You Had to Be There:

Extending Intergroup Contact Theory to Positive Contexts through a Participant-Centered

Analysis of Fans' Experiences at the Olympics

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2017 by the
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May 2017

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigated positive intergroup contact and communication in the experiences of fans at the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Guided by concepts from Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT), formerly Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis, I asked fans to identify and discuss factors that were relevant to their experiences at the event. These factors are reported in previous literature to foster positive intergroup relations. The fan participants also provided detailed, experience-based rationales for why and how the factors supported each other and created individual models of their experiences of ICT at the Olympics. The study relied on participant-centered, in-depth qualitative interviews using Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) software. Based on an integration of ICT, communication theories, social capital concepts, and calls from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and mega-sporting event industry, the dissertation sought to answer four research questions. It started with a broad approach to the array of previous scholars' ICT factors in order to identify *what* factors were present and relevant in fans' experiences. It also sought to understand *why* and *how* the factors worked together by analyzing the ways factors related to and supported each other in Olympic fans' experiences and producing a composite meta-structure of the factors' relationships. Additionally, through thematic analysis, the research explored *where* and *when* in fans' experiences the factors emerged and were active. Finally, the study identified the functions that each ICT factor served in fostering positive intergroup contact and communication and offered suggestions for practitioners and organizers of intergroup contexts. The study aimed to make theoretical contributions by addressing gaps and calls in ICT literature, as well as practical contributions by

providing insight about how to organize intergroup contexts to foster positive contact and communication. In addition to addressing its research questions, the study provided a comprehensive list of previous scholars' ICT factors, a preliminary, tentative model of ICT for ideal intergroup contexts adapted from Pettigrew's (1998) model of group membership transformation for problematic contexts, and promising future directions given the unique, ideal, and unexplored features of the Olympics.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I must acknowledge my fantastic committee members, starting with Dr. Benjamin Broome and Dr. Jess Alberts. Their consistent support over the past several years has guided me to where I am now, which is exactly where I did not know I wanted to be when I first stepped into each of their offices. Also, Dr. Judith Martin generously offered invaluable insight and time despite being "retired," and Dr. Dikaia Chatziefstathiou provided much needed expertise from afar. I want to thank Bri, my incredible wife, who provided a listening ear and a vastly disproportionate amount of domestic labor the past several months, as well as steadfast support and encouragement the past several years. I also thank my parents, who instilled me with roots to stay grounded in what is important while emphasizing the beauty and complexity of differences in the world and providing opportunities for me to explore it. Last, I gratefully acknowledge the fans at the Olympics who shared their experiences and insights with me. It has been a wonderful privilege to explore and represent their contributions in this dissertation.

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INTRODUCTION

The central goal of this dissertation research is to understand how factors shown to foster positive intergroup contact and communication influence each other in the experience of fans at an international mega-sporting event (Olympic Games). Additional goals are to extend intergroup contact theory and to provide useful knowledge to organizers and practitioners in intergroup contexts. I surveyed fans at the 2016 Summer Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and asked them to identify important factors in their experiences of intergroup contact and communication at the event. I then interviewed fans to create structural models of their experiences of how these factors influenced each other. I analyzed these structures to develop a holistic understanding of how the factors work to together to foster positive intergroup contact and communication and the specific functions each factor serves.

The study responds to calls from its primary theory's founder, Gordon Allport (1954), that have largely been overlooked in favor of over 60 years of research on other related topics. Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT), which originated with Allport's Contact Hypothesis (Pettigrew, 1998) and spawned over 60 years of research, contends that if particular conditions are present when members of different national, ethnic, or other groups interact, their contact will result in reduced prejudice and improved relations with each other. Responding to Allport's (1954) overlooked calls, this study attempts to address ICT in transitory and athletic contexts and in environments already predisposed and well-suited for positive intergroup relations. The goal in doing so is to reignite some of Allport's largely forgotten ideas while building on the existing body of research and

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practice in intergroup contact with new applications, a new context, and interdisciplinary integration with the field of communication.

This study also reflects Allport's (1954) original work in its participant-centered research design. While the vast majority of previous research using Allport's (1954) work has relied on quantitative methodologies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), Allport originally utilized and advocated for a more diverse array of methods of discovery and knowledge production, including qualitative, participant-centered approaches. The participants in this study, fans at the Olympics, played a large role in selecting theory-based concepts relevant to their experience and then developed those concepts through in-depth, qualitative interviews using Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) software. In doing so, they took the lead in making sense of how factors that foster positive intergroup contact and communication influenced each other and their experience as a whole. By opening a space for the fans' voices to integrate with mine as the researcher, the study extends and adds complexity to the more researcher-generated models of Allport's concepts by inviting participants to create their own models. This allows me to connect their experiences and insights to existing literature on intergroup contact and communication.

The study also attempts to integrate previous ICT research, which is largely based in sociology and psychology, with theoretical perspectives from the field of communication. Combining some of Allport's forgotten contributions to the field and the integration of communication theory, including Anxiety Uncertainty Management of Effective Communication (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005) and dialogue theories (Broome, 2009; Buber, 1937), the study seeks to open new conversations and model new applications of how intergroup contact efforts can be intentionally planned to foster

positive contact and communication. I supplement the more conventionally-used "intergroup contact" with the word "communication" due to this infusion of communication theory and perspectives, and also because, as will be discussed in the following chapters, many of the factors relevant to positive intergroup contact and the Olympic context are inherently grounded in the field of communication.

The following section describes the background for my personal interest in and approach to this study by tracing the path that led to my fascination with the Olympics and other mega-sporting events as well as how Allport's (1954) concepts emerged within these contexts as agents of potentially powerful and widespread social progress. I then explain the importance and timeliness of the study within the mega-sporting event industry. Following this, I articulate calls from the mega-sporting event industry and related academic fields for what this study seeks to understand, the untapped potential of applying Allport's ideas and practices to the Olympics and other mega-sporting events, and the lack of previous research exploring such understanding and potential.

My Fascination with the Olympics

My first memory of the Olympics is one of the most celebrated moments in U.S. Olympic history. I was six years old when Kerri Strug sprinted toward the vault on a few freshly-torn ligaments, flipped through the air, and landed on one foot, securing a gold medal for the U.S. Women's Gymnastics Team in the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympics. This was probably the start of the Olympics bedtime battles my parents waged with me, as I would have rather watched Michael Johnson's golden shoes or Gail Devers' iconic finger nails flash around the track than go to sleep. Powerless, I would trudge to my

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bedroom only to listen to the television through the air conditioning vents with my brother.

As I got older, my understanding of the magnitude of the Olympics, and other mega-sporting events, such as the FIFA World Cup, developed to the point where I could recognize these events were not just about athletic competition; they had worldwide social implications and influence. When the U.S. Women's National Soccer Team won the 1999 FIFA World Cup in the United States, I vaguely recognized the way the event stirred and boosted interest in girls' soccer in my community. I remember learning about the corruption behind the 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Olympic bid, and I saw how individual athletes carried the hopes and expectations of entire national fan bases, including Liu Xiang, the Chinese hurdler and national hero whose leg injury forced him out of competition at the 2008 Beijing Olympics and devastated millions. Perhaps foreshadowing this dissertation, I even gave a persuasive speech in an undergraduate public speaking class about why Rio de Janeiro should win the bid for the 2016 Summer Olympics. This was an unpopular position, as my university was close to Chicago, which was bidding against Rio, but I think I got an A, and Rio got the Olympics.

For as long as I can remember, I have watched hours of Olympic and World Cup coverage every day they were broadcast if possible, which is part of what ultimately led to this dissertation. The 2012 London Summer Olympics were just weeks before I started my doctoral program, and while I waited for the semester to begin, I probably averaged roughly 12 hours of viewing per day. One of these nights, I realized the 2016 Rio Olympics fit the program of study timeline for my dissertation research, and a few years and supportive committee members later, that is exactly what I am doing. In the past few

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years, I have honed my focus through conducting research at the 2014 FIFA Men's World Cup in Brazil and the 2015 FIFA Women's World Cup in Canada, where I collected dozens interviews with fans, locals, media, and event organizers (discussed below). From this research, I realized my personal fanhood had evolved in a way that reflects my passion for these events. In response to asking interviewees if they were fans of any particular teams, they often returned the question. My honest response was always something like, "I'm really just a fan of the event. I love the World Cup, the Olympics, the events that bring all sorts of people together and create this atmosphere." Interviewees often described the unique atmospheres at the events with a notion of, "you have to be here" to understand it, and from my experience, I agree. These mentalities and experiences have guided and driven me in this dissertation.

Contextual Rationale for Studying Intergroup Contact at Mega-Sporting Events

Intergroup contact has generated high levels of scholarly interest and empirical research since post World War II, and Allport's (1954) landmark work, *The Nature of Prejudice*, provided a cohesive set of ideas and frameworks that has unified and driven the study of intergroup contact for over 60 years, as evidenced by Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 515 empirical studies. While extensive and influential, this body of work has failed to recognize a potentially rich context for study and application of intergroup contact theory. Mega-sporting events, such as the Olympics (Summer and Winter), FIFA World Cup, Commonwealth Games, XGames, Super Bowl, NCAA Final Four, and dozens of other reoccurring tournaments and competitions, are growing in number and variety, and in the case of the Olympics, popular following, as noted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in its groundbreaking *Agenda 20+20* document.

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The document declares, "Never before have so many people all around our globe followed the Olympic Games. So, we are successful" (IOC, 2014, p. 2). Against this backdrop, this dissertation's topic and approach are relevant, timely, and of high social significance for at least two reasons. First, my previous research at the 2014 FIFA Men's World Cup in Brazil, 2015 FIFA Women's World Cup in Canada, and 2015 CONCACAF Cup in the United States revealed rich, untapped contexts of intergroup contact where much of the difficult legwork of planning and fostering positive intergroup contact and communication was already accomplished by the atmosphere of the events. Second, intangible social and human benefits, explained below, are one of the most prominent new priorities of the IOC and other federations. My previous work applying ICT to mega-sporting events has already gained wide interest and acceptance in the professional field for how it addresses these priorities. Prior to addressing why the study is relevant and timely for its context in more depth, I will summarize some conceptual and theoretical perspectives concerning mega-sporting events from the fields of Sociology of Sport and Olympic Studies, which serve as an intellectual foundation of the research context and will be frequently integrated with intergroup contact theory in the following chapters.

I must acknowledge that the positive tone of this dissertation reflects fans' experiences, which are the focus of the study. The Olympics and other, similar events are widely scrutinized and criticized for negative repercussions on local populations in host regions, the natural environment, and nations' financial resources (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015; Chen, 2013; Misener & Mason, 2006). I am aware of these issues, have seen some of them firsthand, and appreciate other scholars' and practitioners' work in

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these areas, but they mostly fall outside the scope of this study and are therefore not central to its content.

Conceptual and Theoretical Background of Research Context

This section outlines terms and concepts central to the research context of the Olympics and used frequently throughout the study. The following descriptions seek to bring clarity and insight to the terms from the mega-sporting event industry and academic fields that study it. Additionally, Olympic values, Olympic legacy, and social capital are integrated with ICT and communication theory in the study, so describing them in this section serves to establish contextual and theoretical understanding.

Mega-sporting events. The term "mega event" is a natural starting point for conceptualizing the social benefits of mega-sporting events. The term is credited to Ritchie and Yangzhou (1987), who conceptualize it as a major recurring or one-time event with a limited time span. A common purpose of mega events is to boost the appeal and spread awareness of the event's host territory (city, country, region, etc.). To achieve these objectives, organizers strive to enhance their events' distinctiveness, status, and timeliness to garner maximal attention, interest, and participation and attendance (Chen, 2013). Among many others, the Olympics and World Cup exemplify mega events (Roche, 2001), and due to their central focus on sports, they are commonly termed mega-sporting events.

Olympic values. The IOC's three primary Olympic values are excellence, friendship, and respect. In order, they include notions of achieving the highest level of one's potential; establishing mutual understanding, peace, solidarity, and overcoming group differences; and ethical treatment of self, others, and the environment (IOC, 2012).

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As these are very broad categories, many Olympic Studies and Sociology of Sport scholars have honed and specified related values, as evidenced by Chatziefstathiou and DaCosta's (2015) content analysis of 42 essays from 23 top scholars tasked with writing separate pieces reflecting on the Sydney (2000), London (2012), and Sochi (2014) games. From this process emerged "eight core Olympic values of contemporary discussion related to the Olympic Movement: 'equality', 'sustainability', 'education and environment', 'blending sport with culture', 'personal excellence', 'sport as human right', 'multicultural understanding' and 'internationalism'" (pp. 18-19). Additional reoccurring terms included "respect for others," "peace," and "unity," particularly related to "dialogue, communication and personal and group equilibrium" (p. 13). Several of these values and terms are exactly those used in ICT and are within the scope of this study, and they offer insight into understanding intergroup contact and communication in the Olympic context. They also connect closely with communication theories and perspectives discussed in the following chapters, including dialogue (Broome, 2009; Buber, 1937) and intercultural dialogue (Broome & Collier, 2012; Broome & Jakobssen-Hatay, 2006), and Anxiety Uncertainty Management Theory of Effective Communication (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005).

     Olympic legacy. The word "legacy" was initially tied to the Olympics in Melbourne's bid for the 1956 Games (Leopkey, 2008), and "Olympic legacy" has since become a fixture of the IOC's semantics and goals. The IOC describes the term as "the effects of a policy, programme or project on ecosystems, society in general and/or on the economic system" (IOC, 2012, p. 4), and legacy can be both short-term and long-term, exceeding twenty years after an Olympic event concludes. Gratton and Pruess (2008) add

that legacy can be intentional or unintentional, beneficial or harmful, and include the

tangible or intangible effects of a sporting event that outlive the event itself.

Exemplifying this complexity and broad scope, Chen's (2013) meta-analysis of empirical

research found seven themes of Olympic legacy to emerge, including volunteering among

the local population, economic effects, urban regeneration, and, of most concern in this

study, social impact. This theme aligns with Cashman's (2006) addition of increased

cultural understanding and cultural exchange, festive atmosphere, and spirit of

community as elements of Olympic legacy. Chen (2013) advocates that host cities should

recognize the positive potential the Olympics offer for cultural and social benefits and

leverage the event for these outcomes, which include reducing social exclusion,

generating positive group identities (Deccio & Baloglu, 2002; Minnaert, 2011; Waitt,

2003), fostering social integration (Girginov & Parry, 2005), improving intragroup and

intergroup interaction (MacRury & Poytner, 2009; Misener & Mason, 2006), and

increasing awareness of global issues.

  Social capital. Social capital is a concept from sociology that has been adopted

and applied by sporting event scholars and practitioners. The term is broadly

conceptualized, but consistently it includes an emphasis on relational networks founded

on norms of reciprocity and mutual trust, meaning that we form social groups based on

resources we provide for each other (Coleman, 1988; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Putnam,

2000). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) use social capital to explain the phrase, "it's not

what you know, it's who you know." Putnam's (1995) conceptualization of bonding and

bridging social capital served as one of the first links from the sociological concept to

sporting event contexts (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Bridging social capital occurs when

social networks, norms, and mutual trust connect various different populations in a community and link these disparate groups together through open and fluid group membership boundaries, inclusiveness, and rejection of the notion that other groups are the enemy. Bonding social capital occurs when networks, norms, and trust fuel *intra*group connection and cooperation, which can reinforce division and separation between differing groups by establishing rigid boundaries to group membership, normalizing rejection of those outside the network seeking to join it, and creating an "us versus them" mentality (Putnam, 1995). Bridging social capital is typically considered to benefit societies through peaceful integration, collaboration, and pooling of resources, whereas bonding social capital can have negative effects of exclusion, segregation, and fear and contempt for other groups (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

The differences between bridging and bonding social capital help explain how the concepts occur within mega-sporting events in both positive and negative ways. Portes & Landolt (2000) suggest the variable of diversity can be very influential in this balance of social capital's influence on sporting events. Contexts dominated by a particular ethnic, gender, or religious group are likely to experience negative repercussions of bonding social capital due to exclusive group membership boundaries reinforced by the overpowering presence of one group. More diverse contexts will more likely foster bridging social capital and its positive effects due to frequency of contact with people from other groups and increased likelihood of forming group memberships based on a variety of variables due to fluid membership boundaries and emphases on inclusion (Putnam & Goss, 2002). This suggests that the Olympics, because they are very diverse contexts, generate such positive outcomes and "transcend our social and political and

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professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves. This is why…sports provide good venues for social capital creation" (Putnam, 2000, p. 411).

Putnam (1995; 2000) famously spotlighted the sport of bowling in the United States to illustrate how sporting contexts with diverse and inclusive memberships avoid negative, exclusionary outcomes of social capital and facilitate positive impacts. People of nearly every socioeconomic, ethnic, gender, religious, and other group membership enjoy bowling, in spaces they share with each other, which creates common ground and contexts of intergroup contact that foster inclusive, bridging social networks. The Olympics create a similar context in that people from a wide variety of groups enjoy and engage with the event in the same shared space, which suggests the Games can foster similar positive social capital effects (Putnam, 2000). Specifically within the context of sport, these impacts can include facilitating social integration and connection between ethnic groups (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008), development of friendships and a sense of belonging and community across group boundaries (Sherry, 2010), increased desire for social inclusion, community cohesion, enhanced understanding of group differences, and a positive shift in fans' attitudes about other groups (Sherry, Karg, & O'May, 2011).

Ripe Context for Positive Intergroup Contact and Communication

In order to provide a more full understanding of the context of the current study, I must describe my initial foray into research on intergroup contact and communication at mega-sporting events. I was initially interested in intercultural conflict in what I expected would be an environment in which competition and a vast array of cultural differences would produce an abundance of misunderstandings and conflicts.

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To explore these phenomena and their environment, I arrived in Brazil for the 2014 FIFA Men's World Cup with an intentionally open, flexible interview guide. I wanted to be open to what may emerge in the context (Kvale, 1996; Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). My underlying focus, however, was on how fans experienced cross-cultural conflict at an international mega-sporting event. The context seemed positioned for this: a breadth and depth of cultural differences perhaps unparalleled by any other in the world, a competitive environment in which only one team's fans could "win," and close proximity with culturally-different others who ultimately hoped their teams' success would exceed yours. After just a few interviews with fans, however, I started realizing the context was ripe (Zartman, 2000) for something very different. My interviewees did not seem to think my questions about conflict were relevant, and Allport's (1954) conditions for reducing intergroup prejudice were emerging in the experiences of my interviewees, and my own experience, in very clear, identifiable ways. At the time, I was only familiar with Allport's original four conditions: equal status in the contact situation, common or superordinate goals, intergroup cooperation, and supportive authorities, laws, or customs (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). I incorporated these into my interviews after the first couple days in Brazil, and their emergence in the data was overwhelming.

I have included here a very brief example of each condition from this data, followed by a few quotes that I believe illustrate my claim that the atmospheres of mega-sporting events do much of the difficult legwork required to foster positive intergroup contact and communication.

   -Equal status: "I think everyone's at the same level, right? I don't see any
   difference. People around me, we're all just sitting there trying to have fun, and

you're not really worried about social status and other things like that."

(Canadian-Ecuadorian in Vancouver)

-Common/superordinate goals: "Of course they want to see their teams compete, but they're also coming to experience one of the top events in the world. I think people have the goal to suck up the atmosphere no matter what happens with the team they support. Each nationality comes in supporting their team, but they also support and want to be a part of the festive atmosphere just in general." *(Head Organizer of all FIFA Fan Fests in Brazil)*

-Intergroup cooperation: "You could see he had cried, and we feel that, so that's why we're not going to chant anymore. We know totally where he comes from. We could see, you know, the anger and frustration, and we could relate to that very well." *(Costa Rican fan in Fortaleza telling about sharing a bus with Uruguayan fans after defeating them)*

-Supportive authorities and norms: "We talked about the creation of the venue as a common space for people to come together and interact, and that I think is huge. That again, creating spaces to be who you are and what your nationality is, while bringing together a bigger space so that interaction happens." *(Canadian fan in Vancouver)*

-Conduciveness of Atmosphere for Positive Intergroup Contact:

-"It's a very good experience to live the World Cup inside. To know people, to interact with people. It's a very good thing to do when you are in someplace with, with many cultures, and they're all in the right place." (*Uruguayan fan in Rio*)

-"It's a happy crowd. They're just here to have a good time. (*U.S. American fan in Rio*)

-"The service and the people, the beach, hotel, foods, drinks, the atmosphere, everything was great." (*Uruguayan fan in Fortaleza*)

-"I just like to meet all the people from different countries, from the different religions, just talk with them. It's nice. Have a good laugh, good fun." (*Dutch fan in Rio*)

-"I don't know if one does explain that [sense of unity]. …I think it's just a part of the phenomenon of the World Cup." *(Head organizer of all FIFA Fan Fests in Brazil)*

Each of these quotes represents dozens of others that follow the same themes across the interviews I conducted at these events. The stark presence of each of Allport's conditions speaks for the conduciveness of the atmosphere for positive intergroup contact in itself, and when combined with the overarching, permeating thread of the event as a "happy," "fun," "party" where one can "meet all the people from different countries, from the different religions," this sets an unprecedented stage for applying ICT to foster positive intergroup contact and communication. This is also in part because the atmosphere accomplishes difficult group identity categorization work by embracing expression of group-based differences while simultaneously recategorizing (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2003; Kenworthy et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1998) a larger, unified ingroup of "fans of the event." This is exemplified by quotes such as that by interviewee Alexi Lalas, current Fox Sports analyst, former U.S. National Soccer Team member, and former fan at a World Cup, who offered, "So there is a real tribal sort of

mentality, but instead of luring factions, it's a communal thing that everyone comes together and brings the best part of their cultures together, and it's like a mashup."

Most organizers and practitioners seeking to foster positive intergroup contact and communication must somehow organize contact (preferably voluntary according to Allport, 1954), build rapport and trust, recategorize group identities to be more inclusive, and develop a pleasant atmosphere, and these contexts often struggle to feel natural and desirable for participants (Kenworthy et al., 2005; Moody, 2001). Mega-sporting events provide a drastically improved and regularly reoccurring context that has managed to go unnoticed by intergroup contact scholars and practitioners, but this dissertation will explore ICT in this context.

Intangible Social Benefits of Mega-Sporting Events

The second primary reason for the relevance, timeliness, and social significance of this study is its inherent focus on enhancing the intangible social and human benefits of mega-sporting events, such as relationship building, reducing negative stereotypes, and fostering inclusiveness (Chen, 2013). This is a top priority for sports federations, who have come under heavy critique for their lack of social responsibility. The IOC in particular has boldly addressed these concerns as foundational to its groundbreaking Agenda 20+20, a document generated by input from over 40,000 industry professionals, IOC members, and everyday citizens and honed by 14 groups of IOC members. The document was presented at the federation's December 2014 assembly in Monaco by new IOC president Thomas Bach. The agenda, which continues to generate widespread conversation in the industry, outlines 40 new commitments from the IOC about how it will govern itself and run its events. In support of the agenda, the IOC (2014) wrote,

We need to change because sport today is too important in society to ignore the

rest of society. …If we want to continue to put Olympic Sport at the service of

society, which is part of our Olympic Principles, we must engage with this

society, we must be in a respectful dialogue with this society. (p. 2)

The IOC notes that people "from all walks of life" (p. 5) in society contributed to this list

of commitments, and one commitment in particular, Recommendation 39: "Foster

dialogue with society and within the Olympic Movement," directly addresses this

concern. The section outlines how the IOC will regularly engage and consult with

everyday citizens and fans of the Olympics regarding the role of the Olympics in society

and how the IOC can better contribute to social concerns. This research seeks, values,

and is driven by fans' experiences and insights regarding the Olympics, and in doing so

fits the IOC's model and interests.

The Agenda 20+20 also includes several aspects of social and human benefits in

other commitments, including Recommendation #11: Gender equality, Recommendation

#23: Engage with communities, and Recommendation #26: Further blend sport and

culture. Perhaps most directly addressing the IOC's concerns relevant to intergroup

contact and communication, Bach writes, "[people] want to know how we are living up to

our values and our social responsibility," and,

We are living in a society more fragmented, more individualized, you could even

say more selfish than ever. We are living in a global society with more

opportunities than ever. Opportunities for communication, for dialogue, for global

solidarity, for social development, and for peace. We are living at a moment when

we do not know which way the world will choose to go - or worse which way the

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world will let itself go. What does all this mean for us? First of all it means that

our message of dialogue, of respect for rules, our message of tolerance, solidarity

and peace – that this Olympic message is perhaps more relevant than ever. (p. 4)

Messages consistent with these have also become prominent in professional sport

business contexts. The City Events 2016 Conference clearly exemplified the timeliness of

such topics in its programming, which included sessions titled, "Is it time for sporting

events to accept their responsibilities?" and "Can the benefits of sporting events ever

outweigh the costs?" and session descriptions such as, "Sporting events must…set the

basis of a fraternal and peaceful society. How can sporting events pass these values and

encourage friendships and social progress for a whole country, leaving an intangible

legacy?" Additionally, my research on intergroup contact was widely and eagerly

accepted at the conference, as it is largely what got me invited to help organize and

participate in the event. I was also invited to write a professional research report for all

conference attendees, write research blogs for a conference website, and was told my

work will be of interest to the Los Angeles 2024 Olympic Bid Committee should they be

awarded the Games in September 2017. I consider myself very fortunate to have found

this field when I did, because my research topics are intersecting with many of the

industry's current top interests and hot topics in ways that legitimize the relevance,

timeliness, and social significance of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The typical approach to a dissertation literature review was explained to me as "stepping into an ongoing conversation" on my topic and "advancing" that conversation by offering something new. As I indicated in the previous chapter, however, there does not seem to be a conversation about my topic. Rather, there are separate conversations that have somehow failed to intersect up to this point: intergroup contact theory and mega-sporting event contexts and concepts. Therefore, my approach to this chapter is to *build a bridge* between these two conversations to show how they are relevant to each other, how they can be integrated for the enrichment of both, and how each contributes to achieving the stated goals of the other. To do this, I integrate the research context from the previous chapter, as presented in recent events with the IOC, social capital theoretical concepts, and my previous research at mega-sporting events, throughout the following description of intergroup contact theory. I also build upon existing connections in research between ICT and communication theory. I do this primarily by discussing ICT's key terms, concepts, and approaches to contact and communication, inform these ICT concepts with communication perspectives and relevant empirical research using ICT, and add complimentary theoretical and empirical literature regarding the social and human benefits of sporting events.

Because of ICT's unconventional beginning and trajectory as a theory, I start the chapter by tracing its history and development, which also serves to provide due credit and attention to Allport's (1954) monumental book, *The Nature of Prejudice*. This leads into highlighting the foundational concepts and perspectives of the theory, followed by a

more direct application of how these concepts pertain to the study, including empirical research and additional theoretical insights that contribute to understanding and approaching this research. Finally, I address why the Olympics is a ripe context for studying ICT, current gaps in literature this dissertation addresses, and how unique aspects of the Olympic context offer a new frame for understanding how ICT can be understood and applied to foster positive intergroup contact and communication.

History of Intergroup Contact Theory

Some of the earliest research relevant to how understanding intergroup contact could reduce negative bias is credited to Zeligs and Hendrickson (1933), who studied individual difference factors in relation to attitudes toward 39 racial groups. They found the "most significant factor related to social tolerance was the degree to which children claimed acquaintanceship with the various races" (p. 29). The surrounding context in which intergroup contact occurred emerged as potentially relevant in the 1940s, as exemplified by Smith's (1943) book, *An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro*. The book recapped the significant improvements of White college students' perceptions of Blacks after intentional weekend programming brought the two racial groups into contact for intellectual and social enrichment. Perhaps most notably during this time, though, World War II offered a fascinating context for advancing the study of intergroup contact, as Black and White American soldiers often worked together. Post-war research revealed that White soldiers who worked with Black soldiers during the war had more positive attitudes about racial differences than those without this type of contact (Singer, 1948; Stauffer, 1949). Also, the more voyages White Merchant Marines took

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with Black Merchant Marines, the more positively they perceived other races (Brophy, 1946).

This growing body of research and opportune social conditions led to the development of general principles about intergroup contact. For example, Lett (1945) asserted, "to achieve any kind of mutual understanding and regard, people must share experiences which permit the interplay of character and personality. They must share a common objective" (p. 35). Generalizing from his race relations work in public schools, Bramfield (1946) added, "where people of various cultures and races freely and genuinely associate, there tensions and difficulties, prejudices and confusions, dissolve; where they do not associate, where they are isolated from one another, there prejudice and conflict grow like a disease" (p. 245). These quotes presage Allport's (1954; 1958) conditions for reducing prejudice through intergroup contact almost a decade before he published them, and they also align with Putnam's (2000) claim that diverse contexts foster bridging social capital, because they promote shared experience, diverse contexts, and dissolving rigid group membership boundaries.

Other precursors to Allport's work soon followed in the form of theory development in a variety of disciplines. In education, Watson (1947) commented that "spreading knowledge" is good, but it often does little to reduce intergroup prejudice. He promoted means of emotional arousal as better, but strongly advocated the best way to combat group-based bias is through projects "designed to help people in face-to-face contacts with persons of a different race, religion, or background" (p. 54). These projects, he asserted, need to include equal status between groups, exposure to outgroup

individuals who disconfirm negative perceptions and stereotypes, and joint efforts to solve a common problem.

In sociology, Williams (1947) showed even more direct precursors to Allport's (1954; 1958) work. In his book, *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, Williams (1947) advocated for intentionally structured and planned intergroup contact, because "lessened hostility will result from arranging intergroup collaboration, on the basis of personal association of individuals as functional equals, on a common task jointly accepted as worth while" (p. 69). Responding to Williams' call for comparative research, Deutsch and Collins (1950; 1951) found White residents in integrated apartment housing to have more contact and positive relations with non-Whites, which was also linked to more positive attitudes about racial differences and less race-based stereotyping when compared to Whites in more segregated apartment housing. Also, in 1954, Sherif et al. divided twenty-two 11-year-old boys into two groups for several weeks at a summer camp. After giving each group time to develop its identity apart from and unaware of the other group, researchers brought them together over competitive activities, which resulted in intergroup conflict. After this, they removed competitive elements and maintained intergroup contact under neutral conditions. This proved insufficient to reduce bias and actually exacerbated bias in many cases. Last, they conducted several collaborative activities intentionally structured to decrease bias and conflict. The researchers concluded that they achieved this decrease by changing the way each group had to relate to each other in the form of superordinate goals. By confronting and successfully overcoming a task that required everyone's effort and participation, regardless of group membership, the boys finally developed concordant relations with outgroup members. This study

illustrates the differences between negative bonding social capital and positive bridging

social capital between its stages, as each group initially displayed "us versus them"

mentalities and rigid group boundaries, but then developed collaborative, inclusive

mentalities that bridged their groups and differences together (Putnam, 2000).

Allport (1954; 1958) entered the scene at this juncture with intergroup contact

theory, which at the time was deemed a hypothesis. His book, *The Nature of Prejudice*,

has catalyzed much research and discussion on intergroup contact, bias, conflict, and

prejudice over the past 60 years. It seems to have been well-timed to take on the role of

catalyst; late enough to be informed by the work of other scholars, yet early enough to be

the first major work of its magnitude, holistic coverage of the topics, and cohesiveness.

The success of Allport's work was certainly not a simple matter of timing, though. When

it was published, it received widespread praise, including, "…probably the most

comprehensive study of all aspects of this problem which has yet appeared," (Journal of

Personality), "As a source study, it is a library in itself," (Christian Herald), and with

tremendous foresight, "Social scientists will find *The Nature of Prejudice* a standard

work for years to come" (Sociology and Social Research). The book has elicited strong

responses in the past six decades, as evidenced by Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-

analysis of 515 ICT studies.

In the years since Allport's (1954) landmark work, one of the most notable

developments is Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory (SIT), which advances

Allport's notions of the interplay between ingroup, outgroup, and individual identities.

Allport approached prejudice and intergroup contact as a mostly individual phenomenon

and was somewhat critical of collectivistic approaches that viewed prejudice and contact

as heavily influenced by one's groups' mentalities (Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005). SIT framed prejudice and contact as largely a group process in which groups influence individuals' behaviors more than their own personalities. Consistent with typical negative consequences of bonding social capital, such as exclusivity and viewing others as enemies, (Putnam, 2000), Tajfel and Turner (1979) contended that group membership leads to individuals' notions of their own identities, which influences individuals' perceptions and treatment of their own groups and other groups as they try to make their own groups look better and other groups look worse, thereby boosting their individual identities.

Additional extensions of Allport's (1954) work include several dozen empirically-discovered factors that foster positive intergroup contact and communication and reduce prejudice (outlined in detail later in this chapter) and accompanying debates over the functions of such additional factors within ICT (Pettigrew, 1998). Pettigrew's (1997) widely accepted addition of "friendship opportunity" to Allport's original four conditions and revised theoretical model of ICT are also prominent developments in the theory. This model, presented in more detail later in the chapter, uses Allport's (1954) original four conditions as starting points for positive intergroup contact and communication. Over time, and with the presence of these conditions, scholars believe that positive contact occurs through a sequential process starting with an emphasis on individual characteristics apart from group membership, followed by an emphasis on group membership, and ending with redefining group membership to include outgroup members.

Also, a continuing focus of the past several years is to extend from Allport's conditions as *what* fosters positive contact and communication to understanding *why* and *how* the conditions have these effects (Dovidio et al., 2003; Kenworthy et al., 2005). This is largely because the original conditions have been proven throughout over 60 years of research (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), so the next steps are understanding *why* and *how*. This dissertation seeks to advance understanding of *why* and *how* in addition to stepping back to look at *what* works in a new context (the Olympic fan experience). It takes a broad approach to the array of factors that foster positive intergroup contact and communication. With an understanding of these factors, it then advances to *why* and *how* the factors work together by analyzing the ways factors relate to and support each other in Olympic fans' experiences. Additionally, it explores *where* and *when* in the context the factors emerge and support each other in order to add another layer of theoretical and practical understanding of ICT. The Olympics match Allport's (1954) ideas of a context that is "transitory" (p. 30) and takes advantage of athletics (p. 40) for the "vulnerable" (p. 471) atmosphere sport fosters; an atmosphere that aligns with Zartman's (2000) notions of "ripeness." I will explain these elements of the context in detail and answer Allport's call for applying the theoretical framework of ICT at such an event.

Key Concepts of Intergroup Contact Theory

Understanding ICT as it applies to this dissertation requires a conceptualization of several of Allport's (1954) prominent terms and concepts. First, I explain prejudice, categories, ingroups, and outgroups. I then describe Allport's (1954) and others' approaches to understanding and generating positive intergroup contact by discussing the contact hypothesis and its famous conditions, as well as more recent ideas about

decategorization, categorization, and recategorization of group membership salience in contact situations. In doing so, I outline the connections between ICT, sport literature, and communication theory and indicate a theoretical rationale and justification for the study.

Prejudice

As identified by the title of Allport's (1954) book, prejudice is a key concept of the entire work, and thus a key concept for the ICT work that has followed in the past 60 years. Allport conceptualizes prejudice as antipathy or an aversive or hostile attitude toward an individual or group based on inadequate experience. The three core components of prejudice are attitude (typically of disfavor), belief (erroneous based on false or limited information), and inflexibility, meaning that even when people are presented with new information, their prejudice will remain unchanged (Crandall & Stangor, 2005; Major & Vick, 2005). Allport attributes inflexibility to rationalization, or the "accommodation of beliefs to attitudes" (p. 14) instead of to information. If new information changes perspectives to more accurately reflect an individual or group, the issue was likely more of ignorance than prejudice (Eagly & Diekman, 2005).

Allport (1954) describes several consistent tendencies of prejudice, including that in most people, prejudice is a general attitude (Eagly & Diekman, 2005). If they are prejudiced toward one group, they are very likely prejudiced toward many other groups, as well. This was exemplified by Hartley (1946), who found that people who expressed prejudice toward real, existing groups were more likely to also express prejudice toward several fake groups fabricated by researchers. In addition, societies in which the majority group is characterized by prejudice tend to reject minorities' attempts at both cultural

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pluralism (maintenance of unique cultural identities) and assimilation (adaptation to the

dominant culture's ideologies and practices), to which Allport (1954) implores, "What is

the minority to do?" (p. 232). Further, people who are highly prejudiced also tend to be

highly moralistic, use dichotomous "either/or" thinking, and have higher levels of

uncertainty avoidance and preferences for rigid power distance, meaning they feel

threatened by uncertainty and seek defined allocations of power based upon position

(updated concepts from Hofstede, 1980). Contrarily, people with low levels of prejudice

tend to be characterized by the opposite of all these traits in addition to high levels of

empathy and a lack of fear of the world (Allport, 1954).

Prejudice is often perceived to be absent by people, communities, and

organizations who claim they have no need to reduce it through intergroup contact.

Allport (1954) notes that many believe "Until or unless violence breaks out 'there is no

problem'" (p. 464). Although his social context of the United States in the 1950s bred

much more overt displays of prejudice than what is commonly seen today (Dovidio et al.,

2003; Dovidio et al., 2005), his notion remains relevant. Allport (1954) advocates that

intentionally-planned efforts to foster positive intergroup contact should be applied to

improve intergroup relations in contexts that do not overtly seem to need it, or the "areas

of least resistance" (Saenger, 1953). These even include contexts that seem to be

"vulnerable points" (Allport, 1954, p. 471), or atmospheres conducive to positive

intergroup contact and communication, which are the opposite of contexts with prejudice-

fueled violence. This description of "vulnerable points" for positive contact reflects the

context of the Olympics and other mega-sporting events, which actively promote and

foster positive contact and communication between different groups, as evidenced by the

IOC's 20+20 Agenda (2014), thus justifying the goals of this dissertation to apply ICT in the Olympic context. Several of the IOC's Olympic values and aspects of Olympic legacy are closely connected with ICT factors described below to foster positive intergroup relations, and my previous research at mega-sporting events also indicates the contexts' consistency with Allport's (1954) description of "vulnerable points" for positive intergroup contact and communication.

Allport's (1954) notion of "vulnerable" contexts also intersects with Zartman's (2000) Ripeness Theory, which typically refers to resolving negative intergroup relational issues at "ripe" moments, or those most conducive to making progress. The notion of ripeness, however, has a more positive connotation than "vulnerable" and applies more positively to the context of this study than its typical use. Mega-sporting events are ripe contexts for fostering positive intergroup contact and communication, mirroring Allport's (1954) call to take advantage of contexts that are vulnerable. Because this study is framed more toward increasing positive outcomes than decreasing negative outcomes, I will utilize Zartman's (2000) notion of ripeness with Allport's (1954) of vulnerability to conceptualize the Olympic context for fans. This study does not seek to fix a specific problem, but rather to better understand and capitalize on a specific, "ripe" context.

Categories

Allport (1954) also explains the interplay of prejudice and categories, which he conceptualizes as clusters of associated ideas that guide daily behavior. Categories have essential traits, such that "to be a _____ you must have _____ and _____." As indicated in this example, categories often rely on using labels to refer to individuals, which can reduce them to one aspect of their nature in the minds of those using labels,

including ethnicity, nationality, career, and many other traits. Stereotypes also fall under

Allport's conceptualization of categories, and he defines stereotypes as exaggerated

conceptualizations of a category that justify one's behaviors and attitudes toward that

category. By manipulating ideas about one's own and others' categories in this way, one

can more easily rationalize their perceptions and treatment of people based on prejudice

instead of information (Jost & Hamilton, 2005; Judd & Park, 2005; Mullen & Leader,

2005).

Ingroups and Outgroups

Combined, prejudice and categories lay the groundwork for understanding

ingroups and outgroups in intergroup contact and communication. Allport (1954)

expresses difficulty in adequately defining ingroups, but writes that they can be identified

by using the term "we" with the same essential meaning. Ingroups often take the form of

families, organizations, schools, nations, and geographical regions. They are also

characterized by using "us" and "them" to refer to themselves apart from outgroups, or

any group that differs from theirs (Brown & Zagefka, 2005; Jackman, 2005), which

illustrates bonding social capital's tendency toward exclusion and rigid group boundaries

(Putnam, 2000). Ingroups tend to have shared preferences, enemies, codes, and beliefs.

Allport's (1954) notions also intersect with how the concept and practice of dialogue has

been incorporated into communication literature, as exemplified by Buber (1937), a

foundational scholar of dialogue. Buber's conceptualization of the *I-It* relationship

connects with ingroup-outgroup relationships in that the "*I*" views the "*It*" as a

stereotyped other who interferes with or threatens goals, and therefore is subject to

rationalization to be treated and communicated with as an object for manipulation. This

also aligns with Social Identity Theory's (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) idea that a group's members seek to promote their individual identities by undermining outgroups' identities, which elevates their own group and illustrates an "us versus them" mentality.

Reflecting on such ideas, Allport asks, "Can an ingroup exist without an outgroup?" and "Can humanity constitute an ingroup?" (p. 41). He suggests the latter is theoretically possible but unlikely, because the larger an ingroup grows, the looser it becomes, which works against the cohesive nature of ingroups. Brown and Zagefka (2005) answer that ingroups cannot exist without outgroups, but also that an ingroup's existence and identity does not necessarily have to be framed in relation or opposition to an outgroup. Such notions connect with my data from the 2014 and 2015 FIFA World Cups, which suggest that bonding social capital and ingroup membership can coexist with and even enhance bridging social capital and outgroup inclusion. Many fans reported feeling simultaneously bonded to their own national groups through overt displays of national identity (singing, wearing jerseys, etc.) and shared desire for their national teams to win, and bridged to other national groups by sharing spaces, experiences, and larger goals of having a great time at the event, as well as perceiving "World Cup fans" as a more inclusive ingroup.

These ideas indicate that Allport's (1954) notion of concentric ingroups may be relevant to the mega-sporting event context. Concentric ingroups refer to how larger ingroups (for example, U.S. American) can contain smaller ingroups within them (for example, Arizonans, Democrats, Arizona State fans, etc.). Allport asserts, "concentric loyalties need not clash. To be devoted to a large circle does not imply the destruction of one's attachment to a smaller circle." (p. 43).
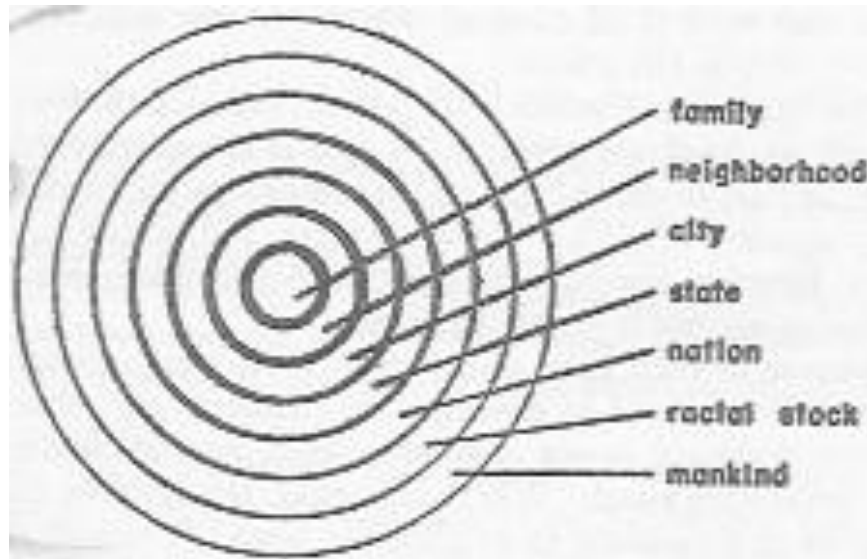
Figure 1. Allport's (1954) concentric ingroup figure.

