the college choice process, cultural capital and habitus play a prominent role in a student's college going decisions. For instance, she posits that students make a selection of a particular school based on how well they feel that school can meet their psychological and social needs. Nora (2004) describes the participants in her study as moving from their heads to their hearts in the final phase of college choice. In fact, her findings postulate that psychosocial dimensions of cultural capital and habitus are much more influential than previously established choice factors such as high school academic preparation, grades, and personal experiences.

While Nora (2004) suggests a profound influence of cultural capital and habitus on the college choice process, Galotti and Mark (1994) call attention to the tremendous influence

parental levels of education have on how children make decisions about college. They explain that the more education a parent has, the more the child relies on that parent to help them make decisions about which colleges to consider during the search and choice phases.

Additionally, Maramba et al. (2015) explore college choice for Asian Americans (i.e. students identifying as Bengali, Chinese, Filipino, Malaysian, Nepali, and Vietnamese) and Latina/o students at public Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). They posit that one factor that influences student choice is their prior knowledge of HBCUs which helped them make deliberate decisions. To put it succinctly, non-black students in their study intentionally searched for information about HBCUs because of the cultural capital or the information they knew about the recruitment and enrollment practices of HBCUs. Because they perceived HBCUs as viable options for higher education for reasons specifically pertaining to access for marginalized communities, they used that information during the search and choice phases of the college choice process to guide their decisions. Maramba et al.'s study (2015) broadens the discussion on college choice because it highlights the influence of cultural capital in the latter phases of the college choice process.

Conversely, much of the college choice research utilizes Bourdieu's (1986) definitions of capital which explain that students can only acquire capital from their family or through formal schooling. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) posits that White, middle class culture is the standard and that all other cultures compare themselves to that norm. In other words, based on Bourdieu's (1986) capital theories, it should be assumed that by nature, some communities are culturally wealthy while others are culturally poor. However, Yosso (2005) staunchly disagrees with these Bourdieuan definitions as she proposes the concept of Community Cultural Wealth. Through this concept, she claims that minoritized students who come from Communities of Color bring

with them a myriad of assets rather than deficits as Bourdieu (1986) assumes. In particular, Yosso (2005) argues that a minoritized student who comes from a Community of Color actually possesses six forms of capital based solely upon the valuable resources that community has to offer. Those forms of capital are:

- Aspirational capital;
- Linguistic capital;
- Familial capital;
- Social capital;
- Navigational capital;
- Resistant capital (Yosso, 2005, 77-81).

Put succinctly, Yosso's (2005) work offers a refreshing perspective on the topic of college choice. She emphasizes the "empowering potential of the cultures of Communities of Color" and reminds us of the importance of combating deficit thinking when discussing Communities of Color and their ability to access key societal resources such as making college-going decisions (p. 76). More importantly though is Yosso's (2005) assertion that forms of capital can originate from within a community of color's current social class position versus having to come from an individual or networks from individuals in higher social class positions, as Bourdieu (1986) posits.

To summarize, research postulates that social and cultural capital are influential factors in the college choice process for all students. It also claims that high school students rely on social capital in the form of key networks of people and cultural capital in the form of knowledge and information at various phases of the college choice process to help them make college-going

decisions. However, when the college choice process for non-athletes is compared to that of student-athletes, the research differs.

College Choice for Student-Athletes

Much of the research on college choice for student-athletes uses the same models of college choice as for non-athletes (Destache, 2009). In particular, previous research draws upon the work of Hossler & Gallagher's (1987) three phase model of college choice (Destache, 2009; Kankey and Quarterman, 2007; Smith, 2006; Toma and Cross, 1998). While the research supports that the college choice process is similar for most student populations, research also postulates that the influential factors affecting the college going decisions of student-athletes are very different than those of non-athletes (Letawksy et al., 2003; Mathes and Gurney, 1985).

In their study, Letawsky et al. (2003) argue that there are a plethora of differences in the way that student-athletes choose an institution of higher education. Whereas non-athletes primarily focus on selecting the best overall institution, student-athletes are faced with the pressure of selecting a coach and an athletic program that complement their athletic needs in addition to selecting the best overall institution to satisfy their academic needs (Letawsky et al., 2003). For example, student-athletes consider factors such as reputation of the coach, the opportunity to earn playing time, as well as the prestige of the athletic program (Destache, 2009; Smith, 2006). In fact, Letawsky et al. (2003) estimate that student-athletes consider up to three times as many factors in the college choice process than non-athletes. However, they also posit that both athletes and non-athletes are greatly influenced by degree options and academic factors. Letawsky et al.'s (2003) study is a seminal piece in the discussion of college choice for student-athletes because although the college choice process often places remarkable emphasis on the athletic versus academic talent of the student-athlete, their findings support the fact that student-

athletes are indeed significantly influenced by non-athletic factors (Destache, 2009; Mathes and Gurney, 1985).

When it comes to the examination of which factors influence the student-athlete's college going decisions and at what point in the college choice process those factors have the greatest impact, the research is highly inconsistent. However, this may be the case because the research findings seem to be dependent upon which population of student-athletes is being investigated. For example, the research on college choice for student-athletes reveals some of the following influential factors:

- parental influence (Galotti and Mark, 1994; Ryan et al., 2007)
- financial aid (Kankey and Quarterman, 2007; Ryan et al., 2007)
- quality of life post-college (Destache, 2009; Kankey & Quarterman, 2007; Pauline, 2010; Ryan et al., 2007)
- athletic reputation (Goss, Jubenville, and Orejan, 2006; Judson, James, and Aurand, 2004; Smith, 2006; Toma and Cross, 1998)
- academic reputation (Destache, 2009; Goss et al., 2006; Mathes and Gurney, 1985; Kankey & Quarterman, 2007; Judson et al., 2004; Smith, 2006)
- relationships with coaches (Galotti and Mark, 1994; Goss et al., 2006; Destache, 2009; Kankey & Quarterman, 2007; Johnson, et al., 2009; Mathes & Gurney, 1985; Smith, 2006), and
- opportunity to play (Johnson et al., 2009)

While these findings demonstrate that student-athletes consider a multitude of factors when choosing a college to attend, they also reveal that certain influential factors may be dependent upon the gender of the student-athlete, (Judson et al., 2004; Kankey & Quarterman, 2007;

Pauline, 2010; Toma & Cross, 1998) the type of school the student-athlete chooses to attend, (Goss et al.,2006; Johnson et al., 2009, Pauline, 2010) and the sport in which the student-athlete participates (Goss et al.,2006; Mathes & Gurney, 1985, Pauline, 2010).

Gender and College Choice for Student-Athletes. It is a common assumption that male student-athletes are more concerned with the athletic reputation of a college than their female counterparts (Judson et al., 2004; Toma and Cross, 1998). This assumption may be the result of male student-athletes having greater opportunities to participate in post-collegiate athletics than female student-athletes (Mathes and Gurney, 1985). In fact, Toma and Cross (1998) assert that the athletic reputation of a school is the most influential factor considered by male student-athletes during the search and choice phases of the college choice process. However, their study includes an examination of the number of national championships earned by Division I football and men's basketball programs and the ways in which those championships entice student college choice. Because Division I football and men's basketball are the highest revenue generating sports at the collegiate level, the opportunity for these "blue-chip" athletes to continue playing these sports at the professional level is highly likely (Mathes & Gurney, 1985, p. 327). So, it is logical that male student-athletes attending these most competitive schools are concerned with the reputation of those athletic programs. In essence, male student-athletes may perceive the prestigious athletic reputation of a college as a way of helping them experience the athletic maturity necessary for launching a professional athletic career post college. Additionally, Judson et al. (2004) argue that regardless of how competitive or successful a Division I athletic program is, male student-athletes still place a higher value on the athletic characteristics of a college than do female student-athletes.

On the other hand, female student-athletes are generally more influenced by factors unrelated to the reputation of an athletic program. In their study of Division I Ohio softball players, Kankey & Quarterman (2007) posit that women competing at the highest collegiate level are more likely to consider factors such as the atmosphere of the team versus the number of championships earned. Furthermore, the female student-athletes in their study consider financial aid, quality of life post-college, academic factors such as the availability of a particular major, and relationships with coaches when making college going decisions (Kankey & Quarterman, 2007). Despite the fact that these female athletes are also competing at the highest level of college sports, they are still more influenced by the academic characteristics of a school and place greater value on choosing a school with a respectable academic history than male student-athletes (Judson et al., 2004; Pauline, 2010).

However, while the aforementioned studies reveal the different ways in which gender influences college choice for student-athletes, they also use similar methodologies which may have limited the study findings. For example, all participants in these studies are either identified by a university as incoming college freshmen student-athletes or student-athletes already enrolled full-time. None of the sample participants were in high school at the time the studies were conducted. What seems to be absent in this research is the voice of the high school student athlete that captures perceptions, attitudes, and experiences about the process involved with making postsecondary decisions.

Therefore, studies involving high school student-athletes are imperative to the field (Judson et al., 2004). As an illustration, Galotti and Mark (1994) offer a unique perspective on gender differences in college choice for student-athletes as their study includes a high school sample of 322 participants. They claim that male and female student-athletes use different

sources of information at different times in the college choice process to help guide their decisions. Specifically, they suggest that female student-athletes are more concerned with the overall climate, atmosphere, and setting of a school than males. They also posit that this may be attributed to the roles that society assumes for men and women post-college. In other words, women are often encouraged by society to promote healthy interpersonal relationships with others so it may be more important for female student-athletes to choose colleges that are well-known for their positive school climate. Moreover, Galotti & Mark (1994) argue that high school female student-athletes are more influenced by parents, classmates, and friends very early in the three phase process while male student-athletes rely on their relationships with a head coach and other members of the coaching staff to help guide their college going decisions.

Type of School and College Choice for Student-Athletes. Although gender helps to explain some of the differences in understanding which factors influence student-athlete college choice, research also suggests that student-athletes consider certain factors based upon the type of school they choose to attend. For example, freshmen student-athletes at small, private universities were found to be influenced by (a) athletic factors, including relationships with a coach, quality of athletic facilities, and the opportunity to earn playing time; (b) academic factors, such as degrees and support services offered; and (c) campus related factors, as in the social climate and overall atmosphere of the school (Johnson et al., 2009; Goss et al., 2006). These findings can be explained by examining the typical make-up of the student body attending smaller universities and colleges. For instance, smaller institutions enroll fewer students than large public colleges, are tuition based, and most often focus on liberal arts. They also typically have strong religious affiliations and limited state and federal government support (Johnson et al., 2009). Furthermore, according to the NCAA (2017) these small, private schools are

classified as having Division II or III athletic programs which are less competitive than Division I programs and also receive partial or no athletic scholarship funding. Simply stated, the student-athletes who apply to these smaller schools must find other ways of paying for their college education because athletic scholarships are either limited or do not exist. Also, because the student-athletes at these institutions are far less likely to find post-collegiate athletic opportunities (NCAA, 2017), it is reasonable to think that these student-athletes may be more influenced by academic factors since their post-college experiences are not likely to include athletics as a profession. Also, rather than being solely influenced by the reputation of the athletic program, these findings support the fact that student-athletes at smaller colleges are more influenced by athletic factors such as the relationships they are able to form with their coaches.

On the contrary, high school student-athletes who aspire to participate at the Division I level may not always be more influenced by athletic than academic factors when choosing a college. In his study of Lacrosse players across NCAA Division I, II, and III programs in the Northeast, Pauline (2010) argues that male and female student-athletes in all three NCAA divisions indicated academic factors of the colleges they selected as having the greatest influence over their college-going decisions. Put simply, regardless of the level of competition, all lacrosse players were more concerned with the academic versus athletic reputation of the colleges they were considering. Together, these studies underscore the fact that influential factors in college choice change based on the type of school the student-athlete attends while also highlighting the degree of variability within those findings.

Type of Sport and College Choice for Student-Athletes. Just as influential factors in student-athlete college choice change by gender and type of school, they also vary by type of sport played. Much of the previous research on student-athlete college choice focuses on male

athletes in high-revenue producing sports such as football and basketball (Pauline, 2010; Toma & Cross, 1998). Furthermore, findings from these studies claim that male student-athletes who aspire to participate in college football and basketball programs are most heavily influenced by athletic factors (Judson et al., 2004; Toma & Cross, 1998).

However, Mathes & Gurney (1985) compare the college choice of student-athletes in high-revenue versus non-revenue producing sports. They posit that contrary to most of the literature on student-athlete college choice, which implies that male athletes are most influenced by athletic factors, male athletes participating in high-revenue producing sports value academics more than males participating in non-revenue sports. Moreover, Goss et al. (2006) assert that all male student-athletes in their study participating in high-revenue sports selected a college based on degrees and academic programs offered. These findings are crucial to the research on student-athlete college choice because they help to debunk the "Dumb Jock Theory" that assumes male student-athletes are only interested in and granted university acceptance because of their athletic talent (Donnor, 2005; Harrison, 2008; Mathes & Gurney, 1985; Stone, Harrison, Mottley, 2012). While the abovementioned studies claim that the college choice process differs for student-athletes, research also supports that the college choice process differs for minoritized student-athletes.

College Choice for Minoritized Student-Athletes

Research posits that minoritized student-athletes experience the college choice process differently than their white counterparts for two specific reasons. First, identity development for minoritized student-athletes is a complex issue as their sense of self is often exaggerated with athletic underpinnings leaving them with little or no academic sense of self (Hill, Burch-Ragan,

and Yates, 2001; Stone et al., 2012). Second, minoritized student-athletes may lack the capital necessary for accessing higher education.

Nevertheless, researchers argue that sport has become one of the most viable options for minoritized students to combat racial inequities that continue to thwart their ability to access quality colleges and universities (Hawkins, 2010; Uperesa, 2014). Massey and Mooney (2007) assert that athletics has become a form of affirmative action as it assigns significant weight to members of a specific social group, in this case the athlete. Unfortunately, while sport has created an avenue for minoritized students to access higher education and is intended to deliver positive outcomes, choosing to access higher education as a minority student-athlete may be accompanied by dire consequences (Hawkins, 2010). As an illustration, many minority student-athletes come from low socioeconomic positions (Edwards, 2000) so if they suffer an injury prior to earning a degree and are no longer able to compete, they are at risk of losing their athletic scholarships therefore forcing them to assume all expenses related to continuing their education.

Athletic versus Academic Identity Development. It is often said that athletic identity is imbedded in an individual's athletic persona and that without a well-established athletic persona, the athlete's holistic development is interrupted (Hill et al., 2000). Furthermore, research suggests that in the absence of a well-developed identity, athletes can completely lose sight of their academic goals (Adler and Adler, 1985). In their study of the relationship between athletic participation and academic achievement, Adler and Adler (1985) describe athletes as slipping "into a pattern of diminished interest and effort" as they detach from their academic identities (p. 248).

Furthermore, Donnor (2005) endorses the idea that at some point along their academic path, education no longer serves the interests of the ethnic-minority athlete. He states, particularly for African-American male student-athletes in high revenue-generating sports (i.e. football and basketball), that their educational interests converge into the interests of the institution and of the individuals representing the institution. In other words, when there is an overemphasis on athletic identity, an athlete's academic identity can be overshadowed which results in the athlete viewing himself as just an athlete. Menke (2015) supports this argument by explaining that athletes have endured a lifelong commitment to their respective sport and have been celebrated for their athletic accomplishments over long periods of time. As a result, some may never even consider alternate identities for themselves.

Accordingly, because it is very common for student-athletes to view themselves solely through an athletic lens, their academic identity is hugely underdeveloped. Some research even claims that athletes define themselves as "used goods" because they feel that their only purpose within the system of education is to contribute to the reputation of the athletic program via entertainment (Beamon, 2008, p. 358). Indeed, other researchers argue that schools should use the term athlete-student instead of student-athlete because of the heavy emphasis placed on athletic identity development (Beamon, 2008; Singer 2008). Consequently, this imbalance of development between athletic and academic identity has forced the minoritized student-athlete to adopt an athletic identity which leaves him "athleticated versus educated" thus making it even more imperative for him to have access to key forms of social and cultural capital (Harrison, 2008, p. 39).

Capital for Minoritized Student-Athletes. Many minoritized student-athletes experience lived realities that are plagued with a myriad of psychosocial stressors including

poverty and complex family constellations (Edwards, 2000). Therefore, it is critical that they seek out individuals within educational institutions who are able to provide "pivotal moment interventions" that transform their psychological disposition toward schooling (Espinoza, 2011, p. 37). Often times, a coach is the individual that the student-athlete most relies upon for this type of assistance.

However, sometimes coaches have ulterior motives such as building the reputation of the school's athletic program and securing a job while the student-athlete is under the impression that the coach genuinely cares about his future (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). The mirage of having meaningful relationships with coaches may perpetuate the student-athlete's lack of trust and exacerbates their fears. As described by Stanton-Salazar (2001), these inauthentic relationships are misleading as they may help to temporarily motivate the student but do not collaboratively involve the student in a strategic plan that will result in the student going to college. Moreover, due to the lack of social and cultural capital many minority students have, they tend to gravitate toward these perceived relationships because they seek guidance from adults in authoritative positions and trust that these relationships will be beneficial to their college going aspirations (Stanton-Salazar, 2001; McDonough, 1997). Therefore, the presence of Pivotal Moment educators in the educational trajectory of minoritized student-athletes is vital (Espinoza, 2011).

Furthermore, despite the research emphasizing a remarkable influence of academic factors in the college choice process for student-athletes, it is still conventional wisdom that admissions exceptions are made for student-athletes because they are not smart enough to gain acceptance solely based on their academic standing. Hence, the aforementioned dumb jock theory. In addition to being intellectually inferior, it has also become a standard way of thinking that ethnic-minority student-athletes possess innate athletic ability (Edwards, 2000; Hawkins,

2010). Hawkins (2010) reminds us that this parallel between race and athletic prowess dates back to the days of slavery when masters made their slaves compete physically for their own entertainment. In this light, minoritized student-athletes are viewed as a commodity or a form of property (Hawkins, 2010; Uperesa & Mountjoy, 2014). Together, the dumb jock theory and an overly ascribed athletic identity reinforce group racialization because they praise the athletic contribution of the athlete while denouncing his academic ability (Donnor, 2005; Harrison, 2008; Stone et al., 2012). This type of institutional racism acts in the racial exploitation of the ethnic-minority athlete (Santo, 2015) and is especially applicable to the NHOPI student-athlete, as previously mentioned.

College Choice for NHOPI Student-Athletes

Documentation of NHOPIs in higher education is scant. In fact, Museus and Kiang (2009) estimate that only one percent of articles in the five most popular and widely read peer reviewed academic journals includes a conversation about Asian American or Pacific Islander students. Furthermore, in the literature that does mention NHOPIs, there is often a misuse of pan-ethnic terms and a lack of distinction between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, which has further complicated the documentation of NHOPIs in education.

However, in the research that is available, it is postulated that NHOPIs experience a myriad of barriers to college access. For instance, Ah Sam and Robinson (1998) examine barriers to recruitment and retention in higher education for NHOPIs residing outside of the continental U.S. They identify the following eight obstacles preventing NHOPIs living in various areas of the Pacific basin from accessing postsecondary opportunities:

- Lack of Pacific Island-focused programs that coordinate critical social services.
- Inadequate advising and counseling.

- Lack of appropriate orientation programs to help students proactively prepare for the college experience.
- Paucity of Pacific Islanders in leadership positions.
- Lack of college preparatory experiences in elementary and secondary education.
- Conflict of cultural, kinship, and family obligations with school priorities.
- Lack of outreach regarding educational programs and opportunities.
- Financial constraints.

Although Ah Sam & Robinson's (1998) study draws attention to some of the hurdles faced by NHOPIs aspiring to go to college that are similar to those experienced by other minoritized groups, they also highlight some extreme differences. For example, there are geographical complexities NHOPIs living in Hawaii experience when making college going decisions. There are over 350,000 NHOPIs living in the Hawaiian Islands, the largest population of all states and U.S. territories (Community of Contrasts, 2014). Consider the limited number of two- and four-year institutions of higher education on the Hawaiian Islands in comparison to the number of graduating high school seniors each year. In the state of Hawaii, there are a total of 11 two-year colleges and 12 four-year institutions available across all seven of the Hawaiian Islands (www.hawaii.gov). These 23 institutions are charged with the grand task of enrolling students from 62 different high schools. To put it succinctly, during the 2015-2016 school year, it was estimated that 10,471 Hawaii students were enrolled in the 12th grade (NCES, 2018). So, if 83% of Hawaii high school seniors graduated during the 2015-2016 school year (NCES, 2018), approximately 8,691 students were left to compete for very few college slots. In this example, their unique geographical isolation from the rest of the continental U.S. limits their access to a

wide-range of college options which makes their college choice process unlike that of other populations.

While there is some mention of NHOPIs in higher education, there is also a small body of research on the college choice process for NHOPI student-athletes. Nonetheless, it tends to be limited to a discussion on the experience of male football players and their ability to transition from high school to college and eventually to the NFL as a result of the historical background of the Polynesian Pipeline (Johnston, 1976; Tengan and Markham, 2009; Uperesa, 2014). To put it another way, the existing literature is limited to the male dominant sport of football in addition to the experience of a college football player transitioning into the NFL. However, to date, there is no research examining the influence of the Polynesian Pipeline in the college choice process for NHOPI student-athletes, male or female, aspiring to attend college at any level via sport.

Although the Polynesian Pipeline commenced with American football providing numerous opportunities to NHOPI men, in present day it has also become a viable avenue for NHOPI student-athletes to accumulate various forms of capital. Some examples of capital that NHOPIs have been able to acquire as a result of their athletic status are (a) prestige and adulation, from the family, community, and fans, (b) access to and networking with people who help advance their careers as student-athletes, (c) chances to serve others and to give back to the community, (d) access to information navigating institutions of higher education, and (e) financial gains if professional opportunities arise (Uperesa, 2014). Consequently, for all of these reasons, the Polynesian Pipeline offers social and cultural capital to NHOPIs.

Familism as Capital. As previously mentioned, sport has been identified as "tautua," or a greater service to the larger NHOPI community, the family, and the village (Kwauk, 2014; Uperesa, 2014). Specifically, the popularity of sport amongst the NHOPI community may be

attributed to it serving as a way for its members to fulfill family expectations or carry on a family legacy (Uperesa, 2014). Nonetheless, this connection drawn between sport and an obligation to the NHOPI family unit is similar to the concept of familism in Latino cultures.

Research defines familism as a core value of the Latino culture which encompasses constructs such as family obligation, family as a support system, and family members as referents (Cuellar, Arnold, and Gonzalez, 1995; Gil, Wagner, and Vega, 2000; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, 1987; Steidel and Contreras, 2003). Furthermore, Sabogal et al. (1987) explain familism as a "strong identification and attachment of individuals with their families and strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity among members of the same family" (p. 398).

Additionally, familism has three distinct components: attitudinal, behavioral, and structural (Sabogal et al., 1987; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). The attitudinal components are the beliefs and feelings of loyalty and connectedness Latinos share about the nuclear and extended family. Actions associated with those beliefs and feelings make up the behavioral components while the structural components of familism include social and spatial boundaries in which these attitudes and behaviors occur. Furthermore, Steidel & Contreras (2003) assert that attitudinal familism consists of four components:

1) A belief that family comes before the individual.

2) Family interconnectedness.

3) Familial reciprocity.

4) Familial honor.

Ultimately, research suggests that familism serves as an asset in helping Latino youth access critical societal resources such as higher education because of the direct support of the family and their influence over the attitudes and behaviors of Latino youth (Cuellar et al., 1995; Sabogal

et al., 1987; Steidel & Contreras, 2003). Moreover, the concept of familism can also be linked to Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth as both are viewed as assets for the minoritized student.

Familism and Community Cultural Wealth as Capital for NHOPIs. In the same way, the concepts of familism and community cultural wealth are also evident within the NHOPI culture. For example, NHOPI child rearing practices are deeply rooted in the common cultural beliefs of having a shared communal responsibility for the care of children, the involvement of multiple "parents" due to multi-generational households, the expectation of caretaking by siblings and peers as a result of kinship responsibilities, and the overarching obligation individuals have to the family as a motivation to go to college (DeBarshe et al., 2006; Ritchie, 1983; Spickard, 2002, Tcherkezoff, 1998). Family obligation and the expectation of achieving educational success for the greater good of the NHOPI community carries significant influence on college access for NHOPI youth (DeBaryshe et al., 2006).

It is also a highly respected cultural value that decisions made within the NHOPI community are made by the family or the group, versus solely by the individual. In fact, some cultures within the NHOPI community enact their own processes when attempting to help a family member solve a problem. For example, Fong, Boyd, and Brown (1999) argue that in the Hawaiian culture, there is a process called Ho'oponopono used for restoring harmonious relationships within the family unit in which elders help guide, lead, facilitate, and mediate problem-solving processes. During Ho'oponopono, the elders of the family are afforded immense respect by all nuclear and extended family members as they engage in the process of empowering the entire family unit (Fong et al., 1999). This is one example of the significant role family networks assume in decision making processes for NHOPIs.

It follows then, as a result of the 100+ year history of the Polynesian Pipeline and its successful syphoning of NHOPIs from high school to college and beyond, there is now a wealth of NHOPIs able to serve as a direct line of support for younger generations aspiring to go to college via athletic opportunities. In this case, the Polynesian Pipeline has created a unique form of familism, similar to the aforementioned forms of social capital, within the structure of the NHOPI community because those who are byproducts of the Polynesian Pipeline are now able to serve as key networks who interact directly with NHOPI youth seeking to use sports as a pathway to college. In addition, the Polynesian Pipeline has also created familism as a unique form of cultural capital in that the products of the Polynesian Pipeline are able to instill the value of education within younger generations. Moreover, the findings of this study propose that tautua, as a result of the Polynesian Pipeline, is a form of familism. In conclusion, the collectivist nature of the NHOPI community and tautua encourage and perpetuate the constructs of familism and community cultural wealth.

Grid Iron Capital. Furthermore, the long-standing history of sport within the NHOPI community and the success that NHOPI student-athletes have experienced in taking advantage of the Polynesian Pipeline to access college has also created Grid Iron Capital (Uperesa 2014). Grid iron capital has allowed NHOPI student-athletes to use sport as a way of increasing the overall accumulation of social, cultural, and economic capital necessary for experiencing upward mobility. Grid iron capital is the type of college knowledge that plays an influential role as a way of creating new pathways toward promising futures for NHOPI youth (Uperesa & Mountjoy, 2014).

Moreover, heightened social media practices of today's society have played a significant role in the publicity of promoting the athletic prowess of NHOPIs. For example, of the 32 teams

that make up the National Football League (NFL), it is estimated that there is at least one NHOPI on each of those 32 team's rosters as a result of the Polynesian Pipeline ("Polynesian NFL Players," 2017). Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson, who identifies as being Samoan, is widely considered one of the World Wrestling Entertainment's all-time greatest professional wrestlers as well as one of the top box office draws in wrestling history. Samoa's rugby team stunned the world by claiming the Rugby World Cup in 1991. On April 28, 2016, for the first time in history, two NHOPI college student-athletes were drafted in the NFL's top 10 (Uperesa & Mountjoy, 2014). Lastly, on January 8, 2018 the college world of sports witnessed a University of Alabama freshman quarterback from Hawaii, Tua Tagovailoa, throw a winning touchdown pass earning his team the national championship title.

The popularity of athletics in the NHOPI community is undeniable. Due to the strong intergenerational kinship ties within NHOPI families, athletics has become both a feasible pastime and an obligational activity. In addition to being influenced by the message that sport is a highly accessible vehicle to getting to college, the natural growth parental habitus of NHOPI families supports its youth's involvement in sports over the course of their educational experiences. As Uperesa (2014) explains, sport has become an avenue which allows NHOPIs to find hope, confidence, meaning, and expression as a way of countering inequality, commoditization, and narrowed routes of upward mobility.

In conclusion then, the Polynesian Pipeline seems to have created a unique form of familism for the NHOPI community because of its success in creating generations of NHOPIs who have gained access to societal resources through sport. By consistently helping NHOPIs access college and post-college opportunities, the byproducts of the Polynesian Pipeline are now able to return to their community and serve as a form of support, information, and intentional

guidance, which are essentially forms of social and cultural capital. In addition, the ability to use sport as a way of accessing critical societal resources, such as institutions of higher education, has created gridiron capital that is uniquely available to NHOPI student-athletes as a direct result of the Polynesian Pipeline. In other words, NHOPIs are able to convert their athletic knowledge into college knowledge.

The Reproduction of Inequality for NHOPIs. Research claims that when minoritized student-athletes do not have access to key forms of capital (i.e. networks of people), they tend to be more heavily influenced by perceived limitations about themselves. For example, they are more likely to believe that they do not have the financial means necessary for accessing college and they lack confidence in their academic capability at the college level (McDonough, 1994). This argument is particularly applicable to NHOPI youth because of the growing popularity of the Polynesian Pipeline and the stereotypical generalizations that have occurred as a result of that phenomenon. Due to the profound emphasis of athletics within the Polynesian Pipeline, a strong message has been communicated to NHOPIs that they are genetically built and culturally groomed for athletics (Cruz, 2010; "Polynesian Power," 2005). So, although the Polynesian Pipeline has become a well-established and viable pathway for NHOPI student-athletes to access college and post-collegiate opportunities, it has also left the NHOPI community susceptible to racialization and exploitation.

In addition, despite the fact that the Polynesian Pipeline has been highly successful in providing NHOPI student-athletes access to college and beyond, there seems to be some misalignment with student-athlete data released by the NCAA (2017). Table 1 depicts estimated probability data for high school athletes aspiring to compete in the top three most popular high school sports for men and women at the college level and beyond.

Table 1

Estimated Probability of Competing in College and Professional Athletics

	Total Number of High School Participants	High school to Division I Schools	High school to Division II Schools	High School to Division III Schools	DI-DIII to Major Professional Sports
Men					
1.Football	1,083,308	2.6%	1.8%	2.4%	1.5%
2.Track & Field	591,133	1.9%	1.2%	1.7%	NA
3.Basketball	546,428	1.0%	1.0%	1.4%	1.1%
Women					
1.Track & Field	485,969	2.7%	1.5%	1.8%	NA
2.Volleyball	436,309	1.2%	1.1%	1.6%	NA
3. Basketball	429,380	1.2%	1.1%	1.6%	0.9%

National Collegiate Athletic Association. (2017). *Probability of Competing Beyond High School.* [Data file]. Retrieved from http://www.ncaa.org/about/resources/research/probability-competing-beyond-high-school

The reality of the high school student-athlete is that the percentage of those able to successfully transition into a college athletic program, of any level, is low. Furthermore, the data evidences that there are very few student-athletes who will participate in professional sports due to limited opportunities and the prestigious level of competition required to play at that level. However, although the likelihood of a high school student-athlete being able to successfully transfer to college is low, the NCAA (2017) explains that if they do, the likelihood that they will graduate is very high. The NCAA (2016) reports the following Graduation Success Rates (GSRs) of their student-athletes: 86% Division I, 71% Division II, and 87% Division III. At the same time though, the NCAA (2016) also reports a GSR of only 75% for NHOPI student-athletes both male and female, which is comparable to that of Blacks (71%) and American Indians (74%).

Some researchers compare the reputation of the Polynesian Pipeline for NHOPI student-athletes to that of the "Hoop Dream" narrative ascribed to the success Black male student-athletes have had with accessing college and professional opportunities via basketball (Kwauk, 2014; Tengan & Markham, 2009). Moreover, two recent documentaries about the Polynesian Pipeline offer startling statistics to describe just how likely it is for a male athlete of Samoan or Tongan ancestry to play football in the NFL. The film *In Football We Trust* postulates that although Samoans and Tongans make up only 240,000 of the population in the U.S., they are 28 times more likely to play in the NFL than any other ethnic group (Kauvaka, 2016). Additionally, a 60 Minutes film *Football Island (*Pelley, 2010*)* reports that a male born to Samoan parents is 56 times more likely than any other ethnic group to accomplish his NFL dreams (Pelley, 2010).

