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IT IS MORE THAN A GAME: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION TREATMENT OF RESILIENCE AS A KEY ELEMENT OF BASKETBALL CULTURE

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KEY ELEMENT OF BASKETBALL CULTURE

by

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THESIS

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DEDICATION

Ma, on the day I was born you said I am your scholar. Now I am a little bit closer.

I love you, with all that I am.

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ABSTRACT

This study, theoretically and methodologically grounded in the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974; Carbaugh, 1992; Covarrubias, 2008; Philipsen, 1992; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), investigated the relationship between communication and resilience as expressed by professional basketball players and coaches from a particular city in southwest United States, referred to as *PG City*. Guiding questions include: Is there a basketball culture? Does basketball constitute a speech community? How do basketball and basketball culture help players and coaches fight through adversity? What is the role of resilience within basketball culture? Interviews, using ethnography of communication approaches, were used to uncover elements of resilience in relation to the communication processes of resilience, here defined as the ability to bounce-back and reintegrate after difficult life experiences (Buzzanell, 2010). Using the Hymes (1974) SPEAKING model to analyze participant utterances, this study highlights various elements of basketball culture that are related to experiences of resilience, such as, *the grind, don't talk,* and the role of *trash-talk* as a distinct speech code activated by basketball speech community members. Further, this inquiry shows intrapersonal communication or self-talk to be a key conduit for the

communication processes of resilience. Results show resilience is influenced by

basketball culture as basketball culture expects resilience of its cultural bearers while also

teaching the necessary skills to enact that resilience. Further this study shows that

basketball culture provides its participants with access to the social network needed to

enact and develop resilience. Further, this study provides grounds for further research

regarding cultural influences on the development of resilience. Findings from this study

suggest future studies investigating the relationship between culture, communication, and

resilience are warranted.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

With his 7-foot and 6-inch frame and weighty personality to match, Yao Ming addressed the crowd witnessing his induction into the Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame, along with other renowned basketball players including, Shaquille O'Neal and Allen Iverson. Ming, who played for the Shanghai Sharks of the Chinese Basketball Association and the Houston Rockets during the late 1990s and early 2000s, is one of China's best-known athletes and the subject of a documentary film, *The Year of the Yao* and the subject of a co-authored autobiography titled, *Yao: A Life in Two Worlds*. As the protagonist of one of the most renowned basketball stories ever lived and an icon of basketball worldwide, at his Hall of Fame induction Ming paid homage to basketball in this way by invoking James Naismith, who created the game of basketball in 1891, who wrote the original basketball rulebook, and founded the University of Kansas basketball program:

> Ladies and gentlemen, I like to pay my respect to Dr. Naismith, to the 361 members of the Hall of Fame, and to everyone who has contributed to the game of basketball all over the world in last 125 years. All of these individuals are stars and together they form the galaxy in the universe of basketball. The game has inspired billions of people around the world (Ming, 2016).

Although Ming boasts an impressive career, the journey that led him to high honors in this athletic universe was not without harsh trials. His adversities involved countless broken bones, the trials of relocating to a new country, mastering a new language, and learning to navigate life with new people. In fact, his career was fraught with many opportunities to enact resilience or the ability to bounce back from adversity and reintegrate to normalcy. His ability to bounce back, as documented in biographical works about him and his life, was driven by his desire to play the game of basketball.

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Ming's is but one of myriad examples of the enactment of resilience in the culture of basketball, which is the topic of the present inquiry.

More than a century before Ming established himself as a global icon of basketball culture, basketball itself was born out of resilience. Dr. James Naismith, the Canadian American physical educator, physician, chaplain, sports coach and innovator, created basketball in 1891 with the aim of keeping rowdy high-school-age students active during the cold Indiana winters. He said: "The invention of basketball was not an accident. It was developed to meet a need." Indeed, basketball emerged from the resilience necessary for the youth to bounce back from taxing inactivity due to adverse weather. Naismith was given 14 days to create an indoor game that would serve as athletic distraction and outlet for the young men, rowdy from pent-up energy prompted by physical confinements necessitated by adverse weather conditions. These are the beginning of the simple game that grew into a cultural force that has truly inspired billions of people across the globe.

As it was for the teens in the late 1900s, in contemporary times, for those who play, basketball is much more than a sport or a game; rather, it is a form of social engagement in which individuals can shape and understand their identities and communities (Morris, 2002). Basketball has come to serve as a communal resource that enables membering, communication, connection, belonging, and site for demonstrating human endurance and resilience. Jim Calhoun, a Basketball Hall of Fame coach poignantly characterized basketball as a unifying, universal mode of communication when he said: Basketball "doesn't care what language you speak or what religion you practice. The game asks that you put something into it, and that you also give something

back to it. The game is universal. It is a language that unites all of us" (Gustini, 2012). While Coach Calhoun refers to basketball as "the game," basketball insiders, among others, understand that it is much more than just a game and that it can be seen and heard as a culture. It is, as this study holds, a composite of particular communicative means and meanings in and by which basketball enactors create particular ways of life. Moreover, this study shows that life calls for the enactment of bounce-back ability as a fundamental basketball-culture element.

Historical Context

To situate basketball culture for enhancing understanding of my argument and to detail the degree to which basketball, along with the attendant elements about resilience, is culturally valued, and even cherished, I offer this brief summary. Since its creation in 1891, basketball has evolved from a winter pastime into a unique cultural way of life for players across continents, countries, and communities. In 1939 basketball was declared one of China's national pastimes. *Sports Illustrated*, as recently as 2011, reported on the prevalence of basketball in Lithuania, elevating it to spiritual heights, where the author (Winn, 2011, pp. 52) claimed that "Basketball is the only sport the 3.2 million Lithuanians truly care about—it's their second religion, after Catholicism." To further understand the connection between Lithuania and basketball, Winn reaches out to Arvydas Sabonis. Sabonis is widely regarded as one of the greatest players to come out of Europe and one of the best players, at his position, of all time (Abrams, 2011). When speaking of Lithuania and basketball, Sabonis poignantly states, "We are a small country, and basketball is the way for us to show the world that we are here" (Winn, 2011, pp.

53). Not only is basketball a game for Lithuania, it is a way to communicate on an international scale and for a small nation to forge a global presence.

As basketball spread across the globe, the International Basketball Federation (FIBA) was established as the governing body of all international basketball competition. A quick search of the FIBA directory provides a list of more than 100 countries with professional basketball leagues including, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Swaziland, and Yemen. While only a handful of countries claim basketball as their favorite sport, it is prevalent on every continent, including Antarctica. In fact, many people around the world think and talk about basketball as something that is far more than a game. Luis Scola, a former NBA player, 2-time world champion, and an Olympic gold medalist for Argentina, described the love of basketball as contagious while speaking about his father who played semi-professionally. He wondered to himself, "*Why is he doing this*?" because there is little money and a difficult schedule for semi-professional players. Scola continued, *"*But he loved the game so *hard* that it was contagious. He played what I like to call 'real basketball' — which means he played only for the love of the game" (Scola, 2017). As someone that has loved and dedicated his life to basketball for 15 years, I as the author of this thesis, understand.

Love for the game is so strong in the Philippines that national elections are scheduled around NBA basketball games to avoid social conflict (de la Cruz, 2017). In Spain, basketball is often linked to their culture even though soccer is by far their most popular sport. In an essay about Spanish culture and basketball, author David Archuleta writes, "Knowing a little bit more about basketball in Spain will hopefully give you a little more insight and appreciation as to how this country, the size of California, has been

able to capture the imagination of millions with their style and energy" (Archuleta, 2014). It seems that no matter where one is in the world, basketball has a powerful influence on the people playing it. Some see it as a religion with spiritual connotations, others as objects of love, and yet others as a way of achieving worldwide recognition and a sense of identity for people and countries who might otherwise go unnoticed.

Beyond a game, then, basketball constitutes a culture wherein identities, meanings, and communities are created, members of a sport culture will learn particular "habits of mind, modes of decision making, and strategies of moral judgement" through their consistent and prolonged participation in the sport (McLaughlin, 1999). That is, basketball is referenced as sets of beliefs, values, and practices within which people create particular ways of life, particular ways of thinking, and particular ways of acting; in other words, as culture (Carbaugh, 1991; Covarrubias, 2010; Philipsen, 1992). And, as this study demonstrates, basketball constitutes a culturally informed way of life with resilience being one of its practices. To guide the reader in this study, culture is defined as a "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms and means of which individuals communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge and attitudes toward life" (Philipsen, 1992).

To address the ways that communication shapes basketball culture, this study demonstrates, through the talk of study participants, the presence of a culture-rich speech community. The culture of basketball will be investigated to uncover a speech community through the use of various speech codes. A speech community can be defined as the "shared knowledge of rules for the interpretation of speech including rules

of the interpretation of at least one common code" (Hymes, 1962). Speech codes represent a system of symbols and meanings, and rules and premises "by which different societies inform and interpret their ways of life" (Covarrubias, 2010).

Before elaborating on theoretical notions of culture and resilience, I situate myself in this study as an insider of basketball culture. Through my 15 years as a basketball player and coach I can attest to the fact that resilience, not only is fostered by the physical, and psycho-emotional demands of basketball, it is also an expected component of basketball culture.

During my third year coaching high school basketball, our team was particularly bad. We had talent to be competitive in games, but we lacked the toughness to overcome any challenges our opponents posed, whether it was hyper-aggressive play, playing with physical toughness, or going on a run of several scored points in a row. For example, on one occasion, we played a team against whom we had that we had ranked higher in a city-wide tournament. So, presumably, we had the winning advantage. To our surprise and frustration during the final 4 minutes of the game the opposing team scored 8 points in a row. However, at the time we were up by 6 points, so this run by the opposing left our team only down by 2 points with two minutes remaining. As a coaching staff, we felt we still had a legitimate chance to win but you could see the nonverbal cues of our players that they had given up. Their shoulders were slumped, their faces had soured, their physical distance between each other widened, and their overall effort diminished. The opposing teams run of eight points in a row sapped our team's confidence in their ability to win the game. Alas, our experience was a commonplace outcome for teams who lack mental toughness as we did.

Through the progression of the season, as a coaching staff we increasingly felt we did not have a team full of basketball players, rather we had a team full of kids that played basketball. Because our players lacked the resilience expected to win and be a successful team, we, as a coaching staff, deemed them as only partial participants of basketball culture.

In 2013 a basketball associate of mine was diagnosed with cancer and it was not until after his successful-yet-devastating battle with cancer did he sign his first contract as a professional basketball player. Resilience was the bridge from tragedy to triumph. His powerful journey of resilience has inspired multiple documentaries about his life and, when he is asked how he beat cancer, his response is consistent: "By making sure I kept basketball in my life." When I asked him why, he said "Because it's just who I am, basketball is all I know." When he went to the hospital for several rounds of chemotherapy, basketball went with him. He literally carried a basketball with him to the hospital. In the only picture taken at the cancer center, he is seen laying in a hospital bed with a basketball in his arms.

In between rounds of chemotherapy, basketball dominated his daily life. He routinely talked about basketball, he watched old tapes and games, and he attended as many live games as possible. He shared stories about old games he played in, games he had seen, unforgettable moments, and tales of legendary hoopers. As his very existence was being threatened by cancer, basketball kept his identity and world intact. Basketball was the only place in which he could appreciatively remember the past and optimistically dream of a future.

A professional basketball player I have known, played with, and coached for over 15 years offers a third example of resilience as a necessary component of basketball culture. My friend, whom I will refer to here as B, lost both of his parents by the time he was 16. Then, while playing basketball in college he nearly lost his wife and son during childbirth. Today, based on salary earned, personal player rankings, and team success, B is one of the most successful professional basketball players in Europe. He is successful in all facets of comparison, whether it is pay, having earned several million dollars in a 5-year career, accomplishments such as earning a position on the Kosovo National team, or recognition, winning Player of the Week multiple times, according to Eurobasket, the premier basketball database for Europe. When asked how he has been able to persevere and accomplish such laudable success through some of the most difficult life experiences, his response is simple and terse: "Basketball." For a newspaper interview from college, B expanded on the sentiment saying "I relied on basketball. Any time I was struggling with emotions, I just went to the gym and worked out. Basketball was my escape" (Hendricks, 2012). He spent and continues to spend countless hours in the gym because it has become his place of refuge. Michael Jordan, the greatest basketball player of all time and most famous icon of the sport once said something very similar; "The game of basketball has been everything to me. My place of refuge, place I've always gone where I needed comfort and peace" (Smith, 2009).

Rationale

This study was driven by understanding how individuals and communities define and discursively create resilience. As a researcher, my intent was on creating culturally and contextually situated knowledge regarding the experience of resilience through

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examining the norms of basketball culture as well as the communication processes of resilience.

My line of inquiry aimed at developing an understanding of *how* resilience is expressed within basketball culture as well as *how* basketball culture serves as site for resilience. In the present research, resilience is defined as "the ability to bounce-back and reintegrate after difficult life experiences" (Buzzanell, 2010; Coutu, 2002; Richardson, 2002). Buzzanell (2010), highlights the discursive and dynamic nature of resilience, conceptualizing it as a product of communication processes, and I examined these processes as they occur within basketball culture. In order to gain insight into the personal and contextual communication processes involved with resilience, theoretically and methodologically grounded my inquiry on the ethnography of communication (EOC). The EOC was best suited for this study because its central focus lies within the relationship between culture and communication (Carbaugh, 1992; Covarrubias, 2008; Hymes, 1974; Philipsen, 1992). Thus, by focusing on the communication of basketball enactors, I knew I could extract rich insights about basketball culture itself.

Sports in general provide a fruitful avenue for the EOC because "sport is itself characterized as a major cultural and socializing force" (Mean & Halone, 2010). To elaborate further on the topic of sport as a cultural force, Mean and Halone0) state that sport is a "common resource that is widely deployed to aid and guide understanding and meaning-making." In this study, I investigate how basketball culture fosters resilience in and through communication with the use of ethnographic methods. When researchers conduct an ethnography of communication, they examine how communication is used to "activate processes wherein culture and communication are constructed while

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simultaneously reflecting the very cultural and communicative resources they are constructing" (Covarrubias, 2002). I studied basketball culture through in-depth interviews with members of basketball culture with an ear for particular symboling means used for meaning making and membering (Philipsen, 1997). I also paid close attention for expressions about resilience. Although interviews served as the data source for this study, I note that my lived experiences and practical observations spanning 15 years as basketball player and coach no doubt also informed my questions, conclusions, inferences, and findings about basketball culture and the role of resilience as cultural component.

In a study of resilience in individuals and societies, Yates, Tyrell, and Masten (2004) claim that cultural perspectives of resilience research are growing in importance amid recognition that interventions and practices should be tailored nuances and unique aspects, such as strengths, traditions, and practices, that influence the understanding and enactment of resilience. Within resilience research, there is a need to understand culturally and contextually specific ways in which resilience is produced and maintained, and this study addressed that need through the use of ethnography of communication. The following research questions were crafted with the intent of understanding resilience as an element of basketball culture.

RQ1: How do professional basketball players and coaches express resilience through speech?

RQ2: How do expressions about resilience in the context of basketball constitute a speech community for the participants?

RQ3: How does basketball culture as extracted from the expressions of basketball participants serve as a site for resilience?

RQ4: What communication processes can be extracted from the way basketball participants express resilience?

The unit of study for this project is centered on a particular southwestern US city, which for this study is referred to as *PG City*. In my 15 years as a basketball player and coach, I have played or coached in numerous states and countries and have found that individual basketball communities can have unique sets of norms and rules of interaction. Through interactions with others I learned that the southwestern US city serving as my research site is called the "land of the guards" by players and coaches from various cities in the southwest region. This is because the typical player that comes from this region plays the guard position. I refer to this southwestern US city as *PG City* because PG is the abbreviation for the most common position in basketball; the point guard.

Preview

Recalling the words of Arvydas Sabonis, "basketball is the way for us [Lituanians] to show the world we are here" (Winn, 2011) suggesting that basketball can be a tool for communication for communities, regions, and entire countries. Basketball has been a tool for communication for players and in this study, I explore the communication practices that foster resilience for the particular basketball community. Against this cultural, theoretical, methodological, and personal mosaic of components, I move to Chapter 2; a presentation of extant literature surrounding my

research topic. In Chapter 3 I present the methodology driving this study. The findings

from the data analysis are presented in two separate chapters for organizational purposes.

Chapter 4 presents the findings regarding basketball culture and resilience, while Chapter

5 regards the communication process of resilience as expressed by the participants.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Origins of Resilience

The term resilience is somewhat vague and can be very difficult to define. The generic and literal definition, according to Merriam-Webster, posits resilience as "the power or ability to return to the original form, position, etc., after being bent, compressed, or stretched; elasticity." However, when defining resilience in the context of human nature, the definition becomes much more varied and open to interpretation (Galli & Vealey, 2008). The definition, conceptualization, and research of resilience is dependent on a plethora of contextual factors that continually influence the current understanding of resilience in relation to basketball culture. To understand how these dynamic contexts influence inquiries on resilience, we must look at the foundations of the topic.

According to Kolar (2011), Norman Garmezy is generally credited with developing resilience research. During a study of children who are at-risk for psychopathology, Garmezy (1971), due to his focus on resistance and growth under adverse circumstances, questioned why some children remained competent despite their risk status. This inquiry marked a shift that moved research from psychopathology to healthy adaptation because Garmezy focused on measurable factors of resilience rather than the risks of psychopathology. During the development of resilience research, distinct and varying research goals emerged in which similar goals which have created various perspectives in resilience research.

Resilience Perspectives

The American Psychological Association (2014) defines resilience as "the process of adapting well in the face of adversity, trauma, tragedy, threats or even significant

sources of stress." This definition, while attempting to broadly define the term, does not account for the complex nature of resilience because it positions resilience as a binary phenomenon, where resilience is either present or absent. Not only is resilience present and/or absent in varying and competing contexts of life, it is a dynamic process that develops over time (Masten, 1990). Viewing resilience as a binary phenomenon neglects the possibility of individuals to show resilience in some contexts while displaying an absence of resilience in other contexts. And, the binary approach also does not account for the possibility for the development of resilience in and through communication.

Most definitions of resilience center on the concept of healthy, adaptive, or integrated positive functioning over time and in the aftermath of a difficult life experience (Seligman, 2011). Many researchers agree that resilience is complex, and its definition is dependent on the context of individuals, families, organizations, societies, and cultures (Southwick, et al, 2014). The conundrum surrounding the definition of resilience is a product of the various perspectives that ground and guide individual researchers. To understand the various definitions of resilience and how they are operationalized, it is important to understand the different perspectives of resilience.

Trait perspective. The overarching question that fuels the perspectives of resilience research is: is resilience a trait, a process, or an outcome? It is important to specify this because the implications of each perspective create nuanced differences in the operationalization and study of resilience (Southwick, et al, 2014). The "trait" perspective of resilience draws from psychology, psychiatry, and biology and views resilience as a personal inherent trait associated with the individual that is facing adversity or threat. Thus, resilience is defined as competent functioning that is facilitated

and influenced through psychological-organization processes, regardless of the adversity experienced (Nigg, et al, 2007). While this perspective does acknowledge the processes that facilitate resilience, the research focus lies within the individual and their specific characteristics that allow individuals to remain resilient or to develop resilience.

In this context, resilience is conceptualized as a personal quality that enables individuals to thrive in the face of adversity, is a relatively stable personality trait, and a personality factor that protects against life adversities (Connor & Davidson, 2003; Kirkwood, et al, 2010). This perspective is cautioned against because of the implications surrounding individuals who are deemed to be without the 'resilience trait' (Windle, 2010). Conceptualizing resilience as a present-or-absent trait could create situations of discrimination against those individuals deemed to be lacking the inherent resilience trait.

Outcome perspective. The primary focus of the outcome-based perspective of resilience research is applied to "particular patterns of functional behavior in the presence of risk" (Olsson, et al, 2003). By emphasizing an individual's ability to function through adversity, over extended periods, this research perspective has defined resilience as "good mental health, functional capacity, and social competence" (Olsson, et al, 2003), or "a stable pattern of low distress over time" (Mancini & Bonanno, 2010). Researchers that are grounded within the outcome-based perspective are concerned with understanding the patterns that allow individuals to maintain healthy functioning in their day-to-day lives, and over time in which resilience is an end-result. The outcome-based approach allows researchers to identify and analyze several different sites of resilience, for example, Coleman and Hagell explain a person could be experiencing varying

degrees of stress due to negative experiences, but can still exhibit and display resilience in their day-to-day functioning (Coleman & Hagell, 2007). Additionally, the outcome-based perspective is utilized in a life-course context.

Within a life-course context, resilience focuses on how adults manage considerable risk and adversity throughout the course of a lifetime. Using the longitudinal studies, resilience is then defined as "an individual's capacity to resist maladaptation in the face of risky experiences and to maintain a stable equilibrium and the ability to bounce back from adversity and go on with life" (Goldstein, 2008; Netuveli, et al, 2008). Within this perspective, researchers focus on the development of resilience over extended periods. While the trait, process, and outcome perspectives are the most common within the study of resilience, they are not the only perspectives that currently inform the way that resilience is defined and studied.

Other perspectives. Another perspective of resilience research is the ecological perspective, where researchers focus on the idea of social resilience (Windle, 2010). Social resilience pertains to groups and their ability corporately to cope with external stressors. Therefore, this approach is variably defined as how well and quickly social networks can recover from adversity that affects the entire group (Goldstein, 2008; Windle, 2010). Within this perspective, resilience is conceptualized as the communal ability to maintain the complex structures of interaction amongst the group in the event of adversity. This kind of resilience research is common in areas affected by natural disasters or particular economic hardship (Kolar, 2011).

Adding to the diverse pool of perspectives, some researchers have even claimed that resilience is not a trait, process, or outcome; but, rather, conceptualizing resilience as

a 'state-of-mind' (Kimhi & Eshel, 2015). Through this relatively new perspective, Kimhi and Eshel (2015) have argued that resilience is a mindset or way of thinking that enables enactors to adjust their lives to continue functioning despite various adversities. The 'state of mind' approach examines the presence and/or absence of resilience factors, characteristics, and patterns at all stages of traumatic experiences, whether it is before, during, or after the adversity. Additionally, this perspective conceptualizes resilience as an active choice made by individuals facing forms of adversity (Southwick, et al, 2014). In work regarding patients who suffer from PTSD, resilience was found to involve an active and volitional decision that requires consistent reinforcement (Southwick, et al, 2014).

The contributions from the field of psychology to the study of resilience are significant and useful. A review of the varying perspectives about resilience research serves to illuminate how each perspective can and does influence the conceptualization, definition, and research about resilience. Whether treated as a trait, process, outcome, or ecologically-bounded phenomenon, researchers in the field have offered various definitions, theories, and explanations to help illumine a complex reality. However, the overall lack of consensus on how to define and measure resilience has made the research field somewhat difficult to navigate. Still, to further add to extant complexities regarding resilience and its study, a trend in the direction of the research has recently emerged. According to several scholars within the field of psychology, research is increasingly advocating process-approaches, whether it is a combination of process and outcome approaches, or strictly a process-approach (Kolar, 2011). The process-based approach of studying resilience deserves a deeper look since previous research does not

fill key voids regarding individual experiences in the development and enactment of

resilience, as well the influence of culture as processual component in the enactment of

resilience.

Process perspective. Within the process perspective of resilience research,

resilience is defined and conceptualized as process rather than as a trait or

outcome. More specifically, from this perspective resilience is defined as "processes,

mechanisms, and patterns of positive adaptation within the context of significant

adversity" (Masten, 2003). This focus on processes of adaption and mechanisms has

allowed researchers to discover patterns of positive adaption to stressors, during and after

difficult life experiences. The process-based approach understands resilience to be

dynamic and interactive and unfolding over time and through varying

contexts. Additionally, the process-based approach is concerned with the interactions

between individuals, family members, and their social systems, centering resilience as

shared responsibility rather than as an individual burden (Kolar, 2011), and focuses on

good outcomes in the experience of considerable obstacles to development (Masten,

2003). According to (Bonanno, 2011) there are several different factors that might

facilitate an individual's resilience.

Using a process-based approach is useful in studying the many factors of

resilience because it acknowledges the contextual nature of resilience (Kolar,

2011). However, the present study I believe that a combination approach of process-

outcome provides a better sensitivity to shifting meanings of resilience and the contexts

in which it is experienced. While the process-outcome approach does not guarantee a

contextually-sensitive assessment, it does offer insight to the interactive nature of threats

or adversity and processes or mechanisms of resilience (Kolar, 2011). I prefer the process-outcome approach because it allows for resilience to be conceptualized as continuous and dynamic rather than dichotomous, and, thereby, accounting for more of its nuanced complexities. However, one of the challenges with this approach is identifying and defining exactly what the processes of resilience development are.

There is a void in resilience research regarding the processes, elements, and the components of resilience development. As I will show, a lens of communication will help respond to this void. A lens of communication, specifically through the ethnography of communication, will allow me to create comprehension regarding individual experiences of resilience and resilience development as both occur in and through communicative enactments.

A Communication Lens

The process-approach of resilience research posits that the capacity for resilience lies within interacting systems (Masten, 2006), meaning resilience is shaped in the context of human interaction and interpersonal relationships. According to Floyd and Diess (2013), because of our social nature, human beings are able to elicit a profound sense of emotional security from our relationships with others which gives insight as to why much of resilience is embedded in close, personal relationships (Masten, 2006). Because the purpose of this study is to understand the elements and processes of resilience through a communication lens, in order to do so there must be a focus on relationships and the communication between the parties involved because resilience is facilitated through relationships and relational interactions.

While there have been few studies regarding the relationship between communication and resilience, the present study contributes to that work by emphasizing the reciprocal relationship between culture and communication as it pertains to basketball. Supporting my argument, (Masten, 1990) states that resilience can be influenced by environment and culture because interactions between individuals can influence and facilitate determine the positive outcomes experienced. Although relationships are clear sites of resilience, the processes that develop, maintain, and alter resilience are not explicit; they require a more pointed look at communication, culture, and the reciprocal relationship between the two.

To conceptualize and study communication and culture within the context of resilience, I used Hymes' (1962) ethnography of communication to theoretically and methodologically ground this study. The EOC is beneficial for this kind of research, not only because it provides the link between communication and culture, but, also because it is useful for conducting comparative studies of human behavior, the behavior typical of a group, or the varying behavior of individuals with a group (Hymes, 1962). Moreover, in keeping with the EOC for the purposes of this inquiry, culture and code are defined and used interchangeably and culture/code can be defined as a "historically transmitted, socially constructed systems of symbols and meanings, premises and rules, pertaining to communicative conduct" (Philipsen, 1992, p. 124). It is useful to consider resilience as a variable quality that results from a process of consistent interactions between a person and positive aspects of the surrounding context (Ungar, 2008).

Thus, the EOC is a sound theoretical and methodological construct that will allow for a deeper understanding of what resilience looks like in a specific culture and how it is

experienced and expressed by its members. A culturally embedded understanding of resilience provides an avenue to study resilience in a way that challenges what is accepted as a good outcome or as normative behavior (Ungar, 2008). The EOC is centered on the connection between culture and communication, which as a theoretical and methodological framework will provide culturally embedded evidence needed to further the research on resilience.

Ethnography of Communication

The ethnography of communication (EOC) (Hymes, 1962) is far more than a theoretical framework; rather it is theoretical *and* methodological framework that is dedicated to discovering and examining the relationship between communication and culture. Originally conceptualized as the ethnography of speaking by Hymes in 1962, this theoretical and methodological framework, with a heuristic approach, is concerned with situations and uses of speaking as a formative activity. The EOC maintains a goal of understanding how the patterns and utility of speaking vary across differing contextual and cultural groups (Hymes, 1974). Hymes (1962) describes the ethnography of speaking as a comparative study of the utilization of cultural resources.

One of the primary theoretical assumptions of the EOC is that cultural beliefs, practices, and values are present within everyday interactions, and can be revealed through the study of the communication within a group of individuals. The group of individuals who participated in my study comprise a *speech community,* as shown by the data. A speech community can be defined as the shared knowledge of rules of interaction, the interpretation of speech, as well as the interpretation of common codes and their subsequent rules of interpretation (Hymes, 1962). Mutual intelligibility – the

event in which interlocutors use and understand the same speech code – is required for the establishment of a speech community.

While the speech community is the unit of observation, the focus of the communicative investigation lies within the participant or native view, which is an emic perspective (Carbaugh, 1991). In contrast, the etic perspective seeks to understand the phenomena from an outsider perspective and often utilizes quantitative methods (Hatala, 2011). The etic perspective has provided a deep pool of resilience research within psychology, however there is a growing need for resilience research conducted from the emic perspective (Dunn, et al, 2009). This is important within the study of resilience because communities and individuals will determine signs of healthy development and resilience based on how they define resilience for themselves (Ungar, 2008).

To elicit the ways individuals, define resilience for themselves, the EOC is useful because it has a central focus on interpretive and descriptive theorizing regarding the construction of particular cultural identities, as well as particular sociocultural worlds (Covarrubias, 2008). These cultural identities and sociocultural worlds are constructed through *speech events,* among other communicative possibilities. Speech events can be difficult to define because according to Hymes (1962), speech events may be labelled through varying means, including nouns, verbs, phrases, sentences, and other forms of nonverbal communication. Due to the difficulty in identifying speech events, it is important to consider the varying factors (8 total) or components involved in every speech event: a sender, a receiver, a message form, a channel, a code, a topic, and a setting (Hymes, 1974).

Considering the speech community and the speech event; the primary questions that drive EOC pertain to communication patterns, who they are enacted by, when and where they are enacted, and the social purpose associated with the purpose of the particular communication patterns being studied (Covarrubias, 2007). The EOC utilizes a lens that foregrounds communication (Witteborn, Milburn, & Ho, 2013) and focuses on the contextualized lived experiences of members of a speech community, and how these people use symbols to make sense of, and describe their experiences (Carbaugh, 2008; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005).

Central to the EOC is the belief that by investigating the relationship between culture and communication, one can garner a better understanding of the perspectives and realities of those within that speech community and its culture through observing the specific speech codes used. This is possible because the EOC defines culture as a system of values, beliefs, and social practices that guide interactions and the interpretations of interactions, with culture and code being used interchangeably (Covarrubias, 2008; Philipsen, 1994).

The EOC fits well with process-based approaches of resilience research due to its goal of identifying how communication is used to initiate the symbiotic relationship of culture and communication in which both culture and communication are constructed and simultaneous reflective of each other (Covarrubias, 2008). Phillipsen and Coutu (2005) state that observing the context and holistic communication of a speech community can provide an account of communication from the perspective of the community that is both interpretive and descriptive. Ethnographers of communication utilize the Hymes SPEAKING model (1974) to examine the ways in which culture is enacted through

communication. However, before discussing the Hymes SPEAKING model I will

elaborate on speech codes theory, as offered by Philipsen (1997) as the background

information below will enhance understanding of the data and claims I present in later

chapters.

Speech Codes Theory

To further understand the connection of communication and culture and make

sense of the patterns and outcomes, Philipsen's speech codes theory (SCT) is utilized

(Philipsen, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). An appropriation and

expansion of Hymes' EOC (1962) from linguistic anthropology to the academic field of

communication, SCT is used to explain and predict how cultural rules and premises guide

interaction and the interpretation of interaction by tending to the speech codes of a

particular speech community. A speech code is a system of symbols and meanings, and

rules and premises where codes are the precepts used by different societies to interpret

their distinct ways of interaction (Covarrubias, 2010). The codes utilized by a speech

community are both socially constructed and historically transmitted (Philipsen, Coutu, &

Covarrubias, 2005). Codes reveal the participant worldview and how people speak

particular lives into existence because culture and communication are intertwined where

culture functions as a system of symbols, meanings, premises, and rules guiding the lives

of the members of the speech community (Covarrubias, 2010; Philipsen, 1997).

Of key importance is the EOCs focus on the particular symbolic means – words,

phrases, and nonverbal elements – of the very people a researcher seeks to understand

and write about. As defined by Geertz (1973) symbols are the "vehicles of conception"

that members of a cultural group, or speech community, mutually understand and use in

their daily communication exchanges. Symbols can be verbal or nonverbal with denotative or connotative meanings whereas meanings are shared understandings of cultural beliefs and ideas (Philipsen, 1997). The use of symbols and meanings is then facilitated by the rules and premises about communication available in a speech community. Interlocutors use rules to inform acceptable and unacceptable behaviors and direct their communication exchanges (Philipsen, 1992).

Rules themselves are informed by premises, which include grounding beliefs, values, assumptions, expectations, and emotions informing specific communicative behaviors of members within the same speech community (Philipsen, 1997). As is standard with rules, there are consequences when interlocutors do not abide by the rules and premises of a cultural group (Covarrubias, 2010). Further, SCT is guided by a set of propositions which provide the guideposts for examining specific cultures. Below I detail those theoretical propositions, as well as explain how they relate to my proposed study.

Propositions of SCT. The initial proposition of SCT is "wherever there is a distinctive culture, there is a distinctive speech code" (Covarrubias, 2009, p. 921). Distinct cultural systems are produced and reproduced through the communication of that particular speech community. This is evidenced in basketball culture through the rules of play in pick-up basketball. Each basketball community creates their own rules of play for things like scoring and winning. In *PG City* games are typically played to 15 points where baskets are worth 1 or 2 points and typically the winner must win by 2 points. In 2016, I travelled to New York City to play basketball at famous locations, such as The Rucker and Brooklyn Bridge Park and quickly discovered their rules of play were

different. In New York they play games to 21 points, scoring by 2 and 3 points per basket. They call "switch" when one team gets to 12 points and in this moment each team switches baskets like they do at halftime of a regulation game. In *PG City*, the act of switching is unheard of, thus, showing distinctiveness across speech communities.

The second proposition of SCT is "*any given speech community uses a multiplicity of speech codes*" (Covarrubias, 2009, p. 922). This proposition can be observed in basketball culture by looking at on-court communication and off-court communication. The symbols, meanings, rules and premises for communication while on the basketball court are often different than the off-court communication. This is clearly evidenced in trash-talk because the types and acceptableness of trash-talk varies in each context. Eveslage and Delaney (1998) define trash-talk as verbal taunts directed at opponents during games or contests. However, trash-talk within basketball culture also extends to teammates and friends. From my experience, the nature of the trash-talk is dependent on the relationship of the individuals and the context in which they are interacting.