What emerged at the World Cups was fans' use of "we" to describe themselves as a very

inclusive ingroup of fans while simultaneously using "us" and "them" to describe smaller

groups within this larger ingroup. The only consistent outgroup I heard from interviewees

denoted people who actively disrupted the positive, collaborative experiences of the

majority. These people engaged in excessive taunting, physical violence, and verbal

threats but were consistently referred to as the "exception" of World Cup fans. These

results suggest that mega-sporting event contexts have the potential to complicate

traditional notions of ingroups/outgroups and bonding/bridging social capital (Putnam,

2000) and manifest Allport's optimism toward humanity as an ingroup, thus achieving

part of the Olympic legacy to reduce exclusion (IOC, 2014) and promote the Olympic

value of unity (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015). As Allport (1954) highlighted, the

very broad group of race, which likely includes millions or even billions of people,

inspires loyalty and shared identity among many of its members. As shown in the figure

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above, race is second only to humanity in scope of ingroup, which offers hope for reaching the last step of inclusion.

Communication literature on dialogue again contributes to this discussion, as "dialogue is made possible by the attitudes with which participants approach each other, the ways they talk and act, and the context within which they meet" (Broome, 2009). The mega-sporting event context is ripe (Zartman, 2000) with receptive, positive attitudes toward outgroup members and productive communication behaviors toward others, as exemplified by the IOC's Olympic Values (i.e. unity, respect) and pursuit of social legacies (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015; Chen, 2013) and my World Cup research, in which fans expressed eagerness to engage with people from other national groups, tolerance for differences, and a desire to learn about others. The outcomes of productive dialogue, including mutual respect, mutual understanding, listening, learning about others, and relationship development (Broome, 2009), all work toward stated goals of Olympic Legacy and Olympic Values, and they also work against Allport's (1954) explanation of the destructive potential of ingroup-outgroup distinctions addressed above. This exemplifies the value of communication literature, ICT, and the Olympic context informing each other when they intersect.

Allport (1954) also notes the importance of symbols to offer unity and establish ingroup identity, particularly national groups and their flags. He notes that such symbols are almost completely absent for humanity as a whole. My World Cup data suggest that perhaps humanity does not need global symbols for conceptual unity as much as it needs a context that celebrates group-based symbols, as do mega-sporting events. A frequent observation from interviewees' and my experience at the World Cups was several people

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jumping into photos together and holding up their nations' flags. This was a "the more the merrier" practice in which anyone could literally jump into a photo. Many fans talked about actively seeking others to take these photos with them, and it was a collaborative effort as people passed around cameras, took photos for each other, and made room for whoever desired to be included. Each of these photos visually illustrates bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) in that inclusiveness, fluid group membership boundaries, and pooling of collective resources (cameras, flags, etc.) can be seen in an image. Thus, mega-sporting events suggest the context, atmosphere, and celebration of different groups' symbols may be as effective as a uniform symbol, and thus an event that fosters this atmosphere seems to effectively serve the unifying purpose of inclusive ingroup identities that Allport (1954) sought from symbols.

Factors Fostering Positive Intergroup Contact and Communication

The previous concepts outline common problems inherent in group identities and perceptions of others, but Allport's (1954) work is renowned for its approach to resolving and transforming these problems through positive intergroup contact, which starts with his famous hypothesis (Dovidio et al., 2003). The "intergroup contact hypothesis" or "contact hypothesis" is widely regarded as the most influential contribution of Allport's (1954) book, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Dovidio et al., 2003; Dovidio et al. 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). Notably, this hypothesis is not Allport's (1954) chosen focal point of the book, which discussed an array of theoretical ideas, empirical findings, and practical applications. Out of 31 chapters, the hypothesis is part of just one, in which Allport asks, "What happens when groups interact?" However, as Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) posit, "In a single chapter in The Nature of Prejudice…Allport set the stage for researchers'

efforts to answer this question" (p. 262). The hypothesis is the primary driver behind further ICT development and the 515 ICT studies in Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis. It is made up of four conditions, explained below, that when implemented into an intergroup contact situation have been proven to reduce prejudice and foster positive communication and perceptions, as Allport predicted (Dovidio et al., 2005). In fact, Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis found that contact that included these four conditions reduced prejudice significantly more than contact that did not include the conditions. As will be explained in detail, Allport's original four have catalyzed many scholars to assert their own empirically-discovered conditions and factors since his work, creating a broad array of factors that served as a starting point and framework in this study from which fans at the Olympics generated and analyzed their own models of ICT based on their experiences at the Olympics.

The Contact Hypothesis and its Four Conditions

Allport extracted his original four conditions from extensive empirical research and theoretical development available to him at the time of his writing, including Stouffer's (1949) work regarding wider acceptance of integrated military platoons among Whites who had integrated experience during WWII. Allport (1954) noticed consistent conditions in such instances of intergroup contact that led to his hypothesis that prejudice

> …may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups. (Allport, 1954, p. 267)

Many scholars have reached similar conclusions about how to phrase the conditions listed above, including Pettigrew (1998) and subsequently Dovidio et al. (2003). Pettigrew (1998) termed and conceptualized the following conditions, aided by preceding scholars' work.

1. Equal Status: There is some disparity about whether status must be established as equal *within* the contact situation or if it must extend outside the contact as well to people's positions in society. Many scholars accept the "within" notion, including Moody (2001), whose meta-analysis found "within" the contact situation to be effective in real-world, social applications of contact, but not laboratory applications. As this dissertation is focused on the "real-world" and social sphere outside the laboratory, equal status "within" the contact situation is most relevant. Also, "equal status" reflects the Olympic value of equality (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015).

2. Common Goals: These are simply conceptualized as action-oriented objectives held in common, such as an intergroup sports team vying to have a good season (Miracle, 1981). This condition matches the "collective goals" (Putnam, 2000) outcome of bridging social capital.

3. Intergroup Cooperation: This condition refers to interdependence that inspires collaboration and not competition in the pursuit of common goals (Bettencourt, Brewer, Rogers-Croak, & Miller, 1992). It also directly aligns with social capital's beneficial outcomes of cooperation and collective action (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Putnam, 2000).

4. <u>Support of authorities, laws, or customs</u>: This refers to an atmosphere with authorities and norms that affirm the goals and positive outcomes of intergroup contact (Landis, Hope, & Day, 1984; Pettigrew, 1998). In the case of the Olympics, the IOC, the host city, and the local organizing committee and government could be considered authorities.

Friendship Opportunity

Another widely accepted condition among ICT scholars (Dovidio et al., 2003) is "friendship opportunity" (Pettigrew, 1997). Pettigrew developed this condition primarily through an analysis of 3,800 surveys from majority group members in Great Britain, France, Netherlands, and West Germany (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Reif & Melish, 1991). Respondents who indicated they had a friend from a specified minority group in their geographical area expressed much lower levels of prejudice toward those minorities than did respondents who did not indicate such friendship. Friendship has also been found to reduce intergroup anxiety, which is linked to more successful intergroup contact effects, including increased pursuit of contact with others and trust of outgroup members (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000), and it is a basic component of Gudykunst's (1995; 2005) Anxiety Uncertainty Management Theory of Effective Communication (AUMEC). This theory contends that reduced anxiety leads to higher likelihood of communication between people from culturally-different groups due to increased levels of comfort when interacting with or thinking about interacting with members of those groups. ICT and AUMEC literature are consistent in their descriptions of anxiety's effects on communicating with others, as Kenworthy et al. (2005), from ICT, and Gudykunst (2005), from AUMEC, explain that anxiety about other groups is largely caused by

expectations of negative consequences, including misunderstanding, rejection, and embarrassment, all of which can be alleviated by building intergroup relationships and becoming more comfortable with people from other groups. According to AUMEC, reducing anxiety leads to higher levels of comfort interacting with different others, and reducing uncertainty leads to higher levels of confidence interacting with different others, both of which increase the likelihood of communicating with others (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005).

AUMEC also fits the mega-sporting event context in its terminology of "hosts" and strangers," as Rio is the official "host city" of the Olympics, and visiting fans fit Gudykunst's (1995; 2005) notion of strangers as people who are close in proximity but distant in their ways of behaving. Gudykunst asserts that anxiety and uncertainty typically interfere with host/stranger interactions, and AUMEC and ICT literature suggest anxiety and uncertainty as obstacles to positive intergroup contact and communication. Much of the same literature also suggests intergroup friendship as a means for reducing anxiety and uncertainty and overcoming its negative effects through gaining knowledge, experience, and appreciation for others' differences (Oliner & Oliner, 1988; Paolini et al., 2004).

"Friendship opportunity" as a factor of positive intergroup contact and communication (Pettigrew, 1998) is also relevant to the international mega-sporting event context, as illustrated by "friendship" being one of three core Olympic values identified by the IOC (IOC, 2014) and the slogan for the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany: "A Time to Make Friends." Additionally, Sherry (2010) identifies friendship development as a form of bridging social capital at sporting events due to its capacity to dissolve group

membership barriers, foster inclusivity, and inspire sharing of resources. More of

friendship opportunity's specific salience in the fan experience at mega-sporting events

(discussed in a following section) helps address the context's limitations for building

social capital and enhance the context's contributions toward fostering positive

intergroup contact and communication.

Additional Factors

Beyond these five core conditions, Pettigrew (1998) and Stephan (1987) contend

that many scholars' additions are more facilitative than essential to improving intergroup

relations in contact. However, this claim is widely disputed (Brown & Hewstone, 2005;

Mak, Brown, & Wadey, 2014; Mazziotta, Rohmann, Wright, De Tezanos- Pinto, &

Lutterbach, 2015; Turner, West, & Christie, 2013), and following the participant-centered

nature of this study, I was committed to delegating to fans (research participants in this

study) an active role in selecting theory-based concepts relevant to fans' intergroup

experiences. Therefore, prior to the Olympics, I combed through hundreds of studies

from the past 60 years that used ICT as a framework in addition to several meta-analyses

and book chapters that summarized past studies, and collected a list of 65 factors found to

foster positive intergroup contact and communication and/or reduce intergroup prejudice.

To my knowledge, this is the only comprehensive (or close to it) list of factors driven by

and relevant to ICT's goals and concepts. I use the term "factors" because scholars use a

variety of labels for their findings, including conditions, variables, predictors, and more.

"Factors" seems an appropriate umbrella term for all of these labels due to its breadth of

meaning, and it works well with the research methodologies, was an easy and appropriate

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term for fans to conceptualize within their experiences, and has heuristic value for application by practitioners as a single, unifying term.

A goal of this research is to derive a list of factors selected by fans as relevant to their experiences of intergroup contact and communication, which required the factors to be presented to the fan participants. Therefore, after compiling the full list, I proceeded to consolidate the factors into a more manageable form to present to fans at the Olympics, most or all of whom likely had no prior knowledge of ICT. The process mostly entailed combining very similar factors parsed by authors for subtle differences, e.g., Reicher's (1986) "collective action" and Allport's (1954) "intergroup cooperation," and eliminating factors bound to specific contexts unrelated to the Olympics, e.g., "shared norms of proper behavior toward neighbors" (Trew, 1986), which refers to physical neighborhoods and long-term neighbor relations. Other exclusion criteria I developed included: factors conceptualized in the literature to inherently be a composite part of another factor; factors found only in laboratory settings and not in real social contexts; and factors outside the scope, influence, and planning potential of organizers (e.g., stereotypes in mass media, prosperous economic times).

An elimination criterion with more nuance included personal traits. Factors bound to consistent personal traits were excluded in order to maintain the study's scope and focus on positive intergroup contact and communication with others, context, and experience rather than delving into factors more appropriate for a psychological study and potentially requiring individual measurements for each participant. Excluding such factors also directed interviewees away from focusing their answers exclusively on what was true of *themselves* and toward the study's goal of understanding what was true of

their *experiences* of positive intergroup contact and communication, at least to the extent I could control the options provided to them. Interviewees' unique personal traits were important to understanding their experiences at the Olympics, and interview questions welcomed discussion of personal traits, but primarily as they affected interviewees' experiences of intergroup contact and communication. Factors excluded for these reasons include extroversion, preference for authoritarianism, degree of political conservatism, and initial prejudice level.

By the end of this process, I had 26 factors worded with exact or approximate terms to their original forms in the literature. I then translated these 26 factors into language intended to make sense to fans at the Olympics who likely had no knowledge of ICT. The phrasing also needed to be compatible with the Interpretive Structural Modeling interview software described in the next chapter. The following figure displays the original 65 factors in their authors' terms and citation information. The next figure displays the final 26 factors worded in three intentional, distinct ways. On the left, they are phrased with exact or approximate terms to their original forms. In the middle, they are worded in experiential and non-academic phrasing, and this is exactly how they were presented in the first step of data collection; an initial survey through which fans honed the list of factors for those most relevant to the fan experience. On the right, factors are worded specifically for interviewees using ISM interview software, which requires either nouns or present-progressive wording (-ing verbs) and produced much of the data used for results and discussion. This is also the wording used throughout data analysis and discussion.

Table 1

Master List of 65 ICT Factors from Previous Scholars' Work

Factor	Publication/s
Equal status	Allport (1954); Pettigrew (1998)
Common/superordinate goals	Allport (1954); Pettigrew (1998)
Intergroup cooperation	Allport (1954); Pettigrew (1998)
Support of authorities, laws, or customs	Allport (1954); Pettigrew (1998)
Friendship opportunity	Pettigrew (1997)
Acquaintance & interaction	Dovidio et al. (2003)
"Typical" outgroup members in contact	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Knowledge of outgroup members	Brown & Hewstone (2005); Pettigrew & Tropp (2008)
Individuation of outgroup members	Brown & Hewstone (2005)
Intergroup anxiety (low/decreased)	Brown & Hewstone (2005); De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown (2010); Islam & Hewstone (1993); Pettigrew & Tropp (2008)
Direct friendship	Brown & Hewstone (2005)
Indirect friendship (friend-of-friend)	Brown & Hewstone (2005)
Directness/indirectness of contact	Brown & Hewstone (2005)
Perspective taking	Brown & Hewstone (2005); Pettigrew & Tropp (2008)
Empathy	Brown & Hewstone (2005); Ben-Ari & Amir (1986); Pettigrew & Tropp (2008)
Positive/negative emotions toward outgroups	Brown & Hewstone (2005)
Perceived threat (low/decreased)	Brown & Hewstone (2005); Pettigrew et al. (2011)
Self-disclosure	Brown & Hewstone (2005); Pettigrew et al. (2011)
Accommodation	Brown & Hewstone (2005)
Group member salience	Brown & Hewstone (2005)
Cross-cutting social categories	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Common language	Wagner & Machleit (1986)
"Home turf" (home context of outgroup)	Wagner & Machleit (1986)
Voluntariness of contact	Wagner & Machleit (1986); Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Prosperous economic times	Wagner & Machleit (1986)
Intimate vs. casual contact	Amir (1969); Ben Ari & Amir (1986)
Initial attitudes not extremely negative	Ben Ari & Amir (1986)
Shared norms of proper behavior towards neighbors	Trew (1986)
Achievement of superordinate goals	Foster & Finchilescu (1986); Pettigrew (1986)
Disconfirmation of highly negative expectancies	Hamilton, Carpenter, & Bishop (1984); Pettigrew (1986)
Public commitment/support; Trending feelings	Jacobson (1978); Pettigrew (1986)

(continued)

Stereotypes in mass-media	Pettigrew (1986)
Dramatic events	Riley & Pettigrew (1976)
Lack of segregation	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
"Real" vs. "artificial"	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Important & intimate vs. trivial & transient	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Initial prejudice level of participants	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Feeling of security vs. fear/suspicion	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Previous experience with outgroups	Hewstone & Brown (1986)
Inclusion of the outgroup in the self	Laham et al. (2010); Turner et al. (2008); Wright et al. (1997)
Ingroup norms about contact with outgroup	De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown (2010); Turner et al. (2008)
Outgroup trust	Turner, West, & Christie (2013)
Fear (low/decreased)	Pettigrew et al. (2011)
Anger (low/decreased)	Pettigrew et al. (2011)
Communication accommodation	Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci (2005)
Intercultural communication emotions—impatience, frustration, discomfort (low/decreased)	Mak, Brown, & Wadey (2014); Spencer-Rogers & McGovern (2002)
Participants' preference for authoritarianism (low)	Pettigrew (2008)
Acquaintance potential/individuation	Cook (1978)
Disconfirming prevailing outgroup stereotypes	Cook (1978)
Majority members and high status minority members present	Amir (1969)
Pleasant/rewarding contact	Amir (1969)
Threat to group status/prestige (low/decreasing)	Amir (1969)
Contact in ingroup, outgroup, or neutral territory	Ben-Ari & Amir (1986)
Contact with outgroup member while in company of ingroup members	Taylor, Dube, & Bellerose (1986)
Collective action	Reicher (1986)
Increased perceived outgroup morality	Brambilla, Hewstone, & Colucci (2013)
Participants' degree of political conservatism (low)	Pettigrew (2008)
Respect for persons	Laham, Tam, Lalljee, Hewstone, & Voci (2010)
Intergroup self-efficacy expectancy	Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright (2011); Mazziotta, Rohmann, Wright, De Tezanos-Pinto, & Lutterbach (2015)
Perceived intergroup uncertainty	Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright (2011)
Extroversion	Turner, Dhont, Hewstone, Prestwich, & Vonofakou (2014)
Agreeableness	Turner, Dhont, Hewstone, Prestwich, & Vonofakou (2014)

(continued)

Openness to experience	Turner, Dhont, Hewstone, Prestwich, & Vonofakou (2014)
Cognitions of rejection (low/decreased)	Barlow, Louis, & Hewstone (2009)
Group identity salience	Dovidio et al. (2003); Pettigrew (1998); Kenworthy et al., 2005

Table 2

ICT Factors Worded from Scholars, in Survey Form, and in ISM Interview Form

Factor in Literature	**Factor in Experiential & Non-Academic Phrasing (for surveys)**	**Factor Abbreviated for ISM**
Common/superordinate goals	I think we had common goals.	having common goals
Common language	We were able to speak the same language.	speaking the same language
Inclusion of outgroup in the self	I saw how others are similar to me in some ways.	seeing how others are similar to me
Equal status	I felt equal to others.	feeling equal to others
Respect for persons	I think we all respected each other.	respecting each other
Intergroup cooperation	I think we cooperated and did not compete with each other.	cooperating with each other
Accommodation	I think we accommodated our behavior to make each other comfortable.	accommodating to each other
Support of authorities/laws/customs	It seems Brazilian and Olympic authorities support different groups having positive experiences together.	support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities
Voluntariness of contact	We interacted with each other voluntarily at Olympic festivities.	participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily
Dramatic/inspirational events	The Olympics is an event that inspires unity between groups.	the unity inspired by the Olympics
Lack of segregation	I saw people mixing together instead of staying in their own groups.	different people mixing together
Friendship opportunity	I had opportunities to make new friends from other groups.	making new friends
Acquaintance potential via individuation	I learned new things about individuals who were from other groups.	learning about individual people
Pleasant/rewarding contact	I had a pleasant and rewarding time with others.	having a pleasant time
Interaction/Acquaintance	I met and talked with many different people.	meeting and talking with others
Self-disclosure	We shared information about ourselves with each other.	sharing information about ourselves with each other
Cognitions of rejection/expectation of exclusion (low)	I expected others to accept and include me.	expecting to be included

(continued)

Threat to status/prestige	The people I interacted with did not threaten my group's status or prestige.	lack of insults about my group
Group identity/membership salience	We clearly displayed our group identity (clothing, flags, singing, etc.).	displaying our group identity (clothing, flags, etc.)
Contact with outgroup member while in company of ingroup members	I felt solidarity with others from my group.	solidarity with my own group
Ingroup norms/attitudes about outgroup (positive)	Where I'm from people tend to have positive attitudes about people who are different from them.	having positive attitudes about others
Knowledge of outgroup members	I gained knowledge about others' customs and ways of life.	learning about others' ways of life
Disconfirmation of prevailing negative expectancies/stereotypes	I realized other groups do not fit their negative stereotypes.	breaking negative stereotypes
Intergroup anxiety (low/decreasing)	I was not very anxious about interacting with others.	having low anxiety
Perspective taking/empathy	Being at the event helped me understand others' perspectives and feelings.	understanding others' perspectives
Contact in ingroup, outgroup, or neutral territory	Rio felt like a neutral location where no one was an outsider.	being in a neutral location

These 26 factors will be extensively discussed throughout the Methods, Results, Discussion, and Conclusion chapters.

Why the Olympics are a Ripe Context: Decategorization, Categorization, and Recategorization

ICT now appears very different from Allport's (1954) original work, primarily because, as Allport addressed, his notion better fit the description of a hypothesis than a theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Kenworthy et al. (2005) note that the contact hypothesis does not specify how contact's effects generalize and that Allport's (1954) ideas focused on *whether* contact can reduce prejudice and *what* is responsible for these effects. More current work builds from this foundation of knowing *what* works to seek to understand *when* and *how* contact works, as well as how its results can most effectively be generalized. This has intensified scholars' focus on Allport's (1954) notions of

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categories, that "changing the way people conceived of category memberships held great promise for reducing prejudice" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, p. 72) due to the tendency to favor ingroups over outgroups and rationalize negative behaviors and attitudes toward outgroups. Many scholars have highlighted how understanding and changing conceptions of category membership offers value to efforts to plan and organize positive intergroup contact and communication, thus answering Allport's calls to apply his ideas to implement effective contact (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Kenworthy et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). The following image illustrates this goal of blending theoretical understanding with practical application in the form of a theoretical model of ICT. It combines Allport's (1954) conditions with intentional phases of establishing notions of group membership in contact situations in what Pettigrew (1998) calls a model of "reformulated contact theory," (p. 77) specifically focused on how to create environments that foster positive intergroup contact and communication.
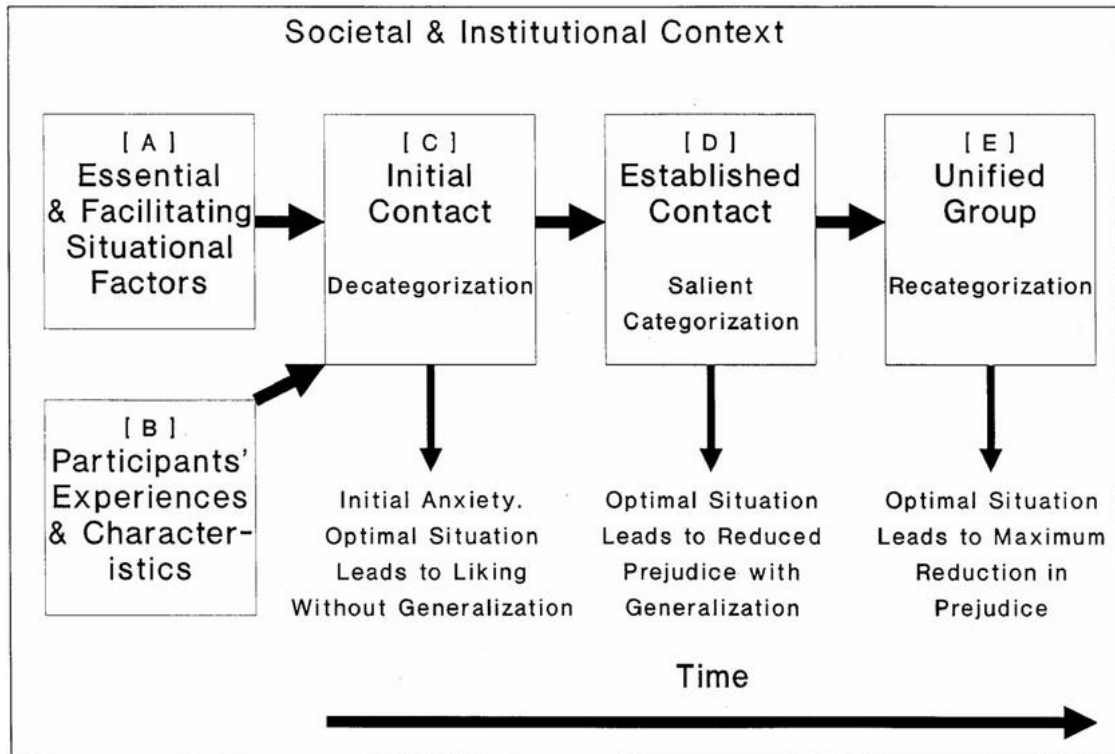
Figure 2. Pettigrew's (1998) model of ICT.

To briefly summarize the model, Pettigrew (1998) contends that the combination of factors implemented into contact and individual participants in the contact situation (both on the left) should go through a process leading from decategorization, to categorization, to recategorization over time. This leads to optimal prejudice reduction through intentionally-organized intergroup contact and communication. The sequential combination of how to address categories in contact developed from three separate lines of research that were initially contested as separate solutions but are now commonly shown to be complementary and sequential, as in the above model (Dovidio et al., 2003; Kenworthy et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). They mainly differ in their approaches to the role of group membership salience in intergroup contact and communication (Kenworthy et al., 2005).

Decategorization

The first, decategorization, is largely credited to Brewer and Miller (1984). As the term implies, decategorization seeks to minimize the use of category labels and the salience of group identities and memberships in contact with each other. The primary goal is to establish interaction on an individual basis in pursuit of Allport's (1954) goals of individuating outgroup members by highlighting personal information and distinctions as opposed to emphasizing their groups as wholes (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Dovidio et al. (2003) and Wilder (1986) add that deemphasizing group boundaries helps people to conceive of others and themselves as individuals within the contact situation rather than representatives of larger groups, which alleviates ingroup-outgroup mentalities and tensions and reduces anxiety, the latter of which leads to increased comfort when communicating with others according to AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005).

Categorization

The next line of research and phase of Pettigrew's (1998) model, categorization, is promoted by Hewstone and Brown (1986). Categorization seeks to maximize or maintain group membership salience within a context of intergroup contact and communication. Its proponents argue that outgroup members must be perceived as part of their outgroup for prejudice to be reduced. If they are simply viewed as individuals, the contact's potential to generalize reduced prejudice and improved intergroup perceptions is diminished or erased. In this way, categorization seeks one of the primary goals of intergroup contact and communication by aiming for maximal generalizability to outgroups as wholes based on contact with individual members of those outgroups. Additionally, ignoring or downplaying the salience of group membership is often resisted

by group members who take pride in their membership, and many group differences are often relatively obvious, including race, gender, and sometimes religion and nationality (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Given these ideas, categorization connects with the Olympic legacy component of fostering positive group identities (Chen, 2013), which promote positive perceptions of one's own and others' groups.

An inherent risk of highlighting group differences is heightening intergroup anxiety and discomfort (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Kenworthy et al., 2005), as is explained by Gudykunst's (1995; 2005) AUMEC theoretical insights regarding how increased anxiety reduces one's desire to interact with culturally-different others. This risk of categorization is reinforced by Pettigrew (1998), who warns that intergroup anxiety impedes the positive effects of contact, as well as Pettigrew and Tropp (2000), who found that 20–25% of prejudice reduced from intergroup contact was the result of reduced intergroup anxiety. Additionally, Paolini et al. (2004) found that reduced intergroup anxiety led to improved perceptions between Protestant and Catholic youth in Northern Ireland. This finding indicates an interesting relationship between reduced anxiety and intergroup perceptions when put into conversation with Voci and Hewstone's (2003) findings that positive contact between Italians and immigrants led to decreased anxiety around and toward immigrants in general. Given the combination of these studies, it seems that reduced anxiety and effective contact have a reciprocal and cyclical relationship that resembles the following: effective contact→reduced anxiety→effective contact→reduced anxiety→etc. Such a relationship suggests the importance of considering the risks of exacerbating intergroup anxiety through the categorization approach, despite categorization's strength of generalizing contact's effects. Below, I will

address how the context of mega-sporting events is ideal for accentuating the benefits of categorization while minimizing anxiety, and even fostering eagerness to engage with people from different groups rather than reluctance borne of anxiety.

Recategorization

The final line of research and phase of Pettigrew's (1998) applied theoretical model is recategorization, largely developed by Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, and Rust (1993) and Gaertner and Dovidio (2000). This approach asserts that intergroup prejudice is most effectively reduced by "transform[ing] participants' representations of memberships from [multiple] groups to one, more inclusive group" (Dovidio et al., 2003, p. 11). As a result of this newly-formed, inclusive ingroup identity, people who formerly considered each other outgroup members will perceive of themselves as part of the same ingroup, thus establishing the positive cognitive and behavioral attributes of ingroup members toward each other, such as perceived similarity and affinity, collaboration, and inclusive attitudes (Allport, 1954). This will generate powerful results of simultaneously perceiving others as ingroup members and members of other groups, achieving what Allport (1954) calls "unity in diversity" (p. 480) and showing progress toward his stated aspirations for humanity as an ingroup with various concentric groups contained within it (ethnicity, nationality, etc.). Recategorization also closely aligns with bridging social capital, which takes the form of integration, inclusivity, sense of belonging, and expansion of group identities (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Putnam, 2000; Sherry et al., 2011), as well as the Olympic legacy components of reducing exclusion and reshaping collective identities (Chen, 2013). To achieve recategorization's goals, people in the contact situation are encouraged to think and speak in terms of "we," or a superordinate

category, instead of using "us" and "them." This language inherently fosters Allport's (1954) conditions of equal status and common goals in contact, as well as his emphasis on creating a team mentality in intergroup contact by aligning people with those who used to perceive each other as separate (Kenworthy et al., 2005).

Unfortunately for intergroup contact and communication as a whole, but of great encouragement to this study, most intentional planning to bring different groups together for positive contact and communication fails to reach the recategorization stage, and thus does not produce its depth and breadth of benefits (Kenworthy et al., 2005). This study, however, is poised to capitalize on the benefits of the mega-sporting event context, which fosters an atmosphere that inspires fans from a plethora of group memberships to eagerly engage in recategorization, as explained below. In addition, this atmosphere simultaneously reflects the process and benefits of categorization in ways that both mirror and reframe existing notions of how categorization can be effectively used in contact. In the following paragraphs, I explain how the mega-sporting event context successfully fosters its own categorization and recategorization and exemplifies Allport's (1954) call for organizing and planning intergroup contact and communication in "vulnerable points" (p. 471) for positive contact, or ripe contexts (Zartman, 2000). The mega-sporting event context celebrates differences and unity, and the festive atmosphere reduces typical barriers and resistance common in other contexts of intergroup contact.

Categorization and Recategorization at Mega-Sporting Events

The mega-sporting event context is ripe and vulnerable for fostering positive intergroup contact and communication because it intentionally breeds, encourages, and celebrates group differences through overt expressions of group membership in the form

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of national identity, including clothing, flags, body paint, signs, chanting, singing, and more. Fans also tend to express pride in their group memberships, particularly national groups, which indicates that minimizing the salience of group differences through decategorization (Brewer & Miller, 1984) is not only unlikely to be relevant in this context, but it may also be inappropriate, harmful, and in contrast with the Olympic legacy goal of promoting positive group identities (Chen, 2013). The context surpasses the need for reducing group membership salience by celebrating and welcoming it so emphatically. This is evident in my data from the 2014 FIFA Men's World Cup in Brazil and 2015 FIFA Women's World Cup in Canada. Despite being vastly different events in size, number of visiting fans, and many elements of the atmosphere, they were consistent in many ways regarding ideas of categorization. These events provided hundreds of references of celebrating group differences from interviewees' and my own experiences and observations.

For example, as mentioned previously, fans regularly jumped into photos together, cramming as many people with as many different national flags and jerseys as possible. This phenomenon displays ICT and bridging social capital notions of intergroup cooperation (Allport, 1954) and collective action, sharing resources, and inclusiveness (Putnam, 2000). Many people wore their nations' flags as capes and cited this as a way to draw attention to their national identities. Fans from lesser-known nations, many of which were not even participating in the World Cup (such as Kazakhstan or Suriname), wore flags as a way to generate interest from others, and they were very popular for photo opportunities. Some interviewees even said they were trying to meet and take photos with people from as many places as they could, and the people I interviewed from

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these lesser-known places said they enjoyed it. Fans from different countries also sought

each other in order to interact and learn about other people and places, which seems to

reflect an atmosphere that overcomes Gudykunst's (1995; 2005) notions about anxiety

preventing interaction between culturally-different others. It also suggests enhanced

intergroup understanding (Sherry et al. 2011) through learning about others and

facilitated communication (Putnam, 2000), which are outcomes of bridging social capital.

For example, two Costa Rican fans in Fortaleza told me they took Portuguese lessons

before the World Cup so they could speak to Brazilians, who they reported were very

eager and patient to interact with them. One of these Costa Ricans reflected, "The chance

to talk to Brazilian people about soccer is something very, very amazing." Eagerness to

communicate with others was also prevalent in the much different Women's World Cup

event in Canada, as noted by the Head Organizer of the Vancouver Fan Zone, a free,

public space for viewing soccer matches and engaging in a variety of activities. She said,

"We've had people at the Fan Zone from every country playing so far, and they're sitting

together, talking, cheering."

The Olympic context showed prominent signs consistent with those at the World

Cups regarding the benefits of highlighting group membership salience. In doing so, it

seemed to intentionally integrate scholarly concepts from ICT and communication that

are connected with positive intergroup relations. For example, the IOC's Agenda 20+20

includes communication across differences, dialogue, and diversity among its priorities

for outcomes of the Olympics, all of which also connect with communication

perspectives from dialogue (Broome, 2009; Buber, 1937) and AUMEC (Gudykunst,

1995; 2005). Buber's (1937) conceptualization of "I" and "Thou" bridges differences

between oneself and another through dialogue, and AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005) addresses effective communication with culturally-different others. The Olympics also align with Durkheim and Simpson's (1960) notion that "society requires difference." The Olympics inherently require difference given the international nature of the competitions, but as mega-sporting events they are unique contexts in that this required difference is also welcomed and celebrated.

Fans' strong identification with their group memberships at mega-sporting events sets the stage for positive intergroup contact and communication, because group membership salience is much easier to establish than to diminish in an intergroup context (Kenworthy et al., 2005). This position is advanced by Brewer (1991), who notes that group membership is meaningful and emotionally significant to individuals and collective groups. Additionally, Voci and Hewstone's (2003) study with Italians and immigrants found that combining group salience and positive contact resulted in highly improved evaluations of outgroups. "Therefore, retaining group salience in a positive, intimate, cross-group interaction appears to be the best way to optimize intergroup contact" (Kenworthy et al., 2005). The Olympic context retains group salience in an atmosphere that inspires positive, cross-group interactions, matching Kenworthy et al.'s description of what is "best" for intergroup contact. Again, previous literature indicates the Olympic context seems ripe and vulnerable for fostering positive intergroup contact.

The mega-sporting event context also seems to intentionally integrate and blend scholars' conceptualizations of categorization and recategorization, which is perhaps most distinctly illustrated in the events' songs and slogans. These crafted messages are produced and promoted by sport federations and organizers of the events, and they seem

to seek consistent goals with Allport's (1954) call for integrating diversity and unity. For example, the 2014 World Cup song, which is called "We Are One," proclaims, "Put your flags up in the sky. And wave them side to side. Show the world where you're from. Show the world we are one." Also, the event's slogan was "All in one rhythm," advocating for people to express their valued and beautiful differences in harmony with each other in one, singular, unified expression. Mega-sporting event organizations intentionally craft these messages that simultaneously promote overt expression of group identity and unity of all those group identities. Past slogans and songs speak a similar message, including South Africa's (2010 Men's World Cup) song, "Wavin' Flag," which references how the sport can "unify us" and claims, "celebration, it surrounds us, every nation, all around us." Korea and Japan (2002 Men's World Cup) had a song called "Let's Get Together Now," and Mexico (1986) had one called "El Mundo Unido por un Balon," or "The World United for a Ball."

While the IOC does not produce songs and slogans for the Olympics to the same extent as FIFA, its pursuit of legacy through reshaping collective identities (Chen, 2013), the Olympic value of unity (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015), and its emphasis on building global solidarity as an Olympic value are all consistent with recategorization's outcomes of reshaping collective group membership and generating more inclusive ingroups that unify former outgroups. The IOC's (2014) 20+20 Agenda proclaims,

> We are living in a society more fragmented, more individualized, you could even
> say more selfish than ever. [But also] a global society with more opportunities
> than ever. Opportunities for communication, for dialogue, for global solidarity,

for social development, and for peace…this Olympic message is perhaps more relevant than ever. (p. 4)

The mega-sporting event context also shows signs of fostering recategorization in its celebration of concentric, multi-level, and simultaneous ingroup membership, meaning that my group identities as an Arizona State fan, an Arizonan, and an American were all celebrated as a valuable part of my larger ingroup identity: fan at the World Cup (Allport, 1954). This phenomenon is explained by Dovidio and Gaertner (2000), who assert that establishing common ingroup identities does not require groups to discard their other group identities. "The benefits of a common ingroup identity can be achieved while people maintain a 'dual identity' with their superordinate group and subgroup identities simultaneously salient" (Dovidio et al., 2003, p. 12). My interviewees commonly referred to World Cup fans as a whole using the term "we," which indicates they perceived of all fans as part of their ingroup regardless of national or other group memberships according to Allport's (1954) definition of ingroups. They also, however, used "us" and "them" to indicate group differences within the larger, more inclusive ingroup of fans and reflected that these differences had positive effects on the larger ingroup by adding diversity, opportunities to learn, and the idea of the event as a microcosm of the world due to the vastness and abundance of differences present in the same space.

In these ways, fans' experiences connect with Allport's (1954) notion of "unity in diversity" (p. 480). The diversity of group differences in the context served to unify members of different groups into a larger, more inclusive ingroup rather than maintaining or strengthening existing divisions between ingroups and outgroups. For example, a Dutch fan in Rio de Janeiro offered, "I just like to meet all the people from different

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countries, from the different religions, just talk with them. It's nice. Have a good laugh, good fun." Additionally, as a direct example of using both "we" to denote fans as an ingroup and "them" to indicate different groups within the larger ingroup, a Canadian-Ecuadorian fan in Vancouver said, "*We* have all the same problems in each country, and you can understand better people of other countries. You see *them* and you're like, maybe *we're* not that different. *We* may believe in different countries, but <u>we</u> have the same life." This interviewee explicitly captures how recategorization "highlights similarities among the interactants and obscures the 'we' and 'they' boundary" (Dovidio et al., 2003, p. 75), thus showing how recategorization, a difficult stage to reach in Pettigrew's (1998) model of ICT (Kenworthy et al., 2005), is already achieved by the mega-sporting event context itself. This, again, indicates the mega-sporting event context is ripe (Zartman, 2000) for advancing theoretical understanding and fostering positive intergroup contact and communication.

Addressing Gaps in the Field and the Research Context

This study has theoretical and practical purposes as I explore *what*, *why* and *how*, and *where* and *when* of ICT factors in fans' experiences at the Olympics. I seek advanced understanding of

- *what* ICT factors are most relevant in a ripe context for positive intergroup contact and communication, as well as
- *why* and *how* those factors foster such contact by analyzing supportive relationships among them.
- I also explore *where* and *when* the factors are active and supportive in fans' experiences at the Olympics

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- and the factors' interplay with processes and notions of group membership

  transformation from Pettigrew's (1997) ICT model.

In addition to the theoretical insights these ideas will contribute, I aim to provide an

understanding of

- relevant ICT factors,

- how they work together,

- where they emerge in fans' experiences, and

how to conceptualize group membership transformation processes to practitioners and

organizers who seek to implement positive intergroup contact and communication.

      As will be elaborated in the following paragraphs, this study is well-positioned to

contribute theoretically and practically given its attempt to address an under-explored

context in a transitory, vulnerable atmosphere that already primes the intergroup audience

for positive contact and communication and transformed notions of group membership. It

also follows prominent calls and priorities in the mega-sporting event industry through

pursuing several of the IOC's stated goals discussed above, including dialogue (Broome,

2009; Buber, 1937), global solidarity, friendship, communication across differences

(Gudykunst, 1995; 2005), respect, and cooperation (IOC, 2014).

Transitory Contexts

      A review of the extensive body of previous ICT literature reveals few studies

focused on ongoing transitory events and temporary ingroups suggested by Allport

(1954) as fruitful contexts in which to study intergroup contact. He offers the example of

how people at a dinner party may use the word "we" to describe themselves in that short-

term context, despite group differences within this temporary ingroup. This example is

similar to the Olympic context and the transitory experience of fans, as they temporarily share space and interact with each other. Many fans in my previous research even used the word "party" to describe the mega-sporting event atmosphere, which is a stated goal of the event organizers I interviewed, who plan festivities, concerts, and a variety of activities for fans. In contrast, most ICT research seeks to understand more stable, permanent contexts, e.g., Voci and Hewstone's (2003) research with Italians and area immigrants and Paolini et al.'s (2004) with youth in Northern Ireland. This dissertation study recognizes the value of previous work and seeks to complement it with its focus on the more transitory Olympic setting and perhaps provide a template for ICT research in other transitory contexts, including other international sport, cultural, and music events, domestic professional sporting events, and collegiate sporting events.

In addition to the transitory context, applications for intergroup contact and communication generated from this study seem most likely to fit Stephan and Stephan's (2005) description of indirect contact, which does not explicitly address the concepts of prejudice, conflict, and stereotyping, but instead intentionally enacts Allport's (1954) conditions to foster positive contact in contexts where identifying prejudice would be distracting or even limiting to the positive potential of contact. This explains and justifies the dissertation's intentional focus on and use of "fostering positive intergroup contact and communication" instead of "reducing prejudice," as promoting positive ideas is more appropriate for the research context than diminishing negative ideas.