If the likelihood that NHOPIs will have such a myriad of opportunities to participate in professional sports is so high, discrepancies seem to emerge when that data is compared to the aforementioned NCAA and NCES data for NHOPIs, which evidence low college completion rates. In other words, the Polynesian Pipeline is estimated to send record numbers of NHOPIs to college and professional athletics while college completion rates remain low. One could assume that many college athletes are being recruited to professional teams before they are able to earn a degree; however, there is no research available at this time to support that hypothesis.

Therefore, if NHOPI student-athletes are successful in committing to an institution of higher education as a result of the influence of the Polynesian Pipeline but they are still unable to graduate, this lack of completion may potentially contribute to the cycle of reproduction of inequality. Without a college degree, by Bourdieu's (1973) terms, NHOPI student-athletes will be unable to accumulate capital which will force them to return to their social class position and inhibit them from experiencing upward mobility.

Ultimately, this study endorses Eitzen's (2009) argument that NHOPIs should not confuse the possibility of sporting success with the probability of sporting success. While there seem to be a myriad of benefits in using sport to access college and other postsecondary opportunities, as Eitzen (2009) states "the fact remains that every wrong step and every missed tackle places them (the athlete) at risk of rapid devaluation" (p. 272).

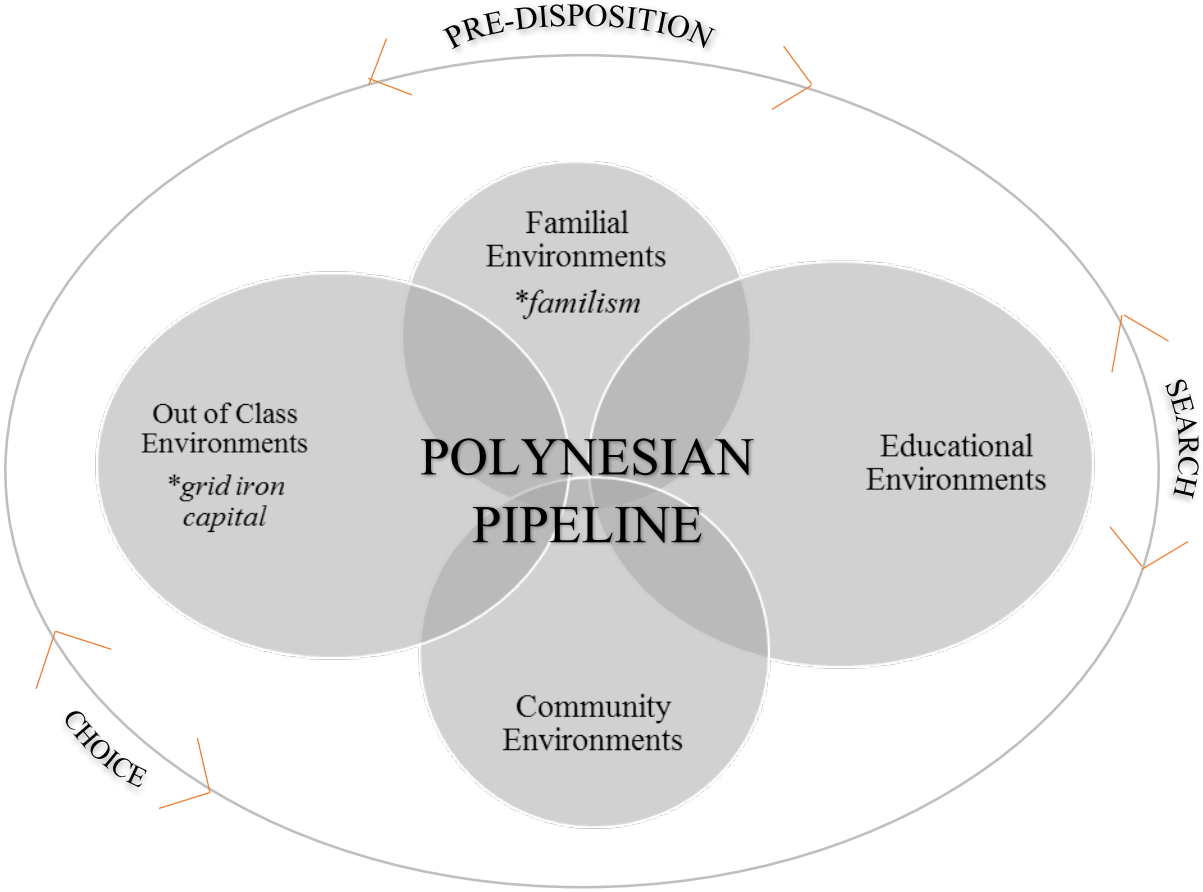
Nonetheless, when considered together, Eitzen's (2009) assertion about the possibility versus probability of sporting success and McDonough's (1994) claim that minoritized students make decisions based on their perceived limitations present a uniquely dichotomous scenario for NHOPI student-athletes. That is to say by Eitzen's (2009) terms, it seems feasible that NHOPI student-athletes may perceive certain colleges as being attainable because of the popularity of sport within the NHOPI community as well as the messages portrayed through media despite considering the academic rigor or selectivity of those schools. On the other hand, it is equally conceivable by McDonough's (1994) explanation, that NHOPI student-athletes may perceive certain colleges that they are very capable of being accepted to as being unattainable because of their lower socio-economic status for example. Jointly, these contrasting perceptions create a construct of inequality within the college choice process for NHOPI student-athletes that examines the match or fit (or lack thereof) between an NHOPI student-athlete and the types of schools being considered.

In summary, while the theoretical framework used in this study draws on Tierney & Venegas' (2009) cultural and ecological model, it was adapted for this study to form a conceptual model called, "College-Going Decisions for High School NHOPI Student-Athletes." Developed by the author of this study, this adapted conceptual model posits that the Polynesian Pipeline is nested within the four environments (educational, familial, community, and out of

class) proposed by Tierney & Venegas (2009) and therefore influences high school NHOPI student-athletes as they make college-going decisions. This model also underscores familism and grid iron capital as unique forms of capital NHOPIs have access to as a direct result of the Polynesian Pipeline. Finally, this model suggests that the NHOPI student-athlete moves fluidly through the three phases of college choice (predisposition, search, and choice) but in a non-linear fashion due to the fact that numerous influential factors come into play at varying times within each of the four environments.

Figure 2

College-Going Decisions for NHOI High School NHOPI Student-Athletes: An adapted conceptual model of Tierney and Venegas' (2009) Cultural Framework for Financial Decision Making



Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Design

The purpose of this phenomenological qualitative study was to investigate the influence of the Polynesian Pipeline on the college-going decisions of NHOPI high school student-athletes. Primarily, it (a) examines the Polynesian Pipeline as an environmental factor within the college choice process, (b) considers when in the college choice process the Polynesian Pipeline holds the most influence, (c) investigates the unique forms of capital the Polynesian Pipeline offers NHOPI high school student-athletes, and (d) identifies the ways in which NHOPI student-athletes activate or use those forms of capital when making college-going decisions.

Due to the fact that the primary research question of this study focused on understanding the NHOPI student-athlete experience and making meaning of how they make college-going decisions, use of a qualitative design allowed the researcher to access the emic perspectives of the student-athlete as they perceive their college-going decisions (Krathwohl, 2009). Moreover, use of a qualitative design helped to attach emotions and feelings to the Polynesian Pipeline phenomenon by capturing the experiences of the student-athlete participants (Creswell, 2014).

Additionally, because the Polynesian Pipeline is a single phenomenon that has been underexplored, use of phenomenology allowed the researcher to collect data directly from individuals who are experiencing the phenomenon first-hand (Creswell, 2016). Furthermore, as Padilla-Diaz (2015) suggest, phenomenology supports the researcher in being able to describe and interpret meanings and influences of the Polynesian Pipeline by a group of individuals. Lastly, considering the fact that the construct of familism is interwoven within the practices of the NHOPI community, phenomenology provides explicit insight into the ways in which the study participants experienced the phenomenon within the context of the family.

Sample

Initially, purposive sampling was used to identify family members and friends of the researcher who met the sample criterion. Study participants identified as: 1) belonging to one or more than one NHOPI subgroup, 2) living in one of the fifty states, 3) playing high school and/or club sports, and 4) being enrolled in the 11th or 12th grade during either the 2018-2019 or 2019-2020 school years. Thereafter, participants involved in NHOPI community athletic organizations in Hawaii, California, and other pacific coast states with large populations of NHOPIs were also purposively selected to increase the sample pool. Finally, additional participants were chosen based on snowball sampling until data saturation was reached. For the purpose of this study, the term student-athlete was defined as a high school student currently playing school and/or club sports who may or *may not* want to continue their education or play sports after high school.

While the goal of this study was to survey and interview a total of 25 student-athletes, a total of 23 student-athletes completed the demographic survey. Of those 23 student-athletes, only 20 completed interviews. However, data saturation was reached as the findings of the 23 surveys and 20 interviews were "…consistent with the research questions, and the theoretical position and analytic framework adopted…" (Saunders et al., 2017).

Instrumentation

The primary data source for this phenomenological study came from one-on-one interviews with each of the participants. Interviews were conducted so that the in-depth personal perspectives of each participant could be captured. Additionally, participants completed a demographic survey prior to the interview.

Interview. A pre-interview graphic (see Appendix H) was created by the researcher as a way of setting a positive, non-threatening tone prior to each interview starting. Because the interviews were conducted in a one-on-one setting, the graphic was used as a visual aide that allowed the researcher to reiterate the purpose of the study in lay terms, lower the anxiety level of some of the participants, as well as to build trust between the researcher and the interviewees prior to the interview starting. In fact, use of the graphic also helped to elicit more in-depth and personal responses from the participants. Lastly, participants were informed at the start of each interview that if necessary, member checking may be implemented at some point during the data analysis phase if the researcher needed to verify participant responses.

Moreover, taking into account the geographic location of each participant and their individual schedules at the time interviews were conducted, they were offered the option of conducting their interview face-to-face with the researcher, over the phone, or via an on-line platform such as Zoom or Skype. Of the 23 participants who were initially identified, only 20 completed interviews; 12 chose to be interviewed by phone, four opted for face-to-face interviews, and four participated using an on-line platform.

Once the interviews began, interview protocols (see Appendix J) were used to ensure for consistency of questions asked amongst all participants. Protocols also included sub-questions and probes in order to obtain detailed participant views (Creswell, 2016). Although each interview was audiotaped for researcher reference after the fact, interview field notes were also taken during each interview.

Demographic Survey. A demographic survey (see Appendix F) was developed by the researcher and used to obtain background information about each participant such as racial and ethnic background, grade level, and sport(s) played. Additionally, because the theoretical

framework used in this study focuses on specific environmental influencers, contextual questions were asked such as type of school the participant attended and information about primary caregivers such as highest level of education attained. The goal of the demographic survey was to gain insight into the participants' social class position particularly in relation to their access to various forms of capital. Moreover, it was also used to obtain a sense of what specific pieces of information participants drew upon while making college-going decisions.

The demographic survey was created using the Qualtrics web-based survey platform. Each participant received an email (see Appendix E) that included the Qualtrics survey link, a personalized identification number to ensure for participant confidentiality, and directions for completing the survey as well as next steps to follow upon completion. A web-based survey was selected primarily because some of the participants indicated that they did not live in the state of California. Furthermore, for those living in California, they were either traveling for athletic tournaments or family obligations during the period of time that interviews were being scheduled or they lived more than an hour away from the researcher. Based on logistics and the busy schedules of the student-athletes, a web-based survey seemed to be more of a convenient platform that would help to encourage a higher rate of participation. Ultimately, all 23 study participants completed demographic surveys.

Pilot Study

Both instruments were tested by administering the demographic survey and the interview to three NHOPI high school student-athletes who met all study criteria. This pilot study helped to increase the internal validity of both the demographic survey and interview protocol as well as increase the overall credibility and trustworthiness of the study. Moreover, as a result of the pilot study, the pre-interview graphic was created and the interview protocol was revised to simplify

language, omit redundant questions, and narrow the scope of certain questions. Following the pilot study of the three participants, all revisions were resubmitted to the Internal Review Board (IRB) for approval (Appendix I).

Data Collection

Data was collected using qualitative research because the Polynesian Pipeline is a central phenomenon or the one central idea this study aims to investigate (Creswell, 2016). Qualitative data also allows the researcher to report the voices of the study participants, in this case a marginalized population, which can be uniquely captured through qualitative methods. Furthermore, this qualitative research explored the context of the family and the ways in which that context shaped participant views about college.

Initially, a Call for Participants flyer (see Appendix A) was posted on social media outlets (i.e. Facebook and Instagram), emailed, or texted to NHOPIs known by the researcher. It was also routed to NHOPI community athletic organizations in Hawaii, California, and Pacific coast states with large populations of NHOPIs. Once participants responded either by phone call, text, or email and verified as meeting the sampling criteria, they were informed of the nature of their participation, significance of the study, and social consequences of the study via email (see Appendix B). Also, those expressing interest in being a study participant were encouraged to share the Call for Participants flyer with other NHOPI student-athletes they knew in order to increase the study participant pool.

Next, electronic assent and consent forms (see Appendices C and D) were provided to each participant via email, text, or U.S. mail depending upon participant preference. Once assent and consent forms were completed and returned to the researcher, participants were sent a link via email to the demographic survey. When the researcher was notified that the demographic

survey had been completed, the researcher sent a confirmation email, text, or phone call to confirm with the participant that the survey had been received (Appendix G). Thereafter, a $5 incentive was sent via Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle, again dependent upon participant preference. If the participant indicated a desire to cease participation in the remainder of study, the $5 incentive was still provided. This was the case for three of the original 23 study participants.

In addition, participants were provided with identification numbers to use when completing the survey to ensure confidentiality. A matrix was also created to assist the researcher with organizing participant information and linking participant names with their corresponding identification numbers and pseudonyms. Once interviews concluded, this matrix was referred to in order to assist the researcher in the next phase of data analysis. The matrix will be retained in a secure location and only accessible to the researcher to ensure for the confidentiality of each study participant for a minimum of three years.

Thereafter, participants were contacted by phone or email so that in-person interviews could be arranged (Appendix G). If a participant resided in a state outside of California or if meeting face-to-face was not convenient for the participant, arrangements were made to conduct the interview over the phone or via a virtual platform (i.e. Zoom). Lastly, each participant who completed an interview earned an additional $25 incentive.

Data Analysis

Use of Saldana's (2015) coding methods were applied as the primary technique for analyzing the data collected for this study. He defines coding in qualitative inquiry as "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldana, 2015, p. 4). The researcher chose Saldana's (2015) coding processes as a foundational grounding for data analysis because

he stresses the importance of "coding compatibility" or intentionally selecting codes based on the goals of the study (p. 7). He also provides various suggestions for multiple cycles of coding methods that are particularly useful for novice researchers in helping to establish "feedback loops," or levels of coding that move the data analysis from generic codes to more distilled, refined themes (Saldana, 2015, p. 68). Lastly, Saldana (2015) emphasizes the importance of choosing coding methods which match various elements of the study (e.g. theoretical framework, research questions). This constant reiteration of choosing coding methods which help to generate desired outcomes of the study guided the researcher in making strategic coding choices versus participating in blind coding methods.

However, prior to selecting specific coding methods, three pilot interviews were conducted, transcribed using the on-line transcription service rev.com, and perused for possible coding methods. Saldana (2015) refers to this strategy as "pragmatic eclecticism" as it allows the researcher to keep themselves open during the initial phase of data collection before deciding upon which coding methods to apply (p. 70).

Next, the method of Structural Coding was chosen as a holistic approach to taking a "grand tour" of the data (Saldana, 2015, p. 73). Notes were taken manually within the margin of each transcript which included preliminary codes. Once all three transcripts were coded using the Structural Coding method, revisions were made to the interview protocol and resubmitted to IRB for approval. Additionally, the pre-interview graphic was created as a result of the pilot data analysis.

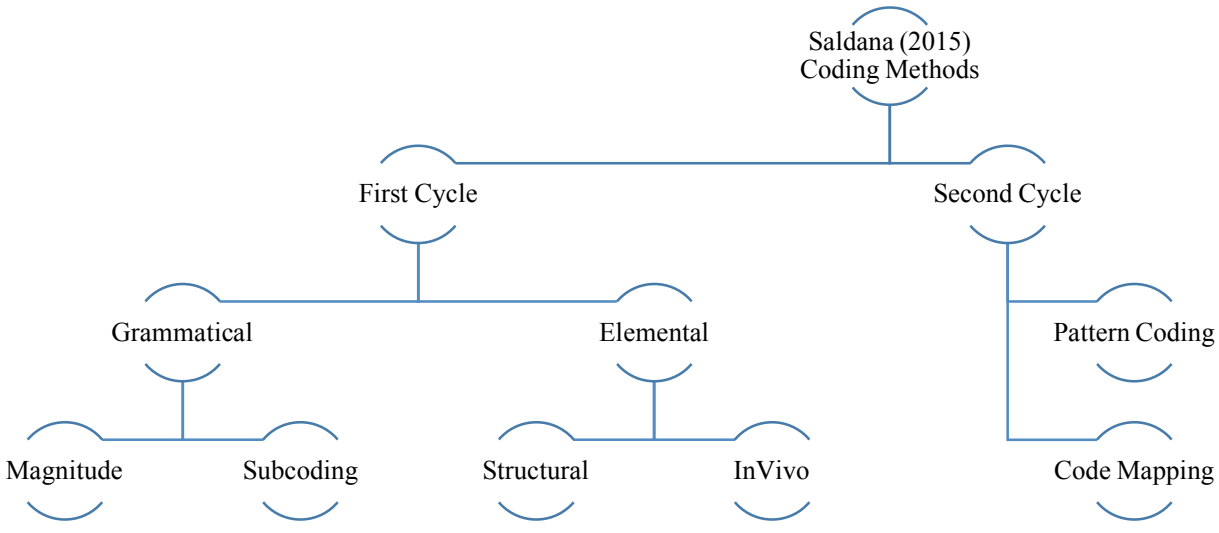
Upon IRB'S approval of the amendments made to the interview protocol, each of the 20 study participants was interviewed. Once five interviews were transcribed, manual coding began. Coding was completed in batches of five so that the researcher had time to take

additional notes, listen to the audio recordings of the interviews for further clarification, and reflect on emergent categories and themes.

Following the manual coding of all 20 transcripts, Grammatical and Elemental coding methods were selected as first-cycle coding methods. Saldana (2015) explains that these methods have been found to be foundational approaches which help to "enhance the nuances" of the data (p. 80). As an extension of Grammatical and Elemental coding, the following four sub-coding methods were intentionally selected to analyze the data in subsequent rounds of first cycle coding: 1) Structural, 2) Subcoding, 3) Magnitude, and 4) In Vivo. Then, in the second-cycle of coding, Code Mapping and Pattern Coding were also used to further analyze the data. An explanation of and rationale for the researcher selecting each of these methods will follow in subsequent sections. Figure 3 provides a visual representation of all coding methods used during data analysis.

Figure 3

Data Analysis Process



Adapted from Saldaña, J. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. 3rd ed.

Structural Coding. As previously mentioned, the primary source of data for this study came from one-on-one interviews. Once all of the interviews were transcribed, they were then reviewed. When reviewing transcription data, Saldana (2015) recommends use of Structural Coding as a way of applying a "conceptual phrase representing a topic of inquiry to a segment of data that relates to a specific research question use to frame the interview" (p. 98). This method was used as it seemed to be the most efficient, holistic strategy to use as an initial way of determining any alignment of the data to the previously mentioned theoretical framework, research questions, and conceptual model. In order to do so, a list of pre-determined codes, primarily driven by the research questions, was created beforehand in order to explore whether or not that alignment was evident (Saldana, 2015). These pre-determined codes were used to manually code the data and then transferred onto individual posters organized by research questions. Saldana (2015) describes this type of data analysis as a "literal spatial arrangement" of data (p. 230).

Subcoding. Once Structural coding was complete, Subcoding was implemented. Saldana (2015) refers to subcoding as a parent-child coding method which allows the researcher to analyze broad or general codes (i.e. parent codes) that were used in the previous round of coding and reduce those broad codes down to a more detailed or enhanced code (i.e. child code). This coding method was chosen because the study aims to investigate specific resources and forms of capital. Subcoding allowed the researcher to identify specific people and pieces of information the participants were drawing upon when making college-going decisions. Once child codes were extracted as a result of subcoding, the researcher again transferred those child codes onto the aforementioned posters. Use of the posters helped to create a visual representation of all codes which in turn assisted in the development of emerging themes.

Magnitude Coding. Next, Magnitude coding was used as a way of determining the presence or absence of the Polynesian Pipeline, the exact phenomenon that this study set out to investigate, in the decision making process of high school NHOPI student-athletes. Saldana (2015) suggests that Magnitude Coding be implemented as a way of determining the intensity or frequency of a phenomenon. Therefore, once evidence of the Polynesian Pipeline began to surface in the data, the intensity and frequency of its influence was made salient through the use of Magnitude Coding because each participant referenced it almost immediately. This phase of data analysis was conducted using the NVivo Software program which was particularly useful in the systematic organization of both the audio and textual data relevant to the Magnitude coding process.

In Vivo Coding. The final method used in the first-cycle of coding was In Vivo coding, also referred to as literal or verbatim coding using the participant's actual language (Saldana, 2015). Also, Saldana (2015) asserts that In Vivo coding is a meaningful way to capture the unique vocabulary of the participants of the study while also honoring their voice. Because this study set out to highlight the voice of the student-athlete and honor the lived experiences of this unique population, it was imperative that their own words be used in the analysis of the data. In order to do so, codes were assigned based on participant quotes.

Code Mapping. Once first-cycle coding methods were employed, two second-cycle coding methods were also chosen. As a result of the above mentioned In Vivo coding completed in the first-cycle of analysis, Code Mapping was used to overlap with the In Vivo codes to further analyze the study participant's own words. Due to the intensity of the emotion in the words they spoke as well as the frequency of themes about which they spoke, Code Mapping was used as a way of separating out all direct quotations that fit into a similar category.

Ultimately, this method helped to quantify the qualitative data which offered the researcher more in-depth insight into theme development (Saldana, 2015). It also helped the researcher hone in on possible new theories about the Polynesian Pipeline that seemed to be developing.

Pattern Coding. In the last phase of data analysis, Pattern Coding was applied. Saldana (2015) asserts that this method be used when attempting to determine the "meta codes" in the data. As a culminating coding method, Pattern Coding afforded the researcher the opportunity to make a final verification that the Polynesian Pipeline influence was indeed evident and in what ways. This method also proved to be beneficial in the concluding phase of the data analysis as it allowed the researcher, after being engaged in the analysis of granule data, to return to a broad, general coding method.

Finally, in addition to the strategic selection of coding methods, member checking was used by the researcher to clarify some of the participant's responses. In total, four participants were contacted over the course of the data analysis phase so that they could expand on a particular response or verify accuracy of the information obtained during the interviews (Padilla-Diaz, 2015). Furthermore, when analyses of the data are reported, pseudonyms previously assigned to each participant have been used for both student and school names to further protect the identity of all participants.

Reflexivity

Drawing on one's own views, cultures, and backgrounds is an essential skill required of qualitative researchers so that they are consistently reflecting on what they personally bring to the study they are conducting (Creswell, 2016). In addition to the experiences I encountered in helping my son navigate his high school trajectory as a student-athlete, I am a Samoan female who was born and raised in Hawaii and attended college on the mainland as a student-athlete.

So, it was critical for me to acknowledge my own biases and experiences with the Polynesian Pipeline. Equally important though, is the level of trust and comfort my positionality in the research offered the participants of my study. As I presented the pre-interview graphic to each interviewee prior to starting their interview, I openly discussed my personal history as a student-athlete who accessed the Polynesian Pipeline as I made my transition between high school and college. Sharing this similarity between myself and the study participants seemed to help build rapport which in turn allowed them to share their own experiences with the Polynesian Pipeline more freely.

Protection of Human Subjects

This study was granted Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from Claremont Graduate University under the rules for expedited review prior to participants being contacted (Appendix K). Confidentiality of the participants and schools they attend was maintained throughout the duration of the study as all participants used identification numbers when completing the demographic surveys. Pseudonyms were also used in place of participant names and schools. Although interviews were audiotaped, coded, and transcribed, all identifiable documentation will be destroyed upon completion of the study.

Limitations

This study presents at least four limitations. First, the literature and research on the Polynesian Pipeline, as well as on athletics in general, tends to focus on male dominated sports. So, although effort was made to account for gender balance in the participant pool, only eight of the 20 participants who completed both the survey and interview were female. Larger studies that include an equal number of male and female student-athletes or studies that involve only

female student-athletes may need to be conducted in order for the female student-athlete voice to emerge more poignantly.

Second, the literature on the Polynesian Pipeline focuses significantly on Samoans and Tongans playing sports at both the college and professional levels so attempts were also made to balance the participant pool by race and ethnicity. However, of the 20 participants who completed both the demographic survey and the interview, 18 identified as being Samoan only or Samoan in combination with another NHOPI racial and ethnic group. Studies which include representatives of the other NHOPI racial and ethnic sub-groups may need to be conducted in order for findings to be generalized beyond those identifying as Samoan.

Next, two factors emerged as threats to the internal validity of this study which were mortality and history. Krathwohl (2009) explains mortality as "changes in the composition of the sample due to individuals dropping out of the study before its completion which could have caused the effect and are confounded with" (p. 348). Only 23 students completed demographic surveys and of those 23, only 20 completed interviews. The fact that three participants were lost during the duration of the study may be perceived as a threat to the credibility of the study. However, in analyzing the demographic information of these three participants, the data suggests that they are not any different than the other 20 study participants with regard to their NHOPI identity, athletic or academic history, or family background. It should be said though, that in order for the results to be more credible and generalizable, studies including larger participant pools would have to be undertaken.

Lastly, at the time the researcher was recruiting participants for this study, a series of protests began in the state of Hawaii amongst the Native Hawaiian community against the construction of a 30 meter telescope atop Mauna Kea, a dormant volcano on the Big Island.

The Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) International Observatory, the organization contracted to build the massive telescope, claimed that Mauna Kea's climate and location made it an ideal site for astronomy and scientific research and discovery. In stark contrast, the Native Hawaiians argued that any type of construction atop Mauna Kea, their most sacred land, would constitute a direct violation to the rights of the Native Hawaiian people with regard to issues around indigenous rights, autonomy, and environmental stewardship.

Amidst this highly televised controversy and protests beginning not only on all islands in Hawaii but across the country, the researcher began interviewing participants for this study. During the interviews, particularly with participants living in or having familial or cultural ties with the state of Hawaii, the topic of Mauna Kea surfaced and participants spoke candidly about their opinions of the protests and of the way the Native Hawaiians were being mistreated. This historical event may have influenced the ways in which the participants responded to certain interview questions focused on the constructs of identity and societal views about racial stereotypes of the NHOPI community. In order to strengthen the internal validity of the study, the study would have to be replicated within a timeframe that is not so closely associated to such a public historical event.

Chapter 4: Results

Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the ways in which the Polynesian Pipeline influences the college choice process of high school NHOPI student-athletes. Specifically, this chapter examines the Polynesian Pipeline as a contextual factor within the three phases (predisposition, search, and choice) of the college choice process and the types of capital it offers NHOPI college-going student-athletes.

In order to provide context for this discussion, this chapter will begin with the findings from the survey that help to establish relevant demographic information about the study sample. Thereafter, the findings from subsequent survey questions provide insight into (a) participants' post-high school plans, (b) the process used by participants to select colleges of interest, and (c) participants' family background as it pertains to social class position and consequently their ability to access critical resources. Lastly, findings from the one-on-one interviews, which include four major themes that emerged as a result of the coding methods mentioned in the previous chapter, will be reviewed. Additionally, tables and graphics are used throughout the chapter to visually represent the demographic survey and interview data.

Findings from the Demographic Survey

Study sample. Twenty-three participants completed the demographic survey. The first six survey questions help to establish demographic information of the study sample which include gender, racial/ethnic background, state of residency, grade levels, type of schools, and sport(s) played.

Of the 23 survey respondents, the majority are male (n=15). This finding parallels the literature on NHOPIs and sport which posits that sports are more prominent amongst males

because of the popularity of male dominated high revenue generating sports such as football and rugby. Additionally, only four participants identify solely as Native Hawaiian and two as a combination of Native Hawaiian and Samoan resulting in the majority of the study participants (n=17) identifying as Samoan only. As previously mentioned, although efforts were made to balance the participant pool by both gender and racial/ethnic background, the study sample remains Samoan male dominant. This gender and racial/ethnic imbalance mirrors much of the NHOPI student-athlete literature which is heavily focused on Samoan male athletes (Miller, 2006; Pelley, 2010; Steinberg, 2015). Furthermore, these data are consistent with the research which claims that of all NHOPI communities, Samoan athletes constitute the most disproportionately overrepresented ethnic group in college and professional athletics, primarily in the sport of football (Ruck, 2018; Steinberg, 2015).

When asked to identify the state in which they live, participants claim four different states of residency including Hawaii, California, Arizona, and Missouri with most of the study participants living in California (n=13) or Hawaii (n=8). The fact that most participants live in Hawaii and California may be attributed to the literature which asserts that NHOPI populations in Hawaii and California remain the largest of all 50 states (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

Next, the study criterion required that participants be in the 11th or 12th grades during either the 2018-2019 or 2019-2020 school years. The rationale for this was that participants in the 11th and 12th grades would be more likely to experience all three phases of the college choice process than participants in the 9th or 10th grades. The findings reveal that approximately half of the study participants (n=12) were 11th graders during the 2018-2019 school year and had just concluded the 11th grade at the time their interviews were completed. This is a notable finding because the college choice process is highly time sensitive. For example, there are strict

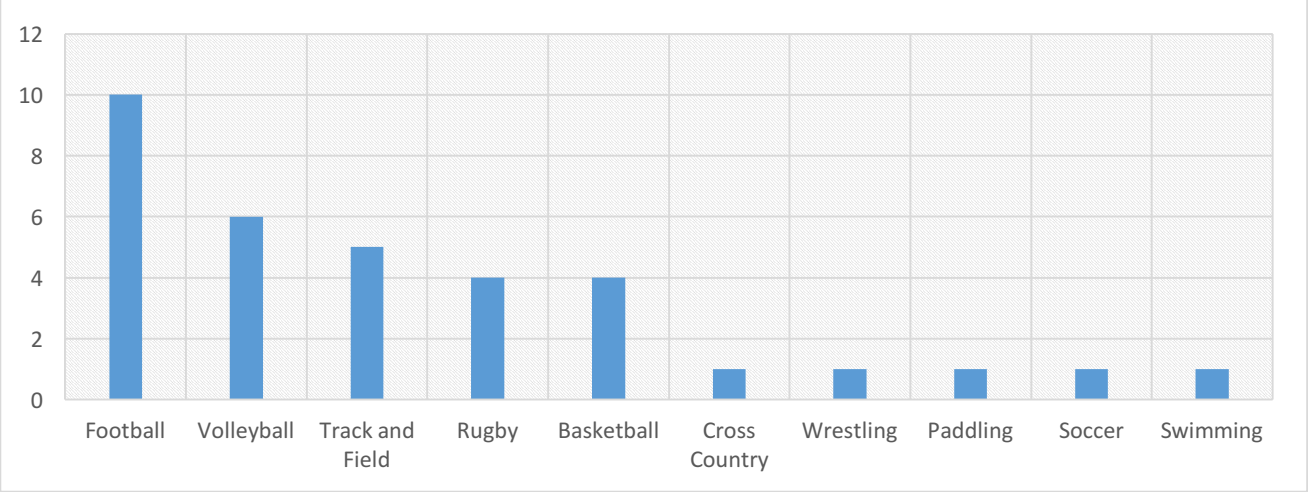
recommended timelines for completing specific high school obligations (i.e. course and credit requirements) as well as college prerequisites (i.e. college exams) which help to position students toward college. If participants are not satisfying these requirements within the recommended timelines, their college choice process may be negatively impacted.