The third proposition of SCT posits that "*speech codes implicate a culturally distinctive psychology, sociology, and rhetoric*" (Covarrubias, 2009, p. 922). This proposition is particularly important for this study because I examined the psychology, sociology, and rhetoric of resilience that is present within basketball culture. The fourth proposition states "*the significance of speaking is contingent upon the speech codes used by interlocutors to constitute the meanings of communicative acts*" (Covarrubias, 2009, p. 922). This proposition observes what interlocutors can and do achieve through communication and is evidenced in my own experiences as a coach. With my team at

Adams State, we had a phrase that was only used when it was time to play with more effort, focus, and intensity. Any time one of us would say "we gotta eat", we all knew that it was time to get serious. In uttering "we gotta eat" among relational peers, everyone understood the meaning of the expression as well as the fact that such a saying was accepted and acceptable among team members.

Proposition five refers to terms rules and premises because *"terms, rules, and premises are inexplicably woven into speaking itself"* (Covarrubias, 2009, p. 922). These terms, rules, and premises serve to transmit the culture of the speech community while also constructing meaning in relation to the present context. Referring to the previous example from my time coaching, the phrase "we gotta eat" was only used in the context of pursuing goals. The phrase was used as motivation during practice, games, and even during study hall. We never used the phrase "we gotta eat" when referring to the literat act of eating food. The final proposition of SCT refers to the consequences of not abiding by the terms, rules, and premises of a speech community.

The final proposition of SCT states that *"the artful use of a shared speech code is a sufficient condition for predicting, explaining and controlling the form of discourse about the intelligibility, prudence and morality of communication conduct"* (Covarrubias, 2009, p. 922). This proposition is also helpful for this study due to the masculine nature of athletic culture. Men are often dissuaded from discussions of adversity and feelings, which is a characteristic of masculine culture referred to as *stoicism* (Jansz, 2000). However, discourse is an important and vital process of resilience, setting the stage for an interesting conflict between masculine culture and resilience. This

proposition will serve as a critical guidepost in the analysis of the speech codes utilized

by the interlocutors of basketball culture.

SCT is utilized to examine the various speech codes of these participants to

illuminate the existence of a speech community. By identifying the speech community of

these basketball players and coaches, the element of resilience can be investigated as

well.

SPEAKING Model

The SPEAKING model, **c**reated by Hymes in 1974 focuses on eight micro

communication parts of larger speech functions. This framework seeks an emic

understanding of the speech community in question, in which value is placed on the

native view (Carbaugh, 1991). The SPEAKING model functions similarly to a

mnemonic device, where each letter of "SPEAKING" represents a specific

function. Additionally, the SPEAKING model provides the structure that guides

ethnographic inquiry. Scene and setting (S) focuses on the physical environment and

events surrounding the communication exchange (Philipsen, 1972). Participants (P) is

concerned with who was present at the time of communication exchange, the pattern of

speech, sequence of speech exchange, and frequency of speech. End (E) examines the

motives influencing communication interaction. This function is concerned with the end

goal of the interaction and what it's purpose was. The Act (A) section of Hymes'

SPEAKING model observes and records topics discussed by those involved with the

speech event. Key (K) examines the tone of the communicative exchange, and includes

factors such as the tone of voice, nonverbal acts, and displays of emotion. The (I)

segment refers to the communication channel of the speech event, as well as the language

or dialect used. Norms of interaction/ interpretation (N) studies the social prescriptions and proscriptions guiding communicative behavior as well as the rules for interpreting that behavior. Finally, Genre (G) observes the types of speech overheard. The types of speech genres can range from jokes, to intimate stories, and to trash-talk and shit talk, the later genres that I address below. The Hymes SPEAKING model allows for an understanding and analysis of communication situations and context, in relation to the specific speech community being studied.

I used the SPEAKING model in conjunction with SCT to understand the performances and context of communication of professional basketball players and coaches in relation to resilience. Since this study focused on communication processes of resilience, it is important to understand when and in what context these communication processes occur. In fact, the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974) enabled me to understand the context of these communication processes as they occurred in the talk of my study participants.

It is important to remember that the purpose and focus of this study centered on communication and communication processes of resilience. While the work of Buzzanell (2010) provided the theoretical groundwork for studying the potential communicative processes of resilience, this study utilized the EOC (Hymes, 1962) to analyze and explain the communication processes of resilience as expressed by the participants of the study themselves.

Communication Processes of Resilience

Buzzanell (2010) has noted that resilience is constructed through a "collaborative exchange" between family, workplace, community, and interorganizational network

members. Through her studies of Richardson and Coutu, Buzzanell conceptualizes resilience as "the ability to bounce-back and reintegrate after difficult life experiences" (Buzzanell, 2010; Coutu, 2002; Richardson, 2002). By focusing on processes and discourses, she studied processes of meaning-making through everyday messages that enable reintegration from adversity or difficult life experiences and thereby has identified five varying communicative processes that form the basis of resilience. These communicative processes, which involve accounts, narratives, and discourse, are dynamic, integrated, and unfold over time (Buzzanell, 2010). The communicative processes she identified are: crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, using and maintaining communication networks, using alternative logics, and foregrounding productive action while minimizing negative feelings.

Crafting normalcy. Crafting normalcy is the process of using discourse to create a new system of meaning, a routine, or a mundane process in daily life. This is an important process because it allows individuals to make sense of their daily, mundane life post-adversity. Adversity often affects many areas of an individual's life, and the ability to "assert and perform the mundane in trying times" (Buzzanell, 2010) is vital in the process of resilience. Individuals use discourse to construct a new normal or a new standard, based on the context of the current situation, that allows them to continue to function, in part because converting emotions into words can change the way trauma is mentally organized and thought about (Davison, Pennebaker, & Dickerson, 2000). In the materials that follow, I show how a new normalcy on the part of the persons enacting resilience enabled them to create new meanings.

Affirming identity anchors. Affirming identity anchors is an important process in which discourse is used to describe oneself in a way that facilitates or develops resilience. Identity anchors, as defined by Buzanell (2010) are enduring clusters of identity discourses that individuals rely on to explain who they are for themselves and in relation to others. By affirming various identity anchors through discourse, individuals can rely on the personality traits that will facilitate their ability to cope with adversity, challenges, and stressors. Particular identity discourses and behaviors are "anchored against uncertaintites", and allow individuals, communities, and organizations to create identity definitions and practices that align with their particular needs in that context and at that time (Lucas & Buzzanell, 2012).

Maintaining communication networks. A third way resilience is developed is through maintaining and using communication networks (Buzzanell, 2010). In this process, resilience is developed by building and using relationships to cope with stress and adversity while also managing activities (Salzarulo, et al, 2015). Buzzanell draws her work from studies on small businesses' abilities to stay resilient after Hurricane Katrina, conducted by Doerfel and colleagues (2008). In their work, (Doerfel, et al, 2008) found that small businesses within the affected areas were highly dependent upon communication networks and social capital to reintegrate and reopen after the hurricane. Interorganizational social capital, defined as "the resources embedded in organization-to-organization social relations" (Granovetter, 1995), was vital for the survival of small businesses and was utilized through communication networks, and, according to Buzzanell (2010), the necessity of communication networks and social capital is generalizable to resilience as a whole. Buzzanell (2010) states the act of

building and using social capital and social resources is instrumental and essential for the development of resilience.

Putting alternative logics to work. The next process involves identifying how life changes for a person post-adversity and identifying the new methods used for functioning; this process is called putting alternative logics to work (Buzzanell, 2010). In this stage, individuals recognize how their life has changed after their traumatic or adverse event, and how they use that change to continue functioning well. In this process, individuals incorporate contradictory or unorthodox ways of functioning in relation to their own adversity (Buzzanell, 2010) to create alternative logics. Before an individual can utilize the alternative logic, they must discursively reframe the entire event and situation into a way that makes sense and allows persons to continue to function. It is important to note that these sense-making discourses, and alternative logics, are constructed in interaction with others (Villagran, Canzona, & Ledford, 2013).

Foregrounding productive action. The final process of communicatively constructing resilience requires individuals to use discourse to acknowledge and minimize negative feelings and then foreground positive or productive action (Buzzanell, 2010). This process is similar to putting alternative logics to work because it requires an identification of how things have changed post-adversity. Individuals must acknowledge their legitimate feelings and then identify and choose productive action. However, it is important to note that backgrounding negative feelings is not about "repression or putting on a happy face" (Buzzanell, 2010). Rather it is "a conscious decision to acknowledge that one has the legitimate right to feel anger or loss in certain ways but that these feelings are counterproductive to more important goals" (Lucas and Buzzanell,

2012). The effort required to construct the appropriate feelings to move forward is considerable, yet it is necessary in the process of resilience. This process is also referred to as reframing.

To review, this study defines resilience as the ability and process of reintegrating after adverse life experiences (Buzzanell, 2010), and is discursively constructed through a series of communication processes. These communication process are, but are not limited to: crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, maintaining communication networks, putting alternative logics to work, and acknowledging and backgrounding negative feelings while foreground productive action. Resilience, as a process, is dynamic and unfolds over time through several varying contexts and interactions, and is constructed, maintained, and developed through interactions.

Resilience in Athletes

Psychological resilience is an important factor in athletics because athletes are regularly subject to a wide variety of pressures and varying adversity (Sarkar & Fletcher, 2013). Most research on resilience focuses on acute and traumatic life events (Southwick et. al, 2014); however, resilience is important for humans to function on a day-to-day basis as well. Athletics provides a performance context where individuals are expected to manage their own stress and adversity while pursuing goals and success within their sporting careers and it has been well documented that the ability to manage this stress is crucial to sporting excellence (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2012). Most research on resilience has centered on traumatic events that are outside of the control of the individual; such as job loss, death, illness, war, or natural disasters. Athletics provides a unique context to study

resilience because these are individuals who willfully seek out challenging situations that will give them opportunities to raise their performance level (Sarkar & Fletcher, 2014). While their challenging opportunities are typically not life threatening, the challenges can take a serious and even dramatic toll on the athlete.

In a study on resilience within athletics, Galli and Vealey (2008) interviewed college and professional athletes, in regard to their own resilience and how it is experienced. Through their research, Galli and Vealey were able to identify four different adversities experienced by the competitive athlete: injury, performance slump, illness, and career transition. Adversity dynamic and is not always experienced as an isolated event, thus athletes can experience any combination of adversities with influences coming from many different stressors (Sarkar & Fletcher, 2013). According to Sarkar and Fletcher (2013), the adversities experienced by athletes are influenced by 3 types of stressors: competitive stressors, organizational stressors, and personal stressors.

For the athlete, competitive stressors are defined as environmental demands directly associated with competition and competitive performance (Mellalieu, et al, 2009). Galli and Vealey (2008) added that stressors that are a product of competitive performance are often related to preparation, pressure, underperformance, expectation, rivalry, and self-presentations. Organizational stressors, which comprise the demands associated directly with the organization in which an individual is operating in, such as a collegiate or professional basketball team. (Fletcher, Hanton, & Mellalieu, 2006). The subcategories of the organizational stressor include leadership and personal issues,

cultural and team issues, logistical and environmental issues, and lastly, performance and personal issues.

The last type of stressor that can influence adversity within athletes is the personal stressor, defined as the demands that are tied to personal, or nonsporting, life events (Sarkar & Fletcher, 2013). These stressors are often products of relational and family issues, the death of a significant other, or work-life balances. After reviewing the many different stressors and adversities that regularly influence and alter the lives of professional athletes, which can be compounded by the everyday stressors of all human beings, regardless of the profession, it can be assumed that resilience plays a major role in athletic success. Luckily, many scholars have studied and identified the positive link between resilience and athletic performance, mitigating false and ambiguous assumptions.

According to Fletcher and Sarkar (2012), an athlete's ability to manage stress is a "prerequisite of sporting excellence." In a study of Olympic champions, scholars have been able to identify certain qualities that allowed them to manage stress more effectively. In their 2002 study on Olympic champions, Gould, Dieffenbach, and Moffet (2012) identified that the ability to effectively manage stress was a common difference between Olympic champions and their non-champion counterparts. Although these only serve as two examples, there is a considerable number of resources supporting the link between resilience and athlete performance (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2012; Gould, et al, 2012; Sarkar & Fletcher, 2013).

It is clear that athletes provide a fruitful context for studying resilience for several reasons: exposure to varying stressors and adversities, the link between resilience and

performance, and their voluntary pursuit of competitive adversities. According to Southwick (2014), resilience must be considered in relation to the multiple domains of life because individuals vary across these domains in how well they are functioning.

Summary

The study of resilience seems to be rife with competing perspectives that create ambiguity on how to define, identify, study, and measure resilience (Luthar, Sawyer, and Brown, 2006). The above section reviewed the trait-perspective, where resilience is conceptualized as an innate characteristic; the process-perspective that defines resilience as a set of processes and mechanisms that enable individuals to remain functional through adversity; and finally, the outcome-perspective was reviewed. The outcome-based approach conceptualizes resilience as an outcome of favorable adaptation during, and after difficult life experiences. While these perspectives differ on the exact definitions of resilience, there is consensus that resilience is concerned with healthy functioning through experiences of adversity. This study utilized a process-outcome based perspective and is grounded by Buzzanells' (2010) definition of resilience: the process of bouncing-back after adverse life experiences and reintegrating into a healthier life pattern.

I apply a lens of communication to resilience research to focus on the individual and cultural aspects and influences of resilience. In order to establish a deeper connection between resilience and communication, the EOC is utilized as the theoretical grounding because of its focus on the connection between culture and communication. Conceptualized by (Covarrubias, 2008; Hymes, 1962; Philipsen, 1991; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005), the EOC is concerned with communication

processes and the native contexts in which they are used and understood, providing the necessary foundation to study the communicative processes of resilience utilized by international professional basketball players.

To further establish the connection between communication and resilience, I reviewed the work of Buzzanell (2010) who defined resilience as the ability to bounce-back and reintegrate after difficult life experiences. Through this conceptualization of resilience and her studies on communities dealing with economic hardship and natural disasters, she identified five communication process that construct resilience. The communication processes of resilience outlined by Buzzanell are: crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, maintaining communication networks, putting alternative logics to work, and acknowledging and backgrounding negative feelings while foregrounding productive action. These communication process outlined, function as the organizing framework used to analyze the collected data.

Resilience within athletes has been shown to be, not only a tool, but a prerequisite for athletic success (Sarkar & Fletcher, 2013). Professional athletes serve as an important group for the study of resilience due to their exposure to various types of adversity. Additionally, athletes provide a unique opportunity to study resilience because they often seek difficult or adverse situations as part of their competitive nature (Sarkar & Fletcher, 2013).

Chapter 3: Methodology

The goals for this study include explaining how basketball constitutes a culture, how resilience is a key element of this culture for culture-bearers in the face of adversity, how resilience is enacted in and through communication, and how cultural communication about resilience comprises a process. To address these aims my unit of study is 12 professional basketball players and coaches in a large city in the Southwest of the United States, which is being referred to as *PG City*. In order to gain insight into the communal communication processes and elements involved with resilience this inquiry is methodologically (and theoretically) grounded by the ethnography of communication (EOC) (Covarrubias, 2010; Hymes, 1962; Philipsen, 1992) to understand resilience as a product of communication. This study also utilized an organizing framework of resilience communication processes (Buzzanell, 2010).

To preview my methodology, first, I address the methodological foundations that grounded and influenced this study's data collection and data analysis techniques. Then, I discuss my role as researcher and offer details about the participants and sampling procedures. I then move to an elaboration of the in-depth interview process by explaining the structure, organization, and purpose of the questions. After discussing the methods of data collection, I explain the methods of data analysis before concluding with a summary.

Methodological Grounding

This is a qualitative study that is grounded on the ethnography of communication (EOC) (Hymes, 1962, 1972, & 1974) and is informed by Buzzanell's research on the communication processes of resilience. The EOC is both a theoretical and

methodological framework constituted by the intertwined relationship of communication and culture (Carbaugh, 1991; Hymes, 1962; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005). The EOC positions culture as the site of communication exchanges and requires participant-observation to observe communication and culture as revealed by the communication of the members of the community under study.

Although I did not conduct participant-observation because of financial, temporal, and geographical constraints, I stayed close to the members of the community I studied and to their communication in the spirit of Hymes (1962) who asserted that ethnographic research "must be made on the ground." I used Hymesian principles to inform the construction of my interview guide as well as code, analyze, and organize cultural communicative events, narratives, key terms, and the like, as told to me by study participants. I listened carefully to our interview conversations to later abstract from transcriptions what patterns were available in what contexts, and how, where and when they came into play (Hymes, 1974) on participants' own terms.

I was able to ground my methods in the EOC because the EOC is more of a set of guided questions rather than a domineering system (Hymes, 1962). According to Carbaugh (1991), a primary concern of the EOC is related to what gets said and done in a specific scene of social life. Additionally, the perceptions of that social scene as reflected in the perspective of the participants are a point of emphasis. This study was concerned with what gets said and done by participants of *PG City* basketball culture in order to develop resilience. The interview process was designed to elicit the native perspective of the participants of the study. Grounding my study in the EOC allowed me to tease out

what the communication processes of resilience looked like during the time of resilience experienced by the professional athletes and coaches participating in the study.

To remind the reader, Buzzanell (2010) identified several communication processes of resilience: crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, maintaining communication networks, putting alternative logics to work, and acknowledging then backgrounding negative feelings while foregrounding productive action. These communication process served as the organizing framework while analyzing the transcripts from the in-depth interviews. The goal of ethnographers is to discover, rather than presume cultural practices (Sprain & Boromisza-Habashi, 2013), so the communication processes of resilience functioned as an organizing framework from which I could extract patterned expressions pertaining to resilience.

Role as Researcher

As a communication student and researcher, I have always been pulled towards interpersonal and intrapersonal communication, while my personal life has been dominated by my passion for basketball. I have been involved with basketball, as a player and coach, for 15 years, with the bulk of that experience coming from coaching. I have witnessed several individuals develop resilience and remain resilient through some of the most difficult life experiences imaginable. I have always been fascinated by the individual processes and methods people use to develop and maintain resilience, specifically from a lens of communication and leadership.

Due to my experiences as a coach and my desire to build more communicatively skilled coaches, this study was aimed at understanding resilience as a process to envision these processes as possible leadership strategies. Athletic coaches are frequently in a

position of great influence that extends beyond the sport in which they coach. By envisioning resilience and its associated communication as a strategic operation, athletic leaders may be able to transcend their traditional role as coach and become long lasting and impactful leaders and role models in several different contexts of life.

My role as a researcher also provided me access that would not necessarily be obtainable by an individual who is not an insider of the basketball community. During my career as a basketball coach, I worked tirelessly to create an extensive network of basketball players and coaches, and that network provided a diverse sampling pool. Additionally, due to the difficult and personal nature of resilience, my status as insider within the basketball community gave me the skills and communicator competence necessary to develop a strong rapport with those I interviewed. Developing rapport with my participants was essential to asking the right questions and guiding the conversation in a direction that would provide insight into the communication processes utilized to develop, maintain, and sustain resilience during difficult life experiences.

Participants

This study focused on professional basketball players and coaches from a large city in the southwest region of the United States, which, for this study I referred to as *PG City*. Participants, male and female, did not have to be currently playing or coaching but needed to have done one or both for at least 5 years to ensure they had a credible amount of playing or coaching experience. The inclusion of both current and former players and coaches served several functions: larger sample size, better access to participants, and more diverse life experiences related to resilience. All participants were at least 18 years of age to ensure that each participant was a consenting adult.

Participants were not immediately eliminated from consideration due to geographic obstacles. Many of the participants were either in-season, and potentially out-of-country, or they were preparing to leave the country soon because most basketball leagues start in late fall or early winter. Participants who were out-of-country at the time of the interview, were contacted and interviewed via phone and video conference. I personally interviewed most participants face-to-face, and I interviewed 2 over the phone because they were out of the country. There were 12 professional basketball players and coaches who participated in this study.

Participant Protections

I obtained permission for the conduct of the present research by my university's Institutional Review Board (IRB). To obtain clear understanding between me, as the researcher, and the participants of the study, consent forms and a detailed description of the research and purpose were provided at the initial email contact and following interviews. Before each interview began, I requested consent through both oral and written confirmation, documented in the audio-recording, and written consent through signed and dated consent forms by each participant. Participants were reminded before, during, and after each interview that if at any point they wished to exit the study for any reason, there would be zero negative repercussions. Participants were informed that should they request to be removed from the study, all data regarding their participation would be properly destroyed. Because interviews may present risks of stress due to the sensitive nature of adversity and resilience, they were advised where and how to seek social support.

Zero participants requested removal from my study. In order to preserve the privacy of study participants, all names were changed to randomly assigned pseudonyms. Participants were allowed to choose their own pseudonym, but they all left that duty to me. Participants were given a number 1-12, and in the study, they are referred to as P#. Changing all personal identifiers in the data, assured anonymity for the participants of the study. Collected data were thoroughly screened throughout the research process to ensure that all identifying information was removed.

Sampling

This study utilized purposive sampling methods to ensure each of my participants had played professional basketball, for at least one season. The primary function purposive sampling is to focus on particular and specific characteristics of a population which enable the researcher to answer their research questions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). During my career as a basketball coach I was able to establish a vast network of basketball players and coaches.   I used this network to reach out to individuals to request their participation in the study. Participants were contacted through email or an instant messaging service, such as iMessage or Facebook Messenger. Once participants expressed interest in participation, I asked questions regarding their experience to ensure they matched the criteria for participation. Once the appropriate criteria were assured, the interview-scheduling stage commenced.

Data Collection

Using EOC methods, data were collected through in-depth interviews conducted in a face-to-face setting, over the phone, and through video communications. The in-depth interviews were conducted one-on-one and comprised two parts. The first part of

the interview functioned to establish rapport, while the second portion served to respond to my interview guide. The purpose was to create a comfortable environment, if possible and accomplish the four stages of rapport building; apprehension, exploration, cooperation, and participation (Spradley, 1979). In the spirit of Spradley, my goal was to get to the point where participants viewed their role in relation to me as the teacher. For the face-to-face interviews, rapport was created through simple participation in informal basketball play. The participant and I spent a short amount of time shooting basketballs while having light conversations about basketball in general. Rapport was established in the phone interviews through sharing basketball stories, ones in which the participants were fond of.

In-depth interviews were recorded using an audio-recording device to ensure the privacy and security of the recorded data. A second audio-recording device was kept with me during interviews should any technical problems occur, however, this was not necessary in any of the interviews. Audio recordings were uploaded to and stored on a separate external hard drive to further ensure security and privacy. Audio recordings of the in-depth interviews were transcribed by me in order to fully immerse myself within the data. Interview transcripts were typed then saved on the same external hard drive that was used to store the audio recordings. The external hard drive and interview transcripts were stored in a secure file cabinet in my apartment.

Rapport Building Process

The first section of the interview was designed to build rapport with the participants. This was more of a conversation than it was an interview. Much of this conversation took place on a basketball court while the two of us were shooting around.

For the phone interviews, this process took place over the phone. The goal was to share

basketball stories to facilitate the following interview by establishing the basketball

context as well as develop a rapport. I shared my basketball trajectory, which included

stories about the time when I started playing and how I progressed through each level of

my career. I shared stories that could be considered embarrassing or times in which I was

struggling to succeed as a player to reduce the participants apprehension; the first stage of

the rapport building process (Spradley, 1979). I then asked them to share their basketball

background to enter the "exploration stage" of the rapport building process. The next

stage of the rapport building process focused on cooperation (Spradley, 1979). I asked

participants to share stories of their own to induce the final stage of the rapport building

process; participation. The rapport-building portion of the interview did not last longer

than 20 minutes for any of the participants.

In-depth Interviews

An ethnographic interview approach was used to obtain contextual and personal

insight surrounding the lived-experiences of the participants. This study utilized a lens of

resilience and an *emic* position to create a series of questions to guide the

conversation. In this section I provide each question and its associated reasoning and

justification. My goal was to create a conversation regarding the players personal

experiences with adversity, communication, and resilience, rather than just proceed

through a series of questions.

Tell me about a difficult situation you had to overcome.

The focus here was on the lived-experiences of the participant. This question

focused on the event to understand how individuals defined their own difficult life

experience. The scope of this study was to understand the communication processes used to persevere through difficult life experiences, not the degree of difficulty of their adversity. Each individual had his or her own conceptualization of a difficult life experience and the purpose of this question was to uncover that. Follow up questions focused on providing greater detail and definition regarding the difficult life event. Follow up questions included, but were not limited to: "What are some of the aspects of this event that you found most difficult?", "What was one of the most important things for you to do to move forward?", or "At the time of the event, how difficult did the event feel?". While these follow up questions focused on the adversity experienced, the initial question was worded specifically to focus on the context of resilience. Rather than simply asking the participants to tell me about adversity they had experienced, I asked about a time they "displayed resilience" in order to keep the context focused on resilience, because I wanted the participants to consider their own resilience before they considered the adversity that required the resilience.

What did your plan of recovery or resilience look like? What did you do?

The purpose of this question was to understand how the participant defined and talked about their own development of resilience. While the focus of the study was on the communication processes, this question delved into the process as defined by the participants. Probing questions and comments were contextually based and designed to further understand the participants' unique processes of resilience. This question also prepared the participant for the communication-focused questions by priming their memory of the difficult life experience and processes of resilience. I asked participants

to consider the individuals with whom they communicated during this time in order to transition to the next question.

Did you talk about this difficult situation?

Thinking about the conversations you had with people about this situation, how did you talk about it?

The purpose of this question was to understand the communication surrounding the event and the process of resilience. This included how the individual talked about the difficult life experience, how they talked about their path to recovery, as well how they talked about themselves in relation to the event. Similar to the previous question, this question did not focus on who the conversation partner was; but, rather how they communicated about the problem.

How did you talk about yourself during this time?

The purpose of this question was to apply an intrapersonal lens to the communication process and understand how individuals communicated with and about themselves during difficult life experiences. Intrapersonal communication can be used interchangeably with self-talk (Vocate, 1994). This question aimed to provide insight regarding how they spoke to themselves about the difficult life experiences, how they viewed themselves during this time, and how they intrapersonally talked about their own ideas and plans for resilience. The question is worded to focus on times of resilience rather than just times of adversity.

Did your path to overcoming this difficult experience change over time?

How so?

Buzzanell (2010) states that resilience is a dynamic process that evolves over time and through experiences, and this question strived to understand the dynamism of each individual's communication processes towards resilience. This question focused on any changes in function of communication, whether it was intrapersonal or interpersonal communication.

Talk about yourself now, in relation to that difficult life experience. How have things changed?

This question was designed to look at how individuals perceived their own "bounce-back" and "reintegration." These are both integral parts of the definition of resilience worth examining in the context of the individuals' unique experiences. The question was framed in this manner to understand how the participants defined the change from difficult life experience to where they were currently. I wanted to avoid defining "bounce-back" and "reintegration" for them so that I could abstract native understandings (Carbaugh, 1991).

What is resilience to you?

This question functioned to establish the contextual and personal definitions of resilience. I wanted to understand how these individuals conceptualized and understood resilience, in regard to their own lives. While the definition and use of resilience is often vague and or varied as shown in the above literature review, to clarify the question I used synonyms such as "bounce-back" or "comeback." To facilitate further sharing and discussions I asked questions like "What does resilience look like to you?" or "What are some of the core characteristics of resilience." The main purpose of these questions was to provide insight into the participants own ideas of resilience.

The in-depth and semi-structured interview was designed to last about an hour. During the interview, I kept a copy of the interview guide with me, as well as a note pad to record notes and thoughts as they emerged. In addition, I transcribed my own audio recordings and analyzed them with the Hymes (1974) SPEAKING model and a lens of communication processes of resilience (Buzzanell, 2010).

These interview questions and structure were designed to investigate the research questions of this study. To remind the reader, I present the research questions here.

RQ1: How do professional basketball players and coaches express resilience through speech?

RQ2: How do expressions about resilience in the context of basketball constitute a speech community for the participants?

RQ3: How does basketball culture as extracted from the expressions of basketball participants serve as a site for resilience?

RQ4: What communication processes can be extracted from the way basketball participants express resilience?

Data Analysis

I analyzed the collected data by combining lenses from communicative processes and the ethnography of communication. The purpose of the analysis was not to test participant definitions of resilience against scholarly definitions of resilience; rather, the purpose was to understand resilience in relation to individual and unique conceptions and experiences about resilience on behalf of members of a local basketball culture. Data analyzed included field notes recorded during interviews and subsequent transcribing, as

well as the transcribed interviews. I will now explain the steps of the data analysis process.

For each research question, I read through each individual transcript noting utterances that could provide insight regarding that particular research question. Only one research question was focused on per individual transcript reading. Utterances that I deemed pertained to personal meaning were highlighted with a specific color associated with specific research questions. Utterance relevance was determined if an utterance was in direct response to one of the interview questions, mentioned resilience or adversity directly, were in relation to their process of resilience or a communication process of resilience, or were in reference to basketball or basketball culture. Once each transcript had been read through one time for each research question, the selected utterances per research question were compiled on a new list that was labeled by participant and research question. For example, P1 had a separate sheet of utterances for each research question marked as follows; P1-RQ1; P1-RQ2; P1-RQ3; P1-RQ4.

After each collection of utterances pertaining to the specific research question was completed, I analyzed them further to ensure the selected utterances pertained to the research question it was organized under and irrelevant utterances were then removed. Following this process, marked utterances for various categories by looking for repeating or consistent themes and sentiments. For example, utterances that exemplified or referenced tangible life skills learned through basketball such as discipline or time management were placed in the category of "life lessons." Additionally, I coded these utterances for recurring co-occurring terms (Covarrubias, 2017) such as "the grind" or "grinding." This process of categorization, which is the process of organizing data with

common themes into categories for analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) allowed me to begin the data analysis process. The use of the SPEAKING model allowed me to attend to and tease out the various elements of the speech codes used to establish the existence of a speech community amongst these participants. The work of Buzzanell provided predetermined categories of the communication processes of resilience that I searched for.

Each research question and participant yielded between 15 and 20 various categories requiring the consolidation and collapsing. The collapsing of categories proceeded until I felt I could not combine or collapse any further. These are the categories that will be discussed in the following chapters. Before commencing the writing process, the categories and subsequent utterances were again analyzed for accuracy. I wanted to make sure the utterances actually fit each category, so I referred back to the original participant transcripts to understand the context in which each utterance was made. I also conducted brief follow-up interviews and questioning for member-checking and term accuracy. However, before the data analysis commenced, I reviewed my data and categories for evidence of saturation. Saturation was reached when data and categories became repetitive.

Validity and Reliability

The analytical frameworks of Lindlof and Taylor (2011) and LeCompte and Goetz (1982) allowed me to tend to the internal and external validity and reliability of this study. Validity is related to the value of truth for the findings within a qualitative study (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). According to Lindlof and Taylor, the validity of a qualitative research project is "characterized by its internal, conceptual, and external

dimensions." A strong connection between the related research frameworks and their application to the specific study creates internal validity. I achieved internal validity by using the EOC as my theoretical lens for understanding the relationship between communication and resilience, as outlined by Buzzanell (2010), within the basketball community of the participants. I systematically checked and double-checked my data against the integrity of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks I used.

Using the direct quotes of my participants allowed me to tend to the external validity of my study. External validity is determined by the relationship between the final translation of researcher-produced data and the participants shared accounts or utterances (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Systematic member checking and follow-up questions to apprehend nuanced understandings allowed me to ensure the external validity of my study.

Research reliability pertains to the methodological and systematic meaning making process that takes place during the data analysis (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). According to LeCompte and Goetz, the research reliability is determined by the research instrument's ability to create accurate and similar results that can be repeated in multiple studies and contexts. This was accomplished in this study through the use of the EOC as both methodological and theoretical frameworks. The process of conducting interviews, coding for emerging data themes, and the categorization of themes for analysis were methodological assumptions that produced reliable results, as according to the standards of interpretive social science research.

Summary

The central inquiry that guided this study focused on the communication processes enacted by basketball players and coaches from *PG City* to develop resilience during difficult life experiences. Using ethnographic methods and a lens of resilience I examined the communication used by professional basketball players and coaches to create and maintain resilience. In-depth interviews were used to collect data regarding the participants own experiences of resilience, and these data were then analyzed using Buzzanells' communicative processes of resilience in combination with the Hymes SPEAKING model from the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962; Hymes 1974).

Professional basketball players and coaches provided important and relevant data regarding the processes and elements of their own resilience in relation to basketball culture. The data were analyzed and organized using the communication processes of resilience (Buzzanell, 2010): crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, maintaining communication networks, putting alternative logics to work, and backgrounding negative feelings while foregrounding productive action.

Chapter 4: Findings – Expressions about resilience, elements of a speech community, and sites for resilience

To remind the reader, the purpose of this study was to understand the relationship between basketball culture and resilience in which resilience is an element of basketball culture. In order to do this, I grounded the study in the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962) to provide an in-depth look at the ways participants talk about their experiences with resilience and how those expressions constitute a speech community of basketball culture. From a resilience perspective, this study utilized a combination of the process and outcome approaches for a holistic view of how resilience is developed and experienced.

Ethnographic interviews were analyzed using the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974) and Speech Code Theory (Philipsen, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu & Covarrubias, 2005) to uncover the distinct and mutually intelligible ways of speaking and norms of interaction regarding resilience for this particular group of participants; professional basketball players and basketball coaches from *PG City*. The existence of a speech community was investigated to determine the shared rules and knowledge of the speech codes regarding resilience.

To uncover the role of basketball culture and unique elements of basketball culture, I coded the ethnographic interviews in relation to RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3. In this section I will present the research questions and subsequent findings with supporting evidence from the participants. Each section will conclude with an analysis of the findings. For the purpose of anonymity, participant names were replaced with a pseudonym. Participant pseudonyms are simply a number ranging from 1 to 12, thus

they will be referenced as P#. Many of the utterances contain specific and contextual

basketball terms. Appendix A contains a glossary of basketball terms to aid the reader in

better apprehending the particular context's specific language.

The findings for RQ1 show that the participants verbally expressed resilience in

several ways: 1) resilience as a choice, 2) resilience as a pursuit, 3) resilience as work, 4)

resilience as the self, and 5) resilience as a new perspective. RQ2 findings illuminate

elements of distinct speech codes and patterned ways of speaking that situate these

participants within a speech community. The findings of RQ2 to be discussed include: 1)

the grind, 2) don't talk, and 3) trash-talk. The final question to be discussed in Chapter 4

is RQ3. The findings elaborated on are: 1), expectations of resilience, 2) learning and

enactment of resilience, 3), provided networks for resilience, 4) provided space for

healing.