The transitory nature of the Olympics also introduces a potential limitation of the context according to ICT literature regarding short-term contact, because most approaches and conceptualizations of positive contact and communication require more

time and structure than fans' experiences at the Olympics (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, the context of this study suggests a need and justification for a more holistic conceptualization of fostering positive contact and communication. In my past research findings, fans have conceptualized ICT's factors to be manifested in various aspects of their experiences, including physical layouts of fan events and public spaces, public transportation, waiting in lines, stadium announcements, interactions with volunteers and staff, clothing, planned activities, and much more. Therefore, instead of conceptualizing positive intergroup contact within a structured context of longevity, it is more appropriate in the mega-sporting event context to have a broader perspective and consider how best to infuse ICT factors into the various aspects of fans' experiences of the event.

Further addressing the potential concern that typical notions of fostering positive intergroup contact require structured, sustained contact in order to produce results (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), I am encouraged by the potential of communication technologies and social media to foster several ICT factors and extend the longevity of contact beyond the event for fans. I have personally experienced this at and after public fan events at the 2014 and 2015 FIFA World Cups. I often talked with other fans for times ranging from a few minutes to a couple hours, and before departing, we exchanged email addresses and/or Facebook information. I am now Facebook friends and regularly interact with some of these people online and am able to learn more information about them as individuals and the groups they are part of by seeing their lives depicted on Facebook. Because of this, my intergroup contact with them is still ongoing over two years later in a capacity that illustrates the ICT factors (phrased for fans) of learning

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about others' ways of life, making new friends, sharing information about ourselves with each other, and more.

Other fans at the World Cup had similar experiences, as interviewees regularly talked about connecting on Facebook with people they met from around the world. One couple at the 2015 Women's World Cup in Vancouver (where they lived), who had also gone to the 2014 Men's World Cup in Brazil, was helping organize a trip to Vancouver for the teenage sons of a Brazilian family they befriended in Rio de Janeiro. More commonly, interviewees referred to how they met fans from other groups, developed rapport, exchanged contact information, and made plans to meet the following days of the event. I even saw some of these fans engaging with each other on multiple days, including Costa Ricans and Ghanaians in Fortaleza and Canadians and Australians in Vancouver. These examples show not only how fans already utilize communication technologies to sustain intergroup contact virtually, but also the capacity for people to add repetition and longevity to their face-to-face contact, addressing concerns from ICT scholars about short-term contact (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Positive Contexts

Another gap in the previous literature is that most ICT work is focused on particular, problematic situations in which conflict and/or prejudice are prevalent and disruptive. This is valuable, but Allport (1954) calls for ICT work to go beyond these types of contexts and advocates the importance of understanding and implementing positive contact where prejudice is not explicitly observed in order to address subtle, less visible forms and consequences of prejudice and gain understanding about the forces promoting positive relations. Essentially, he writes that exploring how to foster positive

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contact, and seeking to understand how it works in thriving contexts, should not be ignored in lieu of contexts that need to fix a specific problem. This exemplifies the aim and context of this dissertation, as there is not one, specific problem I am trying to "fix" with Olympic fans in Rio de Janeiro. Rather, my hope is that the research will generate an increased understanding of how to foster positive intergroup contact and communication in a context that is actually likely to be quite prone to these outcomes. Such a context will not only offer insights into itself, but will also provide understanding of why and how ICT factors foster positive contact and the factors' interplay with processes and notions of group membership in ways that more commonly studied, problematic contexts cannot. This has the potential to advance ICT and its application by discovering how its factors and processes of group membership work in optimal contexts and extracting ideas applicable to various settings.

Sport Contexts

Another gap in the literature is sports contexts, and while Allport (1954) indicates athletic events as ripe (Zartman, 2000) contexts for applying his ideas, previous ICT literature does not seem to include many such attempts. The only major study connecting ICT and sporting events seems to be that of Lam and Corson (2013), who sought to understand how the London 2012 Olympics influenced English children's national identities and perceptions of national outgroups. While the research is relevant to the current study, it was not directed toward understanding which ICT factors are most relevant to fans' experiences, why and how the factors foster positive contact between different groups, or where and when in fans' experiences the factors are most active. Lam and Corson (2013) found that children's interest in sporting events augments national

identity, reciprocality between enjoyment of sporting events and heightened national pride, as well as the important role of mega-sporting events to serve as cohesive national emblems of collective memory. They note that "those who engage closely with sport," such as fans at the Olympics, experience more "social cohesion, where bonding and bridging of social capital between sporting members are argued to generate reciprocal contact and trust" (p. 381).

Given that this dissertation addresses the gaps in ICT literature described above, e.g., transitory context, vulnerable atmosphere, positive outcomes, and mega-sporting events, it seems to have promising potential value and contributions to ICT research and practice.

Qualitative Research and ICT

In addition to this study's answer to Allport's (1954) emphases on transitory contexts, sporting events, taking advantage of contexts ripe for social progress, and implementing contact for general improvements rather than to fix a specific problem, it will also follow Allport's model of investigating intergroup contact through qualitative methods. While Allport utilized quantitative (statistics, regression, correlations) and critical (textual and law analysis, historical approach) data, he also heavily relied upon qualitative data, including interview responses and individuals' narratives. However, after Allport's work, the vast majority of ICT research has been quantitative, as evidenced in Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 515 ICT studies. This makes sense given that ICT research has been mostly conducted in the fields of psychology and sociology, but I hope my communication perspective and approach to ICT will revitalize Allport's

(1954) value of qualitative data to understand intergroup contact, as explained in more detail in the methods chapter.

Affective Means

This study also follows Allport's (1954) call, and an ongoing trend in ICT work (Kenworthy et al., 2005), to understand intergroup contact with *affective* means rather than *cognitive* means. Allport (1954) offers, "Action is ordinarily better than mere information. Programs do well therefore to involve the individual in some project…a neighborhood festival. When he does something, he becomes something. The…more realistic the contacts, the better the results" (p. 470). This dissertation seeks to understand and promote contact in a "realistic" setting, in that the Olympics are a real, existing context. In doing so, it follows Allport's advice about how to best understand contact's effects. In their update on the state of ICT research and application, Kenworthy et al. (2005) describe well-established empirical support that affective, action-oriented contact programming is more effective than mere cognitive information gains about different groups in contact. As my research is aimed at affective contact, it builds upon the advice of Allport (1954) and decades of scholars after him.

IOC Priorities

The IOC's current priorities regarding the inclusion of fans' and everyday people's perspectives, as displayed in their acceptance of ideas from a variety of contributors for the Agenda 20+20 document (2014), have also informed this study. The participant-centered approach to my research is consistent with the IOC's priorities. Additionally, I think it is valuable to put ICT into the hands of the fans experiencing its factors and outcomes in Rio, who can consequently add to ICT scholarship from a vastly

different perspective than established ICT theorists and researchers. Each participant in this study generated an individual model of ICT's factors based on their experience as a fan. Allport (1954) created an accessible and intuitive framework with his conditions; one that is within the grasp of everyday citizens, as evidenced by my interviews at the 2015 Women's World Cup. I provided fans with Allport's conditions and asked for their suggestions on how to incorporate them into the fan experience at the event. They understood and applied Allport's ideas with little or no need for clarification. Scholars have influenced and modeled ICT for over 60 years now, and I think it is time to add a new perspective.

Understanding of the Context

The mega-sporting event industry and related academic fields (e.g., Sociology of Sport, Olympic Studies) are not just seeking the *goals* of Olympic Values, Olympic Legacy, and social capital outlined in the Introduction chapter; they also want an in-depth *understanding* of the processes and thinking that lead to achieving these goals. For example, positive social impacts of the Olympics are often the product of intentionally-designed strategies and planning from organizing committees and sports federations (Chen, 2013). Understanding the intricacies of fans' experiences will offer insight to these strategies and plans by shedding light on how to reduce intergroup anxiety (Gudykunst, 2005), promote dialogue (Broome, 2009), foster positive intergroup contact and communication (Allport, 1954), conceptualize processes and notions of group membership (Pettigrew, 1997), and build social capital (Minnaert, 2011; Waitt, 2003). Finally, Misener and Mason (2006) call for more research at the micro-level to explore how mega-sporting events generate these outcomes. As I will discuss in the next chapter,

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my methodological design is intentionally structured to understand micro-level processes in the experiences of fans who are frequently communicating, dialoguing, relating, bonding, and bridging with others.

Integrated Calls for Research

The above descriptions of separate gaps, concerns, and calls from the realms of ICT and mega-sporting events show the relevance and space for this dissertation. A few statements from the literature, however, seem to pull them all together quite cohesively. In their future directions, Kenworthy et al. (2005) write,

> We suggest…contact under conditions that promote positive affect (e.g., lower anxiety, greater perspective-taking and empathy), and that encourage the presentation of uniqueness and differentiation among outgroup members (e.g., via individuation and self-disclosure), while at the same time ensuring that participants remain aware of their own and others' group memberships." (p. 290)

This description is a striking match to the context of international mega-sporting events based on my experience and previous research. Anxiety is reduced by the atmosphere as evidenced by fans' eagerness to engage with others from different groups. Additionally, fans show high levels of perspective-taking and empathy by adjusting their celebratory behaviors after victory to consider those around them experiencing defeat. My interviewees described dozens of instances of this, and I witnessed it many times in Brazil, perhaps most profoundly when a Brazilian fan hugged and encouraged a sobbing Chilean fan in the moments after Brazil eliminated Chile in a heartbreaking, sudden-death penalty shoot-out. International mega-sporting events also encourage the expression of outgroup differentiation through national clothing and chants, and they

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breed self-disclosure by fostering an atmosphere in which fans interact with many people.

Lastly, the context ensures fans are aware of everyone's group memberships by

intentionally highlighting and celebrating cultural pluralism and the diversity of

memberships present. Fans overtly present their uniqueness and differences from each

other and are keenly aware of the group memberships surrounding them, which reflects

categorization and recategorization in the advanced stages of Pettigrew's (1997) model of

ICT. It also aligns with Allport's (1954) idea that "those favoring cultural pluralism

regard it as a great loss…when ethnic groups discard their distinctive and colorful ways"

(p. 479), and it is also consistent with calls to explore how diverse contexts generate

bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Given all of these

connections, it seems that the Olympics foster all of Kenworthy et al.'s (2005) criteria for

ideal conditions for positive intergroup contact and communication, making the event a

unique context in which to explore how and why ICT factors affect fans' experiences

with each other.

Finally, Pettigrew's (1998) broad perspective on considerations for positive

intergroup contact and communication also shows direct applications to the Olympic

context. He posits:

Situations are embedded in social institutions and societies. Thus, institutional and

societal norms structure the form and effects of contact situations…Consider

intergroup strife in Northern Ireland and Quebec. These societal contexts severely

limit all forms of intergroup contact. Moreover, they render the contact that does

occur less than optimal…Alternatively, when a society embraces intergroup

harmony, equal-status contact between groups is no longer subversive. Normative

support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier. (p. 78)

Given its legacy goals and values, the Olympic context clearly exemplifies the normative

support, structural elements, harmony, and equal-status Pettigrew asserts as beneficial to

the effects of intergroup contact. The limits and obstacles facing positive contact and

communication in many other contexts have little to no presence and influence in the

context of this study, including negative repercussions to categorization and barriers to

recategorization, which are the advanced stages of group membership salience in

Pettigrew's (1997) ICT model. This indicates the Olympics as a prime context in which

to reach new understandings of how and why ICT's factors foster positive intergroup

contact and communication and how they interact with processes and notions of group

membership. Following from these ideas from Pettigrew, Stephan and Stephan (2005)

suggest, "The history of intergroup relations shows that peaceful, productive relations

between groups involving mutual respect do not come naturally" (p. 432). The Olympic

context intentionally fosters "peaceful, productive relations" and "mutual respect" as

cited in its own commitments and goals (IOC, 2014). The Olympics also "come

naturally" every few years.

It is time to take advantage of this unexplored context that seems to fit scholars'

description of the ideal setting for understanding and fostering positive intergroup contact

and communication. This dissertation seeks to do so by starting with a broad approach to

the array of ICT factors in order to identify *what* factors are present and relevant in fans'

experiences according to the fans. It also seeks to understand *why* and *how* the factors

work together by analyzing the ways factors relate to and support each other in Olympic

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fans' experiences. Additionally, the research explores *where* and *when* in fans' experiences the factors emerge and are active. In answering these questions, I aim to make theoretical contributions by addressing gaps and calls in ICT literature, as well as practical contributions by providing insight about how to organize intergroup contexts to foster positive intergroup contact and communication. I do this within the unexplored, ideal context of the Olympics that presents unique opportunities to understand the factors' interplay with processes and notions of group membership.

Research Questions

The preceding sections strived to show the relevance of the following research questions, as well as the value in seeking their answers. The following chapter will explain and justify the methods used to answer these questions.

Research Question 1: Which ICT factors are perceived by fans at the Olympics as most relevant to their experience of positive intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics?

ICT and its factors have been determined and developed by reputable, prolific scholars over the past 60 years, but they have not been conceptualized and contextualized through the lived experience of a context's participants. Consistent with the study's commitment to participant-centered research, the first research question seeks to understand *what* ICT factors are salient to fans' positive intergroup contact and communication based on their perspectives and experiences grounded in the context of the Olympics.

Research Question 2: What supportive relationships do fans at the Olympics perceive between ICT factors they identified as most relevant?

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The ways in which ICT factors relate to each other have never been explored from the perspectives of people in a context of positive intergroup contact and communication. Understanding the factors' supportive relationships in the research context of the Olympics will provide unique insights because the Olympics are exceptionally well-suited and ripe for observing the factors in fans' experiences, especially when the fans are responsible for identifying these supportive relationships in their own experiences. The second research question seeks to understand, from the perspectives of fans at the Olympics, how the ICT factors most relevant to fans' experiences support and contribute to fostering each other in order to explore *why* and *how* the factors work together.

Research Question 3: What themes emerge from Olympic fans' discussion of supportive relationships between ICT factors at the Olympics?

This research question seeks to add breadth and specific detail to the first two questions by identifying and exploring themes in which ICT factors emerge for fans at the Olympics. For this study, themes refer to a figurative "where" and/or "when" in fans' experiences at the Olympics. They are sites, situations, and contexts in which fans commonly find themselves throughout their time at the Games. These include general experiences, communicative situations and contexts, or relatively routine, reoccurring aspects of the Olympics that fans regularly encounter as they participate in the event as a whole. Identifying these themes will draw attention to common aspects of fans' experiences as sites of high activity, relevance, and potential for ICT factors at the Olympics and in doing so provide insight to organizers and practitioners seeking to understand where ICT is at work in the settings they oversee. The themes will also shed light on the factors' interplay with processes of group membership transformation. Given

this research question follows from the participant-centered approach of the study and Allport's (1954) example of qualitative research by relying upon fans' discussion of their experience of ICT factors, it seeks to develop themes from fans' specific examples and insights about the factors. This will keep fans' voices at the center of the research and illustrate the *where* and *when* of ICT factors as they are manifested in fans' experiences.

Research Question 4: What function does each ICT factor play in fostering positive intergroup contact and communication for fans at the Olympics?

The specific functions, roles, and purposes of ICT factors in fostering positive intergroup contact and communication have been understudied given the important, heuristic insights they offer. Understanding how individual factors function within a larger context and among several other factors will help organizers and practitioners know how each factor should be applied, utilized, and conceptualized. Which contexts and situations in fans' experiences are conducive to each factor, and how does each factor relate to other factors in those contexts and situations? Insights about such contexts and relationships between factors can help inform approaches to fostering positive intergroup contact and communication and offer insight to people seeking to promote specific factors in intergroup settings. This research question pursues an understanding of how ICT factors function individually and together to shape the overall process through which fans experience positive intergroup contact and communication. To do so, it includes the relevant factors, how they relate to each other, where and when they emerge, and their interplay with processes of group membership transformation, thus integrating the previous research questions' foci on *what, why* and *how*, and *where* and *when*.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In this chapter, I will explain the methodological design used to answer the above research questions. I have combined multiple methods into an intentional sequence that maintains the participant-centered approach to research I explained earlier. This participant-centered approach is motivated by the IOC's goals of engaging fans in defining the mission of the Olympics, the value of understanding ICT from the perspectives of people experiencing ICT factors, and exploring Olympic fans' experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication from their own perspectives.

I first address why a qualitative approach was appropriate for the study's research questions and context. I then explain the research design, including the research context, participants, and two phases of data collection. The first phase used a survey to answer RQ 1 and provide the necessary data for the second phase, which addresses RQ 2 and RQ 3. I explain Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) interviewing and the visual structures it produced in the second phase of data collection. I also share personal anecdotes illustrating the complications and challenges encountered while gathering data in the Olympic context. I then describe methods of data analysis, including ISM's prescribed scores and thematic analysis of specific excerpts from interview transcripts. I conclude the chapter by addressing how the methodological design stands up to the tests of good qualitative research.

Qualifying Qualitative Methods

I primarily used qualitative methods to answer my research questions and stay consistent in my commitment to a participant-centered research design. I kept data in the hands and control of participants, fans at the Olympics, throughout many stages of data collection, including selection of relevant data, organization of data, and much of the interpretation and analysis. As part of this process described in detail below, fans created participant-generated models of ICT based on their experiences and offered analyses of the data they produced, which adds something new to the abundance of scholars' conceptualizations and models of ICT. Tracy (2013) advocates for this approach to data collection and posits that the best qualitative methods engage participants in interpreting their own data. The following paragraphs explicate in more depth how a qualitative research design aligns with the study's epistemological goals by centering participants' voices. I then address how I used qualitative methods to understand participants' sense making and unique individual experiences, and I conclude by discussing the axiology in conducting qualitative research, particularly on the topic of fostering positive intergroup contact and communication.

Prioritizing Participants' Voices

This study's goals of keeping data in participants' control through several stages of data collection and analysis is consonant with Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest's (1966) and Kirk and Miller's (1986) assertions that a combined series of qualitative methods fortifies the preservation of participants' meaning for a researcher's later interpretation. I conducted an intentional, combined series in order to highlight and honor participants' voices. By the time I analyzed the data, my interpretation was built

upon and informed by each participant's prior interpretation of the data they had produced. More broadly, qualitative methods as an approach to understanding a phenomenon are defended by Creswell (2009) in a way consistent with this study's participant-centered goals. Creswell asserts that qualitative research "focuses on acquiring participants' assessment of a problem, learning the meaning that the participants hold about an issue, not the meaning that the researchers bring to the research or writers from the literature" (p. 39). This attitude toward research is also shared by Collier (1989), who notes that qualitative methods must intentionally seek to authentically represent participants' experiences, which is reflected in the IOC's approach to engaging fans and conceptualizing and executing the Olympics (IOC, 2014). By intentionally seeking fans' input and using it to shape policies and goals, the IOC is showing consistencies with Collier's (1989) concepts. Thus, this study's approach to honoring participants' voices in data collection and interpretation aligns with sound qualitative methods and the research context.

Sense Making of Individual Experience

Another reason for choosing qualitative inquiry in this study is its capacity to capture and extract the process of sense-making that participants use to understand their experiences. This quality leads to holistic, complex understandings of participants' thinking patterns and allows researchers to "enter into the world of the participants" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 16). Combining several participants' holistic, complex understandings leads to the emergence of a more complete picture of a phenomenon, as does extracting and examining the interaction of various factors the participants find relevant (Patton, 1990). This approach is also consistent with Misener and Mason's

(2006) call for more mega-sporting event research at the micro-level to gain in-depth understandings of how social capital is generated. Additionally, Allport (1954) used and advocated for the exploration of individuals' perceptions, rationales, and experiences in order to understand prejudice and contact through the experiences of those engaging with these phenomena. In this study, the micro-level (Misener & Mason, 2006) is represented by participants' thinking patterns (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) about their individual experiences (Allport, 1954), which are combined to form a fuller picture of the phenomenon (Patton, 1990) of fans' experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication.

Values in Methodology—Allport's and Mine

Before describing my methods in more detail, I must also address my axiology, or the role of values in motivating my research on this topic (Miller, 2005). I am motivated to foster positive intergroup contact and communication due to past experiences and the positive orientation of the topic. I am also encouraged by Allport's (1954) approach to understanding and treating values in my research.

I grew up in a small, homogeneous town in the Midwest of the United States, and I was relatively similar to almost everyone I came into contact with every day. My parents recognized the importance of showing me and my siblings that the world was more complex and varied than our daily lives illustrated, so they prioritized regularly visiting new locations (domestic and international) and unfamiliar contexts where we came into contact with people and ideas unlike those in our hometown. We lived in Sao Paulo, Brazil, for one year in addition to taking several shorter trips, which broadened our perspectives about the world through frequent intergroup contact and communication. At

home, however, I witnessed prejudice in action, exemplified by the only Black student in my high school having racial slurs carved into his locker. These experiences showed me the stark contrast of positive intergroup contact and communication versus prejudice borne largely of a lack of intergroup knowledge and experience, and the consequences of each. I have known since high school that I wanted to study and contribute toward people of different backgrounds getting along better, and this dissertation is the product of a decade of honing and developing that interest.

As I have learned about topics relevant to positive intergroup contact and communication, including intercultural communication and conflict management and resolution, I have been drawn to contexts in which positive outcomes prevail. I want to understand *what* works well in order to maximize its potential and draw attention to *why* and *how* it fosters positive relations between groups who often do no relate positively. This may be due, in part, to my background, as I have spent almost my entire life in contexts in which my group memberships are welcomed and regarded as the norm. I have rarely experienced negative responses from others based on my group memberships, including ethnic, national, gender, socioeconomic, and others, so my experiences of negative intergroup contact are limited. Therefore, compared to many other people, I do not have much personal experience with the problems and consequences of negative contact. I have, however, witnessed through my experience and previous research how some contexts foster positive contact, which has intrigued me to understand why and how that happens. My hope is that by better understanding what works well in positive contexts, I will be able to contribute ideas and practices to help foster positive intergroup

contact and communication in many other contexts, including those in which specific problems and obstacles foster negative contact and consequences.

I am encouraged that my values and motivations described above are consistent with how Allport (1954) perceives the role of values in research on intergroup contact. He explicitly discusses his own values as motivation, claiming that social scientists exploring the topics of intergroup contact and prejudice "cannot help but be motivated by their own personal values" (p. 478). He also notes that the researcher and practitioner is influenced by values to seek understanding of these phenomena, and that values also "direct his final efforts to apply his findings in the service of what he considers to be a desirable [society]" (p. 478). He also, however, justifies and defends that values do not compromise this work by noting the proven and defined existence of prejudice and the accurate and objective presentation of the knowledge available to him. Allport adds that future researchers and practitioners, which includes me, should be naturally dissuaded from allowing values to compromise their work, because if data are misrepresented or findings are mis-applied, the value of fostering social progress and reducing prejudice is inherently tainted and compromised as well. This stands against the reason people are motivated to conduct such work, which should thus motivate research and practice that best reflects participants' perspectives and needs. These assertions from Allport inspire me to continue my pursuit of understanding and applying positive intergroup contact and communication, which inherently requires that I do so in an ethical, honest way that preserves participants' perspectives to the greatest extent possible.

Yes, my values have motivated me to engage in this research, but the same values are also what motivate me to respect and maintain participants' voices. I am committed to

channeling my values ethically in my research because the following quote Allport uses to conclude *The Nature of Prejudice*, exemplifying his inspiration and mine, is too important to compromise: "Can citizens learn to seek their own welfare and growth not at the expense of their fellow men, but in concert with them? The human family does not yet know the answer, but hopes it will be affirmative" (p. 480). I have committed to an approach that pursues this inspiration through intentionally constructing a methodological design that allows participants to generate, organize, and interpret their own data before I analyze it. Therefore, accountability is built into my research to ensure my choice of qualitative methods fulfills the commitments outlined in this section: prioritizing participants' voices, highlighting their sense making and individual experiences, and reflecting a participant-centered approach. Allport valued the depth of insight offered by qualitative data, including participant interviews and stories of individuals' experiences. He regularly used participants' perspectives to introduce, reinforce, and illustrate key concepts, and they are a frequent fixture throughout *The Nature of Prejudice*. Since his book, however, the vast majority of work using his concepts has been quantitative (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). My choice of participant-centered qualitative methods seeks to follow an example Allport set that has been largely forgotten.

Research Design

The 2016 Summer Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, spanned from August 3–August 21, 2016. All data collection for this study was conducted during the Olympics between August 6 and August 20, 2016, in order to allow time for participants to experience the Games before reflecting on and describing their experiences. After I piloted some of the material with Olympic volunteers and staff during the week prior to

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the Olympics, I collected data in two phases. The first phase included brief screening interviews and surveys with 37 fans from August 6–10. The second phase involved in-depth interviews with 16 of these original 37 fans using Interpretive Structural Modeling software (ISM) and took place from August 11–20. Before describing the phases of data collection, I will explain the research context and participants.

Context

All participants included in the data set were initially approached in areas heavily populated by Olympic fans, primarily at the Olympic Park and Copacabana Beach by the beach volleyball stadium and sites for road cycling, marathon, and triathlon. The Olympic Park in the Barra de Tijuca neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro was home to several competition venues and dozens of sporting events, including gymnastics, swimming, diving, tennis, basketball, judo, synchronized swimming, trampoline, rhythmic gymnastics, water polo, track cycling, handball, fencing, and more. There were also vast spaces with picnic tables near food vendors, a shaded grassy area with large screens to watch live coverage, and expansive walkways between the venues. I approached people in these areas during the first stage of data collection.

Participants

I recruited people who were at least 18 years old in accordance with Internal Review Board (IRB) requirements. Due to my own language limitations, participants also had to be fluent in English. I evaluated English proficiency during initial interactions and screening interviews (described below) before continuing data collection with each fan. I was primarily looking for variety in nationality, age, and gender for several reasons. I wanted a sample that was relatively representative of the fan population at the Olympics,

which required a high degree of diversity in group identities. This is because one of the main appeals of the Olympic context is that it is one of the most diverse in the world (IOC, 2012). To focus narrowly on a more homogeneous sample would have been a missed opportunity, especially given the lack of existing research connecting ICT and the mega-sporting event context. More specific foci on particular group identities would be valuable, as well, but I strive to establish some general understandings about intergroup contact in this context as a whole that could inform later research on more specific populations. Also, as the topic of the study is intergroup contact and communication, I sought an "intergroup" sample in order to more adequately explore the range of intergroup experiences fans had at the Olympics. Finally, for the study to be maximally helpful and applicable to practitioners and organizers in intergroup settings, the data needed to be produced from the experiences of a diverse sample relatively representative of the contexts they organize.

Data Collection Phase 1: Screening Interviews and Surveys

The first phase of data collection spanned from August 6–August 10, and these data addressed RQ 1. It also served to screen fans for eligibility in the second, more intensive phase and incorporated the study's participant-centered approach by having fans select the data that would be used throughout the rest of the study (the list of ICT factors). This section outlines the first phase of the research plan, starting with how I approached and screened fans for participation. I then describe the survey used to answer RQ 1 and generate data for the rest of the research design, including a pilot study in Rio prior to the Olympics. Finally, I address the survey results as they are relevant to understanding the second phase of data collection.

Approaching and Screening Fans for Participation

After approaching individuals in public spaces heavily populated by Olympic fans, explaining my request, and their approval of the interview request form, I started with a few screening interview questions. I asked how much time they had spent participating in the Olympic festivities, how much contact they had experienced with people who were different from them, if this contact had been neutral, positive, or negative, and if their overall experience so far had been enjoyable or not. If they answered that they had engaged in at least a few hours of Olympic festivities and had positive contact with others, I asked them to complete a survey. I required these criteria because the survey (below) had the specific purpose of determining which ICT factors were most present and relevant in fans' experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics. Therefore, those who completed it needed to have experienced the Olympic context and positive intergroup contact within it. However, every person who answered that they had contact with others noted it was positive, so this criterion proved to be a formality. In addition, I intentionally waited until the evening of the second official day of the Olympics, which was the fourth day of competition, in order to increase the possibility that fans had engaged in the event as a whole and with those around them. I also approached everyone in highly populated, public areas of the Olympic Park and Copacabana Beach, where people were likely to have attended events and had contact and communication with others.

Survey

The survey I provided fans lists the 26 ICT factors described in the previous chapter, worded in non-academic, experiential phrasing, and its results address RQ 1. To

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ensure reliability and avoid response set error (Merrigan & Huston, 2015), I produced and provided a reverse-coded "B" version of the survey to half of the participants, which swapped the numerical order corresponding to degrees of agreement and disagreement. Both versions use 5-point Likert Scales of Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree or Disagree, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree in response to the following question:

> Think about your experience so far at the Olympics. Rate how much you agree with each statement, considering your experience with people from different groups. They can be from different national, racial, ethnic, religious, or other groups than your own. Circle the number you think is true for your experience.

In the week leading up to the start of data collection, I piloted an earlier version of the survey with five Olympic volunteers and staff who had arrived early to prepare for their work. This proved helpful, as they offered feedback about specific wording of a few of the factors, which I was able to adjust while maintaining the meaning from ICT literature. They also affirmed that these 26 factors were generally relevant and appropriate to the Olympic fan experience, establishing face validity of the scale (Privitera, 2012). Three who piloted the survey had been to past Olympics, and two imagined a hypothetical experience based on their pre-existing perceptions and required volunteer training.

Survey Results Used for Data Collection Phase 2

My discussion of survey results within the methods chapter serves to explain how the survey data was essential to the second phase of data collection. I reserve content from these results that is relevant to RQ 1 for the Results, Discussion, and Conclusion chapters.

By the end of August 10, which was the eighth day of competition, sixth full day of the Olympics, and fifth full day of data collection, I had collected 41 surveys (and accompanying screening interviews), of which 37 were useful. I excluded four based on pre-occupation or lack of attention to the survey, lack of intergroup contact experience, and lack of English proficiency. In most cases of the latter two reasons, I typically did not offer a survey, but these few fans had already seen the surveys in my hand and showed interest in completing them, so I simply made a note to exclude them later. The 37 fans whose surveys were included were from the following 24 countries: Australia, New Zealand, Uganda, South Africa, Japan, China, Hungary, Serbia, Slovenia, Iceland, Norway, Great Britain, Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Denmark, France, Switzerland, Mexico, USA, Canada, Argentina, Venezuela, and Brazil. I did not have IRB approval to collect age information, but I intentionally sought people who appeared to range from late teens and early twenties to senior citizens. The most common age group seemed to be twenties and thirties, but I also interviewed several people who either mentioned their age or appeared to be in their forties, fifties, and sixties. Finally, I surveyed 20 women and 17 men.

On the evening of August 10, I totaled the points for each factor from the 37 surveys, with "Strongly Agree" worth five points, "Agree" worth four points, "Neither Agree or Disagree" worth three points, "Disagree" worth two points, and "Strongly Disagree" worth one point. This resulted in the following rankings of relevance and presence of each ICT factor in fans' experiences show in Figure 3.

1. The unity inspired by the Olympics (173)
2. Having a pleasant time (166)
3. Respecting each other (162)
4. Meeting and talking with others (158)
5. Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily (158)
6. Avoiding insults to each other's group (158)
7. Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities (157)
8. Having common goals (155)
9. Feeling equal to others (155)
10. Displaying my group identity (clothing, flags, singing, etc.) (155)
11. Sharing information about ourselves with each other (155)
12. Making new friends (154)
13. Learning about others' ways of life (154)
14. Accommodating to each other (152)
15. Cooperating with each other (149)
16. Learning about individual people (149)
17. Seeing how others are similar to me (148)
18. Solidarity with my own group (148)

---148 is equivalent to a "4" response, which indicates "Agree" on the survey.

19. Different people mixing together (147)
20. Understanding others' perspectives (144)
21. Being in a neutral location (144)
22. Expecting others to include me (144)
23. Having positive attitudes about others (137)
24. Breaking negative stereotypes (134)
25. Having low anxiety (130)
26. Speaking the same language (126)

Figure 3. ICT factors rank-ordered from survey results.

I had pre-determined I would include the top 12 to 18 factors fans selected,

depending on the score totals. I set 18 as the maximum because the length of the

interviews in the second phase of data collection was directly affected by the number of

factors selected from the survey. As revealed by my personal experiences described in the

next section, the research context involved unique time and contextual constraints and

complications. Due to these, and out of respect for fans' time, exceeding 18 factors

seemed unrealistic. Also, as indicated in the ranking list, the eighteenth-ranked factor was the last to average a "4" or higher from the survey, which indicated "Agree." This seemed a natural cut-off considering I was trying to find the ICT factors fans confirmed as relevant and present in their experience.

In addition to answering RQ 1, the primary purpose of the first phase of data collection was for fans who took the survey to select the data based on their experience in the research context. These data are foundational to the second data collection phase, analysis, and discussion. The interviews conducted in this phase were used only for screening purposes and were not included in the data for analysis and discussion. Another important function of this phase of data collection was recruiting people for the longer, follow-up interviews in next phase. Limiting follow-up interviewees to the survey participant pool was intentional for a few reasons, despite the risk of securing a low number of interviews. Due to my commitment to participant-centered research, I wanted fans who had a role in selecting the ICT factors as data to continue their centered role in the research by exploring and analyzing the data more deeply in the follow-up interviews. This gave the fans more ownership and influence over the data instead of diluting that effect by including those who had no role in producing the data in phase one. Additionally, these fans had already confirmed they fit required criteria for the study through the screening interview. Last, when follow-up interviewees began their interviews, they had already encountered the ICT concepts in the survey, and I had already clarified any questions they had about the original 26 factors. This allowed them to start from a place of general understanding and agreement about the factors and their relevance to the Olympic fan experience.

This section outlined the first phase of the research plan and emphasized its importance to addressing RQ 1 as well as generating data needed for further data collection. I described how I approached and screened fans for participation, then explained the survey completed by 37 fans, including a pilot study with the survey in Rio prior to the Olympics. Last, I discussed the survey results as they are relevant to understanding the second phase of data collection, which I explain next.

Data Collection Phase 2: Interpretive Structural Modeling Interviews

The second phase of data collection started on August 11, the day after I completed the first phase and the process described above to reduce the list of 26 ICT factors to the 18 that fans found most relevant to their experiences. The goal of the second phase was to gather data about supportive relationships between ICT factors from fans' experiences, and in doing so begin to explore RQ 2, RQ 3, and RQ 4. I also sought to extend participants' control and influence over the data to include more advanced exploration and analysis. I used interpretive structural modeling (ISM) software for interviews (Warfield, 1976; Broome, 1995), which engages interviewees in identifying and explaining influential relationships between interacting aspects of their experiences. These interviews produced visual structures and scores primarily used to answer RQ 2, and specific excerpts from the transcripts were primarily used to answer RQ 3. This data was integrated to answer RQ 4. I start this section by outlining participant recruitment, demographic information, and interview length. I then recount a couple anecdotes that illustrate my experience of gathering ISM interviews, which was often a complicated and hectic process. Following this is a detailed explanation of ISM, including how its visual

structures are constructed, the interview process and how it produces the visual

structures, and member checking with ISM.

Recruitment, Demographics, and Interview Length

I recruited interviewees for the second phase of data collection from my original

sample of 37 fans who completed the initial survey. When each fan finished the survey, I

asked if they would be willing to attempt to arrange a follow-up meeting for a second,

longer interview. I told them I could offer $50 USD (in Brazilian currency) and a meal

for their time and effort, because the interviews would be approximately one hour in

duration. This compensation was approved by IRB. Twenty-six of the 37 fans agreed to

exchange their choice of contact information with me to arrange a meeting, and I

successfully coordinated and conducted interviews with 17 of them. Of the 17

interviewees, 11 accepted my offer for a meal, which we ate during the interviews, and

eight accepted the money. One audio recording failed to save, so the data includes 16

ISM interviews. While I am disappointed to have lost this data, given the flexible,

spontaneous, and often hectic nature of the research context, illustrated below in my

anecdotes, I am pleased that this was the only loss.

Interviews ranged from 41 minutes to 132 minutes with a mean of 80 minutes,

and the total was approximately 21.5 hours of interviews. Interviewees included nine

women and seven men from the following 12 countries: Great Britain (2), Netherlands,

Spain, Denmark, France, Switzerland, USA (2), Canada, Mexico, Brazil (2), Argentina

(2), and Venezuela. Notably, while all continents were represented by multiple fans in the

first phase of data collection, and despite my intentional efforts to maintain that for this

sample, I was unable to exchange communication and/or establish meeting times with

fans from Asia, Africa, and Australia or New Zealand. This is true for Eastern Europe, as well. Also, while I did not have IRB approval to ask for interviewees' ages, I took note of my perception based on their appearance, ways they described themselves during interviews (stages of life, age of children, career, etc.), and a few mentioned their age. Based on this information, I estimate the following age breakdown: 20s: 6–7, 30s: 4–5, 40s: 3–4, 50s: 1–2, 60s: 0–1.

Complications, Chaos, and Graciousness

Coordinating times and places to meet for ISM interviews was perhaps the most difficult aspect of data collection, which I had not anticipated. I had to communicate times, locations, transportation, and schedule changes and conflicts with 26 relative strangers via texting, Facebook messages, email, phone calls, and WhatsApp. This required a high level of flexibility from me, and sometimes the fans, as their schedules frequently changed, interview length was difficult to predict, and they were often unfamiliar with the nuances of public transportation required to reach our meeting points. Locations for these interviews were most commonly in restaurants near subway stations or sports venues, but also included a hotel lobby, the Olympic Park, a public gathering space for Swiss fans, and interviewees' rented apartments upon their request. On one occasion, I ended an interview and found several messages from my next interviewee requesting I meet him several miles away. His Airbnb host had given him the wrong key, and he could not get into the apartment he was renting. We adjusted plans, and I took the subway to a stop where he found me and took me to a nearby Burger King for our interview.

My most memorable adjustment, however, involved military police. I left one interview in the Ipanema neighborhood and took the subway to the Olympic Park to meet my next interviewee. He had offered to meet me at the entrance to take my computer, which I needed for interviews, in case security did not let me bring it inside the park. He was an Olympic volunteer and had clearance to enter with electronics. This proved unnecessary when my computer bag slid through the security scanner without a hitch. I interviewed him at the food court and then watched Simone Biles and Aly Raisman win gold and silver in the gymnastics individual all-around competition. I had arranged to meet my next interviewee at the Olympic Park food court after gymnastics, as her track cycling event ended soon after, but my computer battery was almost dead. I went to the only place I had seen outlets, which was at the doors of the portable bathroom trailers around the park. As my computer was charging, two heavily-armed military police approached me and started speaking in Portuguese, which I cannot understand. I gathered that they were asking to see the credential badge given to media and coaches and attempted to nonverbally confess that I did not have one. After a bit more confusion, they found a volunteer to translate, and through her, they asked how I had entered with my computer. Thankfully, they believed my honest response that I had simply put it through the security scanner and was approved to enter the park, but they told me I had to leave immediately and never bring the computer into the park again. I quickly packed my belongings from the ground outside the bathroom, and both guards escorted me out of the park. Meanwhile, I had been receiving messages from my next interviewee that she was ready to meet at the food court. She graciously agreed to meet me at the exit instead, and when we found each other in the departing crowd, we walked to a nearby restaurant for

our interview. This was nerve-wracking and hectic, but so was much of the fan experience, and I loved it: chaotic, rushed, loud, unpredictable, flexible, exhilarating, awe-inspiring, gracious, unforgettable, and a host of other emotional and sensory adjectives.

Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) Interviews

The ISM interviews in this study were based on the data fans selected in the initial surveys. They were respondent interviews, in which interviewees speak about their own experiences, ideas, and decisions (Tracy, 2013), guided and structured by Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) (Warfield, 1976; Broome, 1995). ISM is a software-assisted methodology conducive to identifying and describing relationships among factors of interviewees' experiences and perceptions, and the software inherently records, structures, and visually presents data and sets the stage for analysis (Broome, 1995). ISM's purpose to understand influential, contributing relationships between factors in individuals' experiences is closely aligned with RQ 2. The following paragraphs explain ISM's visual structures, the interviewing process, and member checking.

ISM visual structures. Through interviews, ISM software produces visual "mental maps" (Broome, 1995) of how each interviewee perceives ideas relating to each other. These mental maps resemble visual theoretical models, with ideas inside boxes, and arrows pointing from some ideas to others that indicate influential, contributing relationships between those ideas. For example, if an interviewee asserted that "cooperating with each other" contributed to "making new friends" in their experience at the Olympics, the software drew an arrow from the "cooperating with each other" box to the "making new friends" box. Each interviewee produced their own, individual ISM

model, which illustrates their experience of ICT factors at the Olympics from their perspective and contributes toward understanding intergroup contact theory by allowing those who experienced it to produce a model of it. Below is one fan's ISM model.
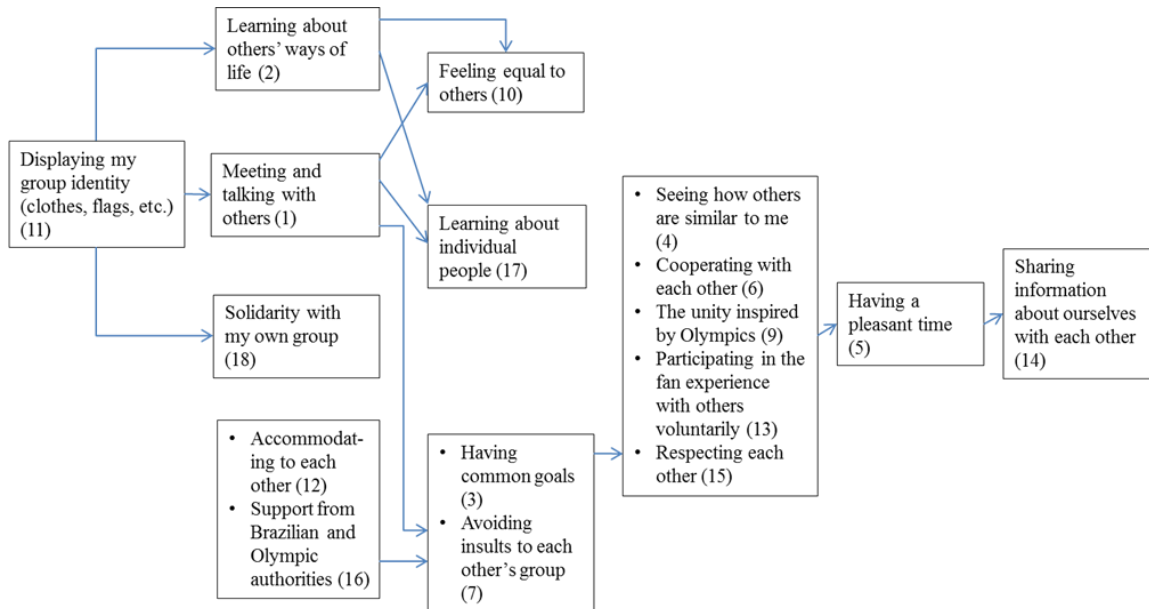
Figure 4. Example of an ISM structure from one of the interviewees.