Additionally, the majority of study participants (*n=17*) attend traditional public schools, five attend private schools, and only one attends a charter public school. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics' (NCES) "Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups" (2018) report, NHOPIs made up only one percent or less of enrollment at all private schools in 2016 as compared to White (69%), Hispanic (10%), and Black (9%) students. Therefore, with the majority of participants (*n=17*) reporting that they attend traditional public schools, these findings remain consistent with the national data which asserts that minoritized students are still highly underrepresented in private schools.

Lastly, together the study participants play a total of ten different sports. Football was the sport played by most participants (*n=10*) with volleyball (*n=6*) and track and field (*n=5*) following as the second and third most popular sports among participants. Also, most of the participants (*n=13*) indicated that they play only one sport; however, they also clarified that they play their respective sport for both their school and an out-of-school organization such as a club or travel ball team. These data displayed in Figure 4 are important to underscore because they highlight the multitude of environments the student-athletes are in when receiving information about college.

Figure 4

All Sports Played



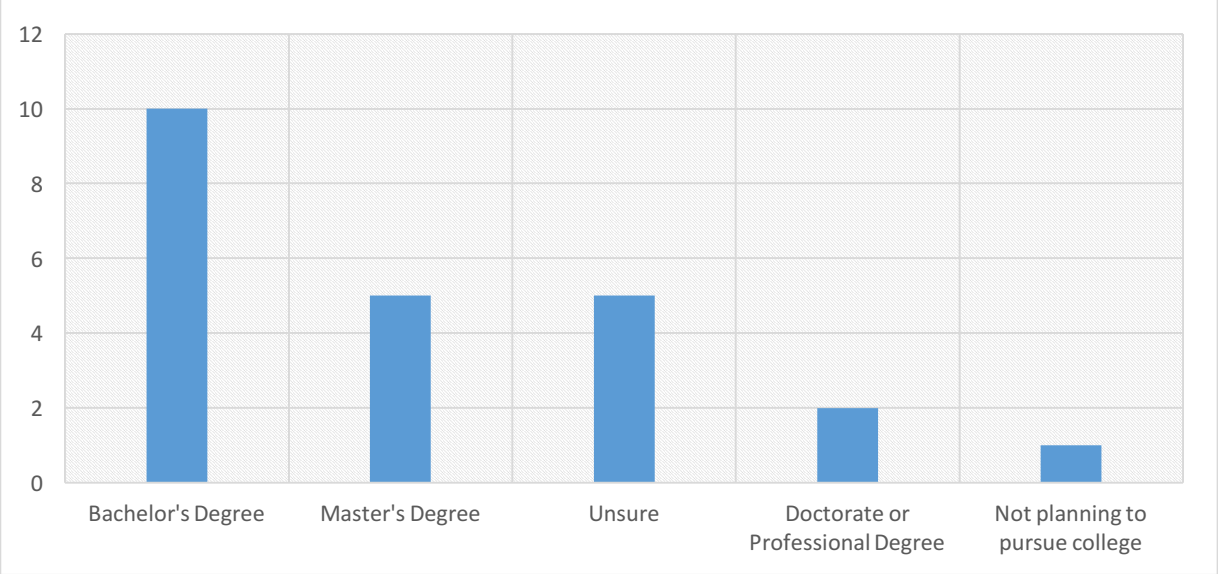
N=23

Participants had the option of indicating multiple sports played either for school, for out-of-school organizations or both.

Post-high school plans. Following the demographic survey questions, participants were asked a series of questions about their post-high school plans. These questions inquired about whether or not they wanted to continue their education after high school and if so, the highest level of education they planned to achieve. On the other hand, if participants did not plan to continue their education, they were asked to specify what their plans after high school would be. This series of questions helped to establish insight into whether or not college was included in the participants' post-high school planning.

Figure 5

Highest Level of Education to Pursue



N=23

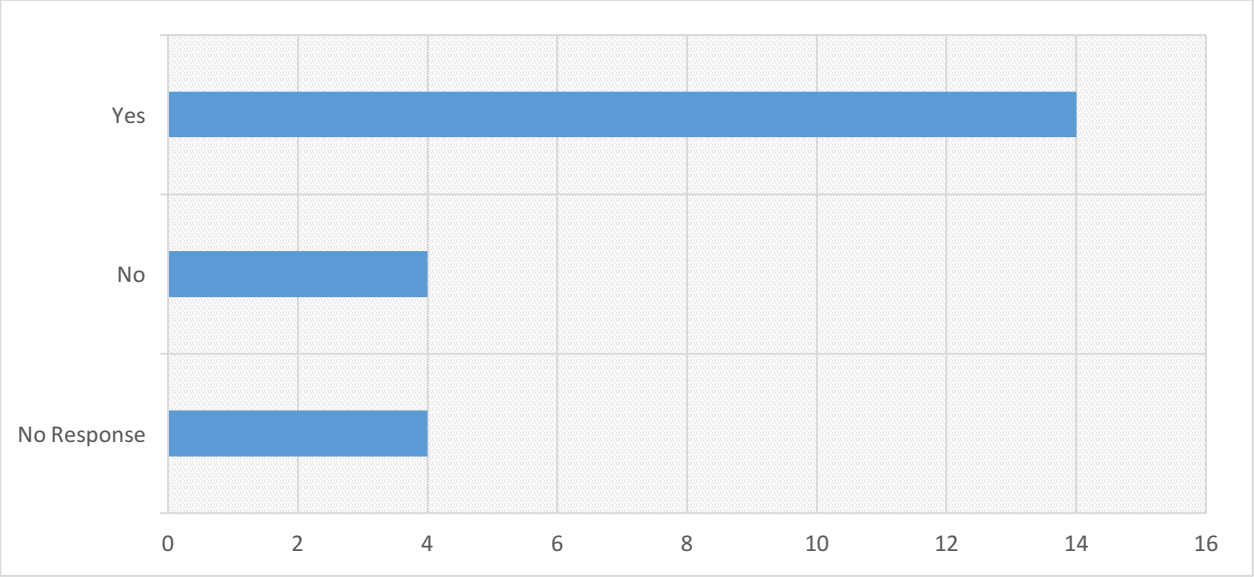
All but one of the 23 participants indicated that they do plan to continue their education after high school. The single participant who noted otherwise chose the option of serving in the military. Of the 22 study participants who plan to pursue college degrees, five of them indicated that they were unsure of what degree they would pursue. In short, 17 study participants plan to earn at least a Bachelor's degree.

Thereafter, participants (*n=22*) were asked whether or not they planned to continue playing sports in college. These data are also disaggregated by gender based on the college choice literature which evidences that male and female student-athletes consider different factors within the three phases of the college choice process while making college-going decisions (Judson et al., 2004; Mathes and Gurney, 1985; Toma & Cross, 1998). Additionally, the data are also disaggregated by grade level as shown in Table 3 so that the timing of participants'

decisions could be examined. Furthermore, if participants indicated a choice to pursue collegiate sports, a follow-up question was posed which inquired about whether or not they had already registered for the NCAA Eligibility Center, a requirement of all college athletes aspiring to play at the Division I, II, or III levels.

Figure 6

Plans to Play College Sports



n=22

Note. The single participant who indicated that he would be joining the military post-high school is not included in this data which resulted in the sample size decreasing from N=23 *to n=22.*

It should be pointed out that four study participants did not respond to the question. So, of the participants who did indicate a response (*n=18*), 14 indicated that they want to continue playing sports while in college

Table 3

Plans to Play College Sports by Gender and Grade

	Male	*Female*	*Totals by Grade*
Grade 10	**3**	0	3
Grade 11	**6**	**1**	**7**
Grade 12	**2**	2	4
Totals by Gender	**11**	3	14

n=14

Note. The total number of student-athletes indicating a choice to play college sports by gender are boldfaced to highlight the stark contrast between males and females. The 11th graders are also boldfaced because there are also more 11th graders in the sample than any other grade.

When these data are further disaggregated by gender, the results are heavily skewed. For example, the majority of the participants (*n=11*) indicating a desire to play collegiate sports are male. Additionally, half of the participants (*n=7*) expressed an interest in playing college sports were also 11th graders during the 2018-2019 school year. This finding reflects the data previously discussed about the majority of all study participants *(n=12*) also being 11th graders so it is not surprising that these data are also weighted by grade level.

However, what is most important to note about the grade level data of those wanting to play college sports is the scenario that arises when juxtaposed with the next set of data about the NCAA Eligibility Center. The NCAA Eligibility Center is an essential step required of all student-athletes interested in playing college sports ("Instructions to Register," n.d.). High school student-athletes must be cleared by the NCAA via the on-line Eligibility Center in order to be considered eligible to compete at the collegiate level. More importantly though, in order to be eligible to make official campus visits, sign a National Letter of Intent (NLI) with a specific

university, or receive an athletic scholarship from Division I, II, or III institutions, the student-athlete must first be registered and cleared by the NCAA.

Furthermore, the NCAA recommends that any interested student-athletes register with the Eligibility Center in the spring semester of their sophomore or the fall semester of their junior year. However, only two of the 14 participants who want to play college sports indicated that they had already registered with the NCAA Eligibility Center. This finding may suggest that participants are unaware of the prerequisites of college-bound athletes. Furthermore, 11 of the 14 participants were already 11th and 12th graders during the 2018-2019 school year. So, these findings support the fact that these participants were already behind the NCAA's recommended timeline for registering with the Eligibility Center.

Academic preparation. The next set of survey questions focused on the participants' academic preparation for college in addition to potential schools and areas of study that are of interest to them. The goal in asking these questions was to explore the selection process participants were using to choose certain colleges. First, participants' academic standing, as measured by Grade Point Averages (GPAs) and college entrance exam scores, will be discussed. Then, their schools of choice and areas of study will be considered in conjunction with their academic preparation data. All of the academic preparation data were self-reported by the participants.

To begin, one hundred percent of the study sample (N=23) replied affirmatively to the first academic preparation question which asked whether or not they were on track to meet their high school's graduation requirements. Also, most of the participants (*n=13*) were student-athletes attending high school in the state of California. So, they were also asked whether or not they were on track to meet all A-G requirements to be eligible for admission to any California

State Universities (CSU) and University of CA (UC) schools. Again, all student-athletes attending high schools in California (*n=13*) replied affirmatively.

Table 4

Grade Point Averages (GPAs)

	n	*% of Participants*
1.0-2.0	0	0
2.1-2.5	1	4%
2.6-3.0	4	17%
3.1-3.5	5	22%
3.6-4.0	5	22%
4.1-4.5	2	8%
U	1	4%
N R	5	22%

N=23

Note. U=unsure, NR=no response

Six study participants were either unsure of or did not report a GPA which may suggest that participants are unaware of their academic standing. However, of the participants who did report a GPA, all earned GPAs above the 2.0 benchmark which indicates that they are meeting the minimum high school GPA criteria necessary for eligibility to play their respective sports.

Participants were then asked questions about the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT), Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), and American College Test (ACT) college entrance exams. If the participants already took the exams, they were asked to indicate the highest total score earned on each exam. Additionally, if participants reported at least one piece of datum, conversion scores were determined using the datum provided. These data are displayed in Table 5.

Table 5

College Entrance Exam Scores

Participant ID #	***PSAT***	***SAT***	***ACT***
1	**867**	1020	**15**
2	1030	1160	**24**
3	**980**	**1020**	19
7	**890**	**1030**	20
8	X	X	X
9	860	1020	**20**
10	X	X	X
11	910	1060	**21**
12	X	X	X
13	X	X	X
14	**1060**	1160	24
15	X	X	X
16	**980**	1120	22
17	**910**	1060	21
18	**910**	**950**	**20**
19	**900**	1050	20
20	X	X	X
21	X	X	X
22	X	X	X
23	X	X	X
24	X	X	X
25	1040	**1170**	24
26	**930**	**930**	17

N=23

Note: X=participants did not report a score. Boldfaced scores indicate scores self-reported by participants. All other scores are conversion scores using one or more pieces of data reported by participants. Adapted from Sunquist, K. (2019, May 17). PSAT to SAT Conversion: Predict your score. https://blog.collegevine.com/psat-to-sat-score-conversion-predict-your-score/ and https://www.princetonreview.com/college-advice/act-to-sat-conversion

According to the College Board (2019), there are recommended timelines for college entrance exams in order for students to remain on track for college access. For example, the PSAT exam is typically taken in October of the 10th or 11th grade years (College Board, 2019). Moreover, the recommended timeline for students to take the SAT and ACT exams for the first time is in the spring semester of their junior year or the fall semester of their senior year (College Board, 2019).

However, 10 of the 23 participants did not report any college entrance exam information. When the data are further analyzed, this finding points to a few possible reasons for this dearth of data: 1) the participant was too young at the time of the survey completion and therefore did not yet take the exams, 2) the participant took the exam but chose not to report scores, or 3) the participant concluded the 11th or 12th grade year but did not yet take the exam meaning they were behind the recommended College Board timelines.

To take a case in point, two of the participants who did not report data concluded their 10th grade year at the time of their demographic survey completion. So, in their cases, the lack of data is not necessarily alarming because they were still in the preliminary stages of college testing. On the other hand, for those participants who had already concluded their 11th grade year at the time of their survey completion *(n=12)*, they should have been able to minimally report a PSAT score and possibly even an SAT score if they were following the recommended college exam timelines. So too, for the remaining participants who concluded their 12th grade year at the time of their survey completion (*n=6*), they should also have been able to report scores for all three college entrance exams.

Next, for those participants who reported at least one exam score, those scores were compared to the national average scores in this phase of the data analysis in order to determine

whether or not participants were earning scores commensurate with their same-age/grade level peers. First, nine study participants reported taking the PSAT exam. Of those nine students, only four of them reported scores above 920, which was the national PSAT average score in 2018 (The College Board, 2019). So, based on the PSAT data, only four of the participants who took the PSAT exam scored within the national average range.

Next, when participants were asked about their SAT exam scores, only five of them self-reported having already taken the SAT exam. For those participants, when their data are considered in conjunction with The College Board (2019) report which asserts a national average score of 1068 points for the class of 2018, only one participant was able to earn a score that meets the national average score.

Similarly, four participants reported as having taken the ACT exam; however, they were not the same participants who reported taking the SAT exam. Being that The National College Board (2019) reports a national average ACT composite score of 20.9 for the class of 2018, the findings reveal that only two of the four participants were able to satisfy national ACT criteria.

In conclusion then, using the data self-reported by participants, only four of the nine participants who took the PSAT exam have been able to meet the national PSAT average score, one of five participants who took the SAT exam satisfy the national SAT average score, one of five participants who took the ACT exam meet the national ACT average score.

Additionally, for participants who only reported one piece of datum and conversion scores are used to predict unreported test scores, the number of participants who would potentially be able to meet the national average scores for all three exams remain somewhat the same. For example, using conversion scores, participants who would potentially meet the national PSAT score would slightly increase from 44% to 46%, those would could meet the

national SAT score would increase from 20% to 23%, and participants able to meet the national ACT score would remain the same at 20%. In summary then, the findings show that all of these achievement percentages still fall below 50% which is somewhat concerning as it points to the possibility that NHOPI student-athletes may not be able to earn scores which allow them to compete for admission to their colleges of choice.

Creating choice sets. Following the survey questions about academic preparation, participants identified their top schools of choice as well as the specific factors they were considering as they made college-going decisions. Furthermore, participants (*n=22*) were also asked about the types of contact they were having with the schools in their choice sets and to which schools they had already applied or been accepted, if applicable.

Table 6

Schools Included in Choice Sets

CA	WA	OR	AZ	HI	UT	Non-West Coast
n=21	*n=5*	*n=5*	*n=4*	*n=3*	*n=3*	*n=7*
USC (7)	U of WA (5)	U of OR (3)	U of AZ (1)	U of Hawaii (2)	Brigham Young U (1)	West Point, NY (1)
Cal. St. LB (2)		Linfield College (1)	AZ State (1)	Brigham Young U (1)	Utah St. (2)	Purdue, IN (1)
San Jose St. (1)		Western OR (1)	Grand Canyon U (1)			Lindenwood U., MO (1)
San Diego St. (1)			Northern AZ (1)			Life U, GA (1)
UCLA (4)						Louisiana St, LA (1)
UC Santa Barbara (1)						Louisville, KY (1)
UC San Diego (2)						Notre Dame, IN (1)
UC Irvine (1)						
San Francisco St. (1)						
Grossmont CC (1)						

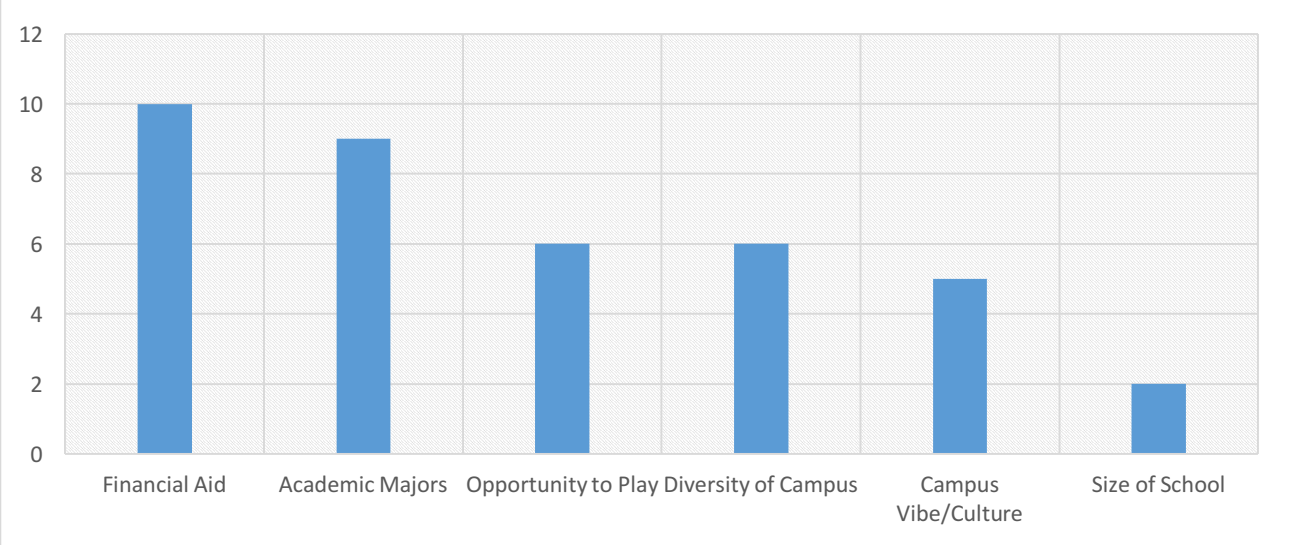
N=22

Note. Participants were able to select up to three schools. Participant responses are organized by state. Each school selected is listed under the appropriate state in addition to the number of participants who selected each school. Additionally, CA=California, HI=Hawaii, UT=Utah, WA=Washington, OR=Oregon, AZ=Arizona, NY=New York, IN=Indiana, MO=Missouri, GA=Georgia, LA=Louisiana, KY=Kentucky

Altogether, participants named a total of 29 colleges as their top selections. The majority of those colleges (*n=22*) are located on or near the west coast. When these data are considered together with the data about factors participants consider when making college-going decisions, the fact that they selected a plethora of schools on or near the west coast is not surprising. To make a case in point, as displayed in Figure 7 (*Factors Considered when Making Choice Sets*), participants chose seven different factors that are of utmost importance to them as they make decisions about where they would like to go to school. Cumulatively, "Distance from Home" (*n=11*) and "Financial Aid" (*n=10*) were the top two factors selected most frequently. So, considering the fact that all study participants, with the exception of one (i.e. Missouri), currently live on or near the west coast, this finding supports the fact that the participants seem to be considering schools that are near their current place of residence. Additionally, some student-athletes expressed the desire to attend college within their state of residence as that would prevent them from having to pay out-of-state tuition fees. Again, their option of considering "Distance from Home" can also be consequently linked to their option of choosing financial aid as a deciding factor in the college choice process.

Figure 7

Factors Considered when Creating Choice Sets



n=22

Furthermore, when participants were asked to select all academic majors or areas of study of interest to them they identified a total of 11 majors of which Medicine/Sports Medicine (*n=5*) and Law/Public Policy (*n=4*) were the most popular. Moreover, keeping in mind the data shown in Figure 7 (*Factors Considered when Creating Choice Sets)* in addition to the fact that participants were also factoring in the academic majors being offered by their colleges of choice, this finding supports that the consideration of colleges based on their offer of academic majors may indeed be an influential factor for NHOPI high school student-athletes.

Table 7

Academic Majors

Academic Major	*n*
Unsure	*n=6*
Medicine/Sports Medicine	*n=5*
Law/Public Policy	*n=4*
Psychology/Social Work	*n=2*
Architecture/Engineering	*n=2*
Physical Sciences	*n=1*
Biology/Life Sciences	*n=1*
Communication/Journalism	*n=1*
Business	*n=1*
Socio/Cultural Anthropology	*n=1*
Health	*n=1*
Criminology	*n=1*

N=22

Note. Participants were able to make multiple selections of academic majors.

Next, in order to investigate the interactions between the participants and their schools of interest, participants were asked about the type of contact they had or were in the process of having with each of the schools in their choice sets. Their options were

- email or electronic communication;

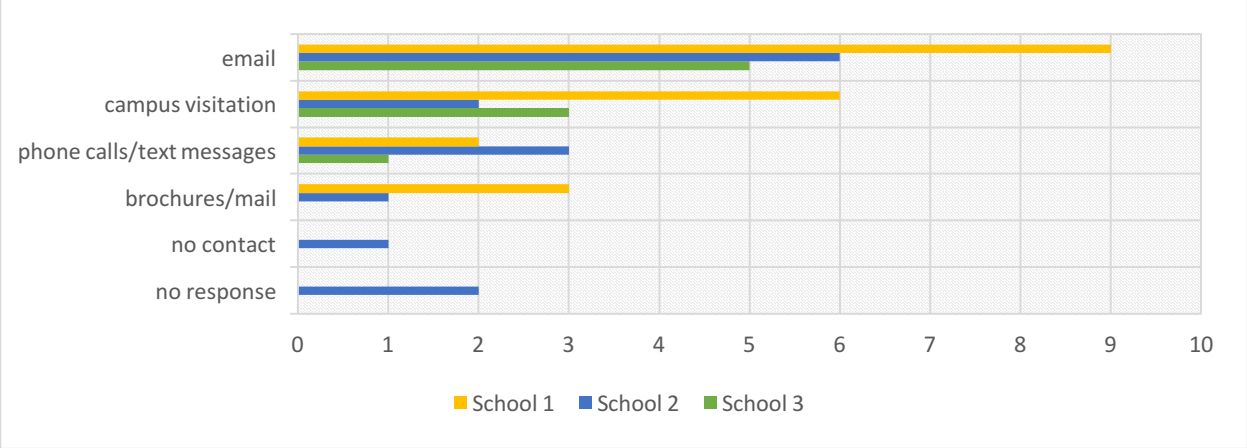
- brochures or mail;
- phone calls or text messages;
- in-person campus visitations; or
- no contact at all.

Because the research suggests that students actively gather information in the search phase of the college choice process, this information underscored they type of information participants were gathering in order to help them make decisions (Hossler and Gallagher, 1987) in addition to the interactions that were occurring between them and their schools of interest. On another note, this information is particularly important for those participants who expressed a desire to continue playing college sports (*n=14*), as the data highlights the degree to which the participants were interacting with college recruiters.

It should also be mentioned that contact with schools for those interested in pursuing sports while in college can be limited due to NCAA rules and regulations ("Recruiting," n.d.) For example, of the 14 participants who want to play college sports, three of them were in the 10th grade during the 2018-2019 school year. According to NCAA rules, student-athletes can begin interacting with college recruiters as early as June 15 after sophomore year or September 1 of their junior year of high school ("Recruiting," n.d.) So, in this example, the findings suggest that these three underclassmen would not be having direct contact with recruiters via phone calls/text messages or emails but could potentially be interacting with individuals at the school site who are not tied to the recruiting process such as an admissions counselor or they could also be indirectly interacting by receiving mail/brochures. These findings show that the study participants who wish to play college sports are also engaged in some degree of interaction with their schools of interest.

Figure 8

Contact with Choice Sets for Participants Choosing to attend College Post High-School

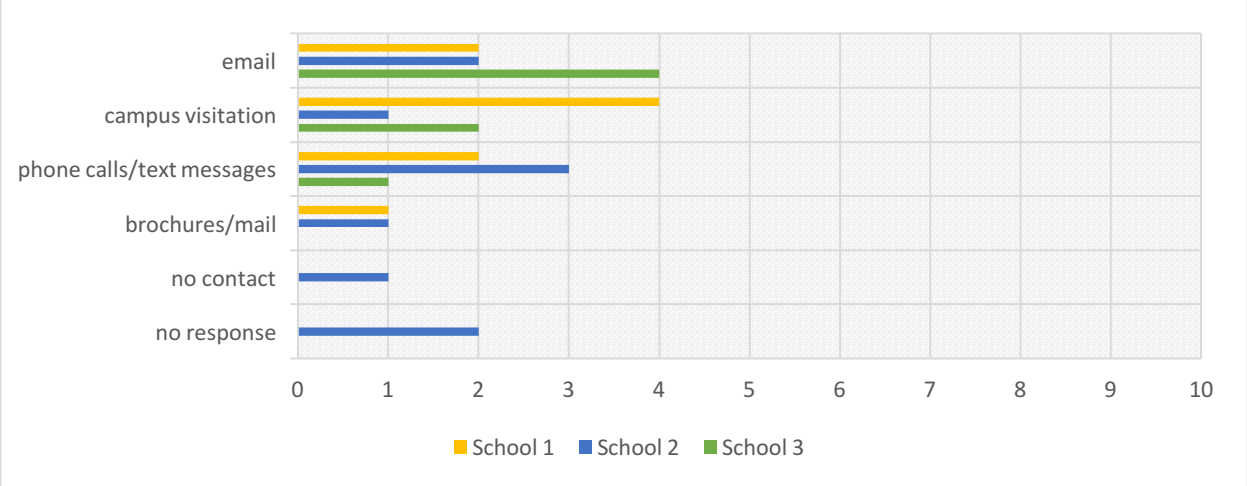


N=22

Note. Participants were able to make multiple selections.

Figure 9

Contact with Choice Sets for Participants Pursuing College Sports



n=14

Note. Participants were able to make multiple selections.

The findings in Figure 8 show that the most common forms of interaction between the study participants and their schools of interest were through email (*n=5-9)* campus visitations (*n=2-6*), and phone calls/text messages (*n=1-3*). Similarly, when these same data are distilled to only those participants who expressed interest in playing sports at the college level *(n=14*), the most common forms of interaction between the student-athletes and their schools of choice are still email (*n=2-4*), campus visitations (*n=1-4*), and phone calls/text messages (*n=1-3)*.

Finally, after specifying the type of interaction participants have had with the schools in their choice sets, they were asked to indicate whether or not they had already applied and/or been accepted to any of those schools. It is vital to point out that the recommended timeline for early college admission is in November of the 12th grade school year. Furthermore, regular admission deadlines are typically in January or February of senior year. So, being that only six of the 22 participants who aspired to go to college had already completed their senior year at the time of their demographic survey completion, it was anticipated that the number of participants able to respond to this question would be low. In actuality, only six participants responded to this question. Of the six, two had completed their 11th grade year and the other four concluded their 12th grade year. Additionally, of the four graduated seniors, *only one* participant indicated that he had applied and was accepted to all three schools of choice. A second participant applied to all three schools of choice but was only accepted to one of the three choices. For the four remaining respondents, they either applied and were not accepted to their top three schools of choice or had not yet applied. Taking into consideration that two of the remaining four respondents were 11th graders, it is not surprising that this data are scant because they were not at the point along their college choice trajectory where they would have been applying to schools of choice.

Academic Fit. Next, in order to examine whether or not the participants are interested in attending schools for which they are able to satisfy admission requirements, the academic data previously shown in Table 5 (*College Entrance Exam Scores*) are compared to the minimum admission requirements of the schools participants identified in Table 6 (*Schools Included in Choice Sets*). Since the survey asked participants to identify at least three schools of interest, a total of 29 colleges and universities were named by all participants (N=23). Conversely, data could not be analyzed for six of the 23 participants because they either reported that they did not plan to attend a four-year college or university or they failed to report any data. Appendix L displays the academic fit between participants' current academic status while in high school and the minimum admission requirements (GPA, SAT, and ACT scores) for each school they identified as a top school of choice.

When the academic data for the participants aspiring to attend a four-year college or university (*n=17)* are compared to the minimum admissions requirements of the schools they chose, a problematic scenario arises. Based on the academic information self-reported by the remaining 17 participants, only *one* of them has been able to satisfy all three of the minimum admissions requirements (GPA, SAT, ACT) for all of the colleges they are interested in attending. Furthermore, six of 17 participants do not meet *any* of the admission requirements for *any* of the schools they aspire to attend. Lastly, six additional participants were only able to meet one of the three admission requirements for all of their schools of choice. For these 13 participants, it seems as if they are selecting schools with very similar admission requirements or as the literature suggests, colleges within the same choice set (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987). By contrast, data for the remaining four participants varied within their schools of choice. For instance, the academic data for these participants evidences that they have been able to meet at

least one of the three admissions requirements of at least one of their top schools of choice. So, in these cases, it seems as though these participants (*n=4*) are choosing schools with varying admissions requirements which may also mean they are considering a wider variety of schools from diverse choice sets (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987).

With that said, the grade levels of these 16 participants are also vital to these findings and must be highlighted. For example, four of the 16 participants were 10th graders at the time of their survey completion so they would not have SAT or ACT scores to report because they would not have yet taken those exams. On the other hand though, seven participants were 11th graders and five were 12th graders which would mean that they should have had some scores to report if they were following the recommended testing timelines.

Nonetheless, the academic fit data for the majority of participants *(n=13)* supports the fact that they are choosing schools with very similar admission requirements. Simply put, these participants are interested in attending colleges and universities with Division I athletic programs, the most elite in the country. However, because the findings show that only one participant was able to meet all three admission requirements for all three schools of interest, these findings may imply that participants are selecting schools with admission requirements which exceed their athletic and/or academic ability.

By extension, if academic preparation data while in high school are compared to college admission data, but only for those participants interested in playing college sports, the same problematic scenario remains. First though, it should be said that the NCAA eligibility requirements for all prospective student-athletes is also taken into consideration during this phase of data analysis. For example, in order for student-athletes to be considered full-qualifiers to receive scholarships, practice, or compete in their first year of college, they must meet a 16 core-

course requirement, earn a 2.3 core-course GPA, earn an ACT/SAT score which matches the core-course GPA on the sliding scale (which will be discussed in subsequent sections), and graduate from high school (NCAA, 2018).

It appears that even for those participants who plan to pursue college sports *(n=14*), they too do not currently meet all three minimum admissions of the schools they are interested in attending. Of the 14 participants who plan to pursue collegiate athletics, two did not report academic data and one indicated a choice to attend a community college. So, for these three study participants, data were not analyzed. However, when considering the academic data reported by the remaining participants (*n=11)*, data for eight participants remain consistent across all of the schools they selected. In other words, when their academic data is compared to the three minimum admissions requirements for each of the schools they selected, the findings reveal that five participants has not yet met any of the admissions requirements and only three were able to meet one of the three admissions requirements for all of their schools of choice. Ultimately, for these eight study participants the data supports that they are selecting schools within the same choice sets (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987) and in this case, their choice sets seem to have been created based on schools which fell into the same Division of play. Specifically, these choice sets included schools with Division I athletic programs. Data for these participants is displayed in Appendix M.