RQ1: *How do professional basketball participants in PG City express resilience through*

speech?

Each participant described resilience in unique ways, however there were several

similarities that enabled me to code into categories. The categories uncovered were as

follows: 1) resilience as a choice; 2) resilience as a pursuit; 3) resilience as work; 4)

resilience as a function of the self; and 5) resilience as a new perspective. In this section

I will explain each category and provide utterances that support the creation of the

category and conclude with an analysis and the overall discussion of how basketball

players express resilience. The table below is provided to provide a reader-friendly

preview of the findings to be discussed.

Table 1 - RQ1 Findings		
Category	Description	Example
Resilience as a choice	Resilience is expressed as a choice and as a conscious decision.	"You have to make a decision like I'm going to suck this up and keep going" – P4
Resilience as a pursuit	Resilience is expressed as a pursuit of competition, opportunities, or goals.	Competition – "So that's what kind of what got me to that transition, putting it in terms of 'I can still be competitive." – P2 Opportunity – ""I need to just take any opportunity I have to coach and make the best of it." – P5 Goal – "It is an ultimate drive and ultimate focus and ultimate desire for that end goal" – P1
Resilience as work	Resilience is expressed as a result of completing tasks that are motivated by the pursuit.	"You have to continually work and you have to pay attention and you have to do the right things." – P8
Resilience as the self	Resilience is initiated and enacted by the self.	"I just started working out a little bit and I would talk to myself and I realized quickly that it is completely on me" – P6
Resilience as a new perspective	The outcome of resilience creates a change in perspective.	"Yeah it was humbling, uh, more than anything. But it made me see the game differently." – P3

Resilience as a Choice

Many participants have referenced resilience as a choice and a mentality; as something that the individual has control over and can enact when needed. Some participants referenced this as a mentality, while others were much more explicit in their proclamation of resilience as a choice. As my first example, I turn to P11 who poignantly states "You will never be as good as you can possibly be, if you do not choose resilience over comfort. Choosing resilience is not easy, it's one of the hardest things to do". Within this statement the participant amplifies the idea that resilience is a personal and individual choice while also alluding to the difficult nature of resilience; a category I will discuss later.

When asked to share personal ideas regarding the nature of resilience, P4 offers resilience as a decision, "You have to make a decision like I'm going to suck this up and keep going or I'm going to quit." This utterance is important because it projects resilience as a choice that each individual can and should make. P4 mentions "you" as a generalized term for any individual rendering resilience as an option of individual agency, rather than an idiosyncratic phenomenon.

Resilience as a willful and strategic decision is a shared ideal amongst participants. P2 stated, "It was kind of more a decision or something, like a conversation with the self," which prompted me to ask if she felt resilience was a choice. P2 responded bluntly by saying, "Yeah, I definitely think so…I think it's a choice, but it's also almost a skill, like something you can enact when you need it." For P2, not only is resilience a choice, it is a skill that can be purposefully and strategically enacted and developed. While some participants directly referenced resilience as a choice and decision, other participants referred to the choice of resilience in more indirect utterances.

For example, P5 referenced his own choice to remain resilient "I'm starting to feel like I'm really not destined for this shit. But then it was like fuck that. And I just kept trying.," In this utterance P5 mentions a point in which a decision must made to quit pursuing his goal of being a college coach after a firing and several job rejections, but ultimately chooses to keep trying, or in other words, he chose resilience, as evidenced when he proclaims, "Fuck that. And I just kept trying." P9 echoes this sentiment by describing resilience as a willingness; "It's a willingness to do whatever it takes to achieve what you want. You wake up every day completely focused on doing what needs to be done to make it happen." While the words "choice" and "decision" are not present

within this utterance, the sentiment flows around the choosing to endure the trials and tribulations required for resilience.

This notion of resilience as a willingness and choice is shared by both P7 and P12 as well. P7 says, "I think if I had to put the definition in my head, it would be the willingness to do something no matter what, no matter. You get, you get knocked down six [times], well get back up seven." In this utterance, the participant mentions the willingness to get up a seventh time, but that willingness must be followed by the choice to actually get up. I would like to note that the idea of getting knocked down six times and getting up seven was used in a basketball shoe marketing campaign for several years during the mid-to-late 2000's. The campaign used a world-famous NBA player named Dwyane Wade. That personal choice as component of resilience was showcased in an ad campaign emphatically supports my present claims.

P12 explains resilience as a choice in the form of willpower; "That's resilience, the sheer willpower to progress through every trial and tribulation thrown your way." Again, the idea that resilience as a decision is present. For P12, resilience is a difficult choice that requires the willpower to continue in the face of adversity. Additionally, some participants described resilience as a mentality or mindset.

P1 describes resilience as both a mentality and a product of heightened focus by stating, "It's a mentality, it is an ultimate drive and ultimate focus and ultimate desire for that end goal and that you will go to any means, any lengths under any circumstances to make it happen." The use of the word "ultimate" suggests that there is a heightened level of focus and sense of urgency as an element of resilience. It also affirms the capacity to

see beyond the immediate and even prevail beyond immediate constraints with an eye for a future promise.

This idea that resilience requires a choice and a certain frame of mind is further echoed by P5 in a longer utterance regarding exactly what resilience is to him,

> It's not giving a fuck when it gets really tough, shit is so tough that it changes up the way you function every day and you just say fuck it and you just keep going. You just keep working towards what you want. Now you've got this mentality that you're going to be resilient.

In this utterance, P5 mentioned both choice and mentality as drivers of resilience. P5 furthers this sentiment in further description of resilience "That's part of resilience. You have to be able to switch it up. You got to know when your back's against the wall and say fuck this and get outta there." The evidence of resilience as a choice is present when P5 mentions one must identify the position they are in and choose to change his circumstances, for example, "Say fuck this and get outta there." There is an element of timing in the choice of resilience. One must be able to recognize the importance of timing in the successful enactment of their own resilience. As I've shown, again, this notion of choosing resilience is present and prevalent across study participants.

While the goal of this study is not to identify a sequential order about the processes of resilience, this section suggests that one of the first steps of resilience is an active choice. Willful decisions making was a factor in the development of resilience as study participants emphasized their resilience as the product of their own chosen actions. Based on the utterances of the participants, a key condition for enacting choice is the recognition that their personal situation needs change and, then, making the corresponding choice to make the change as an avenue for resilience. The choosing of resilience leads to a mindset and focus of bouncing back continuing to pursue self-

defined goals. This choice is difficult and requires an element of work, as does the process of resilience development.

Resilience as a Pursuit

Many participants expressed their process of developing resilience as a pursuit. However, there is variation in the kinds of pursuit described by participants. Some of the basketball players and coaches expressed the pursuit of opportunities to advance their career as a driving force in their resilience while others expressed the pursuit of goals as a motivator for resilience. Other participants expressed their resilience as motivated by the pursuit of competition and the desire to remain competitive. In this section I provide direct quotes as evidence of the expressed pursuit, beginning with the pursuit of competition.

Pursuit of competition. P2 described the emotional pain of a career-ending injury as a very difficult loss, and the path forward was fueled by finding a new way to compete. P2 recalled,

> I have to move on and figuring out a way to make this work because I just love it so much. I decided I can still be a part of a winning program. I knew coaching would be the next thing. So that's what kind of what got me to that transition, that grieving process, just putting it in terms of "I can still be competitive."

For P2, finding a way to compete within the realm of basketball proved to the best way to cope with losing her identity as a player. In this same expression P2 acknowledges the influencing role of establishing a personal goal with coaching. It was important for P2 to remain competitive as well as pursue specific goals, which are similar but are not mutually inclusive. The pursuit of competition ignited the initial plan of resilience while the pursuit of goals continued to drive her resilience.

After completing several interviews, I noticed a consistent theme of competition

and competitiveness, so I asked P6 to discuss the relationship between resilience and

competitiveness. P6 explained his thinking,

> The pain of sports can be a tremendous motivator. Especially in the competitive standpoint. You don't want to lose again. You know, so you, it's a self-preservation thing as well. So, self-motivation and self-preservation, you want to do better because you don't want to get your ass kicked. There's this competitive side to you and your life.

According to P6, the pursuit of competition is a spurred resilience, which then

becomes an act of self-preservation. I pressed further and asked if

competitiveness and resilience can exist without each other. P6 acknowledged

that competitiveness and resilience can exist without each other, but there is a

dynamic relationship at play. P6 said,

> I think being able to be resilient makes you better and as you progress and get better, you're pushing through challenges, but competing for more success. So, I just think that they can be separate, but I think that they just feed each other and you can grow and grow.

These utterances are important for several reasons. These previous two utterances

from P6 offer insight into how competitiveness influences resilience through

"self-preservation" and the pursuit of competition. Individuals choose resilience

as an act of self-preservation and a desire to continue to compete. It is also

important to note the reference to the pursuit of success, as it is motivated by

competitiveness and thus can produce resilience. This ties back to the pursuit of

goals influencing the development of resilience as well.

When discussing his motivation to keep pursuing a college basketball

career after not receiving any offers after high school, P4 mentions the role of

competing, "I think the motivating factor was to still prove myself even out of

high school, like I felt like I was definitely good enough to play college ball."

The desire to prove oneself, for P4, became an expression of competitiveness

while also pursuing the goal of playing college basketball regardless of the

challenges posed by not being recruited. P4 explicitly states that both his personal

goal of playing college basketball and the desire to compete, or "prove myself"

were the motivating factors in his resilience.

After being rejected from several coaching positions at the college level,

P5 mentions that winning at the high school level influenced the reestablishment

of the college coaching goal. P5 said, "But once I was with the c-team and after

that first year of doing work (winning) then it was a lot, lot easier to kind of

reestablish that as a genuine goal." Part of the adversity experienced for P5 was

being without a coaching position, which after follow-up, P5 told me that

experience "destroyed my confidence to go after a college coaching job." Not

until after P5 was hired for a lower-level high school coaching job and was given

the chance to compete was he able to reestablish his previous goal of coaching

college. The opportunity to compete helped P5 pursue his previous goal of

becoming a college coach and once this goal was established, P5 acknowledged

that developing resilience became easier.

Many participants mentioned a connection or relationship between

competitiveness and resilience, so, I wanted to know more. I asked P7 if

competitiveness is a major factor for resilience in general, and his response was

illuminating.

> Oh yeah. Without a doubt. I think of Kobe Bryant. When you say like Mamba
> mentality, it's like this ongoing war. When I step into the game, it's just like I

don't care who's in the way we got to go and win. That competitiveness has definitely been a huge factor off the court. Without a doubt.

Not only did P7 discuss this connection in relation to his own life, but he directly connected it to basketball as well. Kobe Bryant is one of the most famous basketball players in the history of basketball and is partially known for his remarkable work ethic, which is what P7 is referencing when he says the "Mamba mentality." This utterance supports the finding that resilience is driven by the pursuit of competition. When P7 described resilience as an "ongoing war" it suggested that the pursuit of resilience can be challenging and where defeat and surrender are not options.

Pursuit of goals. For P1, resilience *is* the pursuit of goals. I simply asked "What is resilience to you?" and his response was to the point;

> It is an ultimate drive and ultimate focus and ultimate desire for that end goal and that you will go to any means, any lengths under any circumstances to make it happen. It's that you are so focused on achieving that end goal that it drives you in a way that nothing else will.

Resilience is an "ultimate drive" and "ultimate focus" for P1 because it is driven by the pursuit of goals. This pursuit, and resilience as well, is perceived by P1 to be an arduous process, as evidenced by P1's reference to the need to go to "any lengths under any circumstances." For this professional basketball player, the pursuit and accomplishment of goals are resilience. P9 supported this notion.

P9 signed his first contract to play professional basketball, a lifelong goal, *after* defeating cancer. After being pushed to the boundaries of his life, P9 achieved his goal of returning to basketball at a highly-competitive level, and thereby performing resilience. So, I was curious as to what resilience was to him. P9 told me,

It's a willingness to do whatever it takes to achieve what you want. Devoting your entire existence to achieving the goal you have in mind. It's knowing that even when you fail, you will continue to seek out opportunities to succeed.

This utterance from P9 is very important because it highlights the role of goal-pursuit in the development of resilience. He underscores this point by emphasizing the exigency for "devoting" one's existence to the goal at hand. Additionally, the above expression offers support of the need to pursue opportunities to facilitate resilience. Later in the interview I asked P9 if he thought about basketball while battling cancer, and he answered, "All the time. All the time because my only thoughts running through my mind was like, "You ain't done what you want to do with ball." For P9, the continued pursuit of his goals was a fierce motivator in his fight with cancer. This was a common motivator throughout his life as he had dreamed of playing professional basketball since he was a child. This lifelong dream and goal of elite competition was one of the primary drivers in his defeat of cancer.

Pursuit of opportunities. To further evidence resilience as a pursuit of opportunities for growth or career development, I return to P2. When an ankle injury prematurely ended the playing career for P2, the path of resilience involved switching from playing to coaching. When discussing the transition from player to coach, P2 remembers actively seeking out coaching opportunities. I asked P2 how she found the first coaching job she was hired for. P2 told me

I think I seeked. I noticed that there was a new coach and so I said to myself, "I'm just gonna put myself out there, call him, let him know that I would love to just be a part of his program somehow, even if it's just volunteer or something small that I could start with."

P2 needed to find an opportunity to actually transition from player to coach, which constituted her plan for resilience. Thus, the pursuit of opportunities to grow was an essential element of her resilience.

After losing a college basketball scholarship due to a knee injury that required a 12-month recovery, P1 began pursuing alternative opportunities to continue playing college basketball. This pursuit led to Arizona, just a handful of miles from the border with Mexico. In our interview, P1 offered his reasoning behind the decision to move there:

> So, my whole thing was like "Maybe you'll have some opportunity out there. Maybe you won't, but shit you never know." God damn middle of nowhere. I'm in the dead ass, middle of the desert, at the border. But I'm like, "This is your only opportunity for you to take...so shoot it."

In this utterance P1 notes the unorthodox move used to continue to pursue his goals of playing college and professional basketball. P1 identified this opportunity as a last and only resort, and thus felt compelled to take advantage of it for the sake of the pursuit of his goals which had been hindered by major injuries and career setbacks.

When P5 experienced career-adversity that left him without a coaching job and feelings of hopelessness, he pursued new opportunities for coaching and career development. I asked P5 about his plan of resilience after getting fired and rejected from several coaching positions. He said, "I need to just take any opportunity I have to coach and make the best of it. That was kind of part of my plan in terms of like take big opportunities to build up your resume to get back to coach college." P5 acknowledged that his resilience required a deliberate plan to find opportunities and committing time and effort to these opportunities. The plan of resilience included coaching a freshman team, starting a basketball organization, and conducting private personal training. The

successful pursuit of new opportunities was vital element in the resilience development process for P5, as it was for several other participants.

The participants of this study consistently underscored that the desire to continue competing was a major prompt in their resilience process. While many found new methods to compete after transitioning away from playing, the key to the resilience process was a pursuit of competition, and of fresh opportunities or goals. This pursuit was a major element of the resilience process as it served as the motivation for following up on the choice of resilience.

The chosen resilience process can be difficult, and participants found their motivation in the desire to compete and through the pursuit of advancement and goals. The competitive or ambitious nature of basketball players is a vital tool in their development of resilience. This finding contributes to the process approach of resilience research as the pursuit motivates the development or process of enacting resilience.

The pursuit of goals is also very important to this particular group of participants as resilience and the achievement of goals are often described as being one-and-the-same. This finding contributes to the outcome perspective of resilience research as it conceptualizes the outcome of resilience as the accomplishment of personal goals, whether they are established before or after the experience of adversity.

Resilience as Work

Rather than the result of a simple or singular task, the participants of this study expressed resilience as a culmination of work; that is, of the systematic and sustained exertion of time, patience, energy, and focus. I turn to P7 and his explanation about what resilience is to him: "It's a marathon, not a sprint. That's that. That's what it is, everyday

putting in work and work and work until you perfect that thing." The idea that resilience

is a marathon highlights the patience required for the development of resilience. P7

expressed the development of resilience as a process of daily work, as something at

which one must work consistently and after a considerable period of time, as evidenced

by the metaphor of marathon.

This sentiment of resilience being developed through time is expressed in P12's

explanation of what resilience meant to him:

> Remember those days of preseason basketball. The 5am conditioning workouts,
> the two-a-days of practice. Remember that one day when you felt as if this next
> rep will kill you or the next lap might be my last, but you kept running. That's
> resilience. That's exactly it.

For P12, resilience was directly connected to the challenges of playing college basketball,

similar in the sense that it is a product of multiple areas of work which develop over time.

P12 corroborated the finding of work as a key element of resilience in noting that "the

next rep will kill you." The idea that resilience does not happen immediately is

reinforced in the definition of resilience offered by Buzzanell (2010) when she posits that

it is a dynamic process that develops longitudinally.

I asked P3 about in-game resilience, such as how to spur a bounce-back from

being down in a game to eventually win, and his response aligned with resilience being a

facilitated by work over time. P3 stated, "I think one thing is you got look big picture,

that's the first thing if we were down in the game and the big picture of it is we're not

going to come back in one possession. So, you've just got to start to chip away a little." I

then questioned what it meant to "chip away," to which P3 responded by describing

"chipping away" as doing small tasks to tackle the deficit one piece at a time, rather than

doing one thing that will immediately lead to a comeback or resilience. P3 expanded on

this notion beyond in-game resilience to include how "chipping away" contributes resilience away from the basketball court: "Just taking it one day at a time and focusing on the next place is the big thing." This statement also focuses on the time-intensive process of resilience. Whether resilience or a "comeback" is needed in a basketball game or in real life, it is expressed a facilitated through work and develops longitudinally, over time.

The idea of chipping-away is reiterated by P8 when he discussed his work of resilience after a difficult shoulder injury. P8 said, "That injury taught me how the little things matter. Like rehab is never just do some exercises and you're better, you have to continually work and you have to pay attention and you have to do the right things." P8 acknowledged that in order to come back from his injury he had to work on small improvements over a noticeable period of time in order to return to a healthy position that mirrored his pre-injury health. P8 acknowledged that the work is comprised of "little things," something that was referenced by P3 and P6 as well.

P6 discussed similar experiences with resilience and bouncing back from a life-changing and career-threatening leg injury. This participant described his resilience work in terms of small actions, "I tried to focus on something small and that started building the snowball from there. I was able to really pick myself up off the ground to focus on little things to, to build, build, build upon." In this utterance, there is an impetus for completing small tasks to facilitate process of resilience. P6 explained that by focusing on small tasks, his work eventually "snowballed" into the larger result of resilience.

P9, when discussing his return to playing competitive basketball after battling cancer also noted the idea of continually building upon the small things to develop an

outcome of resilience: "I remember I started by going into the racquetball courts to just do dribbling drills. So it was just slowly but surely just building it back and day by day." His plan to return his game to peak form was heavily dependent on working on and developing the smaller skills of the game. This work allowed him to build small tasks into an outcome of resilience.

When discussing his bounce-back from being indefinitely benched, a very challenging moment for players, P11 proudly mentioned the extra work he put in. P11 said, "You must stay patient, and continue to work on your game, so that's what I did after practice I would get more shots up with my teammates or I would get there early enough to practice on something before practice." The act of being "indefinitely benched" would be akin to a professor being suspended from teaching for an undetermined amount of time. P11 acknowledged that his resilience required work and developed over time and effort.

When P5 described his plan for finding a new job after losing his coaching job while repeatedly being rejected for other positions, he referenced the amount of work needed. P5 told me, "I just spent all my time and energy and everything went straight into basketball." P5 may not have directly referenced the term "work," but this utterance highlights the need to commit to "time and energy" to the process of resilience development. After feeling like his career had been completely derailed, P5 explained the plan of resilience as one that included extra work through the starting of a basketball company, "And so when I realized I had a c-team and it was like, 'oh, well, let's go.' And that's when I really started doing the private training and that's also when we decided to do the company and that was kind of part of my plan." In follow-up, I asked

P5 what he meant by "oh, well, let's go" and he told me "that just means it's time to get to work." For P5, the plan of resilience was a matter of finding and creating new ways to work towards his goal of becoming a college coach. The plan of resilience, as expressed by P5, included coaching a freshman team, starting a basketball organization, and conducting private personal training.

After P1 had to leave one college team due to a knee injury, he needed to work just to find another school to play for. In this instance, P1 had identified a goal of resilience as finding a new school to play for and begin the work required of this goal. P1 told me, "I knew it was going to be hard to find somewhere, just because of my age and size and injury history, so I just started emailing and calling coaches like crazy. I reached out to hundreds, literally." To develop resilience, P1 needed to identify a new school to play for which required the work of reaching out to coaches. I asked P1 to describe this process further: "Well, I would look for small schools, and then I would look at their rosters to see like, to see if they were losing someone at my position. If they were, I'd hit 'em up." The work that P1 conducted was both research and networking, as he had to identify the right program and then reach out to the coach to find a school to play for. This eventually led to P1 playing for a small community college on the border of Arizona and Mexico.

These utterances give light into how professional basketball players understand the early stages of resilience development. Recalling the academic literature, this project utilized both the process and outcome perspective of resilience. For basketball players and coaches the process of resilience is initiated with a willful and strategic choice. And, this choice requires one to commit to

work, with work definable in myriad ways, and could include finding tasks to complete that are related to the unique and individualized ideas of what resilience meant for each person. For example, the "work" required of P8 was related to his shoulder injury while the "work" of P1 was related to finding a new school to play for. Thus, I suggest that resilience is contextual; meaning the process of developing resilience is determined by the adversity experienced and the goal of resilience that is personally established. Still, the premise that work must be achieved is a commonly held value that spans across participants and shapes the communication of this particular community and the commonly-held goals for the achievement of resilience.

Additionally, participants underscored that the resilience process takes time and requires patience. There is a shared understanding that there is not one task or one action that immediately develops resilience. Rather, one must make the conscious choice of resilience and work towards the goal of resilience over a period of time. Recalling the literature review, this supports the findings of Buzzanell (2010) that posits resilience as a longitudinal process. And, although there is diversity in the particularities about how work gets done, there is a sharing, a cohesion, a communal agreement about the role of resilience within the context of basketball. The identification of these communal consistencies lies at the heart of the research imperatives of the ethnography of communication.

Resilience as a Function of the Self

Not only is resilience expressed as a development through work over an undetermined length of time, for these professional basketball players it is also a

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function of self-talk and the self. Recollecting his bouncing-back from the depression caused by a brutal leg injury, P6 said he realized the self-burden of resilience. He said, "I just started working out a little bit and I would talk to myself and I realized quickly that it is completely on me and, and then I got back in the gym with more commitment and kind of, more purpose." While participating in the "work" required for resilience and through self-talk, P6 realized that the process of recovery was self-centered, meaning he was responsible for his own resilience and nobody else could develop resilience for him.

P5 noted a similar moment of realization while in the pursuit of coaching opportunities. P5 recalled reaching out to several other coaches who promised coaching jobs and then failed to follow through. After the third coaching opportunity fell through, P5 stated, "So it was just kind of like 'Okay this is on me', which in hindsight I don't know how true that was, but that is how it felt at that time, so, it turned into "shut up and get to work." P5 learned through trial and error that the process of finding a new school or team to coach was going to be a task for which he was solely responsible. He felt as if the burden of this plan would not be shared others, whether that was actually true or not. It is an important utterance because it also references the idea of "work," as discussed in the previous section. For P5, the "work" that was required was finding a school or team to coach.

I asked P7 about his plan resilience in general, rather than in just in the context of basketball. Nevertheless, his response was conspicuously tied to

basketball. I wanted to probe some of the key components of his resilience, and P7 responded, "Self-teaching has been huge for me, always. Um, teaching yourself I think is a huge asset to basketball players, you know as a hooper you have to know how to be resourceful." In his very personal situation, P7 needed to learn how to be self-sufficient while also serving as one of the primary care-takers and providers for his younger siblings. So, self-teaching and self-sufficiency became important components in the development of his resilience on and off the court.

The burden of responsibility centered on the self for P8 as well. When asked about recovering from a mid-season shoulder injury, P8 answered, "I wanted to trust myself to get back to the court. That is all that really mattered. So I just kept reminding myself that if I do things right I will get back to the court." I find this statement interesting and valuable because of the contrast between trusting the self and trusting the trainers and doctors. While the trainers and doctors are the experts, there is a stronger emphasis on trusting the self. The focus of the resilience process, for P8, was self-centered and was realized through self-talk by reminding himself that his future was up to him, thereby advancing his resilience process.

When discussing the challenges of his playing career, P12 reflected, saying, "Personally my biggest challenge was proving myself" and in this process P12 learned "the ideal that no one will ever hinder your excellence other than yourself is resilience." For P12, the path of resilience was one that can be hindered or facilitated by the self. A sentiment that is expanded on by P10.

When asked for final comments regarding resilience, P10 asserted, "I think all the challenges you face is a test and only you have the answer for yourself. You could quit because you don't play a lot but what does that do for you?" For P10, to not be resilient is a detriment to the self, as evidenced when he said, "But what does that do for you?" Not only is a resilience a process of relying on the self, it is a process that directly benefits the self. While this may seem obvious, it is important that be explicitly stated, corroborating my findings that resilience is embedded-in and facilitated by the self.

Lastly, P2 acknowledged both the challenging nature of resilience as well as the innate drive to not quit: "You know, if you want to feel defeated, you're going to want to just give up and you know you can't." In this utterance, P2 noted resilience as being almost self-evident. She said, "You want to give up, but you know you can't" as though the wherewithal to remain resilient is innate. Rather than relying on others to advise towards the choice of resilience, the requisite wisdom and the decision-making must come from the self.

For these participants, the self is a considerable element of their resilience. One must choose resilience, pursue opportunities, competition or goals, and be willing to put in the work over time. These participants agreed with each other that the process of resilience must begin with a choice to not quit, but to persevere. Importantly, participants underscored that the choice should be made through affirming self-talk, rather than relying on others to prompt them or of doing the work of resilience for them.

Because resilience must be self-chosen and self-prompted, the role of choice and self-determination in the development of resilience is highlighted. According to study participants, the must be a drive, even an innate drive, to continue pushing forward towards goals especially during and after experiences of adversity. The development of resilience, for these participants, implicates elements of choice, work, and pursuit, all elements that must be initiated, driven, and developed by a willful self. Now, to discuss the *outcome* of resilience, I look to the final category of this research question.

Resilience as a New Perspective

At this point, expressions of resilience have centered on the process perspective of resilience research, in which participants expressed resilience as a process that develops over time and requires a strong work ethic applied to the pursuit of competition, opportunity and goals. However, there also have been expressions that provide insight into how this group of professional basketball players and coaches perceived the *result of resilience*. These findings align with the outcome perspective of resilience research.

While many of the utterances of resilience produced by participants revolved around the process, or development of resilience, there were also expressions that referred to the end result of resilience. What was common amongst these expressions is that resilience created a change in perspective. One form of change in perspective came in the form of humility.

I asked P2 to describe some of the changes she experienced in the transition from adversity to the bounce-back. She said, "Um just a lot more mature when it came to being a leader. Um, yeah, just think my maturity and that definitely is what changed the most. Definitely humbled me a lot for sure." In this utterance, humility was an element

of maturation and a result of resilience, rendering a change in perspective two-fold and creating a sense of growth and humility.

P3 admitted the transition from star player to bench player genuinely challenged his identity and explained that an element of his resilience in that identity crisis was humbling. P3 said, "Yeah it was humbling, uh, more than anything. But it made me see the game differently." This expression displays elements of both humility and a change in perspective, although the change in perspective is related to only the game of basketball. Still, for P3, the outcome of resilience contained elements of humility and growth.

At the end of the interview, I asked P9 if he had any further thoughts regarding resilience or basketball culture and his response was fruitful, "You will be humbled at some point and you must remain resilient. You must overcome it to continue to work on your craft, to keep improving, and grow from it." In follow up, I asked P9 what he meant by "grow from it" and he simply stated, "Get better." According to P9, getting humility is an inevitability of basketball participation and the choice of resilience can help one grow or "get better." The outcome of resilience, again, is displaying elements of growth or a change in perspective in the form of humility. This idea of "get better" can be understood in terms of the situated context of a basketball player or in a more general terms and the acquisition of wisdom, including improved perspective on life. Many participants admitted that after their adversity and succeeding in resilience their belief in their own ability to bounce back from adverse situations increased.

When I asked P11 about the changes between pre-adversity and post-resilience, there too was a reference to maturity and growth. P11 said, "Things have changed for me

in the sense I am much more mature now. Challenges look more like opportunities to grow than anything else." This idea of post-resilience growth is echoed by the sayings of P7, P8 and P11. P7 exclaimed that resilience and toughness are separated by growth;

> You could be tough, but if you don't move forward a little bit, I think that's where the resilience part comes in because you can keep getting blows to the head, but if you're not going anywhere with those hits, it's not resilient if you're just getting up, you have to almost do something with it.

For P7, growth is a requirement for an outcome to be considered resilient. One must learn from personal experience or find a way to improve for resilience to be actualized. When P8 described resilience, he also noted the need for improvement as an outcome of resilience. I asked P8 what resilience meant to him and he said, "Those two things are really key for resilience, you have to get better because adversity, it hits you hard and you have to get better to get back." Again, the concept of growth refers to both improving as a basketball player but also improving one's perspective on one's self-efficacy in the face of adversity. The idea of "you have to get better to get back" suggests that the process of resilience development is also a process of self-improvement. One must possess the desire to improve while also making the choice to act in order to achieve resilience.

This sentiment of growth is present in P11's discussion of resilience as well. P11 states that, "Resilience to me is being able to go through very difficult and unfortunate situations, refusing to give up, being able to learn from your difficult situation and going forward better than you were before." Here, again, we hear that at least for these study participants, there must be an element of growth, development, or learning for the end result of resilience.

Moreover, resilience can lead to changes in the ways in which they perceive the world. When asked about some of these changes that took place from surviving cancer,

P9 replied, "The biggest thing that cancer did for me bro, was it humbled me and it gave me a whole new outlook on life and towards people and towards everything. It gave me a new perspective." The adversity that P9 experienced was massive and the end-result included humility. The experience of adversity threatens the ego and successful achieving resilience creates a new perspective. P9 further explained that this is true for others as well, saying, "It's the same for anybody else. Like you go through some like physical shit, emotional shit like changes, but it gives you that perception so to be able to just go out into the world with a better view." As explained by P9, resilience is difficult, but the end-result of resilience includes a new perspective.

After a 2-year long string of consecutive career-threatening injuries, P1 described his personal transformation as a full circle. He noted that the creative side of his life started to come full circle punctuated by a stronger spiritual connection. I asked P7 if things were different now that he felt he has bounced-back from his adversity and he answered with an emphatic 'Yes!" P7 said "It really changed my life around in a sense where every day I enjoy waking up. It's like a process of getting better." This is an important expression of resilience because it implicates the need for personal growth in resilience. This ties back to the notion that one must "get better" to actually reach the outcome of resilience. The process of resilience is not simply a return to one's original state; it includes an element of self-improvement that results in a change or improvement of the self and of one's perspective.

P8, P10, P11, and P12 described their experiences of change. I asked each of these participants how their life had changed since experiencing adversity and developing resilience. P8 said, "Things have changed now because I trust myself to overcome

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situations," thereby reinforcing the notion that resilience is embedded within the self and improved self-efficacy. P10 stated, "I am way more positive now" and have learned how to "focus on [my] own happiness." For P10, the outcome of resilience improved his worldview and overall wellbeing. P11explained that he had become more mature, adding, "challenges look more like opportunities to grow than anything else." I find that utterance to be of value because it mentions both opportunities and growth to support both the process and outcome of resilience. Finally, P12 stated that resilience had allowed him to see life "more openly" and to embrace hard work with more enthusiasm. This can help P12 with future resilience because, as evidenced and argued above, resilience includes an element of hard work.

As stated in the literature review, this project utilized both the process and the outcome perspectives of resilience as a lens for evaluation. The outcome perspective is concerned with the end-result of resilience. For participants of this study the end-result or outcome of resilience included an element of improvement, in both physical and mental manifestations. For example, as P6 explained, one could end up with a healthier body after recovering from a severe leg injury. Mentally, as P12 put it, one could end up with a changed perspective enabling a person to view adversity with an open-mind.

Many of the participants referenced "growth" in which they felt more capable to cope with adversity and the challenges of life. This growth was subjective and often conceived in relation to the adversity that the individual participants were experiencing. . For this particular group of basketball players, the outcome of resilience was a self-defined improvement rather than simply a bounce-back or return to their pre-adversity

state. The new post-adversity self was one that could see the world with a more open-mind while enjoying a higher sense of self-efficacy.

Analysis of RQ1

To summarize, the findings for RQ1 show that resilience is verbally expressed in a number of ways: 1) resilience as a choice, 2) resilience as a pursuit, 3) resilience as work, 4) resilience as embedded in the self, and 5) resilience as a new perspective. By coding for similarities amongst expressions of resilience and using the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974) to identify the meanings, contexts, and interpretations of these expressions, the participants revealed that the development of resilience necessitated willful decision makeing as the initiation of the resilience process begins with a self-determined choice. This finding of resilience as a choice corroborates extant literature that posits active decision-making as an element of the development of resilience (Simeon, et. al, 2007; Southwick, et. al, 2014). The choice of resilience is driven by one's pursuit of competition, opportunities, or goals. And, per Bonanno (2011), who suggests that there are several factors that influence the development of resilience, my findings show that these factors can include the pursuit of goals, competition, or opportunities.

Further, the process of resilience requires participants to identify the completion of specific tasks that are related to their adversity and goals; tasks such as, rehabbing a shoulder injury or acquiring citizenship in another country to play professional basketball. These tasks, or the work of resilience, are spurred by the pursuit of goals and competition. For all of the participants of the study, identified goals and a competitive spirit focused squarely on the context of basketball. So, while the generalized pursuit of

goals and competition was a motivator of the development of their resilience, the underlying motivation was basketball.

Lastly, the result of resilience involved more than the matter of bouncing back from adversity, but necessarily entailed an element of growth. For participants in this study, this growth was often expressed as a positive change in perspective. As an outcome of resilience, participants said that were able to view adversity with an open mind and a willingness to find opportunities. The outcome of resilience, while difficult to achieve, rewards enactors with personal growth. Resilience, both the process and the outcome are shown to be highly contextual, meaning resilience is defined and pursued based on the parameters of the particular adversity experienced. I now turn to RQ2.