The numbers in parentheses after each ICT factor do not indicate position or value. They simply indicate the order in which the factors entered the interview questions through the ISM software, which was identical for every interviewee. Each factor can be abbreviated to its number, such that "Meeting and talking with others" is "F1," "Seeing how others are similar to me" is "F4," etc.

Each arrow in the structure represents an interviewee answering "yes" to the following question on my computer screen, which was positioned in front of both of us: "In my experience at the Olympics, did _____ contribute in a significant way to _____?" The word "contribute" was chosen due to this study's focus on positive influence among factors, and the use of "significant" was not consistent with typical

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quantitative notions. Instead, it functioned to help interviewees evaluate and distinguish strong, clear connections between factors rather than weaker, more superficial connections (Broome et al., 2002). The software automatically filled the blanks with two of the 18 factors for every question, somewhat based on the factors' order, and somewhat based on interviewees' previous answers. Warfield (1976) developed mathematical algorithms to minimize the number of questions needed to understand contributing, influential relationships among a set of factors through transitive logic, such that if A contributes to B, and B contributes to C, A contributes to C. In this study, it appears more as: if F11→F4, and F4→F15, then F11→F15, even though there may not have been a question containing both F11 and F15. Without this caveat in the software, each of my interviewees would have had to answer 306 questions to create a structure from 18 factors. Thus, ISM was invaluable as it allowed investigation and inclusion of several more factors than would have been reasonable, appropriate, and considerate in the research context.

The ISM interview process. Based on interviewees' answers to the questions on the screen, I clicked a "yes" or "no" button, and the next question immediately appeared. I also had a sticker on the computer screen under the question with the numbers "1 2 3 4 5," and before starting each interview, I told interviewees that if thinking in numbers helped, they should answer "yes" to any question they felt was a strong four or a five and "no" to any question they thought was a weak four or lower. This was to help ensure that only truly significant contributions were becoming part of each fan's structure, which is important because it isolates the strongest relationships between factors (Broome, 1995). Whenever an interviewee answered "yes" to a question, I asked for a rationale why the

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first factor contributed in a significant way to the second, and these rationales are the primary data used to answer RQ 3. They offer a detailed, experience-based understanding of the relationships between ICT factors, often including fans' real experiences and stories. This data can inform practitioners and organizers seeking to intentionally foster positive intergroup contact and communication by revealing which factors support the development of others and how and where these supportive relationships are manifested in fans' experiences (Allport, 1954).

Before starting each interview, I administered a brief example interview with four straightforward factors based on soccer in order to get interviewees used to the software and clear up any questions before starting with ICT factors. I also told them to let me know if any of the factors were not relevant or present in their experience at the Olympics. If this was the case, they simply answered "no" any time that factor was part of a question, unless it seemed relevant when paired with factors later in the interview. If an interviewee answered "no" every time a factor appeared on the screen, that factor was excluded from their final structure. As every interviewee had already completed the screening interview and survey, I knew they generally had positive intergroup experiences and understood the ICT factors as part of that experience, but allowing for these exclusions was an important aspect of respecting and centering their experiences, as the 18 factors included in ISM interviews were generated from calculating 37 surveys taken separately, not by consensus.

Member checking with ISM. After the ISM software was finished generating questions, I showed interviewees their completed ISM structures, exemplified by the one above. I briefly explained how to interpret it and asked if they agreed with the positioning

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of the factors and how the overall structure represented their experience. If they indicated a factor was out-of-place and wanted to adjust it, I refreshed the software to only produce questions with that factor, and once these questions were complete, the software revealed their adjusted structure. This illustrates member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which occurs when participants review and offer feedback on their own data. Member checking can enhance understanding and analysis of the data for both participants and researchers by establishing congruencies between participants' experiences and the data they produced. The final structures offered visible products of the interviewees' time and effort and allowed them to reflect on what they had generated. Kvale and Brinkman (2009) note that many interviews conclude without offering participants any such culmination or reward for their work, but many fans seemed to appreciate and enjoy viewing their Olympic experience in the form presented at the end of their ISM interviews.

This section explained the second phase of data collection: ISM interviews. It outlined participant recruitment, demographic information, and interview length and recounted some complications of my experience gathering ISM interviews. It also offered a detailed explanation of ISM, including its visual structures, the interview process, and member checking. The next section offers justification for why ISM interviews were an appropriate and effective choice for collecting data to answer the study's research questions.

Justifying ISM Interviews

Interviewing, and Interpretive Structural Modeling interviewing in particular, was an effective qualitative method to gather the data needed to answer RQ 2, RQ 3, and RQ

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4. ISM elicited fans' perceptions of supportive relationships between ICT factors relevant to their experiences at the Olympics and their rationales for why and how these supportive relationships occurred. In doing so, the method addressed RQ 2, RQ 3, and RQ 4. In this section, I utilize qualitative methodological scholars' work to explain how ISM fits into the larger method of interviewing and why it was appropriate and effective for this study's context and research questions. I start by defining and justifying my sample of ISM interview participants, followed by explaining past and current uses of ISM. I then outline six reasons why ISM was the most useful method for collecting data for this study's RQs through integrating insights of methodological scholars.

Participant Sample

Given the nature of the research context and participants, my sample of 16 fans at the Olympics is considered a critical incident sample (Flyvbjerg, 2011). This type of sampling is most useful and appropriate for focus groups and interviews, as well as data that are strategically bound to a particular context, data that are understudied, and participants with knowledge of a particular context. Each of these characteristics of critical incident sampling describes my participants and research context. I interviewed fans at the Olympics specifically because of their knowledge of a particular context, the data they generated is largely tied to the Olympic context, and as elaborated in the previous chapter, ICT factors have never been studied in the Olympic context. Given my sample fits the criteria for critical incident sampling and this sampling approach is useful and appropriate for interviews (Flyvbjerg, 2011), interviewing seemed an effective choice of method for approaching this study's topic and context. Additionally, Charmaz (2014) advocates that interviewees should have relevant experience with the context and

phenomena of a study, which provides unique, relevant knowledge to the researcher (Neuman, 2003). The fans I interviewed had relevant experience in the Olympic context, as well as the study's phenomena of positive intergroup contact and communication. Finally, Kvale and Brinkman (2009) advise a range of interviewees between five and 25, noting that 15 is typically an appropriate target. Such numbers tend to be at a proper intersection of time and resources for qualitative studies and, beyond a certain threshold, adding interviews loses value in generating knowledge. My ISM sample includes 16 interviewees, which falls in the middle of Kvale and Brinkman's appropriate range for a qualitative study.

Applications of ISM

Until the past few years, ISM software has been primarily used to help groups of 8-15 people generate and develop solutions to complex situations (Broome & Chen, 1992; Broome & Keever, 1989; Warfield, 1976; Warfield & Cardenas, 1995). For example, Broome (1995) used ISM to facilitate a process through which Native American tribes jointly identified collective problems they were facing and developed a plan of action to accomplish their goals toward resolving these problems. Also, Broome and Fulbright (1995) used ISM with multiple working groups and created a meta-structure that represented the combined perspectives of all the groups. This is consistent with my approach to ISM, outlined below in my description of data analysis, in that I created a composite structure based on all individuals' structures to understand relationships between ICT factors in the Olympic fan experience more broadly. By doing this, the study builds upon a more recent application of ISM to understanding phenomena through individual interviews and structures combined into broader data sets. With their

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research on the sojourner experience of study abroad students (Valianos, 2013) and friendship development between Taiwanese and Chinese (Chen, 2016), both of which used ISM in individual interviews, my colleagues have extended ISM's application while maintaining the software's design. Their studies verify and advocate its value and credibility to be used in this way. My study continues this trend of individual ISM interviews and utilizes ISM in a context in which it has never before been applied, which has the potential to reveal valuable methodological implications and generate and present data from the Olympics in new ways that help organizers and practitioners understand and apply its results. Additionally, this study is the first to use ISM to study ICT, and the specific functions of ISM seem well-suited for understanding ICT's factors as they are outlined in the research questions. ISM specializes in identifying supportive relationships between elements of people's experiences, which is exactly what RQ 2, RQ 3, and RQ 4 require.

Reasons for ISM's Usefulness

Interviewing, particularly using ISM, is the most useful method for answering this study's research questions for several reasons, including the following:

1. Interviewing keeps the data more under the control and influence of participants (Kvale, 2006; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The 16 ISM interviewees already played a role in selecting the data for the ISM interviews with their surveys, and through the interviews they further explored and analyzed that data by providing rationales and producing models of ICT factors from their experiences. Leaving this power in their hands aligned with the goals of this study and naturally followed from their initial work

with the data due to the intentional flow of the research design. It was also appropriate for them to do this through individual interviews, as explained by the next point.

2. Interviewing elucidates subjectivity of individuals' perspectives and experiences (Tracy, 2013), and each individual's experience is of value to this study. Each fan experienced the Olympics somewhat differently, and therefore each of their ISM mental map structures and rationales for relationships between factors, the foundations for RQ 2, RQ 3 and RQ 4, was different. Interviewing allowed for discovery of these differences by opening space for the expression of individual subjectivity.

3. Interviewing provides "rationales, explanations, and justifications" of individuals' "opinions and actions" (Tracy, 2013). These words directly address why interviewing was the most useful method for answering RQ 3, which seeks "rationales" of individuals' "opinions and actions" as fans at the Olympics. ISM interviews provide such rationales by having participants explain why and how factors support each other.

4. Interviewing provides information that is not observable and cannot be seen (Tracy, 2013). The ISM mental map structures provide visible manifestations and representations of participants' ideas and thinking patterns, which inherently cannot be seen. The ICT factors are illustrated in boxes, and fans' rationales, which constitute all the data for RQ 3 and much of RQ 4, take the visible form of arrows drawn between factors in ISM structures. By producing ISM structures and eliciting explanation of rationales, ISM interviews provided information in a visible form that typically cannot be seen.

5. Interviews extend, expand, strengthen, and complicate other data (Tracy, 2013) and work well in a combined series of methods (Kirk & Miller, 1986). In this study, ISM

interviews served the purpose of extending and complicating other data by eliciting supportive relationships between factors and rationales for these relationships. The factors fans selected in their surveys to answer RQ 1 were expanded and complicated with each individual's ISM structure, and this data was extended and strengthened by exploring the rationales within those structures. ISM interviewing was also part of a combined series of methods (Kirk & Miller, 1986).

6. The "best qualitative methods go beyond gathering data" to interpreting and analyzing data within the interview itself (Tracy, 2013). This claim is directly affirmed by the role of ISM interviewing in my study. By producing ISM structures indicating supportive relationships between factors, providing rationales, and analyzing and discussing their structures after producing them, participants inherently interpreted and analyzed the data they produced within the interview itself. The capacity of ISM interviews to serve this function for these RQs indicates the method as the most useful and appropriate for answering the RQs.

Data Analysis

This section will focus on data analysis relevant to RQ 2 and RQ 3, as the data analysis addressing the survey for RQ 1 was already discussed earlier in the chapter, and RQ 4 relies upon integrating the data needed for RQ 2 and RQ 3. I will first explain the prescribed approach to analyzing ISM visual structures with six different scores, which addresses RQ 2. I will then discuss thematic analysis as an analytical tool appropriate for understanding RQ 3, including the specific data I analyzed from the data set and specifically how I conducted the method.

ISM Scores

The visual structures produced from Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) software reflect a prescribed quantitative method of analysis (Warfield & Cardenas, 1995; Broome, 1995). This method is primarily used to answer RQ 2, which addresses the supportive relationships fans perceive between factors known to foster positive intergroup contact and communication. To answer this question, I analyzed the visual structures fans produced through their ISM interviews and calculated six different scores based on the combination of all interviewees' structures. Each score measures different roles, capacities, contributions, and influence of the factors (Broome & Fulbright, 1995), and they are explained below.

Position score (POS). First, I assigned a *position score* (POS) to each of the 18 ICT factors. In each visual structure, factors are aligned in vertical columns, or stages. Factors in the rightmost stage were assigned a score of one, and scores counted upward as I moved leftward across the structures, meaning that the highest position score/s in each structure were assigned to factors in the leftmost stages. The highest position scores ranged from five to 10 among my 16 interviewees depending on how many stages were in their structure. I added all interviewees' position scores for each factor together to find the total position score for each factor. Position scores offer perspective about the potential power and contribution of a factor by indicating its general placement in the structure (Broome & Fulbright, 1995). In the case of this study, this means that if new ICT factors were to be introduced into the structure, the position of each of the existing 18 factors would likely remain somewhat consistent. This is valuable, because it allows the data to be hypothetically expanded, with appropriate restraint, to include the eight

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ICT factors fans' rated lowest on the survey, as well as other ICT factors from the literature not presented in the survey.

Antecedent (ANT) and Succedent (SUC) scores. The *antecedent score* (ANT) for a factor is calculated by counting the factors positioned on its left in the structure that are shown to significantly contribute to it. This requires tracing the arrows backward to include any and only factors in the path leading to the factor in question. The antecedent score indicates the degree to which a factor is supported, or "contributed to" by other factors (Broome & Fulbright, 1995). The *succedent score* (SUC) for each factor follows the same logic, but it counts the factors positioned to the right of a factor in the structure to which it is shown to contribute, and the SUC indicates the degree to which a factor supports other factors. Both antecedent and succedent scores also count factors contained within the same box, which is a visual indication that interviewees answered "yes" when those factors were placed on either side of each other in the interview questions. I found the total of each of these scores by adding all the individual interviewees' scores together.

Activity score (ACT). Each factor's *activity score* (ACT) is the sum of its succedent and antecedent scores, and it indicates how active a factor is in distributing and receiving support among other factors in a context. Broome and Fulbright (1995) note that factors with high activity scores can be perceived as "conduits through which" support and influence pass (p. 32).

Net Succedent/Antecedent score (Net S/A). The *net succedent/antecedent score* (Net S/A) is calculated by subtracting a factor's antecedent score from its succedent score. A positive Net S/A indicates the factor is a net source of support to other factors, and a negative score indicates the factor is a net receiver of support from other factors.

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Net S/A roughly measures the extent of actual contributing influence of each factor, but in this study, it primarily serves as a means to finding the final score, which is the most important to this study.

Influence score (INF). Each factor's *influence score* (INF) is the sum of its POS and Net S/A, which means it includes every score described above except the activity score in its calculations. This combination represents both the potential support (POS) and actual contribution (Net S/A) of a factor and is the primary score used throughout the remainder of the research design, results, and discussion.

Once I had calculated all of these score totals from the combination of all interviewees' structures, I rank-ordered the 18 ICT factors by influence score and grouped them into five categories based on how the scores were separated. I also produced an ISM meta-structure reflecting the composite results of the fans' 16 individual structures. This concluded the primary data analysis process for answering RQ 2 and served as important data through which to address RQ 3, which is more directly pursued through the method of data analysis described next.

Thematic Analysis

To address RQ 3, I analyzed the rationales fans provided during ISM interviews. Whenever they answered "yes" that one factor contributed in a significant way to another, I asked for a rationale for why and/or how the question was true of their experience. I also often probed with follow-up questions to dig more deeply into the experiences, stories, and reasons they offered from their time at the Olympics. These rationales are represented visually in ISM structures by the arrows sprouting from one factor and pointing to another. Put another way, the arrows symbolize interviewees'

answers to why and how one factor contributed to another. This section explains how I extracted rationales from transcripts, justifies thematic analysis as appropriate for the data and RQ 3, and describes how I conducted a thematic analysis with fans' rationales.

Extracting rationales. To conduct thematic analysis on fans' rationales, I first had to extract them from the ISM interview transcripts. I combed through the 16 transcripts to find rationales for each of the 18 ICT factors, meaning I searched each transcript 18 times. This resulted in roughly 200 pages of double-spaced excerpts separated into 18 documents. Each document holds the fans' rationales for how one factor supported the other 17 factors. For example, the F11 document is divided into 17 sections; one for each factor. Each factor's section contains any rationales fans offered for how F11 supported that factor. The rationales in each factor's section are also labeled by their interviewee number. This allows me to more easily find a rationale if needed for context within a transcript.

Sometimes fans' rationales are relatively simple explanations of only one or two sentences, and sometimes they are stories of multiple paragraphs or conversations between an interviewee and me as I probe for depth and clarity. Occasionally, fans would answer "yes," and say they felt strongly about their answer, but did not have a rationale beyond something like, "It just makes sense" or "I think when [first factor in question] happens, it contributes to [second factor in question]." These were relatively rare in comparison to more detailed answers, and I did not include them in this analysis due to their lack of richness. The remaining rationales totaled 516 across all 18 factors and 16 ISM interviews.

Justifying thematic analysis. Thematic analysis functions to organize and provide rich description for a data set (Guest, 2012), which was my goal with this extensive collection of 516 rationales. Thematic analysis was more appropriate than a more specific method of coding due to the nature of ISM interviews. Every factor's specific wording was introduced to interviewees by the software, so as data, the ICT factors did not emerge organically in interviewees' own terms (Tracy, 2013). This presented an atypical starting point for analyzing interviews. As I will explain in the Conclusion chapter's methodological implications, ISM codes interviews by itself to an extent. Given this unconventional form of coding performed by ISM interviews themselves and the fact that factors did not emerge organically, the typical practice of developing broader themes from more specific codes (Guest, 2012) was neither appropriate nor conducive to the data. Instead, I sought broader themes that better reflected the data set.

Breadth also fit the nature of the data due to the low number of rationales between many pairs of factors. I could have attempted to analyze themes in fans' rationales between specific ICT factors, but several pairs (e.g., F14→F3) did not have any rationales, and several others only had one or two. Choosing a broad analysis of larger themes from fans' rationales allowed me to see the data more holistically, observe patterns from a birds-eye view (Guest, 2012) and find prominent, influential themes working within the data set as a whole. However, because the breadth of the themes is constituted by hundreds of specific experiences, examples, and stories from fans' rationales, the themes also have the capacity to offer insight into the where and when ICT factors supported each other. This interplay between broad themes and the specific

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experiences that compose them allows for a holistic view of the contexts in which fans

experience supportive relationships between ICT factors as well as examples of how

these supportive relationships are specifically manifested in fans' experiences. By

generating data with this interplay between breadth and specificity, thematic analysis

adds value to the study's contributions toward understanding ICT in the lived experience

of those engaging with its factors and the contexts in which the factors support each

other. The method also generates data that can provide useful insight to practitioners and

organizers of intergroup contexts by identifying prominent aspects of fans' experiences

of positive intergroup contact, as well as specific examples that bring to life how the

supportive relationships between ICT factors manifest in fans' experiences.

Conducting thematic analysis. The approach to thematic analysis I conducted is

consistent with field representation (Warfield & Cardenas, 1995), which organizes large

sets of ideas for advanced development by categorizing the ideas into groups with

consistent meaning. My thematic analysis reflects this definition, as I started with a large

set of ideas and developed them by putting them into groups based on consistencies

among them. I started by reading each of the 516 rationales and sorting them into

separate groups according to consistencies and similarities I found them to have with

each other. I did not start with pre-established themes and place the rationales according

to their fit within a theme, and I did not name the themes until I had finished sorting and

reviewing all the rationales for consistencies emerging in each group. Instead, I let the

themes develop organically out of the rationales and followed the lead of the fans'

experiences and perspectives. In this way, the analysis was inductive and data-driven

(Braun & Clark, 2006), because the product of the analysis (the themes) emerged from

the data and did not originate with me, the researcher. As I sorted them, I wrote words and phrases that seemed to emerge from consistencies in each group, and I listed these terms above the groups as I continued to sort. These terms were fluid as they grew in number, and sometimes multiple terms would grow out of one. For example, "doing things together" multiplied into "doing things together (interpersonal)" and "everyone's doing it (collective)" as I read more rationales that showed a distinction between these two ideas. Similarly, sometimes separate terms merged together to create new terms, and some terms dissolved into others completely throughout this process.

When I was approximately halfway through the rationales, my dissertation co-chair, a thoroughly experienced qualitative scholar, checked for reliability (Tracy, 2013) by looking through the groups of rationales I had identified at that point. I provided her with a list of each group's terms and separate documents containing all the rationales of each group. She read through the rationales on each document and noted to which group she thought those rationales belonged. Out of the eight groups I found to emerge at the time, she matched seven, and through discussing the one discrepancy, we decided to separate one group that seemed to include too many ideas into two groups. The nine groups at the end of this meeting solidified and became more cohesive as I finished sorting the rationales, and there are now nine themes developed from these groups, which addresses RQ 3.

In this section, I focused on data analysis relevant to RQ 2 and RQ 3 due to the necessity of this data for understanding RQ 4 and the previous explanation of data analysis for RQ 1. I explained the prescribed approach to analyzing ISM visual structures with six different scores, which addressed RQ 2. I then discussed thematic analysis as an

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analytical tool appropriate for understanding RQ 3, including the specific data I analyzed

from the data set and details about how I conducted the method.

Overcoming Methodological Obstacles and Limitations

In the final section of this chapter, I discuss how my methodological design

addresses and overcomes common obstacles and limitations to qualitative research. I

begin by complicating the notion of reliability with qualitative scholars' critiques of the

concept and the alternative concepts they view as more suitable to evaluating qualitative

research. I then explain how my methodological design meets these criteria for good

qualitative research. Following reliability, I take the same approach of complicating

validity and discussing how my methods address its qualitative concerns. Finally, I

introduce cultural differences and language barriers as limitations specific to this study

and explain how I perceive the study to mitigate the effects of these limitations.

Obstacles of Reliability

Reliability refers to the stability and consistency of a study and methodological

design and the ability to yield the same answers across multiple attempts (Kirk & Miller,

1986), and it is a common way to evaluate positivist research. Tracy (2013), Kvale

(2006), and Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that reliability is an inappropriate

evaluative measure for qualitative research, which values difference and embraces

fleeting, one-time contexts. This led to Lincoln and Guba (1985) developing terminology

more appropriate for qualitative research. Their term, "consistency," is conceptualized as

the "trustworthiness" of a method and is displayed by a researcher's transparent "decision

trail." I exemplified an abbreviated decision trail above in describing and justifying

reasons for my critical incident sampling (Flyvbjerg, 2011), use of ISM concepts and

software (Warfield, 1976; Broome, 1995), and choice of thematic analysis for fans'

rationales (Guest, 2012). In the literature review, I also described and displayed my

decision trail to reach the 26 ICT factors presented to fans in the initial surveys.

Because reliability is so heavily critiqued by the above scholars, I was more

concerned with properly handling the difference and fleeting context inherent in this

study. Offering guidance, Kirk & Miller (1986) assert that if, when interviewing, a

researcher keeps getting the same results repeatedly from different participants, the

researcher is likely getting trivial, incomplete, and inaccurate information. The authors

offer the example of asking many people, "How are you?" and getting the response,

"Fine" from a high percentage of them. This repeated result is inherently "reliable," but it

is of little value to the qualitative researcher. Differences clearly visible in each fan's

ISM structure and evidenced in their varied stories and experiences expressed as

rationales reveal much deeper information than this shallow example and necessarily find

differences in participants' responses.

Another way I approached interviewing is exemplified by Segall, Campbell, and

Herskovits' (1966) classic hypothetical story of several blind people each feeling a

different part of an elephant and describing what they believe it to be based on their

individual experience and perceptions. A researcher in this story would listen to all

interviewees' perspectives and seek to develop a cohesive understanding of the

phenomenon (elephant). I did this through interviewing each individual about their

experiences and perspectives of ICT factors at the Olympics. By listening to and

analyzing all their rationales and putting them in conversation with each other, the themes

could emerge, form a broader picture, and assist me in answering the third RQ about

themes connecting ICT factors to each other. I also combined individuals' ISM structures and scores to explore the contributing, influential relationships between ICT factors to more fully understand the process and considerations of using these factors to foster positive intergroup contact and communication.

Obstacles of Validity

Validity is described by Kirk & Miller (1986) as the extent to which findings match the data, or to which data is interpreted correctly. Validity is not as heavily critiqued as reliability regarding its level of appropriateness for assessing qualitative research, but Lincoln and Guba (1985) also developed a more appropriate corresponding term: truth value. Truth value refers to the extent to which research clearly and accurately maintains participants' perspectives. This is a high priority of my entire methodological design and for answering all RQs, as evidenced by the participant-centered approach of the methodology.

The most common obstacle to validity, according to Raiffa (1968), is a Type III Error, described as asking the wrong questions. Raiffa asserts that researchers must implement devices to prevent asking the wrong questions in their research. My methodological design contained several such devices, including having participants select the ICT factors in phase one of data collection, which shaped their ISM interview content. Specifically, questions asked by ISM software were largely determined by fans' survey results, indicating the questions were relevant and "right" for the study, context, and population. I also used interviewees' answers to ISM interview questions to guide my follow-up questions about rationales. I only asked for rationales when interviewees indicated a supportive relationship existed, so the questions for rationales were guided by

expressly relevant content for each fan. In these ways, I defended against asking the wrong questions to gain understanding about the research questions. The approach of using participants' ideas to shape the data they later produced permeated the entire research design.

ISM interview questions exemplify what Tracy (2013) describes as elicitation questions, which use an image or object to prompt discussion. This can be taken a step further by having participants create their own image or object and then respond to it, as was done by Tracy, Lutgen-Sandvik, and Alberts (2006) by having employees draw representations of their experiences with workplace bullying, then using those drawings as prompts for discussion. ISM mental map structures served this purpose in my research design. Each interviewee created their own ISM visual structure, and I then prompted discussion about how the structure represented their experiences using specific, visual parts of the structure.

Directly following Lincoln and Guba's (1985) call for representing participants' perspectives, my research design sought to maintain fans' perspectives through a process in which they selected data in the form of 18 ICT factors, further developed and analyzed the factors to create ISM structures, and then evaluated and described how those structures fit their experiences, thus overcoming obstacles of validity and truth value. They completed all these steps before I actively engaged in interpretation and analysis of their structures, scores, and with thematic analysis. This overall process matches Webb et al.'s (1966) description of a combined series of methods, which is the "most fertile search for validity."

Other Obstacles

In order to effectively use the described qualitative methods to answer the study's research questions, I needed to address cultural differences and nuances that can affect interviews (Kvale, 2006; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). While I could in no way have been fully prepared for the cultural differences between my interviewees in Rio de Janeiro and me, I had been prepared in many ways. I am a trained intercultural scholar with sound knowledge of many cross-cultural concepts and practices, and I have traveled to many places and extensively interacted with people who are vastly different from me. Also, I had previously been to Brazil multiple times and already interviewed dozens of fans in the mega-sporting event context, many of whom were in Rio de Janeiro.

Perhaps the most notable obstacle and limitation to interviews in this study were language barriers. Because of my lack of fluency outside of English and Spanish, the latter of which I would not consider adequate for the interviews I conducted, my participants were required to be fluent in English. This reduced the representativeness of my sample based on geographical, educational, socio-economic, and other reasons. However, while I did not record how many people turned down my screening interview request during the first few days of the Olympics based on lack of English fluency, I estimate is was fewer than 8 people, which suggests that English fluency is a common trait in the population I studied. Therefore, requiring English fluency may have only minimally affected the representativeness of my sample

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained the methodological design used to answer the study's research questions. I combined multiple methods into an intentional sequence to maintain

my commitment to a participant-centered approach to research. I addressed why qualitative research was most appropriate for the study's research questions and context. I then explained the logistics of data collection, the methodological tools I used, the overall research design, and methods of data analysis. Within each section, I also offered justification and rationale for my methodological choices. I concluded the chapter by describing how the methodological plan addresses and overcomes obstacles and limitations in order to generate valid, rich data and analyze the data in ways that honor the perspectives and experiences of those who served as the data's source. In the next chapter, I will display and explain the results of the data analysis.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter presents the analysis of data gathered in Rio to address my research

questions. In it, I seek to illustrate the breadth of the data set as a whole, including

composite data from combining all individual fans' ISM structures and scores, as well as

broad themes that emerged from the 516 rationales offered by participants for supportive

relationships between ICT factors. Additionally, I seek to honor participants' individual

experiences and perspectives by featuring each of their ISM structures separately and

discussing each structure in the context of its creator's unique experience, in part by

including quotes that illustrate their experience. This interplay between breadth and

specificity in the data serves to offer a holistic view of how ICT factors generally fostered

positive intergroup contact and communication in fans' experiences at the Olympics, and

to illustrate this holistic view and bring it to life with specific, real examples that vividly

show how the factors emerged and supported each other in fans' experiences.

First, I review the results from initial surveys with 37 fans during phase one of

data collection. These data address RQ 1 (Which ICT factors are perceived by fans at the

Olympics as most relevant to their experience of positive intergroup contact and

communication at the Olympics?). Then I present the findings from ISM interviews with

fans, which include how fans conceptualized and defined each factor, a participant profile

for each fan accompanied by their ISM visual structure, as well as unique qualities of

their experience and structure that affected how the ICT factors related to each other.

These sections include quoted rationales provided by interviewees. Next, I display the

composite ISM scores for each ICT factor and subsequent stages of factors based on

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these scores. I illustrate the factors' scores and stages with a composite ISM structure reflective of the interviewees' collective perspective on the Olympic fan experience of intergroup contact and communication. These sections primarily address RQ 2 (What supportive relationships do fans at the Olympics perceive between ICT factors they identified as most relevant?). I conclude the chapter by presenting the results of the thematic analysis of fans' rationales for supportive relationships between ICT factors. This includes the nine themes that emerged from the data, conceptualizations of these themes, and quotes that serve as exemplars of how factors emerged and supported each other in each theme. These sections primarily address RQ 3 (What themes emerge from Olympic fans' discussion of supportive relationships between ICT factors at the Olympics?). RQ 4 includes no separate data, but rather requires that I integrate and interpret the data presented in this chapter. Therefore, it is addressed in the following chapter.

Survey Results

As discussed in the previous chapter, in addition to addressing RQ 1, results of the initial survey served as a means for fans at the Olympics to select which of the ICT factors were most relevant and present in their experiences of intergroup contact and communication. Based on an extensive review of previous literature and informed by my knowledge, experience, and previous research within mega-sporting event contexts, I presented each of the 37 fan participants with 26 ICT factors worded in context-specific, experiential terms. They rated each factor on a scale of one to five (strongly disagree to strongly agree) according to their experiences. I then added the scores all the fans assigned to each factor for factors' total scores.

Ranked Order of Factors' Relevance

The following list displays the ranked order of ICT factors' relevance in the experiences of fans at the Olympics, according to the survey. Each factor's total score is in parentheses on its right, and the rank based on this total score is on the factor's left. In cases in which factors' scores are tied, the factors are assigned the same rank.

1. The unity inspired by the Olympics (173)
2. Having a pleasant time (166)
3. Respecting each other (162)
4. Meeting and talking with others (158)
4. Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily (158)
4. Avoiding insults to each other's group (158)
7. Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities (157)
8. Having common goals (155)
8. Feeling equal to others (155)
8. Displaying my group identity (clothing, flags, singing, etc.) (155)
8. Sharing information about ourselves with each other (155)
12. Making new friends (154)
12. Learning about others' ways of life (154)
14. Accommodating to each other (152)
15. Cooperating with each other (149)
15. Learning about individual people (149)
17. Seeing how others are similar to me (148)
17. Solidarity with my own group (148)

---*148 is equivalent to a "4" response, which indicates "Agree" on the survey.*
19. Different people mixing together (147)
20. Understanding others' perspectives (144)
20. Being in a neutral location (144)
20. Expecting others to include me (144)
23. Having positive attitudes about others (137)
24. Breaking negative stereotypes (134)
25. Having low anxiety (130)
26. Speaking the same language (126)

Figure 5. ICT factors rank-ordered from survey results.

The line between factors ranked 17 and 19 was the cut-off for factors to be included in the majority of the methods, results, and discussion. As explained in the Methods chapter, I had pre-determined a maximum of 18 factors to be included in the rest of the study, and the mean of the total score of the eighteenth-ranked factor is exactly four, indicating "Agree" or "Strongly Agree" for this and all factors ranked above it. Given this combination, I found 18 factors to be a natural cut-off.

Factors Ranked 19–26

While the factors ranked 19 through 26 are not included in further methods and analysis beyond these survey results, they offer value and insight regarding why fans perceived them to be less relevant to their experiences than other ICT factors. They are all factors associated with positive intergroup contact, so knowing that fans reported them to be less relevant indicates the need for potential efforts to increase their presence in fans' experiences. I will address implications of the bottom eight factors' lower scores in the next chapters. In order from 19 through 26, they are: Different people mixing together, Understanding others' perspectives, Being in a neutral location, Expecting others to include me, Having positive attitudes about others, Breaking negative stereotypes, Having low anxiety, and Speaking the same language.

Factors Ranked 1–18

The factors with the top 18 scores are prominently utilized and featured in the remainder of the methods and analysis, but their results in the survey also warrant attention. The top ranked factor, "The unity inspired by the Olympics," has seven points of separation from the second ranked "Having a pleasant time," which is the largest gap in the rankings. This indicates that fans perceived "The unity inspired by the Olympics"

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to be highly relevant in their experiences. This is true to a lesser extent for "Having a pleasant time" and "Respecting each other," which rank second and third with four points of separation between and beneath them respectively. Starting with the factors tied for fourth, the scores become much more condensed, as 15 factors fall within a 10-point range, contrasted to the 15 points of separation between the first and fourth-ranked factors. I will elaborate on the implications of these results in the next chapter.

Conceptualizing the Top 18 Factors

Before continuing to outline the results that depended upon these 18 factors, it is important to establish how ISM interviewees conceptualized them. The following, short paragraphs contain details about how interviewees conceptualized and defined each factor. In addition to grounding the factors according to fans' conceptualizations and contextualization, this serves to get readers on the same page as the interviewees about what each factor means and how they perceived each factor in their experiences. As these factors play a central role in the remainder of the dissertation, these paragraphs serve an appropriate and necessary function at this point.

Factor 1: Meeting and talking with others. Interviewees conceptualized F1 relatively consistently compared to some of the factors that follow. They typically cited moments when communication and contact were initiated with others and the first few moments and/or verbal exchanges with others. Sometimes, meeting and talking would be short, simple interactions in their experiences, and other times it would be the start of a much longer conversation or series of arranging times to get together again.

Factor 2: Learning about others' ways of life. Interviewees' conceptualized F2 relatively consistently. They consistently referred to learning broad knowledge about

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others' groups and home contexts. This included learning about the locations, cultural practices and traditions, communication styles, social institutions, and other elements of others' lives.

Factor 3: Having common goals. Interviewees conceptualized "having common goals" in broad and specific ways. They generally referred to experiences, goals, and/or objects that they wanted and knew or perceived others to want, as well. These included watching good sports and athletic performances, having a good time at the Olympics, successfully getting from one place to another in Rio, and being safe.

Factor 4: Seeing how others are similar to me. Interviewees conceptualized a broad array of ways in which they saw others as similar to themselves. These included similar habits and tastes, being from similar regions of the world, gender, similar socioeconomic groups, and similar interests in sport bringing them all to the Olympics. They also referred to how similarities naturally emerged during conversation.

Factor 5: Having a pleasant time. Interviewees conceptualized "having a pleasant time" by noting a range of general and specific positive experiences. Many described enjoyment, feeling happy, and having fun. Several also altered the phrase to "having a good time" in their rationales.

Factor 6: Cooperating with each other. Cooperation took many forms in interviewees' experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication. These forms included sharing directions and travel tips, standing in orderly lines, arranging plans to meet again with new acquaintances, exchanging favors and resources, taking photos, playing pick-up games of volleyball and soccer on the beach, and helping others in general.

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Factor 7: Avoiding insults to each other's group. Interviewees conceptualized F7 relatively consistently compared to other factors. They talked about it as a means to allow others to enjoy their experiences, maintain a comfortable environment, and be tolerant. Most mentioned that they rarely or never witnessed people insulting each other.

Factor 8: Making new friends. Interviewees often conceptualized F8 in degrees of closeness of the relationship, largely based on their individual definitions of what a "friend" was. Some interviewees described different degrees of closeness or longevity of friendship within their interviews. Others used more consistent definitions throughout their interviews.

Factor 9: The unity inspired by the Olympics. The unity inspired by the Olympics was one of interviewees' more ambiguous conceptualizations, but it consistently involved general, intangible ideals and feelings as well as notions of the atmosphere of the event as something "you had to be there" to understand. This included a sense of togetherness and belonging with everyone else at the Games, cheering for athletes regardless of nationality, the common purpose of supporting one's country, the history of peace and ceasefires during the Games, and a focus on a common humanity that connects everyone.

Factor 10: Feeling equal to others. Interviewees conceptualized F10 in a variety of ways. These included being able to talk with anyone around them, people not determining their perceptions and treatment of others based on nationality or wealth, sharing the same spaces (stadiums, Olympic Park, subway, etc.), and being at the Olympics for the same essential reasons of enjoying good sports and the experience as a whole.

Factor 11: Displaying my group identity (clothes, flags, etc.). Interviewees conceptualized F11 fairly consistently. They often referred to clothing and flags, as the factor read in front of them, and most added other forms of expression as well, including singing, chanting, cheering, face paint, fingernail polish, and more. All of them referred to national group identity, and some also mentioned socioeconomic and regional groups, such as "Southern Brazil" and the "Bretagne" region of France.

Factor 12: Accommodating to each other. "Accommodating" was perhaps the least familiar word in the set of 18 ICT factors among interviewees. I anticipated this based on the pilot surveys and interviews I conducted in Rio before the Olympics, and I therefore prepared the following response whenever an interviewee asked for clarification: "Accommodating is adjusting your behavior, or doing something a little bit differently than you normally would, in order to help someone else feel more comfortable." Interviewees included instances of allowing others to sit in seats they could have taken on the subway, ensuring they were not blocking others' views of competition, avoiding controversial conversation topics bound to others' countries, sharing resources with others, and generally being attentive to others' needs and preferences.

Factor 13: Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily. Interviewees conceptualized F13 broadly regarding the realm of the "fan experience," but the consistent thread was that they *chose* to participate in the experience with others. This included choosing to buy tickets and attend athletic events, choosing to engage with the people next to them in the stadiums or subway, choosing to cheer with others, and even choosing to join photos with strangers from a variety of countries, among other aspects of the experience.

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Factor 14: Sharing information about ourselves with each other. Fans conceptualized F14 primarily as a mutual exchange of information and self-disclosure. Several stated or implied a depth of information and exchange beyond simple, surface-level conversation. Topics included career aspirations, past experiences, personality traits, political opinions, descriptions and opinions about social institutions, and more.

Factor 15: Respecting each other. Interviewees talked about respecting each other in a variety of ways. These included respecting others' comfort, space, and feelings, respecting rules and norms of decency in public spaces, tolerance of differences, perceiving others' differences as legitimate instead of inferior, and an intangible value fostered by the event itself.

Factor 16: Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities. Interviewees conceptualized F16 in more varied ways than many other factors. They often referred to the IOC, the organizing committee of Rio 2016, city government and officials, and Brazil's national government. More broadly, they talked about people and institutions with the authority to make decisions that affected their experiences at the Olympics. They saw the manifestations of this authority in the forms of laws and regulations, the Olympic Park, the Opening Ceremonies and other events, security staff and procedures, and volunteers, among other things.

Factor 17: Learning about individual people. Interviewees conceptualized F17 differently than F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), which was part of the intent of its wording. Whereas interviewees typically conceptualized F2 as learning about cultural practices, locations and regions of origin, and other more general, group-based information, they referred to F17 more in terms of learning about the individuals with

whom they had contact, including their interests, hobbies, jobs, names, communication styles, families, traveling experiences, favorite sports and athletes, and much more.

Factor 18: Solidarity with my own group. Interviewees' conceptualizations of F18 require their notions of "solidarity" and how they interpreted "my own group." They regularly referred to solidarity as feeling pride, strength in numbers, and unified expression and representation. When referring to "my own group," every interviewee talked predominantly about their national group identity, and some included other group identities based on relevance in specific contexts of their experiences, including socioeconomic, regional, and cultural groups.

Participant Profiles and ISM Structures

This section presents the ISM structures produced by each of the 16 fans who completed ISM interviews. To provide context to how the structures represent fans' experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication, I include a profile for each interviewee based on information they offered or I observed about them, including distinct qualities about them and their experiences relevant to how they structured the ICT factors. By integrating this unique information about each fan, including quotes that illustrate their individual traits, I seek to keep their voices prominent in the data. Also, by indicating connections between these unique qualities of each fan's Olympic experience and how the qualities are reflected in their ISM structures, I seek to contextualize the data within fans' experiences and draw attention to the specific ways the data reflects how supportive relationships between ICT factors were at play for each fan. While I learned each of their names out of necessity and to build rapport, I did not collect names as data, so I use pseudonyms below. Additionally, when reflecting on their structures, I insert

quoted rationales they provided to illustrate how the factors' contribution to each other was embodied in their experiences. This allows for the fans' voices and experiences to stay at the center of the data and how it is treated and provides insight into the contexts in which ICT factors functioned.

Paths Through ISM Structures

My approach to elaborating on each fan's ISM structure is guided by Broome (1995), who describes how several paths exist within each structure. Each path starts on the left side of a structure and follows arrows representing supportive influence and interviewees' rationales to the right. Factors a fan perceived as most influential in their experience are on the left, and as a path moves to the right, it flows through factors receiving support from those preceding them. Following these paths allows one to visualize fans' perceptions about their experiences and how ICT factors contributed to each other, and consequently, to positive intergroup contact and communication. Moving from left to right illustrates how fans perceived the development of positive contact in their experiences, and moving from right to left illustrates what fans perceived to be supportive in developing the positive outcomes they experienced on the right (Broome, 1995). This approach to understanding the following structures offers general insight into how supportive relationships between ICT factors influenced fans' positive intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics. In the first structure that follows, I explain a much more detailed approach to understanding structures' specific features that represent and illustrate more specific forms of data. This detailed description serves as a model for understanding the similar details of the remaining 15 structures.