Nevertheless, the data for the remaining three participants who want to play college sports fluctuates within their schools of choice. Specifically, the academic data for these participants shows that they have been able to meet at least one of the three admissions requirements of at least one of their top schools of choice. So, for these participants, their data

supports the fact that they are choosing schools from different choice sets (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987) or in this case, schools with Division I and II athletic programs.

Although six participants have been able to satisfy at least one of the three minimum admission requirements for at least one school of choice, the data still shows that these 11 participants indicated a total of 16 colleges and universities as their top choices of which *none* of the participants have yet met all three minimum admissions requirements. Even if timing is taken into consideration, only three of the 11 participants who expressed an interest in playing college athletics was concluding his 10th grade year so everyone else should be on track with their college choice plans. To say the least, these data are bleak as they demonstrate that the participants may be choosing colleges with admissions requirements that currently exceed their high school academic and/or statuses.

However, despite this apparent mismatch in college choice, there remains hope for these participants if they still aspire to attend colleges for which they are unable to meet minimum admission requirements. For instance, the NCAA has created what they refer to as the "sliding scale" for Division I and II prospects ("Division I Academic Requirements," n.d.). Aside from a student-athlete needing to satisfy core course requirements, this sliding scale is driven from the student-athlete's GPA and adjusts the minimum SAT and ACT scores required to play at Division I or II institutions based on that core GPA. In short, the higher the student-athlete's GPA, the lower the test score requirements and by extension, the lower the student-athlete's GPA, the higher the test score requirements. Ultimately, if a student-athlete is recruited by a specific university or college, the athlete is only obliged to meet the NCAA's eligibility requirements and the minimum admissions requirements of that particular school are no longer relevant.

The NCAA's rationale for creating the sliding scale is to take into account a balanced combination of factors when determining whether or not a student-athlete is considered to be a "full qualifier" ("Division I Academic Requirements," n.d.). Moreover, the NCAA explains that the sliding scale specifically helps to combat the racial and ethnic inequities faced by low-income and minority populations (Hosick and Sproull, 2012). To put it succinctly, the sliding scale is the NCAA's way of acknowledging the research which evidences the vast educational disparities which occur amongst students of color while in high school (Hosick & Sproull; Quintana and Mahgoub, 2016).

Additionally, the sliding scale acknowledges that a student-athlete's level of success while in high school is not necessarily a predictor of their college performance. Rather, a poor high school experience may be attributed to a student-athlete receiving a lax high school education due to lack of access to critical resources rather than his/her own academic potential. Put bluntly, the sliding scale is in place to help balance the playing field for all prospective athletes especially those with aspirations of attending some of the most elite universities in the country where students of color are still highly underrepresented (Dynarski, 2018; McDonough, 1997). Appendix N shows participants' academic fit data in comparison to the NCAA sliding scale requirements.

In analyzing the academic fit data for those interested in playing sports at the college level, it should first be explained that the NCAA includes an ACT sum score in the sliding scale requirements. The ACT sum score is a combination of the ACT English, math, reading, and science sub-scores ("Division I Academic Requirements," n.d.). However, because the demographic survey given to all study participants did not ask them to report an ACT sum score, the ACT data were omitted from Appendix N. Therefore, in order to examine the alignment

between the participants' academic high school data, the minimum admission requirements of the schools they selected, and the NCAA sliding scale requirements only participants' GPAs and SAT scores were used.

Of the 14 participants who indicated that they want to play sports in college, six of them did not report enough data for this phase of data analysis. So data analysis was only conducted for eight of the 14 participants and is displayed in Appendix M. The data analysis reveals that while none of the eight participants aspiring to play college sports were able to meet the GPA and SAT admission requirements for any of the schools they selected, when using the sliding scales and adjusted SAT scores, all eight participants were able to satisfy the NCAA's requirements for *all* of their schools of choice. Hence, although these data are sparse, it seems as though participants would potentially be able to gain acceptance to their schools of choice if they are only held to the NCAA sliding scale requirements.

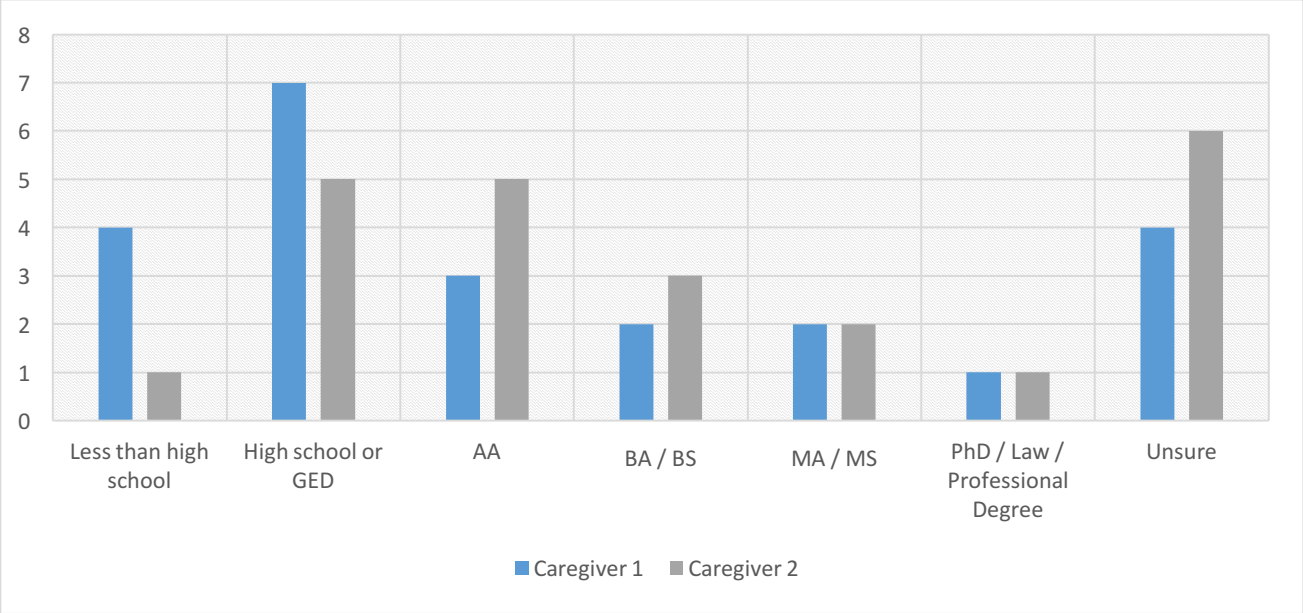
Primary caregivers. The last set of survey questions inquired about participants' primary caregivers as a way of establishing demographic information relative to the social class position of the family and more specifically access to critical resources, or lack thereof, based on that social class position. First, participants were asked to indicate all people within the context of the family they considered to be primary caregivers. Then, they were asked to select a maximum of two primary caregivers and specify the highest levels of education and professions those individuals have attained.

Collectively, the 23 study participants identified five different people as primary caregivers (a) mother, (b) father, (c) older siblings, (d) aunt, and (e) uncle. In particular, all participants identified a mother as being in the household and 87% report that a father is also in the household.

The next set of survey questions asked participants to list the highest levels of education and job titles of only two of their primary caregivers. This information is particularly helpful in examining the social class position of the family as determined by caregiver educational levels and careers. Figures 10 and 11 display the educational and professional data of the primary caregivers as reported by study participants.

Figure 10

Primary Caregivers' Highest Level of Education



N=23

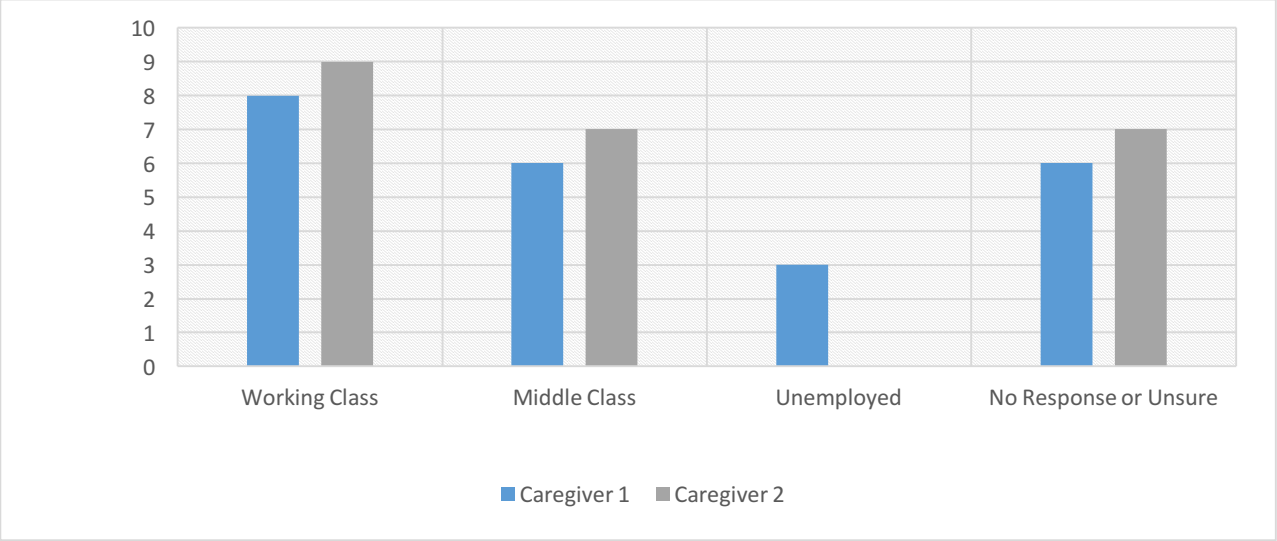
Combined, the 23 study participants named a total of 46 primary caregivers. While participants indicated that they were unsure of the highest level of education earned by 22% of their caregivers, they also indicated that 38% of their caregivers have only a high school education, General Education Development (GED), or less as compared to caregivers who

earned their Associate's degree (18%), Bachelor's degree (11%), Master's degree (8%), and professional or doctorate degree (3%).

Additionally, 38% of caregivers have jobs at the working class position as defined as jobs which provide pay under $20,000/year and typically require less education and involve more physical labor (Bird and Newport, 2017).

Figure 11

Primary Caregivers' Jobs



N=23

Although participants either did not respond to this question or indicated that they were unsure of 37% of their caregivers' current employment status, more caregivers were identified as being in the working class position (38%) than in the middle class (29%) or than those who were unemployed (6%).

Together, these caregiver educational and employment data coincide with the research which argues that children who come from lower social class positions may have access to less

resources because of the capital their parents or primary caregivers are able to offer (Bourdieu, 1986).

Findings from the Interviews

Four key themes surfaced from the one-on-one, semi-structured interviews with NHOPI high school student-athletes who shared their personal experiences about their process of making college-going decisions. The themes are: 1) NHOPI high school student-athletes access more capital in the pre-disposition and search phases than in choice phase of the college choice process; 2) When making college-going decisions, NHOPI high school student-athletes draw upon specific forms of social and cultural capital; 3) The Polynesian Pipeline offers NHOPI high school student-athletes capital in the form of familism and grid iron capital which influences their college choice process primarily within the familial and educational environments during the pre-disposition and search phases; and 4) The Polynesian Pipeline may directly and indirectly inflict both positive and negative effects on the identity development of NHOPI high school student-athletes which impacts the ways in which they make college-going decisions.

Pre-disposition and search. The analysis of the interview results revealed that NHOPI high school student-athletes access more capital in the pre-disposition and search phases than in the choice phase of the college choice process. To reiterate, the pre-disposition phase of the college-choice process is defined as learning about college and then making a conscious decision to attend college after high school (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987) versus enacting an alternate post-high school plan such as the military. Thereafter, once students decide that college is what they plan to pursue after high school, they transition into the search phase and begin to actively seek out information about colleges of interest and build choice sets (Hossler & Gallagher, 1987).

At the time interviews were conducted, four of the 20 participants were still in the pre-disposition phase and in the process of figuring out whether or not college was something they planned to pursue after high school. Six other participants concluded their predisposition experiences and entered into the search phase as they were primarily beginning to gather information about colleges of interest and build choice sets. Additionally, three more participants were transitioning out of the search phase and were fairly confident about what schools they planned on choosing while six others had already chosen a school to attend. Furthermore, one participant made a decision to pursue the military so he did not experience any of the three phases within the college choice process. These findings are critical in the data analysis as they add context to each participant's experiences which are relevant to the timing of their college-going processes and when they are accessing specific forms of capital.

"What's college?" At the onset of the interviews, participants were asked to reflect on personal experiences which introduced them to the idea of college for the first time. All study participants described a pre-disposition experience that familiarized them with the concept of college at an early age, some as early as five years old and others as late as middle school.

As an illustration, Aaron was pre-disposed to college while in middle school. He recalled watching many of his extended family members transition from high school to college as student-athletes which introduced him to the idea of what college was.

> *Growing up I just had a lot of older cousins that went to JCs [Junior Colleges] and then some that just went straight to the university…And so that's really how I kind of came up with the idea of college…*

In addition, Mark shared fond childhood memories of him and his siblings frequently visiting a college campus with a family member who worked at a very prestigious university.

I actually grew up going to that campus because one of my uncles is a professor there. So he stays on campus…he would always bring us up there and everything, you know, let us spend the night on campus with him, roam around, and give us tours.

Both Aaron and Mark explained their pre-disposition experiences as valuable events that helped them develop some degree of awareness about what college was. Additionally, Mark's family member served as a referent or someone who afforded him an experience which helped him learn about college. This also supports the aforementioned literature on the role that familism plays as a resource for minoritized communities (Cuellar, Arnold, and Gonzalez, 1995; Gil, Wagner, and Vega, 2000; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, 1987; Steidel and Contreras, 2003). However, in hindsight they did not view those events as having influenced their perception of college one way or another perhaps because of their age at the time. Yet, what their testimonies do confirm is that a pre-disposition to college is first about understanding what college is.

The second part of the pre-disposition phase of college choice is making a decision to actually go. Susan shared her experience of watching her uncle get recruited and offered a full scholarship to play college football at a Division I university.

I remember visiting the college in New Mexico…he [uncle] got a full ride and we all traveled there. We got to go inside his dorm and meet all his roommates and everything.

In her case, Susan was not just observing her uncle's recruiting experience. Rather, through his experience she was also given the opportunity to visit the dorms and meet her uncle's roommates which afforded her first-hand experiences of her own. Contrary to Aaron and Mark, Susan attributes her pre-disposition experience with her uncle as making a noteworthy impression on her which she affirms as having a more direct influence on her thinking about

college. Furthermore, Susan shared that the pre-disposition experience she had with her uncle was the reason she began thinking about the possibility of leaving home to attend college.

By extension, other participants like Hanna and Sam also discussed pre-disposition experiences that were highly impactful in the way they began to think about college. In her elementary-aged years, Hanna interacted with an NHOPI coach, who was a product of the Polynesian Pipeline, who she says completely changed her thought process about her post-high school plans.

> *So when I was younger, I used to train with this guy…and I think it was his granddaughter that came down to visit and she was playing college ball…and I was like WOW, she's so good! And I just kept talking to my mom about her. I knew I wanted to be like that.*

In her reflection of this interaction with her coach and his granddaughter, Hanna passionately explained how these experiences not only influenced her ideas about what she wanted to do after high school but also afforded her an example of someone who was already pursuing some of those same goals.

Like Hanna, Sam also had a profound pre-disposition experience when he visited his older brother a few months after he left home for college:

> *…I was able to go and watch one of his games and I was able to see and experience what he was going through. He wakes up for practice, then there's study hall and I was just able to see all that when I went to go visit him…And that's literally the whole reason I started football was because I saw that. I was like, I want to do that and I want to get to college on that [scholarship].*

Prior to Sam taking the trip to visit his brother, he was not yet playing football despite the fact that he was already a high school sophomore. Actually, he explained that he made a choice not to play football because his brother was a Division I recruit from the same high school he was currently attending and he did not want to live in his brother's shadow. In essence, Sam was trying to forge his own path and create his own identity for himself. However, once he saw firsthand what his brother was experiencing in college, his entire line of thinking about the possibility of using a high-profile sport, such as football, to access college shifted. For participants like Hanna and Sam, their pre-disposition experiences resulted in a change in their thinking about not only wanting to go to college but also about using athletics to get there.

These participants spoke of varying degrees of influence that their pre-disposition experiences had on their thinking about college. However, regardless of the degree of influence, what is significant to underscore in the analysis of the interview data is that *all* of them had a pre-disposition experience which minimally created a level of awareness about college that they did not have beforehand.

Search. After speaking to participants about their pre-disposition experiences, they were asked questions about how they began building choice sets as well as searching for information about the colleges in their choice sets and what factors they were considering as they made decisions. In particular, they were asked about the importance of having other NHOPIs at or near their colleges of interest. Although participants already identified: 1) Distance from Home, 2) Financial Aid, and 3) Academic Majors as the three most popular factors they considered when crafting their choice sets (Table 7), this line of questioning investigated whether or not the Polynesian Pipeline was indeed an influential factor within the search phase of the college choice process.

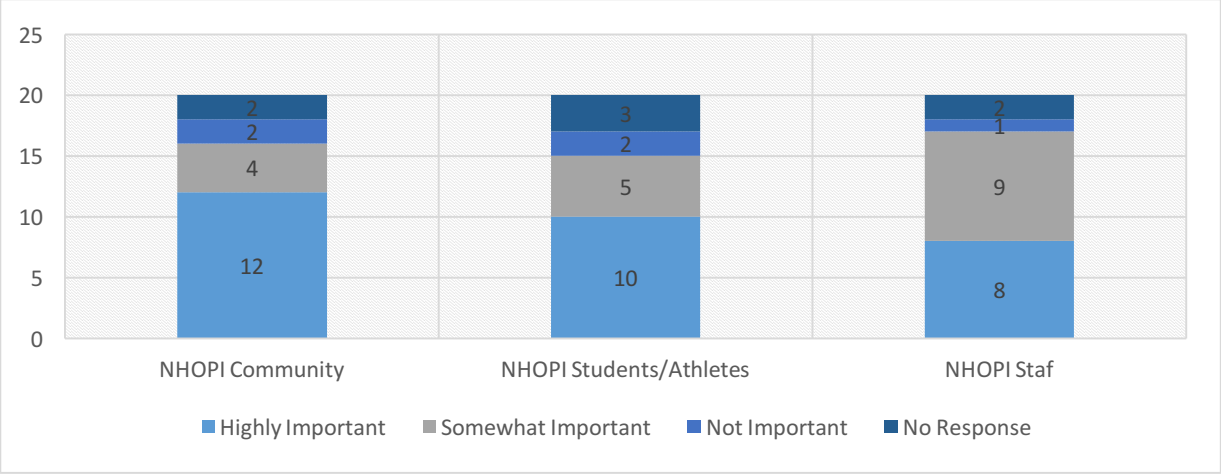
As previously discussed, this study expands the definition of the Polynesian Pipeline to include: 1) a pathway to college and beyond via sport for NHOPIs and 2) NHOPIs who are currently in or have previously been in the pipeline and return to the greater community to serve as critical resources. Therefore, these questions help to highlight the degree of influence current and former members of the Polynesian Pipeline have on paving that pathway to college and beyond for aspiring NHOPI student-athletes. Figure 12 represents participant responses to the following questions:

I'm going to read you 3 statements. Tell me whether or not these statements are: 1) Highly Important, 2) Somewhat Important, or 3) Not Important to you:

> ***1:*** *I would like to go to a college where there are NHOPI staff members (i.e. coaches, counselors, teachers, athletic trainers).*
>
> ***2:*** *I would like to go to a college where there are other NHOPIs attending school and/or playing on the same team.*
>
> ***3:*** *I would like to go to a college where other NHOPI family members (having relation to you or not) are nearby.*

Figure 12

The Polynesian Pipeline in the Search Phase



N=20

Twelve of the 20 participants indicated that having other NHOPIs living in the surrounding communities of the schools they are interested in attending is of high importance to them. Moreover, it is also highly important to half of the participants that there are other NHOPI student-athletes attending their schools of interest. In response to how important it is to have NHOPI staff members working at their schools of interest, 16 of the study participants (N=20) indicated that factor as being somewhat or highly important to them as well.

Together, these findings evidence the substantial influence of the Polynesian Pipeline on the decisions of NHOPI high school student-athletes in the search phase of the college choice process. As the participants are building their choice sets, they are considering schools where there are other individuals, who are products of the Polynesian Pipeline (e.g. NHOPI coaches) and who are currently in the Polynesian Pipeline (e.g. students and/or athletes), as their top schools of choice. Additionally, the influence of the family network within the surrounding communities of the schools they are considering was also found to be a significant influencer in the search phase.

Choice: "I just ran out of time." While study participants were found to access the most capital during the pre-disposition and search phases, six of the twenty study participants also accessed capital during the choice phase. However, it should be said that they were the only seniors during the 2018-2019 school year. Considering that the recommended timeline for college applications is the fall semester of the 12th grade year, it follows then that these six participants were the only study participants who were able to experience the choice phase because all other participants were either about to begin their 11th or 12th grade years and would not have yet had to choose a college to attend. However, when asked about their experiences

with making a final choice about their post-high school plans, all six participants alluded to the idea of running out of time.

As an illustration, at the time of Mark's interview, he had just enrolled at a community college and although he still had aspirations of playing college sports, he was not yet actively playing. Mark shared very candid reflections about his lack of preparedness throughout high school despite having the support of and resources within his family. Once his senior year began and he started to see some of his NHOPI peers begin to interact with college recruiters, he realized he was running out of time.

> *It wasn't really the school's fault. It was mine. I wasn't really worried about college my freshman year. I was just kind of getting used to high school and trying to figure out what I wanted to do and stuff like that. A lot of people my senior year, like a lot of my friends…it was all of us. We were all like a group of Polynesian kids just doing whatever we wanted throughout high school. And then finally senior year came and it hit us. "Oh, this is what our parents were talking about. They were serious."*

On the other hand, while Mark admitted that he did not take an active role in his own preparation for college, Farrah actually applied to schools she wanted to go to over the course of her senior year in high school. However, she ran into multiple obstacles with the college application process which resulted in her ultimately attending a college she did not really want to go to:

> *I'd say it was difficult because I applied to other schools but they [high school counselors] didn't tell me I had to submit certain things. So, my applications got denied…that's why I'm where I am because this was my last option. I've been trying to adjust here, but no, I just don't see myself here.*

It was evident in Farrah's story that although she was displeased with the school at which she was currently enrolled, she felt she was forced into that choice because she did not have the luxury of being afforded more time to make an alternate decision. Although she spoke about the lack of support she felt she received by her high school counselors, her primary frustrations were more about the timing of her college choice milestones. In other words, if she were made aware early on in the process that her college applications required certain components, she believes that she could have been more proactive in including those components within certain parameters. Rather, she was at the end of her senior year when she was made aware that her applications had been rejected. Nevertheless, Farrah did share that her ultimate goal is to either transfer to another four-year university or complete her undergraduate degree at her school of attendance and then transfer somewhere else for graduate school. She was also no longer playing sports at the time of her interview although she expressed that it was still a goal of hers.

In addition to stories like Mark and Farrah's, the other four graduating seniors expressed that they ran out of time with choosing a college to attend after high school because they were plagued with athletic injuries during their final high school years or they did not receive the athletic scholarship offers they had anticipated. Put simply, for these participants, they did not build choice sets during the search phases and rather banked on the fact that they would earn acceptance to their top schools of choice. So, once they realized that their opportunities to play college sports began to dwindle, the schools they thought they would be able to attend were no longer an option. In these cases, the participants ended up attending trade schools or community colleges that their family members referred them to as last minute back-up plans. Alex's story is an example of what can happen to student-athletes who experience physical injuries which alter their anticipated route to college:

They [parents] really wanted me to focus on football and school. They wanted me to get a scholarship for football but football really messed up my body…I had a lot of injuries and by the end of my senior year, actually after I graduated I was still planning to go play football, but I ended up getting surgery on my shoulder and it was just not the same for me…now seeing my friends in college, I am happy for them but it does make me miss the game a lot…I miss it so much, but that's what life is. So I just decided to go to a trade school…

For these student-athletes, the choice phase seems to consist of the participants ultimately choosing whatever option remained at the time their high school clocks elapsed. All of them shared that at a point during their senior years in high school, they needed help with a specific college-going task and for whatever reason did not receive that help in time. This sense of running out of time may assume a lack of academic and/or athletic preparation on the part of the study participants in terms of them considering colleges that they would realistically be able to attend and/or continue playing sports for. At the same time, this construct of running out of time may also be the effect of the participants not receiving proactive support and assistance within a timely manner from the educational agents charged with the responsibility of doing so. Lastly, it is important to note that none of the six senior participants were still playing their respective sport at the time of their interviews although all but two of them indicated that playing sports was still a post-high school goal.

Social and cultural capital. While the data analysis revealed that participants were accessing more capital in the pre-disposition and search phases of the college choice process while also taking into consideration the phase of the college choice process in which each

participant was involved, this study also aimed to investigate the types of capital they were accessing within those phases.

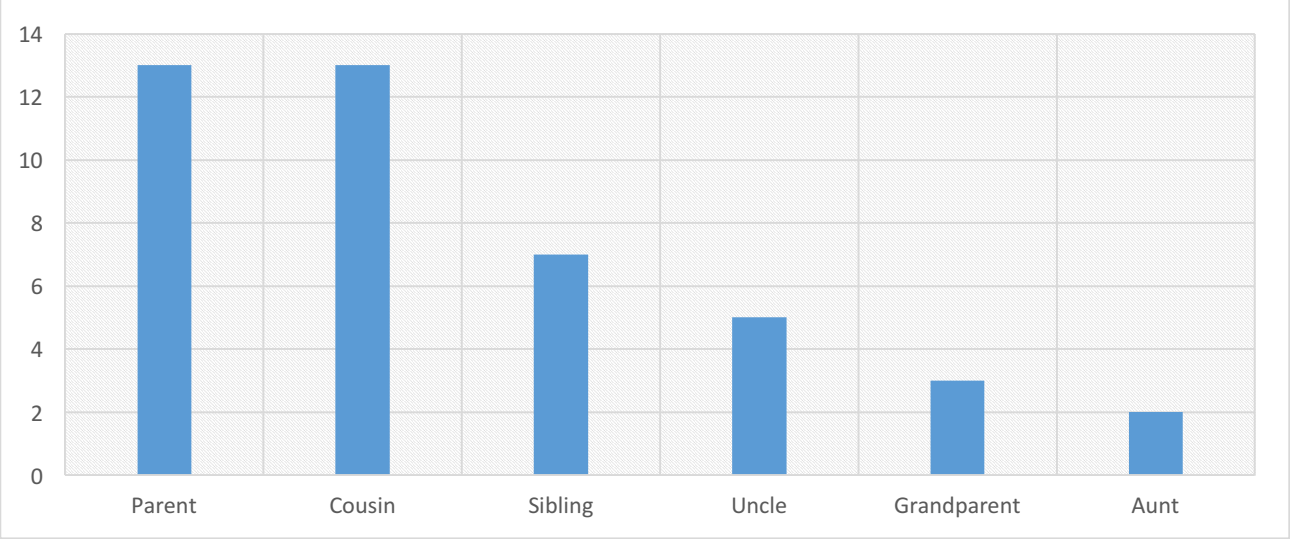
Therefore, to first provide an overview of subsequent sections**,** the analysis of this portion of the interview data begins with a discussion about family members and school personnel who serve as significant forms of social capital for NHOPI high school student-athletes. Furthermore, familism is examined as it emerged in the findings as a form of social capital offered to participants by their family members. Thereafter, because the findings also argue that family members and school personnel offer NHOPI high school student-athletes cultural capital, navigational knowledge and grid iron capital are also explained.

Lastly, this portion of data analysis will conclude with a conversation about the ways in which the Polynesian Pipeline offers NHOPI high school student-athletes unique forms of social and cultural capital. Specifically, the Polynesian Pipeline was found to offer participants familism, as both social (e.g. networks and referents) and cultural (e.g. the value of education and tautua) capital. Also, it offers participants grid iron capital, in the form of sporting knowledge.

Family as social capital. When asked who in their family they have spoken to or interacted with when searching for information about specific colleges or when they needed help with a college-related task, study participants named six different individuals or networks of people within their families who offered them some degree of help, support, or encouragement as they made college-going decisions as displayed in Figure 13.

Figure 13

Family as Social Capital



N=20

Note. Participants were able to name multiple family members.

It is evident that when participants needed help with making college-going decisions, they interacted with their parents and cousins most frequently. Furthermore, for those participants who named more than one individual or network (e.g. parents), 90% of them named their parents first, as their primary source of support. More so, aside from being asked about who was providing support to the study participants as they made college going decisions, they were also asked to describe the types of conversations and interactions they were having with these key networks of people.

Familism. Data analysis disclosed that the majority of study participants (95%) indicated that their families held a value of education and high levels of expectations of them about going to college. They also shared that these values and expectations were explicitly communicated to them through conversations they had with various family members.

Table 8

Participant responses to Question 17: What expectations do you believe your family has of you about going to college?

Response	n	% of Participants
They have very high expectations	6	30%
They want me to go to college	4	20%
They just want me to graduate	2	10%
They want me to succeed/do well in life	1	.05%
They want me to focus on football and school	1	.05%
I don't think anybody expects me to go	1	.05%
To go and not come back home	2	10%
If I don't go to college I have to join the military	3	15%

N=20

While the majority of participants (95%) describe the value of education held by their families, one participant shared that he did not believe anyone in his family expects him to go to college. Furthermore, the finding from these data analysis which was most surprising was the message of duality of college choice that involved the option of joining the military. For example, in similar conversations Susan and Sharrice had with their parents, they were both given an ultimatum by their parents, "*It's either college or the military" and "If I don't go to college, I don't have any other choice but to join the service."* So too, Marvin's family spoke to him about the option of going into the military once they realized his grades were not up to par.

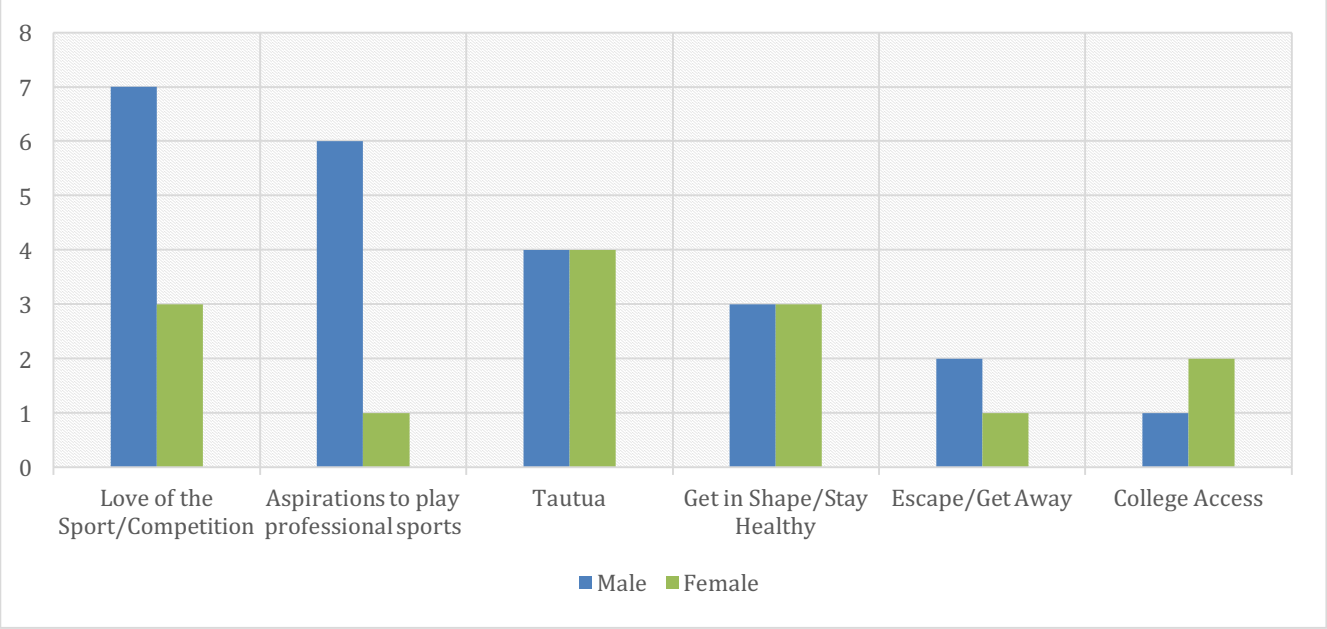
> *When I decided that I probably wouldn't be able to do college because my grades were so bad, that's when my sister and my mom started to talk to me about going into the military after high school.*

For these three participants, despite the fact that they wanted to pursue college after high school, their family members were communicating to them the option of joining the military if going to college by way of an athletic scholarship did not work out. This finding also parallels the research on NHOPI student-athletes which explains college via an athletic scholarship or the military as the only two options for experiencing mobility (Tengan & Markham, 2009).