RQ2: *How do expressions about resilience in the context of basketball constitute a speech community for basketball participants in PG City?*

The goal of this research question is to uncover the existence of a speech community amongst the professional basketball players and coaches of *PG City*. A speech community is defined as [a group of persons sharing] the knowledge of rules of interactions, the rules of the interpretation of interactions, and the rules for interpreting one common code, or more (Hymes, 1962). To answer this question, I use the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974) to identify the uses, contexts, interactions, and interpretations of interactions to uncover instances of mutual intelligibility as well as distinctiveness in the use of speech codes. Speech codes represent a system of symbols and meanings, and rules and premises where codes are the "sets of precepts and rules by which different societies inform and interpret their ways of life" (Covarrubias, 2010, p. 356). While the focus of this question lies in expressions of resilience and how those

expressions constitute a speech community, there was also evidence of a speech community in utterances that were not about resilience as well.

This section has been divided into two parts--expressions about resilience and non-resilience expressions. Within each section I extract and label categories in which mutual intelligibility and distinctiveness are present. The categories I illumine include: the grind, and don't talk, and the category of non-resilience expressions is that of trash-talk. To preview the findings of RQ2, I present Table 2.

Table 2 – RQ2 Findings		
Category	Description	Example
The Grind	The term the grind is described as similar to the process of enacting resilience, as expressed by the participants.	"The grind it's a marathon, not a sprint. Everyday putting in work and work and work until you perfect that thing" – P7
Don't talk	One of the rules of interaction amongst the participants is to not talk about the adversity being experienced.	"To be honest, I really didn't talk to anybody" – P2 "Honestly, not really. No, I didn't talk to anybody" – P5 "I tried not to talk about it too much." – P8
Trash-talk	Corroborating evidence regarding mutual intelligibility and distinct patterns of speaking amongst the participants.	"I fucking love hoop culture. I love the shit talk." – P5 "Basketball is one of those sports where trash-talk is heavily present, and that's a part of basketball that's probably most prominent to me" – P4

The Grind

The first category in relation to expressions of resilience is "the grind." Multiple participants referenced "the grind" when asked about both basketball culture and resilience. "The grind" is used in reference to working hard towards a specific goal. It includes completing tasks that are mundane and challenging and is a longitudinal process. Below, I provide representative utterances from participants to corroborate this definition and the use of the resilience speech code of "the grind."

After losing a basketball scholarship and recovering from knee surgery, P1 discussed his resilience in terms of moving on from a college career in basketball to the start of a professional career that also included finishing a college degree. "Once I start to get the body healthy, I'm happy. Hooping like crazy and on my crazy semester grind at 21 credits because I was trying to hurry up and get a degree." In follow-up, I asked P1 to explain the grind and he described it as "just working non-stop, you do all the things you have to. No matter how much you don't want to, you just keep grinding, keep working, it's hard but you end up loving the process, at least for me." P1 understood the path of resilience to be a grind; something that must be done in order to achieve the end goal. The grind, for P1, is a long process that requires discipline that not only results in achieving the end goal, but also leads to a love of the work. P1 was able to apply the grind to his pursuit and achievement of a college degree. P7 offered a perspective that sheds light on the understanding of what the grind is.

I had asked P7 if basketball expects toughness and, in his response, he mentioned the grind a couple of times. So, I asked for clarification as to what the grind actually is. He said, "The grind, it's a marathon, not a sprint. Everyday putting in work and work and work until you perfect that thing." When I asked P7 what resilience meant to him, he equated resilience with the grind, asserting that resilience *is the grind*;

> Resilience? It's the grind, man. But I think if I had to put the definition in my head, it would be the willingness to do something no matter what. I heard Dwyane Wade say it's you get hit six times, you get up seven times and that's exactly what resilience is.

This utterance is important because it equates resilience to the grind while also referencing a well-known and world renown basketball player, Dwyane Wade. Within these two utterances, P7 sheds light on the development of resilience by comparing it to

the grind, which posits resilience as a process of disciplined hard work. The reference to

Dwyane Wade is important because it offers evidence of the shared nature of this speech

code of resilience, which is the grind.

In further discussion, P7 mentioned his desire for his younger brother to play

basketball so that he could understand the grind, and, discipline as an element of success.

"I wish he would have played because he doesn't understand like waking up at 6:00 AM

to go and grind. Obviously, he doesn't understand that." For P7 the experience of

basketball was essential in understanding the work ethic that is required by resilience and

the pursuit of goals.

To provide further understanding of the grind, P7 described it as a solitary process

that takes place behind the scenes, supporting my findings that resilience is embedded in

the self, a sometimes solitary self. P7 repeatedly remarked that, "No one sees the grind,

they just see the shine." I asked if the grind takes place behind the scenes and P7

responded without hesitation, with, "Absolutely, I feel like that's almost expected in

basketball culture." For P7, the grind is a long, difficult, and solitary process that can

lead to resilience or the achievement of goals. One must be willing to work hard on the

goals one sets for oneself, whether those goals are related to resilience or not.

P6 referenced the grind and how it directly benefitted his resilience process and

outcomes while also referencing having "gone through it." I asked P6 how sports can

translate to life away from the court. He explained, "I've gone through the grind through

athletics. It just makes you a better person because you're able to come to deal with

things on another level and in a different way, but in a healthier way than most people

even." As found in the analysis of RQ1, resilience can lead to a change in perspective,

and P6 acknowledged the grind leading to a change in perspective. This change in perspective coming from both resilience expressions and "the grind" highlights a connection between the two that suggests mutual intelligibility.

When P6 transitioned from player to coach and experienced a deep depression, he mentioned how a mentor confronted him about his struggles. P6 recalled that before class one day, the mentor pulled him aside and told him he was failing as a student and in life. P6 lamented that the message could have been received better had it come from an individual that understood the grind, saying, "I wish it would have come from maybe a younger, a little bit younger person and a person that was like maybe like a TA or a grad student because they can empathize with the grind and everything. I think I would've been a lot more responsive to them and how they talked to me." P6 acknowledged a perceived lack of mutual intelligibility or lacking shared approaches, regarding the grind that negatively influenced the effects of the message. There was a need for common understanding to spur his own resilience. This idea further supports the finding that the communication network should be comprised of some members of the same speech community so that shared understandings would be possible. P6 said he felt that if his mentor, who was not a basketball player or coach, had framed the message in ways promoting mutual intelligibility, the message would have been well-received and more influential for his resilience development.

To provide further connection between the grind and basketball, I turn to P8 who compared the grind to the challenges of a basketball season. He said toughness and basketball are connected, "Toughness to go through the ups and downs that happen during the season. From preseason to the final game, your body takes a beating, it does,

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and you have to learn how to be physically tough because the season is a grind."

According to P8, the season is a grind, or a mental and physical challenge and a long

process of ups and downs. P8 provides further support for the notion of mutual

intelligibility of what the grind and resilience are for this group of professional basketball

players and coaches.

When I asked P8 if he had any final thoughts on basketball or resilience, he

concluded with a statement that further connects the grind to basketball and resilience.

"Basketball will always challenge you in many different ways. People who have

resilience are more likely to surpass these moments and have success. You have to keep

grinding." This utterance suggests that "grinding" is the path to resilience, in which

grinding is a long process of physical, mental, and emotional work. This utterance

contributes to the process-perspective of resilience research because it defines the

development of resilience as the grind; which is a longitudinal process of hard work

towards achieving a goal.

In a follow-up interview, I asked P11 if basketball itself expects resilience and his

response further connected the grind to basketball and resilience. P11 told me, "Yes,

Chris Douglas Roberts former NBA player and NCAA National Champion, started a

brand called DCTG. It stands for Don't Cheat The Grind. I think that idea embodies the

resilience basketball expects from all who participate." This utterance is very important

as it connects previous expressions of resilience, such as choices and challenges to both

the grind and to basketball. This utterance also connects resilience and the grind to

basketball culture by identifying a former NBA player and the organization he founded.

Further, in this expression P11 references an element of growth that comes from

resilience and the grind when he said, "You will never be as good as you can possibly be if you do not choose resilience over comfort." The process of developing resilience allows you, according to P11, to tap into your potential and actualize your goals. By "choosing resilience over comfort," you are acknowledging the challenging elements of resilience for the sake of self-defined achievement.

Lastly, I turn to P12 who connected the grind and basketball to life away from the court. I asked P12 how things had changed since recovering from adversity. The response was telling: "I just see things more openly know. I've realized how much things matter to me and the goals I set for myself will never be achieved if I don't put in the time and effort. The grind should never stop on or off the court." For P12 the growth came in the form of understanding a universal nature of the grind as it is applicable in the game of basketball but also to the real world. P12 maintained that "grind" is a process of pursuing goals in the face of adversity by identifying small tasks to work on and approaching them with a desire to improve.

For this group basketball players and coaches there is mutual intelligibility regarding the connection between the grind and resilience, the grind and basketball, as well as the grind away from basketball. The grind is a longitudinal process that consists of work and leads to some form of growth or change in perspective. The concept of the grind is very similar to how participants expressed resilience as evidenced in RQ1. For professional basketball players and coaches from *PG City*, resilience is a process of "the grind" or "grinding."

I argue that, based on the data presented, "the grind" is the process of resilience. The "grind" process requires individuals to identify tasks or work to accomplish that will

contribute towards the pursuit and accomplishment of goals and competition. One must understand that the grind will require patience as it does not happen immediately. This speech code of "the grind" is similar to how participants expressed resilience as a process of work that develops over time. Recall from the literature review that a speech code is a system of symbols and meanings, and rules and premises where codes are the groups of precepts and rules that differing societies interpret their particular and distinct ways of life (Covarrubias, 2010). The speech code of the grind is important as the definition of resilience, as offered by Buzzanell (2010), is described as a dynamic process that develops over time. For this particular speech community, resilience as the grind accounts for this portion of the definition of resilience.

Don't Talk

I used Hymes (1974) to identify and analyze the following expressions of resilience that help constitute a speech community by focusing on the norms of interaction that characterize an interesting speech code of basketball culture, specifically the norm of not talking about adversity. For basketball players and coaches from *PG City*, one of the most common themes of expressions of resilience is that adversity and resilience are not talked about. It is an understood norm to not talk, and, if there is communication regarding the adversity and resilience being experienced, it is limited to only close friends, family members, and coaches and teammates. However, it is more common to simply not talk.

In the span of 3 years, P1 lost two scholarships and dealt with 3 major injuries, all of which required surgery. P1 was left feeling without the presence of basketball in his life, and, "lost without it." I wanted to know if he talked about this painful matter and to

whom. P1 admitted that he didn't speak to anyone, saying, "Not really. No one really

knew how depressed I was." As I progressed through studying and coding my interview

transcriptions, I found that this theme of near-silence about adversity was persistent

amongst the participants.

In another example, when P2 lost his playing career to a ruinous ankle injury, she

was forced into a depressive transition away from playing and into coaching. While

coaching had emerged as an admitted passion and calling for P2, the transition,

nevertheless, was difficult, so I asked if she had talked to anyone about it. P2 confessed:

> To be honest, I really didn't talk to anybody. It was rare that I did talk about it to
> my dad, I didn't know if he was disappointed or if he understood why I couldn't
> keep playing. And then with my sisters, I didn't really talk about it with them
> either... Pretty much just kind of kept it to myself honestly. I didn't like to talk
> about it, I felt almost embarrassed.

P2 found it difficult and embarrassing to admit that her career had ended, especially

because her family is composed of coaches and college players. The decision to

transition away from playing felt like it was something that had to be kept private. As P2

transitioned away from playing, she felt, at least in part, as if she was quitting or giving

up, which is something deemed unacceptable by basketball culture. The cultural norm,

then, influenced her decision to not talk about the challenges and adversity she

experienced and opted to tough it out in silence.

Both P5 and P6 offered explanations as to their reticence. After I asked P5 if he

spoke to anyone, he remarked, "Honestly, not really. No, I didn't talk to anybody." I

probed as to why and P5 offered this insight with, "I just felt like I shouldn't, it just kind

of seemed like this is what everyone went through so I should just suck it up." This is a

very important utterance because it illuminates the socially constructed nature of this

speech code. P5 felt as though all hoopers and coaches also dealt with similar issues and stayed quiet about them, so P5 also stayed quiet. To talk about his adversity, seemed to P5 to violate the norms of basketball culture.

When I asked P6 if he spoke to anyone about his difficult transition from playing to coaching, he responded with a blunt, "I didn't really talk to anyone." He later admitted that the only person he did speak with was his father. His father functioned as someone to "bounce ideas off of" and as a "listening ear," but outside of his parent, P6 said he did not speak to anyone else. In fact, P6 assumed that "this is on me," and felt the responsibility to handle adversity on his own, in silence.

After a mid-season injury left P8 sidelined for an extended period of time, he felt as if he was in an awkward predicament with his coach. P8 explained the situation: "I didn't talk to my coach too much because he was kind of an asshole to injured players, almost like we got injured to bug him or to spite him, he would push you to the side if you got hurt." Due to his precarious relationship with his coach, P8 felt as if talking about his injury would lead to further ostracizing. So, P8 resorted to not talking about his adversity with many people. He did admit to speaking with his closest brother and partner about the injury due to the healthier and more supportive relationships he had with them. The two people that P8 did talk to both had extensive experience with dealing with injuries as well which made it easier to confide in. Still, P8 added, "I tried not to talk about it too much."

During P9's battle with and recovery from cancer, he conceded that he tried to keep quiet about what he was going through. According to P9, the only people he spoke to was close friends, who happened to be fellow basketball players. P9 said, "Low Key?

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Not really, well, aside from like (friends met through basketball)." Even during one of the greatest adversities this participant had ever experienced, the idea that one should not talk about adversity was still present and influential.

When P11 was nearly kicked off his basketball team and out of the university, he found it very hard to speak about it to his family. This is what P11 told me in response to my query about who he spoke to about this adversity: "I talked to my friends, I did not talk to my family about it much because it was embarrassing and shameful." I was curious as to which friends P11 relied on, so I probed and learned that the friends he mentioned were three former teammates from middle and high school. Again, the idea that one should not talk about adversity, but if they do it should be with teammates, is a pervasive communication practice.

In concluding this section, I return to the insight of P12. I asked P12 if he spoke about the adversity he was facing and about contemplating quitting basketball. P12 explained, "It was hard for me to talk about my issues because I'm the type of person that holds everything in. I didn't voice my opinions." As seen in and through the talk of P12 and others, and as the EOC holds, culture influences the way we communicate and the way we communicate influences our culture (Hymes, 1962). As a basketball player and coach, P12 is a member of basketball culture and his personal choice to remain silent regarding adversity influenced and reinforced the norm of not-talking. The speech code of *don't talk* is socially constructed and historically transmitted by members of the speech community by their very enactments of silence when they deliberately chose to not talk about their adversity. Indeed, cultural expectations and pressures activated in basketball culture are clear, powerful, influential, and implicit. Speech community members are

seen to observe the don't talk norm, even though there was no evidence of the norm being explicitly taught. Members of this basketball speech community shared mutual intelligibility; they implicitly knew that if they chose to speak about their adversity, teammates were one of the few options. Family members were also an option, but the expression of not talking was far more common than expressions that showed basketball players and coaches speaking to their families. "Don't talk" is one of the influential speech codes activated in this particular speech community of resilient basketball players and coaches.

Additional Corroborating Evidence: Trash-talk

In the previous section I discussed how expressions about resilience constitute a speech community for *PG City* basketball players and coaches. For this section I offer additional evidence that, although not directly linked to notions of resilience, the data support my claim about the existence of a particular speech community (Hymes, 1974) in *PG City*. I begin with trash-talk, however, I discuss the additional evidence below as trash-talk and shit-talk.

In my conversations with study participants, I asked them to describe some of the strengths of basketball culture. P8 made a remark that caught my ear when he invoked a speaking practice known in basketball culture as *trash-talk*. In his response to my question about the strengths of basketball culture, he replied, "The basketball culture has its own way to talk, the slangs, the trash-talk, the challenging of each other, the competition, the way we dress, and the shoes." Merriam Webster Dictionary (2019) generically defines trash-talk as "disparaging, taunting, or boastful comments especially between opponents trying to intimidate each other." However, my finding suggest that

this dictionary definition does not accommodate the cultural meanings this term holds in basketball culture.

Curiously, my data revealed that trash-talk served multiple purposes, specifically, (1) to verbally build solidarity, camaraderie, and *esprit de corps* among teammates as well as (2) to verbally disparage opponents. Members of basketball culture at *PG City* show themselves to understand the multiple roles of trash-talk. That is, there is mutual intelligibility about the functions and uses of trash-talk among the culture bearers, both players and coaches. I also note here that "talking trash" and "talking shit" are used interchangeably within basketball culture. Based on the data I collected, I offer the following culturally-based definition for trash-talk: Offensive or insulting personal comments or gestures directed at individuals in which meaning is relationally determined; trash-talk directed at opponents serves to demean and create separation while trash-talk directed at teammates functions to build comradery and reduce psychological distance. I now move to present evidence supporting my definition.

To build solidarity. For hoopers, trash-talk can be, and is used to build camaraderie among teammates. P1 explained that his first year playing college was a very difficult period for him and underscored that one of the primary sources of resilience came from the friendships he created between two teammates; friendships that were cultivated through talking shit, as he put it. P1 described how he and his teammates competed with each other during practice sand would use these sessions as opportunities to talk shit. He said, "So every sprint, every conditioning drill, it got fun because Pierro and Max started competing with me. So we made it a good time talking shit to each other on the line doing all this. It just made it that much funner for us." For example, while

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doing sprints or conditioning drills, they would chide each that they would lose. Or,

"Max and Pierro who were way taller than me so they would always call me a midget or

a little fuck. I would tell things like, 'I'm about to smoke your big clumsy asses.'" It was

this type of shit-talk that advanced their friendship.

The role of trash-talk made their practices, which P1 admitted were typically

awful because of verbally aggressive coaching and physically destructive drills, more fun

and enjoyable. The presence of trash-talk allowed P1 and his teammates to enjoy his

time with each other. Again, these moments of shit-talk were, according to P1, "one of

the foundations of our friendship." So, in contrast to dictionary definitions, for basketball

players, shit-talk and trash-talk functioned and functions as an affirming and bonding

moment rather than act of purposeful denigration.

In responding to my question about the strengths of basketball, without my

prompting, P5 originated invocations about shit-talk in his response. P5 said:

> To tell you the truth, I fucking love hoop culture. I love the shit talk. I liked
> talking shit whether I was a player or a coach. Talking shit to your own guys, but
> also talking shit to the other team because fuck 'em. But really it's a major piece
> of hoop culture for me. That's what I love the most about coaching; the bro shit,
> the camaraderie, the friendships, the fucking around, the shenanigans, just fucking
> around with my squad.

This utterance is remarkably important because it highlights the duality of the use of shit-

talk in basketball culture; to build solidarity with teammates while simultaneously

creating social distance from opponents. P5 emphasizes that he loves shit-talk and is one

of his favorite aspects of basketball culture; acknowledging both the existence of hoop

culture and as well as one of its central components. My data revealed that the role of

shit-talk or trash-talk is present for both players and coaches and is used to create

friendships, camaraderie, *esprit de corps*, and enjoyable moments such as engaging in shenanigans.

To highlight distinctions between in-group and out-group memberships or to differentiate between team members and opponents, P3 said, "Talking shit to the other team because fuck em." P3 explained his favorite way to talk-trash to an opponent was to "Just let them know they're weak every chance I got." Moreover, trash-talk can include gestures as well, such as holding up three fingers near the face of an opponent immediately after making a 3-point shot. In follow-up interviewing, P3 was adamant about the use of trash-talk or shit-talk to disparage an opponent. I asked him what he meant by, "Because fuck em" and he replied with, "Well the other team doesn't really matter, like I don't, I don't care if they're feelings get hurt, we're here to win and if they get sour because they can't handle a little shit talk well that helps us win. So, fuck em." This utterance and subsequent explanations clearly demarcate the versatile functioning of trash-talk.

When I asked P5 to share a fond memory from his basketball career, he offered a story that exemplified trash-talk while also highlighting the socially-constructed and historically-transmitted nature of this unique genre of speech (Hymes, 1962). P5 recalled the first time he drew up a game-winning play as a coach:

> But what makes it good, is that my players were talking shit to me about it after the game. After the game we go in the locker room and we're like, we're all fucking juiced and fired up in there and right away my guys start talking trash, it was great. One of my main guys is like "Coach, you were so scared. Your hand was shaking like a bitch" and I just fucking died laughing, dude. I was proud of us for the dub, but that was one of his greatest shit-talking moments of all times. So, I was proud of him for that too man.

In a study about communication, it is important to point out that the first good memory recalled by P5 is a communication-based memory in which trash-talk is the central focus. Interestingly, P5's remark, not only showcased the importance of trash-talk in basketball culture, it offered exemplification for my conceptual claim about trash-talk constituting a socially-constructed and historically-transmitted speech code (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005) as this code reveals a particular rhetoric and a particular sociality active at *PG City*.

I asked P5 why he was so proud of his player for this moment of trash-talk and he responded, "Because I had been teaching these dudes to talk some shit all year." This situates the speech code of trash-talk as both socially constructed and historically transmitted as well as purposefully and strategically motivated. Further probing, I asked P5 why he was so proud of the players talking trash to him in his capacity as a coach, especially because it could be perceived as disrespectful by an outside onlooker. P5 responded:

> Well these dudes were just young bucks, they really didn't know how to talk shit to each other, let alone me. And this game was pretty late in the season and they had been getting better at talking shit to each other, but it was a big step to talk shit to me, especially right after a game. So it was like this, like this massive moment of proof that they were getting it, getting trash-talk. God I loved that game because they were talking trash to other teams kids too, it was just great.

In this instance, talking trash was explicitly and strategically taught to the players by the coach to socialize them into basketball culture in and through the use of a well-known speech code.

To create separation. In a final follow-up conversation with P5 regarding this subject I wanted to know what the trash-talk was that his players were saying against the other team. P5 told me "It was nothing too crazy, like holding up three fingers after

hitting a three or screaming and-1 on a tough lay-up, just simple stuff." This utterance is

important because it exemplifies in-game trash-talk directed at opponents, but also

suggests there are certain acceptable levels to talking-shit when P5 states the trash-talk

was "just simple stuff." To corroborate the notion that there are acceptable levels of

trash-talk, or *norms of interaction* (Hymes, 1962), I turn to P12 who shared a fond,

communication-based, memory of trash-talk:

> During the game, things got a bit chippy. Anybody that knows me knows I love
> this type of game. I love getting in dudes grill and get in his head. Isaiah Thomas
> was always one of my favorite hoopers because he would low-key talk shit. So,
> every bucket we hit we let the crowd know. Shit I live for shutting the crowd up,
> they were talking more shit than the players were and I loved that. We were in
> every players ear letting them know they couldn't stop us and would just have to
> take this loss to the chin. By far my favorite game of my career. Luckily, I didn't
> get a technical foul cause I was talking mad shit that night.

This utterance highlights several facets of a speech community such as distinctiveness,

mutual intelligibility, and socially constructed and historically transmitted elements

(Hymes, 1962; Philipsen, 1992; Covarrubias, 2010). First, I would like to address the

various appropriateness of trash-talk.

P12 mentioned that during a particular game he was lucky not to get a technical

foul, which is a kind of foul that governs the conduct of players and coaches during

games. Excessively taunting, or talking trash, is consider a violation of technical rules,

which is something P12, and most members of basketball culture are well aware of.

Some of the rules of trash-talk and shit-talk are explicitly stated, through technical rules,

while some of the other rules are implied and learned through experience. P12 gives

examples of the trash-talk he used during this game, such as telling opponents they

"couldn't stop us" or that they are "incompetent." Examples from P12 are important

because they affirm my claim that trash-talking is a socially-constructed and historically-transmitted speech code of basketball culture.

In a poignant example about trash-talk, P12 references his admiration for Isaiah Thomas, a well-known, former NBA player, saying, "Isaiah Thomas was always one of my favorite hoopers because he would low-key talk shit." This supports the historical aspect of trash-talk because Isaiah Thomas retired from the NBA before P12 was even born! Finally, P12 offers an example about prescriptions or norms informing the effective performance of trash-talk. In some situations, P12 says, he "would low-key talk shit," meaning he spoke in their ear, nothing loud or obnoxious. This shows that there are social norms guiding the accepted and acceptable uses of trash-talk. As explained by players, some performances can and should be loud and obnoxious and some quiet and in the ear of the player.

Spectators also play into trash-talk. Many players learn through games that the opposing crowd is often an active participant in the act of trash-talk. Many home-teams have what is called a "rowdy crowd," which is a section of the audience near the opposing team's bench who performs the role of trash-talking the opponent throughout the entirety of the game in order to distract opponents. When watching basketball games on television you can see rowdy crowds trying to distract opposing players during free-throw attempts to make baskets. P12 referenced this strategy when he said, "Every bucket we hit we let the crowd know, or at least I did. Shit I live for shutting the crowd up." Shutting the crowd up is a sign of success for the visiting or opposing team as it means a team is performing so well that the crowd is rendered speechless or unable to shit-talk. This is an example of how one can participate in shit-talk without necessarily

using verbal communication. For corroborating evidence of the verbal and nonverbal

expressions of shit-talk, I turn to P4.

I wanted to know if P4 believed that basketball expected toughness and asked him

to share his thoughts regarding the relationship between the two. P4 invoked shit-talk:

> If you're not tough you're going to get eaten alive because basketball is one of those sports where trash-talk is heavily present. You have two options when it comes to trash-talking. You can, not say shit and let your playing do the talking for you, or you could get up in there and start talking as well. And so that's a part of basketball that's probably most prominent to me, not losing the mental battle as far as, as well as the physical battle that basketball kind of requires.

P4 explained that shit-talk is not only a major component of basketball culture but also

serves as an instrument for expressing mental toughness. He offered two options for

expressing trash-talk, specifically, verbally and nonverbally through the very act of

playing well. This supports what P12 mentioned about shutting up the crowd through

play as a form of trash-talk. The channels of trash-talk, then, can both be verbal and

nonverbal, and through the very act of playing basketball well.   Additionally, P4

noted that the functions of trash-talk can serve to provide an advantage over opponents.

P5 mentioned that trash-talk can be used to build camaraderie and solidarity amongst

teammates as well as to create separation from opponents.

Trash-talk, based on the expressions above, is shown to be a fundamental

component of basketball culture and it functions in multiple ways. The rules of usage,

contexts of use, and the channels of expression are mutually intelligible among basketball

players and coaches precisely because the code is historically-transmitted. Trash-talk can

be used both to create social nearness and social distance among interactants, dependent

on the context in which it is used. It can serve to create solidarity, camaraderie, and

esprit de corps with teammates and coaches or in-group members. Conversely, trash-talk can serve to create social distance or separation from opponents and opposing crowds.

Trash-talk, used interchangeably with shit-talk, can be communicated through both verbal and nonverbal channels. The nonverbal channel of trash-talk can come in the form gestures, as well as through the act of playing basketball itself. To reiterate, the speech code of trash-talk is not directly related to resilience or expressions of resilience. Rather, the investigation and analysis of this speech code functions as bolstering evidence for the existence of a speech community amongst the basketball players and coaches of *PG City.*

Analysis of RQ2

The purpose of this question was to establish the existence of a speech community, which is the "shared knowledge of rules for the interpretation of speech including rules of the interpretation of at least one common code (Hymes, 1962), amongst the professional basketball players and coaches of this study. I used the Hymes (1974) SPEAKING model to identify the distinctiveness of codes based and their contextualized uses. Additionally, I used the SPEAKING model to identify the mutual intelligibility of the uses of these potential speech codes by analyzing how various patterns of speaking and interaction are interpreted.

The expressions provided show that there is mutual intelligibility amongst these participants regarding how to define and express resilience (as the grind), some of the rules of interaction (do not talk), and a unique speech code (trash-talk). The third proposition of speech codes theory (Philipsen, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005) posits that speech codes reveal interactants' distinct psychology and rhetoric.

Through uncovering elements of speech codes surrounding resilience, such as the grind and don't-talk, I was able to tease out elements of a distinct way of thinking (psychology), a distinct way of relating to one another (sociology), and a distinct way of moving themselves and others to action (rhetoric) within the context of resilience. The uncovered elements of these speech codes support my findings about this group of participants constituting a speech community because one of the propositions of SCT states that speech communities will enact multicodality or utilize a multiplicity of codes (Covarrubias, 2009).

The evidence of this speech community corroborates the claim that basketball indeed has its own culture. This speech community is very important as many of the participants relied on members of the speech community as important components of their communication network, which is a facilitator in the development of resilience. The notion that members of the speech community function as members of the communication network will be explored further below.

RQ3: *How does basketball culture as extracted from the expressions of basketball participants from PG City serve as a site for resilience?*

This research question was crafted to understand the relationship between basketball culture and the enactment and development of resilience for basketball players and coaches. Data revealed that basketball culture served as site for resilience in multiple ways. Specifically, basketball culture offers a location where: (1) resilience is an expected value; (2) culture-bearers enact and develop resilience skills; (3) culture bearers create and maintain communication networks to support the enactment and development

of resilience, and (4) basketball functions as a space for healing. Table 3 below provides a preview and explanation of the following findings.

Table 3 – RQ3 Findings		
Category	Description	Example
Resilience as an expected value	Basketball culture expects resilience of its participants.	"So, it's kinda like basketball won't accept you if you're not willing to persevere." – P3
Culture-bearers enact and develop resilience skills	Through consistent participation in basketball and basketball culture, players and coaches develop the skills needed to enact and develop resilience.	"This the culture. This is what I think basketball teaches us. Learning to get through adversity." – P2 "It absolutely prepared me a little bit better for the processing of challenges" – P6
Culture-bearers create and maintain communication networks for the enactment and development of resilience	Through consistent participation in basketball and basketball culture, players and coaches develop the necessary communication network to enact and develop resilience.	"My two best friends were the only people I could really talk to about this…I met them through basketball when we were in high school. Basketball was the foundation our friendship was built on." – P9
Basketball functions as a space for healing	Playing basketball provides a space for healing and a release from the stressors of adversity.	"Basketball was the catalyst, it got me out of it all. I had to do something basketball related, just had to because it helped me forget about my problems or even find a solution to them." – P10

Resilience as an Expected Value

One of the consistent themes of basketball culture, as uttered by the participants, is that resilience is expected from the culture bearers. Many of the participants explained that within basketball culture one learns that quitting is simply not an option. However, some participants went as far as to say that basketball culture demands resilience; in other words, not only that they should surrender to a particular circumstance, but that they should bounce back from it and win over the adverse circumstance.

At the close of the interview with P1, I asked if he had any final thoughts regarding the relationship between basketball, basketball culture, and resilience. He explained

> Basketball will break you down, still expect you to show up the next day with the attitude of, 'I'm committed. I'm here.' That's a demand. The basketball world breeds resilience. If you can't be resilient, you're viewed as somebody who can't hang in the sport.

P1 noted that basketball is exigent for several reasons and in order to commit to the sport and its culture, one must be resilient. He explicitly highlighted the connection between the sport and resilience by noting that basketball, itself, "breeds resilience." When P1 stated, "If you can't be resilient you're viewed as somebody who can't hang in the sport," he referenced the idea that the individual who quits is subject to severe social judgment by being evaluated as a weak self or someone who cannot effectively cope with adversity, stress, and distress. This example also showcases the idea of the social construction (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005) of resilience as a cultural value and expectation which comports real and profound social consequences. To be seen as lacking resilience by onlookers, in this social construction, is to be assessed as an inadequate bearer of the culture.

P7 admitted that one cannot be a productive participant in basketball culture without resilience. In response to my question about the relationship between basketball and resilience, he said, "Yeah, you can't play if you're not (resilient). There's just no way. There's just, there's just no way." As a basketball player, the game of basketball needs you to enact your own resilience in order to remain an active member of the sport and community. P2, who referred to herself as being in the gym when she was "in the womb," explained how the game creates resilience for its participants. She affirmed:

It definitely does [expect resilience] because there's times where want to quit. You know you can't quit. You still got eight minutes and you still got one more quarter left to play, you know, so you have to fight through it. And it helps build that resilience. I think it's a choice, but it's also kind of like almost a skill, like something you can enact when you need it. I think you can learn.

This utterance illuminated the connection between the game of basketball and how the culture creates and expects resilience from its participants. P2 noted that the game of basketball itself is filled with difficult situations in which one can choose to quit, but that quitting is presented as a non-option, rendering the choice of resilience to be a necessary choice. However, what is most significant about this utterance is the idea that resilience is a skill that can be learned and developed by participating in basketball. P2 said that resilience could be "enacted," which further corroborated my claim that resilience is a choice, directly engaging human agency. So, while basketball culture does expect resilience, it also teaches it.

P3, who had played basketball for 20 years and had coached for 10, expressed his deep understanding of what basketball can teach and expects of players when he said, "You have to be able to just persevere a lot. You're gonna fail, you're not going to be successful [in basketball and in life]. So, it's kinda like basketball won't accept you if you're not willing to persevere." To be a consistent and lasting member of the basketball community, you must persevere. As did P1 and P2, P3 acknowledged that basketball implicated inherent obstacles that must be faced and to maintain one's standing as a member of the basketball world, one must be "willing to persevere" and intentionally make the choice for resilience. Basketball does expect resilience because the path to longevity, whether it is in the basketball world or the non-sport world, is rife with adversity, setbacks, and failures that can be and must be defeated.

P5, someone who also had played and coached basketball for nearly 20 years,

echoed the expressions of other study participants when he said:

> Every hooper that has stuck it out, I feel like they've been fucked over at some point, so basketball does expect resilience. It's because basketball itself is resilient. It won't fucking quit. And so, if you want to be a participant, you have to be resilient. It can't be some half-assed-willy-nilly bullshit. If you're going to live that shit, you're going to be resilient because that's what basketball is.