Charlotte
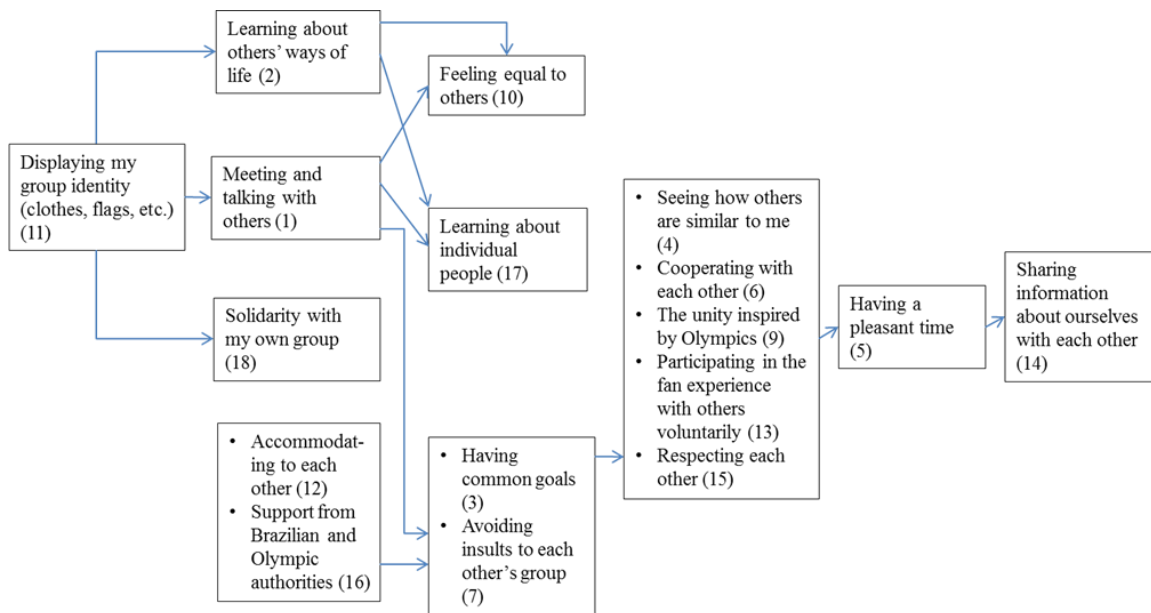
Figure 6. Charlotte's ISM structure.

Charlotte was from Great Britain, in her 30s, and was traveling with her husband

and 18-month-old daughter. She frequently cited her daughter as relevant to her

experience of ICT factors, especially as her daughter drew others' attention and required

specific actions and considerations from Charlotte, her husband, and the people around

them during the Olympics. Consequently, Charlotte most often cited F1 (Meeting and

talking with others) and F12 (Accommodating to each other) when referring to how her

daughter affected her intergroup contact and communication. Illustrating this distinctive

aspect of her intergroup contact and communication relevant to accommodating others,

she offered,

> I think particularly being with her, and people are very understanding about the
>
> fact that…basically every single event we go to, we have to leave halfway
>
> through, or not leave completely, but we're not going to be staying in our seats the

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whole time, at least one of us. Some people could get annoyed, but we haven't had

that at all.

Regarding meeting and talking to others, she noted, "I would say people have been super

friendly. I don't think anyone has been nervous to come and speak to us, the caveat being

that when you have an 18-month-old, people come and talk to you all the time." She

added, "I don't know if we didn't have her, how many people would come over and

approach us. Having her means that we get a lot of people." Additional examples of how

Charlotte's structure represents her experience are in the detailed description of her

structure in the following paragraphs.

Charlotte's structure is a good example with which to start, as it depicts all of the

common features of ISM structures in one visual model. This allows me to use it as an

exemplar for how to explain the features of the remaining 15 individual fans' structures

without repeating much of the same information. For the remaining 15 structures, I will

include approximately one page describing the interviewee and anything distinctive about

their experience and/or structure, similar to the preceding paragraph. This will include

rationales and quotes that illustrate these distinctive qualities. However, in order to avoid

being redundant and cumbersome, I will not include the following, detailed breakdowns

of each structure and will instead rely on this explanation of Charlotte's model to provide

a template for interpreting the remaining 15.

As indicated by its position at the extreme left of the structure, Charlotte

identified F11 (Displaying my group identity) as the factor with the most support and

influence over other factors, and it consequently has the highest position score (POS) and

influence score (INF) of any factor in her structure. Its path of influence flows into every

other factor in the structure except F12 (Accommodating to each other) and F16 (Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities), which reciprocally contribute to each other but are not shown to be influenced by any other factors. The paths of F11 indicate that for Charlotte, displaying group identity supported F2 (Learning about others' ways of life) and F1 (Meeting and talking with others), and her rationales cite F11's contribution to both as being a "conversation starter." Both F2 and F1 supported her feeling equal to others (F10) and learning about individual people (F17). Meeting and talking with others (F1), along with accommodating to each other (F12) and support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities (F16), also supported having common goals (F3) and avoiding insults to each other's group (F7), which reciprocally supported each other and channeled the path to its largest box, which contains the following five factors that reciprocally supported each other: F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me), F6 (Cooperating with each other), F9 (The unity inspired by the Olympics), F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily), and F15 (Respecting each other). These are all shown to support F5 (Having a pleasant time), which links to the final, right-most factor, sharing information about ourselves with each other (F14).

Charlotte's structure also includes three factors positioned in the middle layers that do not have arrows coming out of them, meaning that much like the right-most factor in the structure, they received support from other factors but did not dispense support to other factors. They are positioned in the middle layers and not at the extreme right because the number of factors and the specific factors that supported them resulted in higher POS scores than the far right garnered. Additionally, Charlotte's structure excludes F8 (Making new friends), which means she answered "no" every time it was

part of an interview question. She offered a specific reason for this omission by saying, "Maybe it's my perception of what a friend is….Everyone's been really nice, and we would definitely talk to people, but there isn't anyone I would say, 'You're my friend.'…I'm one of those people who doesn't really make quality friends." This conceptualization of friendship and closeness achieved with previous strangers was different for many other interviewees.

Bram
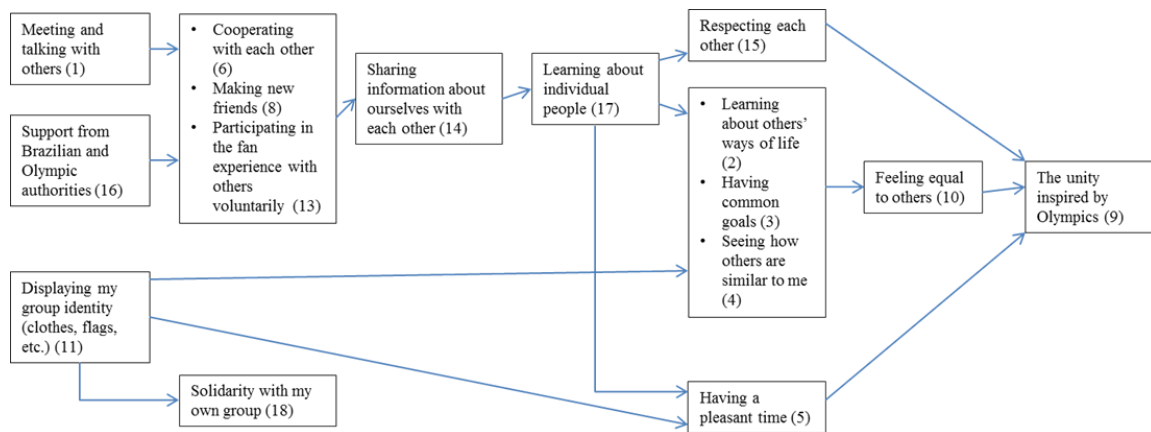
Figure 7. Bram's ISM structure.

Bram was from the Netherlands, in his 20s, and traveling alone. He and a few other interviewees cited being a solo traveler as relevant and influential in how he experienced ICT factors at the Olympics. Traveling alone required that he actively seek to meet and talk with others (F1) in order to connect and "share a moment" with anyone, which was a phrase he used several times. He offered a few examples of how meeting and talking with others supported the reciprocal relationship between making new friends (F8) and cooperating with each other (F6) illustrated in his structure, including, "I met friends at swimming. There was a Brazilian boy, and after, we went out a few times. He could tell me a lot about real Brazilian thinking." This example also illustrates the

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extension of F8 and F6 to sharing information about ourselves with each other (F14) and

learning about individual people (F17).

Elaborating on his contact with the same Brazilian he met, Bram said,

We share moments together. I meet some people and then they ask to see more

times. So also having great time outside the events. Like the guy I met at the

swimming. I invited him to the Dutch House to spend a night there and he even

was taking me with his car to the place. I think that's not so normal.

The Dutch House was one of several national houses scattered around Rio that

often required tickets or national identification to enter alone and/or with guests. Bram's

new Brazilian friend drove them in his car, and Bram got the friend into an experience he

otherwise would not have been able to access. This example illustrates the relationships

between several of the factors in the left half of Bram's structure and how fostering one

factor can start a chain of events through which several other factors emerge in a fan's

experiences. Bram's structure notably positions the top three composite factors from all

fans' structures on the far left, as well as two of the next three highest directly to their

right. This suggests that regarding the most influential factors, Bram's experience was

relatively representative of the 16 fans as a whole.

Rafaela
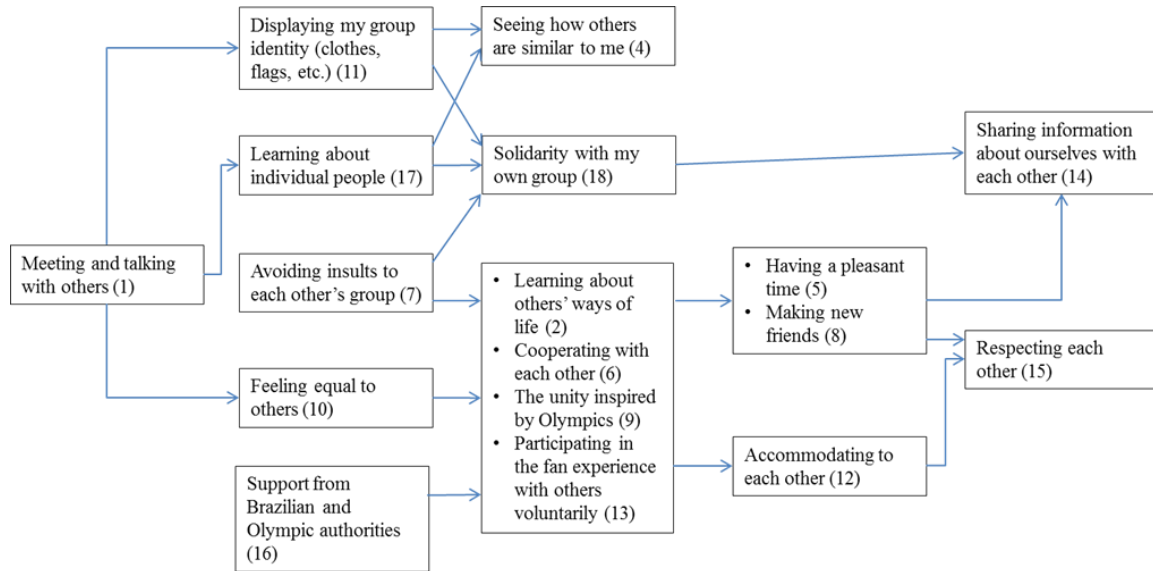
Figure 8. Rafaela's ISM structure.

Rafaela was from Southern Brazil, in her 20s, and traveling with her parents and sister. Even though she acknowledged she was not from Rio de Janeiro, she emphasized that she felt she had the role of "host" for the many foreign visitors in Rio for the Olympics, which to her meant a responsibility to represent the people of her country and engage in good "host" behavior. Rafaela reflected,

> For us Brazilians, I think it's very natural, because when you see somebody, not
> only foreigners, but Brazilians that are lost or they are needing help, we take the
> hand and we take them to the place. It's more for charity. It seems like because
> we're Brazilians, we are all hosting the Olympic Games, not just Rio.

Her identity as a Brazilian surfaced in other areas as well, as she proclaimed, "Because we are Brazilians, we love friends! We like to talk and to share." In this way, Rafaela cited her Brazilian identity when referencing the relationship between making new

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friends (F8) and having a pleasant time (F5), which are shown to be reciprocally supportive in her experience.

Rafaela's national identity was also relevant to some more influential factors on the left side of her structure. She explained the way she distinguished herself from other Brazilians in displaying her group identity (F11) when meeting and talking with others (F1) by elaborating,

> When we start talking to somebody that is different than us and we see, "My region, we don't do that." You want to identify yourself, like "I'm not like this, I have the other way."…Mainly with Brazilians, because we are from South, and when we meet other people from other regions we want to show in the South it's not like that.

She also expressed how a prominent mentality and concern from Brazilians was manifested in her communication and contact with others, and therefore in the factors of her structure, particularly F1 supporting F11. She asserted that Brazil's diversity and complexity should be represented to foreign visitors, and she attempted to do this in her communication with others. She summarized, "Yeah, we have samba, but we are not only that."

Camila
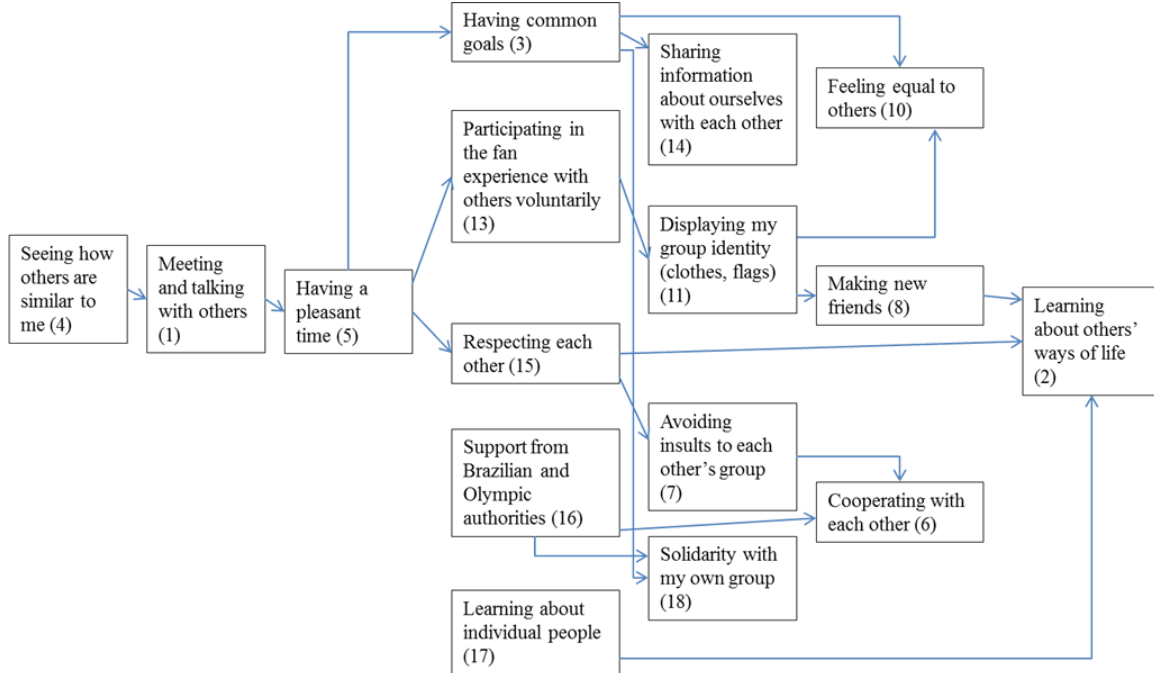
Figure 9. Camila's ISM Structure.

Camila was from Argentina, in her 50s or 60s, and traveling alone. Like other solo travelers, this aspect of her experience had interplay with how the factors influenced each other and her intergroup contact and communication as a whole. When I met her, I actually thought she was traveling with the people at her table in the Olympic Park food court, because they all seemed to know each other very well. However, she had just met them that day. She said,

> I travel alone for this Olympic because I love sport, and Rio is near. And I never
>
> spend one day alone. All the time, I talk with people. …During the game I stay
>
> with them, share the drink, or lunch or whatever. [We] meet during the game and
>
> during the travel to Barra de Tijuca.

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She described herself as "open," and based on my experience with her, I would say she was also outgoing and proactive in engaging with others. I interviewed her in her hotel lobby, and afterward, she took me up to the hotel's rooftop patio for sweeping views of Rio simply because she wanted to share it with me. Based on Camila's structure and rationales, it seems F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me) was very influential in supporting other ICT factors, but she seemed to conceptualize "similar" in broad and varied ways that allowed an abundance of opportunities for meeting and talking with others (F1), which follows F4 in her structure. For example, she explained similarities she saw with everyone else from Latin America by saying, "Latin Americans have the same behaviors…I see how others are similar to me. I see Brazilians are similar to me. And I try to contribute, in my case, to talking with them." Perhaps illustrating an even broader view of what it meant to be "similar," Camila focused on the English language by explaining her desire to engage with and learn about people from Asia and being able to do so by identifying a shared language. "I'm curious about the Asians and learning about…Asian people. Walk up and talk with people…from Korea and another is from China. I don't know Chinese, but I tried to speak in English for something we are in common."

Henry
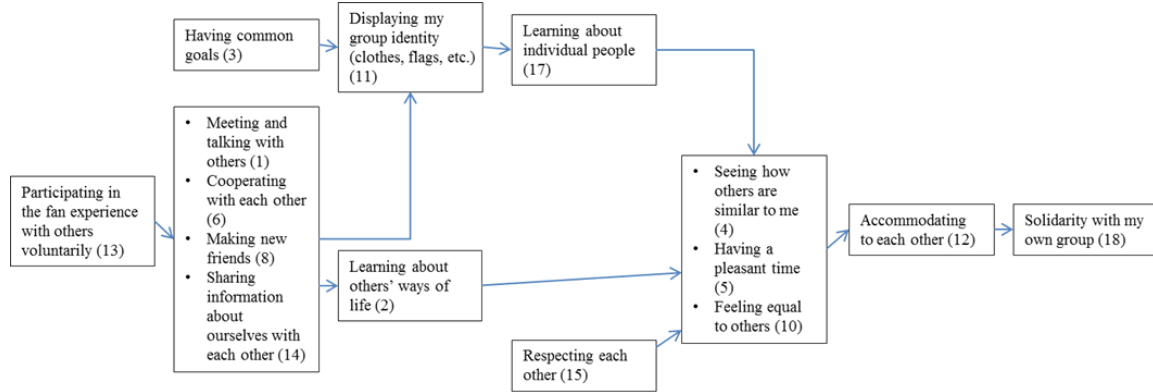
Figure 10. Henry's ISM structure.

Henry was from Great Britain, in his 20s or 30s, and traveling alone. He cited

similar approaches to his experience as a solo traveler to Camila and Bram, particularly

in proactively seeking engagement and contact with others. While this manifested in

some similar behaviors and experiences, other aspects of his experience with ICT factors

resulted in different behaviors, incidents, and obviously a different structure. As indicated

by its far-left position, F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily)

was the most supportive, influential factor in Henry's experience. He explained that

without voluntarily seeking opportunities to connect with others, he would not have

experienced nearly as much intergroup contact and communication, as he would have

been keeping to himself to a greater extent. He asserted, "Just meeting people on the

stands. When I met people…I met them at sport events. Of all the friends I made, most of

them had been inside the park or in actual event games rather than just around Rio." This

statement links F13 with both F1 (Meeting and talking with others) and F8 (Making new

friends), which are directly on its right in the structure. It also illustrates how I met

Henry. I had finished my surveys for the day at Olympic Park, and a swimming event

was about to start. I did not have a ticket, but Henry had an extra, so we made a deal, sat

next to each other, and watched British and American swimmers win gold medals

together. Because both of us participated voluntarily in a common fan experience of

scalping for tickets, we both also experienced the four factors that immediately follow

from F13 in Henry's structure. He cited other experiences similar to ours, as well.

Henry was also able to put these experiences in contrast to his expectation for the

trip, because two friends from home had to cancel their plans to join him right before the

Olympics. He said,

> The plan wasn't to initially come on my own, but I still wanted to come anyway.
> So I've definitely made more of an effort to make friends because I was on my
> own initially. It wouldn't have been the same experience had I not made any
> friends.

He noted that at the Olympics he had more freely offered his contact information and

made plans to get together with others than he typically did at home, and he even invited

a new friend to stay at his rented apartment in Rio because it was late and would have

required a long trip for the friend to make it back to the place they were staying.

Comparing his anticipated experience of traveling with existing friends to his actual

experience traveling alone, Henry offered,

> I would've been in a queue with a group, and I wouldn't necessarily have to be
> accommodating with other people, and I wouldn't have made as many attempts to
> help people out because I didn't need to impress anyone or help anyone….That's
> what people I've met have been doing. It's made it more, 'I want to do it.' Yeah,
> that would've been different….The group that I came with, we would've chat with

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other people, and we would've met and we'd have said 'Hi.' What we wouldn't

have done is we wouldn't made the effort…to exchange numbers, and it'd be

more like, 'Oh, good to see you,' rather than having to make a plan, which is what

I'm having to do here, so that is different. We would've chatted with people, and

we would've been nice, but we wouldn't have had the same needs to sort of make

an actual connection where you exchange details. Yeah, that would've been

different. We just wouldn't necessarily have made the same effort to sort of

expand the group necessarily.

Simon

Figure 11. Simon's ISM structure.

Simon was from Switzerland, in his 30s, and traveling with a large group of Swiss

friends. He talked much differently about his intergroup contact and communication than

solo travelers such as Henry, Camila, and Bram. His large friend group was an influential

component of how he experienced ICT factors at the Olympics as evidenced by his interview, how he spent his time, and his ISM structure. Solidarity with my own group (F18) illustrates this with its position at the extreme left of his structure. Simon was at the Swiss House nearly every night, and he frequently described going to different sporting events with his friends. At these events, they would display their group identity (F11) as Swiss supporters, which is also at the extreme left of his structure.

The noticeable presence of his large group of friends, combined with their clothing, flags, cheering, and singing, frequently led to making new friends (F8), which receives support from F18 and F11 in his structure. He mentioned how people seemed to be drawn to his friend group and described how a Kenyan man approached them for a photo, which developed into a longer conversation during a golf event. F18 and F11 also fostered support for factors to their right through drawing Simon's friend group together with other, similar groups that seemed to also have solidarity and display their identities. For example, when discussing how F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me) supported F1 (Meeting and talking with others), both of which follow from F18 and F11 through F8, Simon explained,

> You're attracted by people just behaving the same way as you do, and then talk to them. …The Estonian fan group [at the fencing], they were just behaving the same way as we do, as a fun group, and then talking to them, and then learning about their lives, they're doing exactly the same as we do back in Switzerland. Just follow their team as well. Same way of living. We ended up meeting, and talking to them for an hour or so….We were having lunch with them

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together…but we were still going for Switzerland, they were still going for

Estonia.

In his description, Simon cited similarities (F4) involving solidarity (F18) and displaying group identity (F11) with the "fun group" from Estonia, and this led to the two groups meeting and having lunch together. Thus, it seems Simon's large, expressive friend group served a supportive, influential role in his experience of positive intergroup contact and communication, as did solo travelers' lack of such a group, despite the stark differences in how the ICT factors were structured and supported each other.

Leslie
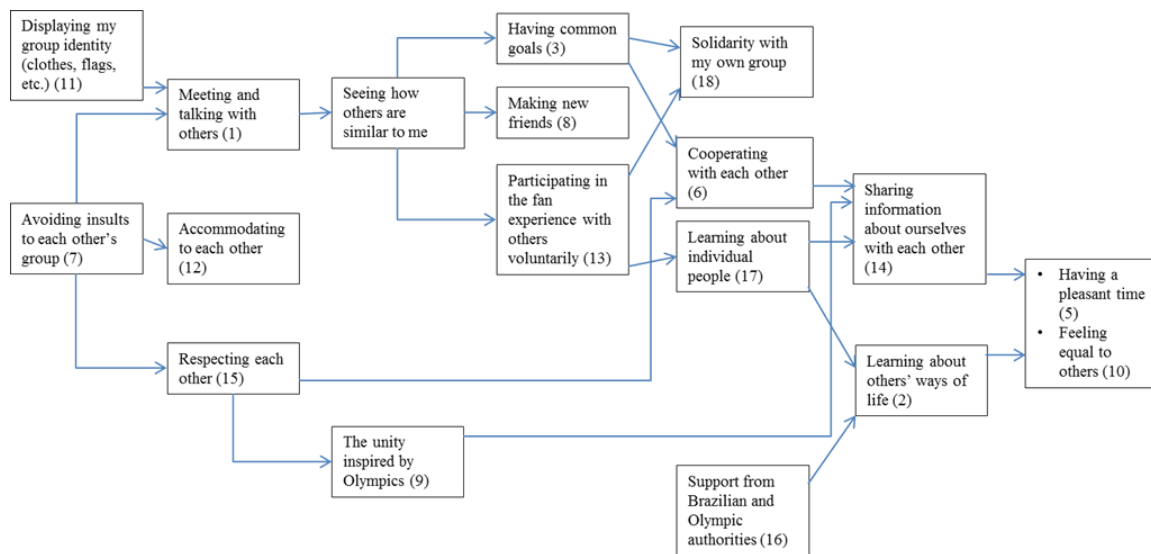
Figure 12. Leslie's ISM structure.

Leslie was from the USA, in her 20s or 30s, and traveling with her husband. As shown in her structure, the most influential ICT factor in her experience was avoiding insults to each other's group (F7), which supports all but two of the other factors. Leslie frequently connected the importance of F7 to being an introvert. Describing how F7 supported F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other), she said,

I have a hard time opening up. If I'm turned off, I close up really, really, really

fast. …On a personal level, like on a one-on-one interaction, I don't know if I ever

felt insulted. So I think that would contribute to me sharing information with

people.

When engaging in member-checking and reviewing her entire structure, Leslie offered a

more detailed diagnosis for F7's significant contribution to her positive intergroup

contact and communication. She explained,

My Meyers Brigg thing, one of my biggest stressors is I have to have respect, and

I have to have people treat me with kindness, and I have to have people to listen

to my thoughts. If that doesn't happen, I also feel like in my mind like I'm not

going to have a successful "Olympic experience" or whatever. It makes sense to

me that [F7] is at the beginning of my flow chart.

She also said that the lack of insults fostered an environment that allowed and supported

many other factors that would have been diminished or shut down if she had felt insulted.

"Overall, everything was hunky dory."

Leslie also enjoyed playing beach volleyball at nets set up on Copacabana Beach

near the beach volleyball stadium, and her references to this activity illustrate several

factors toward the right of her structure. She noted how playing volleyball was a pleasant

time for her (F5) and helped her to feel equal (F10) to her teammates, who were formerly

strangers. These two factors are on the extreme right of her structure, and she illustrated

one of the paths leading to them by saying, "When I played beach volleyball, I did have

to talk to…Argentinians and Brazilian individuals…through a lot of different language

barriers, but our common goal was…to have fun. We all wanted to play beach volleyball.

We all wanted to win." She added that these common goals supported cooperation (F6) in the form of helping each other out of the sand and teamwork. The rapport built through this process supported sharing information about themselves (F14), and all of these aspects of the experience supported having a pleasant time (F5) and feeling equal to others (F10). Somewhat sarcastically, she quipped, "I felt equal to them. I'm not going for like the race or national approach. I'm going more for like beach volleyball skills approach." However, she noted that this equality she felt was part of an intergroup context with more meaningful implications than volleyball skills.

Thiago
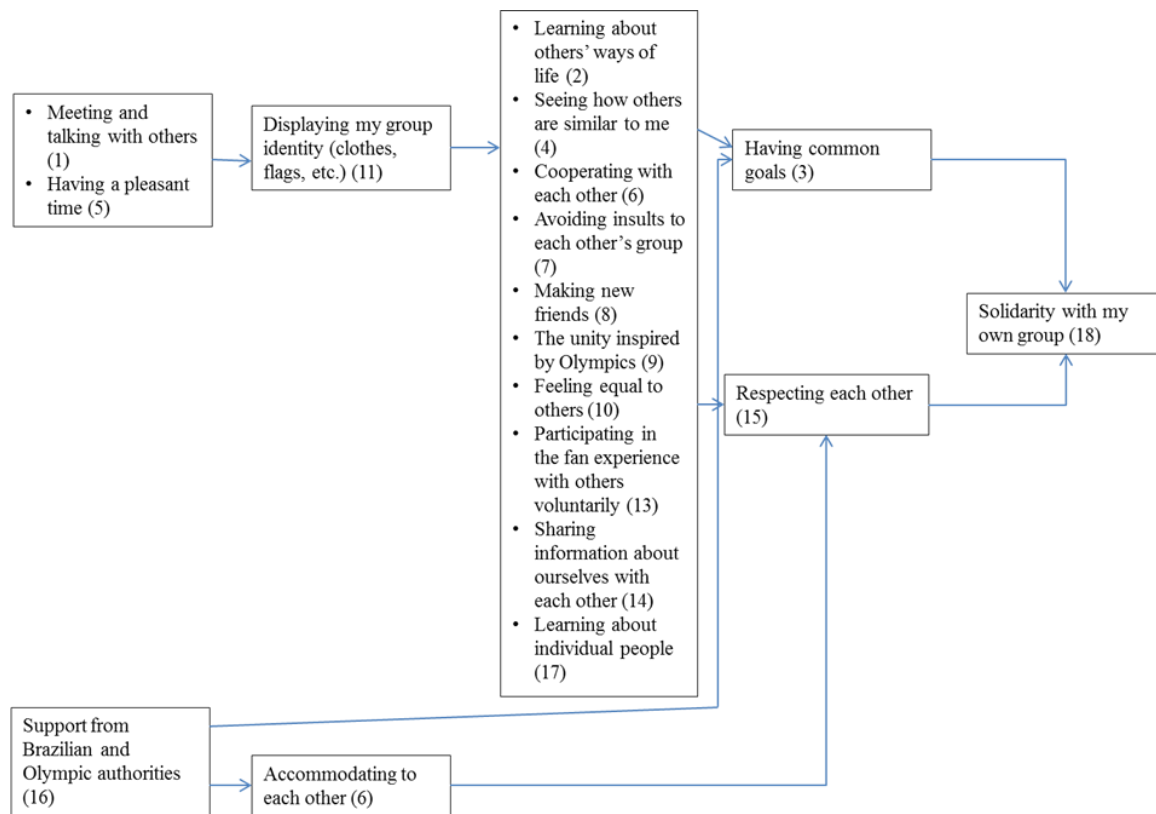
Figure 13. Thiago's ISM structure.

Thiago was a Brazilian man, in his 40s, and was with his wife and two primary-school-age children. They lived in Sao Paulo but were staying in their second home in Rio for the Olympics. Thiago's ISM structure is distinctive in a way that reflects that he answered "Yes" to many questions. The large box in the middle of his structure contains 10 factors, more than any other in the data set, which indicates that he perceived those factors to reciprocally support each other in his experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication and answered "yes" when they were on both sides of each other in the interview questions.

Thiago primarily emphasized the influence of F16 (Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities) as he saw it manifested in the organizers' choices and execution of the Opening Ceremonies. He attended the event and identified how it seemed to foster common goals (F3) for everyone present and watching elsewhere. "The common goals, you have to take care of nature. About the heat of our planet, global warming. I think we are going to have common goals, right? And probably with tolerance and respect." A prominent message in the Opening Ceremonies was global warming, rising sea levels, and what people can do to combat environmental problems. Other highlighted messages were in accordance with Olympic ideals, including tolerance and respect, which were explicitly addressed in speeches given by IOC members and Brazilian speakers. Thiago stressed the intentional efforts of authorities (F16) to promote these valuable, common goals in such a powerful, high-profile event.

Daniela
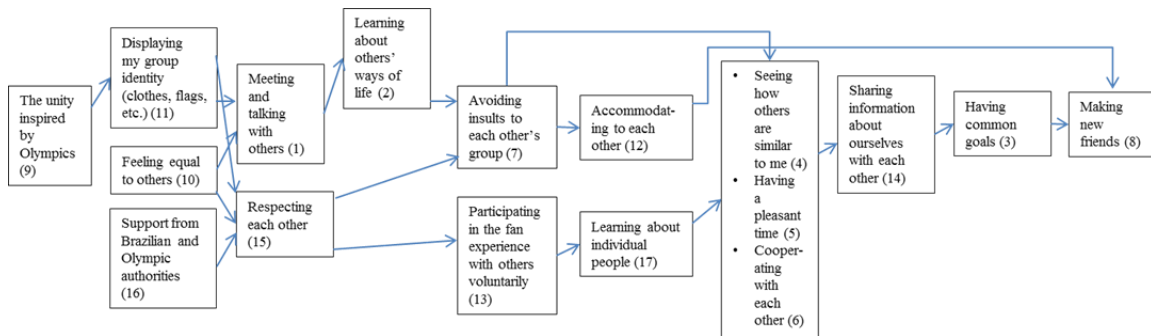
Figure 14. Daniela's ISM structure.

Daniela was from Venezuela, in her 40s, and traveling with a couple friends. Her structure is perhaps the most complicated to read of any interviewees' structure due to its 10 horizontal levels of factors. Consequently, the leftmost factor, F9 (The unity inspired by the Olympics), has a POS score of 10 in her structure. Among the other interviewees,

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the next highest number of horizontal levels is seven, which is found in five of their structures. Daniela distinctly described and showcased the link between the most influential factor in her experience, F9, and F11 (Displaying my group identity), which followed directly from F9. She said,

> We can use clothes from many other countries in a way it'd be perfect. For example, sometimes I wear my bracelet from Venezuela, but I use some earrings with Brazilian flags, or a t-shirt with a Brazilian or Mexican or some other print. Brazil on my finger[nails]. It should be Venezuela flag, but I'm here in Brazil so I put Brazil. Sometimes I think, "I'm not Brazilian, why should I wear a t-shirt with a Brazilian flag?" But I'm here, so I'm doing the Games. I like Brazil, so I can use both.

Daniela referred to the different articles of clothing and accessories as she spoke, including her Brazilian-flag fingernails, and she cited the unity inspired by the Olympics (F9) as motivation and encouragement for displaying so many nationalities' colors and symbols.

Daniela also, however, prominently display her Venezuelan nationality with flags and clothing and identified how doing so affected her intergroup contact and communication differently than people from many other countries. She described Venezuela as having fewer fans at the Olympics than many countries, which resulted in others viewing her as a rare find for engaging in conversation and taking photos. People often asked where she was from after seeing her flag and asked her about life in Venezuela. She explained,

In my case, for example Venezuela, I think it is not very common now in the

Olympics. I didn't see many people from Venezuela. I think when my friend and I

have the flags for example, people come up to us and want to take pictures and

want to come with us, to know about what is traditional. Just knowing us or

maybe to go out later.

In this quote, Daniela was describing how F11 supported F1 (Meeting and talking with

others), and she also alluded to F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), which follow

from F11 in that order in her structure. This illustrates how her structure reflects her

experience of ICT factors.

Carlos
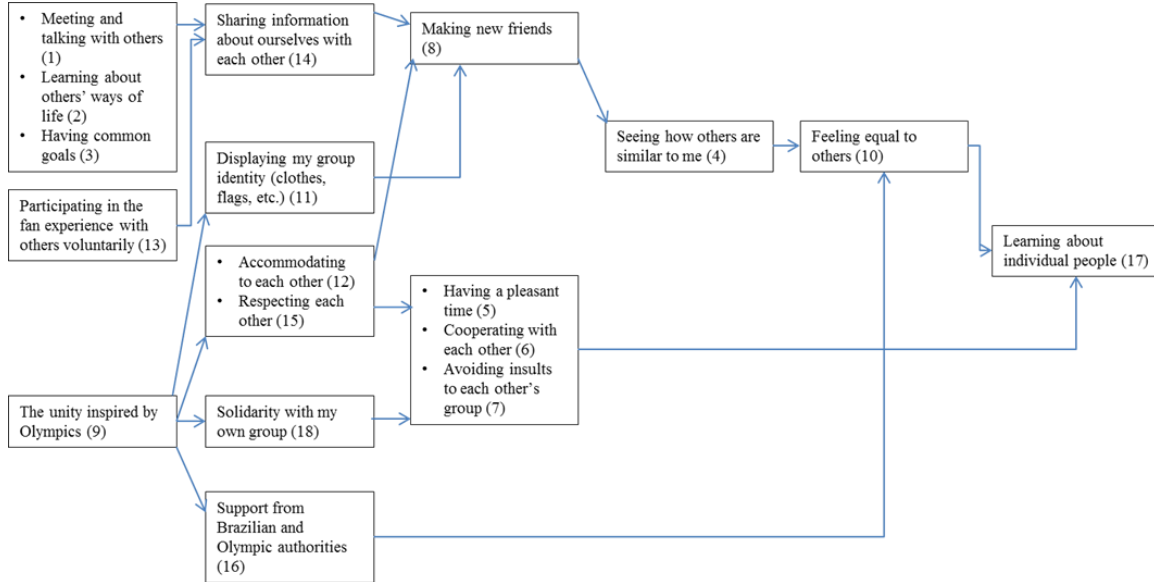
Figure 15. Carlos's ISM structure.

Carlos was from Mexico, in his 30s or 40s, and was traveling alone. Like other solo travelers, he emphasized that to have positive intergroup contact and communication, he had to actively seek to engage others, and like Joey and Henry, this is reflected in the leftmost position of F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily). Carlos tended to do this more in non-Olympic venues than the other solo travelers, and he mentioned several different occasions when bars and restaurants were sites of his contact and communication. He would sit at a bar in front of televisions broadcasting Olympic events and strike up conversations with the people around him. This is reflected in F1's (Meeting and talking with others) leftmost position in his structure, as these instances of meeting and talking initiated and supported several other factors to the right of F1.

More than any other interviewee, Carlos emphasized the importance of traveling as a conversation topic between himself and other fans at the Olympics. In his experience

communicating with others, he perceived traveling to be a common goal (F3), which explains F3's leftmost position in his structure. Common goals shares a box with F1, meaning they reciprocally supported each other in his experience. Carlos explained this by pointing out that many of the people around him had traveled to the Olympics, so they were likely to have common goals in their desires to travel and see sports. Knowing the likelihood of people sharing his goals of traveling and seeing sports made it easier for him to strike up conversations about these topics. He explained that once the conversations were started, F3 also supported F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), which is in the same box with F3 and F1. He offered,

> If I had a common goal, I could say traveling for example, I learn about how they live, what they do, and how this traveling plays a role into their lives, and how that interacts with the way they live their normal life. I might say, "you know what? I should do that." If I like to travel just the way that person does, then I should also do what he's doing so that I can also make it part of my plan.

In this example, Carlos did not simply learn about others. He also used what he learned to adapt and enhance his own life. Carlos also described traveling as a common goal that supported F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other) and alluded to F8 (Making new friends), which follow from F3 in his structure. Summarizing conversations he had with others, he said,

> About traveling to other places in the past or talking about other trips, not necessarily sport related. "Oh you know what? That's what I like to do. Why don't you call?" Then maybe they get each other's number and eventually make plans to follow up and say, "You know what, I'd like to visit your country."

For Carlos, the common goal of traveling supported other ICT factors in ways unique to his experience, fostered immediate contact and communication, potential for more in the future, and reflection about how what he learned from others could enhance his life.

Agustina
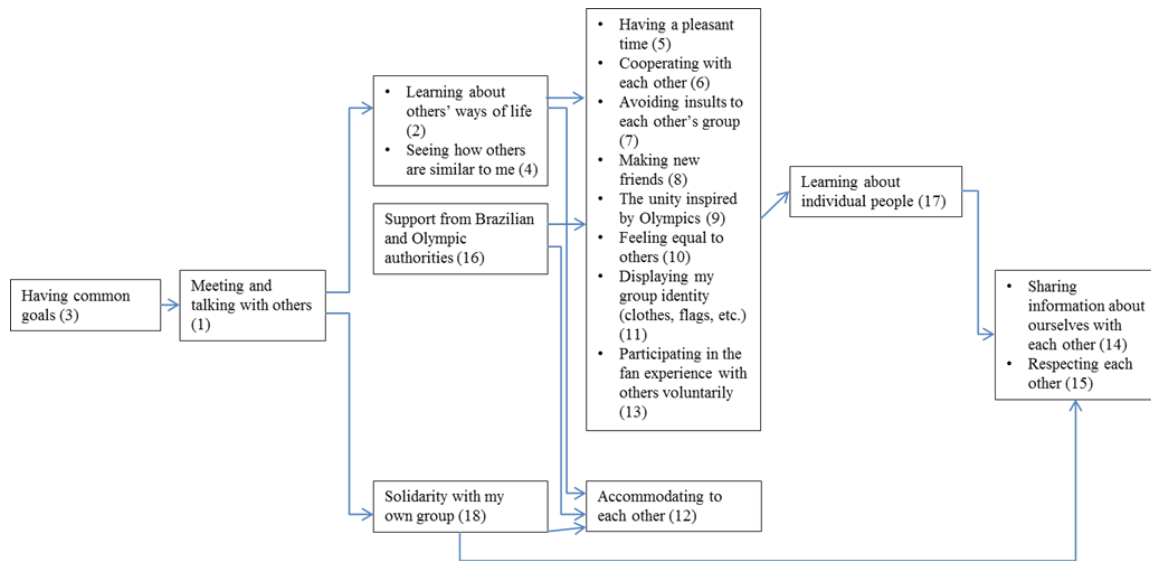
Figure 16. Agustina's ISM structure.

Agustina was from Argentina, in her 20s, and traveling with one friend. She and Marta were the only two interviewees who served as volunteers at the Olympics. For both, I emphasized the interview's focus on their experiences as fans while acknowledging that their volunteering may have offered relevant insights about the fan experience. Volunteers were provided ample free time to engage in typical fan experiences, such as attending sporting events, going to national houses, and spending time at Olympic Park. They were not provided housing, and the only meals provided were during their volunteer shifts, so these aspects of fan experiences were mostly consistent with non-volunteers, as well. Most volunteers I met, including the two interviewees, worked at a specific venue or sport. Agustina worked at indoor volleyball.

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Throughout their interviews, Agustina and Marta answered questions based on their experiences as fans and identified if and how volunteering informed or influenced their perceptions of being fans. For example, Agustina and her friend felt solidarity (F18) with a fellow group of volunteers in a similar way to how Henry referred to the friend group he developed at the Olympics and Simon referred to the group with whom he traveled to Rio. She explained F18's support for F12 (Accommodating to each other), displayed above in her structure, by saying,

> You're trying to help out someone in your own group…and you want to accommodate your conduct to their way of acting. Maybe today we should go to the beach, and we all don't want to go to the beach, but we accommodate our conduct. We're like, "Okay, she wants to go to the beach. We'll go with her even though we don't want to."

For Agustina, the solidarity that supported such accommodation to others was traced back through F1 (Meeting and talking with others) and F3 (Having common goals), which was the leftmost factor in her structure. Similar to Carlos, Agustina explained that common goals were largely what brought people to the Olympics, and more specifically, the reason why people were in the same metro carriages and entrance lines, which led to contact and communication. She said, "As we're all going to Maracana Stadium, we all have the same goal, and then you actually get to chat with people and say like, 'Where are you from? Why are you going to this match?'" The other arrow from F1 leads to a box with F2 (Learning about others' ways of life) and F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me), and this structuring reflects her account starting with F3 and flowing through F1 to F2 and F4. She elaborated,

We have this common goal of living the whole experience. Watching sports and

everything. Especially because we are actually really, really sports fans. When

you go somewhere and watch a basketball game, and then you start to tell

someone that does the same thing and goes there because they actually love that

sport. I mean, you get to learn that there are things that you actually do have in

common, and you share this way of life and thinking that's probably similar to the

other.