Familism and the plurality of sport. In addition to the value of education and high expectations of the family, what also surfaced in the data analysis are the participants' motivations to play sports. Specifically, participants were asked to identify their reasons for choosing to play sports in high school. These data are disaggregated by gender and displayed in Figure 14.

Figure 14

Motivations to Play Sports



N=23

Altogether, half of the study participants explained that they play sports for the love of the game and the spirit of competition. However, these data were heavily skewed by gender as two times as many male student-athletes selected this option than females. In that same way, the second most popular motivator for playing high school sports is the aspiration of playing professional sports. These data are also weighted by gender as only one female participant selected this option. These disparities by gender parallel the research which shows that males may be more drawn to high school sports because there are more opportunities for them to play sports at the professional level than there are for females (Mathes and Gurney, 1985).

However, what is important to point out is the second most frequently named motivator for playing high school athletics which is tautua as previously defined as service to the greater NHOPI community such as the church, village, and family (Kwauk, 2014). Tautua was also mentioned by both male and female participants an equal number of times. An example of tautua or participants playing sports as a way of fulfilling an obligation or duty to the family is first explained by Mel,

> *I play because I come home and see my parents work and see my nephews and nieces sleeping on the floor. Those are the things that drive me the most.*

In his case, Mel was very aware that his family was stressed financially and he viewed his role as a student-athlete as a way for him to bring them a sense of pride while also helping to alleviate the financial burden of paying for college.

Also, Sam's motivation for playing football is linked to him not wanting his parents to be financially burdened by college expenses.

> *I think definitely getting a scholarship, a full ride scholarship because of finances for my parents. I want to help them out. That's a big one for me.*

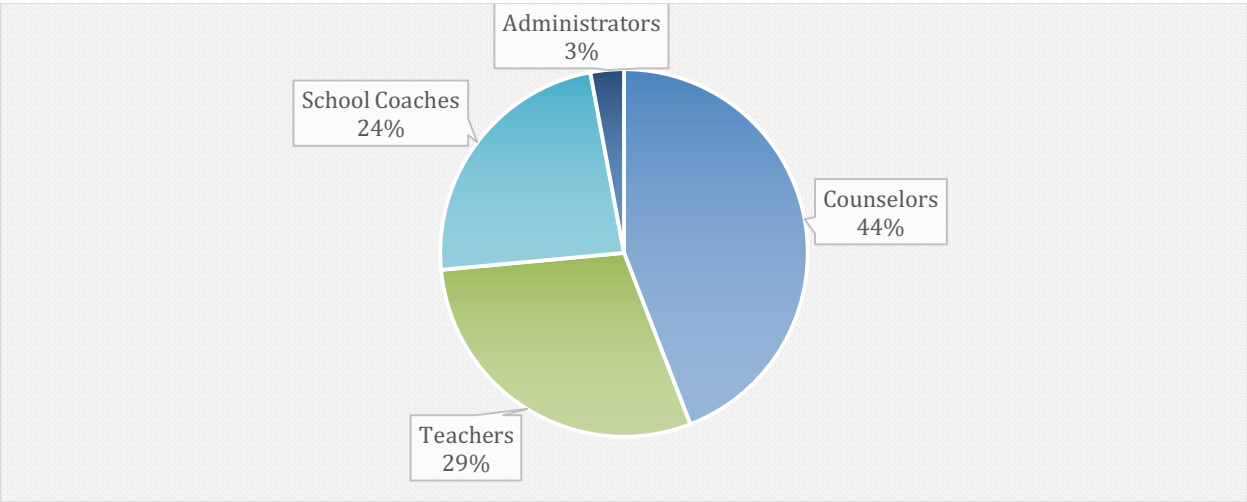
Furthermore, when Margaret saw her cousin playing college sports she remembers how proud his parents were of him and she wanted to bring that same type of family pride to her parents by playing rugby. She explained, "*I just want to do as well as him so my parents will be as proud of me as his parents were."*

Ultimately, service to the family shone thorough as a very strong motivator for participants choosing to play high school sports. Moreover, this finding of the plurality of sport (Kwauk, 2014) supports the previously mentioned construct of familism (Sabogal et al., 1987).

School personnel as social capital. In addition to participants identifying family members who served as forms of social capital, they also indicated school personnel as key individuals who assisted them with making college-going decisions. Figure 15 illustrates these data.

Figure 15

School Personnel as Social Capital



N=20

All of the study participants (N=20) named at least one person at their school site as a form of social capital. Specifically, school counselors were identified as the most frequently accessed network of people who help NHOPI student-athletes make college-going decisions. Participants also named teachers, school coaches, and administrators as providing support and assistance throughout the college choice process.

"It depends on the teacher." Despite the fact that all of the study participants identified someone at their school as providing them with assistance during the college choice process, nearly half of them (45%) alluded to the concept of care on the part of school personnel. To clarify, all of the study participants were able to identify at least one individual at school they sought out when they needed help with something relative to college choice. However, some of them expanded on the idea of care by adding that the individuals charged with the responsibility of providing assistance were either extremely approachable and nurturing or on the contrary, unavailable and unapproachable.

To take a case in point, Mel spoke very highly of his counselor who he perceives as extending great care and kindness to him which he attributes to his ability to navigate the college choice process successfully

> *Without my counselor, I for sure would not be doing many things…we were always looking at the next picture. I guess I go to a school where we are already looking at college and he [counselor] does so much. I can just go in there and talk to him…they are not like those that have so many students that they can't help you, they treat us like their kids…they are always there.*

Moreover, Sam shared a similar positive experience with his counselors and teachers as he was trying to figure out which classes he needed to complete in order to stay on track for graduation,

> *I would definitely go to my counselor because she's really been up to speed on helping me meet my college requirements for high school. So she definitely has all the details when I'm like, "I need this class or that class…" She's always telling me, "You've got to take this class if you want to go to a four year college."*

Thomas added to the conversation about *"teachers who actually care"* as he shared that he intentionally began to sabotage his own progress when he transitioned from a public to a private school because he struggled significantly while making that change. However, once a teacher intervened, his trajectory changed.

> *So I was really messing up my grades on purpose…And then by junior year, I think it was my theology teacher…he sat me down and he's just like, "You got to get your head out of your ass and start doing it." So then my junior and senior year I started improving everything.*

In these testimonies, it is apparent that these four participants perceived their school staff as caring for them in such a way that changed their attitudes and behaviors toward college. Contrary to this though, are the experiences of five other participants who describe a lack of care on the part of their school faculty and staff. Put another way, these participants express that the degree of care they received by school personnel was completely dependent upon the teacher, staff member, or in some cases the school site itself. In these instances, participants did not have positive interactions with school personnel despite the fact that they were the individuals providing them with information necessary for making college-going decisions.

Diana is one participant who did not hesitate to say, *"I really don't like my counselors."* When asked if she could explain why she felt that way, her description of her counselor was that she was unavailable and distracted, *"I feel like she has her hands in many things…she doesn't focus on the students."* In addition, Aaron elaborated by explaining that he felt *"there were very few that were invested in their students"* over the course of his high school career. In Margaret's experience, she spoke in detail about how she felt that only one of her teachers was helpful but that no one else expected much of her, *"…my math teacher thought I could do really good and stuff and he'd always push me…but everyone else was like, 'you're here so do whatever…'* In short, participants who mentioned the concept of care on behalf of the individuals they were interacting with at school communicated two very opposing experiences which seem to share an equal impact on their thought formations about college.

Cultural capital. After identifying that study participants were accessing their family members and school personnel as social capital, they were asked about the specific types of information and assistance they were receiving from these networks of people. This line of questioning was intended to underscore the cultural capital available to NHOPI high school student-athletes in their college choice process.

Navigational knowledge. Based on the following responses offered by participants, it is clear that the majority of information being shared with them by most frequently by school personnel is navigational, "how-to" knowledge about college related tasks such as:

- Researching schools of interest
- Creating choice sets
- Registering and preparing for AP/PSAT/ACT/SAT exams
- Maintaining grades and GPA

- Creating a post-high school plan
- Finding scholarship/grant opportunities
- Learning how to study
- Taking college tours
- Participating in extension programs (e.g. academic summer programs)

These findings parallel the literature which posits these forms of cultural capital as navigational knowledge shared within the educational setting between school agents and students (Coleman, 1988; Light and Gold, 2000). Additionally, the majority of cultural capital shared with participants is navigational knowledge, there is also some mention of cultural knowledge (e.g. a family member who was employed at a prestigious university) and college knowledge (e.g. the value of learning how to network) but these forms of cultural capital were far less prevalent amongst participant responses.

Grid iron capital. Grid iron capital or sporting knowledge surfaced as a significant form of cultural capital being shared by those who were providing participants with support as they made decisions about college. Participants indicated that they were engaged in conversations and interactions related to grid iron capital with family members and school personnel about the following topics:

- the reality of playing college sports (i.e. possibility vs. probability)
- the process of earning an athletic scholarship
- earning an athletic scholarship to combat financial challenges
- eligibility (i.e. starting off at a Junior College and then transferring to a four-year)
- the process of recruitment (i.e. creating highlight film)
- choosing the right sport to play in college

- creating choice sets that match athletic ability
- physical preparedness for college athletics
- academic preparedness/time management

Despite the fact that much of the grid iron capital shared between family members and school personnel and the study participants was specific to the use of sport as a way of experiencing mobility from high school to college, there were also participants who knew that they only wanted to participate in sports while in high school. However, they too were still able to access and use grid iron capital. In other words, the data analysis argues that grid iron capital is not limited to only those who want to play college sports. On the contrary, those who do not wish to play sports after high school can still use grid iron capital as a way of positioning themselves along a college bound trajectory.

For example, Aaron explained that he used grid iron capital to prepare himself for college even though his plan was not to play sports while in college.

I didn't really want to play sports in college mainly because I wanted to focus more on getting my degrees. I felt like sports was more of a high school thing.

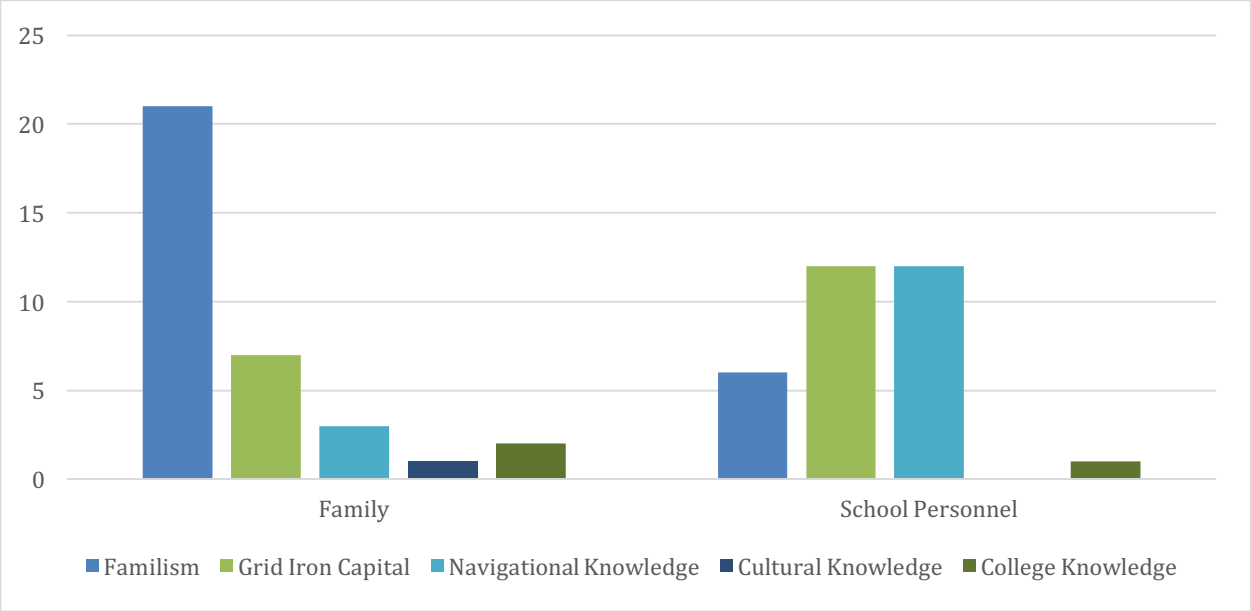
As he went on to explain, he was able to use his grid iron capital to help him maintain a high GPA as a high school student-athlete which he would then be able to add to his resume. In this example, grid iron capital helped him gain access to his colleges of choice even though he had no aspirations of being a collegiate student-athlete. This finding presumes that perhaps not every high school NHOPI student-athlete plans to pursue college and play sports yet they have a clear understanding of how to use their sport to access a college education.

In conclusion, NHOPI high school student-athletes relied upon family members and school personnel as key sources of social capital to help guide them through their college choice

process. Additionally, these people where sharing various forms of cultural capital with them that helped guide their college-going decisions. These cumulative findings are displayed in Figure 16.

Figure 16

Social and Cultural Capital for NHOPI High School Student-Athletes



N=20

The two most notable deductions from the analyses of these data are that when making college-going decisions, NHOPI high school student-athletes access (a) family members as social capital and receive from them cultural capital primarily in the forms of familism and grid iron capital and (b) school personnel as social capital and from them receive navigational knowledge and grid iron capital as the principal forms of cultural capital.

The Polynesian Pipeline as Capital. To begin, the Polynesian Pipeline has been defined in this study as a pathway to college and beyond via sport for NHOPIs in addition to NHOPIs

who are either currently playing collegiate or professional sports or former collegiate and professional athletes. Moreover, because this study investigates the influence of the Polynesian Pipeline on the college going decisions of high school NHOPI student-athletes, the social and cultural capital that the participants are drawing upon also required additional analysis. As a result of that analysis, the Polynesian Pipeline emerged as a significant source of social and cultural capital for the study participants while making college-going decisions primarily in the forms of familism and grid iron capital.

Polynesian Pipeline as Familism. Eighty-five percent of study participants indicated that they personally know someone in their immediate or extended family who is either currently playing or who has played college and/or professional sports. Additionally, participants spoke about how these individuals directly influenced their own thinking about going to college and playing sports. Therefore, this influence of family members as key networks of people who are also part of the Polynesian Pipeline, is another example of familism. Consider Mel's comment about an uncle of his who was a former college football player when asked if conversations he had with his uncle influenced his own thinking.

> *Yeah, for sure because you see yourself in somebody else. That is how you know that college is not an impossible thing. And once you see that, you kind of see that college might be something everyone can do.*

Mark also reflected on his interactions with a cousin of his who was currently playing college sports which also influenced his perceptions about college.

> *It spoke to me a lot, it motivates me. Seeing him living that college life and hearing him tell me how much fun he's having. We Face Time and it's just crazy to see everything that he's doing out there.*

Mark continued by explaining that although he was going to a community college at the time of his interview, his plans were to resume playing football as soon as he possibly could because his ultimate goal was to eventually transfer back to a four-year university. He credits his cousin for keeping him motivated to stick to his plan.

Another example of the Polynesian Pipeline serving as form of familism is evident in Marvin's story of watching his sister navigate her college experience.

> *I see how successful she is becoming and how she learned how to do all these things. She's also used the past few years to learn more about herself so she can succeed in life and stuff like that.*

Lastly, Aaron very candidly shared that he is more attracted to the perks of being a college student-athlete which he experienced in the interactions he had with cousins who are currently playing college football,

> *...the way they influenced me was basically like, oh, college sports are cool. There's all these fans, there's a big crowd, you get free stuff...*

Through these experiences, it is palpable that having a family member who is currently or formerly part of the Polynesian Pipeline influences the way in which NHOPI high school-student athletes think about college. The fact that participants' family members are serving as referents in their decision making processes about college aligns to the construct of familism.

Consequently, as previously mentioned, the data analysis shows that participants' family members also hold high expectations and a value of higher education for their students. Moreover, participants indicated that a primary motivator for them to play sports is tautua or a way for them to serve and bring honor to their families and to the greater NHOPI community.

Therefore, familism is also a form of cultural capital offered to NHOPI high school student-athletes via the Polynesian Pipeline.

Grid iron capital through the Polynesian Pipeline. Just as the Polynesian Pipeline was found to offer familism as a form of capital, it was also found to offer participants grid iron capital or sporting knowledge. For example, an individual affiliated with the Polynesian Pipeline helps participants understand how to use their respective sport to gain access to college whether that includes playing sports in college or not

For instance, most participants (70%) shared that their family members and coaches, also former NHOPI college and professional athletes, encourage them to use their sport to gain scholarships as a way of furthering their education. In some instances, participants were playing more than one sport. So, these key individuals from the Polynesian Pipeline engaged in discussions with them that focus on helping them choose the sport that would create greater scholarship opportunities. Sam elaborated on this very idea.

> *I knew I wanted to continue sports most definitely into college but I didn't know what at the time until I started playing football. Then, I realized this is the sport that I want to continue with going into college and my coach helped me figure that out. Before that, he was talking to me about getting into college with my swimming.*

In contrast, although Aaron had the size, ability, and academic standing to attend a four-year university on a scholarship, he did not necessarily want to play college sports. However, a coach of his encouraged him to keep his options open.

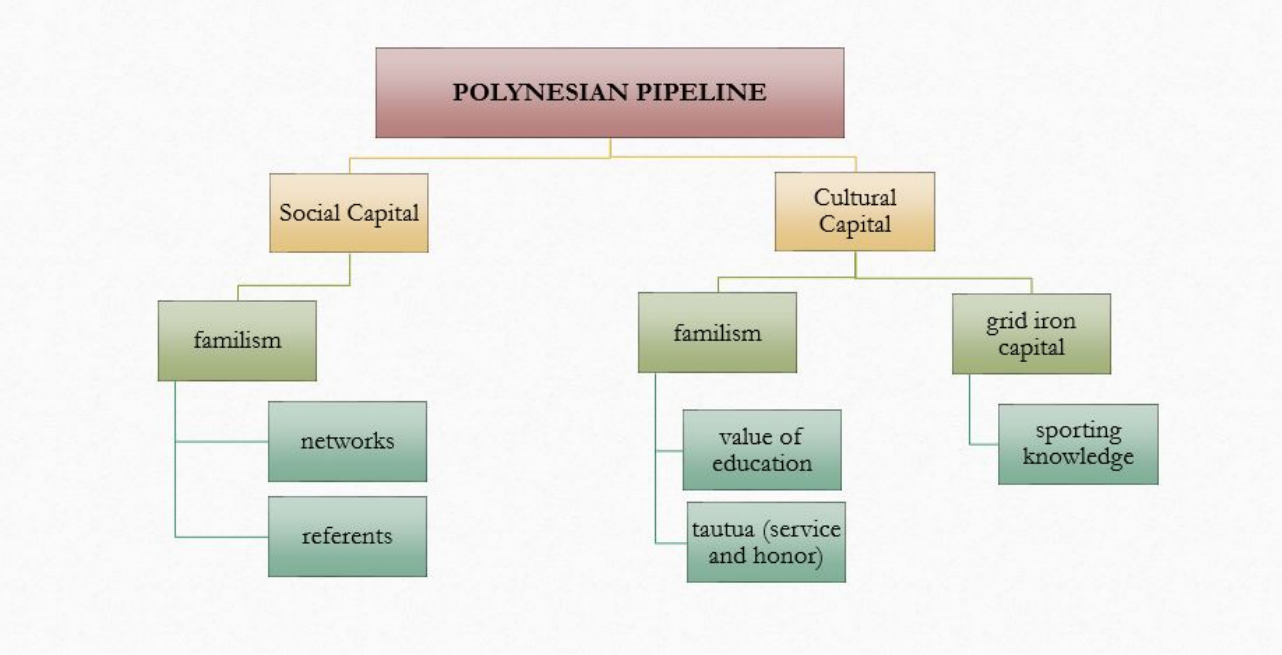
> *I always knew that the only reason I would play a sport in college was to either get a scholarship for it or if I was getting early registration for it. But I never really had an intent of playing a sport in college.*

Aaron explained that as a result of the interactions he had with his coach, he understood that using his grid iron capital to have his college education paid for was an option but only if he absolutely had no other choice.

The data analysis of the types of capital specific to the Polynesian Pipeline NHOPI high school student-athletes were accessing asserts that participants are offered familism as both social (e.g. networks and referents) and cultural (e.g. the value of education and tautua) capital. Also, it offers participants grid iron capital, in the form of sporting knowledge. These two unique forms of capital via the Polynesian Pipeline also carry tremendous influence on the ways in which NHOPI high school student-athletes think and make decisions about college. These findings are displayed in Figure 17.

Figure 17

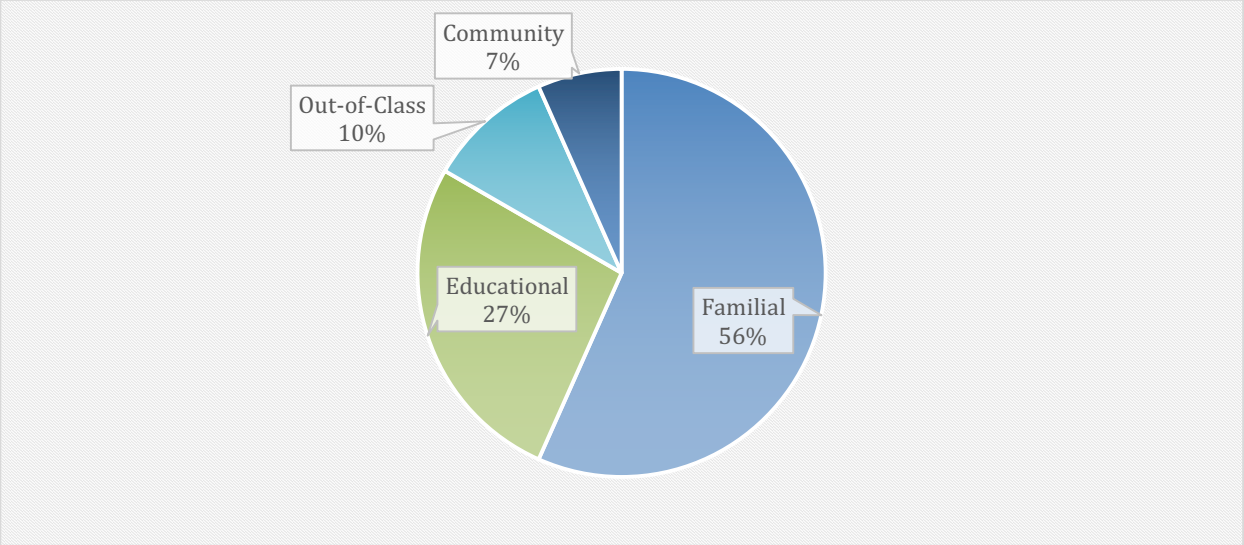
Capital Offered through the Polynesian Pipeline



The Polynesian Pipeline in the familial and educational environments. As previously discussed, participants reference family members (Figure 13) and school personnel (Figure 15) more than any other individuals when asked to identify those who provided them with assistance with making college-going decisions. However, participants were also asked to name individuals who provided them with guidance throughout their college-choice process specific to the following four environments: 1) familial, 2) educational, 3) out-of-class, and 4) community. Those individuals named as sources of social capital within each of the four environments were then reduced to only those who were also part of the Polynesian Pipeline so that the presence of the Polynesian Pipeline within specific environments could be determined.

Figure 18

The Polynesian Pipeline within Environments



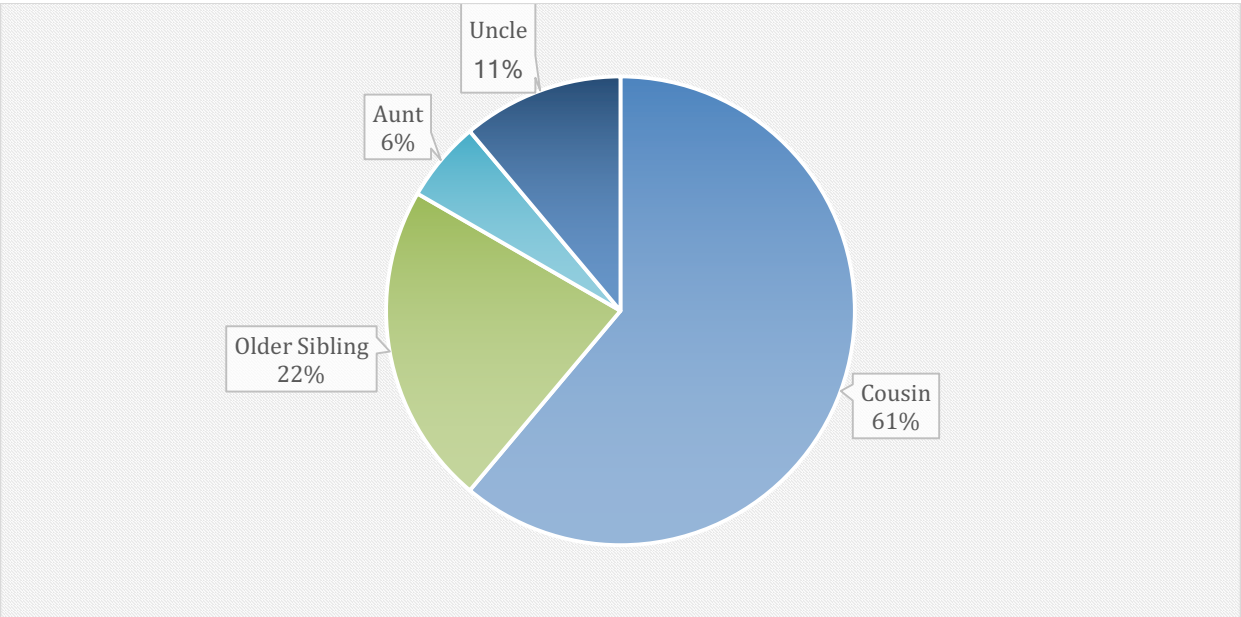
N=20

Together, participants referenced individuals from the Polynesian Pipeline as being present within the familial and educational environments far more frequently than in the out-of-

class and community environments. In fact, the majority of study participants (90%) shared that they interacted with someone from the Polynesian Pipeline within the familial environment in such a way that influenced their perceptions, attitudes, and thoughts about going to college. Altogether, participants reported that they received help from either a cousin, sibling, aunt, or uncle who were either currently part of the Polynesian Pipeline or who were products of the Polynesian Pipeline as having a profound influence on their thinking about college.

Figure 19

The Polynesian Pipeline in the Familial Environment



N=20

The majority of participants named cousins (61%) and older siblings (22%) as having tremendous influence on their college-going decisions. Again, all of the individuals identified by participants were either current NHOPI student-athletes in college or former NHOPI college athletes. So, these data also make the case that for NHOPI high school student-athletes, their

decision making process about college is impacted by their older siblings and extended family members. Moreover, these findings mirror the familism literature which posits the family unit as a support system for youth who come from communities of color (Sabogal et al., 1987)

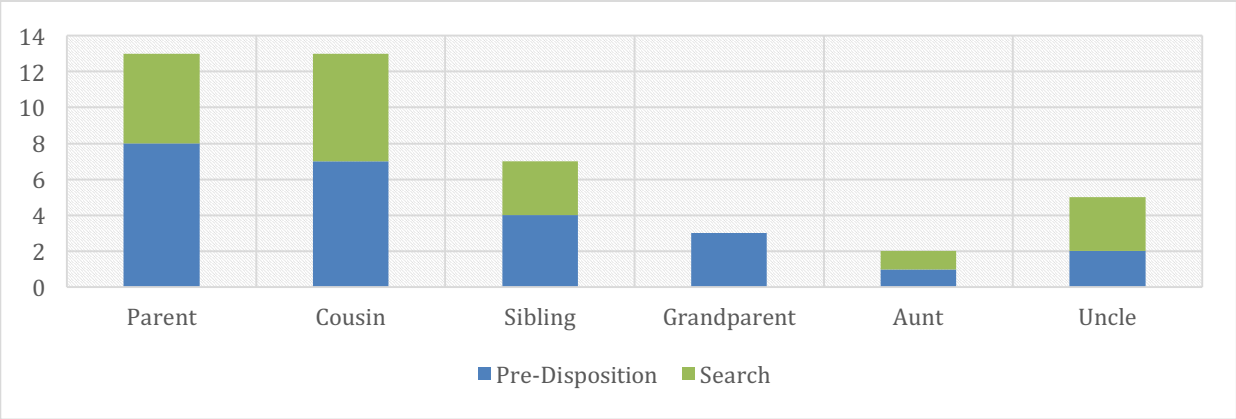
Along these same lines, participants identified individuals from the Polynesian Pipeline who interacted with them in the educational environment. However, despite the fact that participants receive help when making college going decisions from teachers, counselors, administrators, and coaches, only three individuals named as school personnel who provided participants with assistance and who were also affiliated with the Polynesian Pipeline were coaches.

Finally, while participants also named individuals within the out-of-class (*n=3*) and community (*n=2*) environments who were part of the Polynesian Pipeline and who also provided them with help during the college-choice process, these individuals made up only 17% of the responses and were not as significant as those in the familial and educational environments.

Moreover, since the aforementioned data revealed that participants were accessing family members and school personnel as social capital and that those people were interacting with participants within the familial and educational environments, the findings relative to pre-disposition and search phases of the college choice process were also analyzed in conjunction with the social capital and contextual data. Put simply, this study set out to not only investigate *who* participants were going to for help with making decisions about college but also *when* in the college choice process they were accessing these key networks of people and in what contexts (i.e. *where*). These data are represented in Figures 20 and 21.

Figure 20

Forms of Social Capital within the Family Environment during the Pre-Disposition and Search Phases

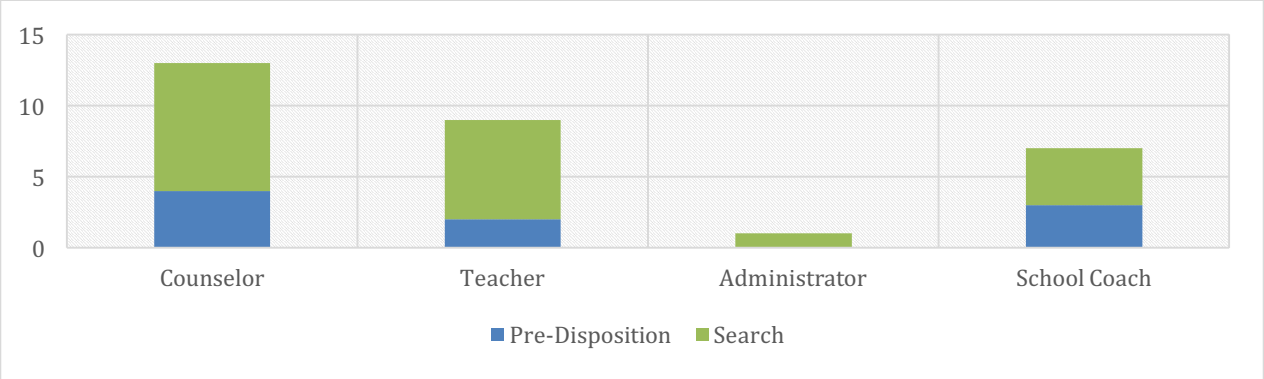


N=20

Note. The choice phase was not included in this data analysis as only six participants experienced the choice phase.