For P5, one is required to be resilient to stay within the basketball world because of the

challenges that basketball presents. P5 believed that all hoopers who have crafted an

extended career in basketball have pushed through adversity because basketball itself *is*

resilient. Basketball culture expects resilience due to its own resilient nature, according

to P5, basketball finds a way to exist. This perspective also suggests that resilience

requires a choice of commitment. Resilience, and participation within basketball culture,

is challenging and thus, in order to do so, one must choose to commit to the development

of resilience

I found P12 to be particularly poignant in his reasoning about basketball

expecting resilience. He said,

> I think in a way yes. Everything isn't sweet in basketball and it never will be. You gotta withstand a lot of things most people would crumble up if faced with. I think it takes a certain kind of woman or man to face adversity head on and slap it across the face.

I asked P12 if basketball created that certain type of woman or man, and he confidently

responded with, "Yes." Not only does basketball expect resilience, basketball *creates*

resilience.

P3 even mentioned that non-resilient people are somewhat identifiable through

how they conduct themselves in basketball situations. In this response, P3 suggested that

a quitter in basketball signaled a quitter in life. P3 said, "Whenever you go play open

gym with those guys that lose right away, like they're easy to spot out. They lose right away, then they leave the gym. You can tell like that's what their life is because they probably do the same thing." P3 understood that basketball translates into non-sport life and a lack of perseverance in one area can lead to a lack of perseverance in other areas of life as well. Basketball, according to P3, does not just expect and teach resilience, it fortifies resilience within its participants.

In a conversation regarding what basketball teaches basketball players, P4 raised the role of the basketball community in influencing individuals to persevere. P4 said "The thing about basketball too, is like the community factor is if you let your peers that play basketball see you quit, disrespect is immediately there, and they will not fuck with you." When P4 says that "they will not fuck with you" that means that your peers will stop associating with you. Being ostracized implicates not only being shunned from basketball, but, also, alienated from a communal life. This supports the socially-constructed nature of this norm of resilience that is active within this particular speech community in that expectations of resilience are created and influenced by the expectations of members of the speech community.

P10 offered a similar perspective in which he connected the expectation of resilience with other members of basketball culture bearers. In discussing his own experiences of adversity, P10 explained that he wanted to quit because of depression prompted by grief, and adds that basketball influenced him to enact resilience, in part, as an expression of caring for his teammates. P10 said, "That's how I felt the few times I have wanted to quit, it's just a waste you know? You know it won't actually help, it won't stop that problem. It shows your teammates and coaches you didn't care about

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them." P10 wanted to quit basketball but the desire to persevere for the sake of his teammates was particularly powerful. Indeed, basketball culture was remarkably influential in P10's attitude and conduct, in his case, not only to affirm the self, but to affirm his teammates as well.

I asked P8 if he thought basketball expected resilience and he agreed and elaborated,

> I think basketball expects resilience because you have to be able to fight through adversity. Basketball will challenge you in many ways, and it is the resilience in my opinion that will push you through these moments in order to succeed. The best teams, the best players, they are resilient because they have to be, teams that lose, players that quit, they are not the best. So, if you want to be good, or if you want to be the best, you have to show resilience.

This utterance is especially insightful because it relates resilience to multiple aspects of basketball life such as, finding scholarships and in-game situations. Resilience is prevalent within the basketball world in multiple realms, amplifying the expectation that one must be resilient.

I use the utterances below to further corroborate my argument about resilience as a cultural expectation of basketball are important because they acknowledge that within the sport and culture of basketball that adversity is inevitable. P9 said,

> You will fail in basketball. You can't make every shot, make the right play every possession, or play a perfect game every time. You will be criticized by your coaches, fans, and opponents. You will be humbled at some point. Through all of this, you must remain resilient. You must overcome it to continue to work on your craft, to keep improving, to take the criticism given to you and grow from it.

According to P9, the obstacles that basketball players face are opportunities for learning and growth rather than moments in which one should turn away. There are a multitude of challenges when committing to basketball and the game is going to allow a person to grow should one choose a path of resilience. Criticism transcends immediate teammates

to include negative valuations from coaches, fans, and opponents, thus augmenting the pressure for choosing resilience.

P10 also acknowledged that basketball culture expects resilience from participants. He said,

> Nothing ever goes right in basketball all the time, it's a game of flow, of runs, of ups and downs. So, you can be a no-name player in this world and quit or you can be resilient and find your niche for the team you are on and work that to your advantage.

This utterance is important because it connects the basketball hierarchy, specifically, all-star and well-known player or unknown players on tiny college teams located in the middle of nowhere. This expression also related the role of the team in the choice of resilience. Choosing resilience not only benefits the individual, it also benefits the team. In recollection of the some of the explanations regarding the strengths of basketball culture, many participants claimed one of the strengths to be team unity. So, not only is resilience expected by basketball culture, its influence has an impact on one of its core strengths—team unity.

I close this section with an utterance from P12. His input offers insight into the perceived differences between insiders and outsiders of basketball culture,

> I think in a way yes. Everything isn't sweet in basketball and it never will be. You gotta withstand a lot of things most people would crumble up if faced with. I think it takes a certain kind of woman or man to face adversity head on and slap it across the face.

I asked if P12 believes that basketball created this "certain type" of person and he swiftly said, "Yes." P12 expressed that basketball expects and creates resilience for its participants and that it separates in-group basketball players from outsiders of basketball culture.

Recalling the work of Sarkar and Fletcher (2013), resilience in athletes is a prerequisite for athletic success, thus, resilience as an expected value of basketball culture is not surprising. Culture is socially constructed and historically transmitted (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005) and one of the elements of basketball culture that is both historically transmitted and socially constructed is quitting is not an option; resilience is an expected value. Through participating in basketball and basketball culture, hoopers learn the notion of resilience through small instances during practice and games from their coaches and teammates, which is then applied to life away from the court during times of adversity. This is an invaluable lesson for basketball players and coaches.

The expected resilience benefits the individual as well as the team, an important aspect of basketball culture. When discussing the strengths of basketball culture, many participants mentioned the balance of team-unity and an individual-focus which teaches basketball players that resilience is not only an act of self-preservation it is a benefit to others as well. Through participating in the sport and culture of basketball, hoopers learn that resilience extends beyond the self and includes others as well.

Culture Bearers Enact and Develop Resilience Skills

Throughout the interview process, several of the participants mentioned the real-world benefits of basketball. Participating in basketball, especially at a high level over multi-year span can teach individuals many life lessons that can be applied to real world circumstances. Many of these lessons have been prevalent in the development of resilience for the participants in the study.

P2 mentioned that resilience is something that can be learned and enacted, and that is a choice. She told me,

You take one person who's played basketball through their life and then one person, let's say they quit, I'd like to see a study on who's more successful in life. I'm going to put my money on the person who will play basketball their entire life because they learned discipline, they learned, team unity, they learned all those important things. And while this other person, what were they doing? They weren't getting those life skills and now you know, life's going to be a lot tougher. Some of the things that you learned in basketball that are bigger than the sport.

Although I did not ask about resilience and basketball, yet she still chose to connect resilience back to basketball. For P2, a former college player and current coach, basketball is essential for the learning of resilience. P2 said that this with such veracity that she would bet a basketball player is more resilient than a non-hooper.

P2 continued to elaborate on some of the real-world lessons learned throughout her life as a basketball player and coach. P2 stated that these lessons are a product of the culture, saying, "This is the culture of basketball, you know, you got to get ready for that adversity. This the culture. This is what I think basketball teaches us. Learning to get through adversity." P2 understood that the culture of basketball prepares the basketball player for adversity, suggesting that the culture of basketball prepares the player for resilience as well. P2 added, "Basketball, it's just not for everybody and I feel like, I wish that they (players who quit) would stick it out and try it out because it does help you with so many other things and it helps you become resilient." P2 maintained that basketball culture teaches life lessons that help you become resilient. She even referenced players who choose to quit basketball and she further noted that if those who quit had continued with basketball, they would have learned to be resilient.

P3, who is also a former college athlete and current high school coach, also said he believed that basketball teaches participants to fight through adversity. P3 explained, "But I mean basketball obviously teaches you all the stuff that you need for life. Learning

how to be dependable and learning how to fight through adversity, I mean just all those

life skills that you have to have." This utterance was in response to my questioning if

basketball teaches lessons that are applicable away from the court, although, I did not

directly mention resilience or adversity. Without prompting, P3 said that basketball

teaches how to fight through adversity, and by extension, teaches resilience for other life

situations.

This is a belief shared by P4, who expressed in a much more succinct manner,

"And it's like, that's one thing the basketball teaches you is you can't quit." To expand,

P4 compared a challenging basketball situation to education,

> And that applies to school so well because the fourth quarter in basketball, you're
> tired, you're exhausted, you just came out in the third quarter and gave your
> fucking all to try and just to be there just to be in the fourth. And then that fourth
> quarter it's all or nothing. It's the same exact thing was school. Like all of your
> main assignments are due and if you don't do well on those assignments, you're
> not going to win the game.

As someone who has spent his adolescence and entire adult-life dedicated to the game of

basketball, I can relate to this comparison. I have always maintained that the final month

of the semester is the 4th quarter of a basketball game. Early in my graduate education I

turned in a paper at the deadline that was of poor quality and the gracious professor

allowed me two more days to improve it, and in this moment, I proclaimed that my

semester was going into overtime. This framing into basketball concepts actually

allowed me to be excited for the opportunity for accomplishment rather than sulk about

the original poor-quality paper.

When I asked P5 about the strengths of basketball culture talked about learning

how to win. However, within the utterance some of the communication processes of

resilience can be identified. P5 explained the strengths of basketball culture,

> I kind of feel like basketball in general teaches you that, like, shit happens. You have a game plan, but shit changes, so you need to be able to see what has happened, see the situation, see how to tweak the game plan, see how to win. You learn that in basketball.

P5, a long-time coach, admitted that in the act of coaching that shit happens (adversity) and in that moment, you must be able to identify what happened (craft normalcy), and see how to tweak the plan (alternative logic) to achieve the win (resilience). P5 closed by stating that this is learned in basketball, something that I agree with.

As mentioned in earlier sections, basketball players and coaches often express resilience as requiring work. For basketball players, the embracing of work is taught by the game of basketball itself, as evidenced by this expression from P6,

> My biggest positive for hoop culture, I think is the work ethic, because it reflects the result and I think you can carry that type of work, you can carry over into academia or your job performance into lots of other things people take for granted.

This connection to work ethic is important because, as discussed in the analysis of RQ1, resilience is expressed as a result of hard work. Learning a strong work ethic then becomes applicable to resilience as resilience is a result of challenging work.

Further connecting basketball to important life lessons of resilience, P6 added, "It absolutely prepared me a little bit better for the processing of challenges and kind of, kind of how to get better as well." Basketball culture is not only about teaching the importance of a strong work ethic, it also prepares its members to process and reframe their adversity in order to recover and develop resilience. Recalling my analysis of RQ1, resilience was expressed with an element of work; to enact resilience one must work. Basketball, according to P6 teaches one the value of a work-ethic, which is needed to conduct the work of resilience.

P9 also referenced learning the importance work ethic from basketball culture.

He explained,

> Michael Jordan was who I idolized as a kid. MJ was relentless in his work ethic towards the game. My work ethic developed out of not only wanting to be like him, but also I had to outwork everyone else. That work ethic is what has allowed me to get to where I am with basketball and achieve what I have envisioned for myself.

Michael Jordan is the most famous basketball player in the history of the game and has taught countless basketball players that a strong work ethic is one of the key ingredients to success. However, for P9 that success was a form of resilience as his career was defined by a perpetual position of adversity due to a lack of physical stature. I too am influenced by Michael Jordan. For the last 12 years I have kept a picture of him above the front door to my residences to "Bless me with the Jordan-Drive" every time I walk out into the world. This corroborates the historically-transmitted and socially-constructed nature of basketball culture. For many of the basketball players in this study, the desire to work hard comes from being members of the basketball community, and as many of the participants have elucidated, one of the keys to resilience is work.

One of the more important lessons that basketball taught P7 was self-teaching and resourcefulness. P7 explained the strengths of basketball culture: "Teaching yourself I think is a huge asset to basketball players. You know as a hooper you have to like, you have to know how to be resourceful." Resilience is partially a process of putting alternative logics to work (Buzzanell, 2010) and learning how to be resourceful can be a key facilitator of that process and is something that is learned through basketball culture. Further, tapping into one's communication network can also be perceived as "being resourceful" as the communication network provides access to

social resources. This idea of learning resourcefulness from basketball further ties the

processes of resilience to the lessons taught through participation in basketball.

I turn to one final expression from P7 to illuminate some of the things that

basketball culture teaches. I extracted this response from P7's explanation of the

strengths of basketball culture and with reference to famous professional basketball

players who have stories of resilience that were driven by basketball, such as Allen

Iverson and Kevin Garnett. P7 said,

> I'm just seeing that if basketball could literally save these people's lives (Iverson
> and Garnett), I felt that for sure it was a big thing for me too. It was really
> basketball. I learned so much from it. You know, if you want to make it that bad,
> you'll dive and throw your body on the floor to get that last bit. Same thing
> applies to whatever it is. You know, taking one for the team, taking a body here
> so that everyone else gets the next play. There's one thing (my coach) did teach
> us, it is for sure "amnesia." I will give him that. You know, like you'd airball a
> three, but it's like "Man, who cares, whatever, let's go to the next play." That has
> been a big thing for me. That's, that's been really good.

This utterance is of value as it contains several important pieces. P7 referenced the

lessons taught by basketball such as sacrifice in the name of goals. This is exemplified

by P7's when he said, "throw your body on the floor to get that last bit."

The other life-lessons referenced are commitment to the team, which can aid in

the maintaining of communication networks, and amnesia or forgetting the bad plays in

pursuit of the good. This approach is very similar to the process of reframing. However,

what really sticks out in this utterance is the reference to basketball saving people's lives.

P7 acknowledges well-known NBA players, such as Kevin Garnett and Allen Iverson and

how basketball brought them to resilience.

As seen from the data presented, it is clear that basketball, for these players and

coaches, teaches skills that apply beyond basketball. Basketball prompts and teaches the

pursuit of goals and the development of resilience as people, not only as basketball players. For members of the basketball world, basketball has become far more than a game; rather it functions as a teacher that prepares them for life at-large.

Many of the participants expressed that the skills and lessons they learned through participation in basketball have been applied to the development of their own resilience. Some participants expressed that participation in basketball prepared them to fight through adversity. As evidenced in RQ1, participants express that an element of resilience is work. In this section, many participants expressed that basketball taught the value of a work ethic that can be applied to the development of resilience. While basketball does expect resilience of its participants, the game and culture also provide the skills needed to enact and develop resilience.

Culture-bearers Create and Maintain Communication Networks for the Enactment and Development of Resilience

A major component of the development of resilience is the maintenance of communication networks (Buzzanell, 2010). For basketball players and coaches, the communication network is partially comprised of teammates. The utterances of study participants showed basketball to offer a location for the enactment and development of resilience precisely by the presence of communication networks upon which hoopers rely to overcome severe life blows. Most of my study participants invoked their ability to overcome setbacks, traumas, and tragedies by seeking out and receiving much needed social support from the communication networks comprised by teammates.

P2 illuminated the role of teammates as supporting social relationship that extend beyond the sport itself and that provide love and caring. She told me,

I would say the team and team unity. I think people crave that love and that care that they don't get outside of basketball. I try to tell my girls we're all here for one reason. We're all here to win. We all have something in common. I think team unity is the thing that stands out to me most and when it comes to basketball I think people crave that.

This utterance highlights the role of the team within basketball culture. While it does not directly point to the relationship between the team and resilience, it does show the important role of the team and teammates within basketball culture. P2 pointed to the emotional connection among team members when she said, "People crave that love and care" as well as team members' reliance on one another for emotional support. For many of the participants, the people they turned to during their adversity were teammates or people that they met through playing basketball.

After high school and not being recruited to play college, P1 sought solace and social support by reaching out to former teammates to find some place and some way to continue playing basketball. P1 explained,

I just reached out to one of them on myspace at the time. Was like "Hey man, I wanna know where you guys play. I get down on this shit, like I'm down with the And-1 stuff. I'm down with all of this." It was my way of keeping something going on with basketball because I was done [with basketball].

After questioning who P1 reached out to while in Phoenix, he told me it was to an old teammate from middle school. As a plan of resilience or for bouncing back from the disappointment of not being recruited, P1 searched and found a new way to keep basketball at the center of his life, even at the expense of relocating to Phoenix to play a streetball, which is a completely different kind of basketball. As a resilience strategy, P1 used his communication network, specifically a former teammate, to adapt to a new life situation.

Once P1 found a college to play for, he found himself in a very limited role as a bench player and needed an alternative logic in order to increase his playing time and contribute to the team. During this phase of life, P1 forged a relationship with two teammates who proved to be vital sources of motivation and resilience. P1 said,

> We have practice or open gym at like 3:00 and I will show up at like 1:00 to start shooting. I had to work. So Max would start coming because he was seeing me doing all the ball handling stuff and was like "I'm trying to get my handles better." So, we show up and work. Pierro always respected me for that. He would show up and try and get working too. I gravitated towards those dudes the most because you could tell like they were similar to me in their approach [to the game of basketball].

P1 was able to tap into his own resilience by reaching out to and working with teammates. I asked P1 if these teammates helped him withstand the challenging season and he told me that, "Without Max and Pierro there is no way I would have finished the season." These teammates were important components of P1's communication network. Rather than simply acting as members of the same team, his teammates also functioned as components or members of the communication network that supported his process of resilience.

P10 also offered valuable insight into the role teammates play in the process of resilience for basketball players and coaches. He described his adversity as a "real depression" that was caused by severe grief from several deaths of loved ones within a short period. This adversity took place at the time P10 played college basketball, so I asked if his teammates were an important presence during the resilience process. His response was telling: "Oh absolutely, always, like your teammates are always your brothers. So, knowing that we were really teammates, on the same type of that shit, it mattered, it made it easier to share and to be honest about things you know?" I asked

what he meant by, "We were on the same type of shit," meaning, "They just get it, they get the struggle." P10 recognized that the active relationship shared with his teammates was stronger than the mere fact of collecting people on a team. His teammates proved to be vital for his resilience process because it gave him a clear communication network with people with whom he was intelligible on emotional and relational levels.

I asked P4 about the relationship between basketball and toughness. He linked his response to the need for a strong supporting cast, another way of invoking a strong communication network. P4 elaborated on the relationship between basketball and toughness,

> I think that's where the resilience comes in. Because you never know what's going to happen in basketball. You could be one of the better players and no matter how good you are, if you don't have a solid supporting cast around you, you can get beat.

Similarly, P4 maintained a belief that in-game resilience is made possible by relying on the team and teammates. While this notion may not directly translate to real world examples, it shows the need for a strong communication network because "without a strong supporting cast," losing becomes more possible. For basketball players, the "strong supporting cast" plays a role in resilience both on and off the court as we have seen by the explanations from several study participants.

As with P2, P5 discussed some of the strengths of basketball culture and he elaborated on some of the cultural expectations about team unity. He explained, "Oh, it's like this weird fucking mix of team unity and kind of being a star. You do this shit for your fucking teammate." Basketball, according to P5, expects players to commit to and work for teammates. Although basketball expects and teaches its participants to value the self, there is a strong emphasis on commitment to the team. P6 echoed P5, adding: "It is

a great metaphor for life and working with a team in a real job, right? You make yourself

better and that means your company does better. I think that basketball is a better

reflection of that part of life, more so maybe than other sports." P6 connected

basketball's cultural expectations for participating in the game to real life situations such

as working for an organization. Participants learn through basketball that self-

improvement is also a function of group improvement.

P6 furthered this connection by talking about how the right teammates can play a

role in the process of resilience as well as the process of self-development, saying, "You

got to find people that want to come up on your level because you don't know how far

you can go, you know, so in that regard you kind of lean on other people when things are

challenging." Lastly, P6 connected the role of coaches, an important piece of the

basketball team and speech community, in the process of resilience. He said, "Most of

the time if the coaches were telling you something it's because it is going to benefit you.

They weren't going to tell you something that's going to be to the detriment. So, you

know that whatever they tell you, you take it for what it is." P6 noted that within

basketball culture, one learns how to take advice from mentors and coaches, who can

function as members of the communication network.

P7 supported the notion that basketball teaches people how to listen to coaches

when they are teaching or offering advice and connected this skill to situations outside of

the game of basketball. P7 said,

> You always want to be, "Oh, I can do that," and sort of learning to let that ego go,
> listening to the coach, I think that helps outside. Like if you have a mentor,
> listening to a mentor kind of teaching you what things make sense when things
> don't make sense.

Through participation in basketball, hoopers learn how to put their ego aside in order to receive advice and direction and this is something that is applicable away from the court. To be able to utilize the communication network, this skill of listening and receiving advice is necessary. While using the communication network is not always a matter of taking the advice of others, it is a process that takes place; thus, basketball helps individuals develop this skill.

When P7 told me about the adversity he experienced during high school, a particular event that he did not share the explicit details of but mentioned it nearly destroyed his family. He explained the role that basketball and his best friend in the development of resilience,

> Basketball was how I met one of my best friends who I'm still friends with today, since fifth grade. He read about whatever happened in the newspaper, and he called me, the first thing he said is like, "I know they seized everything. If you need a car, you're more than welcome to take mine whenever you come over," this and that.

P7 acknowledged the important role this friend played in his process of resilience while also noting that this friendship started and was developed through basketball. This friendship was an important element of the communication network utilized by P7 because it provided access to social resources such as, transportation. Due to the fact that P7 and this friend grew up playing basketball together, have coached together, and continue to play together to this day, I argue that basketball served as resource and context that provided P7 with this particular member of his communication network.

For P8, the members of his communication network upon which he relied to develop resilience after a major shoulder injury were also people who were experienced and connected with basketball. P8 told me,

I mostly talked to my closest brother, the one I am closest to in age and spent the most time hooping with, we even played together in college. And I talked to my girl about it too, she's a hooper and has gone through it too. She lost a whole season to a knee injury so she really knew what it was like to be in that position. But I tried not to talk about it too much.

These communication network members maintained an important interpersonal role within P8's life and development of resilience. While these relationships, such as brother and romantic partner, were deeper than teammates, these relationships were maintained and developed in part through basketball. I asked P8 about how he met his partner and he responded that it was through basketball. He said, "We met at the gym. We started shooting around together and it just went from there." P8 was dependent on a communication network that was comprised of close and personal relationships but also was crafted and maintained through basketball. Basketball, for P8, provided the communication network needed for this manifestation of resilience to play out.

Playing college basketball and advancing his career was very difficult for P12. It was replete with obstacles and setbacks that posed immense emotional labor. P12 told me these challenges were mitigated by a relationship with a former basketball coach. I asked P12 who he spoke to about his adversity, such as losing a scholarship and severe illness, and he mentioned his family, his fiancé, and his basketball coach. P12 said,

I spoke with someone who I respected very much so in my coach at the time, about a few of my personal demons from the year previous. He helped me turn them into positives. Showed me how to turn years of disappointment into sweat, blood, and hard work. Having a mentor is something I recommend to any athlete. That's what is good about athletics, you get access to a mentor. Not every player is lucky enough or wise enough to have a mentor through athletics, but all athletes at least have the chance for that.

P12 explained the role of a basketball coach in his development of resilience while also pointing out that athletic relationships can be significantly influential. P12 noted that

athletics in general provide access to relationships, such as between players and coaches, that can function as pieces of the communication network.

For my final example, I used a quote that highlights the role of relationships developed through basketball in P9's successful fight with cancer and transition from a college to a professional player. P9 said,

> My two best friends were the only people I could really talk to about this. These two were the only ones I felt comfortable enough to openly talk about things with. I owe my career to those two because they supported me the most when I was trying to make such a jump to the pros, especially after the cancer, with so many people telling me it was over, and it was useless... I met them through basketball when we were in high school. Basketball was the foundation our friendship was built on. We have a genuine love of the game, a passion like no other. That initial similarity is what really allowed our friendship to grow. We were always training in the gym around the same time of day and there was like a mutual respect and, and like admiration for each other's grind when training, and just constantly talking about different basketball is what really grew our friendship.

This is a very powerful example of the role that basketball plays in the development of relationships and how those relationships can function to help individuals in their path of resilience. Two important members of the communication network were his two closest friends. Further, P9 noted that those relationships were created, strengthened, and maintained through basketball. Basketball, in a sense, is itself a process of maintaining the communication network.

Using the expressions of above, one can see that basketball culture provides basketball players and coaches with both the communication network needed for resilience, but also basketball functions as a means to maintain that communication network. Through playing and coaching basketball, these participants were able to initiate, develop, and maintain their communication network, which is a marked communication process of resilience.

The participants of this study noted several times that they, for the most part, did not talk about their adversity or resilience. However, when they did talk about what their adversity they would speak with teammates and coaches. Thus, their communication network was provided through basketball and through basketball culture. This is one of the ways that basketball culture serves as a site for resilience.

I would like to note that the communication network is not comprised solely of teammates and coaches. Many participants referenced family members as people they relied on for resilience as well. My argument is that teammates and coaches are key components of a player's supportive communication network.

Basketball Functions as a Space for Healing

Within in this section I explore the many utterances in which basketball is expressed as a form of therapy for basketball players and coaches. Recall an example from the introduction: a former teammate and colleague of mine who experienced tremendous loss early in his life, in a newspaper interview, referred to basketball as an escape. He said, "I relied on basketball. Any time I was struggling with emotions, I just went to the gym and worked out. Basketball was my escape." (Hendricks, 2012). Many of my study participants said that the act of basketball functioned as a therapeutic release as well. There are several examples in which participants explicitly claimed basketball as therapy. There are other examples in which the term "therapy" is not directly expressed; but, the role of basketball is invoked as source for release from the stresses of adversity. I begin with expressions about therapy from P9.

P9 discussed the role that basketball played in his recovery from cancer, as well as the struggle to build a professional career post-recovery. P9 told me, "Strength and

conditioning and basketball became my therapy. It was the only thing I found true

happiness in anymore. I locked into it so hard as it was therapy for me." While the battle

with cancer was the most difficult physical challenge of P9's life, it was also one of the

most difficult emotional challenges. Basketball functioned as a catalyst to keep P9 on a

positive and motivated avenue.

Rather than focusing on the darkness of his near-death experience, P9 used

basketball to stay focused on his return rather than the adversity experienced. P9 said, "It

(basketball) kept my mind from wandering to dark places, it slowly allowed me to find

happiness and peace again in my life, while igniting a fire within me to strive for more."

As basketball teaches its participants to remain silent about their struggles, it

simultaneously offers them a therapeutic opportunity to explore their emotions and paths

of resilience.

When talking about the struggles of rehab, P9 acknowledged that rehab was

driven by basketball itself. P9 told me "Basketball is what motivated me to wake up and

rehab. Basketball is what kept me going to finish my chemo treatments. Basketball is

what gave me hope." When further communicating about the rehabilitation process, P9

again mentioned basketball as a form of therapy, saying, "So it was just slowly but surely

just building it back and day by day and so all the, all the, all the working I did at the

time, but that's when I fell in love with that shit because it just turned into therapy more

so from a mental state." This idea of basketball operating as a form of therapy is a

common understanding amongst the participants, whether it is described as therapy or as

a release.

P4 found basketball to be a release from the stresses of every-day life, as well as a way to maintain his identity. P4 elaborated on basketball as a release,

> Once those times in the gym when you're by yourself shooting are like super important for your mental health too, because especially whenever you take a sport, whether it's basketball, baseball, whatever, and you apply it as a release, then you almost lose yourself from all the other stuff that's going on.

The act of shooting, according to P4, has now extended beyond a function of basketball-skill development and has evolved to operate as way to relieve the stresses of adversity and everyday life. I acknowledge that has been true in my own life as well.

P4 emphasized the role of basketball as a release. This quote came to fruition during a discussion of basketball as a piece of the identity. P4 claimed that,

> It was definitely a feeling of "this is the only thing you have at the time," whenever I was playing a lot, that's all I saw for myself and it was the only thing that I had to cling too and the only thing I had that could release me from all the other stuff that was going on.

For P4, not only was basketball a major piece of his identity, it was a release from adversity and the challenges with which he struggled to navigate at a time in his life. Basketball was key element of his plan for improving and maintaining his mental health.

While P3 did not invoke basketball as a release or as therapy, but he did connect the playing of basketball to overall happiness. He said, "I wouldn't do anything else if I could play basketball all day long. I wouldn't do anything else. I think that's the thing that will make you happy in life." This utterance does not directly support the finding that basketball is therapeutic, but it does offer a tangential connection to the role that basketball plays in the management of one's overall well-being. Basketball is vital for the happiness of its participants. I know that in my own experience I find myself yearning for the court during the downswings of life.

P3 further described basketball as one of the influences that helps hoopers push through the hard times. In relation to basketball, P3 stated that, "Basketball's, like the catalyst that gets you through it." I find that utterance to be particularly powerful as I agree that basketball is the catalyst of resilience. Again, this utterance does not directly support the finding that basketball is "therapeutic," but, it does highlight the role that basketball plays in improving the mental health of basketball players.

P10 corroborated the idea that basketball is the catalyst for basketball players to improve their mental health and pursue resilience, saying,

> Honestly, basketball was the catalyst, it got me out of it all. When things were at their worst I would just pick up a rock. Shit, I even slept with one for months. It just seemed right. Basketball was always my safe haven and it still is. Any emotions that struck me as bad, I would get a ball and go shoot, workout, or hoop, every time. I had to do something basketball related, just had to because it helped me forget about my problems or even find a solution to them.

For P10, basketball played a considerable role in recovering from grief and depression, and for enacting his own resilience. Some of the smallest or simplest acts, such as shooting around in the gym alone, provided peace and comfort. However, shooting around in the gym also provided P10 the space to consider solutions to the emotional challenges posed by his depression. Even sleeping with a basketball or "a rock" provided comfort because of the outsized role that basketball played in the world of P10. I would like to note that sleeping with a basketball is not uncommon or unusual for basketball players. I know several players and coaches that do this, myself included. I have two basketballs on my bed at all times.

P10 continued further and proffers the belief that basketball plays this same role for other participants as well. P10 explained the connection between resilience and basketball: "Well I also think basketball is a cure for some people that are going through

some shit. For example, anytime I feel some type of way (euphemism for emotionally struggling) I can pick up a basketball and forget about all my problems." In this instance, P10 acknowledged that basketball functions as a cure for emotional stressors for basketball players while also functioning as a buffer against the mental fixations of the adversity being experienced. This is a sentiment echoed by P12.

At the conclusion of the interview, I offered P12 the opportunity to make final comments regarding basketball, basketball culture, or resilience. P12 offered a wonderful statement that supports the notion that basketball is good for one's mental health, "Nothing helps clear my head like giving people and my other teammates buckets. The art of basketball is peaceful and chaotic and beautiful all in the same sense. It soothes me when I'm down." P12 directly stated that basketball soothed him when he is down and that it is something he will cherish forever. P12 stated that, "Giving people buckets," which is a metaphor for playing basketball, cleared his mind. It helped him move forward from the mental fixations of his adversity, regardless of the adversity of the moment.

Before closing this section with a supportive example from P7, I look to P5 for more indirect evidence of basketball being an influence in one's mental well-being. Rather than claiming basketball to be good for his mental health, P5 described the absence of basketball to be a detriment to his psychological well-being. P5 described a low point in his life as one without basketball,

> There was like a month and a half or two months where I didn't really have somewhere to hoop consistently where I could just go and fucking just get shots up. I really hated that period of my life. So, I'm with no gym access and shit to do, I Just fucking sulked about it all the time and then I got gym access and I would go shoot all the time and it would just, that's when it started sinking in like, you got here and now fucking let's get to work.

I asked what he meant by, "Get to work" and P5 explained that he felt more motivated to pursue his goals again. P5 added he felt "inspired" and "energized" to face obstacles as well as chase his dream of becoming a college coach. This was due to the fact that he, again, had access to a location to consistently play basketball, whether it was by himself or with groups of friends.

In this instance, the absence of basketball in his life created an absence of mental well-being. For P5, the presence of basketball is something that provided comfort and care during moments or periods, as evidenced in this utterance: "Even when I, when I feel like I have nobody to go to, I know I could still go to it." Basketball remained as a positive and supportive presence in P5's life as he progressed through the various difficult moments of life.

As a final example of the therapeutic and healing powers of basketball, I return to P7. In a discussion of the role of basketball in his resilience vis-à-vis family adversity, He mentioned that playing basketball was a function of his healing. P7 noted that, "Basketball just helped throw everything in the back and just go and play. That definitely was huge for my healing. The process for sure was just playing basketball without a doubt." While P7 struggled to deal with adversity troubling his entire family, one of the consistent healing activities for him was the act of playing basketball. While P7 did not directly reference basketball as a release or as therapeutic, it is very important that he invoked it to be an aid in his healing.

As expressed by the participants, this section demonstrated that the act of playing basketball, especially the times in which one is in the gym just shooting around alone, are very important for the mental health of basketball players. Shooting around, which is the

act of shooting baskets alone, is an important piece of the resilience development process for these participants as it offers them an opportunity and instrument for intrapersonal communication, or self-talk (Vocate, 1994), and functions as release from the stresses associated with their adversity.

As basketball culture creates an expectation of not-talking for participants, the role of shooting-around and playing basketball becomes more important because during this process basketball players are able to talk to themselves. The act of basketball provides hoopers with the opportunity to converse with themselves about their own emotions and thoughts regarding their adversity and offers a context for building resilience. I argue that this is the most important function of basketball as serving as a site for resilience because the act of basketball becomes a ritual of resilience for its participants by providing an ordered sequence of activities for release from stresses of adversity. Basketball also serves as channel for the communication processes of resilience. Recalling the literature review, early conceptualizations of the process-perspective of resilience research defined resilience as processes and mechanisms positive adaptation during the experience of adversity (Masten, 2003). The act of shooting around and playing basketball is functioning as one of the mechanisms for positive adaptation in the face of adversity.

Analysis of RQ3

The purpose of this research question was to understand how basketball culture serves as a site for resilience. By using the Hymes SPEAKING model (1974) to uncover the various enacted norms of interaction and of interpretation for this speech community (Hymes, 1972), I identified various fundamental dimensions in which basketball culture

serves as a site for resilience. Specifically, basketball culture offers a location where: (1) resilience is an expected value; (2) culture-bearers enact and develop resilience skills; (3) culture bearers create and maintain communication networks to support the enactment and development of resilience, and (4) basketball functions as a space for healing. First, basketball culture serves as a site resilience because it expects resilience from its participants. Through participating in the sport and culture, basketball players and coaches learn that quitting, or non-resilience, is not an acceptable norm of the culture. This norm of basketball culture was a driving force in the resilience of these participants.