This quote illustrates how Agustina perceived supportive relationships between four of

the most influential factors in her positive intergroup contact and communication, and it

is also reflected in her structure.

Maxime
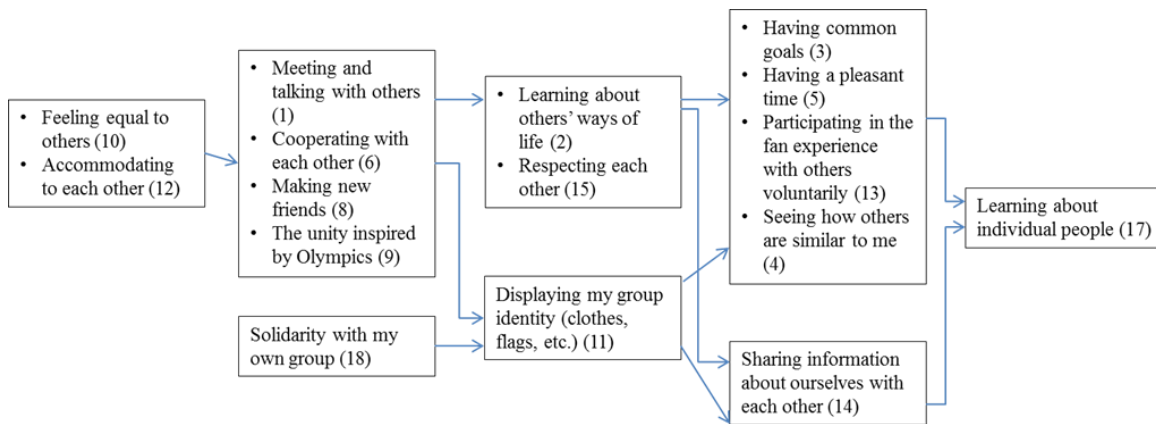
Figure 17. Maxime's ISM structure.

Maxime was from France, in his 30s, and was traveling with his girlfriend at the

time I interviewed him, but he initially traveled to South America without anyone he

knew. In his screening interview, Maxime told me about how he had been traveling the

world for approximately three years with occasional stops home in France, intentionally

planned to be in Rio for the Olympics, and was planning to keep traveling for another

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year after the Olympics. It was all for an online project he was doing. He relied upon

others' accommodation and transportation in exchange for his labor. For example, at a

port in Europe, he found a boat preparing to leave for Brazil and worked out a deal to join

their crew if he did work on board. He also often stayed in people's homes in several

different cities through loose personal connections and performed physical labor as

payment, although in Rio he stayed in a hostel.

The two most influential and supportive factors in Maxime's experience at the

Olympics, accommodating to each other (F12) and feeling equal to others (F10), seem to

fit his approach to traveling the world. He emphasized the inherent equality of all people

and expressed how the Olympics fostered a sense of equality for fans that reduced

prejudice and set the stage for positive contact and communication.

> If you do not have any prejudice with the people, you are just open-minded, and
>
> you are open to talk without prejudice, without judging them. It's more easy to
>
> learn about them, too. …I think [prejudice] can close a discussion of people.

Maxime also noted how accommodating to others (F12) at the Olympics supported the

unity inspired by the Olympics (F9), which is on F12's right in the structure, and he also

alluded to several other factors to the right of accommodation.

> If you're accommodating to other people and make things to make them more
>
> comfortable, it's apt to be more uniting, more friendly with them…You try to
>
> understand them and you try to respect them more. Make them comfortable. It
>
> makes the feeling of unity.

In this quote, Maxime directly addressed F9 and also indicated F8 (Making new friends),

which both received support from F12 and share a box to its right. This box leads to

another box with F2 (Learning about others' ways of life) and F15 (Respecting each other), which Maxime also mentioned in the quote.

Marta
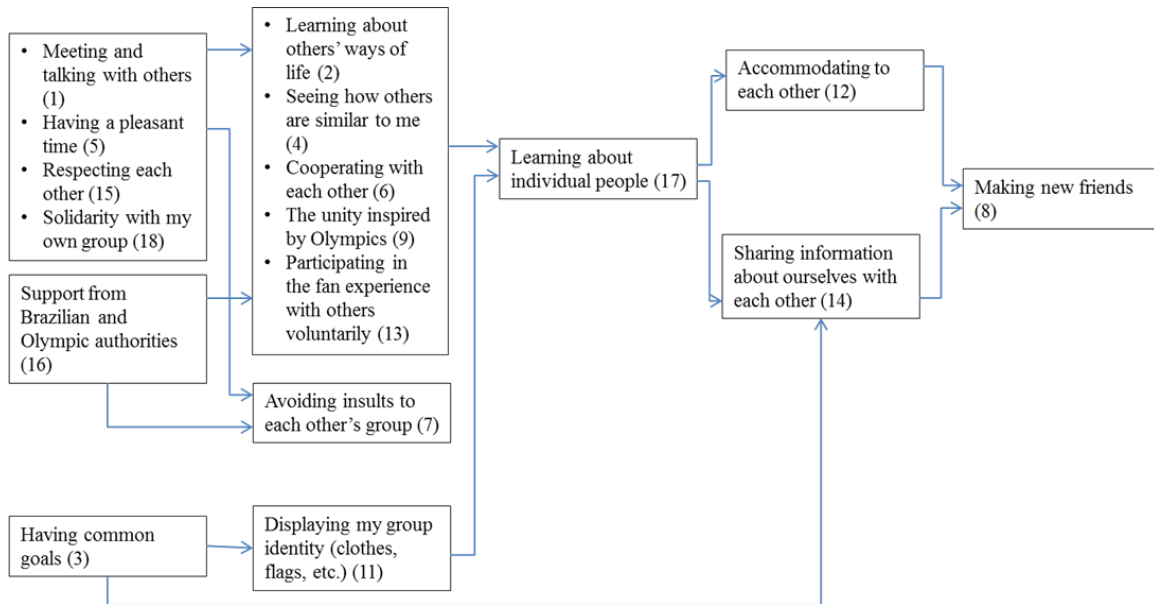
Figure 18. Marta's ISM structure.

Marta was from Spain, in her 30s, and traveling alone, but she knew several people in Rio from attending the 2014 FIFA World Cup. Like Agustina, she was a volunteer, and she worked at the boxing competitions. Marta frequently emphasized that she loved sports and competition, and watching good sports performances superseded her desire for Spain or any other team or individual to win.

> I have fun. Even if it was not my country, but I consider as well that even if it's not your country, you have to realize they are doing a good job or they are not. I like sports, so maybe one thing they are doing wrong or right, but if Spain is doing one thing wrong, I will say, "It's going wrong" anyway, even if it's my country. …I'm not like the regular fan who only cheers one country. I kind of

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cheer for everyone.…I'm more interested in things on sports in general than to cheer one of the countries.

Marta also stressed the role of sports as an agent of positive intergroup contact and communication. Reflecting on the relatively influential position of F3 (having common goals) in her structure, she said, "Even though people are from different countries, different cultures, different language, at the end, it's people that are coming towards something that they like. Sports, or the Olympics."

Marta expressed an open, flexible, and inclusive mindset about group membership, belonging, and solidarity (F18) in her interview, often in reference to her experience of ICT factors at sporting events she attended. She referred to meeting family members of athletes at weightlifting and synchronized swimming competitions and joining with them to cheer and wave the national flags of Colombia and Japan. Marta also recorded part of the Brazilian team's synchronized swimming routine, and a Brazilian woman nearby asked if Marta would send her the video. Regarding how solidarity with one's own group (F18) supported respecting each other (F15), which share a box at the left of her structure, she said,

I think if you're in a group and you feel like the other groups are doing the same as you are doing, you think, "Yeah, I'm here because I'm supporting my team or the athlete, and they are here because they are doing the same with their own." We are here for them, they are here for them, so we are here for the same reason, but for different a team, but we are kind of doing the same. They kind of respect each other.

Marta had a unique insight into solidarity with one's own group that helps shed light on its reciprocal relationship with F1, F5, and F15, as well as its support for factors in its path to the right. She was originally from Barcelona, but she lived in Paris for a few years and was living in Dublin at the time of the Olympics. She had a very flexible idea of group membership that depended upon the context and fans around her, whom she found to warmly welcome her into their groups for the duration of an athletic event, and she thoroughly enjoyed being with them (F5). She stressed that this required mutual respect (F15) from her and others as well as meeting and talking with them (F1), which allowed her to connect with people from many places in the world and feel a sense of belonging and solidarity with them. Reflecting on her group membership, she said,

> My own group? I don't have a group. Obviously, if you live in a place and you kind of like the place you are living, usually you will support the team of that place. …As I was [in France] for 3 years I have it a little bit on my heart. As I've been in many different countries, there are some countries that even I've not been living there, I have them on my heart as well, so I will support them as well. I support almost everyone.

This quote provides insight into Marta's open, flexible approach to group membership that allowed her, with others' welcoming, to feel solidarity with them (F18), which supported many other factors in her experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication.

Marta added specific detail to the conversation of her open and flexible approach to temporarily joining other groups and not having strict ties to any single team or nation

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by elaborating some of her personal opinions. When I asked about her displays of group identity, she explained,

> It's kind of a difficult question for me. Because I'm from Barcelona, so, my passport says I'm from Spain, and I love Spain, but I vote for the independence of Catalonia. I will cheer for Spain, and I don't care if someone is having a flag from Spain or whatever, but I'm not going to buy a Spanish flag. It's complicated. It's not that I hate Spain at all. It's just that some things happened during a period in Spain where it was not allowed to speak Catalan. It was Dictator Franco. As well the music from the country. Spain and the flag, it reminds you of some other things that you don't agree a lot, so I don't really have that feeling of [group identity]. …I cheer for Spain as I cheer for Japan, for France. I can cheer for, I don't know, Australia or the States. Of course, today I went to water polo, and it was Australia and Spain, so I prefer that Spain won, but I can't buy a flag. I don't feel so for it. I can wear a t-shirt from the Barca team from futbol, but I will not wear a t-shirt that says I'm Spanish or whatever. Today I went with a friend from Australia to watch the water polo…We were on our way out, and it was like a group of people from Spain that was putting here [gestures to shirt], "I'm Spanish" in Spanish, and she asked me, "You are not wearing this?" and I say, "I can't. I don't feel it." I don't care if I'm going with someone who is wearing the flag, the t-shirt, or whatever, because I respect all of it, but…I cannot have it. I cannot buy a flag from Spain.

The Olympics, as an international sporting event, allowed Marta the opportunity to partake in an event with high-quality sports, which she loved, and also provided an

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atmosphere in which she was welcomed by others to join their groups, cheer with them, and feel solidarity with them in the absence of a group to which she felt she belonged.

Celine
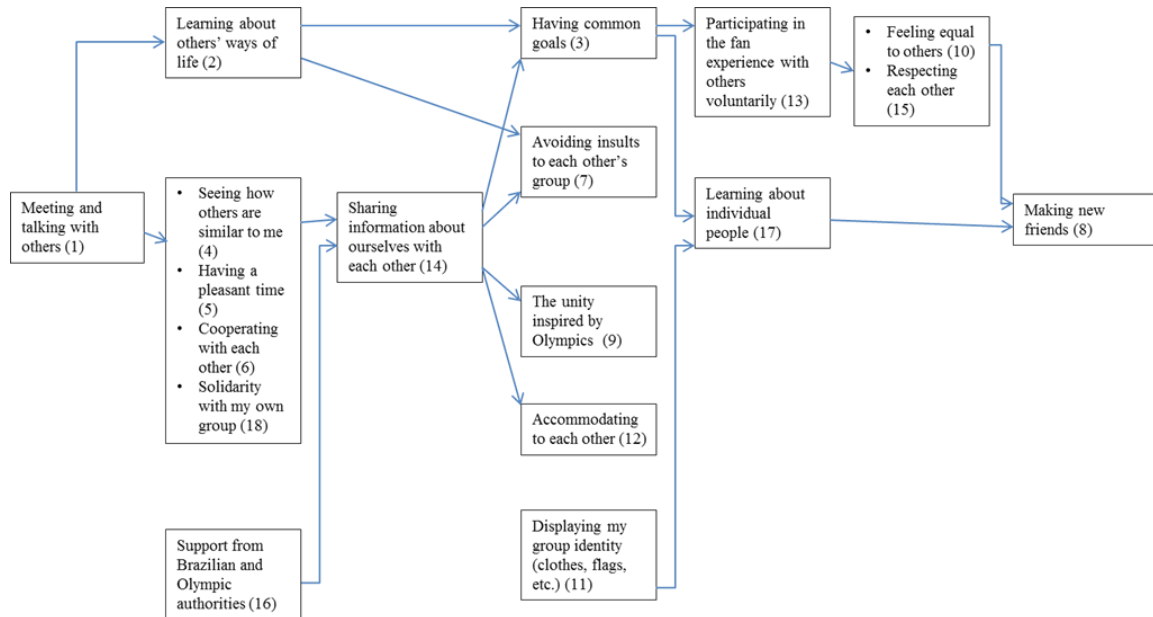
Figure 19. Celine's ISM structure.

Celine was from Canada, in her 40s or 50s, and traveling with her husband. She was French-Canadian from Quebec, and she regularly cited this distinction as relevant to her experience of positive intergroup contact and communication. She described feeling open to meeting and talking (F1) with people from her home nation as well as those who spoke her first language, French. Meeting and talking with others was the most influential, supportive factor in her experience, so this openness to engage with others based on nationality and language was important for her. She regarded each as intergroup contact because most Canadians she met were not French-Canadian like her, and most French speakers she met were not Canadian like her. Regarding how being Canadian influenced her experience of F1 and its support for F4 (Seeing how others are similar to

me), with other Canadians, she said, "The other day we talk to some Canadian, and that was the first Canadian we met that were here just because they were fans, so it was by talking to them we knew that." She continued to describe how these were the first Canadian fans they had met as opposed to Canadian athletes, their families, or their coaches, and their conversation continued about their experiences as fans after learning that. Regarding how speaking French influenced her experience of F1 and its support for F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), Celine described sharing a table in the Olympic Park food court with people from France and being on the same bus with people from Guyana.

Celine extended F2 to support F7 (Avoiding insults to each other's group) with a particularly striking quote about a positive consequence of learning about others. She said, "The more you know people, it's getting personal. It's not as impersonal as a group. It's individual. It's easier to hate a group than an individual." She added a few insights on how learning about other groups and people reduced prejudice and inclinations to insult them, including the statement,

> Canada, which is a great country. We have no real trouble. But, English-speaking
> people might not like the French-speaking people because of "blah, blah, blah,"
> but when you get to meet an English-speaking person, you get to talk to them, and
> they talk to us, we like each other. But sometimes we might not like a group
> because of political reason. It is a small thing. Imagine where there is real trouble
> in the world, and they end up hating each other in a group. I'm sure they would
> like each other individually, but in a group they don't like each other.

Celine noted how her experience at the Olympics involved meeting and talking with others (F1), which supported learning about others' ways of life (F2), which supported avoiding insults to each other's group (F7), thus fostering positive intergroup contact and communication.

Joey
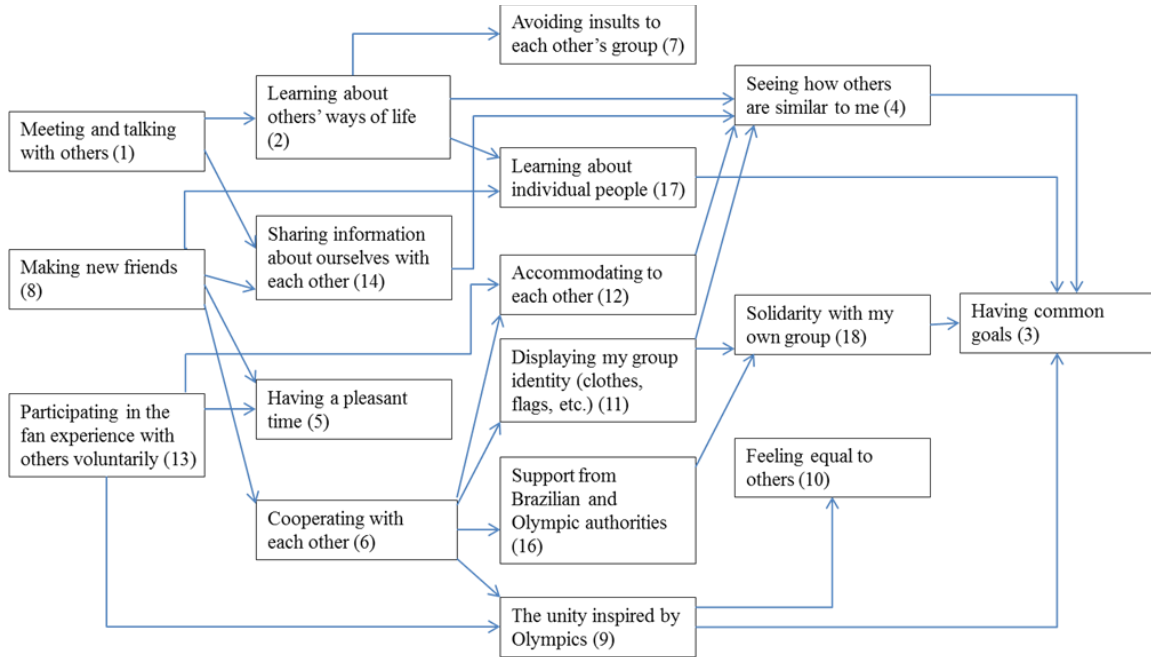
Figure 20. Joey's ISM structure.

Joey was from the USA, in his 20s, and traveling alone. He was in the middle of a few months of travel around South America and planned his trip to be in Rio for the Olympics. Much like Henry, Carlos, and other solo travelers, Joey emphasized that in order to avoid a solitary experience and have contact and communication with others, he had to proactively seek opportunities to engage with those around him. He said, "I'm traveling alone, so I think when I talk to people, then I go out or go get food or something, so I'm not all by myself here." This mentality is reflected in his structure, as the three factors in the leftmost layer (F1, F8 and F13) seem to reflect an intentional

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approach to engaging others. His quote was an explanation of F13's support for F5 (Having a pleasant time), and it also alludes to F1 and F8, as the people he went out with for food and fun were often new friends he made in Rio.

Joey frequently described striking up conversations with strangers in his proximity on public transit, in lines, and elsewhere in reference to meeting and talking with others (F1). He also built friendships (F8) with several Argentinian Olympic fans in the hostel where he was staying. He cited these friendships as supporting cooperation (F6) and having a pleasant time (F5) because he regularly went out into the city and to Olympic venues with his new friends to hang out and do a variety of activities. He said,

> When I would go out with the Argentina guys, they don't speak very good English. They always try to get me to talk to girls and then bring up the girls to them…but sometimes [the girls] speak Spanish, too. They are just too afraid to go and talk to girls.

The high level of support that F1, F8, and F13 provided for other ICT factors in Joey's experience illustrate the importance they had in fostering positive intergroup contact and communication for him at the Olympics, particularly as a solo traveler.

Helena
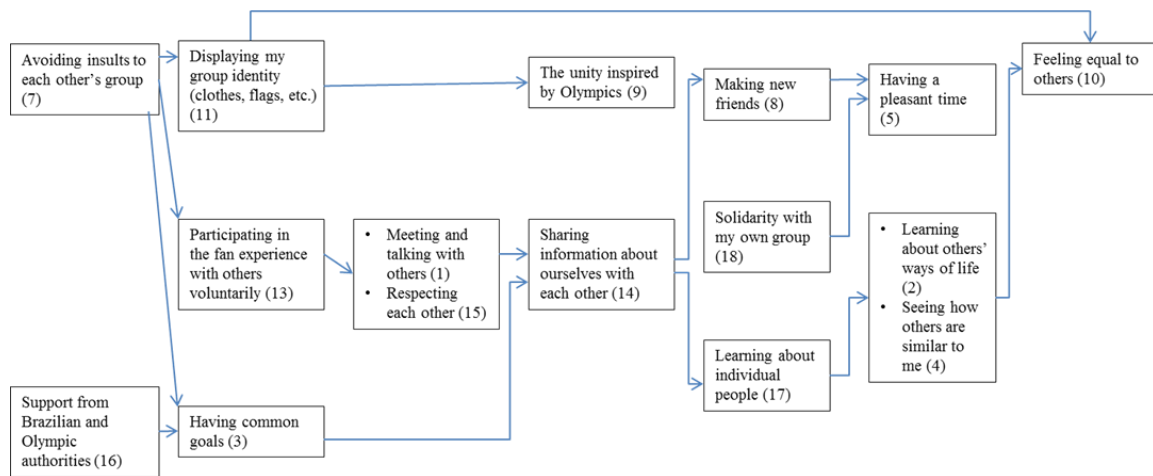
Figure 21. Helena's ISM structure.

Helena was from Denmark, in her 20s, and traveling with her boyfriend and one

other friend. Similar to Leslie, who referred to herself as an introvert, Helena mentioned

being a bit shy and avoiding insults to each other's group (F7) was the most supportive

factor in both of their experiences. Illustrating how F7 supported several other factors of

positive contact and communication, Helena said, "If I insult anybody…I don't think I

would get to know them or get to talk to them, and then I wouldn't see what's similar." In

this quote, Helena was explaining F7's support for F4 (Seeing how others are similar to

me), and in doing so she alluded to F14, F17, and F2, all of which are in the path leading

from F7 to F4.

Helena also explained F7's support for F13 (Participating in the fan experience

with others voluntarily) within part of her experience that led to powerful, positive

intergroup contact and communication. At a road cycling event, she and her companions

talked with a Brazilian couple for a long time, and the couple then invited them to their

home for dinner. Helena connected several ICT factors to her time with this couple and

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talked about several positive outcomes of her contact and communication with them. However, without F7, she may have missed out on much of this experience. Contrasting her actual experience meeting the Brazilian couple with a hypothetical one, she posed, "If I came to a place, for example the cycling, and somebody insults me, I would not have participated voluntarily in the fan experience. Yeah, then I would just have been with the two I'm traveling with." Helena specifically mentioned her time with the Brazilian couple as part of her experience of all of the following ICT factors. While she likely experienced these factors in other ways, as well, it seems her time with them proved powerful. She connected F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), F3 (Having common goals), F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me), F5 (Having a pleasant time), F8 (Making new friends), F10 (Feeling equal to others), F15 (Respecting each other), and F17 (Learning about individual people) to her experiences with the couple and specifically referenced the importance of seeing their home, talking about educational institutions, all being part of the medical field, and telling her family and friends in Denmark about her time with the couple. The Olympic context fostered an environment and ICT factors that made this experience possible for Helena, and therefore fostered positive intergroup contact and communication for her.

Conclusion

This section presented the ISM structures produced by each of the 16 fans who completed ISM interviews. I sought to provide context to their structures by including a profile for each interviewee based on information they offered or I observed about them, including distinct qualities about them and their experiences relevant to how they structured the ICT factors. By integrating this unique information and quotes from each

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fan, I sought to keep their voices prominent in the data. Also, by indicating connections

between these unique qualities of each fan's Olympic experience and how the qualities

are reflected in their ISM structures, I contextualized the data within fans' experiences

and drew attention to the specific ways the data reflects how ICT factors emerged and

supported each other for each fan. Now that each fan's structure, experience, and voice

has been highlighted, I combine their structures for composite scores and a meta-structure

that allow for a more holistic view of Olympic fans' experiences of ICT factors and

positive intergroup contact and communication.

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ISM Scores and Meta-Structure

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Interpretive Structural Modeling structures, such as the 16 displayed above, can

be analyzed for the ISM scores described in the Methods chapter. In this section, I

present and explain the results of the scores each factor received by combining the 16

ISM structures. I then describe the process of grouping the factors into stages based on

their scores and what the stages indicate regarding the function of the factors within

them. This is illustrated by a composite ISM meta-structure representative of the data

gathered from all 16 individual structures.

ISM Scores

To find the total ISM scores for each factor, I calculated the individual scores

from each fan's structure and then combined them into the following figure, which

includes the Position Score (POS), Net Succedent/Antecedent Score (Net S/A), and

Influence Score (INF). The INF is the most important for this study because its purpose is

to measure the influence of each factor in an interviewee's experience and perspective.

This is the primary goal of RQ 2, which specifies "support" as the type of influence it

seeks to understand for each factor. I have also included the Net S/A and POS scores to offer a slightly more detailed breakdown of how the INF scores were constituted, because INF is the sum of Net S/A and POS.

Table 3

Total ISM Scores by Factor.

	INF	NET SA	POS	Factor
f1	235	147	88	meeting and talking with others
f11	153	75	78	displaying my group identity (clothes, flags, etc.)
f16	145	76	69	support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities
f13	87	19	68	participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily
f7	71	16	55	avoiding insults to each other's group
f6	67	9	58	cooperating with each other
f2	52	-7	59	learning about others' ways of life
f9	52	-4	56	the unity inspired by the Olympics
f18	48	-8	56	solidarity with my own group
f3	38	-21	59	having common goals
f4	37	-20	57	seeing how others are similar to me
f15	31	-24	55	respecting each other
f12	22	-24	46	accommodating to each other
f5	19	-35	54	having a pleasant time
f8	15	-34	49	making new friends
f10	4	-46	50	feeling equal to others
f17	2	-50	52	learning about individual people
f14	-25	-72	47	sharing information about ourselves with each other

Calculating the Scores

In order to present and treat this data in a more organized, heuristic form, I separated the 18 ICT factors into five stages based on their INF scores. In the figure above, factors are listed in descending order of INF scores. For the study, INF score is conceptualized as the power of a factor's contribution or support toward fostering other factors in fans' experiences at the Olympics, which is put in context by the question shell

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each interviewee answered several dozen times: "In my experience at the Olympics, did

_____ contribute in a significant way to _____?" In general, the more frequently

interviewees answered "Yes" when a factor appeared in the first blank, the higher its

influence score was. In reference to the visual structures, the higher a factor's INF score,

the farther left that factor tends to appear, and its path of arrows also tends to pass

through more factors than those with lower INF scores.

A more precise explanation relies upon the Net S/A and POS scores, which were

added together to calculate INF scores. For example, F1, which is "Meeting and talking

with others," had a total POS score of 88. POS scores are found by counting upward,

starting with one, from the right-most layer of a structure. In Helena's structure, which is

the last of the 16 above, F1 is in the fifth layer from the right, giving it a POS score of

five. Adding all 16 POS scores for F1 resulted in a total of 88, which was the highest of

all the factors. Net S/A scores require knowing a factor's succedent (SUC) and

antecedent (ANT) scores. A factor's SUC score is found by counting the total number of

other factors in that factor's path of influence, or how many factors are to the right of that

factor and connected to it with arrows. In Helena's structure, F1 has a SUC score of nine.

ANT scores are essentially the opposite in that they are found by counting how many

factors are to the left of a given factor and connected to it with arrows. For Helena, F1

has an ANT score of three. Thus, the Net S/A of F1 for Helena is six (nine minus three). I

simply added all 16 individual Net S/A scores for a total of 147 for F1. Both the POS and

Net S/A for F1 were higher than any other factor, which resulted in the highest INF score

by a wide margin. As displayed, F1's INF score is 235.

The nature of these scores allows for the possibility of a negative INF score, which is exemplified only by F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other) at -25. POS scores must inherently be positive numbers, as they are the sum of individual scores starting at one and counting upward. In this study, the highest POS scores in individuals' structures ranged from five to 10. Net S/A scores can be positive or negative as well, depending on whether factors foster or receive more support to/from other factors. In the composite scores, the top six factors all have positive Net S/A scores, indicating they are net sources of support (though they all act as receivers to some degree), and the other twelve all have negative Net S/A scores, indicating they are net receivers of support (though they all serve as sources to some degree).

Summary of Factors' Scores

As mentioned above, F1 (Meeting and talking with others) has an INF score of 235, which is the highest by a wide margin. This indicates it is a powerful source of support for other factors that foster positive intergroup contact and communication. The next highest are F11 (Displaying my group identity) with 153 and F16 (Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities) with 145. Following these factors, there is another large gap, as F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily) has an INF score of 87, followed by F7 (Avoiding insults to each other's group) with 71 and F6 (Cooperating with each other) with 67.

Compared to these six factors, indicated by their INF scores to be the most powerful sources of support for other factors, the remaining 12 are relatively close. Both F2 (Learning about others' ways of life) and F9 (The unity inspired by the Olympics) have INF scores of 52, followed by F18 (Solidarity with my own group) at 48, F3

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(Having common goals) at 38, F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me) at 37, F15 (Respecting each other) at 31, F12 (Accommodating to each other) at 22, F5 (Having a pleasant time) at 19, and F8 (Making new friends) at 15. These decreasing scores are indicative of each factor's decreasing power as a source of support for fostering other factors. The three lowest INF scores, and subsequently least powerful sources of support, belong to F10 (Feeling equal to others) with a score of four, F17 (Learning about individual people) with two, and F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other), which has the only negative INF score at -25.

Composite ISM Structure

As indicated by the clusters of factors in the previous figure, I used INF scores to separate the 18 factors into stages based on the power of their support toward fostering other factors in fans' experiences. This provides organization and heuristic value through which scholars and practitioners can conceptualize and visualize the power of the factors in relation to each other. It also allows one to visualize and prioritize how to foster specific factors by illustrating paths of support from some factors to others and highlighting the importance of factors toward the left for generating and/or enhancing factors toward the right.

The following meta-structure, which is intended to reflect an ISM visual structure, offers valuable heuristic and theoretical insights regarding the functions of ICT factors in fostering positive intergroup contact and communication.

Primary Support Factors

F1: Meeting and talking with others

F11: Displaying my group identity (clothes, flags, etc.)

F16: Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities

Secondary Support Factors

F13: Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily

F7: Avoiding insults to each other's group

F6: Cooperating with each other

Mediators & Conduits

F2: Learning about others' ways of life

F9: The unity inspired by the Olympics

F18: Solidarity with my own group

F3: Having common goals

F4: Seeing how others are similar to me

F15: Respecting each other

Supportive Outcomes

F12: Accommodating to each other

F5: Having a pleasant time

F8: Making new friends

F10: Feeling equal to others

F17: Learning about individual people

Outcomes

F14: Sharing information about ourselves with each other

Figure 22. Composite meta-structure of ICT factors.

This meta-structure identifies and displays the role of each factor in relation to the other factors and addresses RQ 2 by visually depicting the supportive relationships between ICT factors. Each stage of factors, represented by one of the boxes, is determined by separations in factors' INF scores. The stage's titles suggest the function each stage's factors serve in fans' experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication. The functions are indicative of the roles they play in intergroup contact and communication and a factor's power to support other factors, which reflects the INF scores from which the stages' names are derived. These functions and roles are in addition to each of these ICT factor's ability to foster positive intergroup contact and communication, as suggested by the previous research that led to their status as ICT factors displayed in master list of 65 ICT factors.

The leftmost stage, with the highest INF scores, is called Primary Support Factors and includes F1 (Meeting and talking with others), F11 (Displaying my group identity), and F16 (Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities). The next stage is Secondary Support Factors and includes F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily), F7 (Avoiding insults to each other's group), and F6 (Cooperating with each other). The middle stage is Mediators and Conduits and includes the most factors of any stage (six) as there were several INF scores clustered close together. The stage includes F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), F9 (The unity inspired by the Olympics), F18 (Solidarity with my own group), F3 (Having common goals), F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me), and F15 (Respecting each other). The next stage is called Supportive Outcomes and includes five factors: F12 (Accommodating to each other), F5 (Having a pleasant time), F8 (Making new friends), F10 (Feeling equal to others), and F17

(Learning about individual people). The last stage, Outcomes, has only one factor, F14

(Sharing information about ourselves with each other), based the separation of its low

INF score from any other factors. In the Discussion chapter, I will elaborate on what each

stage indicates about its factors' functions and roles in fans' experiences of intergroup

contact and communication. I will also explore each factor in detail, including quoted

rationales that serve to illustrate how each factor functioned to foster positive intergroup

contact and communication in fans' experiences.

Thematic Analysis

The rationales interviewees offered when they answered "yes" that one factor

supported another during ISM interviews provide valuable insight into where and when

fans at the Olympics experienced ICT factors and the factors' support for each other. The

set of 516 rationales offers breadth and specific detail to the previously described data

through identification and exploration of themes in which ICT factors emerged for fans at

the Olympics, and in doing so addresses RQ 3. In this section, themes refer to *where* and

when ICT factors emerged and supported each other in fans' experiences, or the sites,

situations, and contexts in which fans commonly found themselves throughout their time

at the Games. These include general experiences and contexts, or relatively routine,

reoccurring aspects of the Olympics that fans regularly encountered as they participated

in the overall event. Themes were developed from interviewees' rationales in order to

keep their voices at the center of the research and allow the data to rise out of their

experiences. First, I present the nine themes, including their names and definitions, which

consist of short phrases and terms that conceptualize each theme. This draws attention to

the broad, common aspects of fans' experiences in which ICT factors emerged and

supported each other at the Olympics. I then expand each theme in detail using quoted

rationales to illustrate each phrase or term in the theme's definition. This illustrates how

the themes emerged from fans' examples and insights and brings to life where and when

ICT factors manifested and supported each other in fans' experiences.

Themes

The figure below displays each of the nine themes, the number of rationales that

constitute each theme, and the phrases and terms used to define and conceptualize each

theme. Of the 516 rationales, four were not included in a theme due to a lack of fit. The

smallest theme is made up of 28 rationales, and the largest is constituted of 80 rationales.

The following paragraphs outline each theme in more detail, including theme names,

definitions, and several quoted rationales that constitute each theme.

Humanity as an ingroup. The theme Humanity as an Ingroup is constituted of

fans' rationales that express experiences and notions of inclusivity, belonging, and

broadening of group identity conceptualizations.

Supporting many nations.

-I cheer for Spain as I cheer for Japan, for France, for, I can cheer for, I don't know,

Australia or the States. –Marta

Humanity as an Ingroup	Identity & Brand of Event	Decent & Considerate Behavior	Doing things together (interpersonal)	Differences & Comparing	Communication Behaviors & Styles	Initiating Communication & Contact	Physical Spaces	Collective Activity
80	72	70	60	59	54	46	43	28
Supporting many nations	Talk about sports	Knowledge informs appropriate behavior	Arranging to meet again	Variety of topics learned	Confidence & comfort	National symbols as conversation starters	Olympic Park	Follow the crowd
World citizenship	Same reason to attend	Tolerance & Understanding	Photos together	Exchanging differences	Languages	Same place and time	Lines & order	Comfort in numbers
Individuation of outgroup members	Positive tone of event	Obedience & compliance	Exchanging contact information	Appreciating others' challenges	Personality traits	Helping leads to talking	Stadiums	Strength in numbers
Similarities underlying differences	Uniqueness of Olympic atmosphere	Maintaining a positive atmosphere	Future plans	Compare & contrast	Online communication	Perception of commonality	Non-Olympic spaces	Collectively creating an atmosphere
Concentric ingroups	Competition and performance	Inconsiderate is the exception	Activities with strangers	Advice	Barriers to communication		Microcosm of the world	
Unity in diversity	International competition	Helpfulness	Cheering together		Mood affecting communication		Public transit	
Transitory ingroup	Sportsperson-ship		Not being alone		Approach and response to others		Safety & security	
Shared interests & experiences			Just hanging out					

Figure 23. Themes, number of rationales in each theme, and terms and phrases that conceptualize each theme.

-Even the synchronized swimming this afternoon, the U.S. wasn't even in that competition, but just being there as a human, watching these really talented countries do their routines, I just felt like I was there and I wasn't rooting for anybody in particular, and I like that. …Yeah, as a spectator I totally felt like, I'm rooting for Brazil, now I'm rooting for Japan, and I guess what I mean by equality is, I was allowed to root for anyone, the people around me were. The woman next to me was clapping for every team, and it was just that environment. –Leslie

-We can use clothes from many other countries in a way it'd be perfect. For example, sometimes I wear, like my bracelet from Venezuela, but I use some earrings with Brazilian flags or a t-shirt with a Brazilian or Mexican or some other print. …Brazil on my finger[nails]. It should be Venezuela flag, but I'm here in Brazil so I put Brazil. Sometimes I think, 'I'm not Brazilian, why should I wear a t-shirt with a Brazilian flag?', but I'm here so I'm doing the Games. –Daniela

World citizenship.

-I think we're all human beings. We all should be, doesn't matter what race you are or whatever, we should all be treated like equals. They kind of made it in the Opening Ceremony like that because they had some man on a bike that was not from whatever the country was [walking into the stadium], and they had someone carrying the plants not from the same country. …We're all one. It's all one world. –Joey

-I think that the people who is working in the morning, they are saying, "Good morning. Welcome. Ben dindos. Bien venidos. Welcome," in different languages. They make feel that everybody is the same, and people seem happy that they say, even if it's only one word in their own language. –Marta

-When you talk to somebody you understand what they're doing here or their experiences

are like, they're not that different, they're similar to you. I think it's more having a mutual

environment and then deciding that people are quite similar to you. It really doesn't

matter where people come from, basically. –Charlotte

Individuation of outgroup members.

-The more you know people, it's getting personal. It's not as impersonal as a group. It's

individual. It's easier to hate a group than an individual. –Celine

-When you're talking with other people and meeting with other people, you get to know

them and get to see that we're all people and human beings who, I think most people have

something in common when you get to speak to each other. When we met the Brazilian

couple, who invited us to the apartment, I got to know that for them the education that

they got is very important, and it's the same for me. …If I had not learned that they are

doctors, I could not have seen how they were so similar to me, and I got to learn them as

the couple and not as a Brazilian…not as the group in total. –Helena

-It's different if you are friends because then you have more connection with someone.

That was very difficult thing of being in Russia [for Sochi 2014 Olympics], because I

knew a lot of people there, and now about things with the doping, it makes it more

difficult for me to think in a way that most people do about the Russian athletes because

there is more connection with Russia. It's kind of difficult because I can understand. I see

this issue. …If they all use doping, I think it's not fair. A lot of people don't understand,

but I think it's because I know a lot of Russian people. –Bram

Similarities underlying differences.

-I think if you're in a group and you feel like the other groups are doing the same as you are doing, and you maybe think, "Yeah, I'm here because I'm supporting my team or the athlete, and they are here because they are doing the same with their own." They kind of have a feeling of equals in some way. We are here for them, they are here for them, so we are here for the same reason but for different teams, but we are kind of doing the same. They kind of respect each other. –Marta

-So if they were Argentinians for example, and they were doing all the flag stuff, which they do, and then we were doing the same. Considerate of me to respect that, yes we're wearing different outfits, but we're passionately supporting our team. –Charlotte

-The Brazilian I talked to mentioned their next election was likely going to have a candidate very similar to Donald Trump, and he told me quite a bit about that upcoming election, and also the economic climate, and why those factors were going to lead to a candidate who was similar to Donald Trump. And how that's kind of humiliating for their country, but then, oh, isn't it kind of humiliating for the United States? So, look we're in the same humiliating boat, but when you have these factors, strange things can happen. I thought, okay, the U.S. is maybe humiliated, but these things can happen elsewhere. I felt very equal to him.

-It was just amazing to see if people from different countries were similar. Similar way we act, back our sport, and they've got the same goals, a bit more or less the same way. – Simon

Concentric ingroups.

-We were on the metro, and I see the flag of Bretagne, which is the region close to mine, a neighbor for mine. I ask, "Oh, you come from Bretagne?" –Maxime

-I know a guy who actually doesn't live too far away from me at home, and he works a chip shop. In honesty, if I was at home I would probably be a little bit dismissive of that and think, "Okay, it's a job for a 16 year-old maybe." I would be a little bit snobby about it. I would assume I wasn't going to have any fun with them and I would just be polite and nice enough. But actually…we did have quite a good time. So yeah. If I just met him at home and whatever and just said "Hello," I wouldn't really have invested any time. I'd just assume that we didn't have anything in common. –Henry

That's what came from Latin America. …We have a strong family, we respect the same morals and values. …In Latin America, people, [say] "You need help? You need something?" I try to help and pay attention of you. –Camila

-The Brazilian couple, both were doctors, and I'm studying for nurse, so the whole universe of medicine and taking care of people, we have in common I think. –Helena

Unity in diversity.

-When you stay in your country within your town and you don't see what the rest of the world looks like, then your perspective of the world and life won't be the same. So when you come into contact with all these different cultures, people, colors, a choice of life, that broadens your perspective. –Carlos

-I think everybody coming together. I think the unity I would see of the Olympics is everyone coming together, but also being able to feel that you can be proud of your team and push that. –Charlotte

-You feel inspired to show things about your country, the colors of your country because this is about a bunch of nations, people coming together. –Carlos

Transitory ingroup.

-Because you're all wanting to be a part of the whole Olympic fan experience. That really contributes to learning about why is that you're sharing the same passion. –Rafaela

-Because we are all here to cheer, to support our country. We are all equal in that way. –Celine

Shared interests and experiences.

-We talk about what similarities we have in our lives. There are other teachers out here and I wouldn't have found out that if I hadn't met and talked to them. Same job, where you live, where you've traveled. Just common experiences of where you've been. Maybe it's past important events, that's probably a common one that we found a lot. –Henry

-Because the more you learn, the more you share, the more you're going to have something in common. "Oh, I'm running too, are you running? Are you doing a marathon?" So, you're going to share. You're going to learn and that's the way to make friends. –Celine

-When we like to travel, for example. Many times the similar things we have is the interest of travelling and knowing abroad. –Daniela

Identity and brand of the event. The theme Identity and Brand of the Event is constituted of fans' rationales that express how ICT factors in contexts and situations related to some of the Olympics' core components and ideals.

Talk about sports.

-We are here for the sports, so it's easy to start a conversation. Like, "Oh, we are watching football. Do you like football?" Or maybe the rules are a really good step, like I don't know the rules at handball, for example. So the guy beside me was talking about the rules. "Oh, what did you say, please?" And you start interacting with each other about the Olympics. Because of the Olympics. –Rafaela

-They choose special sport that I never heard, for example, rowing. In my country there is no rowing or practicing this kind of sport. We don't have many representative. This is the way [we learn about their way of life]. –Camila

-Sometimes I feel like the talking in the Olympic Games are just about the Games, but we're talking about much more than that even when we're talking about the sport. – Rafaela

-I think that's the thing about the Olympics, you are talking with a lot of people, and they all want to see the same sports and enjoy the same moments. I think that there is really an Olympic ideal which can bring people together. –Bram

-Miriam and I talked about a lot of different things. We talked a lot about different sporting events we enjoyed, and I learned a ton about Miriam in the process, like the night we were trying to turn on the TV so we could watch swimming together. –Leslie

Same reason to attend.