Figure 21

Forms of Social Capital within the School Environment during the Pre-disposition and Search Phases



N=20

Note. The choice phase was not included in this data analysis as only six participants experienced the choice phase.

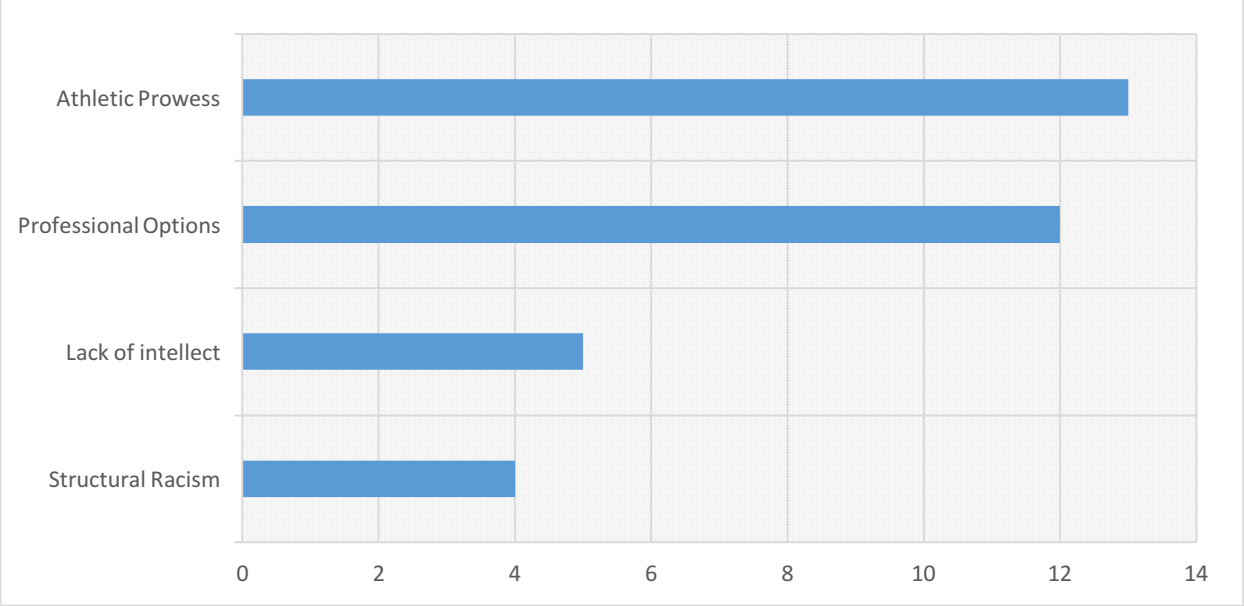
Participants access their family members, primarily parents and cousins, more frequently in the pre-disposition phase of the college choice process than in the search phase. On the other hand, they rely on school personnel, mostly counselors and teachers, more often in the search phase of the college choice process. Bearing in mind the aforementioned data on participants' primary caregivers, it follows then that participants are receiving the value of education from their families in the pre-disposition phase and then transition to interacting with school personnel once they begin searching for information about college.

Academic and athletic identity. The last set of interview data that were analyzed focused on participants' understandings of themselves as NHOPI student-athletes in relation to their perceptions about college. Participants were first asked what they believed to be the perceptions of others (i.e. society, peers, high school personnel, college agents) about them as NHOPI student-athletes. Then, they were asked about the beliefs and perceptions they held of themselves. Consequently, these data emerged as significant findings which will be elaborated upon in the next chapter.

It should first be said that 90% of participants indicate that they believe they are perceived by others in a negative light solely based on socially constructed racial stereotypes ascribed to the NHOPI community. Their responses have been organized into five categories as displayed in Figure 22.

Figure 22

Society's Perceptions of NHOPIs



N=20

Note. Participants were able to give multiple responses

Perceptions of others. In total, study participants (N=20) made 52 references to racial stereotypes assigned to NHOPI populations. More specifically, 35% of those comments were about participants feeling that, in the eyes of others, their identity as NHOPI student-athletes is reduced to physical markers. The most common examples of physical markers they discussed were tattoos, long hair, and a muscular physique.

Furthermore, 13 comments made by participants (N=20) explained that they feel they are judged based on their athletic prowess and a natural ability to play sports. Specifically, these participants shared that there seems to be a common misperception of Samoan males that assumes they all aspire to be football players.

To take a case in point, Sam described his experience of how he is perceived as a Samoan male football player as well as his experience of prolonging his decision to play football as a way of combatting racial stereotypes,

> *…there's always the expectation for Pacific Islanders to play football because people think we're naturally built that way and obviously throughout the years I declined because it's just the stereotype. I didn't want to fit that… many people would tell me, 'It's a waste of your height. It's a waste of your strength. You're a Samoan, you have to play.'*

Mel also talked about the assumption of Samoan males wanting to play football but added that there is another notion that football is also the only way they can realistically access college.

> *I mean everybody always thinks of us as playing football…if we're Samoan we play football. You're automatically going [to play] and that's probably the only way you're going to college.*

While the majority of the comments about NHOPIs possessing an athletic knack around the sport of football originated amongst the male participant responses, many of the female participants also shared that they believe they too are perceived as only having athletic potential to offer. As Hanna stated, *"I believe the world thinks that we are only good mainly just for sports."*

Additionally, 18 of 20 participants commented about the tendency of people linking their academic or intellectual ability to specific professions and careers. For instance, as Mark expressed, because people assume NHOPIs are *"big, buff, and strong,"* they also assume that the only jobs we can acquire are those which require physical strength such as construction workers, personal security guards, and professional athletes. In fact, more than half of the participants

referenced the famous Samoan actor and former college athlete Dwayne *"The Rock"* Johnson when asked what they believe other people think of when they see NHOPIs.

Lastly, the remaining comments made by participants about their perceptions of others included a belief that other people view NHOPIs as having a lack of intellect or as one participant shared *"they think we're just dumb Hawaiians."*

Furthermore, some study participants (*n=4*) also made reference to NHOPIs being unable to succeed due to structural racism. As an illustration, Thomas offered a very forthright explanation of why he believes NHOPIs have difficulty succeeding.

> *I feel like they [society] try to portray this thing of everyone's equal, but I feel like all of us deep down know inside, that's not true at all. I feel like society only wants people of color to just stay at the lower parts [of social class]…*

Through these testimonies, it is apparent that the beliefs participants have about the way they are perceived by others directly and indirectly shapes their thinking about and understanding of themselves as NHOPI high school student-athletes. However, what is more profound are the data which evidence the thoughts they themselves hold about their own athletic and academic identities.

Perception of self. Next, participants were asked a series of questions intended to examine their personal view of themselves as NHOPI student-athletes and specifically their degree of athletic and academic identity development. As previously mentioned, student-athletes can often experience an unbalanced sense of self because their athletic identity is often imbedded in their athletic persona (Hill et al., 2000). Hence, in the absence of a well-developed identity, athletes can completely lose sight of their academic goals (Adler and Adler, 1985) which creates a perception of self that tends to place more emphasis on athletic versus academic ability.

In order to examine the participant's perception of self, they were asked to respond to the following question:

> *The term student-athlete is used to describe someone who takes on dual roles: one as a student and another as an athlete. It also assumes that student-athletes have a balanced identity (i.e. 50% student, 50% athlete). Would you say that you identify more as a student, more as an athlete, or equally as both? Please explain your answer.*

Half of the study participants stated that they identified more as athletes than students or as *"just an athlete."* (Mark). Actually, Mel offered an even more blatant response of, *"Everybody knows I'm more of an athlete"* which communicates that not only did he believe he was less academically inclined but that those beliefs were shared by others as well. Furthermore, those who expressed that they identified as being more of an athlete were predominantly male football players who explained that the sport itself consumed vast amounts of their time and essentially became their number one priority. Nonetheless, the other half of the participants explained that they identified equally as students and athletes because were able to successfully balance the obligations that come with the two roles.

However, despite the fact that half of the participants initially responded to this interview question by saying that they felt they had a well-balanced student-athlete identity, the majority of them (*n=15*) went on to make additional remarks over the course of their interview about feeling that their success in gaining college access was heavily dependent upon their athletic ability which seems to contradict their previous remarks about having a balanced athletic and academic identity. In fact, even for participants who currently had high GPAs, they too made remarks about how they did not think they were academically capable. Participants repeatedly said things like, *"I'm not really a school person,"* (Thomas) *"I'm not really book smart,"* (Hanna) and *"I*

don't think school is for me." (Alex). Sharrice is a prime example of a student-athlete who self-reported a very strong high school academic standing yet still believes her athletic ability overshadows her academic ability, "*I feel like I'm better in sports than I am in school even though I do well in school, I just feel like I do better in sports."*

Furthermore, when reflecting on their beliefs about successfully gaining college access as student-athletes, some participants blatantly expressed that without sports, they would be unable to go to college. In actuality, participants like Mel and Phil expressed their thoughts with a sense of palpable desperation. For instance, Mel explained that he has no other plan if sports is taken out of his college access equation, *"I've played sports all my life. So that's kind of always been Plan A."* Additionally, Phil stated that he is actually narrowing his college options to only those which will allow him to continue playing football because he does not believe he has a chance at getting into a college without football.

> *Me thinking of college is basically only thinking of football. I just feel like, I mean, sports is everything to me, so if I'm not playing sports then like there's not really much to do.*

The next two interview questions about identity were meant to investigate the degree to which participants believe that they are able to access college solely based on their academic ability. The first question asked whether or not participants thought their opportunities to go to college were solely dependent upon their status as student-athletes. Secondly, they were asked if they believed they had to put an equal amount of effort into both school and sports in order to gain college acceptance.

In response to the first question, 12 participants answered affirmatively. Some indicated that sports afforded them a myriad of benefits such as helping them manage their time and

keeping them busy so that they were able to stay out of trouble. Others agreed stating that sports offered them athletic scholarships that would have otherwise been unavailable.

On the other hand, some participants indicated that without sports, college access would be very difficult because they do not believe they have the grades to meet college admission requirements or as Hanna explained, *"I'm not book smart."* Conversely, for the other eight participants who disagreed to this question, their responses were similar, *"I disagree because I have my grades to back me up if I don't get a scholarship because of sports"* (Susan).

Responses to the second question indicated that 17 participants resoundingly agree that they have to work hard at both school and sports in order to gain college access. All of them alluded to the idea that an athlete can be very talented but if his/her grades are not up to par, remaining in college for the duration of four years would be highly unlikely. Nevertheless, for the 3 participants who disagreed with this statement their responses were similar. According to participants like Mel, *"If you're good at your sport you don't really have to work that hard academically."*

The final question about identity was a two-part inquiry which asked participants to compare their own perceptions with those society holds of them about what is possible for them to attain professionally upon graduating from college All of the participant responses indicate that they believe they can obtain any job or professional career of their choosing. However, when asked if they believe society things they can have any job or professional career of their choosing, 15 out of 20 participants answered the question negatively. Ultimately, despite the fact that all participants believe they can succeed in any professional arena, the majority of them also believe that society does not agree with their aspirations based on institutional racism. For example, Sharrice explained that *"...people in this world, I just think that there are evil people in*

this world that don't want to see us succeed by the color of our skin." So too, Aaron stated, *"They (society) just don't want to see us succeed like that (professionally)."* However, Diana's comments about her understanding of what society believes about her were highly profound

> *Because I feel like society only wants people of color to just stay at the lower parts of a higher-end thing, you know how there's the doctors, and all of them are top, then at the bottom there's office jobs and McDonald's and everything, I feel like society wants people of color, Hispanic and everything, but white people are at the top kind of jobs.*
>
> *Definitely. I feel like they try to portray this thing of everyone's equal, but I feel like all of us deep down know inside, that's not true at all.*

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusions

The research on NHOPIs is scarce. The dearth of educational research on NHOPI high school and college students asserts that they are underperforming when compared to other minoritized communities (ACT, 2016: NCES, 2017). However, there is minimal research that explains a rationale as to why NHOPIs specifically continue to fall short academically. So too, while there is some research on NHOPI student-athletes, it tends to be restricted to Samoan male football and rugby players. This is also the same research that typically mentions the well-established Polynesian Pipeline as a pathway to college and professional athletics created by NHOPI high school student-athletes from around the country. However, research which considers the degree of influence the Polynesian Pipeline has on its own community particularly with respect to the impact it has on NHOPI youth and the formation of their thoughts, ideas, and behaviors about going to college is non-existent. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the influence of the Polynesian Pipeline on the college-going decisions of a sample group of NHOPI high school student-athletes.

Summary of Findings

Research Question 1: At what point in the college choice process (pre-disposition, search, choice) do NHOPI high school student-athletes access the most capital as they make college-going decisions?

As previously discussed, the most common forms of social capital for students are (a) parents and extended family members, (b) educational agents including teachers, counselors, and coaches, and (c) other institutional agents such as church leaders or community members who interact with the student on a daily basis. Moreover, conventional examples of cultural capital accessed by students include (a) the knowledge involved with distinguishing high school course

work necessary for college preparedness, (b) understanding how and when to complete college applications, (c) knowing when to take college preparatory exams such as the ACT and SAT, and (d) learning how to establish relationships with and actively seek help from key educational agents.

To begin, the data analysis revealed that NHOPI high school student-athletes access more capital in the pre-disposition and search phases than in the choice phase of the college choice process. In particular, they access specific forms of social capital defined as individuals or networks of individuals as well as cultural capital or information necessary for navigating a successful transition from high school to college. However, it is imperative that timing of access to capital be addressed as well. In other words, the phase of the college choice process in which each participant was in at the time of his or her interview is taken into consideration in comparison to the timing of when they were each accessing specific forms of social and cultural capital to help them make decisions about college.

To begin, *all* 20 of the study participants were able to identify a pre-disposition experience which involved a key individual or group of individuals who introduced them to the idea of college. Furthermore, participants report that these pre-disposition experiences carried with them varying degrees of influence on the ways in which they began to think about college and ultimately helped them arrive at an understanding that pursuing college after high school was something they wanted to do. For example, some participants describe their pre-disposition experience as one which constructed an overall awareness of college while others experienced profound pre-disposition experiences which explicitly influenced their thinking about college in remarkable ways.

Furthermore, six participants were in the search phase, three were in the process of transitioning out of the search phase and into the choice phase, and six more had already concluded the choice phase by selecting a school to attend. Therefore, cumulatively, all participants experienced the pre-disposition phase, 13 of 19 completed both the pre-disposition and search phases, and only six of 19 experienced the choice phase. If follows then that participants would not necessarily be accessing a great deal of capital during the choice phase as only six of them actually reached that point within the process. Similarly, because more participants experienced the pre-disposition and search phases, it makes sense that they accessed more capital during these two phases.

At the same time though, an unanticipated finding emerged about NHOPI high school student-athletes and their pre-disposition to college. In the pre-disposition phase, the Polynesian Pipeline almost immediately emerged as prominent forms of social and cultural capital that was present when NHOPI high school student-athletes initially developed an awareness of college. For example, 55% of participants shared an experience of either attending a college event (e.g. a graduation or an athletic competition) for someone in the Polynesian Pipeline or interacting with someone from the Polynesian Pipeline in such a way that introduced them to the idea of college. Put simply, for more than half of the study participants, their pre-disposition to college was simultaneously linked to a college athlete or to a collegiate athletic experience which also included someone from the Polynesian Pipeline.

Moreover, participants also report being pre-disposed to athletics at a very young age. To take a case in point, 45% of them began playing sports before the age of six. An additional 30% of participants report that they began playing sports between the ages of seven and 11. This means that for the majority of participants (75%), playing sports was something they were

involved in for multiple years even prior to going to high school. Additionally, all participants began playing sports either because their siblings were also playing that same sport, their parents made a decision for them to play, or they played sports as a leisurely activity.

This finding, while unexpected, actually parallels the aforementioned research which posits that working-class parents adopt a cultural logic of child rearing which emphasizes natural growth (Lareau, 2011) or activities which include long stretches of leisure time and daily interactions with kin. Ultimately, the research argues that parents choose activities based upon resources within their social class positions and the cultural capital they possess relative to that position (Lareau, 2011; Bianchi & Robinson, 1997; Schmid, 2001). Since the data from this study reveals that the participants' primary caregivers are working-class parents, this data mirrors the research.

All but five of the participants *(n=15)* also report accessing forms of social and cultural capital in the search phase as they began to actively seek out information about specific colleges and build their choice sets. Although they report taking into consideration factors such as distance from home and financial aid while creating their choice sets, this study also argues that attending schools where there are (a) other NHOPI students and/or athletes, (b) an NHOPI community, and (c) NHOPI staff members are also of high importance to them. Just as the Polynesian Pipeline was found to be present in the pre-disposition phase as an influencer to college-going decisions, it was also present in the search phase of the college choice process.

In addition, with regard to the search phase of the college choice process, participants were asked in the demographic survey to indicate: 1) their academic standing while in high school as measured by GPAs and college entrance exam scores and 2) at least three of their top colleges of choice. The intent of asking for this data was to investigate the match or fit between

the participants' academic standing while in high school and the college admission requirements of the schools in their choice sets. In short, a few problems arise when this data is considered.

First, 45% of the study participants did not report any college entrance exam data, which is alarming. Furthermore, for those who reported some scores (*n=12*), they did not report scores for exams they should have already taken. As an example, for those respondents who reported some college preparatory exam data, 31% did not report a PSAT score despite the fact that *all* participants should have taken the PSAT exam regardless of their grade level. While there may be a myriad of reasons participants did not report test scores (e.g. they did not yet take the exam, they do not remember their scores, they did not want to share the scores) this finding may assume that they are not following recommended college-going timelines or they are somewhat unaware of the sensitivity of those timelines.

Moreover, using the scores reported by participants or conversion scores to analyze the academic data, it appears that *only one* of the 22 participants currently meets all three of the minimum admission requirements (GPA, SAT, ACT) for all three schools of choice. Additionally, seven of the 22 participants *do not meet any* of the admission requirements for *any* of the schools they aspire to attend. This finding suggests that NHOPI high school student-athletes may be selecting colleges that they do not have the academic standing necessary for gaining acceptance. However, the upshot of all of this is that when the high school academic data were adjusted to meet the NCAA sliding scale requirements for six of the 12 participants who reported data and also indicated that they do want to play college sports, their chances of being accepted to their colleges of choice increased by 100 %. Ultimately, this finding supports the NCAAs intention of leveling the playing field for students of color through the implementation of the sliding scale.

Research Question 2: What types of capital do NHOPI high school student-athletes draw upon when making college-going decisions?

The majority of the study participants report that they rely most heavily on the people in their own families as well as key individuals in the schools they attend as forms of social capital when making decisions about college. Additionally, familism, a form of social capital offered to participants by their family members, surfaced as a profound influencer on the way in which NHOPI student-athletes make college going decisions. Furthermore, participants report that these key networks of people primarily share with them navigational knowledge and grid iron capital as forms of cultural capital which also help them navigate their college choice process more effectively.

With regard to the family and as Bourdieu (1986) argues, children have access only to the capital that is available to them from within the social class positions into which they are born. It follows then, that if parents have not graduated from college and do not have high paying jobs, they will have a difficult time offering their children the capital necessary for helping them navigate the college choice process (Bianchi and Robinson, 1997; Dimaggio and Mohr, 1995; Espinoza, 2011). So, considering that all of the participants come from minoritized communities with most (38%) also residing in working class homes which include a large group of parents (38%) who do not have college degrees, the research supports the fact that this group of NHOPI high school student-athletes may not have the benefit of the capital and college information that exists in families with parents who have gone through the college admissions process.

However, despite the demographic data of participant households, 95% of participants report that their families continuously communicate extremely high expectations and a value of education to them over the course of their K-12 trajectories. These findings mirror the research

that explains that even if communities of color do not hold traditional forms of capital (i.e. college degrees and high paying jobs), they can still offer their children capital in other forms, such as aspirational capital or the value of having a college education, which are equally as valuable and useful (Yosso, 2005). Furthermore, this finding also aligns with the research on familism which encompasses constructs such as family obligation, family as a support system, and family members as referents (Cuellar, Arnold, and Gonzalez, 1995; Gil, Wagner, and Vega, 2000; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, 1987; Steidel and Contreras, 2003). With 95% of participants receiving a clear message that college is not only important but that their family members hold them to very high expectations about going to college, these findings reiterate the presence of familism within the college choice process for NHOPI high school student-athletes.

In addition to the findings of family and familism as forms of social capital, participants reported two other familial influencers which also influenced their thinking about college. First, embedded in the conversation about the value of education was also the idea that if college via an athletic scholarship did not work out for participants, joining the military was the only other option available to them for experiencing upward mobility. Next, participants named tautua, or service to the family, as one of the most popular motivators for playing sports (Kwauk, 2014). Specifically, 40% of them mentioned that they play sports as a way of honoring their families by bringing them a sense of pride. This finding directly links to the familism literature which defines attitudinal familism as familial loyalty, interconnectedness, and honor (Steidel & Contreras, 2003). In short, the construct of tautua can be viewed as familism as their definitions parallel one another.

These findings are critical to report as they directly address the plurality of sport (Kwauk, 2014) which is prevalent in the history of NHOPIs and sport in the Pacific. In other words, sport

has historically proven to be the one way for NHOPIs to experience transnational mobility (Uperesa, 2014). Aside from using sport as a way of experiencing upward mobility, the military has also historically promised NHOPIs an opportunity to leave the Pacific islands where educational resources are limited. So, the fact that today's generation of NHOPI youth are still hearing those same long-standing messages as they are forming ideas and thoughts about college is important to highlight as a noteworthy finding of this study. Ultimately, these data show that there may be narrowed conversations about post high school plans occurring between NHOPI student-athletes and their family members that are limiting them to the perception that they have one of two post high school options to gain upward mobility: 1) going to college on an athletic scholarship or 2) joining the military. Nevertheless, regardless of the messaging that participants receive from their family members, this study asserts that they draw significantly upon their families as a form of social capital throughout the college choice process.

With regard to school personnel, all participants were able to identify at least one key person who provided them with assistance in making college-going decisions which is not surprising as school sites are equipped with personnel such as teachers and guidance counselors specifically tasked with helping students decipher their post-high school plans. Also, as previously mentioned, most of the participants come from working class backgrounds whose parents do not possess college degrees so their ability to access key networks of people at school is vital. However, while 100% of study participants named someone at school who helped them with a college-going decision, nearly half of the participants (45%) elaborated on the construct of care in the interactions they were having with school personnel.

In fact, this finding may presume that care is a psychosocial factor within the interactions participants were having with school personnel that also influenced their college-going decisions.

Participant remarks about the idea of care were also highly dichotomous. In other words, 45% of those who spoke about care felt genuinely cared for while 55% of participants felt an extreme lack of care on the part of the educational agents who helped them make college-going decisions.

However, of the 45% who experienced care, all but one participant attended private schools. At the same time, all but one of the participants who spoke about the absence of care attended traditional public schools. In essence, the degree of care received by participants seemed to be dependent upon the individual providing them with the help as evidenced in participant comments such as "*it depends on the teacher.*" Or as in this case, the degree of care extended to participants was dependent upon the type of school they were attending. That is, care seemed to be unevenly distributed amongst participants and dependent upon whether or not they were attending private or public schools.

An explanation for this erratic distribution of care may be explained by the research which argues that high school environments are not created equal in the sense of the types of support systems that are in place (McDonough, 1997). Moreover, research asserts that minoritized students typically attend public high schools that are inadequately resourced (McDonough, 1997). The fact that the majority of study participants (74%) report that they attend traditional public schools may explain why the majority of those who expressed feeling a lack of care (75%) also attended public schools.

While research explains cultural capital in a myriad of ways, the most frequently referenced forms of cultural capital offered to participants by their family members and school personnel came in two forms: 1) navigational knowledge (Coleman, 1988; Light and Gold, 2000) and 2) grid iron capital or sporting knowledge which allows NHOPI high school student-athletes the opportunity to use their sport in order to access college (Uperesa & Mountjoy, 2014). Some

of the most common examples of navigational knowledge shared by family members and school personnel with study participants are help with (a) researching schools of interest, (b) creating choice sets; (c) registering and preparing for AP/PSAT/ACT/SAT exams, and (d) maintaining school work and GPAs. These findings are supported by the research which argues that without access to cultural capital, minoritized students may have tremendous difficulty trying to navigate college choice successfully because these specific types of information are hard to come by within their social class positions (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994).

Participants also describe the most common forms of grid iron capital that family members and school personnel shared with them as learning about (a) earning athletic scholarships; (b) physically preparing for collegiate sports; (c) managing time between school and sports and (d) the recruiting process. These various pieces of information allowed participants to understand how and when to activate and use their sporting knowledge to gain access to college even if they did not plan to play sports in college. This finding is immensely important as it evidences the ability for NHOPI high school student-athletes to use grid iron capital in two ways: 1) to gain an athletic scholarship if they plan to continue playing sports in college or 2) to maintain a strong academic standing while in high school as a way of positioning them toward academic scholarships. Hence, a critical finding of this study asserts that grid iron capital can be useful for NHOPI high school student-athletes who want to pursue college as athletes as well as for those who want to pursue college as scholars.

Research Question 3: What types of capital does the Polynesian Pipeline contribute to the college-choice process for NHOPI student-athletes?

Participants report that the Polynesian Pipeline distinctly contributes familism and grid iron capital to the college choice process. For example, the majority of participants (90%)

indicate that they know someone in their immediate or extended families who is also a product of the Polynesian Pipeline. Participants also report that these family members directly and indirectly influence their thinking about college. In short, these unique forms of capital, provided by the Polynesian Pipeline, seem to also overlap. As an illustration, the family (e.g. social capital) serves as a support system (e.g. familism) for NHOPI high school student-athletes by offering them grid iron capital (e.g. sporting knowledge) and familism (e.g. value of education and tautua) either through experiences, interactions, or conversations. Moreover, at the school site, participants also report that grid iron capital is shared with them by their high school athletic coaches, some of whom are also products of the Polynesian Pipeline.

These data are vital to the findings of this study as well because they argue that NHOPI high school student-athletes have access to the Polynesian Pipeline through their own families. In other words, 95% of them personally know someone from the Polynesian Pipeline, who is using or has used sport as a way of gaining access to college, and who is also able to serve as a direct resource. Put succinctly, this finding underscores the critical role that capital plays in the college choice process, particularly for minoritized students who have less access to resources and who continue to be highly underrepresented in higher education. Moreover, for NHOPI high school student-athletes, this finding confirms that the capital they have access to is doubly important because it is available to them through their own family networks. In short, as NHOPI high school athletes are making college-going decisions, they are significantly influenced by the unique forms of social and cultural capital offered to them by the Polynesian Pipeline.

Research Question 4: In which of the four environments: (1) family, (2) school, (3) out-of-class, and (4) community does the Polynesian Pipeline have the greatest impact on the college-going decisions of high school NHOPI student-athletes?

The Polynesian Pipeline has the greatest impact on the college-going decisions of NHOPI high school student-athletes in the familial and educational environments. In order to frame the discussion of this finding, it is important to first highlight the role of environments within the college choice process especially for students from communities of color. For example, Tierney and Venegas (2009) argue that a student's college-going decisions are shaped by four environments: 1) educational, 2) familial, 3) community, and 4) out-of-class. Furthermore, these environments must be considered as they account for differences across students in the resources they have access to within their social class positions.

Because participants report family members and school personnel as the forms of social capital they access the most, it was then determined that the contexts in which those people are interacting with them are within the familial and educational environments. In particular, participants identified individuals from within the familial and educational environments as also being part of the Polynesian Pipeline. Within the familial environment, cousins (61%), siblings (22%), uncles (11%), and aunts (6%) are the family members who influence participant college-going decisions the most. Additionally, high school athletic coaches are the only network of people who help participants make decisions about college within the educational environment who are also products of the Polynesian Pipeline. At the same time, participants report that all of these people shared with them familism and grid iron capital as forms of capital also within the contexts of family and school.

While evidence of the Polynesian Pipeline was also found in the out-of-the-classroom environment via club coaches as well as in the community environment amongst religious leaders and Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) teachers *(n=<10%* combined), it is

nowhere near as prevalent in those two environments as it is in the familial and educational environments.

Cumulatively, these findings support the literature which argues that the college choice process for minoritized students is nonlinear because as they make college-going decisions, there is an intersectionality of contextual factors that play\ into the ways in which their decisions are influenced (Bergerson, 2009). So, for NHOPI high school student-athletes, although the Polynesian Pipeline is present in all four environments, it has the greatest influence over their college-going behaviors from within the familial and educational environments. Put bluntly, for NHOPI high school student-athletes and their college-going decisions, context matters.

In conclusion, the findings of this study posit that NHOPI high school student-athletes initially interact their immediate and extended family members during the pre-disposition phase when they are learning about what college is, making conscious decisions to attend college after high school, and understanding the value of education their families hold. Then, once they transition into the search phase, they need more specific help with enacting certain college-going behaviors such as registering for college preparatory exams and building choice sets, they transition to school site personnel for assistance.

Implications

The findings of this study hold several profound implications for theory, future research, and policy on the topic of college choice primarily for minoritized high school students who come from communities of color.

Implications for Theory. For the purpose of this study, an adapted cultural model of college choice for high school NHOPI student-athletes has been proposed which uses two conceptual frameworks for theoretical grounding. Those frameworks include: 1) Hossler and

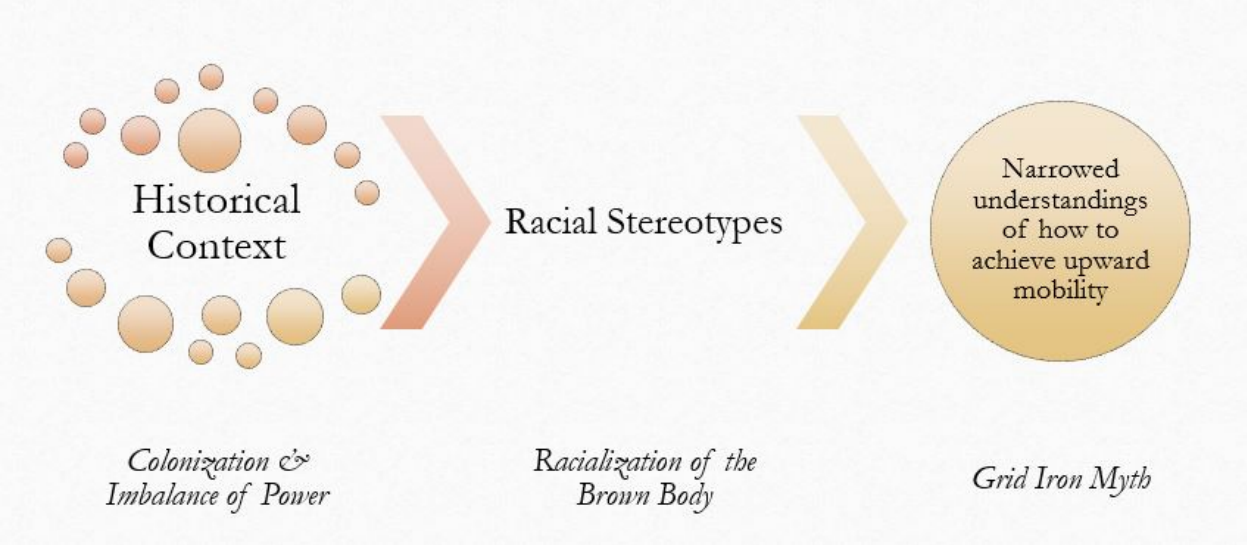
Gallagher's (1987) model of college choice which highlights three distinct phases of pre-disposition, search, and choice which high school students navigate when making college-going decisions and 2) Tierney & Venegas' (2009) model of college access which stresses the intersection of environmental or contextual factors that impact the way in which students make decisions about college. Additionally, the findings of this study argue that NHOPI high school student-athletes rely heavily upon specific forms of social and cultural capital, specifically forms of capital that come directly from the Polynesian Pipeline, when making college-going decisions because of their limited access to critical resources within their social class positions. Therefore, this study also considers Bourdieu's (1986) theory of social and cultural reproduction which emphasizes the lack of upward mobility minoritized communities can experience when they do not have access to capital.