The second finding from this research question shows that basketball culture teaches life lessons that can be applied to the development of resilience across context, as well as life-lessons such as discipline and the importance of a strong work ethic. Some participants outright expressed that learning to persevere through in-game adversity taught them how to enact their own resilience to adversity occurring away from the sport. Thirdly, basketball culture provides its members with pieces of the communication network needed to develop resilience. Many of the people upon whom study participants relied during adversity were former or current teammates and coaches. These important relationships could not have been possible without basketball. While a norm of basketball culture is to not talk about adversity, should one choose to talk about their adversity, basketball culture provides valuable communication network members.

Finally, basketball culture and the act of basketball can function as a form of therapy for the members of this particular speech community. The act of shooting allows hoopers the chance to intrapersonally perform the communication processes of resilience. Basketball culture also serves as a site for resilience by expecting resilience, teaching

important skills that translate to the development of resilience, providing access to a communication network for resilience, and provides a therapeutic release from the stresses of the experienced adversity.

Summary of Findings: Chapter 4

The goal of RQ1 was to illuminate how the participants of this study understand and express resilience. Through in-depth interviewing on and off the court, I was able to elicit their perspectives. Resilience was expressed as a choice to undergo a challenging process of work that is based on the adversity being experienced. The process of resilience is embedded in the self and is driven by the desire to compete and pursue goals. These findings contribute to process-perspective of resilience because they illuminate how basketball players and coaches enact and develop resilience in regard to their unique and individual experiences of adversity.

In contribution to the outcome-perspective of resilience research, my analysis also found that the professional basketball players and coaches noticed and expressed a change in perspective in discussing their perceived outcome of resilience. This finding contributes to the outcome perspective by providing specific examples of cultural expressions and conceptions about outcomes of resilience. In the words of the participants, they experienced growth or change in their worldviews that allowed them to embrace adversity with further confidence, maturity, and strength. The use of the process-outcome perspective of resilience-research was shown to be fruitful in understanding the participants' understandings and experiences with resilience.

RQ2 was used to identify the speech community of these participants through the examination of various ways of speaking. Using the Hymes SPEAKING model (1974) to

examine the uses, rules, and rules of interpretations of speech regarding resilience, I was able to uncover various patterns of speaking that were both distinct and mutually intelligible amongst the participants of the study. These speaking practices were in relation to resilience which I argue highlights a cultural influence on the development and outcome of resilience.

By identifying the unique elements and patterns of communication of these participants, I was able to identify these participants as members of a speech community located in *PG City* that consists of professional basketball players and basketball coaches. Considering the existence of a speech community amongst basketball players and coaches and considering the finding that many of the participants communication networks were comprised of basketball players and coaches, I argued that the communication network should include members of the speech community.

RQ3 examined how basketball culture served as a site of resilience. By asking about the strengths of basketball culture and the role that basketball played in individual experiences of resilience, I uncovered that basketball created an expectation of resilience while also teaching perseverance through participation in the sport. Socially-constructed and historically-transmitted norms of basketball culture, such as perseverance, resilience, and discipline were extensively referenced. Further, basketball itself functioned as a form of therapy and release from the stresses of on- and off-court adversity.

For this group of professional basketball players and coaches, resilience is manifold: resilience is personally defined and pursued; resilience is contextually situated by the unique adversity experienced; resilience is defined and influenced by the culture of those experiencing adversity; and resilience is influenced by and developed in and

through the ways one talks about oneself, to oneself, and to others about their adversity to

construct resources of moving forward and winning.

Chapter 5: Findings – Communication processes of resilience

Returning to the theoretical groundings of this study, this question is aimed at

identifying the communication processes of resilience as expressed by professional

basketball players and coaches from *PG City*. In order to uncover these processes, which

are crafting normalcy, affirming identity anchors, maintaining communication networks,

putting alternative logics to work, and foregrounding productive action (Buzzanell,

2010), I asked participants about a challenging period in their life, how they spoke about

their adversity and resilience, who they spoke to during their adversity and resilience, and

what their path to resilience consisted of. Within this chapter, I present the

communication processes of resilience that were uncovered, present the self as an

important piece of the communication network, and situate the act of basketball as the

means for performing the communication processes of resilience.

RQ4: *What communication processes of resilience can be extracted from the ways*

professional basketball players and coaches from PG City express resilience?

Table 4.1 – RQ4 Findings: Communication Processes of Resilience		
Category	Description	Example
Crafting normalcy	Using discourse to create a sense of normalcy.	"I didn't know how to take care of myself that motivated me into getting the exercise science degree because I wanted to help someone that was going through what I was going through." – P6
Affirming identity anchors	Using discourse to situate various character strengths and personality traits.	"I was a leader on the court with the ball in my hand, right now I don't get the ball in my hand so I still have to be optimistic about things and you know, be that leader that, that I like to be." – P2
Maintaining communication networks	Using discourse to access social resources and capital.	"I was talking to him a ton, he knew how hard I was working, he was the best-connected guy that was willing to help me, so I really listened and stayed in touch with him as much as I could" – P1

Table 4.1 continued		
Putting alternative logics to work	Using discourse to enact alternative methods of functioning.	"The hard part was listening to everyone as to what to do. I am pretty stubborn and feel like I know what is best for my body. I hated being injured so I tried to take care of my body, tried not to eat a lot of junk and things like that." – P8
Foregrounding productive action	Using discourse to legitimize negative emotions and foreground productive action.	"There were times I felt like I could have made it seem not as bad, but I just tried to be honest. You know it sucked, but I wanted to push through and I felt like if I wasn't real then I wouldn't be able to do that." – P11

Crafting Normalcy

Crafting normalcy is the process of using discourse to create a new system of meaning, a routine, or a functioning in daily life. This is an important process because it allows individuals to make sense of their daily lives after experiencing adversity. I investigated this communication process of resilience by asking participants to describe the adversity they experienced as well as how they talked about this adversity and their subsequent resilience.

P1 faced considerable challenges when it came to obtaining a scholarship or walk-on opportunity to play college basketball after a string of serious injuries. After finding an opportunity at a junior college near the border of Mexico, P1 adopted a mindset focused on outworking other players on the team. P1 said, "When I got there I knew nothing's gonna be handed to me as a walk-on. I was busting my ass. I made it a point in every fucking sprint, every conditioning drill I finished first. Like if you lose, it's because you're being weak." P1 crafted a normalcy of being a walk-on, the player who is at the bottom of the college-player hierarchy. He knew that, in order to prove himself, he would need to work harder than other players. According to P1, he met his objectives

and completing this part of the resilience process by means of intrapersonal

communication and with communication with friends back home. For P1, an exceptional

work ethic became a new norm.

P2 used comparison to describe and normalize the emotional pain associated with

a career-ending injury. P2 described what the transition away from being a player was

like,

> It was a mixture of emotions, you know, like I think just like you go through a
> breakup, you are really sad and you cry and you're depressed and you're like, why
> would you do this to me? And then you get mad, like why would you do this to
> me? I gave you so much. I put in so much time and effort.

P2 is heard to normalize the identity-questioning-transition by comparing it to the end of

a relationship. P2 had identified as a basketball player her entire life rendering this

transition out of playing as a completely new experience. She crafted normalcy by

reframing the event as something more familiar to her, such as a relational breakup.

P2 added, "I got angry and then finally come to terms with it. It's a grieving

process. And then finally I'm finally getting over it. And so, I was like, 'Oh, I can still

win. I can still win, and I can be a huge part of that winning process'." P2 acknowledged

the emotional trials involved with losing the identity of a player, but then crafted a

normalcy of competition, a much more familiar and inspiring way of thinking for this

hooper, among others.

For P3, crafting normalcy came in the form of identifying how to improve as a

player. I asked P3 what the experience of going from the star-player to a walk-on,

essentially a massive demotion, was like. P3 told me, "I knew I didn't have the exact

plan like I, but I knew what I needed to work on so I knew I had to get in the weight

room." The need to return to and stay in the weight room was a constant for P3 during

his college-playing career as he dealt with several major injuries. References to needing to be in the weight room were very common as he described his recoveries from various injuries. I asked P3 in follow-up who he spoke to about this need to get in the weight room. He said, "It was just a couple of those other pros that are around in the summer. And so that first summer I would wake up at six in the morning I go lift and then right after that I would get some shots up in the gym." I asked if this routine was created through his conversations with "those other pros" and P3 affirmed that it was. Through communicating with other members of the basketball community, P3 crafted a normalcy of self-development in order to bounce back from his metaphorical player-demotion.

Early in his coaching career, P5 learned that crafting a career as a basketball coach and advancing in that career is a lot more deleterious than he expected. P5 admits that coming to terms with this reality was an essential piece of his resilience in building a successful coaching career. He explained, "Um, so it was just kind of like 'okay this is on me,' which in hindsight I don't know how true that was, but that is how it felt at that time. So, it just kind of turned into "shut up and get to work'." Through intrapersonal communication, that is speaking to himself, P5 crafted a normalcy that placed the onus of resilience on the self while also emphasizing the need to work.

P6 offered an insightful explanation about how he responded a devastating leg injury that completely changed his career. P6 said,

> I was devastated because I didn't know what the future was for me. That's how I identify myself, as an athlete, and not being able to look at it and see that same kind of athletic future was mind blowing to me. I didn't know how to take care of myself, and that was one of the things that motivated me into getting the therapy and exercises science and even coaching because I wanted to be able to help someone that was going through what I was going through. So, I tried to turn the negative into a positive.

Here, P6 spotlights the uncertainty of such a change but he also described creating a normalcy wherein he used that uncertainty as a chance to grow and learn. Within this utterance we can detect a reference to the role of self-responsibility in the process of resilience, which, in this case, lies in a context of uncertainty. For P6 this uncertainty became the normal and it spurred his desire to earn a degree in exercise science and become a coach to maintain that athletic identity. I wanted to know if P6 spoke to anyone about this plan and he told me he mostly spoke with his father. The normalcy crafted by P6 took place in discourse with his father as well as through self-talk or intrapersonal communication.

It is important to note that P6 mentioned that the crafting of the uncertain-normal included the presence of self-affirmations. I asked P6 if he ever felt like leaving athletics all together, and he said, "Um, I don't think I ever got to the like, um, got to the point where I felt like I wanted to leave. Just because I always had that in my mind. Like, I can get through this." The sense of self-efficacy became a normal for P6 in his recovery and bounce-back.

In crafting normalcy, the individual creates a new system of meaning and functioning within the mundane aspects of life, which became an obstacle for P8. I asked P8 to tell me about how he spoke about his severe shoulder injury and recovery. He explained, "I was telling myself that I would be able to overcome it. To trust myself. Trust the doctors. Which was hard." For P8, the new normalcy in his life required him to place more trust in the doctors and trainers than he was typically accustomed to. To succeed, he needed to craft a normalcy that included

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his injury and the rigorous task of returning to peak physical health. As noted by P8, this process of crafting normalcy was enacted through self-talk.

P9 recalled two instances of crafting normalcy, both of which pertained to battling cancer. He described a moment of realization that became a life-or-death situation: "I had that moment of, if you don't do these, this treatment protocol, you probably going to die in six months." P9 recalled thinking only surgery was needed and not chemotherapy and had planned on not doing any sort of treatment outside of surgery. This instance of crafting normalcy lead to four grueling months of chemotherapy in order to survive, literally.

After completing chemotherapy, P9 had to define a new normalcy in his life that was simpler than before the fight with cancer. "All I wanted was like, I just want to be back to normal. I wanted to be living on my own with my bros. I want to finish this degree. I just want to get back to doing life, just living a normal life, not having to be bed ridden, that having to be sick, not having to be in pain." For P9, life had been defined by the pursuit of basketball goals. However, after being thrust into a life-or-death situation, the new standard became to live more simply and more relaxed.

Happily, within a few months after being cleared by doctors, life began to resemble the pursuit of basketball excellence. He explained, "After a couple of months I started to feel strong and ready to go after being a pro again, because that was always what it was about." At this point, P9 began reaching out to members of his communication network to express his readiness for re-entering or resuming a professional career. This process crafted a second, and new normal

that involved pursuing a professional playing career, thereby reintegrating into life.

P10 asserted that the process of crafting normalcy required honesty. I asked P9 how he talked about his adversity, a deep depression, and he responded with,

> I just had to be honest. I had to tell the truth, I had to be real, that I was struggling and life was kicking my ass. Then I thought to myself like "You've been miserable this whole year, people have died that you were close to and now this, you might be at rock bottom right now."

P10 recalled that this realization and intrapersonal communication played a role in his path forward. Through self-talk P10 was able to craft a plan to spend time with positive and supportive people and making decisions that were focused on improving both his mental and physical health. His explanation not only serves as an example of crafting normalcy, it also highlights the positive role of a productive communication network in the development of resilience that I discussed in the previous chapter of this study.

For both P11 and P12 the act of crafting normalcy centered on self-efficacy and was driven through self-talk. After relations with coaches broke down and P11 was nearly kicked off the team crafted a normal that emphasized his innate ability to persevere and return to good standings. Much of this communication occurred through an intrapersonal channel as exemplified by, "I just kept telling myself I could do it, that I could get back and that I was strong enough, I remember really telling myself 'I got this, I got this, I got this'." P11 created a new normal that placed the onus of resilience on the self through his intrapersonal communication, as many other participants have been shown to do.

Self-talk has played a powerful role in the development of resilience for these participants.

P12 echoed a similar sentiment when I asked how he communicated with himself and about himself about the adversity he experienced. He said,

> I basically told myself I had let 'me' down. Once I had accepted that I just tried to run with it, you know kind of like being down in a game. You can't dwell on it, you have to move past it you have to keep hooping. Once I accepted that I let myself down, I just kept holding myself to high standards and really just tried to push myself to reach them.

He recalled creating a new normal, through intrapersonal communication which involved accepting the feeling of letting the self-down. This intrapersonal communication process of resilience allowed P12 to move forward in his pursuit of basketball success.

While the communication processes are non-sequential, it is clear that within these utterances the process of crafting normalcy does occur early in the resilience development process. For many of the participants in my study, it is the precursor to starting the work of resilience. However, it is essential to underscore that the process of crafting normalcy does need to occur and re-occur as the resilience process is dynamic and is (re)experienced at multiple intervals. For example, P9 needed to craft a normalcy of returning to a simple life before crafting a normalcy of pursuing a career as a professional basketball player.

Most of the crafting normalcy occurred through intrapersonal communication. Intrapersonal communication is often defined as self-talk (Vocate, 1994), thus, the terms intrapersonal communication and self-talk have been used interchangeably within this research. As I explained in RQ2, one of the

rules of basketball culture is to not talk about the adversity being experienced.

Thus, the role of intrapersonal communication is key for these communication

processes of resilience to succeed.

Affirming Identity Anchors

Affirming identity anchors is an important process in which discourse is used to

describe oneself in a way that facilitates or develops resilience. Identity anchors, as

defined by Buzanell (2010) are consistent clusters of identity discourses that individuals

rely on to explain who they are for themselves and in relation to others. By affirming

various identity anchors through discourse, individuals can rely on the personality traits

that will facilitate their ability to cope with adversity, challenges, and stressors.

For P1, adversity came in the form of losing a professional playing contract in

Europe. Finding a new team to play for can be very difficult and emotionally taxing.

However, having successfully acquired contracts in several different countries, and

successfully living in those countries served as a reminder that he was capable of

achieving resilience and finding professional success via obtaining another contract. P1

recalled a moment of self-realization,

> That is when I realized like, all right, you can do some shit. You can handle a
> situation that, you can handle being thrown into a country with no English. And
> no, no way of knowing what the fuck to do and how to get around and how to do
> shit and figure it the fuck out.

P1 later acknowledged that having moved several times during childhood and during his

college playing career was a reassuring factor that influenced the decision to continue to

pursue new contracts.

In another example, P2 offered several utterances in which identity anchors are

affirmed. When asked to share her basketball background, P2 began with, "I was born

as, you know, a coach's daughter, so, you know, in the gym when I was in the womb." Basketball has anchored this participants identity since birth. When talking about the transition from player to coach, P2 discussed her identity as a leader, saying, "I was a leader on the court with the ball in my hand and right now I don't get the ball in my hand so I still have to be optimistic about things and be that leader that I like to be." Affirming the identity anchor of a leader, rather than as a basketball player allowed P2 to identify and proceed with the transition from player to coach.

For many of the participants of this study, the transition of identity from player to coach is not easy. Whether it is the transition from player to coach, or the transition from star player to bench player, as was the case for P3, the transition is inherently difficult. P3 mitigated this challenge through the affirmation of his identity as a player. P3 described himself in this way: "I would pretty much say I wasn't a great player, I never was a great player, but I had a good IQ and I've worked hard and I was good leader." Here P3 affirms his intellect as part of his strengths as a player, and this affirmation of identity anchors was an important process in his recovery from physical injuries, as he explained. I asked P3 to describe how his identity played a role in his recovery and he said,

> I guess I'm a little bit different than other people because I like playing football. So that's how I grew up. So, I'm like if you could move like you weren't on a death bed, like you're stupid, you're at the practice. And so even when I broke my hand, like I put it in plastic wrap and I still practice pretty much.

The toughness and drive associated with his longstanding identity as both a football and basketball player influenced P3 in the desire to continue to develop his basketball skills, even while injured. Through reminding himself of this

identity that is associated with physical toughness, P3 was able to activate his

physical and mental toughness to develop resilience.

P4 mentioned the role of identifying as a hooper in continuing to chase the

goal of becoming a college player despite several rejections. P4 said,

> It was definitely a feeling of 'this is the only thing you have' at that time, whenever I was playing a lot, that's all I saw for myself…and it was the only thing that I had to cling to that was always a driving factor was to make sure that other people know or knew that this dude is a fucking hooper.

Identifying as anything other than a basketball player was not only imposing, it

was nearly impossible for P4. This utterance is important because his identity

marker as a "fucking hooper" or good basketball player, is anchored through

others as well as through the self. In order to continue to affirm this identity

anchor, P4 felt his only option was to continue pursuing basketball-related goals.

P5 experienced dversity from burnout after accomplishing his goal of

becoming a college coach. P5 described an immense workload requiring nearly

80 hours per week with an egregious lack of compensation, amounting to less

than two-dollars per hour. This situation was worsened by the addition of having

to work in a toxic environment. P5 said, "So after doing all that, even though I

loved my job and I was working with good dudes (referring to players) at a one-

on-one level and hanging out with all kinds of international fuckers, it was a good

time, but it just wore me out. So, I brought my happy ass back here." I was

intrigued with the contrast between burnout and referring to "my happy ass," so I

followed up with P5. P5 said,

> Well, even though I was miserable I was still happy. I just didn't want to keep going with the misery, I wanted to keep pursuing the happy side that I could feel.

> I remember when I would talk to friends back home I would tell them that I was miserable but happy.

P5 self-identified as a happy person and thus affirmed this identity to find a way forward from the burnout and misery of working in a toxic and over-demanding environment. He repeatedly expressed his own personal happiness as it was a longstanding identity anchor and this allowed P5 to move forward with the resilience process.

During his high school playing career, P7 experienced ongoing adversity that affected his whole family. This adversity, according to P7, lead to the idea, on multiple occasions, about quitting basketball. I asked P7 why quitting never became a reality, and he elaborated,

> Just the love of the game and I could not stop like that orange ball and just dribbling and shooting. I could not imagine not playing basketball. Even when I wasn't playing ball, I was watching basketball. I just could not imagine not playing. There was no way.

I was intrigued by the comment "I could not imagine not playing basketball" so I asked P7 if basketball is tied to his identity. He swiftly responded with, "It is, it's like embedded." For P7, the act of playing basketball became an affirmation of his identity, in fact firmed deeply and solidly or embedded in his being. For him, to imagine life without basketball was not a possibility. As a deeply rooted anchoring, basketball can and does function as an affirmation of one's identity, at least for my study participants.

When I asked P9 to share a fond memory of basketball, he offered a story from his first season playing professionally that serves as an in-game example of resilience and how the affirming of identity anchors can be influential. P9 explained,

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When the game got going, I initially wasn't doing very good at all. My shots weren't falling, the other team had built up a double-digit lead, and I was left doubting myself. I clearly remember, I looked up at the scoreboard, there was 6 minutes left in the second quarter. My team was down 16 points and at the tie I had only scored 6 points. I looked down at the floor and told myself, "You are a pro! You are here because this team believes in your ability! Stop trying to please everyone else on this team, stop doubting yourself and just fucking play!"

P9 finished the game with 37 points and his team won. P9 needed to affirm his new-found identity as a professional player in order to play at his best as an alternative to over-thinking and over-analyzing every decision. This affirmation of the self was performed intrapersonally by telling himself that his was a professional player. By affirming his identity as a professional, he was able to be resilient in that moment of in-game adversity.

I close this section with an utterance from P6 because it shows how the inability to affirm an identity anchor can pose problems for the development of resilience. When discussing his initial reaction to a serious leg-injury, he said,

I was devastated because I didn't know what the future was for me. That's how I identify myself, as an athlete. And not being able to look at it and see that same kind of athletic future, that was, that was mind blowing to me.

For P6, his strongest identity was that of an athlete and to not have a clear idea on how to maintain and affirm that identity created anxiety and uncertainty. For him, the process of resilience revolved around finding a way to maintain that athletic identity by becoming a coach and an athletic trainer.

For many of the participants represented in this research, their adversity challenged their identities because it limited their ability to compete and/or forced them to transition into a new identity that was not grounded in *playing* basketball. Thus, the need to affirm various identity anchors and even transition from them

was a focal point in their successful enactment of resilience. Curiously, exporting

a competitive self from one role to another served as a key strategy for the

successful enactment of resilience as competitiveness is an attitude that transcends

roles in basketball culture.

In sum, participants were able to affirm their identity through

intrapersonal communication, by setting and pursuing new goals or finding

alternative ways to compete (e.g., through coaching). For these participants, it

was difficult to move away from their competitive dispositions, thus rendering it

one of the most important identity anchors to be affirmed. While many of the

affirmation of identity anchors were conducted intrapersonally, they also were

performed by teammates and family members.

Maintaining Communication Networks

In this process, resilience is developed by building and using relationships to cope

with stress and adversity while also managing routine activities. This is an important

process because it provides individuals with the human resources and social capital

needed to navigate the stresses and emotional labor associated with adversity. As my

first example, I recall P1 explaining the importance of his efforts toward sociality with

teammates in order to maintain his role on his first college team, as well as nurture his

goal to grow as a player. P1 said,

> We have practice or open gym at like 3:00 and I will show up at like 1:00 to start
> shooting. I had to work, so, Max would start coming because he was seeing me
> doing all the ball handling stuff and was like "I'm trying to get my handles
> better." So, we show up and work. Pierro always respected me for that. He
> would show up and try and get working with me too, it was obvious right away,
> like that's why I gravitated towards those dudes the most because you could tell
> like they were similar to me in their approach.

For P1, committing extra time to the game of basketball created an opportunity to

develop a relationship with two other teammates. As the season progressed and became

more challenging due to decreases in funding and deteriorating relationships with the

coaching staff, these three teammates began to rely on each other for resilience. P1

added,

> And it got fun because Pierro and Max started competing with me. So, we made
> it a good time talking shit to each other, it just made it that much funner for us.
> So throughout a lot of bullshit, you know, we're losing at this time and we're
> crushed. But we're still having fun.

The role of shit-talk was inseparable from the development of their relationship, which,

in turn, allowed them to find fun in the challenging situation. The communication

network composed of these three teammates was a source of resilience for P1.

While the communication network was very important for P1 to maintain a

healthy state of mind during a challenging first college season, the communication

network was even more vital for the pursuit of a professional career after a slew of

devastating injuries. P1 mentioned the role of a former coach in acquiring his first

contract,

> And then I remember (coach) tells me, "Hey I might have something for you.
> You're looking good, shit." I was talking to him a ton, he knew how hard I was
> working and how hungry I was and really, he was the best-connected guy that was
> willing to help me, so I really listened and stayed in touch with him as much as I
> could.

In this instance one of the most important things that P1 did to begin his professional

career was to stay in contact with a well-connected former coach. By staying in contact

through phone calls, texts, emails and sending work-out videos, P1 was able to tap into

social resources that may not have been accessible without the maintenance of this

communication network that included fellow basketball players and coaches. I think it is

important to note that the member of the network that actualized this goal for P1 was a former coach and not a sports agent. Sports agents are often the first route for acquiring a contract, but by utilizing a basketball coach (who is from New Mexico), P1 was able to tap into a member of his communication network of basketball players and coaches.

P2 needed to find a way to keep basketball at the center of life after a career-ending injury, so she began to utilize his communication network to find a coaching position. She said,

> I remember he (coach) sat me down and he was like, 'Well, you know there's an opening, this will be a great opportunity for you.' And then he told me they needed a coach down there. And then he was like, I think this, this is you're calling him. I respected him because he's just, you know, I learned so much from him already and I'm glad I listened to him because I know I am where I am now because of that.

For P2, her coaching career was created through the use of her communication network, a network that was developed and maintained through basketball. The coach that P2 played for in college was able to provide opportunities that allowed her to transition from player to coach and remain resilient in her desire to keep basketball as the focal point of her life.

During the pursuit of a college-playing career yet not having been recruited during high school, P4 mentioned the important role of his high school coach in finding motivation to keep working. "Having (high school coach) by my side in high school through my sophomore and junior year, specifically, kept me going and made me want to get better because I saw how much work (coach) put in and I almost wanted to do it." I wanted to know more about this relationship and dynamic that P4 had with his high school coach, so I followed up with him asking about the role his coach played in the search for a college. P4 said, "He just kept motivating me, kept me working hard and

would give me advice and like tips on where to look and how to, how to reach out to coaches. We would go hoop all the time, doing 1-on-1 and drills and just developed my game." P4 banked on this relationship to keep his playing career alive and the process for maintaining that relationship manifested in the form of basketball conversations and playing the game itself. This relationship would not have formed had P4 not included basketball in is broader life plan.

While many of the participants maintain a communication-network comprised of other basketball players and coaches, P6 turned to his family to cope with a career-changing injury. I asked P6 who he spoke to about his experience,

> I didn't really talk to anyone. I grew up in a household or like, you know, my dad was like well get up, scrape off the ground and get moving, and my dad was in the military so that was even to another degree in that regard. And so, he kind of became my biggest motivator in that regard and he was a listening ear. So, he was very involved with that plan.

I asked P6 more about the role his father played in this "plan" and P6 stated that he would bounce ideas off his father asking how to move forward and maintain a career in athletics. His father provided direction and feedback so P6 could create the best career possible. By regularly communicating with his father, he was able to craft a career that allowed him to remain in athletics while also contributing to the health of other athletes.

The communication network for P8 was comprised of family and partners, but specifically it was comprised of people who were familiar with and experienced in basketball. After suffering a severe shoulder injury that sidelined P8 for several months, According to P8, he turned to his partner and his closest brother, who he grew up playing basketball with,

> I mostly talked to my closest brother, the one I am closest to in age and played with the most. And I talked to my girl about it too, she's a hooper and has gone

through it too, she lost a whole season to a knee injury so she really knew what it was like to be in that position, but I tried not to talk about it too much.

I asked P8 about the individual roles that these communication network members played in the resilience process. P8 stated that his brother, with whom who he grew up playing basketball, kept him motivated by encouraging him and reminding him why he was playing college basketball in the first place.

P8 mentioned that his partner offered advice and input regarding the process of recovering from a major injury and P8 admitted that the role both these individuals played in his recovery was essential. For P8, the communication network was comprised of fellow basketball players who understood the process of recovering from an injury and understood the game and culture of basketball.

For P9, during chemotherapy for the treatment of cancer, one of the more important processes was the maintenance of the communication network. P9 said,

> Man, the only people I interacted with honestly were B, Ben, Matt and Doug. They were the only people I interacted with… Slade was also another guy I told him and forgot to mention he was always checking in with me the weeks I feel good and he asked like, do you want to go to lunch or do anything or can I do anything for you? Matt always made a conscious effort to just do whatever the fuck I wanted to do, which a lot of times is just or eat and shit.

All of the people invoked by P9 as comprising his communication network were basketball players and fitness trainers. I wanted to know how they contributed to his resilience, so I asked P9 what each person did for him in terms of resilience. P9 explained that each of his communication network members helped create a sense of regularity, provided hope, and offered comfort during the grueling treatments of chemotherapy. Many of the basketball players identified as part of P9's communication network were basketball players and coaches from *PG City.* I further argue that the

communication network or basketball community members needs to be comprised, at least in part, by people with whom they are intelligible, such as, basketball players or coaches. To further support this argument, I turn to P10.

During his college career, P10 struggled with a depression that was brought on by grief from the death of two family members and the death of a close childhood friend. P10 admitted that he eventually found the strength to speak with his family about this depression, but also admitted that he was able to speak freely with teammates. I asked if it helped to be able to talk to teammates about these depressive challenges, "Oh absolutely, always, like your teammates are always your brothers, so knowing that we were really teammates, on the same team of that shit, it mattered, it made it easier to share and to be honest about things you know?" For P10, teammates are an invaluable source of resilience because of the relationship and mutual experiences that come from being on a team. In other words, teammates are part of the communication network.

P12 was very specific about who one should speak to when experiencing adversity and developing resilience. I asked P12 if he spoke about his depression and desire or idea to quit basketball,

> You have to be smart about who you talk to. You have to go to the right person and that's what makes it easy and organic. So, I felt like I had done that because even though it was some things I had been struggling with for a while, it was easy for me to be honest about those things because I really trusted the people I was talking, I just told the truth that I felt like quitting but also, I was afraid of not having basketball.

P12 first noted that to utilize the communication network, one must think strategically. The idea of speaking with someone who can make it "easy and organic" suggests that a sense of relatability, trust, and emotional intelligibility makes the utilization of the communication network possible.

I then asked who he spoke with during this difficult time and he admitted that the primary person was his family as well as his basketball coach. P12 elaborated further,

> Mostly my family. My fiancée was the biggest help I could get. I also spoke with someone who I respected very much so in my coach at the time about a few of my personal demons the year previous. He helped me turn them into positives. Showed me how to turn years of disappoint into sweat, blood, and hard work.

For P12 the communication network was an important piece in developing the mindset and skills to move forward from depression and the challenges posed by playing college basketball. Again, fellow basketball players are shown to be a valuable piece of the communication network.

For the participants of the study, the communication network was a vital piece of their resilience. Viewing the utterances of these participants it is clear to see that the communication networks are comprised of family members and basketball players who are members of the same speech community. However, I also argue that the self is a considerable piece of the communication network. As was discussed in the previous chapter, one of the norms of basketball culture is to not talk about the adversity that one is facing suggesting that internal fortitude also is a requirement for resilience.

While reading through the interview transcripts I noticed a trend; most participants have referenced instances of self-talk or intrapersonal communication. Self-talk, for professional basketball players and coaches from *PG City*, has played a major role in the development of resilience. I will now provide examples of the role of self-talk to support the argument that the self is part of the communication network.

Many participants felt they could not or should not talk about what they were experiencing and mentioned how self-talk was one of the main forms of communicating about their adversity. P2 admitted it was an intrapersonal conversation rather than an

interpersonal one, "I didn't really like to talk about it at all. So, it was kind of more a decision or something, like a conversation with the self, more than other people." P2 added that post-adversity and post-resilience relies on self-talk functions as a coaching tool to reinforce one of the norms of basketball culture--don't quit. She elaborated,

> I pretty much just kind of kept it to myself honestly. But now I do talk, I do use it a lot and I use it to talk to my girls to have them understand that I know when they're coming from. You know, if you want to feel defeated, you're going to want to just give up and you know you can't.

As P2 has admittedly reached her outcome of resilience, rather than keeping this experience to herself, she now uses it as a coaching tool to reinforce the norms of basketball culture, while also functioning as a member of the communication network for her players.

P5 used the act of shooting baskets to communicate to himself about the resilience process,

> Yeah, so I think going from the way I was talking to myself and like being able to shoot and just get away from everything and get to myself, get in my own space, it definitely went from like focusing on the problem to focusing on options of solutions. So it was just kind of like, "Okay this is on me," which in hindsight I don't know how true that was, but that is how it felt at that time, so, it just kind of turned into 'shut up and get to work.'

For P5, during the act of shooting, intrapersonal communication allowed for the development of a plan for resilience that was centered on the self. Acting as conduit, the act of shooting also functioned to maintain the communication network with the self. While the resilience process was dependent on getting hired for a coaching position, something that could not have been done without an outside person choosing to make the hire, P5 needed to communicate with himself in order to decide about resilience and pursue the opportunities needed to keep his career alive.

Similarly, P6 engaged in intrapersonal conversations while working out: "And then, um, I just started working out a little bit and I would talk to myself and I realized quickly that it is completely on me and then I got back in the gym with more commitment and kind of more purpose." For him, the act of working out and engaging in communication with himself, enabled him to maintain his intrapersonal communication network. Those self-conversations seemed to drive the resilience process for P6, who needed to improve his health as a function of his resilience.

From P7, it can be argued that the role of self-talk is equally important for all athletes, not just basketball players. "Uh, so I feel like a lot of athletes when they're just in the gym on their own working on their own shit, they have a lot of conversations with themselves about how things are going." This is a notion that I can agree with as I regularly use gym-time as a moment to communicate with myself and understand my various situations.

P8 suffered a difficult shoulder injury during the later stages of his college playing career, an injury that required patience and trust. Reminding himself of the requirement for patience and trust was important yet difficult as evidenced in this explanation. In response to how he spoke to himself during this time, P8 said,

> I wanted to trust myself to come back, to get back to the court, that is all that really mattered, so I just kept reminding myself that if I do things right I will get back to the court, that if I trust the doctors, if I trust the trainers, and I trust my body then I will be back on the court, I will be hooping again.

This was a very difficult process according to P8 that needed constant reminding or communicative maintenance. P8 needed to maintain the communication with the self in order to continue forward in the recovery and resilience process. Through intrapersonal

communication, P8 was able to trust the doctors and trainers as well as stay motivated

and diligent during his long rehabilitation process.

When I asked about how he spoke to himself, P12 told me that his resilience

process began with honesty directed towards the self,

> I basically told myself I had let "me" down. Once I had accepted that I just tried
> to run with it, you know kind of like being down in a game, you can't dwell on it,
> you have to move past it you have to keep hooping. So, I once I accepted that I
> let myself down, I just kept holding myself to high standards and really just tried
> push myself to reach them.

P12 had struggled in his college career, bouncing around from school to school with a

failing relationship with coaches. In a self-conversation, P12 decided the onus of

responsibility lied on the self and this prompted him to make a change. P12

acknowledged that he felt resilience would not have been possible without those self-

conversations.

As my last example of the importance of the self as a part of the communication

network, I refer to P11. After nearly getting kicked out of his university for a violation of

rules and a deteriorated relationship with his coach, P11 needed resilience to achieve his

goal of becoming a professional basketball player. As doubt filled the mind of P11, self-

conversations became more and more important and valuable. P11 said,

> I really just tried to encourage myself. I just kept telling myself I could do it, that
> I could get back, that I was strong enough. I remember really telling myself "I got
> this, I got this, I got this, I got this." Just kept telling myself to keep going. I
> knew I was good enough, I knew I was strong enough, I just had to keep telling
> myself. It was hard, there were a lot of times where I felt like I should stop. But
> that was never what I wanted. I had to keep going.

It can be very difficult to talk about the adversity being experienced, whether that is a

cultural norm or not, so self-conversations can play a very important role in the resilience

process, as evidenced here by P11. He was able to motivate and inspire himself and

continually reinforce his goal of becoming a professional basketball player through his self-talk or intrapersonal communication.

There were two present themes within the utterances regarding the communication networks of the participants in this study, namely: teammates and coaches are a vital piece of the communication network, and the self is an equally important piece of the communication network as well.

Based on the plethora of references to self-talk, I argue that the self is a component of the communication network that is to be maintained. Intrapersonal communication functions as a process for maintaining that network and, thus, also is a component of the process of resilience. Most of the participants of this study referenced instances in which their intrapersonal communication played a role in their understanding of their adversity and resilience. For the participants of this study, the elements of the communication network that were most often highlighted involved teammates and coaches; that is, of members of their speech community, including themselves.

Putting Alternative Logics to Work

This process involves identifying how life has changed post-adversity and using new methods of functioning. Individuals recognize how their life has changed after their traumatic or adverse event and use that change to continue functioning well. In this process, individuals implement contradictory or unorthodox ways of functioning in relation to their own adversity (Buzzanell, 2010). For many of the participants their alternative logics were directly connected to basketball and were driven by the desire to remain competitive within the realm of basketball.

When P1 was not recruited to play college basketball out of high school he began to feel like basketball was slipping away. In order to keep basketball in his life, he moved out of state and pursued streetball. Streetball is a completely different kind of basketball with its own set of rules and style of play and is often considered to have less status than basketball. For P1, it didn't matter, he just wanted *basketball*. I asked why he chose to do this. He said, "It was my way of keeping something going on with basketball because I was done." It didn't matter that streetball was completely unorthodox in relation to college basketball, he just wanted to play. Rather than considering this a move away from basketball, P1 described it as "something going on with basketball." This helped P1 utilize this alternative logic rather than shy away from it.

However, when P1 decided to continue seeking a chance to play college basketball, he did anything he could to find an opportunity since being recruited to play was no longer an option since graduating high school. I asked about his method for finding an opportunity to play college basketball. P1 told me he turned to the Internet and researched every school that had a basketball program that was losing a player at his same position. P1 explained, "At the time, I was just emailing all these other schools. I just been emailing, emailing, emailing, emailing," and eventually all of this work paid off. He was able to find a small community college to play at in a small town nestled in the woods of Washington state. While it wasn't an ideal situation, it worked for P1, who said, "So at the end of the day, ultimately it was like the best situation."

Unfortunately, this school and program, due to injuries, ended up not working for P1, who searched for another college to play for by tapping into his communication network. He contacted his assistant college coach whom he had known for a few years

and who had become the head coach of a program. This coach needed a player of the

same position as P1 and was willing to offer him the opportunity to play. This lead P1 to

the border of Mexico and Arizona to play for an even smaller community college, with

even less scholarship money and without the basic amenities that come with playing

collegiate sports. P1 described the situation as one of desperation, saying; "I'm in the

dead ass, middle of the desert, at the border. This is the butt crack of butt cracks, but I'm

like, 'This is your only opportunity for you to take, shoot it'." This final opportunity to

play college basketball was an uncommon move that arose from the use of the

communication network.

However, for P1, this grind did not end down at the border of Mexico. He was

always driven to play professionally but having played for such small community

colleges and dealing with several major injuries, finding a professional team to play for

was a major challenge that left them with few options. P1 described his process of

finding a professional contract,

> I had been searching like how can I fucking try and get something professionally
> because that was always the end goal. So, I'm just scouring Google and that's
> when I stumbled across these different like academies, you know, that promise,
> that promotion and exposure. So, I'm thinking like fuck man, like it's either this
> or a tour just to get some type of game film so you can use it. And I told myself,
> you need to start working on your Irish citizenship because this is what's going to
> allow you a chance to play.

To find a professional team to play for, P1 needed an unorthodox method. The orthodox

method would be to be recruited by a sports agent immediately after college. This sports

agent would then find a team and contract for the player; however, P1 played for small

and unknown schools rendering this option unavailable. He needed methods that were

diverse and difficult, including acquiring an Irish passport through his grandmother's

Irish citizenship, which gave P1 an advantage over other Americans seeking to play in Europe as European professional teams are limited to only 2 Americans on their roster. P1 explained that the process of acquiring the passport to be a laborious and drawn-out and required immense help from his grandmother and many employees of the Irish embassy in San Francisco. The fact that acquiring Irish citizenship to play professional basketball was a 15-month process corroborates Buzzanells' (2010) definition of resilience as a process that develops over time. As an additional alternative logic, P1 travelled to other countries to participate in exposure camps while completing his dual-citizenship. The process ultimately resulted in his first professional contract and a multi-year career that he is still enjoying today.

When P2 suffered a playing-career ending injury, she began to look for new ways to remain as a competitor. Since playing was no longer an option, coaching basketball felt like it was her only choice,

> Basketball was my first love. I feel like I'm in a relationship with basketball honestly. It broke my heart. I have to move on and figuring out a way to make this work because I just love it so much and I love being in the gym. So, I decided I can still be a part of a winning program, still be a part of a team. I knew coaching would be the next thing.

I wanted to use this entire quote because it highlights the alternative logic as well as the emotional pain of being forced out playing due to an injury. For P2, it was important to understand that she could still be part of a team and compete. She explained, "And so I was like, 'Oh, I can still win. I can still win, and I can be a huge part of that winning process'." For P2, to be resilient was to keep basketball and competition central in her life and in order to do so she utilized an alternative logic of coaching basketball. This

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was facilitated by describing the transition as an opportunity to continue winning as part of a team.

P3 utilized alternative logics to stay active and skillful while recovering from injuries. Rather than wait out the injury, he found a way to continue to develop his game. He explained, "When I broke my hand, like I put it in plastic wrap and I still practice pretty much. And so like, uh, broke my ankle, like I was still doing all this shooting with a cast on and so I'm like, I, even thought I could never let that hold me back. I was going to go out there and play." For P3, the orthodox method of recovering from a broken bone would be to rest and recover. Rather, this participant utilized an alternative logic of finding unorthodox was of training and practicing in order to continue playing basketball.

P5 struggled after losing his high school coaching job then being rejected for a college coaching position for which he had been hired just one day prior. For the next few months, he lacked basketball and lacked a clear path towards his dream of being a college coach. This situation led him towards depression and doubt. However, after getting hired at a very low-level in the high school coaching world, he decided to use it as an opportunity to continue to develop his résumé. P5 described that time and situation,

> At that point, it was like I need to just take any opportunity I have to coach and make the best of it. So, when I realized I had a team and it was like, "Oh, well, let's go." I started getting really excited about coaching again, but I also knew that I wanted to do player development stuff. When I was working with my team I made a purpose to do the things that I wanted to do at the college level, which was player development. So when I went trying to go to the college level again, it was like, "I've done player development, I'm ready for this at this level." And once I had keys to a gym again it was like, "Let's do as many fucking group lessons as possible so I can be a beast of a private skill trainer and do skill development at the college level." I would just take on as much as I could.

Rather than simply coaching for the sake of coaching or even for the sake of competing, P5 used a new position to gain gym access to take on extra coaching opportunities and to

develop his résumé to move himself towards a career as a college coach. Within 3 years of this hire and decision to see the opportunity, P5 moved out of state for a college coaching job, thereby finally achieving his goal. In follow-up, I asked P5 if he thought this would have been possible without his alternative logic, and P5 replied with, "No way, no way."

For another example of how basketball coaches put alternative logics to work to progress their own resilience, I return to an utterance from P6. To my questions about what his process of recovering from a massive leg injury looked like. P6 said,

> I didn't know how to like take care of myself, and that kind of, was one of the things that motivated me into getting the therapy and exercises science and even coaching because I wanted to be able to help someone that was going through what I was going through. Yeah, so I tried to turn the negative into a positive.

P6 wanted to use his career-ending injury and subsequent recovery as a tool to help others, rather than to just improve his own physical health. His education and physical therapy became an alternative logic because it served as foundation for a new career, and not only action for rehabilitation and self-improvement.

During his recovery from a massive shoulder injury, P8 acknowledged that his alternative logic involved ignoring his own stubborn intuitions. I asked P8 about his rehabilitation and resilience process, specifically the challenges he faced during that process. P8 explained,

> The hard part was listening to everyone as to what to do. I am pretty stubborn and feel like I know what is best for my body, that was how I always approached things in high school and they worked out just fine, but the shoulder injury was a lot more severe and I just wanted to come back. I hated being injured so I tried to take care of my body as best I could, tried not to eat a lot of junk and things like that.

P8 needed an alternative logic that extended to his diet and fresh strategies for taking care of his body. He needed to listen to the medical staff of the college he played for, who were members of his communication network, while also remaining diligent in how he treated his body. While this method may seem orthodox in hindsight, it was completely unorthodox for P8 at that time.

P9 was away from basketball for nearly a year during his battle with a cancer; a battle that completely ravaged his body. While basketball and training were routine, their purpose evolved beyond the physical in his resilience process. P9 described that change, saying, "Strength and conditioning and basketball became my therapy. I trained to rebuild my body and give me relief from the pain I was suffering, I played basketball to bring peace to my soul." Beyond using basketball and training as tool for physical construction and conditioning, these physical activities functioned as mental and spiritual release, and as therapy. The logic of playing basketball turned into a multifunctional process of support beyond a path for pursuing dreams and goals.

My last example is from P7. It is not an example of a specific alternative logic; rather, evidence that suggests that putting alternative logics to work may be a common tool and requirement in basketball culture. P7 mentioned that he regularly taught himself new moves and plays to be a great basketball player. This practice exemplifies the resourcefulness that is a common characteristic amongst hoopers. P7 said, "Self-teaching has been huge for me, always. Um, teaching yourself I think is a huge asset to basketball players, you know as a hooper you have to know how to be resourceful."

One of the important steps of resilience development for these participants was to find alternative ways to pursue goals and remain competitive. As noted in the section

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above regarding identity anchors, most participants were motivated by their desire to remain competitive. This led many participants to pursue careers in coaching as they were forced to transition away from playing careers. There were many alternative logics that were driven by the desire to continue pursuing goals.

Participants needed to find ways to keep chasing their goals rather than quit which drove them to identify alternative methods of functioning. P8 needed to learn how to trust the medical staff with his shoulder injury. P9 needed to slowly work his way back into playing form. P1 moved to the border of Mexico for a less-than-ideal situation to continue playing basketball. Moreover, these alternative logics were identified through communication networks and self-conversations. They resulted in basketball culture members' abilities to achieve goals and/ or remain competitive, which for these participants is the outcome of resilience.

Foregrounding Productive Action

The final process of communicatively constructing resilience requires individuals to use discourse to acknowledge and minimize negative feelings and then foreground positive or productive action (Buzzanell, 2010). This process is similar to putting alternative logics to work because it requires an identification of how things have changed post-adversity. Individuals must acknowledge their legitimate feelings and then identify and choose productive action. This process requires individuals to reframe their emotions in a way that focuses on productive action, thus, I will use the term "reframing" to refer to this action.

For example, P2, who described her transition from player to coach as similar to a romantic relational break-up, acknowledged the emotional pain of this transition while also recognizing the path forward. P2 said,

> Basketball was my first love. I feel like I'm in a relationship with basketball honestly as it broke my heart. I have to move on and figure out a way to make this work because I just love it so much and I love being in the gym. I decided I can still be a part of a winning program, and still be a part of a team. I knew coaching would be the next thing.

The transition away from playing is typically very difficult for athletes and being forced into that transition due to an injury typically exacerbates the physical and emotional pain. In this instance, P2 discussed that pain by comparing it to losing a beloved while simultaneously acknowledging the productive possibilities for remaining competitive through coaching. When I asked P2 if she spoke to anyone about this process she denied doing so, rendering this process an act of intrapersonal communication. Later in the interview, P2 admitted that being able to reframe the situation away from loss to a chance to compete was beneficial in his process of resilience. P2 explained, "So, so it was kind of like really helped was again, just being able to reframe the situation back into that competitive aspect."

Generally speaking, athletes are very competitive individuals and losing the opportunity to compete can be difficult. P2 needed to acknowledge her pain while also finding a way to continue to express her competitive side. This is further corroborated when P2 said, "So that's what kind of what got me to, you know, at least that transition, that grieving process, it seemed like kind of just putting it in terms of 'I can still be competitive'." The process of reframing the situation from a loss to a new chance to compete was vitally important for P2 in order to manifest resilience.

In this communication process of resilience there are two steps: acknowledge your legitimate right to feel bad about the situation, then make a conscious choice of productive action, and in this process of reframing, both steps must take place. Unsurprisingly, P3, who is a coach, explained this process by comparing it to in-game situations. I asked him about resilience and what he thought that process was like. I did not ask about resilience within games, but P3 immediately offered an in-game example,

> I think one thing is you got look big picture. If we were down in the game and we're not going to come back in one possession. You've just got to start to chip away a little. You can't just sit there and dwell on the past, you've got to move on and find a way to move on quickly because the longer you dwell on that one situation and the longer it's gonna take for you to dig yourself out.

This is an important utterance because it highlights the need for both steps of the communication process to take place. P3 remarked that you cannot "dwell" on the situation. One must acknowledge the situation and then choose to move forward, whether it be in a game or off the court. The term "chip away" refers to the process of doing small things to recover from a deficit. Rather than one simple action that immediately creates resilience, it is a process of continually doing small things correctly and as these tasks are compounded, resilience can be achieved. This term "chip away" supports the notion from the previous section that resilience is a process of work, rather than one simple quick answer.

One of the most challenging periods of P5's career was losing his coaching job while also getting rejected for multiple college coaching positions. This was particularly difficult because he had been hired by the head coach of one university and fired the next day simply because the assistant coach did not like people from *PG City*. P5 questioned his own ability to become a college coach and achieve his goals, a thought process that

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plunged him into depression. P5 acknowledged that being able to play basketball and

shoot around allowed him the mental space to conduct the communication process of

reframing. P5 said,

> I think going from like that in the way I was talking to myself and like being able
> to shoot and just get away from everything and get to myself, get in my own
> space, it definitely went from focusing on the problem to focusing on options of
> solutions. That was one way that I kind of changed how I was talking to myself.
> It definitely just stopped with the, "this sucks I'm never going to get it… We're
> here, coach today, do this tomorrow, four training sessions, then I'm going to
> shoot afterwards."

This is an important utterance because it shows that these communication processes do

not always take place interpersonally; rather, they can be conducted intrapersonally.

When P5 was hired as a coach again, he admitted it was a blow to his ego and felt like a

step down because he had just been hired to coach college and was now coaching

freshmen in high school. However, while shooting around in the gym he was able to

reframe this situation from a demotion to an opportunity to improve his résumé. This

example is further important because it offers concrete evidence of the productive actions

that P5 chose to pursue, such as conducting personal training sessions in his spare time.

In this communication process of resilience, there is an important caveat to

consider. Backgrounding negative feelings is not "repression or putting on a happy face"

(Buzzanell, 2010). This process is an active choice to acknowledge the genuine right to

negative emotions while there is an understanding that these feelings are counteractive to

the pursuit of goals. I now turn to an utterance from P11 that attests to this important step

in the process.

During our interview, I asked P11 to whom he spoke about his adversity, and

about *how he* spoke about it. P11 illuminated,

I just tried to be real about it, real talk. There were times I felt like I could have made it seem not as bad, but I just tried to be honest. You know it sucked, but I wanted to push through and I felt like if I wasn't real then I wouldn't be able to do that. I just kept telling myself to keep going. I knew I was good enough. I knew I was strong enough. I just had to keep telling myself. It was hard, there were a lot of times where I felt like I should stop. But that was never what I wanted.

This utterance is in response to being asked how he spoke about being nearly kicked out of his university for a rules violation. Here he referenced the conversations he had with his family and closest friends regarding the event. He acknowledged that he needed to be honest when he said he had to "be real." This is the moment in which he addressed his legitimate right to feel negatively about the situation. At the close of the utterance, P11 pointed out that the driving force behind this conscious choice was the positive pursuit of his basketball goals.

When P6 suffered a career-ending leg injury, his identity was challenged and created a sense of confusion regarding his future: "I was devastated because I didn't know what the future was for me. That's how I identify myself, as an athlete, and not being able to look at it and see that same kind of athletic future, that was mind blowing to me." However, P6 acknowledged that, while his identity and future were thrown into a state of confusion, he was able to use the injury as a starting point for a new career,

I didn't know how to fix myself. I didn't know how to take care of myself, and that was one of the things that motivated me into getting the therapy and exercises science and even coaching because I wanted to be able to help someone that was going through what I was going through.

P6 admitted he did not know how to care for and fix himself; but, rather than dwelling on this admission, he used it as career-inspiration and the basis for productive action. P6 also explained that he actively tried to conduct the communication process of reframing, although he didn't know what it was called: "Yeah, so I tried to turn the negative into a

positive." Again, this communication process of foregrounding productive action is more than putting on a happy face, it is an active process of turning a negative into a positive by acknowledging negative emotions and then choosing productive action.

For another example of reframing and foregrounding productive action, I turn to P4 who offered interesting insight,

> When I did quit basketball and when I say quit, I mean playing seriously. Not playing in general when I quit playing seriously. I didn't think of it as quitting basketball because I had started picking up music. So, I almost felt as felt like it was a redirection of focus. I took the same mentality that I had towards playing basketball and applied it to something different, so that never changed.

When P4 made the decision to move away from pursuing a career as a professional player and into one as a musician and part-time coach, he acknowledged that he needed to avoid describing this transition as an all-out quit. Rather than feeling down or negative about the transition, he reframed the situation and applied the same kind of focus to his new endeavors, which enabled him to pursue this new career path with vigor while maintaining his love for the sport.

I present yet another example that suggests that the process of foregrounding productive action is taught through athletics. I asked P7 about some of the things he learned from playing basketball that have been applicable off the court and in real-life situations. P7 told me,

> There's one thing coach did teach us, it is for sure, "Amnesia." I will give him that. You know, like you'd airball a three, but it's like, "Man who cares, whatever, let's go to the next play." The has been a big thing for me. You can't dwell, just move on. And that sounds a lot like the amnesia, that idea of like, fuck it, I can't cry about the airball, I got to get a steal so I can get a bucket. Get over it and find the next bucket and that's it.

While playing in high school, P7 learned the term/concept "amnesia" from his coach. This term was often used to encourage kids to forget about mistakes and find some sort of

productive action to focus on, such as getting a steal or making their next shot. Rather than dwelling on the mistake, his basketball coach taught him to foreground the next productive action. The process of reframing was purposefully historically transmitted— from one generation to another--from a member of his speech community.

I asked P6 if he felt that basketball expected toughness and he extended his response to include most sports rather than just basketball. P6 noted that foregrounding productive action is something that is learned through participation in athletics. In this speech community, productive action implicates the expectation that any athlete should be able to endure a failure. The ability to embrace failure is part of athletics as it builds mental toughness. Focusing on failure and negativity can easily turn to detriment. While this utterance does not directly address the foregrounding of productive action, it acknowledges the detriment of failing to do so. It explains that within most athletics, reframing is necessary to find success because there are droves of instances in which negative moments can be focused on.

Similar to the other communication processes of resilience, the process of foregrounding productive action was driven by participants' inherent need to compete or pursue goals. Participants were able to acknowledge the challenges of their adversity and also identified the productive action needed for the development of resilience. Many of the participants even uttered sentiments that directly connected to the desire to remain competitive or continue to the pursuit of their goals.

This act of reframing their path forward as a chance to compete was a vital process in the development of resilience. This communication process of resilience, for the most part, was performed intrapersonally, or though self-talk. Again, one of the

norms of interaction of this particular speech community is to refrain from speaking about the adversity one is experiencing and this emphasizes the role of intrapersonal communication in the development of resilience. Through self-talk, participants were able to reframe their adversity as an opportunity from which to grow thereby offering a mindset open to the pursuit of existing or new goals, thus enacting their own resilience.

Analysis of RQ4

I argue that basketball does more than teach the development and enactment of resilience, rather the act of basketball, whether playing or coaching, functions as the means for the communication processes of resilience to occur. While reading through interview transcripts and conducting the analysis, I noticed that many of the communication processes of resilience took place during the act of basketball. In this section I will provide utterances and reasoning to support this proposition.

Table 4.2 – RQ4 Findings: Basketball as the means for the communication processes		
Category	Description	Example
Crafting normalcy through basketball	Crafting normalcy intrapersonally during the act of basketball.	"Basketball was way to forget everything that had happened, a way to feel normal again." – P9
Affirming identity anchors through basketball	Affirming the identity intrapersonally during the act of basketball.	"You know, I'd been coaching since I was 18, it was really the only job I ever had, so I just didn't feel like me, it turned into a feeling of 'who am I?'" – P5
Maintaining communication networks through basketball	Using the act of basketball to develop and maintain communication networks.	"My two best friends were the only people I could really talk to about this. I met them through basketball when we were in high school. Basketball is the foundation our friendship was built on." – P9
Putting alternative logics to work through basketball	Utilizing the act of basketball to intrapersonally identify and utilize alternative logics.	"Something I learned from hoop… I would always try new moves and started thinking to myself 'Well let's try new shit in school. Let's try new projects and new jobs or hanging out with new people.' That process and transferring it over to real life was huge." – P7

Table 4.2 continued		
Foregrounding productive action through basketball	Foregrounding conducted intrapersonally during the act of basketball.	"I think going from like, in the way I was talking to myself and like being able to shoot and just get away from everything and get to myself, get in my own space, it definitely went from like focusing on the problem to focusing on options of solutions." - P5

Crafting normalcy through basketball. Again, crafting normalcy is the process of using discourse to create a new system of meaning, a routine, or a mundane process in daily life. For this section I use participant expressions to show how the participants used basketball to craft normalcy in their lives during adversity and during the resilience process.

First, I refer to P9 in his discussion of how basketball played a role in his recovery from cancer. P9 stated that, "My need to train and play quickly turned into a desire. It was the only thing I found true happiness in anymore. I locked into it so hard as it was therapy for me. A way to forget everything that had happened, a way to feel normal again." Here, P9 explains that playing basketball functioned as a way to feel normal again. The act of playing basketball itself constituted a process of crafting normalcy.

P9, during his battle with cancer, was unable to play basketball for nearly a year and during this time he admitted his identity was challenged and his life changed dramatically. The desire to play basketball again, to return to the basketball court and recreate his normal existence was evident when he discussed his resilience. I asked P9 what role basketball maintained in his recovery from cancer and he told me, "It gave me everything. It is my everything. Ball is life. I just want to play and compete at the highest level I can. I am at peace when I play." For P9, to return to the court was to return to normalcy, rendering the act of basketball as a process of crafting normalcy. P9

emphatically described the magnitude of basketball in his life, saying, "Without it, I feel lost."

P7 noted that after his adversity and during the development of resilience, that being able to go play basketball was an important step in the healing process. P7 said,

> I got some blood early (referencing his adversity) and basketball probably helped with that bounce-back for sure. That was going into my senior year and basketball helped me throw everything in the back and go and play. That definitely was huge for my healing and the process for sure was just playing basketball.

Being able to play basketball allowed P7 to feel as if life was normal again. I asked him about the importance of being able to play and he said it was a "major piece of just living my life." For P7, playing basketball was crafting normalcy because it allowed him to not focus on the stresses of his adversity.

P10 mentioned that basketball functioned to help forget the emotional labor associated with stress and adversity. This particular utterance from P10 is something that I have always been able to relate to: "Well, I also think basketball is a cure for some people that are going through some shit. For example, anytime I feel some type of way (a reference to struggling emotionally) I can pick up a basketball and forget about all my problems." While the process of crafting normalcy is not a process of forgetting one's problems, it is important to be able to remember what it feels like to be without the emotional stress of adversity, and for basketball players basketball creates that opportunity, thus, crafting normalcy.

I close this section with an utterance from P5 because it highlights how the absence of basketball creates an abnormal life and exacerbates the stresses of adversity.

When talking about the stress of losing his coaching job while also getting rejected for several other positions, P5 stated,

> There was like a month and a half or two months where I didn't really have somewhere to hoop consistently where I could just go and fucking just get shots up. I really hated that period of my life. Like I said, working at Macy's, nowhere to coach, nowhere to hoop, I was miserable. But honestly (new coaching gig) was probably the best thing to ever happen to me because hoop was more accessible.

In a follow-up interview, P5 added that without that coaching opportunity and the chance to get back into the gym "things would have just downward spiraled because the longer I was away from the court the worse I felt." For P5, a life without basketball was abnormal, confusing, and somewhat out of control. The chance to play and coach basketball consistently is what allowed P5 to start the resilience process, thus, basketball functioned as an act of crafting normalcy.

For these basketball players, the act of basketball, whether it was performed via coaching or playing, has functioned as a means to craft normalcy. Their lives are often defined by the role that basketball maintains and their adversities, in some way, challenge this role. Finding new ways to perform and enact basketball begins to function as a method of crafting normalcy. Basketball becomes the ways in which the communication process of crafting normalcy is enacted for these basketball players and coaches from *PG City*.

Affirming identity anchors through basketball. In a similar fashion, basketball performances of coaching and playing begin to function as the means in which participants affirm their identity anchors. These identity anchors can occur in the form of leader, competitor, teammate, or player. For my first example, I turn to P2 and how coaching allowed her to affirm her identity as a leader.

While P2 and I discussed her post-injury transition from player to coach, she

mentioned her identity as a leader, saying, "I was a leader on the court, you know, with

the ball in my hand. Right now I don't get the ball in my hand so I still have to be

optimistic about things and you know, be that leader that, that I like to be." The act of

coaching allowed P2 to affirm her identity as a leader, and it allowed her to affirm her

identity as a competitor. P2 told me about some of her goals now that she is coaching,

"So, I just started owning it, the competitiveness. I'm trying to be the first woman before

30 to win a state championship." She admitted that she was a very competitive player,

something I can confirm from playing against her years ago. Losing the ability to

compete is difficult for someone, such as P2, who maintains a highly competitive spirit,

so using coaching as a chance to maintain this identity is very important. The act of

basketball, again, has functioned as means to affirm identity anchors.

In a conversation regarding the difficulty of transitioning away from basketball,

P4 acknowledged that playing basketball is a form of affirming identity and without

basketball the identity seems lost. P4 elucidated,

> It was definitely a feeling of this is the only thing you have at that time.
> Whenever I was playing a lot, that's all I saw for myself and it was the only thing
> that I had to cling too and the only thing I had that could release me from all the
> other stuff that was going on my day-to-day life.

When it seemed like P4 would be unable to continue to play basketball, he felt as if he

had lost his identity. He explicitly stated, "that's all I saw for myself," meaning that

basketball was so ingrained into his identity and vision for himself that he could not

imagine a future void of basketball. Therefore, the act of basketball became the

communication channel in and by which his identity was affirmed.

During P9's recovery from a cancer-related surgery, he mentioned that the lack of

basketball in his life began to take a mental toll, saying, "I had days I felt hopeless, lost,

clueless as to what my future would hold." However, P9 added that basketball would

assuage those feelings and allowing for the hope for the pursuit of basketball goals once

again. P9 added, "The only things that brought me happiness were basketball and

training. It's all I wanted to wake up and do, as it's the only things that I felt I had a

purpose in." Without basketball for the first time in his life in over 20 years, P9 felt

without purpose and identity. Once his physical health allowed him to play basketball

again, his identity began to be affirmed. Essentially, for P9, playing basketball

functioned to craft normalcy as well as affirm identity. Basketball was an essential

channel in the enactment of the communication process of affirming the identity anchors.

Lastly, I turn to a follow-up response from P5. In his original interview P5

repeatedly mentioned being miserable during the multi-month period when he was not

coaching and had nowhere to consistently play basketball. I asked how this lack of

basketball affected his identity and his response was telling. P5 said,

> I just felt like I wasn't me. Because at that time, right when we got fired, and then
> the thing happened with the college team, I had been coaching like crazy. You
> know, I'd been coaching since I was 18, it was really the only job I ever had, so I
> just didn't feel like me, it turned into a feeling of, "Who am I?"

At that time, P5's identity was centered on his role as a coach, so to be without coaching

was to be without an identity. When P5 began coaching again, he felt as if his identity

returned and normalcy was restored. Again, the act of basketball functioned as means for

the communication process of affirming the identity anchor to occur.

Maintaining communication networks through basketball. The maintenance

of communication networks is a vital process for resilience as it provides access to social

resources and emotional support for those engaging resilience. Much of the

communication network for basketball players is both developed and maintained through

the act of participating in basketball. In the section below, I offer supporting evidence for

the act of basketball functioning as the instrument for the communication process of

resilience to take place.

As an initial example, I return to an utterance from P9 while we were discussing

who he spoke to about his battle with cancer. P9 told me that the only people he spoke to

about this battle with cancer was his two closest friends,

> My two best friends were the only people I could really talk to about this. There
> are a few others that were there throughout the process that I could turn to, that
> knew my struggle, but these two (best friends) were the only ones I felt
> comfortable enough to openly talk about things with.

I was curious as to how P9 met his two closest friends, so I asked about this. P9 told me

"I met them through basketball when we were in high school. Basketball is the

foundation our friendship was built on. We always hooped, everything was about hoop

for us." P9 acknowledged that this relationship was extremely important during his

recovery from cancer and without basketball he would not have created or maintained

this valuable interpersonal relationship. Basketball was not the only way in which this

communication process of maintaining communication networks took place; however, it

was one of the more important means for developing a relationship and communication

network. P9 emphasized, "I owe my life to both of them." This relationship is a very

powerful piece of the communication network and it was nurtured and sustained through

the act of basketball.

P8, when dealing with a shoulder injury, mentioned that being around his team was an important process in his recovery. I asked if basketball helped his process of resilience and P8 told me,

> It did, because even thought I could not practice with team I was able to stay involved with basketball practices which helped me get through the difficult times. I think that if I couldn`t be participating with the team somehow it would be hard to deal with everything alone. You know I would still be at practice and weights and study hall every day. So that really mattered, because I couldn't hoop. But it was still good to be around everyone and keep working on things.

For P8, being around his teammates was a major piece of his recovery and resilience to this shoulder injury, rendering the team as a major piece of the communication network of resilience for P8. Basketball functioned as the instrument in which he could maintain his communication network because the majority of the interactions took place during basketball functions like practices, weightlifting, and study hall. As communication networks are created through basketball, the act of participating in basketball then functions as a way to maintain these communication networks during the process of developing resilience.

P7 confirmed that one of his relationships with a member of his communication network was created through the act of basketball. P7 explained that, "Basketball was how I met one of my best friends who I'm still friends with today." I asked if this friend played a role in his resilience and P7 noted that this person provided resources that were vital to his day-to-day functioning at that time. P7 elaborated,

> Yeah, he kind of read about whatever happened in the newspaper. And he called me. The first thing he said is like, "I know they seized everything. If you need a car, you're more than welcome to take mine whenever you come over."

This relationship was an important piece of P7's resilience because it provided access to social resources, such as transportation. This member of P7's communication network

supports my argument of basketball being the means in and by which communication

networks are constructed and maintained.

When P1 struggled at his first university, he explained that two of his teammates

were vital in his resilience to the difficult aspects of that particular season. These

friendships were developed through the act of basketball when they showed up to

practices early to hone their skills. P1 stated,

> Max would start coming because he was seeing me doing all the ball handling
> stuff and was like "I'm trying to get my handles better." So, we show up and
> work. Pierro always respected me for that. He would show up and try and get
> working with me too, so it was obvious right away, like that's why I gravitated
> towards those dudes the most because you could tell like they were similar to me
> in their approach.

This communication network, for P1, was maintained through the act of basketball as it

served as context for accentuating the similarities they shared in basketball. As the

season became more emotionally and physically destructive, these three teammates began

to rely on each other as sources of resilience. The act of basketball, particularly skill

development, allowed P1 to maintain his communication network, an important process

of resilience.

During the time of her adversity, P2 admitted that she did not talk about her

challenges. However, now that P2 is coaching, she said she used this experience to

function as a member of the communication network *for* her players. P2 said,

> I pretty much just kind of kept it to myself honestly. I do talk now, I do use it a
> lot and I use it to talk to my girls to have them understand that I know where
> they're coming from. I know if you feel defeated, you're going to want to just
> give up and you know, you can't.

P2 now uses her adversity to connect with her players and function as a member of her

players communication networks. However, P2 could not be a member of her players

communication network if she did not actually have players. Thus, this communication network is crafted and maintained through the act of basketball because it is the source of the relationship. Players will primarily interact with their coaches only in basketball settings, rendering basketball as the method in which this particular communication network is created and maintained.

For this final example, I turn to P5 to argue that basketball itself is part of the communication network for basketball players experiencing adversity. In reference to basketball, P5 stated that, "Even in my hardest times, it's still something I can rely on. Even when I, when I feel like I have nobody to go to, I know I could still go to it." P5 acknowledged the game of basketball as an option for emotional support and social resilience. In follow-up, I asked P5 what it means when he said, "I could still go to it." P5 told me that it is "simply playing… just going in the gym and getting shots up, it's everything." Through participating in the sport of basketball, P5 is simultaneously maintaining the sport as a member of his communication network while also using it as the instrument in which that communication network is maintained.

For these participants, the act of participating in basketball as a coach or a player is the means in and by which their communication networks are developed, maintained, and utilized. Without basketball, these communication networks would not be available. Again, the act of basketball is functioning as a channel for the communication processes of resilience.