Use of theoretical frameworks which consider context. Hence, the findings of this study support the argument made by Tierney & Venegas (2009) that context or environment must absolutely be considered when examining the college choice process for communities of color such as NHOPI high school student-athletes. The majority of the capital they draw upon, both social and cultural, occur within specific environments (familial, educational, out-of-class, and community) with key individuals within those environments. As they experience pre-disposition, search, and choice events, the factors within each of the four environments intersect at different points therefore creating influence over their college going decisions at varying times. However, contrary to Hossler & Gallagher's conceptual model (1987) which asserts that college choice is a linear process, the findings of this study posit that while students may experience the three phases of pre-disposition, search, and choice, they may not happen in a linear fashion due to the intersectionality of context and capital.

Use of theoretical frameworks which account for the intersectionality of experiences of minoritized communities. Moreover, for communities of color, such as NHOPIs, whose lived experiences may fall outside of "the single-axis analysis" (Crenshaw, 1989), it is imperative that the intersectionality of race and other identifying factors (e.g. gender, athletic status) be considered with regard to issues around access and equity. To take a case in point, NHOPIs have experienced colonization and long-standing racial inequities as a result of colonization, so those historical foundations must also be brought to light when determining the formation of attitudes and perceptions about the accessibility of college and the factors which influence those attitudes and perceptions. In short, this study argues that the conversation about college access for NHOPI high school student-athletes cannot occur in isolation and without context. Rather, the conversation about college access for NHOPIs must be centralized in the history of colonization of the NHOPI community as well as the long standing narrative of upward mobility via athletic scholarship or the military as the sole options for experiencing upward mobility. Even more specifically, this study argues that for this unique population, the historical context of the NHOPI community lends itself to the perpetuation of socially constructed racial stereotypes about NHOPIs which together create very narrowed understandings of how NHOPIs are able to achieve upward mobility. Simply said, those narrowed understandings have formed The Grid Iron Myth or the belief that all NHOPIs aspire to play sports and to use their sport as the sole vehicle in helping them access higher education. Figure 23 further depicts the author's proposed conceptual model for the consideration of an intersectionality of race and athletics in the college-going decisions of NHOPIs.

Figure 23

The Intersectionality of Race and Athletics in the College-Going Decisions of NHOPIs



Implications for Further Research

Conduct additional qualitative studies which include more NHOPI sub-groups and female student-athletes. Further research should incorporate studies which include a wider range of other NHOPI sub groups as well as more female student-athletes. Due to the fact that the majority of the existing literature focuses on Samoan male athletes, little is known about the educational and athletic experiences of other NHOPI sub-groups or of female student-athletes. Furthermore, use of qualitative methods in future research would also be highly valuable to the field of education to honor the uniqueness of the student-athlete voice.

Track the progress of the participants in this study. This study underscores the role of the Polynesian Pipeline as NHOPI student-athletes make college-going decisions specifically so that family members, the greater NHOPI community, and educational agents can more effectively support their ability to commit to and complete college successfully. Hence,

researching this study sample over the course of the next four to five years would be beneficial so that longitudinal college completion rates for this unique population can be determined. Moreover, the availability of longitudinal data would be highly beneficial to the field of education particularly because disaggregated data on the NHOPI community are scant.

Gather longitudinal data within existing athletic organizations. Due to the popularity of the present day Polynesian Pipeline, there are a number of non-profit NHOPI athletic organizations whose sole mission is to assist in the transition of NHOPI high school student-athletes to college via athletics, primarily by way of the sport of football. Annually, these organizations host "All-Poly" bowl games limited to the best NHOPI football prospects across the country. Furthermore, the bowl games typically take place in Hawaii and California, the two states with the greatest NHOPI populations, and are also televised on national media outlets. These organizations claim they have been able to mentor thousands of NHOPI student-athletes through partnerships established with former members of the Polynesian Pipeline which have ultimately resulted in participating student-athletes being able to access collegiate opportunities to some of the most prestigious colleges and athletic programs in the country. However, to date, there are no longitudinal data to explain the number of students-athletes who have actually been able to access college with the assistance of these athletic organizations in comparison to the actual number of student-athletes who have been able to successfully complete college despite the fact that some of these organizations have been in existence for nearly 20 years. The availability of such data would tremendously contribute to the field so that the needs of this population could be determined more efficiently.

Implications for Policy

Recruit more NHOPI K-16 educational stakeholders: As Ah Sam & Robinson (1998) explain, NHOPI educational agents (i.e. teachers, counselors, administrators, and school leaders) are scarce. Especially for school districts that service large populations of NHOPIs, such as in Hawaii and California, hiring more NHOPI faculty and staff would afford NHOPI youth direct access to the social and cultural capital necessary for navigating their college choice process more proactively and successfully. Furthermore, having more NHOPI faculty and staff on K-12 campuses would potentially allow for an increase of Pacific Island-focused programs that could coordinate critical social services as additional support for NHOPI youth and their families.

Furthermore, the literature indicates that there is a paucity of NHOPI educational leaders at the college level (Ah Sam & Robinson, 1998). Also, this study highlights the fact that NHOPI high school student-athletes are considering NHOPI faculty and staff at their top colleges of choice as a prominent factor in their college-choice process. So, increasing the number of NHOPI educational stakeholders on college campuses would also be advantageous to the field as well as in potentially being able to help NHOPI student-athletes complete college successfully.

Provide specific supports to student-athletes: While high school student-athletes are held to the same academic expectations as students who do not participate in sports, they are also responsible for developing and maintaining a whole separate skill set specific to their student-athlete status. Therefore, they would benefit from systems of support designed to meet their unique needs as student-athletes. For example, the findings from this study reveal that study participants need help with things like creating highlight film to send to potential recruiters, learning specific organizational strategies that can be used to better balance their time, and building choice sets which match both their academic and athletic potential. Most importantly,

because the findings of this study show that NHOPI student-athletes are having a difficult time meeting college admission requirements for the schools they want to go to with their current high school credentials, they need specific supports that help them make realistic choices. If, for instance, they were able to take a student-athlete course or a college choice course as an elective, they would have the time and the support necessary for helping them with these specific tasks.

Mandate Individualized College-Choice Plans (ICCPs): All high schools assert that their priority is to graduate and send as many of their seniors as possible to college; however, very few schools have a systematic and on-going approach to doing so. If high schools were required to create IICPs for each student that were reviewed and revised throughout a student's high school trajectory, perhaps the recommended college timelines would be more accurately followed and met for more students. Moreover, if parents were included in the creation and monitoring of their ICCPs, they would be afforded a more active role in the planning of their child's future which is particularly critical in communities of color. Lastly, because the literature suggests that the lack of appropriate orientation programs for NHOPI high school students continues to be a barrier to college access (Ah Sam & Robinson, 1998), mandating ICCPs would proactively prepare NHOPI student-athletes for the college experience.

Recommendations

1) Train educational agents on the psychosocial factors which impact their students' attitudes and beliefs about what is possible for them to achieve

The participants of this study spoke passionately about the care they either received or did not receive from those at school who were helping them make college going decisions. Despite the fact that all students felt their counselors and teachers were somewhat available, they did not all feel that they were approachable. Moreover, since the participants in this study who

attended private schools perceive their school staff as caring for them, traditional public schools that service more minoritized youth may require more intense training in this area.

2) Match NCAA recruitment timelines with college going timelines

In order to prevent more student-athletes from arriving at their senior year in high school and running out of options or feeling like they have run out of time, the educational agents charged with helping students-athletes meet college going timelines (e.g. entrance exam deadlines) also need to align NCAA recruitment timelines alongside those college deadlines. That way, student-athletes who aspire to play college sports are able to stay on track and adequately prepare themselves to be considered NCAA full-qualifiers.

3) Proactively engage all stakeholders in balanced conversations that help to broaden post-high school options

As evidenced in the findings, NHOPI high school student-athletes are still under the impression that the only way to experience upward mobility is either through college athletics via a scholarship or the military. All stakeholders, including parents, educational agents, coaches, and community members need to engage in broad, more balanced conversations about the plethora of factors that students can consider when building choice sets and ultimately when making a final decision about their plans post-high school. Most importantly though, balanced conversations about college need to happen as early as the elementary years so that NHOPI student-athletes are able to develop an equally balanced athletic and academic identity which may also serve as a protective barrier to the racial stereotypes they encounter. Furthermore, having an on-going dialogue which begins early along the K-12 trajectory would assist in positioning NHOPI students toward college much sooner.

4) Provide coaches and parents training opportunities specific to Grid Iron capital

An unanticipated finding of this study was that grid iron capital was found to be useful both to student-athletes who plan to play college sports as well as to those who *did not* aspire to continue playing sports in college. In other words, the participants in this study demonstrated an awareness of how to use their grid iron capital, when to use it, and for what purpose. For some, that meant simply using high school sports to help keep them on-track academically for a successful transition to college while others used their grid iron capital specifically to gain an athletic scholarship. Either way, parents and coaches would benefit from understanding first what purpose grid iron capital serves for their student so that they could assist in helping them use that capital to attain their post-high school goals.. In turn, this understanding would also help to shed light on how to help students identify when to deactivate their use of grid iron capital if they no longer want to play sports after high school.

Limitations of the Study

The most significant limitation of this study is the small sample size. In order to gain more generalizable results, the study would need to include a much larger sample with a wider variety of NHOPI sub-groups of both genders. The study was also limited by the number of participants who were in the 10^{th} and 11^{th} grades because they were not yet old enough to experience the choice phase of the college choice process. More seniors would need to be included so that the amount of capital accessed as well as the presence of the Polynesian Pipeline within the choice phase could be explored.

Summary

The demographic survey responses indicate that 96% of the study participants plan to go to college. In addition, more than half of them aspire to continue playing sports while in college. However, although they all report that they are on track to meet high school graduation

requirements, many of them did not report their GPAs or college entrance exam scores. Furthermore, using the academic information that was reported, when juxtaposed with college admission requirements, all but one participant were unable to satisfy said requirements. This supports the fact that NHOPI high school student-athletes may be choosing colleges that they cannot realistically get into. When selecting colleges, they are mostly considering distance from home and financial aid opportunities as factors. However, they are also highly interested in attending schools whose student body and faculty demographic as well as the surrounding community reflect an NHOPI makeup. Lastly, the survey results affirm that all of the participants come from minoritized backgrounds and families within a working class position.

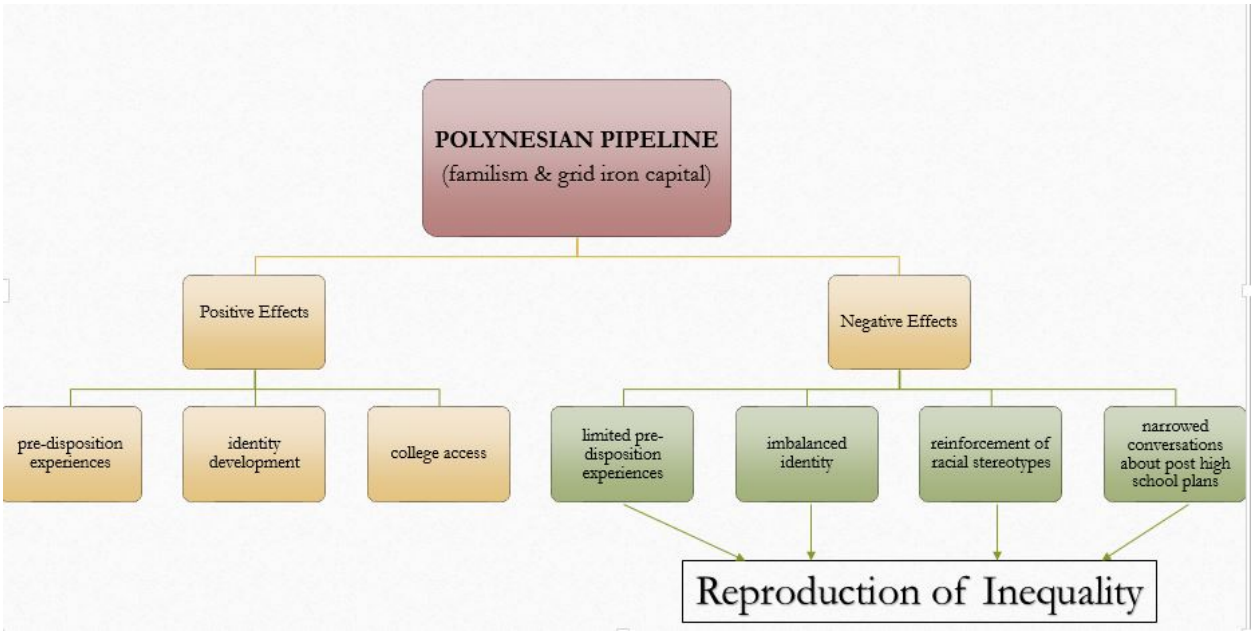
The interview responses indicate that NHOPI high school student-athletes draw upon social and cultural capital primarily in the pre-disposition and search phases of the college choice process. Furthermore, the Polynesian Pipeline was found to offer NHOPI high school student-athletes capital in the form of familism and grid iron capital which influences their college choice process primarily within the familial and educational environments in profound ways. Lastly, it is evident that the racial stereotypes of the NHOPI community both directly and indirectly influence the academic and athletic identity development of NHOPI high school student-athletes.

So too, when the survey and interview findings are considered together, there is evidence that the Polynesian Pipeline may in fact inflict both positive and negative effects on NHOPI high school student-athletes. Additionally, the negative effects may also encourage the reproduction of inequality for this unique population (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, data analysis supports the fact that the Polynesian Pipeline pre-disposes NHOPI student-athletes to college at an early age, encourages an athletic persona or identity, and provides them with a feasible pathway to

college. On the contrary, the Polynesian Pipeline may limit the pre-disposition college experiences of NHOPIs to only those which are athletic focused, inspire an imbalanced identity development which underscores the importance of academics, reinforce racial stereotypes, and create narrowed conversations about post-high school plans. These negative effects seem to be obstacles which could potentially prevent NHOPIs from completing college successfully or in some cases prevent them from even believing that college is possible to begin with. Figure 24 displays these findings.

Figure 24

The Positive and Negative Effects of the Polynesian Pipeline



Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the influence of the Polynesian Pipeline on the college-going decisions of NHOPI high school student-athletes. Primarily, it (a) examined the Polynesian Pipeline as an environmental factor within the college choice process, (b) considered when in the college choice process the Polynesian Pipeline holds the most influence, (c) investigated the unique forms of capital it offers, and (d) identified the ways in which NHOPI student-athletes activate or use those forms of capital when making college-going decisions.

The findings of this study are significant for several reasons. First, they add to the research on the NHOPI community as a disaggregated population which is extremely important when determining the needs of statistically insignificant populations. Second, they identify the Polynesian Pipeline as a significant influence in the college choice process for NHOPI high school student-athletes with regard to (a) the types of capital it offers, (b) the context or environment in which the capital is accessed, and (c) when in the college choice process the capital and environments are accessed. Third, this study sheds light on the ways in which the Polynesian Pipeline may indirectly reinforce the racial stereotypes which have been socially constructed about the NHOPI community. Because this study centralizes the historical context of the colonization of the NHOPI community in the college-going decisions of NHOPI high school student-athletes, it was essential to examine the ways in which that history together with the well-established Polynesian Pipeline impact the athletic and academic identity development of the study participants. Moreover, that identity development was explored alongside the participants' college choice process.

As a result, what is distinctly evident is that NHOPI high school student-athletes are grossly aware of the socially constructed stereotypes that exist about them. The fact that

together, participants made 52 references about the physical markers (i.e. tattoos, long hair, and a muscular physique) and innate athletic prowess often ascribed to them as NHOPIs supports the research which argues that the historical foundations related to these stereotypes contribute to the ways in which NHOPIs view themselves as well as perceptions others have of them with regard to sport (Clement, 2014; Hokowhitu, 2003; Hokowhitu, 2004; Lakisa, Adair, and Taylor, 2014; Stewart-Withers and Brook, 2009; Uperesa, 2014).

In addition to the impact of racial stereotypes on the ways in which NHOPI high school student-athletes perceive themselves, participants also report thoughts and perceptions which reinforce the dumb jock theory, or the idea that as athletes they do not have the intellectual ability to again access to college and therefore can only gain access using their athletic ability. Considering that half of the participants referred to themselves as *"just athletes,"* despite the fact that some of them reported having strong academic standings while in high school, supports the prevalence of the dumb jock theory in their narratives.

With all of that said, this study argues that the racial stereotypes of the NHOPI community, which in some ways are being reinforced by the existence and popularity of the Polynesian Pipeline, both directly and indirectly influence the academic and athletic identity development of NHOPI high school student-athletes which impacts their perceptions and beliefs about going to college.

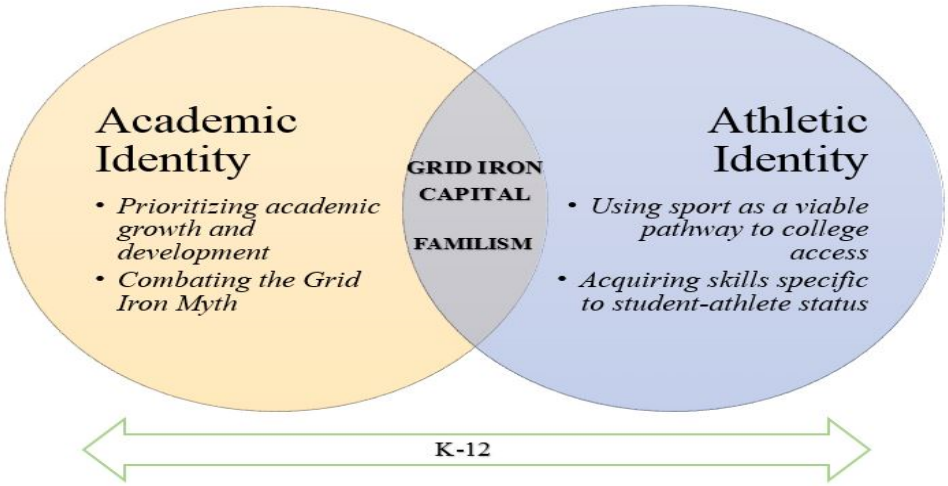
Most importantly though, when coupled with the historical backdrop of colonization and the racial stereotypes birthed as a result of that imbalance of power, the innate athletic prowess that has been overly ascribed to the Polynesian Pipeline since its inception potentially perpetuates the reproduction of inequality for the NHOPI community. Using the words and experiences of these student-athletes, this study uncovers the role of the Polynesian Pipeline in

their process of making college-going decisions while also disclosing the supports and resources necessary for them to be able to commit to and complete college successfully.

In conclusion then, this study ultimately posits a reimagining of the present-day Polynesian Pipeline as displayed in Figure 25.

Figure 25

The Polynesian Pipeline Reimagined: The Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) Pipeline



First, because the NHOPI community includes Polynesians, Melanesians, and Micronesians, the Polynesian Pipeline should be referred to as the NHOPI Pipeline in order to include all subgroups which fall under the broad NHOPI community. Secondly, the focus of the NHOPI Pipeline should be on the development of balanced academic and athletic identities of those in the pipeline which also highlights familism and grid iron capital as forms of capital used to assist in the advancement of those dual identities. Last, the NHOPI Pipeline should include NHOPIs along the K-12 trajectory to ensure for the proactive growth and development of all student-athletes which would help prevent them from falling victim to a reproduction of inequality.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS FLYER

Calling Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) High School Student-Athletes!

- ✓ Are you interested in participating in an important research project that can potentially impact our community's ability to access critical resources?
- ✓ Do you want your experience as a student-athlete to be inserted into the research around college access for marginalized communities?

If so and you meet the following criteria, please contact Samara Suafo'a ASAP:

1. Reside in 1 of the 50 states
2. Play school and/or club sports
3. Be enrolled in grades 11 or 12 during the 2018-2019 or 2019-2020 school years
4. Identify as NHOPI

**Incentives provided to all participants!

Samara Suafo'a: (310) 480-3493
samara.suafoa@cgu.edu

Appendix B.

PARTICIPATION REQUEST

- Option #1: Email script

Date

Greetings (*name of student-athlete*):

Thank you so much for contacting me! I am attaching 2 forms for you to review and sign if you decide to participate: 1) a child assent form for you 2) a parent consent form for your parent/guardian. The forms provides a detailed explanation of the following:

- *Purpose of the Study*
  The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) high school student-athletes consider when making college-going decisions.
- *Eligibility Criteria for Interested Participants*
  To be in this study, you must: 1) live in 1 of the 50 states, 2) play school and/or club sports, 3) be in the 11th or 12th grade during the 2018-2019 or 2019-2020 school years, and
  4) identify as a Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI).
- *Participant Involvement*
  You will first be asked to complete an on-line 25-question demographic survey so that general information can be gathered about you. Some examples of the questions asked are relative to: 1) ethnic background, 2) sport(s) played, and 3) type of high school you attend. The survey should take about 20-30 minutes to complete. Then, a semi-structured 20-question interview will be conducted at a pre-arranged location that accommodates your schedule and is convenient for you. Interviews will be one-on-one with you and the researcher and may last anywhere between 30 minutes to 1 hour depending on the details of your answers. If you are unable to meet in person, arrangements will be made to interview you over the phone or using an on-line platform such as Zoom or Skype. A follow-up interview may be scheduled if I need you to provide additional details to some of your previous answers. If that is the case, the researcher will contact you via phone or email.
- *Risks and Benefits of the Study*
  The risks that you run by taking part in this study are minimal to moderate. All efforts will be made to protect and keep confidential your personal information and responses. For example, the demographic survey will be pre-labeled with a code number. Additionally, during the write-up of the survey and interview responses, pseudo names will be used. The study may or may not benefit you personally. However, this study will benefit the researcher by helping to understand the NHOPI high school student-athlete's process of making college-going decisions and the supports they may need when making those decisions.
- *Compensation*

You will receive a $5 incentive once the demographic survey is completed and an additional $25 after the interview is completed. If you decide to discontinue participation at any point during the project, you will receive incentives based upon the last phase of the project completed. Incentives will be sent via Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle depending on what you prefer.

- *Voluntary Participation*
  Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may stop or withdraw from the study at any time and keep whatever incentives you received to date, or refuse to answer any particular survey or interview question for any reason, without it being held against you. Your decision whether or not to participate will have no effect on your current or future connection with anyone at Claremont Graduate University, and I will not mention this to anyone outside of the research team.
- *Confidentiality*
  Your privacy and confidentiality will be protected in all papers, reports, talks, posts, or stories resulting from this study. I will not share any information I collect from you with your parent. I may share the findings I collect with other researchers, but I will not reveal your identity with it. In order to protect the confidentiality of your responses, I will separate your personal identifying information from all other information I collect, in which I will identify your data only by a code number. My online survey will also ascribe an identification number to you instead of using your name. All study information will be stored on password- and firewall-protected computers, or in locked filing cabinets behind locked doors. I will destroy all the identifying information I have about you, within three years of completion of the study, keeping only anonymous, numerically coded data files that will be used only for research purposes.

After reviewing the forms, if you or your parent/guardian have any questions or need clarification regarding any of the study details, please do not hesitate to contact me at samara.suafoa@cgu.edu.

In order to participate in the study, I will need your signed assent and consent forms (both you and your parent/guardian ***must*** sign) which can be emailed, scanned and texted, or mailed back to me. Once I receive your completed form, I will contact you regarding next steps.

I look forward to hearing from you soon and thank you for your interest in this project!

Samara Suafo'a
PhD Candidate, Claremont Graduate University

- Option #2: Phone call script

1. Hello, may I please speak with (respondent's name)?
2. Hi, this is Samara Suafo'a. I'm following up with you regarding the Call for Participants flyer that you responded to regarding the research I am doing on Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander high-school student athletes.

3. I would like to send you 2 forms to review and sign if you decide to participate: 1) a child assent form and 2) a parent consent form that explain the details of the study. You must sign your form and your parent/guardian must sign the consent form in order for you to participate.
4. Here is some of the information the forms explain:

- *Purpose of the Study*
  The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) high school student-athletes consider when making college-going decisions.
- *Eligibility Criteria for Interested Participants*
  To be in this study, you must: 1) live in 1 of the 50 states, 2) play school and/or club sports, 3) be in the 11th or 12th grade during the 2018-2019 or 2019-2020 school years, and 4) identify as a Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI).
- *Participant Involvement*
  You will first be asked to complete an on-line 25-question demographic survey so that general information can be gathered about you. Some examples of the questions asked are relative to: 1) ethnic background, 2) sport(s) played, and 3) type of high school you attend. The survey should take about 20-30 minutes to complete. Then, a semi-structured 20-question interview will be conducted at a pre-arranged location that accommodates your schedule and is convenient for you. Interviews will be one-on-one with you and the researcher and may last anywhere between 30 minutes to 1 hour depending on the details of your answers. If you are unable to meet in person, arrangements will be made to interview you over the phone or using an on-line platform such as Zoom or Skype. A follow-up interview may be scheduled if I need you to provide additional details to some of your previous answers. If that is the case, the researcher will contact you via phone or email.
- *Risks and Benefits of the Study*
  The risks that you run by taking part in this study are minimal to moderate. All efforts will be made to protect and keep confidential your personal information and responses. For example, the demographic survey will be pre-labeled with a code number. Additionally, during the write-up of the survey and interview responses, pseudo names will be used. The study may or may not benefit you personally. However, this study will benefit the researcher by helping to understand the NHOPI high school student-athlete's process of making college-going decisions and the supports they may need when making those decisions.
- *Compensation*
  You will receive a $5 incentive once the demographic survey is completed and an additional $25 after the interview is completed. If you decide to discontinue participation at any point during the project, you will receive incentives based upon the last phase of the project completed. Incentives will be sent via Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle depending on what you prefer.
- *Voluntary Participation*
  Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may stop or withdraw from the study at any time and keep whatever incentives you received to date, or refuse to answer any particular survey or interview question for any reason, without it being held against you. Your decision whether or not to participate will have no effect on your

current or future connection with anyone at Claremont Graduate University, and I will not mention this to anyone outside of the research team.

- *Confidentiality*
  Your privacy and confidentiality will be protected in all papers, reports, talks, posts, or stories resulting from this study. I will not share any information I collect from you with your parent. I may share the findings I collect with other researchers, but I will not reveal your identity with it. In order to protect the confidentiality of your responses, I will separate your personal identifying information from all other information I collect, in which I will identify your data only by a code number. My online survey will also ascribe an identification number to you instead of using your name. All study information will be stored on password- and firewall-protected computers, or in locked filing cabinets behind locked doors. I will destroy all the identifying information I have about you, within three years of completion of the study, keeping only anonymous, numerically coded data files that will be used only for research purposes.

5. How would you like me to send you the forms? I can email, scan and text, or mail it to you. Let me know what you prefer.
6. Once you receive the forms, please do not hesitate to contact me with any questions.
7. Please send the completed forms back to me via email, text, or U.S. mail and when I receive it, I will contact you regarding next steps.
8. Thank you for your interest in this project!

APPENDIX C.

ASSENT FORM

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLYNESIAN PIPELINE STUDY

STUDY LEADERSHIP. I am asking you to take part in a research project that is led by Samara I. Suafo'a, a doctoral student of Claremont Graduate University.

PURPOSE. The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) high school student-athletes consider when making college-going decisions.

ELIGIBILITY. To be in this study, you must: 1) live in 1 of the 50 U.S. states, 2) play school and/or club sports, 3) be in the 11th or 12th grade during the 2018-2019 or 2019-2020 school years, and 4) identify as a Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI).

PARTICIPATION. During the study, you will first be asked to complete an on-line 25-question demographic survey. Examples of some of the questions asked are about your ethnicity, the sport(s) you play, and college experiences you have had. The survey should take about 20-30 minutes to complete. Then, a semi-structured 20-question interview will be conducted at a pre-arranged location that accommodates your schedule and is convenient for you. Interviews will be one-on-one with you and the researcher and may last anywhere between 30 minutes to 1 hour depending on the details of your answers. If you are unable to meet in person, arrangements will be made to interview you over the phone or using an on-line platform such as Zoom or Skype. A follow-up interview *may* be scheduled if the researcher needs you to provide additional details to some of your previous answers. If that is the case, the researcher will contact you via phone or email.

RISKS OF PARTICIPATION. The risks that you run by taking part in this study are minimal. All efforts will be made to protect and keep confidential your personal information and responses. For example, the demographic survey will be pre-labeled with an identification number. Additionally, during the write-up of the survey and interview responses, pseudo names will be used. However, despite these efforts, there is always a possibility that firewall protected computers or locked file cabinets where private information will be stored may be breached.

BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION. The study may not benefit you personally. However, this study will benefit the researcher by helping to understand the NHOPI high school student-athlete's process of making college-going decisions and the supports they may need when making those decisions.

COMPENSATION. You will receive a $5 incentive once the demographic survey is completed and an additional $25 after the interview is completed. If you decide to discontinue participation at any point during the project, you will receive incentives based upon the last phase of the

project completed. Incentives will be sent via Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle depending on what you prefer.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may stop or withdraw from the study at any time and keep whatever incentives you received to date, or refuse to answer any particular survey or interview question for any reason, without it being held against you. Your decision whether or not to participate will have no effect on your current or future connection with anyone at Claremont Graduate University, and I will not mention this to anyone outside of the research team.

CONFIDENTIALITY. Your privacy and confidentiality will be protected in all papers, reports, talks, posts, or stories resulting from this study. I may share the findings I collect with other researchers, but I will not reveal your identity with it. In order to protect the confidentiality of your responses, I will separate your personal identifying information from all other information I collect, in which I will identify your data only by an identification number. My online survey will also ascribe an identification number to you instead of using your name. All study information will be stored on password- and firewall-protected computers, or in locked filing cabinets behind locked doors. I will destroy all the identifying information I have about you, within three years of completion of the study, keeping only anonymous, numerically coded data files that will be used only for research purposes.

FURTHER INFORMATION. If you have any questions or would like additional information about this study, please contact Samara Suafo'a at samara.suafoa@cgu.edu or 310-480-3493. You may also contact Dr. Dina Maramba at dina.maramba@cgu.edu. The CGU Institutional Review Board has approved this project. If you have any ethical concerns about this project or about your rights as a human subject in research, you may contact the CGU IRB by calling (909) 607-9406 or emailing irb@cgu.edu. A copy of this form will be given to you if you wish to keep it.

ASSENT. Your signature below means that you understand this form, that someone has answered any and all questions you may have about this study, and you voluntarily agree to participate in it.

Signature of Participant _____ Date _____

Print Name of Participant _____

The undersigned researcher has reviewed the information in this assent form with the participant and answered any of his or her questions about the study.

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date _____

Print Name of Researcher: ***Samara I. Suafo'a***
Claremont Graduate University

APPENDIX D.

CONSENT FORM

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLYNESIAN PIPELINE STUDY

STUDY LEADERSHIP. I am asking your child to take part in a research project that is led by Samara I. Suafo'a, a doctoral student of Claremont Graduate University.

PURPOSE. The purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) high school student-athletes consider when making college-going decisions.

ELIGIBILITY. To be in this study, your child must: 1) live in 1 of the 50 U.S. states, 2) play school and/or club sports, 3) be in the 11th or 12th grade during the 2018-2019 or 2019-2020 school years, and 4) identify as a Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI).