Putting alternative logics to work through basketball. To reiterate, this process requires individuals to identify alternative or unorthodox methods of functioning to bounce back from adversity. These unorthodox methods are put to use through the use

of discourse. For many of the participants of this study this discourse takes place during the participation of basketball, whether it is with teammates or conducted intrapersonally while shooting alone.

P4 mentioned that spending time in the gym alone is very important for one's mental health and that the act of shooting transitions to function as a release from the mental stressors of adversity. P4 explained,

> Once those times in the gym when you're by yourself shooting are like super important for your mental health too, because especially whenever you take a sport, whether it's basketball, baseball, whatever, and you apply it as a release, then you almost lose yourself from all the other stuff that's going on.

The act of shooting serving as a release or form therapy constitutes an alternative logic because, typically, the act of shooting is purposed towards developing skills. The act of basketball, then, becomes the means within which this process of an alternative logic can be enacted.

According to P5, the act of shooting also functions as an alternative logic and the means for the communication process of reframing as well. P5 recalled how shooting around in the gym after getting fired helped them reframe his situation through intrapersonal communication. P5 said, "I just fucking sulked about it all the time, and then I got gym access and I would go shoot all the time and it would just, that's when it started sinking in like, 'You got here and now fucking let's get to work'." For P5, the act of shooting functioned as the communication channel for the intrapersonal communication of his alternative logic. While participating in basketball he was able to plan and craft his alternative logic of using his new coaching position as an opportunity to build his résumé rather than simply coach for the sake of coaching or competing.

P5 further acknowledged that the act of shooting was often the time in which he developed plans for coaching or ways to develop his game. This is evidenced by this utterance by P5,

> So, my first probably three years coaching, I would go to the gym every night at around nine or ten PM and I would stay there for like three hours just working on new stuff. I would do ball handling, moves and all that kind of stuff. That was one of my favorite things was trying new shit.

P5 continued by saying that during shooting he would also consider how to do new things away from basketball as well. P5 told me that while he was shooting, he would communicate to himself about his alternative logics for life in general,

> So that idea of trying new things, just putting your ego where it needs to be to try new things is something I learned from hoop and it's played a major role in my everyday life because it's like I would always try new moves and started thinking to myself, "Well, let's try new shit in school. Let's try new projects and new jobs or hanging out with new people." And so that process and transferring it over to real life was huge.

While this utterance is not in direct relation to the alternative logics associated with adversity and resilience, it does support that argument that the act of basketball is an instrument for the intrapersonal communication regarding alternative logics to take place in regard to day-to-day functioning.

P10 claimed that while he was in the gym shooting, he would identify solutions to his problems, allowing basketball to be the channel for the communication process of putting alternative logics to work. He added, "When I was in a gym by myself playing all issues I had would disappear or I would come up with some kind of solution for my problem." The act of shooting was essential for P10 as this is the place in which his alternative logics were crafted intrapersonally and the plan for utilizing them was

identified. This process took place during the act of basketball, corroborating my claim that basketball can be the channel for the communication processes of resilience.

In this final example of how the act of basketball functions as the means for the communication process of putting alternative logics to work I turn to P9 and a discussion of his recovery from cancer. After several rounds of chemotherapy, P9 underwent a difficult surgery that left them questioning his ability for a hasty return. Rather than forcing the issue of returning to peak health quickly, he relied on basketball to explore his alternative logics. P9 told me,

> For a while there everything was still like very tender. After about a month just doing rehab, I said okay maybe it's time. I was kind of scared to touch a basketball because I was just low-key scared something is gonna rip something gonna tear. So, I remember I started by going into the racquetball courts in Johnson and would just do dribbling drills to get a feel for stuff. It was just slowly building it back and day by day.

Through basketball, P9 was able to define his own alternative logic while also testing out this process. Through this channel of intrapersonal communication, he developed a plan for a return that was structured around a day-by-day process of slowly building up his strength and skill, similar to *the grind,* to a point in which he felt ready to pursue his professional career again. The alternative logic for P9 was crafted and put to use through the act of basketball, even though the act was as simple as working on basic skills, rendering the act of basketball as the means in which his alternative logic was identified and subsequently put to use.

Foregrounding productive action through basketball. Having access to basketball and spending time in the gym is a great opportunity to perform the communicative act of foregrounding productive action. Reframing is the process in which individuals acknowledge their legitimate feelings and then identify and choose

productive action; this process is also referred to as foregrounding productive action. I

can recall in my own past spending several hours in the gym trying to understand my own

feelings regarding life circumstances and also trying to find the best way forward. I now

turn to other study participants.

I wanted to know about his process of resilience after his coaching career had

been temporarily derailed. During our interview, P5 had mentioned that once he acquired

a new coaching job and gained regular access to a gym that his emotional state began to

improve. I asked him to elaborate more and P5 offered,

> It definitely just stopped with the, "This sucks I'm never going to get it." It was
> just like, "All right, we're here. All right, coach today, do this tomorrow, four
> training sessions, then I'm going to shoot afterwards" and then I'm shooting
> afterwards and it's like, "Oh, what about this? What about that? What if we press
> like this? What if I do this here?" I don't know, it just kinda got me back into
> back into work mode.

While in the act of shooting, P5 was able to use intrapersonal communication to reframe

his current situation. The act of shooting gave P5 the intrapersonal channel to change the

description of the situation from a negative event into an opportunity to coach and to

succeed. In a later utterance, he acknowledged that shooting provided the opportunity

and means to perform the process of reframing: "I think going from like, in the way I

was talking to myself and like being able to shoot and just get away from everything and

get to myself, get in my own space, it definitely went from like focusing on the problem

to focusing on options of solutions." Rather than dwelling on the negative emotions

associated with his particular adversity, the act of shooting allowed P5 to foreground

positive action. The communication process of resilience of reframing was conducted

intrapersonally during the act of basketball itself.

Spending time in the gym is an important process for basketball players because it allows them to accept their current situation while simultaneously make the choice to move forward. P12 compared this process to the process that takes place during a basketball game,

> Once I had accepted that, I just tried to run with it, you know kind of like being down in a game, you can't dwell on it, you have to move past it you have to keep hooping. So, once I accepted that I let myself down, I just kept holding myself to high standards and really just tried to push myself to reach them.

However, I asked P12 when and where this realization and acceptance took place and he admitted "the late nights in the gym, back in the field house." The field house is one of the gyms where P12 used to spend hours shooting and working out in. However, this was also the location in which he enacted the reframing communication the processes of resilience. For P12, the process of reframing happened through basketball.

I asked P10 if basketball played a role in his recovery from grief and depression. He admitted that basketball was vital and in the process of shooting he were able to reframe his situation,

> Basketball was always my safe haven and it still is. Any emotions that struck me as bad, I would get a ball and go shoot, workout, or hoop, every time. I had to do something basketball related, just had to because it helped me forget about my problems or even find a solution to them.

The gym and a basketball allowed P10 to legitimately acknowledge what ailed him while also identifying a path forward. When I asked P10 to contribute any final thoughts on resilience and basketball culture, he reiterated that sentiment: "When I was in a gym by myself playing, all issues I had would disappear or I would come up with some kind of solution for my problem." While the communication process of foregrounding

productive action can and does occur intrapersonally, the means in which this intrapersonal communication is taking place is that of basketball.

For these participants, the act of basketball, especially shooting around in a gym by themselves, creates the channel for this necessary communication processes of resilience to occur through intrapersonal communication. The act of shooting in the gym alone gave participants the space to perform this important communication process of resilience through intrapersonal means. While shooting in the gym alone, participants were able to acknowledge their feelings and emotions regarding their adversity while also explore options and solutions for resilience. Additionally, basketball players and coaches, through the act of basketball, are able to construct and develop the necessary network to tap into social resources, which is an essential process in the development of resilience (Buzzanell, 2010).

Whether it is playing with teammates, working out with friends, coaching, or shooting around alone in a gym after midnight, the game of basketball is offering itself as a channel for the communication processes of resilience to occur. Basketball culture teaches hoopers to not talk about their adversity and resilience, which will be discussed in the following section, thus in order to communicate, basketball offers itself as a proverbial listening ear. In this instance, basketball is more than a game because it is also functioning as a means for the vital communication process of resilience.

Summary of Findings: Chapter 5

With an aim of understanding how resilience is developed through communication for these participants, RQ4 uncovered the communication processes of resilience, as outlined by Buzzanell (2010). Through coding the interviews for the

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specific communication processes of resilience, I uncovered that my participants used playing basketball as the means for these communication processes of resilience, in other words, the act of basketball facilitated the enactment of their resilience.

The act of playing basketball or coaching basketball allowed participants to affirm and maintain their identity while experiencing their unique adversities. The act of basketball helped these participants create a sense of normalcy, whether that was through new methods of playing or transitioning to coaching. Playing basketball functioned as an alternative logic due to its therapeutic uses. However, while playing basketball, specifically while shooting around in the gym alone, participants used self-talk to identify other alternative logics as a process of their resilience development. One of the key processes of resilience is the use and maintenance of communication networks, and for my participants this was done through basketball. The communication networks of my participants included teammates and coaches, and these relationships were created and crystalized through participation in basketball.

The act of reframing was accomplished while playing basketball as well. Participants, while shooting around alone, would intrapersonally reframe their adversity into an opportunity to compete and pursue goals. The act of basketball, again, functioned as the means for this intrapersonal communication process to occur. With the analysis of RQ4, I argue that the process of resilience development is facilitated through the playing of basketball because basketball offers itself as the means for the communication processes of resilience to exist.

This analysis has also highlighted the important role of intrapersonal communication. The study of communication processes of resilience have previously

focused on the role of interpersonal interactions. While interpersonal discourse did play an important role in the development of resilience for these basketball players, the norms of basketball culture expanded the role of intrapersonal communication. Much of the important communication processes of resilience happened through self-talk, which was facilitated during the act of shooting. For this group of participants, self-talk was remarkably important in the development of resilience.

Basketball functioned as the means for the communication processes of resilience to occur, whether these discourses were intrapersonal or interpersonal. Basketball posits itself as more than a game as it guides the interpretations and interactions of its culture bearers while also providing the skills and means for the enactment and development of resilience.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Conclusion

This inquiry used ethnography of communication theory and methodology (Hymes, 1962) and resilience process theory (Buzzanell, 2010) to respond to four research questions. Using the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974) to examine expressions of resilience in the context of basketball, I described how basketball can be seen and heard to comprise a culture and a speech community that activates particular codes of speaking for meaning-making. My work showed that, although there was diversity in how the resilience process plays out for individuals, there exists, nevertheless, overarching communal agreement about the importance of resilience in basketball culture and its attendant processes. In this study, I also identified the unique role that basketball plays in the development and enactment of resilience. Utilizing the combined process-outcome perspective of resilience I offered fresh understandings about resilience with depth and breadth that has not been approached through quantitative perspectives.

For this group of professional basketball players and coaches from *PG City*, resilience is expected and taught through the participation of basketball. Basketball provides a unique outlet for the maintenance of important social relationships as well as the channel needed for intrapersonal communication that can be facilitative of the resilience process. Considering the process of resilience, participants expressed the process as a choice made by the self, motivated by the pursuit of competition and goals, and is enacted through work. Additionally, the outcome of resilience leads to a change in perspective that was often referred to as "growth."

An important aspect of this study was the search for common patterns or ways of speaking and communicating amongst the participants; in other words, mutual intelligibility and distinctiveness of codes regarding resilience. This inquiry uncovered mutual intelligibility of "the grind" and "don't talk" when it comes to resilience, where "the grind" refers to the process of resilience while "don't talk" governs the rules of how and to whom to talk about adversity. Further, this investigation marked the multiple functions and uses of trash-talk by presenting it as a speech code central to basketball culture.

When questioning about the role that basketball culture plays in the development of resilience, I was able to uncover that basketball culture expects resilience of its participants while also teaching basketball players and coaches the skills needed to accomplish the outcome of resilience. Additionally, the act of participating in basketball functions as the intrapersonal means for the communication processes of resilience to occur, such as affirming identity anchors, maintaining communication networks, and foregrounding productive action to occur. Considering the multiple ways that basketball culture serves as a site for resilience reminds of an utterance from P1 that nearly left me speechless: "The basketball world breeds resilience!" For these participants, and myself included, basketball has not been the only source of resilience in the face of adversity, however, it serves as major source.

Basketball, for these participants hailing from *PG City*, is much more than a game. Basketball is a culture. Basketball is a teacher of resilience and a tool for relationships. Basketball is a place of healing and the glue of a community. For these basketball players and coaches, basketball is more than a game, it is a way of life.

Contributions

Through exploring expressions of resilience within basketball culture, this study provided many contributions to the fields of communication and resilience theoretically, methodologically, and practically.

Theoretical contributions to communication. By utilizing the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972, & 1974), this study contributed to the field of communication by identifying the unique ways in which members of basketball culture use communication to understand, express, and shape resilience. Through use of the SPEAKING model (Hymes, 1974), I was able to identify elements of distinct patterns of speaking and identify a speech community amongst professional basketball players and coaches from *PG City*. My work directly affirms the central tenet of the EOC that communication and culture are inextricably intertwined (Hymes, 1962; Carbaugh, 1991; Philipsen, Coutu, and Covarrubias, 2005).

Additionally, this work supported the findings of Buzzanell (2010 & 2012), which posits that communication plays a role in the development in resilience. By coding for the communication processes of resilience identified by Buzzanell (2010), I was able to uncover how members of this particular speech community utilized each communication process to facilitate their own resilience. It is worth noting that each participant expressed each of the five communication processes of resilience noted by Buzzanell, thereby, displaying the dynamic nature of resilience.

Much of the communication processes of resilience, as expressed by the participants, were conducted through intrapersonal communication. This finding further expanded the work of Buzzanell by showing that the communication processes of

resilience occur intrapersonally in addition to interpersonally. Buzzanell does not highlight the role of intrapersonal communication. Still, as this inquiry has evidenced, the self is a very important component of the communication network, and, in fact, the self becomes a member of an active speech community of individuals who are experiencing adversity and developing resilience.

By combining the EOC with the work regarding the communication processes of resilience, this study showed that experiences of resilience are poignantly culturally influenced. This suggests that resilience must be considered from a cultural perspective because various cultures can develop and express resilience in ways that are unique to that culture. The particular belief and value systems, assumption, expectation, and emotions of particular societies influence communicative processes in particular ways via their unique communication enactments.

Methodological contributions to communication. This project contributed to the EOC and supported its value by highlighting its versatility as a methodology as well as a theoretical foundation. By applying the EOC to resilience, a field within psychology, I was able to show how both culture and communication can construct resilience and influence psychological well-being. Not only is the EOC a valuable method within the field of communication, this shows that it can be applicable and valuable in psychological studies as well.

Further, my work showed the EOC to be a valuable methodology in the study of athletic culture. As athletics continues to grow as a focus of academia, there is a need for diverse methodologies to understand the nuances and complexities of the athletic

experience. The EOC is of utmost importance as it provides insight into the role of communication and culture in the lives of athletes by using athletes' own terms.

Theoretical contributions to resilience research. While contributing the studies of the communication of resilience, this study also contributed to the field of resilience as a whole in several ways. First, this study contributed to the process-perspective of resilience by illuminating how resilience was developed for this particular group of participants. For my participants, the resilience process was shown to be contextual; meaning it was based on the adversity being experienced. There is not a universal formula for the process of resilience, rather it is highly dependent on the adversity being experienced and is driven by alternative methods of functioning.

Additionally, this work contributed to the outcome-perspective of resilience that focuses on the end result of resilience. Many participants mentioned a change in perspective or even expressed they experienced elements of growth after developing their own resilience. There is a growing focus within the study of resilience called *post-traumatic growth*. Post-traumatic growth is generally defined as "positive outcomes reported by persons who have experienced traumatic events" (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 1995). My findings supported the notion that some individuals experience personal pscyho-emotional growth after experiencing adversity and resilience. This could provide direction for further research as the term is "growth" is somewhat ambiguous. I suspect that "growth" is influenced by one's cultural identities and cultural imperatives, and this line of inquiry could conceptually, methodologically, and practically benefit from the EOC.

Resilience is influenced by culture because the relationship between individuals and their culture can determine and influence their resilience (Liebenberg & Ungar, 2009; Masten, 1990). This thesis contributed to this notion by exploring the role of basketball culture in the development of resilience. As I illuminated above, basketball culture creates an expectation of resilience that influences the resilience process for its participants. For the basketball players who participated in this study, their experiences and positions in basketball culture influenced their development and outcomes of resilience.

Methodological contributions to resilience research. Through conducting the literature review, I learned there is a dearth of qualitative research surrounding resilience. My work here contributes to the field of research by displaying the value of qualitative research regarding the experiences and development of resilience. Through conducting interviews using ethnographic tools, I was able to discover valuable insight regarding the development and outcomes of resilience for a specific speech community. This suggests that resilience could be perceived and experienced in diverse ways and should be investigated utilizing an *emic* perspective; that is, from the view of the members of speech community themselves.

Practical contributions. The practical contributions and applications of this study are of interest for those seeking to understand the development of resilience as well as the role that athletics plays in the development of translatable life skills. Many of my participants articulated the real-world benefit of participating in athletics such as the learning of discipline, punctuality, and resilience.

This study illuminated how these participants were able to develop their own resilience through the use of communication processes such as maintaining communication networks and reframing their experiences in order to foreground productive action. This study can serve as the framework for others to do the same for themselves or for others. Additionally, it can highlight how participating in one's passion can provide the intrapersonal communication channel needed for many of these communication processes. Additional research would need to be conducted in order to understand how to apply this work to other sports and other passions, such as art, academia, or parenting that are separate from athletics.

Limitations

The limitations of this research study are participant population based as well as contextually situated. To create a narrow focus and specified population of study, participants were limited to the location of *PG City* and were stipulated by a certain level of experience. Therefore, the findings and results cannot be generalized onto the entire population of basketball players and coaches that span the world and all levels of experiences. The context was limited to the culture, experiences, and expressions of this particular population.

Directions for Future Research

There are several avenues for future research that arise from the work and conclusion of this study: the complexities and functions of trash-talk within athletic culture; the study of basketball culture as a whole; the experience and identity crisis of transitioning away from athletics (from a resilience perspective); the relationship between hope and resilience, and; the role of passions in the development of resilience. First, I

would like to talk about the latter of these three—the role of people's passions in the development of resilience.

Basketball has played an invaluable role in the development of resilience for these basketball players and coaches. However, I argue that basketball builds resilience for basketball players because it is their passion, it is what they love, not because there is something magical about basketball. I argue that future research should look at the role of people's passions in the development of resilience. My work helps guide that line of thinking.

I noticed that many participants mentioned that basketball brings them happiness and offers them a chance to release some of the stress of their adversity. P9 told me, in regard to the barriers of coming back from cancer that, "The only things that brought me happiness were basketball and training… Basketball gave me hope." However, other participants mentioned that sports in general, not just basketball, provided a similar role.

Consider this utterance from P7, "I feel like a lot of athletes when they're just in the gym on their own working on their own shit, they have a lot of conversations with themselves about how things are going." Now consider this utterance from P4, "Whenever you take a sport, whether it's basketball, baseball, whatever, and you apply it as a release, then you almost lose yourself from all the other stuff that's going on." These two utterances show that athletics in general can provide the same kind of therapy that basketball has provide for my particular participants. However, for those that do not participate in sports this may not be true.

I believe what creates this separation, where sport functions as therapy, is the love and passion professional athletes and coaches maintain for their particular sport. I asked

P6 if he believed there is a connection between passion and resilience and his response was rather enlightening. He said,

> Passion can help with resilience. I think my passion will drive me to want to come back. That passion is what fuels my return. And so, I think that they talk to each other and I feel like they do have a symbiotic relationship for sure.

I was taken by the phrase "that passion is what fuels my return" and I concluded this is one of the keys to resilience. While basketball has been remarkably important in the resilience of basketball players, it is only so because basketball players and coaches have love and passion for the sport.

Due to these utterances and this line of thinking, I speculate that the role of one's passions in the development of resilience is worth further research. Human beings maintain various and differing passions, whether it is sports, art, mechanics, parenting, etc., these passions can function as the "fuel" of resilience. Further research in how passion is connected to the development of resilience can be beneficial for individuals, communities, and societies as a whole.

Another direction for future research regards the complex nature of trash-talk within athletics. As discussed in the results section, the role of trash-talk in this particular basketball community was multi-faceted and complex. To further understand the relationship between culture and communication as well as basketball culture, a look into trash-talk could be particularly insightful. Although trash-talk was important, and fascinating, it was outside the scope of this study which limited the depth in which I could delve into its many rules, uses, contexts, and effects.

Many participants have referenced the global nature of basketball as it is a worldwide sport. The introduction of this thesis includes examples of the global nature

of basketball as well through referencing world-famous players such as Yao Ming and Arvydas Sabonis. A fruitful avenue for future research could be a further exploration of basketball culture that is not specified to one location. Basketball continues to expand across the world and understanding this global phenomenon, especially from the perspective of resilience, can be very beneficial to individuals, communities, and various cultures.

There was one particular utterance from P9 that stuck with me and it was a result of inquiring about the influence of basketball in his recovery from cancer. I asked if basketball played a role in this process and P9 replied, "Basketball is what gave me hope." This reminded me the work of Panter-Brick (2011). They conducted a study regarding the resilience of Afghan communities dealing with conflict post-2003. According to Panter-Brick (2011), "If you had to boil down 'resilience' to just one single word, in the Afghan context, that word is 'hope'." While my project was not a study of the role of hope in resilience, there was a slight indication that there is a connection and I surmise this connection is worth exploring with immense depth and breadth.

The final direction for future research I would like to discuss lies within the identity crisis that many life-long athletes face when transitioning away from their sport or role as a player. Much of adversity expressed within this study was in relation to that transition, whether the athlete was forced out of playing or had to consider it due to an injury, it proved to be a difficult experience for these participants. To help college or professional athletes transition into new roles or out of the athletic world completely, it is important to understand this transition, and how to build resilience during the transition, is very important for the athletic community worldwide.

As a parting thought on the future directions of resilience research I believe as researchers, our job is not to simply define and measure resilience, rather it is to *understand* resilience. We must consider the personal, contextual, and cultural experiences of resilience, as expressed by those who are experiencing adversity, developing resilience, and existing post-resilience.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Glossary of Used Basketball Terms

Airball – a shot that makes no contact with the rim or backboard, often used for trash-talk as it is a bad thing

And-1 – a play in basketball where one attempts a shot and is illegally contacted by an opponent yet they still make the shot; called And-1 because the player gets an additional foul shot due to the illegal contact; the phrase And-1 is often used as a form of trash-talk

Bench player – a player on a team who typically plays a very limited amount of time in games, can have a negative connotation; used synonymously with *role player*

Bucket – make a basket during basketball play

Chemistry – references the interpersonal relationship amongst members of the same team; used synonymously with *team chemistry*

Craft – term used to describe a players' unique skillset and style of play

Do work – to put forth heightened effort and succeed in the role of basketball

Dope – a pronoun or adjective for things that are good

Dub – winning a competition in basketball

Exposure camp – a basketball event designed to help players get exposed to professional coaches and organizations with the goal of securing a contract to play professionally

Group lessons – private coaching sessions with multiple players receiving training based on improving specific basketball skills

Gym – pronoun for indoor basketball court

Handle or handles – reference to the basketball skill of dribbling or bouncing the ball

Hoop – a term used for *basketball*

Hoopers – a term use for *basketball players*

In-game situations – term used to describe situations and circumstances that are happening during official game play

Johnson – a local gym where basketball is played

Low-key - quiet, <u>modest</u>, not very <u>assertive</u>, with little emphasis

Official game play – regulated, officiated, coached, and competitive games of basketball

Open gym – unreferreed and uncoached basketball that is typically organized for official teams outside of official practices

Physical training – the act of working out to improve and train the body and physical abilities aside from basketball skills

Pick-up basketball – unofficiated and uncoached lightly competitive play that is not associated with any sort of official team

Playing time – the amount of time a player participates in an official game; a major commodity in basketball culture

Role player – a player on a team who typically plays a very limited amount of time in games, can have a negative connotation; used synonymously with *bench player*

Run – a string of consecutive scores for one team; to go on a run means to score 8 to 10 points in a row in which the other team does not score

Serve – efficiently performing the function of scoring

Serving buckets – when an individual player scoring at a remarkably high rate

Shooting – the act of attempting to score a basket in any circumstance

Shooting around – the act of shooting, reserved for noncompetitive circumstances

Skill development – the act of performing basketball functions with the specific purpose of improving basketball skills; used synonymously with *training*

Sports and Wellness – a local gym where basketball is played

Star player – typically the best or one of the best players on a team who garners increased attention

Streetball – a form of basketball that used a different set of rules to create a flashier style of play; popular from 1998 to 2008

Team chemistry – references the interpersonal relationship amongst members of the same team; used synonymously with *chemistry*

Training – the act of performing basketball functions, such as shooting or passing, with the specific purpose of improving basketball skills

Walk-on player – a type of player at a college or university; this player has not been awarded a scholarship to play on the team; typically associated with *bench player* or *role player* and often carries a negative connotation

*The definitions of these terms were verified through member checking with the participants who used them.

Appendix B – Table 1

Table 1 - RQ1 Findings		
Category	Description	Example
Resilience as a choice	Resilience is expressed as a choice and as a conscious decision.	"You have to make a decision like I'm going to suck this up and keep going" – P4
Resilience as a pursuit	Resilience is expressed as a pursuit of competition, opportunities, or goals.	**Competition** – "So that's what kind of what got me to that transition, putting it in terms of 'I can still be competitive." – P2 **Opportunity** – ""I need to just take any opportunity I have to coach and make the best of it." – P5 **Goal** – "It is an ultimate drive and ultimate focus and ultimate desire for that end goal" – P1
Resilience as work	Resilience is expressed as a result of completing tasks that are motivated by the pursuit.	"You have to continually work and you have to pay attention and you have to do the right things." – P8
Resilience as the self	Resilience is initiated and enacted by the self.	"I just started working out a little bit and I would talk to myself and I realized quickly that it is completely on me" – P6
Resilience as a new perspective	The outcome of resilience creates a change in perspective.	"Yeah it was humbling, uh, more than anything. But it made me see the game differently." – P3

Appendix C – Table 2

Table 2 – RQ2 Findings		
Category	Description	Example
The Grind	The term the grind is described as similar to the process of enacting resilience, as expressed by the participants.	"The grind it's a marathon, not a sprint. Everyday putting in work and work and work until you perfect that thing" – P7
Don't talk	One of the rules of interaction amongst the participants is to not talk about the adversity being experienced.	"To be honest, I really didn't talk to anybody" – P2 "Honestly, not really. No, I didn't talk to anybody" – P5 "I tried not to talk about it too much." – P8
Trash-talk	Corroborating evidence regarding mutual intelligibility and distinct patterns of speaking amongst the participants.	"I fucking love hoop culture. I love the shit talk." – P5 "Basketball is one of those sports where trash-talk is heavily present, and that's a part of basketball that's probably most prominent to me" – P4

Appendix D – Table 3

Table 3 – RQ3 Findings		
Category	Description	Example
Resilience as an expected value	Basketball culture expects resilience of its participants.	"So, it's kinda like basketball won't accept you if you're not willing to persevere." – P3
Culture-bearers enact and develop resilience skills	Through consistent participation in basketball and basketball culture, players and coaches develop the skills needed to enact and develop resilience.	"This the culture. This is what I think basketball teaches us. Learning to get through adversity." – P2 "It absolutely prepared me a little bit better for the processing of challenges" – P6
Culture-bearers create and maintain communication networks for the enactment and development of resilience	Through consistent participation in basketball and basketball culture, players and coaches develop the necessary communication network to enact and develop resilience.	"My two best friends were the only people I could really talk to about this…I met them through basketball when we were in high school. Basketball was the foundation our friendship was built on." – P9
Basketball functions as a space for healing	Playing basketball provides a space for healing and a release from the stressors of adversity.	"Basketball was the catalyst, it got me out of it all. I had to do something basketball related, just had to because it helped me forget about my problems or even find a solution to them." – P10

Appendix E – Table 4.1

Table 4.1 – RQ4 Findings: Communication Processes of Resilience		
Category	Description	Example
Crafting normalcy	Using discourse to create a sense of normalcy.	"I didn't know how to take care of myself… that motivated me into getting the therapy and exercise science degree and even coaching because I wanted to be able to help someone that was going through what I was going through." – P6
Affirming identity anchors	Using discourse to situate various character strengths and personality traits.	"I was a leader on the court, you know, with the ball in my hand… right now I don't get the ball in my hand so I still have to be optimistic about things and you know, be that leader that, that I like to be." – P2
Maintaining communication networks	Using discourse to access social resources and capital.	"I was talking to him a ton, he knew how hard I was working, he was the best-connected guy that was willing to help me, so I really listened and stayed in touch with him as much as I could" – P1
Putting alternative logics to work	Using discourse to enact alternative methods of functioning.	"The hard part was listening to everyone as to what to do. I am pretty stubborn and feel like I know what is best for my body. I hated being injured so I tried to take care of my body as best I could, tried not to eat a lot of junk and things like that." – P8
Foregrounding productive action	Using discourse to legitimize negative emotions and foreground productive action.	"There were times I felt like I could have made it seem not as bad, but I just tried to be honest. You know it sucked, but I wanted to push through and I felt like if I wasn't real then I wouldn't be able to do that." – P11

Appendix F – Table 4.2

Table 4.2 – RQ4 Findings: Basketball as the means for the communication processes		
Category	Description	Example
Crafting normalcy through basketball	Crafting normalcy intrapersonally during the act of basketball.	"Basketball was way to forget everything that had happened, a way to feel normal again." – P9
Affirming identity anchors through basketball	Affirming the identity intrapersonally during the act of basketball.	"You know, I'd been coaching since I was 18, it was really the only job I ever had, so I just didn't feel like me, it turned into a feeling of 'who am I?'" – P5
Maintaining communication networks through basketball	Using the act of basketball to develop and maintain communication networks.	"My two best friends were the only people I could really talk to about this. I met them through basketball when we were in high school. Basketball is the foundation our friendship was built on." – P9
Putting alternative logics to work through basketball	Utilizing the act of basketball to intrapersonally identify and utilize alternative logics.	"Something I learned from hoop… I would always try new moves and started thinking to myself 'Well let's try new shit in school. Let's try new projects and new jobs or hanging out with new people.' That process and transferring it over to real life was huge." – P7
Foregrounding productive action through basketball	Foregrounding conducted intrapersonally during the act of basketball.	"I think going from like, in the way I was talking to myself and like being able to shoot and just get away from everything and get to myself, get in my own space, it definitely went from like focusing on the problem to focusing on options of solutions." - P5

Appendix G – Informed Consent Form

It is more than a game: An ethnographic look at resilience as an element of basketball culture
Consent to Participate in Research
May 2018

Purpose of the study: You are being asked to participate in a research study that is being done by Matthew Charles Higgins, under the guidance of Dr. Patricia Covarrubias, from the Department of Communication and Journalism. The purpose of this study is to understand how basketball and basketball culture facilitate resilience for professional basketball players and basketball coaches from Albuquerque. You are being asked to take part in this study because of your status as a professional basketball player or basketball coach from Albuquerque.
This form will explain what to expect when joining the research, as well as the possible risks and benefits of participation. If you have any questions, please ask one of the study researchers.

What you will do in the study: In this study, you will be interviewed regarding your experiences with basketball and resilience. Interviews will range from 60 to 90 minutes. Interview questions are designed to understand your experiences with basketball and resilience. Interviews will take place on the basketball court at Raymond G. Sanchez Community Center. During the interview, you make skip any questions that you wish to not answer. You may stop the interview at any time and you may withdraw from the study at any time. Interviews will be recording using a digital audio recording device. All identifying information will be removed and your information will be stored under your chosen pseudonym.
Participation in this study will take a maximum of 90 minutes and will take place in one session. If additional information or response clarification is needed, you will be contacted through email or phone. This will not require a second interview or meeting as it will be conducted via email or phone call.

Risks: There are risks of stress, emotional distress, inconvenience and possible loss of privacy associated with participating in a research study. Participation in this study includes discussions of resilience and adversity which creates the potential for emotional distress.

Benefits: There will be no benefit to you from participating in this study. However, it is hoped that information gained from this study will help understand the positive effects of sport participation, basketball culture, and the process and outcome of resilience for individuals, groups, and communities.

Confidentiality of your information: To ensure confidentiality, your personal identifying information will not be used. Pseudonyms will be used to de-identify interview data. Digital data will be stored on a password protected external hard drive and physical data will be stored in a locked file cabinet. We will take measures to protect the security of all your personal information, but we cannot guarantee confidentiality of all study data. The University of New Mexico Institutional Review Board (IRB) that oversees human subject research and/or other entities (such as a Sponsor) may be permitted to access your records. Your name will not be used in any published reports about this study.

You should understand that the researcher is not prevented from taking steps, including reporting to authorities, to prevent serious harm of yourself or others.

Payment: You will not be paid for participating in this study. Participation in this study is strictly voluntary.

Right to withdraw from the study: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate or to withdraw your participation at any point in this study without penalty. Should you choose to withdraw from the study your data will NOT be used.

If you have any questions, concerns, or complaints about the research study, please contact:

Matthew Charles Higgins, Department of Communication and Journalism, 1 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. (505) 804-5391, mhiggs2@unm.edu

Principal Investigator: Dr. Patricia Covarrubias, Associate Professor – Department of Communication and Journalism, 1 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131**,** (505) 239-0936, pocb@unm.edu

If you would like to speak with someone other than the research team to obtain information or offer input or if you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the IRB. The IRB is a group of people from UNM and the community who provide independent oversight of safety and ethical issues related to research involving people:

UNM Office of the IRB, (505) 277-2644, irbmaincampus@unm.edu. Website: http://irb.unm.edu/

CONSENT
You are making a decision whether to participate in this study. Your signature below indicates that you have read this form (or the form was read to you) and that all questions have been answered to your satisfaction. By signing this consent form, you are not waiving any of your legal rights as a research participant. A copy of this consent form will be provided to you.

I agree to participate in this study.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Adult Participant   Signature of Adult Participant   Date

Researcher Signature (to be completed at time of informed consent)
I have explained the research to the participant and answered all of his/her questions. I believe that he/she understands the information described in this consent form and freely consents to participate.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Research Team Member   Signature of Research Team Member   Date