PARTICIPATION. During the study, your child will first be asked to complete an on-line 25-question demographic survey. Examples of some of the questions asked are about your child's ethnicity, the sport(s) he/she plays, and college experiences he/she has had. The survey should take about 20-30 minutes to complete. Then, a semi-structured 20-question interview will be conducted at a pre-arranged location that accommodates your child's schedule and is convenient for him/her. Interviews will be one-on-one with your child and the researcher and may last anywhere between 30 minutes to 1 hour depending on the details of your child's answers. If he/she is unable to meet in person, arrangements will be made to interview your child over the phone or using an on-line platform such as Zoom or Skype. A follow-up interview *may* be scheduled if the researcher needs your child to provide additional details to some of his/her previous answers. If that is the case, the researcher will contact your child via phone or email.

RISKS OF PARTICIPATION. The risks that your child runs by taking part in this study are minimal. All efforts will be made to protect and keep confidential your child's personal information and responses. For example, the demographic survey will be pre-labeled with an identification number. Additionally, during the write-up of the survey and interview responses, pseudo names will be used. However, despite these efforts, there is always a possibility that firewall protected computers or locked file cabinets where private information will be stored may be breached.

BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION. The study may not benefit your child personally. However, this study will benefit the researcher by helping to understand the NHOPI high school student-athlete's process of making college-going decisions and the supports they may need when making those decisions.

COMPENSATION. Your child will receive a $5 incentive once the demographic survey is completed and an additional $25 after the interview is completed. If your child decides to discontinue participation at any point during the project, he/she will receive incentives based

upon the last phase of the project completed. Incentives will be sent via Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle depending on what your child prefers.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION. Your child's participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your child may stop or withdraw from the study at any time and keep whatever incentives he/she received to date, or he/she may refuse to answer any particular survey or interview question for any reason, without it being held against him/her. Your child's decision whether or not to participate will have no effect on his/her current or future connection with anyone at Claremont Graduate University, and I will not mention this to anyone outside of the research team.

CONFIDENTIALITY. Your child's privacy and confidentiality will be protected in all papers, reports, talks, posts, or stories resulting from this study. I may share the findings I collect with other researchers, but if I do, your child's identity will be protected. In order to protect the confidentiality of your child's responses, I will separate your child's personal identifying information from all other information I collect, in which I will identify that data only by an identification number. My online surveys will also ascribe an identification number to your child instead of using names. All study information will be stored on password- and firewall-protected computers, or in locked filing cabinets behind locked doors. I will destroy all the identifying information I have about your child, within three years of completion of the study, keeping only anonymous, numerically coded data files that will be used only for research purposes.

FURTHER INFORMATION. If you have any questions or would like additional information about this study, please contact Samara Suafo'a at samara.suafoa@cgu.edu or 310-480-3493. You may also contact Dr. Dina Maramba at dina.maramba@cgu.edu. The CGU Institutional Review Board has approved this project. If you have any ethical concerns about this project or about your child's rights as a human subject in research, you may contact the CGU IRB by calling (909) 607-9406 or by emailing irb@cgu.edu. A copy of this form will be given to you if you wish to keep it.

CONSENT. Your signature below means that you understand the information on this form, that someone has answered any and all questions you may have about the Polynesian Pipeline Study, and you that you voluntarily agree to allow your child to participate in it.

Name of Participating Child _____
Signature of Parent or Guardian _____ Date _____
Print Name of Parent or Guardian _____

The undersigned researcher has reviewed the information in this consent form with the participant and answered any of his or her questions about the study.

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date _____
Print Name of Researcher: ***Samara I. Suafo'a***
Claremont Graduate University

APPENDIX E.

NEXT STEPS: FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF ASSENT/CONSENT FORMS

- Option #1: Email script

Date

Greetings (*name of student-athlete*):

Thank you so much for completing and submitting the assent/consent form. I am so excited to move forward in the process with you as a study participant.

I am attaching the link to the survey. In an effort to keep your personal information confidential, the survey has assigned you a number. Please complete the survey to the best of your ability. The more clear and detailed your answers, the better. Please let me know if you have any questions or need clarification regarding any of the survey questions. Keep in mind that if you do not want to answer any particular question, it is your right to skip an item if you choose.

Once I am notified by the system that your survey is complete, I will contact you for your Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle handle so that I can send you your $5 incentive.

Thank you again for your participation!

Samara Suafo'a

PhD Candidate
Claremont Graduate University

- Option #2: Phone call script

1. Hello, may I please speak with (respondent's name)?
2. Hi, this is Samara Suafo'a. Thank you for completing your assent/consent form.
3. The next step in the project is to have you complete a survey.
4. I am going to send you an email with the link to the survey.
5. Please let me know if you have any questions or need clarification regarding any of the survey questions. Keep in mind that if you do not want to answer any particular question, it is your right to skip an item if you choose.
6. Once I am notified by the system that your survey is complete, I will contact you for your Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle handle so that I can send you your $5 incentive.
7. Thank you again for your participation!

*Qualtrics Survey Link: https://cgu.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_ef9ePEs2KlX4eO1

APPENDIX F.

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Polynesian Pipeline Survey

Start of Block: Default Question Block

Q1 Your ID #:

_____

Q2 Select your grade level for each school year:

	10th (1)	11th (2)	12th (3)
2018-2019 (1)	○	○	○
2019-2020 (2)	○	○	○

Q3 Of the following, which do you identify with? (select all that apply)

- [ ] Native Hawaiian (1)
- [ ] Samoan (2)
- [ ] Tongan (3)
- [ ] Fijian (4)
- [ ] Tokelauan (5)
- [ ] Maori (6)
- [ ] Tahitian (7)
- [ ] Guamanian/Chamorro (8)
- [ ] Nieuean (9)
- [ ] Moluccan (10)
- [ ] New Guinean (11)
- [ ] Solomon Islands (12)
- [ ] Vanuatuan (13)
- [ ] New Caledonian (14)
- [ ] Torres Strait Islander (15)
- [ ] Chuukese (16)
- [ ] Pohnpeian (17)
- [ ] Kosraean (18)

- [ ] Yapese (19)
- [ ] Kiribati (20)
- [ ] Marshallese (21)
- [ ] Palauan (22)
- [ ] Naruan (23)
- [ ] Carolinian (24)
- [ ] Other (25) _____

Q4 Complete the following table by writing in the school and/or club sports you are playing:

	2018-2019 sport(s) played (1)	2019-2020 sport(s) played (2)
School (1)		
Club (2)		

Q5 What type of high school do you attend?

- ○ Traditional Public (1)
- ○ Charter Public (2)
- ○ Private (3)
- ○ Magnet (Please specify the type of magnet - STEM, Gifted, VAPA, CES etc.) (6) _____
- ○ Other (List) (5) _____

Q6 Are you on track to meet your high school's graduation requirements?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Unsure (3)

Skip To: Q8 If Are you on track to meet your high school's graduation requirements? = Yes

Q7 Since you selected no/unsure in the previous question, do you know who to go to at your school to get help with meeting graduation requirements?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Unsure (3)

Q8 Are you on track to meet the UC/CSU A-G requirements?
(The A-G / College Entrance Requirements are a sequence of high school courses that students must complete (with a grade of C or better) to be minimally eligible for admission to the University of California (UC) and California State University (CSU). They represent the basic level of academic preparation that

high school students should achieve to undertake university work.)

*Note: If you do not attend high school in the state of CA and you do not plan to attend a UC or CSU school for college, this question is not applicable to you.

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Unsure (3)
- ○ This question does not apply to me (explain) (4) _____

Q9 What are your current weighted and unweighted GPAs? (See below for definitions. If you are not sure, please estimate)

Unweighted: Unweighted GPAs are measured on a scale of 0 to 4.0 and do not take the difficulty of your courses into account. This means that an A in an AP class and an A in a standard class will both translate into 4.0s.

Weighted: Weighted GPAs take into account course difficulty and are measured on a scale of 0 to 5.0. In this case, an A in an Advanced Placement class will translate into a higher grade than an A in a standard class.

	GPA (1)
Unweighted (1)	
Weighted (3)	

Q10 Have you taken the following college entrance-related exams? If Yes, put an "x" in the Yes box and write in your highest score. If No, put an "x" in the No box and leave the highest score box blank.

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Highest Total Score (3)
PSAT (1)			
SAT (2)			
ACT (3)			

Q11 Do you plan to continue your education after high school?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)
- ○ Unsure (3)

Skip To: Q13 If Do you plan to continue your education after high school? = Yes

Q12 If you are not planning to continue your education after high school, what are you planning to do? (check all that apply)

- ○ Take some time off (1)
- ○ Get a job (2)
- ○ Serve in the military (3)
- ○ Start a family (4)
- ○ Other (5) _____
- ○ Unsure (6)

Q13 What is the highest level of education you plan to attain?

- ○ Certificate / Diploma from a school that provides occupational training (5)
- ○ 2 years of college (Associate Degree) (2)
- ○ 4 years of college (Bachelor's Degree) (3)
- ○ Master's Degree (4)
- ○ PhD / M.D. / law degree / other professional degree (6)
- ○ Unsure (7)

Q14 When responding to the following questions, please do not use acronyms in place of school names (i.e. Write out UW as University of Washington).

I would like to attend the following colleges: (List name of college and state in which the college is located - University of Washington, Washington)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q15 I am interested in the following college majors: (check all that apply)

- [ ] Business (1)
- [ ] Architecture/Engineering (2)
- [ ] Computer (3)
- [ ] Education (4)
- [ ] Health (5)
- [ ] Psychology/Social Work (6)
- [ ] Social Sciences (7)
- [ ] Law/Public Policy (8)
- [ ] Medicine/Sports Medicine (9)
- [ ] Arts (10)
- [ ] Industrial Arts (11)
- [ ] Humanities/Liberal Arts (12)
- [ ] Communication/Journalism (13)
- [ ] Physical Sciences (14)
- [ ] Agriculture/Natural Resources (15)
- [ ] Biology/Life Sciences (16)
- [ ] Other: (17) _____
- [ ] Unsure (18)

Q16 Complete the following information by writing in names of colleges you have been in contact with. Then select the type(s) of contact you have had with each college.

	mail/brochures (1)	email/electronic communication (2)	phone calls/text messages (3)	campus visitations (4)	Other (5)
Name of College (1)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name of College (2)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name of College (3)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name of College (4)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Name of College (5)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q17 I have applied to the following college(s): (List name of college and state in which the college is located. Example: University of Hawaii, Hawaii)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q18 I have been accepted to the following college(s): (List name of college and state in which the college is located.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q19 Do you plan to continue playing sports in college?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Unsure (3)

Skip To: Q22 If Do you plan to continue playing sports in college? != Yes

Q20 Have you registered with the NCAA Eligibility Center? (formerly known as the NCAA Clearinghouse):

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Q21 Do you have siblings (i.e. brothers/sisters)?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- If you answered yes, please write what number you are in the order of your siblings (3)

_____

Q22 Who are your primary caregivers/guardians? (select all that apply)

- [ ] mother (1)
- [ ] father (2)
- [ ] step-mother (3)
- [ ] step-father (4)
- [ ] aunt (5)
- [ ] uncle (6)
- [ ] grandmother (7)
- [ ] grandfather (8)
- [ ] foster parent (9)
- [ ] older sibling (10)
- [ ] other (11) _____

Q23 Of the guardians you selected above, identify the 2 you consider to be your primary guardians. Use those 2 individuals when answering the following questions. These individuals should be responsible for at least 50% of your living expenses (i.e. food, shelter, clothing).

What is the highest level of education your primary guardians have completed?

	Less than high school completion (1)	Completed a high school diploma, GED or alternative high school credential (2)	Completed a certificate or diploma from a school that provides occupational training (3)	Completed an Associate's degree (4)	Completed a Bachelor's degree (5)	Completed a Master's degree (6)	Completed a Ph.D., M.D., law degree, or other high level professional degree (7)	Unsure (8)
Guardian 1 (List your relation to this person) (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Guardian 2 (List your relation to this person) (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q24 List the occupation(s) of Guardian #1 listed above:

_____

Q25 List the occupation(s) of Guardian #2 listed above:

_____

Q26 Once you complete this survey, you will receive your $5 incentive. I then need to arrange an interview with you. Please list your phone number below to ensure that I can contact you in case any

problems arise with sending your incentive and also so that we can discuss a date/time for your interview that accommodates your schedule.

_____

End of Block: Default Question Block

APPENDIX G.

NEXT STEPS FOLLOWING SURVEY COMPLETION

- Script for email or phone call

Date

Greetings (*name of student-athlete*):

Thank you so much for completing and submitting your demographic survey. You should have also received your $5 incentive via Venmo, PayPal, or Zelle. If you have not, please contact me ASAP.

The next step in this process is for me to schedule an interview with you.

- *If this form is sent via email or hard copy, write: "I have listed some dates and times below for your consideration."
- *If this conversation happens over the phone, say: "What dates/times work best for me to interview you?"

Please note that your interview will last approximately 30 minutes-1 hour depending on the amount of information you choose to share with me during our time together. While I would prefer to meet face-to-face with you, if scheduling conflicts arise we can also arrange an interview over the phone or via an on-line meeting portal (i.e. Zoom).

Once we meet and your interview concludes, you will earn a $25 incentive paid to you using the same on-line app I used to send your previous incentive.

I look forward to hearing from you about scheduling our interview date and time. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Thank you again for your participation!

Samara Suafo'a
PhD Candidate
Claremont Graduate University

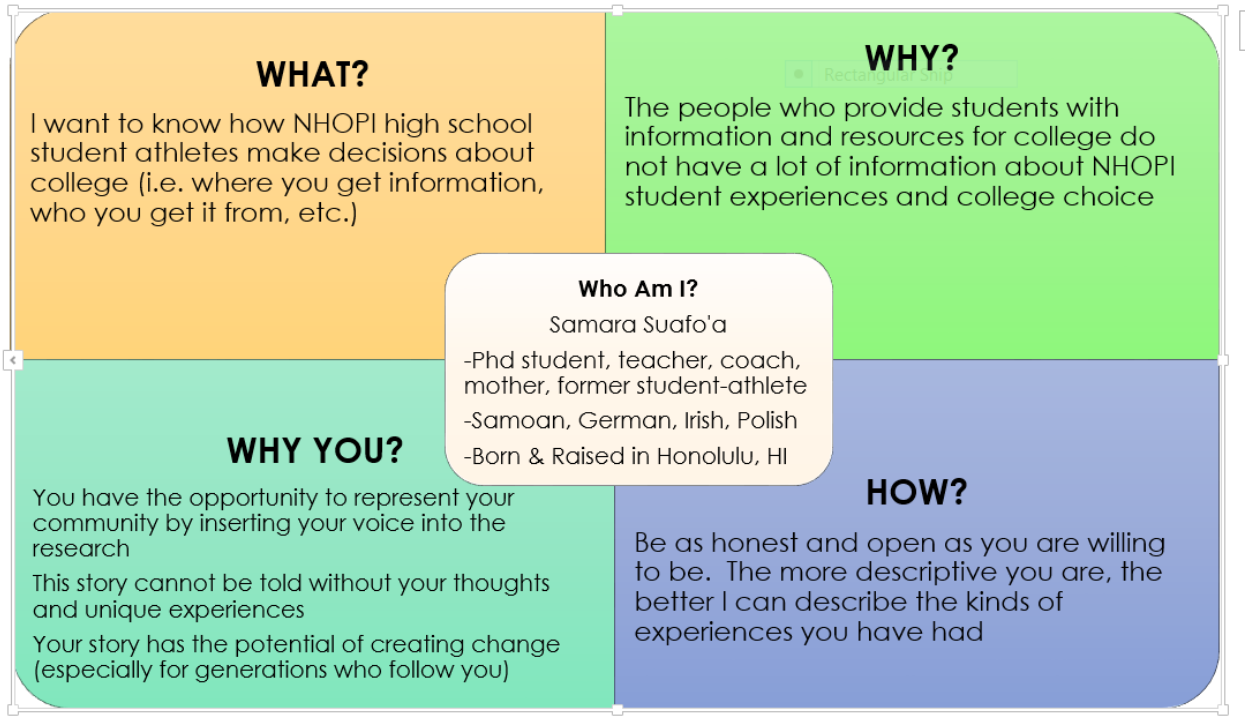
**Possible interview dates and times (*Please check all dates/times that work best for your schedule)*

Example:

	Sat	**Mon**	**Tue**	**Wed**	**Fri**
8:00-9:00 a.m.					
9:30-10:30 a.m.					
11:00 a.m. -12:00 p.m.					
2:00-3:00 p.m.					
3:30-4:30 p.m.					
6:00-7:00 p.m.					

APPENDIX H.

PRE-INTERVIEW GRAPHIC



APPENDIX I.

IRB AMENDMENT APPROVAL

Claremont Graduate University
Institutional Review Board

Dear Samara,

The amendment to protocol **CGU #3449 Exploring the Polynesian Pipeline: College-Going Decisions of Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander High School Student-Athletes** was approved on 07/30/2019. Please note that amendments do not change study approval expiration dates. The expiration date for this study is still **05/02/2020**. Please submit your annual report and, if needed, request for renewal, by **04/18/2020**.

If you have any questions, feel free to contact us.

Sincerely,

Andrew Conway,
IRB Chair
andrew.conway@cgu.edu

James Griffith,
IRB Manager
james.griffith2@cgu.edu

150 East Tenth Street ● Claremont, California 91711-6160
Tel: 909.607.9406

Attachments:
- Assent Form_Clean
- Consent Form_Clean Copy

APPENDIX J.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Reimagining the Polynesian Pipeline: An Intersectionality of Race and Athletics in the College-Going Decisions of Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander High School Student-Athletes

Information about the Interview

Time of interview:	
Date:	
Location:	
Interviewer:	
Interviewee ID #:	

Introduction

- Introduce yourself
- Discuss the purpose of the study
- Discuss the fact that this is a pilot interview
- Signed informed consent & assent forms
- Provide format/structure of the interview (audio recording, note taking)
- Ask if interviewee has questions
- Define any terms

Interview Content Questions

I. PRE-DISPOSITION

1. What is your earliest memory of speaking to someone about college or of having an experience related to college such as visiting a college campus?
   1a. Describe these early influences on your thinking about college.

2. Over the course of your K-12 educational journey, do you recall interacting with key individuals who shaped your attitudes and perceptions about going to college?
   2a. Who were those key individuals during elementary, middle, and high school?
   2b. Describe the ways in which any of these individuals influenced your attitude or perception about going to college either positively or negatively.

3. How many people do you know who have played sports at the collegiate level (This includes those who may have started college but for whatever reason, did not finish)?
   3a. Elaborate (i.e. your relationship to this/these person(s), sport(s) they played, school(s) they attended)

4. How many people do you know who have played sports at the professional level?
   4a. Elaborate (i.e. your relationship to this/these person(s), sport(s) they played)

5. In what ways, if at all, have these individuals who have played sports influenced your thoughts, attitudes, and decisions about college either positively or negatively?

***Notes to Interviewer**:

- For those participants who previously indicate on the demographic survey that they plan to continue their education after high school, **skip to question #7**.
- For those participants who previously indicate on the demographic survey that they do not plan to continue their education after high school, **proceed to question #6 and then skip to question #14.)**

6. Your demographic survey, you indicated that you do not plan to continue your education after high school. Can you explain what influenced your decision?

II. SEARCH

7. College choice research identifies factors that influence student decisions about college such as:
    - Programs of study (majors)
    - Selectivity – Academic requirements
    - Distance from home or geographical location
    - Extracurricular activities/clubs
    - Financial aid packages

    What are you looking for in a college?

8. College choice research also identifies people who influence student decisions about college such as:
    - Parents/Family members
    - Friends
    - Teachers/ Counselors
    - Other school staff (i.e. coaches)

    Who have you spoken to or interacted with about different colleges?

    8a. What information have these individuals spoken to you about?

9. A choice set is a list of colleges you are interested in attending. Have you created any choice sets?

    9a. If so, what information are you using to make them?

    9b.Who would you go to in order to compare advantages/disadvantages between schools or to help you narrow down your choices if necessary?

III. CHOICE

10. Your demographic survey indicates that you are interested in attending the following schools: (refer to survey). Can you tell me a little about how you chose those specific schools?

    10a. How much information have you gathered about the schools you have chosen regarding things like the types of majors they offer or their academic requirements?

    10b. Do you feel like these college are a good "fit" for you? Why or why not?

11. Do you plan to continue playing sports in college? **Yes No I don't know**

    11a. Can you explain what influenced your decision?

12. When you completed your demographic survey, you selected some factors that were important to you as a student-athlete when making college-going decisions. I'm going to read 3 additional influential factors. Tell me how important these 3 factors are to you by saying: 1) Highly Important, 2) Somewhat Important, or 3) Not Important.

    Factor 1: Whether or not there are NHOPI staff members at the college (coaches, recruiters, athletic trainers)
    Factor 2: The opportunity to play with other NHOPIs while in college
    Factor 3: Whether or not there are other NHOPI families (having relation to you or not) living near the college

IV. STUDENT-ATHLETE IDENTITY

13. The term "student-athlete" is typically used to describe someone who assumes dual roles: one as a student and another as an athlete. Give me a percentage that describes:

    - to what degree you fulfill each of those roles (i.e. 50% student, 50% athlete)
    - to what degree others (i.e. educational agents, family, community members, coaches) believe you fulfill those roles

14. What educational and/or professional expectations do you believe other people (educational agents, family, community members, and coaches) have of you about going to college?

    14a. How are those expectations communicated to you?

    14b. How do those opinions affect your opinion about college?

15. What are your motivations for playing sports at this time?

16. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
    Sport has allowed me to access resources or opportunities in ways that would otherwise be unavailable.

    16a. Can you explain your answer?

17. Do you want to play professional sports and if so, what might the road to professional sports look like for you?

18. How often do you see images of Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islanders (NHOPIs) in social media, magazines, movies/TV etc.?
    18a. In your opinion, how are NHOPIs often portrayed?
    18b.How to those images match the way you view yourself?

19. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
    NHOPIs are made to play sports.
    19a. Can you explain your answer.

20. Is there anything else you would like to share with me that I haven't asked about?

Closing Instructions

- Thank the individual for participating
- Assure individual of confidentiality
- If needed, request for further interviews
- If asked, comment on how interviewee will receive results of the study

Adapted from Creswell, J. (2016). *30 Essential skills of the qualitative researcher*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc.

APPENDIX K.

IRB APPROVAL

Claremont Graduate University
Institutional Review Board

Dear Samara,

Thank you for submitting your research protocol to the IRB at Claremont Graduate University. A representative of the Institutional Review Board reviewed your study, CGU #3449 Exploring the Polynesian Pipeline: College-Going Decisions of Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander High School Student-Athletes , and approved it under the rules for expedited review on **05/03/2019**.

The approval of your study is valid through 05/02/2020, by which time you must submit an annual report either closing the protocol or requesting permission to continue the protocol for another year. Please submit your report by **04/18/2020** so that the IRB has time to review and approve your report if you wish to continue it for another year.

Unless you have received a waiver for the documentation of informed consent, please:

1. use copies of the stamped version(s) of your consent form(s) to obtain consent from all participants.
2. remember a completed consent form (with participant's name redacted) must be submitted with the renewal or closure documentation.

If during the conduct of your research you discover or determine that any changes should be made to the leadership; sponsorship; recruitment scale, venues, or population; consent forms and processes; compensation; experimental interventions, survey elements, observational procedures; or similar significant features of the approved protocol, then promptly report on the proposed changes to the IRB. The proposed changes must not be implemented without IRB approval, except where necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to participants.

If any injuries or problems are encountered in the conduct of your research, whether relating to anticipated or unexpected risks to participants or others, you must notify the IRB as soon as practical but in no case more than five days after the occurrence (phone: 909-607-9406 or via email to irb@cgu.edu).

When your research is completed, please notify the IRB to close out the active file and identify any problems encountered. This will assist the board in approving future research of the type you conducted. Please *note that you are responsible for keeping all consent forms for 3 years after your protocol closes.*

Note: Most listservs, websites, and bulletin boards have policies regulating what types of advertisements or solicitations may be posted, including from whom prior approval must be obtained. Many institutions and even classroom instructors have policies regarding who can solicit potential research subjects from among their students, employees, etc., what information must be included in solicitations, and how recruitment notices are distributed or posted. You should familiarize yourself with the policies and approval procedures required to recruit for or conduct your study by listservs, websites, institutions, and/or instructors. Approval or exemption by the CGU IRB does *not* replace these approvals or release you from assuring that you have gained appropriate approvals *before* advertising or conducting your study in such venues.

The entire CGU Institutional Review Board wishes you well in the conduct of your research project.

Sincerely,

Andrew Conway,
IRB Chair
andrew.conway@cgu.edu

James Griffith,
IRB Manager
james.griffith2@cgu.edu

APPENDIX L.

ACADEMIC FIT BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL PREPARATION DATA AND ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS OF COLLEGES OF CHOICE

Part. ID	Schools	Min. GPA	Part. GPA	Min. SAT	Part. SAT	Min. ACT	Part. ACT	Number of Minimum Requirements Met
1	U of Washington	3.75	3.5	1260	1020	27	15	0/3
	U of Oregon	3.6		1150		22		0/3
2	Northern Arizona U	2.5	4.1	1150	1160	21	24	3/3
	Grand Canyon U	3.0		1000		19		3/3
	Western Oregon U	3.2		1040		---		3/3
3	Brigham Young U	3.84	3.5	1280	1020	30	15	0/3
	Utah State	3.46		1080		21		1/3
	Purdue	3.66		1294		28		0/3
7	Life U	2.98	2.9	910	1030	17	20	2/3
	Brigham Young U	3.84		1280		30		0/3
	Lindenwood U	3.46		940		20		1/3
8	U of Hawaii	3.46	3.8	1130	X	21	X	1/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		1/3
	U of Washington	3.75		1260		27		1/3
9	U of Washington	3.75	3.2	1260	1020	27	20	0/3
	U of Oregon	3.6		1150		22		0/3
	San Diego State U	3.6		1160		23		0/3
10	U of CA Los Angeles	4.29	X	1290	X	29	X	NA
11	U of CA Los Angeles	4.29	3.9	1290	1060	29	21	0/3
	Cal State Long Beach	3.5		1100		20		2/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		0/3
12	U of CA Los Angeles	4.29	2.9	1290	X	29	X	0/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		0/3

	U of Oregon	3.6		1150		22		0/3
13	U of CA Los Angeles	4.29	2.8	1290	X	29	X	0/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		0/3
	Arizona State U	3.42		1190		22		0/3
14	U of Southern CA	3.73	4.1	1360	1160	30	24	1/3
	U of Washington	3.75		1260		27		1/3
	Linfield College	3.66		1100		20		2/3
15	NA (plans to serve in the military)	---	---	---	---	---	---	NA
16	NA (currently attends a Trade School)	---	---	---	---	---	---	NA
17	U of CA at Santa Barbara	3.96	3.4	1260	1060	28	21	0/3
	U of CA San Diego	3.82		1280		27		0/3
	San Jose State	3.31		1080		19		2/3
18	West Point	3.6	3.8	1250	950	23	19	1/3
19	U of Washington	3.75	4.0	1260	900	27	20	1/3
20	U of Southern CA	3.73	X	1360	1170	30	X	1/3
21	U of Southern CA	3.73	X	1360	X	30	X	NA
	Utah State	3.46		1080		21		
	Louisiana State U	3.45		1130		23		
22	Grossmont Community College	Open admissions	2.8	---	X	---	X	NA
23	Cal State Long Beach	3.5	4.0	1100	X	20	X	1/3
	U of Hawaii	3.46		1130		21		1/3
	San Francisco State	3.2		1030		18		1/3
24	Notre Dame U	3.91	2.0	1420	X	32	X	0/3
	U of Louisville	3.53		1140		22		0/3
25	No schools identified	---	---	---	---	---	---	NA
26	U of CA San Diego	3.82	3.5	1280	930	27	17	0/3
	U of CA Irvine	3.92		1240		25		0/3

N=22

Note. X=data not reported by participant, NA=outcome could not be determined. Data in boldface are conversion scores determined by scores reported by participants

Appendix M

ACADEMIC FIT BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL PREPARATION DATA AND ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS OF COLLEGES OF CHOICE ONLY FOR THOSE ASPIRIING TO PLAY COLLEGE SPORTS

Part. ID	Schools	Min. GPA	Part. GPA	Min. SAT	Part. SAT	Min. ACT	Part. ACT	Number of Minimum Requirements Met
1	U of Washington	3.75	3.5	1260	**1020**	27	15	0/3
	U of Oregon	3.6		1150		22		0/3
3	Brigham Young U	3.84	3.5	1280	1020	30	15	0/3
	Utah State	3.46		1080		21		1/3
	Purdue	3.66		1294		28		0/3
7	Life U	2.98	2.9	910	1030	17	**20**	2/3
	Brigham Young U	3.84		1280		30		0/3
	Lindenwood U	3.46		940		20		1/3
8	U of Hawaii	3.46	3.8	1130	X	21	X	1/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		1/3
	U of Washington	3.75		1260		27		1/3
9	U of Washington	3.75	3.2	1260	**1020**	27	20	0/3
	U of Oregon	3.6		1150		22		0/3
	San Diego State U	3.6		1160		23		0/3
11	U of CA Los Angeles	4.29	3.9	1290	**1060**	29	21	0/3
	Cal State Long Beach	3.5		1100		20		2/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		0/3
12	U of CA Los Angeles	4.29	2.9	1290	X	29	X	0/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		0/3
	U of Oregon	3.6		1150		22		0/3

13	U of CA Los Angeles	4.29	2.8	1290	X	29	X	0/3
	U of Southern CA	3.73		1360		30		0/3
	Arizona State U	3.42		1190		22		0/3
18	West Point	3.6	3.8	1250	950	23	19	1/3
19	U of Washington	3.75	4.0	1260	900	27	**20**	1/3
21	U of Southern CA	3.73	X	1360	X	30	X	NA
	Utah State	3.46		1080		21		
	Louisiana State U	3.45		1130		23		
22	Grossmont Community College	Open admissions	2.8	---	X	---	X	NA
25	No schools identified	X	X	X	X	X	X	NA
26	U of CA San Diego	3.82	3.5	1280	930	27	**17**	0/3
	U of CA Irvine	3.92		1240		25		0/3

n=14

Note. X=data not reported by participant, NA=outcome could not be determined. Data in boldface are conversion scores determined by scores reported by participants

APPENDIX N.

ACADEMIC FIT AND THE NCAA SLIDING SCALE

Part. ID	Part. Grade Level	Schools of Choice	Div. of Play	Part. GPA	School's min. GPA	Part. SAT	School's min. SAT	Sliding Scale SAT	Minimum school requirements met?		GPA & sliding scale SAT requirements met?
									GPA	SAT	
1	11	U of Washington	I	3.5	3.75	1020	1260	400	NO	NO	YES
		U of Oregon	I		3.6		1150	400	NO	NO	YES
3	12	Brigham Young U	I	3.5	3.84	1020	1280	430	NO	NO	YES
		Utah State	I		3.46		1080	430	YES	NO	YES
		Purdue	I		3.66		1294	430	NO	NO	YES
7	11	Life U	NAIA	2.9	2.98	1030	910	970	NO	YES	YES
		Brigham Young U	I		3.84		1280	750	NO	NO	YES
		Lindenwood U	II		3.46		940	490	NO	YES	YES
9	12	U of Washington	I	3.2	3.75	**1020**	1260	460	NO	NO	YES
		U of Oregon	I		3.6		1150	460	NO	NO	YES
		San Diego St. U	I		3.6		1160	460	NO	NO	YES
11	12	U of CA Los Angeles	I	3.9	4.29	**1060**	1290	400	NO	NO	YES
		Cal State Long Beach	I		3.5		1100	400	YES	NO	YES
		U of Southern CA	I		3.73		1360	400	YES	NO	YES
18	11	West Point	I	3.8	3.6	950	1250	400	YES	NO	YES

n=6

Data in boldface are conversion scores determined by scores reported by participants