-People are from different countries, different cultures, different language. At the end, it's people that are coming towards something that they like. Sports, or the Olympics…everybody is here for the Olympics. If it's for one sport, or all of them, or

only to see the moves. Only to see the Olympic Park, or only to say that they've been in the Olympics. At the end, all of the people here are interested in the Olympics. –Marta

-I feel like everybody's here for the same purpose, to see sport and those sorts of things. I think the event's bringing people together, and that's a common goal within itself….I think the common goals would be, come and have a good time and see some good sport. –Charlotte

-It's with the people and you have common goal, you travel or come to see events. You understand that you have the same feeling about sports, about this event, about the Olympic Game. And so we are all here to celebrate. So yeah, you understand that they are similar to you. –Maxime

-You're actually cooperating with each other knowing that you're there to watch the match, and no incidents will take place. You're all for the same target, which is go and watch the match and you have a nice time. –Agustina

Positive tone of event.

-I'm just one of those people that gets a little bit swept up in the whole rosy-cheeked, teary-eyed-ness of the Olympics. With the medal ceremonies and people are crying, crying out of happiness, and the athletes are all hugging, and then they wave at their fans. I guess to me, that's unity. I mean I'm crying out of happiness and so I'm having a pleasant time. –Leslie

-When you actually study more about the Olympic movement, when you read this book about the Olympics, you actually get to know more about the Olympic movement and values and everything. You know when you go to the Olympics, the Olympic experience will guarantee you an atmosphere of friendship, so yeah. It's one interesting thing that the

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Olympic movement, it's one of the Olympic values, friendship, respect and I don't remember the other one. So yeah, basically making new friends equals friendship and the Olympic values. –Agustina

-I think that it's one of the few places when people didn't look at each other with racism. Even the team of the, the Refugee Team, they've been more cheered than any other one, and it's not any racism. –Marta

-At opening ceremonies, I just felt like I really liked that speech the IOC did. There were two different speeches I really liked, so I guess I probably would've felt equal otherwise, but it might have just helped contribute to the overall setting of the tone right off the bat. –Leslie

International competition.

-I think that's what the Olympics is about. It'd be rubbish if there was just one fan group here. –Charlotte

-I think the Olympics didn't, it's not as a football match, for example. Outside the Olympics in their own country where most of the [professional club teams], it's kind of they are rivals, so it's one against the other. It's so much different. It's like a fight between them, but here you don't have only two teams who are competing. It's like teams from all over the world or athletes from all over the world. You don't have like only Ukrainian people and Uzbekistan people. You can have it maybe in boxing for one fight, but the next fight it changed and it's Armenia and Morocco. It's not that for two hours it's only a fight between two teams. It's people from different teams, from different places of the world, and they are kind of at the same place and competing for the same thing. For example, synchronized swimming today equals eight teams. It's not like if it was a fight

of two teams. If you have in the stadium only people from two nationalities, it's easier that they get angry with each other because it's you against them and them against you. If there are like 8 [teams] it's…eight different teams' supporters….I think it exist not only in the Olympics, as well in maybe the World Cup, as well for the World Championships of swimming. For that as well, because it's not only two teams who are competing. I think that's where it's more for the unity. It disappears when only two teams are competing. Even here for the first matches for rugby or football, for the same ticket you have two different matches. At least it will have four teams and four [groups of] supporters. –Marta

Uniqueness of Olympic atmosphere.

-I don't think people would come to be involved in the fan experience unless there was this initial Olympic unity. You wouldn't feel comfortable coming if you didn't know what you're getting yourself in for in a way. -Charlotte

-If I wanted to I could root for the best routine, or I could root for whoever I wanted, or who has the snazziest swimsuits, or the best facial expressions. I guess what I'm saying is, everybody [at synchronized swimming] was just having a really good time, and even outside from myself, all the athletes were again, they were hugging each other, taking pictures with each other, going up to their fans and taking tons of pictures. Literally into the grandstands, which I hadn't seen athletes do that until today, entering the grandstands. The "losers" went and took tons of pictures with the press and did fun poses, and so it really was, just this united atmosphere where it was like, "We're all winners," which just sounds really cliché, but we had such a fun time. Synchronized swimming is such a fun, quirky, event too, anyway –Leslie

-I think that without being at the Olympics, I probably wouldn't go talk to people if I was on holiday normally. –Charlotte

Competition and performance.

-All the athletes are here for a main goal, to try to do their best for their countries. …Everybody is cheering at the Bolt, and he is Black, or everybody is cheering for China or Japan, so I think that it's one of the few places where the racism is, the level is less. Because I think that here people didn't see the color of the skin or the religion, they are just seeing if they are winning or not….It's not as much the color of the skin. It's more about, wow, he won. It doesn't matter where he or she is from. It just, wow, it's good because he or she won. –Marta

-We all got so excited about Russia today. Russia's [synchronized swimming] routine was great. I was not sitting next to any Russian people, but we all were just like, "That routine was off the chain!" We all stood and cheered, and, "Wow!" I felt equal to all those people in that we shared that opinion. It was just that they were the best. –Leslie

-[The woman next to me] was cheering for the Russian team even though was Brazilian. She love the Brazilian team…but she understood that it was not, I mean it was really nice for Brazil, but it was not that level. I think that it's like unity of people who is cheering the teams that are the best. –Marta

Sportspersonship.

-I think only if respecting each other you can maybe have different groups of different supporters and they be civil to each other. Maybe the supporters from Colombia and the supporters from Venezuela, and it's a hyped one against each other, like fight, for example, in boxing. Even the athletes when they finish the fight, they congratulate each

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other, so I think that it is extra polite outside the ring as well. As they do it, they are kind of, "thank you," or they congratulate each other, or even the coach of the other team. [Fans] say, "Well if they do it, maybe it's okay for us as well to not be angry with each other." –Marta

-Just people coming to cheer for their country, that also inspires you to respect them. To respect them even if your team lost or your country lost. It inspires you to respect those people, their country, and not feel offended, and remember that it's just a game. So it's about just having a good time. You know, you can't win all the time. –Marta

Decent and considerate behavior. The theme Decent and Considerate Behavior is constituted of fans' rationales that express how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in fans' perceptions of behaving and treating other people well.

Knowledge informs appropriate behavior.

-So everybody is just cheering for one country or is there to enjoy that sport. If you have to cross you try to cross fast because you know that other people is watching the game as well, and you don't want to bother. Not everybody but most of the people are just trying to be careful because they already know there's other people who is already enjoying the match, so they try to accommodate. –Marta

-I will not insult you if I know more or less about your situation or your way of life. I will make you feel comfortable by avoiding insults or certain subjects or behavior. –Daniela

-Because you actually get to know someone. If they tell you they're Muslims, you probably would want to respect their beliefs and you won't do something that would make that person uncomfortable because of their religion. –Agustina

-Because I think that if you know about the other it's more easy to respect them, but if you are ignorant, you will have a lot of prejudice and you will not be respecting, and maybe you will not want to be respecting. –Maxime

-Because, for example, if you know that somebody doesn't like to smoke, for example, I can cooperate with him, not smoking in front of him. –Daniela

Tolerance and understanding.

-At the Opening Ceremony. To respect others, other cultures. Tolerance, they said about tolerance a lot. –Thiago

-Because if you are changing your behavior and you are being a little bit more tolerant because they have different habits, you are already respecting each other. If you accommodate you are trying to respect. –Rafaela

-I think particularly being with her (18-month-old daughter), and people are very understanding about the fact that…basically every single event we go to, we have to leave halfway through, or not leave completely, but we're not going to be staying in our seats the whole time, at least one of us. Some people could get annoyed, but we haven't had that at all. –Charlotte

-One of the Olympic values is respect. You actually know that if you're sharing this fan experience, you have to be respectful to others no matter what their beliefs are or what their culture is.

Obedience and compliance.

-For example, before with the Brazilian not cheering for the France. They [announcers] said that was not okay, so that was an insult, and that did not get support from the Olympics authorities. –Maxime

-I haven't seen yet drunk people, for example. No disturbing others. I don't know if because there are many cops on the street, and military people and stuff. I don't know. –Daniela

-I'm seeing this as in particular the Brazilian military showing, which is very strong. Sometimes I do think it's a little bit overdone. As a result of that, definitely having that support there has led to a lot more respect than maybe I could see there would have been. –Charlotte

-I think that all the police and all the people who is working for the Olympics, I think they didn't let something, a fight, they will cut it. …The police and the security and everything, it all really avoid that some people get in fights with each other because no one wants to get expelled. –Marta

Maintaining a positive atmosphere.

-We don't see a lot of booing and particularly, I don't know for you guys, but before we came out here, to the Russian athletes obviously there's been all the drug stuff before. And there was lots of press about how they might get booed. Oh how horrendous for them! I haven't seen that at all, and I'm quite glad for that because I think at the gymnastics that would have been horrendous. –Charlotte

-Even just little things, like there are frustrating times at the Olympics when you are queuing, and you're trying to get food or whatever like that. Just cooperating with each other. If someone has realized it's not their turn next, not pushing in front of them. Just everyone being quite patient with each other and cooperating. It makes it much more pleasant than people getting, because people do get frustrated here, so just making sure that we're not arguing with each other whatever, and we're getting on with it. –Henry

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-Not bothering the other one. For example not smoking in front other people or making too much noise. –Daniela

-To make sure that people around you are having a good time, and not in a cheesy way, but in terms of being hostile or you're not. She's [18-month-old daughter] not kicking someone in the back, for example. Stuff like that. I would see that as everyone working toward the same purpose as cooperating.

Inconsiderate is the exception.

-So from when we were at the tennis, some guys behind us, it was on one of the smaller courts, and some guys behind us were being quite rude to the tennis players, and you just kind of felt a very, tense in the atmosphere where everyone else just went, "Oh my God, like why is this happening?" and that was really noticeable, and I would say "no, no, no."…It's something that you would only see at home, and we would call it like York-ish behavior in the U.K. Yeah. This is ten billion times better than the usual buggers. Oh my word. –Charlotte

-You don't want to be seen as that person who is making everyone else's lives a misery, but I haven't seen anyone be like, "Oh god what are you doing here." And actually today a guy knocked her [18-month-old daughter] when we were watching the rowing, and he was so apologetic about it, and to be honest it was probably her fault. –Charlotte

Helpfulness.

-We were asking for help, wanted directions. The person only spoke Portuguese, she went to a person she knew as a volunteer and together we help each other understand where I was going. –Celine

-If we help each other, things are going to be easier, and you're going to feel more confident and less afraid of things or be able to plan everything based on other people's experiences as well. You get more what you're trying to accomplish. –Carlos

-When you see just simple but when you ask for the people on the street for your direction or where you have to go, they just ready to help you. For me, it made me smile. –Maxime

Doing things together (interpersonal). The theme Doing Things Together (Interpersonal) is constituted of fans' rationales that express how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in fans' shared actions and mutual plans beyond conversing with each other. It is distinguished from the theme Collective Activity in that it encompasses situations and experiences with small groups of people and not large crowds.

Arranging to meet again.

-I just feel like if you make friends with people and you get to know them, then you feel better with them. You feel more, you have a connection with them, and you feel more solidarity. I have a small group, see I've met quite a few people, like four or five people that I've seen quite a lot. So yeah, we're similar age and we're going to similar events and stuff. –Henry

-We share moments together. I meet some people and then they ask to see more times. So also having great time outside the events. Like the guy I met at the swimming. I invited him to the Dutch House to spend a night there and he even was taking me with his car to the place. I think that's not so normal. –Bram

-I met a…guy, and he wanted to know how to get to this place and this place and this place, and I told him how to get there, and he's like, "Well, do you want to go out to dinner after?" We went out to dinner after and hung out, and he showed me pictures of what he did that day, and I showed him pictures of what I did and stuff like that. It was pretty cool. –Joey

-You're attracted by people just behaving the same way as you do, and then talk to them. …The Estonian fan group [at the fencing], they were just behaving the same way as we do, as a fun group, and then talking to them, and then learning about their lives, and they're doing exactly the same as we do back in Switzerland. Just follow their team as well. Same way of living. We ended up meeting, and talking to them for an hour or so….We were having lunch with them together. –Simon

Photos together.

-This has been a very, just overall, very cooperative environment, a very like, "How many flags can we get in this photo?" Great Britain jump in, Japan jump in, so in that way, cooperative. Yeah, people will talk to anybody, so yeah. –Leslie

-There are so many guys doing photos of couple of different groups. Respect went from one side to the other as well. –Daniela

-Because when you take a selfie, in every building somebody wants to take a selfie. And when they do one for you, then you can help them. They're going to share, they're going to do the same. So you happy to be there. So that's a little way of cooperating for me. – Celine

Exchanging contact information.

-Yeah [I've exchanged numbers]. It's as if…you say, "Oh are you going on a night out, or you got tickets to whatever."…It's funny because at home, giving someone's number is quite a big deal. Whereas here I'm pretty much, "Wow, I just want to meet people." Within a three-or-four-minute conversation I will give out a number. As long as we have a conversation or whatever, and they've shown some interest about what I'm doing later, what event we're going to or whatever….Let's see what we can go to. –Henry

-I think it's interesting, we are supporting Germany on the swimming pool. And next to us was a lot of Germans. And so they looked back and gave us the eye contact. She started to speak in German, and they asked me, "You are German?" "No, I'm Brazilian, but I'm supporting Germany." "Oh, this our son," and we interact with each other and the son was winning. And they gave us an email and Facebook and stuff to be friends and connect each other. –Rafaela

-Sometimes giving help to other people in the streets, going to the games, for example. We start talking and we finally become friends, make change different numbers. –Daniela

Future plans.

-About travelling to other places in the past or talking about other trips, not necessarily sport related. "Oh you know what? That's what I like to do. Why don't you call?" Then maybe they get each other's number and eventually make plans to follow up and say, "You know what, I'd like to visit your country." –Carlos

-Because I host to you now, and maybe when I come to your country you host me or something like that. –Rafaela

Activities with strangers.

-I think Brazilians, obviously, are phenomenal at beach volleyball. We're probably going to go out and play again tomorrow, and I was a little nervous to just walk around and be like, "Hey, can we hop in on your game?... When I played beach volleyball, I did have to talk to…Argentinians and Brazilian individuals…through a lot of different language barriers, but our common goal was…to have fun. We all wanted to play beach volleyball. We all wanted to win. –Leslie

Cheering together.

-Today, I was cheering with a flag from Japan in synchronized swimming, because I had the mother of one of the girls who was participating nearby, and, "Yay! Is my daughter!" The Japanese don't speak really a lot of English, but person was saying, "Daughter." I said, "Okay." I was cheering for Japan. –Marta

-Because I think on my second night in Rio, I was on my own, and I'd met a couple of lads. The reason that I'd met them is because they were showing their identity with clothes and flags and stuff, and I wasn't really. I was bit more subtle. But then since we've hung out, I've displayed the flag a lot more. We've dressed up to wear blue, for example. I haven't gone quite as far as they have, but yeah, I've done a little bit more. Because I felt more comfortable with it having others doing the same. –Henry

-Let's say you learn about the person beside you. The person says, from the USA, "My grandma lives in Ottawa." "Oh, I live in Ottawa!" Now I'm going to cheer. I wasn't even cheering no one. Now I'm going to cheer for that person. The fan experience increase. –Celine

-I have someone who is the neighbor of someone or whatever when I was in weightlifting, actually, behind me. It was the neighbors of one of the girls who was doing the weightlifting so I cheer Columbia. –Marta

Not being alone.

-Because I'm travelling alone, so I think when I talk to people then I go out or to go get food or something so I'm not all by myself here I guess. –Joey

-My case, I travel alone for this Olympic because I love sport, and Rio is near. And I never spend one day alone. All the time, I talk with people. …During the game, I stay with them, share the drink, or lunch or whatever. [We] meet during the game and during the travel to Barra de Tijuca. –Camila

Just hanging out.

-Because the same thing, those people which I talk, they like to do some trip, they like to go out and just walk. Not special trip, like for example, just going here in Copacabana to see the stadium of volleyball. So yeah, this common goal, we said, "Okay, let's go together." –Maxime

-Like I was hanging out with guys yesterday, Argentinian guys, and they were just drinking beer in the hostel. That's what I would do with my friends in the US and stuff like that. One o'clock in the morning we went out, it was, their group was a lot similar to mine I think. –Joey

Differences and comparing. The theme Differences and Comparing is constituted of fans' rationales that express experiences and ideas about learning about others' differences and comparing oneself to others.

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Variety of topics learned.

-When you actually get to interact with different people, you actually learn a lot about their culture and their way of life. You actually learn a lot about their cultures. It's basically like, there are people from different nationalities that are actually more polite. You would probably never get to know them if it wasn't because of the Olympics. – Agustina

-That leads to part of the conversation with that person and learning more about that person specifically. Where they live, the area their country is. Also the way they think or the way they party, the way they eat. –Carlos

-We are in Olympics, learning about the others, because for example, they show us their music. They show us dance. …You learn about the culture of Brazil in this case. –Camila

-I will tell you when we share food and the other team say for example, they cook a lot with mantequilla. Butter. I told that in my restaurant we cook everything with butter. He was telling me about his way of cook, what they cook. Yeah, I discovered a little bit of Argentine. It is different from France. –Maxime

-There were a group of women, Muslims, giving information about their culture. So we can support women that are competing and that was great. They were just talking in front of Olympic park. …They want to show their culture. They were Brazilians talking about their culture, so we can support the Muslims. The Muslims are showing their culture and we get an opportunity to go there and ask, talk to other groups. –Rafaela

-I don't know if you see Japanese cheering but they have a lot of flags. They have all the stuff, t-shirts. They are like super proud even if they lose. They are still proud and they are still thinking. I'm so impressed with Japanese people, honestly. –Marta

-Because sometimes you are prejudiced, and when you talk with them you can learn more about the way that they think, the way that they dress, the way that they cheer, if they are parents. –Celine

-Just sharing about how many people I had in my family, and they were sharing about how many people were in their family. What they went to college for and things like that. To see what they liked to do and stuff. –Joey

-Because when I talking with these, the other people, I ask about what sport they like and what sport they participate. –Camila

-You learn something about the people. The person. Yeah, not only the person as a fan if you like the person private information like, I don't know, what kind of job they have or what are they doing or how many languages they speak. –Marta

Exchanging differences.

-We were talking about education and their way to get an education. How their way of life is different from our way of life in Denmark because it's very different. –Helena

-Because while the people I meet when I learn about them, they ask me back for my life from my culture, so it's always an exchange. –Maxime

Appreciating others' challenges.

-For us in Denmark, it's very easy to get an education. We get money from the government, and in Brazil you have to pay money to get an education. This couple's [Brazilians who invited them for dinner] home, both of them were doctors, and they come from families who are not poor. That's very important to get an education here in Brazil. They're telling me that to get English in school you have to pay for it in Brazil to get

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something that is good enough. The governmental school cannot give that. Their life may be a bit more tough here than ours in Denmark. We get everything for free. –Helena

-About respect when you know information. That's what they tell me, that the people who are living here [in slums], they don't have so much in life. They want to have something, and that is why are going to steal. It's not that I think, "Well, it's good what they do," but maybe I now understand why it's happening. –Bram

Compare and contrast.

-The other day a guy from Canada talked to us, and he say like, "Oh this is different in Canada," and we're like, "Oh this is way different in Argentina as well." We tend to compare things. –Agustina

-You compare yourself to if you have common goals then you also compare yourself to the way they live, what they do, their mentality, and I think it also helps to learn about the other people. –Carlos

-Because you're getting to know someone, and you're actually chatting about, I don't know, their passion. I mean, you're actually seeing that you probably have different tastes and things like those, different beliefs. But, you actually respect that person because you actually know that it's all about diversity. –Agustina

-I think the more you're sharing, the more you're seeing that other people are not as different as you think. That way you can not necessarily agree on things, but you will respect the fact that you might disagree. –Celine

Advice.

-If I had a common goal, I could say traveling for example, I learn about how they live, what they do, and how this travelling plays a role into their lives and how that interacts

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with the way they live their normal life. I might say, "You know what? I should do that."
If I like to travel just the way that person does, then I should also do what he's doing so
that I can also make it part of my plan. –Carlos

Communication behaviors and styles. The theme Communication
Behaviors and Styles is constituted of fans' rationales that express how ICT factors
emerged and supported each other in fans' communicative actions and approaches to
communicating with each other at the Olympics.

Confidence and comfort.

-Because it broadens your perspective about the world. Learning about those people's
way of life helps you to also interact with more people down the road. Yeah because
when you learn about other peoples' way of life, when you come across people that might
be from the same area, the same financial status, etc, you learn how to approach them,
how to talk to them, how to address them. –Carlos

-Because when you share is because you feel confident. At some point if you don't feel
safe, you won't share any information. I think you need that. If you're sharing it's because
you're feeling equal. –Celine

-If you don't feel rejected, you don't feel like you're less than them, there's potential for
more interaction and getting to know the other people. –Carlos

-Yeah, you understood better the people if you know their way of life. So maybe it's more
easy to talk with them because you understand them for sure. –Maxime

Languages.

-For me it was this experience that was super nice because I practice my, so it was an
opportunity to practice my German. –Rafaela

-Maybe if the other one knows that I don't speak Portuguese very well, so they try to help me. –Camila

-Because we practice English and [know] how other groups react. That's why we have a good time, because everything is new. –Rafaela

Personality traits.

-I don't very willingly share information about myself. So, it's been easier for me to share information about myself if before that I can see how others are similar to me. I think a lot of people do get enjoyment actually out of like, "Oh look at all of the diversity!" I love seeing the diversity, kind of as an observer, but I have a hard time interacting with it. Just maybe as an introvert, or just maybe with my personality style. If I can talk to a Brazilian and there is something we have in common, then it's much easier for me to open up about myself. –Leslie

-I think if I felt different or less than you, I may be shy. I don't talk to you or I don't cooperate with you or help you. –Camila

-Because we are Brazilians, we love friends! We like to talk and to share. –Rafaela

Online communication.

-For example, the Brazilian couple who invited us to their apartment. They replied us on Facebook, and they are writing to us and so on. Yeah, so I kind of see them as new friends here in Brazil. –Helena

-Because we talk about a trip, both like to do. That might lead to be willing to share information, making that person friends on Facebook and things like that in order to be able to keep on interacting virtually. –Carlos

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Barriers to communication.

They are going to know you more than they used to know about your culture and probably try to avoid insults. We had a case in the Olympics at Greece I was with my wife. I think a photographer asked us where we are from and we said we are from Sao Paulo and he said, "Oh, nice place to die." Probably he knows Sao Paulo is a lot of bad place to be, a good place to die, he said this ironically. Then he felt bad. After that he tried to be more friendly but he said it and we really got uncomfortable. Nice place to die, like your city's a piece of. We didn't answer, we stayed quiet –Thiago

-I have a hard time opening up. If I'm turned off, I close up really, really, really fast. In a group setting, maybe felt insulted on like, two occasions. What I'm getting at is that on a personal level, like on a one-on-one interaction, I don't know if I ever felt insulted. So I think that would contribute to me sharing information with people. –Leslie

-At the Olympic Center, some Argentina people want to take a picture with us, but one of them start to talk about politics in Venezuela in front us. Politics is a very, you know, difficult, sensitive, intense subject. We don't like to talk about politics. He start to talk about our former president, Chavez. We didn't want to take a picture with him. Our reaction was "Okay, we're aren't going to take a picture with you." We felt not insulted, but we don't feel well about his comment. We didn't like the comment. …If I know about Venezuela, our situation, I won't talk about that subject, for example. If I know here in Brazil they have political problems too, I won't talk about that. The more you learn, the more you learn how to make them comfortable. I don't want to make other people uncomfortable, like those Argentinians make us feel. –Daniela

Mood affecting communication.

-Usually when you are happy or in a good place, you are more open to helping other people. If you are angry, or you're upset, you will not be able ... you will not to help anyone. It's difficult if someone asks you for help. If they see you are angry, they will not even dare to ask. –Marta

-I'd say yes to that. I'm quite private person in general. I don't think unless I was having a good time I'd share information with other people. –Charlotte

-I think if you're enjoying yourself it makes you a little bit more outgoing. If you're enjoying yourself and you're somewhat social, so whether you're in the park or you're in a bar or whatever, and you're enjoying yourself, I think enjoying yourself gives you a bit more confidence to find out more about people, and you meet more people because everyone's having a good time. –Henry

-When you are having fun and you are enjoying your time, it's more difficult that you are not respectful with others and even, I don't know, if someone just bump in you or something and you are just in a good mood, you just say, "Oh, yeah, sorry," and it's okay. But if you are not in a good mood if someone bumps you it will turn, and maybe you can start a fight or something. –Marta

Approach and response to others.

-You know that you're going to be interacting with people from all over the world….It's about just having a good time and letting everyone enjoy themselves do their own thing. If they're screaming and jumping next to you and they're having a good time, it's okay. – Carlos

-I guess in my experience at the Olympics, I feel like if I respect people, I'm going to cooperate with them better, just on a human level. Typically I enter human interactions trying to respect the people around me. –Leslie

-Because if you not have any prejudice with the people, yeah you don't care about ... You are just open minded and you are open to talk without prejudice, without judging them. It's more easy to learn about them, too. I think prejudice can close a discussion of people. –Maxime

-You have to respect that it's people from other nationalities. That they have flags from other countries and they are cheering or they are singing the songs of their countries and you have to respect that. That makes that as well that you are having a good time, maybe enjoying the songs that they are singing. It's okay for everyone else. –Marta

Initiating communication and contact. The theme Initiating Communication and Contact is constituted of fans' rationales that express how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in fans' experiences of starting conversations and coming into contact with each other at the Olympics.

National symbols as conversation starters.

-Because by showing the country you're from or the type of personality you have, if you like to be loud and things like that, that makes you see or show to others who you are. That can break the ice and help you interact with other people that might be the same way or might like the country. For example, when I went to the bar with a Mexico shirt on and just by having that, a lot of people were like, "You're from Mexico?" "Oh Mexico, yeah." Then they will start talking to you. That make me meet other people. –Carlos

-If the unity inspired by the Olympics is many nationalities get together, I think it's very important to show where you're from, and I think you can do that by displaying my group identity. And I think by displaying my group identity, more people addressed to me. If I'm going with the Danish flag and the Danish shirt, more people address to me and say, "Hey!" And "I saw you guys playing something." –Helena

-I think it's about starting to learn about other way of life. For example, if I see your flag, you dress the flag of United States, I will know that you come from United States. I will maybe start to talk to you and talk about United States or something like this and know more about your way of life. –Maxime

-People will talk to you more. They have [the flag] as a conversation starter. Obviously when you speak with people, you learn more about them and why they're here. I would say yes. Definitely because it's kind of a conversation starter. –Charlotte

-Because you show something when you're wearing your shirt, so it says about your group already, so it introduce. It's not because you're wearing a shirt that you're going to learn about, but if you're not wearing a shirt, it's more difficult, I think. Because it can start a conversation and then it can go anywhere afterwards. –Celine

People might talk to me because they see a British flag or a British wristband and then that starts conversation. Then you learn about individuals, so yeah. I wore my British flag around me and then I met two lads on my way out [of the metro]. Just met them and exchanged numbers, so yeah. They wouldn't have spoken to me had there not been a British flag. –Henry

Same place and time.

-It would mean like a short term goal. It's like I don't know where we have to go to Maracana Stadium. As we're all going to Maracana Stadium, we all have the same goal and then you actually get to chat with people and say like, "Where are you from? Why are you going to this match?" –Agustina

-That leads to maybe establishing a friendship. …We're watching a game, you know, sitting next to each other. Just start talking about the game, the sports or whatever that was on T.V., or just a party. Party and being next to each other when getting a drink, stuff like that. –Carlos

-The fan experience could be lots of things. I guess it could be standing in line and waiting for the horrid food, but I am choosing to interpret it a little bit more as the events where you're cheering and being a hardcore fan. Yeah. There were times where I was cheering and stuff with people around me and we started talking about, "Isn't that person so great or that team so great?" –Leslie

Helping leads to talking.

-Yes because when you help somebody you can say, "Oh it happens to me yesterday, blah blah blah. Did the same." You're likely to ask, "Where are you from, what's your name?" So you will share that. I think you can cooperate with somebody without knowing anything. Then you're going to share. –Celine

-It's an easy way to start a conversation when you help somebody. –Rafaela

Perception of commonality.

-You're attracted by people just behaving the same way as you do, and then talk to them. Yeah, I have an example. Estonian fencers as well, they were just behaving the same way

as we do, as a fun group, and then talking to them. We ended up meeting, and talking to them for an hour or so. –Simon

-Probably because you see them similar to you you're actually more comfortable about the fact of chatting with them and saying like, "Okay we do have some in common." –Agustina

Physical spaces. The theme Physical Spaces is constituted of fans' rationales that express how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in the physical, tangible environments and objects at the Olympics.

Olympic Park.

-We met another Brazilian couple inside the Olympic park. We were speaking with them, just getting to know them a little bit. …We needed a place to sit, and there was a bench free. They were sitting on the other side of the table, and we asked them if it's okay if we sat there, and they said "yes." Then we got to know them a little bit better. –Helena

-I think I would offer that Olympic Park and the actual spaces for the Olympics were really good unity-type spaces for me as an individual who's scared of talking to people. That helped me share information about myself with other people. Whereas, if I'm on the street, and somebody just starts talking to me, I'm like, "Oh do you need money? Oh, do you need directions?" When you're in Olympic Park, you know all these people are there for the same reason. …They want to know where you're from. They want to know what team you're rooting for. –Leslie

-We will share a table [at Olympic Park]. "Will you share a table with us?" You don't know who we are. We are from Argentina." It's good. It's one [way to cooperate]. –Agustina

-Of course, being at the Olympic Park is a part of being equal with each other. –Helena

 Lines and order.

-Obviously if you are respecting other people who is around, especially here where it's like, well, today it was so crowded, the Olympic Park. For me it was like the crowd-est day. Crazy. Obviously, you have to respect each other. You have to respect the lines. It's everybody respecting the lines so it's easier. –Marta

-On a very basic level if we were not cooperating with each other and filing properly through endless lines then I would not be having a pleasant time. –Leslie

-So you're cooperating with people, and we're all getting through [the line] together. Then you chat in your queue, and you're finding out about other people's lives. –Henry

-For example here, it's really other preferential things. Like for people with wheelchairs. Preferential lines for kids, for old people, people with wheelchairs. I think all the stadiums are really prepared for it. The people really respect it. Especially at the metro, and everywhere. –Marta

 Stadiums.

-The other sings songs, like a different song to support their country, so you share a moment together, even if you don't want. You have the obligation to share this because you're around them. Because you're around them in the stadium. They are around you. You are in the middle of all the people, so I think even if you only go and come back, you share something. –Maxime

-The Olympic authorities put this on, and all the U.S. people came here. …They have all the stadiums set up for us and all the tickets and everything. Obviously, we can all go to one area and cheer for the events. –Joey

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-It's temporary friends. For the venue. –Marta

-Because you see that solidarity. You see this feeling of solidarity. When I see, for example in the stadium I see the French people. I feel solidarity to them because we are on the same team. We are together. …When you go to the stadium you want to show your flag. –Maxime

 Non-Olympic spaces.

-When we have medals, then the medal winners are coming to our place [Dutch House]. We have a celebration. –Bram

-[Olympic staff] give information, instructions, having all the people in the street helping us. –Daniela

-Well, the fan experience, I was a fan at the Today Show today, and the woman next to me and I talked for quite a while, and she told me…where she lived. –Leslie

-I met four people in the hostel. We talk a lot. …I meet a lot of people who like to travel, like to discover people, learn about different way of life, about different culture, so I learn all about the world that these people know. –Maxime

 Microcosm of the world.

-You know that you're going to be interacting with people from all over the world. You're going to be interacting with them at the stadium, on the way to the stadium, the subway and the bus. –Carlos

-Walking on the street and seeing all the people from all over the world, and just happy to be and happy to pass a good time. This even in the stadium in the Olympic Park, you see people who come from everywhere. Everyone is smiling. It's amazing to see that. –Maxime

-This brings people together, so that means they're are going to be more interacting with each other and potential of making new friends. I think it's just by being around people from all over the world. You know, either in the subway station or a stadium. That alone brings people together. It kind of broadens your perspective. So I think that alone helps. You feel like you have something in common. –Carlos

Public transit.

-I feel in particular with transportation, like late night with the bus, and the metro not working, sometimes there would be a group of us, and we wondered how we would get back. Or we would be on the bus, and we were communicating with some young guys asking them where their stop was, and telling them where our stop was. We were all trying to figure out where we were going. Common goal. Obviously we were cooperating with each other. –Leslie

-In the bus, people try to find someone that wants to sit. [The Olympics] gets some people to be more friendly than usual, I think. –Thiago

-It's not like "friends" friends, but you can have a nice talk with other people. Like you are sitting in a place and you met another person, and you start the conversation. You are kind of helping them and it's not a friend but it will be like a friend for the journey at the metro at least. –Marta

Safety and security.

-It's about safety again. If I was not feeling safe to go to the Dutch House for example, then I could have less solidarity with my own group. –Bram

-Because of the security presence that Brazil provided, specifically in Copacabana and Ipanema where we were staying, and the opportunities we had to be on the beach and

interact with people, particularly beach volleyball and stuff….I always felt safe and fine…at the Olympics. The support from the Brazilian government with the safety helped me learn about other people's ways of life. –Leslie

-The authorities tell you to go one way, and you obviously have to cooperate with them because you're not going to get in otherwise. Take everything out of your pocket and go through a metal detector and everything like that, because if you don't cooperate with them or you try to bypass their system somebody could get hurt, like a terrorist was there. I don't know, something like that. You want everybody to cooperate with them, and then everybody will have a good time. –Joey

-Feeling more safe makes it more easy to, for example, meet people outside the Olympic Village. So, makes it more easy to meet somewhere else. –Bram

Collective activity. The theme Collective Activity is constituted of fans' rationales that express how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in experiences and settings in which large groups of people engaged in similar and/or simultaneous actions at the Olympics.

Follow the crowd.

-When someone starts chanting like "USA!", then everyone else follows. "Okay, I think I should probably be displaying my group identity." –Joey

-I say, "Wow." If I saw a people who wear flags, and feel happy too, I try to imitate that. To copy. You say, "Oh. Why they wear the flag on their clothes? Okay. I buy something with my flag on my clothes." –Camila

-This unity makes you to be more open to know people, to help, to exchange, to take pictures. Many people from other countries exchange the flags. –Daniela

-Yes, because you realize when you come to the Olympics, you see how a lot of people like to show their colors, their country colors. That inspires you to do the same. You want to also show where you're from which is I think something that I like a lot. –Carlos

Comfort in numbers.

I think if you feel uncomfortable in a situation, obviously you're not going to enjoy it as much, and I haven't felt uncomfortable. That's because you feel that people are pretty similar to you. Whereas if you feel isolated or the only one being "x" or "y" then you wouldn't have as good of a time. –Charlotte

-Yes, the simple goal of wanting to support your country. So having common goals, so we wanted to support the same country. Yeah, because I wouldn't have done it if it [displaying group identity] was just me and no one else was identifying it. So having these common goals of wanting to show our support, yes. –Henry

-If somebody starts standing up, or if somebody starts jumping up and down, like a few times at the volleyball game the other night, I had already had that impulse to jump up and down, but since we were in such a minority I didn't stand up a few times. So when somebody started standing then I just went ahead and stood up. That helped contribute to me participating in the fan experience voluntarily. –Leslie

Strength in numbers.

-Everybody starts chanting USA, we all cooperate together. It makes us like one. You got to be on the same, you can't be saying USA and then I say USA. It's louder if we all cooperate. –Joey

-Because it's easier to cheer for an athlete when you see those people are wearing orange, so we can cheer together and we can share the flag if another one don't display a flag. –Bram

Collectively creating an atmosphere.

-Everybody feels with the other fan. Because last night, when you think about at the triple long jump, the Colombian. She had the crown, but everybody was cheering for her to beat her own [longest jump]. She was the best, and her last jump we were hoping that she would do even better, and she's Colombian. We're all cheering for her. Just because we we're here for good sport. She was cheering the crowd and the crowd was cheering, saying, "Give it your best!" –Celine

-I'm going to feel cool and united with all the people I'm hanging out with if we're all respecting each other. I feel like overall we really, truly did at all the events, we were at just cool fun atmospheres where everybody's cheering each other on. –Leslie

-For example, when I went to see the trampoline when the Brazilian has injuries, everybody cheer for the girl and cheer for the person. I think the fan experience have respect each other that way. –Celine

Integrating the Data for Research Question 4

In this section, I utilize and integrate all of the data discussed in this chapter, including the top 18 factors fans identified, the supportive relationships between those factors, and the themes built from rationales in ISM interviews. Integrating the data allows me to address the function each factor served in fans' positive intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics, including where and when the factors were active and supportive. I present data relevant to each factor in each stage of the meta-structure

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and describe their functions and roles in fans' experiences of intergroup contact and communication individually. I illustrate how they serve these functions and roles through fans' rationales and include at least one quoted rationale illustrating how each of the 18 factors fits its stage and functions. All 16 interviewees' voices are included at some point in these sections. I also discuss the theme/s in which each factor is active and supportive, which offers an understanding of where and when is conducive to the factors and their functions in fans' experiences.

Primary Support Factors

Primary Support Factors (F1, F11, and F16) are the leftmost stage of the meta-structure, have the highest INF scores, and have a high degree of influence to support other factors.

Factor 1: Meeting and talking with others. Helena from Denmark cited how meeting and talking with a Brazilian couple at a road cycling event led to longer conversations and follow-up contact and communication, which fostered many different ICT factors at-play in her experience with the couple. Throughout her interview, many of Helena's rationales for why one factor supported another were illustrated by examples from her experience with this couple from Brazil, who later hosted Helena and her friends for dinner at their home. Thus, meeting and talking (F1) with them served as a source of primary support by initiating a process through which several other factors emerged, including learning about others' ways of life (F2), cooperating with each other (F6), having common goals (F3), respecting each other (F15), having a pleasant time (F5), making new friends (F8), feeling equal to others (F10), learning about individual people (F17), and sharing information about ourselves with each other (F14). In response

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to how meeting and talking with others supported "Seeing how others are similar to me" (F4), Helena offered,

> When you're talking with other people and meeting with other people, you get to know them and get to see that we're all people and human beings who—I think most people have something in common when you get to speak to each other. When we met the Brazilian couple, who invited us to their apartment, I got to know that for them the education that they got is very important, and it's the same for me.

This rationale illustrates how F1 functioned as a Primary Support Factor by starting a process that supported a few other factors in Helena's experience of intergroup contact, including learning about individuals (F17), seeing similarities (F4), and potentially making new friends (F8), all of which she later cited as supporting other ICT factors through specific aspects of her experience with this couple.

Meeting and talking with others functioned most strongly in its support of other factors in the theme Differences and Comparing. This means that F1 was a powerful source of support for other factors in fans' experiences of learning about others' differences from themselves and comparing themselves to others. Meeting and talking also functioned as a strong source of support for other factors in the theme Identity and Brand of the Event, meaning it fostered other factors in fans' experiences of the core components and ideals of the Olympics. More specifically, these experiences included talking about sports and common reasons for attending the Games.

Factor 11: Displaying my group identity (clothes, flags, etc.). Given the important function meeting and talking with others (F1) played in fostering the other ICT

factors, "displaying my group identity (clothes, flags, etc.)" (F11) frequently entered fans' experiences in a way that illustrates another important function of Primary Support Factors. Consistent with ISM visual structures, the meta-structure indicates that factors contained within the same box exert their influence on each other. This proved especially true for displaying group identity, as many fans described the factor's support for F1. For example, Charlotte from Great Britain called national flags and clothing a "conversation starter," and Maxime from France noted,

> If I see your flag, you dress the flag of United States, I will know that you come from United States. I will maybe start to talk to you and talk about United States or something like this and know more about your way of life.

Maxime's quote, in which "you" refers to me, depicts how F11 supports F1, which in turn supports F2 (Learning about others' ways of life). Simon from Switzerland drew similar connections when referencing the ubiquitous sight and experience of strangers of different nationalities taking photos together. After saying he was wearing Switzerland-themed clothing, he recounted, "There's been so many guys from different countries asking for photos of us. A guy from Kenya asking us yesterday for a photo on the golf course. It's just been great. Talked to him for half an hour, perfect." In this example, F11 supported F1, and from that point several other factors seemed to emerge, including cooperating with each other (F6) as they took a photo together, F2, F17, and F14 as a half-hour conversation is likely to involve these factors, and F5 (Having a pleasant time) as Simon indicated he enjoyed talking with the man from Kenya. By supporting F1, F11 serves an important function of fostering the factor shown to be the

most powerful source of support for other factors. Factor 11 has a high level of influence on factors to its right as well, which is also why it is a Primary Support Factor.

Displaying my group identity (flags, clothes, etc.) (F11) functioned as an extremely strong source of support of other factors in fans' experiences of Initiating Communication and Contact, including F1 as described. The national symbols people displayed drew people to each other and served as conversation starters, and when people shared spaces with each other, such as in stadiums and on the metro, symbols of group identity offered a bit of information to initiate conversations with nearby people. Displaying group identity also functioned as a support to fans' experiences of Humanity as an Ingroup as fans recognized similarities that transcended their national differences while also embracing those differences.

Factor 16: Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities. In addition to serving the functions described in the examples of F1 and F11, Primary Support Factors also simply functioned to support individual ICT factors more than any other category. For example, interviewees identified how F16 (Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities) supported many other factors in general and specific ways, often citing volunteers, staff, stadium announcements, security and police, and the larger governing bodies responsible for the event. Explaining how F16 supported F2, Simon from Switzerland said, "They really tried to connect people to each other. So many volunteers just talking to people and trying to connect people to each other. It's quite a good attempt." Thiago from Brazil explicitly asserted how F16 supported F15 (Respecting each other) by saying, "They were really strong about these issues at the Opening Ceremony…. I think it was very important. To respect others; other cultures. Tolerance;

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they said about tolerance a lot." Leslie from the USA added that F16 supported F10 (Feeling equal to others), offering, "At Opening Ceremonies, I really liked that speech the IOC did…. I guess I probably would've felt equal otherwise, but it might have just helped contribute to the overall setting of the tone right off the bat." Regarding the role of security, Bram from the Netherlands linked F16 to F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily) through the rationale, "It's more safe than outside of the Olympics. It makes it easier to participate in Olympic events and fan experience." For how F16 supported F7 (Avoiding insults to each other's group), Daniela from Venezuela added, "I think they don't have the chance to hate people and…I haven't seen drunk people. No disturbing others. I don't know if [it is] because there are many cops on the street."

Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities functioned most strongly in its support of other factors in fans' experiences of Decent and Considerate Behavior, particularly through messages of tolerance and understanding from the IOC and in various settings at the Games. In addition to the IOC's speeches, a few interviewees mentioned how Olympic values of respect and tolerance (IOC, 2012) shaped the environment, and several others noted signs and stadium announcements with similar messages. This is consistent with F16's prominent presence and support in how fans experienced the Identity and Brand of the Event, including their efforts to maintain the positive atmosphere and tone authorities provided for them.

F16 also functioned as a source of support for other factors in Decent and Considerate Behavior in fans' experiences of obedience and compliance, primarily in reference to police and security procedures. Safety and security were also part of where

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F16 functioned in the theme Physical Spaces in addition to Olympic Park, stadiums, lines, and public transit. Interviewees often noted that organizers and authorities created these spaces for fans, so the positive intergroup contact and communication they experienced in the spaces was inherently supported by F16.

Secondary Support Factors

Secondary Support Factors (F13, F7, F6) are the second leftmost stage in the meta-structure, have relatively high INF scores (but lower than Primary Support Factors), and are relatively strong sources of support to other factors (but to a lesser extent than Primary Support Factors).

Factor 13: Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily.

Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily was especially strong in supporting other ICT factors for people who traveled alone, as indicated by its leftmost position in the structures from Joey, Carlos, Bram, and Henry. These fans emphasized the importance of pursuing contact and communication with others in order to ensure their experiences were not lonely. As a rationale for how F13 supported F5 (Having a pleasant time), Joey from the USA noted, "I'm travelling alone. I think when I talk to people, then I go out or go get food or something, so I'm not all by myself here." Henry from Great Britain described several instances of pro-active behavior to engage others, including building a multi-national friend group that regularly got together during the Games, exchanging contact information much more quickly than at home, and selling the extra event tickets from his friends who canceled their plans for Rio. Their tickets were seated together, so after engaging with people to sell the tickets, he also sat next to them for the duration of the events. F13 also supported other ICT factors for many interviewees who

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were traveling with friends and family, and they commonly described their choices to engage with those around them as enriching their intergroup experiences, including Maxime, who referred to how F13 took the form of "sharing moments" with others that supported F5 (Having a pleasant time) and F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me).

Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily was very active for fans in the theme Identity and Brand of the Event, particularly when they were watching competition. F13 functioned as equally supportive of and supported by other factors at the competitions. Fans chose to engage with people around them by cheering with them and having conversations with them, which supported other ICT factors as described above. Fans also chose to engage with people in these ways because of the support of other factors at the sporting events, often including F11 (Displaying my group identity), F9 (The unity inspired by the Olympics), and F3 (Having common goals). F13 was also active in fans' experiences of Doing Things Together (interpersonal), including activities with strangers, such as Leslie's pick-up beach volleyball matches on Copacabana Beach, and when several interviewees' took intergroup photos, exchanged contact information, and arranged to meet again. They noted their eagerness to engage in these practices and how participating in them supported other factors. F13 also, however, received support from other factors in fans' experiences of Doing Things Together in the form of follow-up plans and hanging out together.

Factor 7: Avoiding insults to each other's group. Charlotte from Great Britain emphasized the function F7 played in fostering cooperation (F6) to create a comfortable atmosphere in the context of the Russian doping scandal. In the weeks and days

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preceding the Olympics, several Russian athletes were banned from competition for using illegal performance-enhancing drugs. Charlotte said,

> To the Russian athletes obviously there's been all the drug stuff before, and there was lots of press about how they might get booed. How horrendous for them! I haven't seen that at all, and I'm quite glad for that because I think at the gymnastics that would have been horrendous.

Leslie from the USA talked about how a lack of insults in her interpersonal interactions supported F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other) in her experience. She attributed much of her openness to share information about herself, even as a self-described introvert, to never feeling insulted at the Olympics. Finally, and illustrating the potential of Secondary Support Factors to foster Primary Support Factors, Helena offered the following rationale for how avoiding insults to each other's group supported F11: "I think if somebody insults me and my group as a Danish girl, I probably would not display my group as much as I would if they were pleasant to me."

Avoiding insults to each other's group was very active in interviewees' experiences of Decent and Considerate Behavior, and it functioned as mutually supportive of and supported by other factors. Charlotte's quote about an absence of booing at gymnastics reflects the theme's notion of maintaining a positive atmosphere, and as Helena and Leslie described, they never felt insulted, which is consistent with the idea that offensive behavior was the exception at the Olympics and supported their comfort to display group identities (F11) and share information with others (F14). Interviewees attributed F7's receipt of support from other factors to their experiences of Decent and Considerate Behavior when people applied what they learned about others to

avoid offensive conversation topics, including contentious political situations. Other interviewees referenced how F7 received support in Decent and Considerate Behavior in that authorities promoted messages of tolerance, understanding, and respect.

Factor 6: Cooperating with each other. Bram from the Netherlands described his cooperation with a new Brazilian acquaintance who drove him to the Dutch House, and he got the Brazilian entry into the Dutch House. Bram's account of the experience illustrates how this cooperation fostered several factors to its right in the meta-structure, including F2, F17, and F14, which emerged in their conversations during the car ride and at the Dutch House, F3, as their common goal was to go to the Dutch House, and F5, as they both had a pleasant time that night. Leslie from the USA noted how she observed F6 supporting F10 (Feeling equal to others), saying, "This has been a very cooperative environment; a very, like, 'How many flags can we get in this photo? Great Britain jump in, Japan jump in.' So in that way, cooperative." Celine from Canada also commented on photos and explained how F6 supported F5 (Having a pleasant time) by saying, "In every building somebody wants to take a selfie. And when they do one for you, then you can help them. …So you're happy to be there. So that's a little way of cooperating for me." She also described an experience of how F6 supported F11, a Primary Support Factor, when a Canadian sprinter, DeGrasse, was jogging around the track after winning the bronze medal in the 100 meter dash, and she and her husband were trying to get in the front row to celebrate with him.

> Well even just last night. When DeGrasse was walking around, you went along
>
> the rail, you put the Canadian flag over somebody else's flag, and the guy was not

happy at first, but then you say, "That's *my* guy." Then they understand, "You

won a medal. We did not, so it's your time now."

Last, fans also talked about how cooperation supported other ICT factors by

preventing potential negative consequences of some of the unpleasant aspects of fans'

experiences: lines and food at the Olympic Park. The process of getting food from

vendors and the quality of the food once fans finally got it were among the most frequent

complaints from interviewees. However, as Henry from Great Britain explained,

cooperating with each other in this very unpleasant process often fostered "having a

pleasant time" (F5).

> Even just little things, like there are frustrating times at the Olympics when you
>
> are queuing and you're trying to get food or whatever like that. Just cooperating
>
> with each other. If someone hasn't realized it's their turn next, not pushing in front
>
> of them. Just everyone being quite patient with each other and cooperating. It
>
> makes it much more pleasant than people…arguing with each other.

In her rationale for F6 to F14, Leslie from the USA added,

> Cooperating with each other was at the wretched food place in Olympic Park. I
>
> needed help making a purchase, and a very nice Portuguese-speaker helped me
>
> make several purchases. Then we talked quite a bit about the food there, and then
>
> she said, "On behalf of Brazil, I would like you to know that this is not
>
> representative of our fast food." We joked around quite a bit while we were
>
> waiting for our food.

Not only did cooperation in this food debacle help prevent negative intergroup contact

and communication, as in Henry's example, but also, fans' cooperation through shared

frustration actually fostered positive intergroup contact and communication in some cases.

Cooperating with each other functioned as a strong source of support to other factors in fans' experiences of Doing Things Together (interpersonal), including taking photos together, activities with strangers and acquaintances, and arranging to meet again. F6 also functioned as a source and receiver of support in fans' experiences of Decent and Considerate Behavior, particular regarding helpfulness. Fans referred to F6 in their reoccurring experiences of giving and receiving help, including giving directions and translating languages. These forms of cooperation were sometimes supported by meeting and talking with others (F1) and other factors, and they sometimes supported F1 and other factors, as well, especially if helping or being helped by others served as a springboard for conversations and/or forms of Doing Things Together (interpersonal). Cooperating with each other was also very active in the Physical Spaces of the Olympics, particularly in fans' experiences of filing through lines.

Mediators and Conduits

Mediators and Conduits (F2, F9, F18, F3, F4, and F15) are the middle stage of the meta-structure and function to channel, facilitate, and/or enhance support from factors on the stage's left to factors on its right.

Factor 2: Learning about others' ways of life. Illustrating how F2 functioned as a Mediator and Conduit for factors on its left to factors on its right, Daniela from Venezuela offered,

Being open to meet new people. I met people from Argentina. From Colombia, too (F1)….I think it's the only way to know about other country's culture (F2). …

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It's a good way to have new friends (F8) because in the case you can go to

Argentina or Colombia or to any other country, you have them there and you can

count on them.

Daniela's rationale of F1's support for F8 requires F2 to function as a Mediator and

Conduit. Without F2 serving this role, the capacity of F1 to foster F8 would seem to be

diminished or erased. Maxime from France offered another example of F2 serving this

function. He explained,

It just happened a lot. I meet a lot of people (F1). You just, "Where do you come

from?" "I come from here (F2). What's your name? Why are you here? (F17)"

Something like this. The first step. Just making friends (F8) for me is a pleasant

time (F5).

This quote shows how F2 is a Mediator and Conduit channeling the support of F1 to F17,

F8, and F5 for Maxime. It comes after meeting and talking but before more personal

questions about the individual.

Learning about others' ways of life most distinctly functioned as a Mediator and

Conduit in fans' experiences of Differences and Comparing, particularly through learning

a variety of topics about others' cultures and home regions. Learning this information

was often the outcome of Primary and Secondary Support Factors, but these factors relied

upon F2 to foster support for factors toward the right of the meta-structure. F2 also

channeled influential factors' support to other factors in fans' experiences of Humanity as

an Ingroup, especially when fans recognized similarities that transcended differences

between their and others' groups. Learning about others' ways of life functioned

similarly in fans' reoccurring encounters with the Identity and Brand of the Event, particularly when they talked about sports as it related to their ways of life and cultures.

Factor 18: Solidarity with my own group. Illustrating how F18 functioned as a Mediator and Conduit in a rationale for F3's (Having common goals) support to F18, Henry from Great Britain added F5 (Having a pleasant time) as a positive consequence. He said,

> In terms of a common goal (F3) of wanting to support the British team, and we're supporting together (F18), I think that meant it was a better time because of it (F5). So not just you on your own, but having other people with it. Enjoying the shared experience.

A common goal of supporting the national team fostered solidarity in the form of togetherness and joint effort, which supported "a better time" and enjoyment of a "shared experience." In this example, Henry is referring to a form of *intra*group contact in that the experience was with British supporters. However, this *intra*group contact is simultaneously *inter*group contact as evidenced by Henry's discussion about socioeconomic, professional, and other group differences within the British national ingroup.

Helena from Denmark also offered an example of F18 as a Mediator and Conduit. In her rationale for F11 to F18, she added how F18 then supported F1 and F5 in her experience.

> Yesterday, we were seeing the kayak and the canoeing finals, and two Danish guys walk by. I was waving with the Danish flag (F11), and they went to us and

sat with us (F1) because they could see that we are in the same group (F18), and

then, we have a pleasant time with them as well (F5).

This is especially noteworthy, because as discussed above, F11 functions as a strong

source of support for F1, the most influential factor in fans' experiences. For Helena, F18

was a valuable part of supporting F1.

The presence and function of solidarity with my own group was relatively evenly

spread among the nine themes, which suggests that F18 channeled support between

factors in many common sites and situations in fans' experiences. It also suggests that

ingroup solidarity emerged and fostered positive intergroup contact and communication

in nearly every aspect of fans' experiences at the Olympics. Fans cited experiencing unity

and shared experiences with people from their national groups with whom they would not

have experienced these things outside the Olympic context due to socioeconomic,

professional, and other outgroup differences. The solidarity some fans experienced

extended to even larger ingroups, as well, which is illustrated by F18's most frequent

emergence in Humanity as an Ingroup. Interviewees expressed feeling a sense of world

citizenship, and many cheered for several national teams, and these experiences

channeled support between more and less influential factors.

Factor 3: Having common goals. In his rationale for why F3 supported F8

(Making new friends), Carlos from Mexico suggested F3 is more of a Mediator and

Conduit for how F1 supported F8.

When we start conversation and you just meet some people (F1), then you realize

you have a common goal…about the traveling et cetera (F3). That alone makes it

easier for the conversation to flow. That leads to maybe establishing a friendship

(F8)….One [new friend] is from Brazil, another from Cuba, America, and Colombians.

I did not ask about F1 in this question about F3 supporting F8, but its function as a Mediator and Conduit emerged regardless, as Carlos showed the role of F3 in F1's support of F8.

Having common goals functioned to channel support between factors most prominently when fans encountered the Identity and Brand of the Event. In particular, this occurred when they recognized they had the same reasons for attending the Olympics, including traveling and seeing sports. Realizing these common goals as they related to the Identity and Brand of the Event helped fans feel more connected, which enhanced the more influential factors' support to reach factors toward the right of the meta-structure.

Factor 9: The unity inspired by the Olympics. Bram from the Netherlands captured the simultaneous ambiguity and important function of F9 as a Mediator and Conduit, saying,

It's a good feeling to feel equal (F10) to others and to see things that maybe a lot of other people in the world don't know (referring to F9). There you are at the Olympics meeting people from others countries (F1) and you see the similarities (F4). It gives me a more equal feeling (F10). I can understand them more beautifully.

Bram offered this rationale in response to how F10 (Feeling equal to others) supported F9. By feeling equal, he was able to tap into the atmosphere of unity only accessible to

people at the Olympics, and the unique, context-based experience of F9 played a role in fostering F1, F4, and cyclically, F10, which initially contributed to him experiencing F9.

This function of F9 as a cyclical Mediator and Conduit indicates that it enhances factors that feed into it for their own, stronger emergence in fans' experiences. This occurred with several factors such that factor "x" supported F9, which recycled and strengthened the presence of factor "x" for fans. The unity inspired by the Olympics served this function, as well as the more standard function of Mediators and Conduits, most prominently in fans' encounters with the Identity and Brand of the Event. This included fans' descriptions of the positive tone of the event and the uniqueness of the Olympic atmosphere, exemplified by fans citing the Olympic values and saying they would not have engaged with outgroup members if they were on a normal vacation.

Factor 15: Respecting each other. Helena from Denmark succinctly illustrated the necessity of respecting others in order for F1's support to reach F5 (Having a pleasant time). "Well, of course you can meet and talk with the other people (F1) without respect (F15), but it would not have been a pleasant meeting or a pleasant talk with anybody (F5)." Helena then noted that she had not experienced disrespect at the Olympics and that consequently, meeting and talking with others (F1) had only contributed to her having a pleasant time (F5) and never an unpleasant time. Therefore, respect functioned as a Mediator and Conduit for F1's support of F5.

Respecting each other functioned to channel support between several other factors, as well, most commonly in fans' reoccurring encounters with Decent and Considerate Behavior. Interviewees described inconsiderate, disrespectful behavior as a rare exception, respectful applause and empathy for injured athletes, and the

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predominance of tolerance and understanding. Among these settings, F15 served to enhance and extend the support of Primary and Secondary Support Factors to Supportive Outcomes and Outcomes.

Factor 4: Seeing how others are similar to me. Carlos from Mexico depicted how F4 functioned as a Mediator and Conduit between F1 and F8 (Making new friends).

> You start a conversation and you start interacting with them (F1).…Because then you realize that people have a lot of things in common, things that you like as well (F4).…About travelling to other places in the past or talking about other trips, not necessarily sport related. "Oh you know what? That's what I like to do. Why don't you call?" Then maybe they get each other's number and eventually make plans to follow up and say, "You know what, I'd like to visit your country."

This example illustrates how simply meeting and talking with others is not enough to make new friends. Seeing similarities can be an important Mediator and Conduit in this process.

F4 functioned to enhance and extend support between many other factors, as well, and it commonly did so under the umbrella of Humanity as an Ingroup. This often happened when fans discovered shared interests and past experiences with outgroup members as well as similarities that transcended their differences. Seeing how others are similar to me also emerged in the Identity and Brand of the Event in the form of enjoying the same sports and traveling. In their encounters with both themes, F4 typically relied upon other factors to emerge, especially Primary and Secondary Support Factors. However, once it did emerge, it strengthened and propelled these factors' support to

Supportive Outcomes and Outcomes, illustrating its function as a Mediator and Conduit in these reoccurring aspects of fans' experiences.

Supportive Outcomes

Supportive Outcomes (F12, F5, F8, F10, and F17) are the second rightmost stage of the meta-structure, have relatively low INF scores compared to most factors, and primarily function as outcomes of other factors' support.

Factor 12: Accommodating to each other. Henry from Great Britain explained how accommodation helped support many of the friendships he developed at the Olympics. He was traveling alone and expressed a pro-active, attentive approach to others in order to engage with them and share his experience with other people. He cited all of the following as ways in which accommodating functioned to support another Supportive Outcome, F8 (Making new friends):

> I think you look out for each other, you make sure that people are safe, or they have tickets that they need, or they know where they're going.…I have accommodated somebody and let them stay in my apartment for a day, so in a literal sense as well.

He also helped a couple fans who were desperately trying to find tickets before an event by connecting them to a man he saw trying to sell two tickets minutes earlier. He then developed a friendship with those fans and got together with them several times over the following days.

Accommodating to each other is illustrated as an outcome of F2 (Learning about others' ways of life) in the intergroup contact experience of Daniela from Venezuela. Daniela actually experienced negative contact from someone else's lack of

accommodating her and described how if the other person had learned more about her way of life (F2) then he could have accommodated her more, resulting in positive contact.

> At the Olympic Center, some Argentina people want to take a picture with us, but one of them start to talk about politics in Venezuela in front us. Politics is a very, you know, difficult, sensitive, intense subject. We don't like to talk about politics. He start to talk about our former president, Chavez. We didn't want to take a picture with him. Our reaction was, "Okay, we're aren't going to take a picture with you." We felt, not insulted, but we don't feel well about his comment. We didn't like the comment. …If I know about Venezuela, our situation, I won't talk about that subject, for example. If I know here in Brazil they have political problems too, I won't talk about that. The more you learn, the more you learn how to make them comfortable. I don't want to make other people uncomfortable, like those Argentinians make us feel.

Specific examples of negative contact and communication were rare during interviews, but when interviewees voiced them, it was almost always a commentary on how a missing factor's presence would have fostered more positive intergroup contact and communication, as Daniela described.

Accommodating to each other emerged in fans' experiences of Decent and Considerate Behavior much more than any other theme. F12 also distinctly exemplified its Supportive Outcome function in this theme as it primarily received support from other factors but also offered support in some ways. Fans regularly utilized the knowledge they had gained about others' groups to accommodate them. When they knew to some extent

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what others preferred and what made others uncomfortable, they were able to accommodate their behaviors accordingly, which illustrates F12 as an outcome. F12 was also an outcome of other factors' support in instances when fans helped each other, as interviewees reported they were likely to accommodate others with whom they had already communicated. Sometimes, however, interviewees reported that instances of helping others started with accommodation, which then supported other factors.

Factor 5: Having a pleasant time. Marta from Spain, who frequently expressed her love for sports and the proclivity of the Olympics to provide fans a good time through providing good competition, described how at a synchronized swimming event, having a pleasant time supported its fellow Supportive Outcome, feeling equal to others (F10).

> The synchronized swimming atmosphere was just, like the music was really fun, lively music, and the players, the athletes, were just being so fun and even goofy, and yes, cooperative with one another, taking pictures with their fans, et cetera, et cetera. We were all having a pleasant time. I guess I'm just saying, if everybody was having a fight, or if everybody was sad that a team didn't win, then you're sad that that team isn't as great as the other team, so you're not feeling equal.

Leslie from the USA was also at this event and described it in a similar way. It seemed that all the athletes and fans were having a good time and enjoying the event regardless of who won medals and who did not, and this fostered a sense of equality with everyone else present.

Having a pleasant time more often functioned as an outcome of other factors' support. Bram's example of cooperating (F6) with a Brazilian who drove him to the Dutch House resulted in both of them having a pleasant time that night. Maxime from

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France illustrated the functions of three meta-structure stages in the following rationale

for how F11 supported F5.

> When we go to the stadium to the game, see all the people from France who wear
>
> the flag and support the team (F11). It was very great, and we all sing together
>
> (F18) a French chant to support the team. It was very nice (F5).

Maxime displayed and saw others displaying their French group identity (F11), which is

a Primary Support Factor. This supported solidarity with his own group (F18), a Mediator

and Conduit, which functioned to connect F11 to F5, which is an outcome in this case.

Helena from Denmark similarly illustrated the functions of a few categories through her

experience with meeting the Brazilian couple who invited her and her friends to their

home for dinner. In her rationale for F1's support to F5, she referred back to when she

told the story earlier in her interview.

> We had a great day with the Brazilian couple. If we [had not met them], the day
>
> would have been different….It was a very nice day for all of us. We went to their
>
> apartment to eat...It was a very pleasant time with them.

Her previous, more complete account includes several Mediators and Conduits

functioning between F1 and F5 in this experience, including learning about others' ways

of life (F2), having common goals (F3) regarding education, seeing how others are

similar to oneself (F4) regarding medical careers, and respecting each other (F15). All of

these factors functioned as Mediators and Conduits through which F1 supported F5,

which Helena described as the outcome of her day with this couple.

> Having a pleasant time illustrates the function of Supportive Outcomes in that it

received more support than it provided in every theme except Communication Behaviors

and Styles. F5 was supportive in this theme largely because interviewees reported that having a pleasant time put them in a good mood, and being in a good mood resulted in more positive communication with each other and supported other factors. More commonly, however, F5 was an outcome of other factors' support, as was the case when fans engaged in Collective Activity. Several factors were at-play in developing mass actions, including "the wave" in stadiums, chanting and singing with crowds, and joining efforts to cheer for an injured athlete or one who had secured a gold medal and was attempting to improve their best jump or throw. Interviewees emphasized that these experiences and the factors embedded within them strongly supported having a pleasant time. They also reported that other factors strongly supported F5 when they were Doing Things Together (interpersonal), including intergroup photos, a variety of activities, and just hanging out.

Factor 8: Making new friends. Henry from Great Britain intentionally sought out friends at the Olympics, which he often attributed to traveling alone and wanting to share his experience with others. He found that his new friendships supported another Supportive Outcome, "feeling equal to others" (F10), and he directly attributed the relationship between these factors to the Olympic context.

> I've met people who are connected with athletes, or they live in London and have this fancy lifestyle, but I wouldn't have met them if I was just at home, because it's different circles. And you realize they are just people. …That is something nice about the Olympics. You can often see…they're being very friendly, just people I wouldn't have met at home, and it's like, you might earn more money

than me or know more famous people, but we can get on, we can have a meal together. We can hang out.

While Henry shared the same national ingroup as the fellow British he mentioned, he perceived himself to be outside their socioeconomic or status-based ingroup until "something nice about the Olympics" fostered a sense of equality (F10) with the support of making new friends (F8).

Daniela from Venezuela offered a rationale for how F6 (Cooperating with each other) supported making new friends. As indicated by its position toward the right of the meta-structure and function as a Supportive Outcome, F8 was more often on the "supported" side of factors' relationships than the "supportive" side depicted above by Henry. Daniela's rationale also included me as an example in her fan experience. Daniela said,

> In the way I cooperate with you, for example, I make a new friend I think. So many messages! And yeah, sometimes giving help to other people in the streets, going to the games, for example. We start talking and we finally become friends, exchange different numbers.

Daniela considered our cooperation, which at that point had consisted of her screening interview, survey, and arrangement of when and where to meet, as supportive of a friendship. She also noted how more typical forms of cooperation at the Games supported making new friends.

Making new friends was equally supportive of and supported by other factors in fans' experiences of Doing Things Together (interpersonal). Interviewees reported that several factors supported F8 in the form of hanging out with others and doing activities

together (going to athletic events and bars, playing beach volleyball, etc.), but F8 also supported other factors that arose from exchanging contact information with their new friends, arranging to meet again, and continuing to communicate and spend time together. F8 functioned much more as an outcome of other factors' support in fans' reoccurring experiences of Initiating Communication and Contact. Interviewees described this theme as a frequent, routine part of their experience in which other factors functioned as starting points and necessary steps to support making new friends.

Factor 10: Feeling equal to others. Celine from Canada pointed out that fans visiting Rio for the Olympics "all have enough money to be here. We are equal in the sense that we are not equal for the entire planet. We are all equal because we also have enough money and time to be in Rio." A few interviewees expressed consistent thoughts that while they felt equal with others present, many people in the world were not present due to issues of economic inequality. They also noted that this was perhaps the most significant characteristic of humanity missing from what was otherwise an extremely diverse context relatively representative of the world's population.

When asked for his rationale for why F10 supported F5 (Having a pleasant time), Henry from Great Britain said, "I think you wouldn't be having a pleasant time if you felt inferior to people or uncomfortable. Yeah, I think that's an important factor if you're going to have a good time." I then asked if he had a pleasant time with anyone to whom he felt equal at the Olympics whom he would have potentially perceived to be not as accomplished as him outside the Olympic context. He answered,

> I know a guy who actually doesn't live too far away from me at home, and he
>
> works a chip shop. In honesty, if I was at home I would probably be a little bit

dismissive of that and think, "Okay, it's a job for a 16 year-old maybe." I would

be a little bit snobby about it. I would assume I wasn't going to have any fun with

them and I would just be polite and nice enough. But actually…we did have quite

a good time. So yeah. If I just met him at home and whatever and just said

"Hello," I wouldn't really have invested any time. I'd just assume that we didn't

have anything in common.

For Henry, the Olympics fostered a unique intergroup context in which he felt equal to

someone who he admittedly would have perceived as inferior at home, and this feeling of

equality supported the two of them having a pleasant time together (F5).

Helena from Denmark explained the more common occurrence of how F10 was

supported by another factor. In response to how displaying her group identity (clothing,

flags, etc.) (F11) supported F10, she said, "For example, if you see the nationalities as

different groups, we're equal in that way that I'm cheering for Denmark, and they're

cheering, for example, Brazil, and we have our country." Several interviewees noted this

specific example of feeling equal to those cheering for other national teams, because the

equality was channeled more through cheering for one's nation than it was through

cheering for the *same* nation. A couple interviewees included respecting each other (F15)

between F11 and F10 when they described different national groups cheering, which

illustrates F15's Mediator and Conduit function. Fans displayed their group identities and

saw others doing the same, respected them for doing so, and felt equal to them.

F10 functioned very distinctly as an outcome of other factors' support in the

theme Humanity as an Ingroup. This indicates that ICT factors that were active in fans'

experiences of world citizenship, unity superseding differences, and shared interests and

past experiences with others strongly supported people feeling equal to each other. F10 was also strongly supported by other factors when fans were in the Physical Spaces of the Olympics, as interviewees described feeling a sense of equality with those around them simply by sharing space at Olympic Park, stadiums, in public transit, and waiting in lines. Additionally, F10 was an outcome in fans' experiences of the Identity and Brand of the Event, especially when they talked about sports, recognized their shared reasons for coming to the Olympics, and observed each other enjoying the athletic competitions. Reflective of the descending INF scores in Supportive Outcomes, feeling equal to others offered less support to other factors than the three preceding factors in its stage, and this limited support was spread relatively evenly across the themes. It was strongest in Decent and Considerate Behavior, in which feeling equal to others supported other factors in ways that prompted tolerant and respectful behavior toward others.

Factor 17: Learning about individual people. Leslie from the USA noted F17's support for the only factor with a lower influence score, F14, in her rationale, "If individual people provide information first, it helps me open up and share my own information. …'I'm from L.A.' 'Oh, really? We might move there in a couple of years.' 'We do HR law.' 'Oh, my brother does law.'" In this exchange, Leslie, who identified herself as an introvert, summarized a conversation in which she first learned information about another individual (F17) before opening up to share information about herself, which started more information exchange between the two (F14).

Given its function as a Supportive Outcome and position in the meta-structure, F17 more often received support than dispensed it. As an example, and illustrating the functions of Primary Support Factors, Mediators and Conduits, and Supportive

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Outcomes, Carlos explained, "You start a conversation (F1), and then you realize you have a common bond (F4). That leads to part of the conversation learning more about that person specifically (F17)…The way they think, the way they party, the way they eat." In Carlos' experience at the Olympics, F1 (Meeting and talking with others), a Primary Support Factor, supported F17, which was an outcome in his explanation. However, F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me) served as a Mediator and Conduit through which F1's support reached and/or was enhanced for F17.

Learning about individual people most often received support from other factors in fans' experiences of the Identity and Brand of the Event, particularly when talking about sports led into more personal conversations. F17 was also an outcome of other factors when fans engaged in Doing Things Together (interpersonal), because exchanging contact information and arranging to hang out multiple times created opportunities for learning personal details about each other. Learning about individual people was most supportive of other factors in fans' experiences of Differences and Comparing, largely because as people learned about each other, they appreciated others' differences and challenges in life in ways that fostered respect (F15), a sense of equality (F10), and friendship (F8).

Outcomes

Outcomes (F14) are the fifth and leftmost stage of the meta-structure, have very low INF scores, and receive and require much support from other factors without dispensing much support.

Factor 14: Sharing information about ourselves with each other. Helena contrasted her interactions with the Brazilian couple who invited her to dinner at their

home with her interactions with Belgians she met in a way that exemplifies why F14 functions much more as an outcome than other factors related to talking with and learning about others. After describing a series of conversations with the Brazilians and having dinner at their home, she said, "We met a couple from Belgium, but we didn't talk that much, so we didn't come to the part where we were sharing information about our self." Helena's distinction between these two experiences indicates why F14 is so far to the right in the meta-structure. Interviewees largely saw "sharing information about ourselves with each other" as an outcome that needed the support of other factors; perhaps several in combination, such as what Helena described were part of her contact with the Brazilian couple that led to F14. The factor is illustrated as the outcome of other factors' support several times throughout the sections above, including in Helena's example, Leslie's experience with a Brazilian woman at the "wretched" food stalls at Olympic Park, Simon's photo with a Kenyan man that instigated a long conversation, Bram's exchange of a car ride to get to the Dutch House, and more.

Sharing information about ourselves with each other was typically an outcome of other factors' support in the themes, particularly in fans' experiences of Communication Behaviors and Styles. Interviewees reported that they were more open to sharing personal information with others because they felt comfortable being open in such a positive environment. They also had some confidence when talking with others due to reduced uncertainty about them, which occurred through seeing others' nationalities displayed and assuming similarities and common goals based on being at the Olympics.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to illustrate the breadth of the data set as a whole through composite ISM data and broad themes from interviewees' combined 516 rationales. I also sought to honor participants' individual experiences and perspectives by featuring each of their ISM structures and aspects of their experiences reflected in the structures. This interplay between breadth and specificity in the data offered a holistic view of how ICT factors generally fostered positive intergroup contact and communication in fans' experiences at the Olympics and illustrated this holistic view with specific, real examples that vividly showed how the factors emerged and supported each other in fans' experiences.

First, I reviewed the results from initial surveys, which addressed RQ 1, ranked ICT factors, and reduced them from 26 to 18. Then I presented the findings from ISM interviews with fans, which contributed to addressing RQ 2 and included how fans conceptualized and defined each factor, a participant profile for each fan accompanied by their ISM visual structure, and unique qualities of their experience and structure that affected how the ICT factors supported each other. These sections included quoted rationales provided by interviewees to center their voices in the research. Next, I displayed the composite ISM scores for each ICT factor and subsequent meta-structure of stages of factors based on these scores, which addressed RQ 2. I concluded the chapter by presenting the results of the thematic analysis of interviewees' rationales for supportive relationships between ICT factors, which addressed RQ 3. This included the nine themes that emerged from the data, conceptualizations of these themes, and quotes that served as exemplars of how supportive relationships between factors were manifested in each

theme. In the next chapter, I interpret and discuss the data presented above as it pertains

to each research question.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I integrate features of the research context from the Introduction, theory and previous research from the Literature Review, and the data described in the Methods and presented in the Results. I reiterate each of the four research questions in order and discuss what the results relevant to each question indicate for theoretical understanding and development as well as practical application. Addressing RQ 1, I discuss *what* factors fans identified as relevant and present in their experiences of intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics, including the 18 factors used throughout the remainder of the study and the eight that were not. I also draw connections between contextual elements of the Olympics from Sociology of Sport and Olympic Studies literature to highlight how the research context was ripe for positive intergroup experiences. Addressing RQ 2, I discuss *why* and *how* the factors interact in the form of supportive relationships between the 18 factors fans selected. I also discuss how understanding these supportive relationships advances ICT and its applications for organizers and practitioners in intergroup contexts. Addressing RQ 3, I discuss the nine themes of *where* and *when* fans experienced ICT factors as they relate to previous literature from ICT, AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005), social capital (Putnam, 2000), and IOC and Olympic ideals.

To address RQ 4, I integrate the results and discussion from each of the first three RQs and discuss the functions that each factor serves, as well as the situations and sites of fans' experiences in which these functions emerge and operate. I include the factors, how they relate to each other, where and when they emerge, and their interplay with processes

of group membership transformation, thus integrating the previous research questions'

foci on *what, why* and *how,* and *where* and *when*. In doing so, I combine participants'

identification of factors, interviewees' perceptions of supportive relationships between

these factors, and themes I identified from interviewees' rationales for the factors'

supportive relationships to contribute to theoretical understanding of ICT factors and

intricacies in how they interact in a ripe (Zartman, 2000) context for positive intergroup

contact and communication. I also make practical suggestions for organizers and

practitioners in "ripe" contexts. These suggestions are informed by an integration of all

the data presented in the study and contextual, theoretical, and empirical insights from

previous literature. The chapter ends with additional methodological, theoretical, and

practical implications and connections.

Addressing RQ 1

Research Question 1 is: Which ICT factors are perceived by fans at the Olympics

as most relevant to their experience of positive intergroup contact and communication at

the Olympics? I sought to answer RQ 1 through the survey with 37 fans at the Olympics,

through which they selected the factors that would be used for the remainder of the study.

The survey included 26 ICT factors phrased in experiential language specific to the

Olympics. For the methodology that followed the survey, I had pre-determined to include

the 12–18 factors fans selected as most relevant and present in their experiences of

intergroup contact and communication. The 18th factor was the last with a mean result

($x=4$) that indicated "Agree" on the survey. This served as the cut-off for factors to be

included for the rest of the study as those most relevant and present in fans' perceptions

of their experiences; however, I will discuss all the factors in the following paragraphs. I

start by discussing the implications of the top 18 factors as a whole, followed by factors ranked 19 through 26 that were not included in most of the study.

The Top 18 Factors

The top 18 factors are those outlined in detail in the Results chapter and are featured individually and in relation to each other throughout this chapter, as well. They all garnered an average response of four or higher on a scale of one to five, and four indicated that participants "Agreed" a factor was relevant and present in their experiences of intergroup contact and communication. The presence of so many ICT factors, especially when participants were only presented with 26, reinforces the notion that the Olympics are a ripe (Zartman, 2000), vulnerable (Allport, 1954) context primed for positive intergroup contact and communication. Allport advocates that ICT factors should be applied to improve intergroup relations in contexts that do not overtly seem to need it, or the "areas of least resistance" (Saenger, 1953), which seems to be consistent with the Olympics based on these results. ICT factors have been found to foster positive intergroup contact and communication in hundreds of studies over the past six decades (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), so the identification of so many factors by fans within their intergroup experiences at the Olympics suggests the context is conducive to the goals of this study. The context does this by providing a stage to understand supportive relationships between ICT factors, the aspects of fans' experiences in which they emerge, and the functions and roles they play in fostering positive contact and communication. The factors also serve as a precursor to the process of transforming notions of group membership through decategorization, categorization, and recategorization in Pettigrew's (1997) theoretical model of ICT.

In addition to this quantity of factors, the strength of factors included also suggests the ripeness and uniqueness of the Olympic context for understanding and advancing ICT. All four factors in Allport's (1954) original Contact Hypothesis (equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and supportive norms and authorities) were selected by fans in the top 18, and these four are the most extensively and robustly tested factors of any in ICT. Further, as Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 515 ICT studies found, contact that included these four factors reduced prejudice significantly more than contact that did not include them. As shown in Figure 5, fans ranked "It seems Brazilian and Olympic authorities support different groups having positive experiences together" seventh with a mean of 4.24. "I think we had common goals" and "I felt equal to others" tied for eighth with a mean of 4.19, and "I think we cooperated and did not compete with each other" was fifteenth with a mean of 4.03. This data suggests fans confirmed that Allport's original, tried and true factors were relevant and present in their experiences and further suggests the Olympic context is conducive to fostering positive intergroup contact and communication and is consequently appropriate to understanding ICT factors and processes of group membership transformation in alternative, unexplored ways.

These results also seem to suggest that the Olympics and IOC successfully communicated their values to fans in Rio and implemented the values in fans' experiences of intergroup contact and communication. The IOC's three primary Olympic values are excellence, friendship, and respect (IOC, 2012). As presented in Figure 5, fans ranked "I had opportunities to make new friends from other groups" twelfth (x=4.16) and "I think we all respected each other" third (x=4.38). The IOC's notion of friendship also

includes establishing mutual understanding, which relates to "We shared information about ourselves with each other," ranked eighth (x=4.19) and "I gained knowledge about others' customs and ways of life," ranked twelfth (x=4.16). The IOC's notion of friendship also includes overcoming group differences, which seems relatively consistent with "The Olympics is an event that inspires unity between groups," ranked first (x=4.68) and "I saw how others are similar to me in some ways," ranked seventeenth (x=4.0).

The IOC's value of respect includes ethical treatment of others, which seems consistent with "The people I interacted with did not threaten my group's status or prestige," ranked fourth (x=4.27). These Olympic values from the IOC are very broad categories, so many Olympic scholars have honed and specified related values, including Chatziefstathiou and DaCosta (2015) in their content analysis of essays from Olympic scholars tasked with writing separate pieces reflecting on past Olympic Games. They found "eight core Olympic values," (p. 13) including equality, which is consistent with "I felt equal to others," ranked eighth (x=4.19).

Factors Ranked 19–26

Participants indicating that they did not "Agree" that a factor was relevant and present in their experiences of intergroup contact and communication does not necessarily mean that factor was entirely lacking from their experience. Many fans ranked these factors quite high, but their composite scores were simply below the 4.0 mean that indicated "Agree," and they also fell below the cut-off of a maximum of 18 factors to be used in the ISM interviews. While they are not included in the remainder of the discussion, I have included below a brief discussion about how to strengthen several

of these factors' relevance and presence in fans' experiences based on insights from the literature and fans' post-survey reflections.

The lowest-ranked factor, "We were able to speak the same language," is somewhat outside the control of Olympic organizers, but participants mentioned ways to address it, including multi-lingual volunteers and staff. Another relatively low-ranked factor is, "Where I'm from people tend to have positive attitudes about people who are different from them," to which fans tended to react cynically if they disagreed to some degree. Their reactions included scoffing and explaining that they were different than many people from their home country or region who carried negative attitudes about other groups. This factor may be less relevant to intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics due to the positive atmosphere of the event and the positive attitudes fans tended to have toward other groups, which is discussed in detail in the next chapter. Participants may have seen themselves somewhat as exceptions to most people from their home regions in their attitudes toward others.

Participants also evaluated "I expected others to accept and include me" to be less relevant and present than most factors, but they contrasted their actual intergroup experiences of acceptance and inclusion to their incoming expectations. "Rio felt like a neutral location where no one was an outsider" offers a logistical challenge, but fans who took the survey mentioned that seeing more displays of their own national flags and symbols and seeing and hearing their native languages would have made Rio feel like a more neutral location that represented everyone. Many fans from outside Rio, however, also said they did not mind feeling like an outsider in Rio and that they expected and embraced it as part of their trip. "I saw people mixing together instead of staying in their

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own groups" was very close to a mean of 4.0 and the top 18. Fans who took the survey typically commented that they saw many groups of people at Olympic Park, athletic competitions, and on the metro among people from their own nations. As will be discussed later in relation to a couple of the top 18 factors (displaying my group identity and solidarity with my own group), such ingroup cohesiveness often actually functioned to promote positive contact and communication with outgroup members.

Addressing RQ 2

Research Question 2 is: What supportive relationships do fans at the Olympics perceive between ICT factors they identified as most relevant? I sought to answer RQ 2 through Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) interviews (Broome, 1995; Warfield, 1976), through which each interviewee produced a visual structure of supportive relationships between ICT factors in their experiences at the Olympics. I analyzed these structures for several ISM scores and added the scores from all 16 interviewees together to find the composite Influence score (INF) for every factor, which indicates the power of a factor's support toward fostering other factors in fans' intergroup experiences. Based on gaps and clusters in factors' INF scores, I separated them into five stages in the meta-structure presented in the Results chapter. The meta-structure is modeled after an ISM structure in that it visually represents the supportive relationships between ICT factors in fans' experiences. The functions of individual factors and how these functions connect with previous literature are reserved for discussion of RQ 4, but in the following paragraphs, I elaborate on what each stage indicates about its factors' supportive relationships with other factors in the ripe (Zartman, 2000) intergroup context of the Olympics, including how organizers and practitioners should perceive and treat the

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factors in each stage. First, I comment on how understanding and using the meta-structure can be helpful to organizers and practitioners in intergroup contexts using a specific, common, and simple example from fans' experiences.

Using the ISM Meta-Structure: The Potential of Picnic Tables

The meta-structure based on INF scores provides organization and heuristic value through which scholars and practitioners can conceptualize and visualize the power of factors in relation to each other. It also allows one to visualize and prioritize how to foster specific factors by illustrating paths of support from some factors to others and highlighting the importance of factors toward the left for generating and/or enhancing factors toward the right. For example, if in their intergroup context a practitioner or organizer had the goal of people making new friends (F8), which is in the Supportive Outcomes stage toward the right of the meta-structure, they could look at the meta-structure and identify influential factors (to the left) that could lead to making new friends. They could consider how to foster ways for people to meet and talk with each other (F1), cooperate with each other (F6), and see how others are similar to them (F4), among other factors, which would in turn develop an atmosphere in which making new friends was much more organic, feasible, natural, and a consequence of the environment.

A specific example frequently cited by the fan participants in this study and my 2014 and 2015 World Cup research can be reduced to an extremely simple but easily overlooked detail: picnic table sizes. Several fans explained how the tables were an awkward size that discouraged them from sitting with others at a table who they did not know. I also experienced this several times. The tables, which were a staple of public fan gathering spaces, including the Olympic Park, seem to be made to seat six, but if as few

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as three people were sitting at one, it seemed like enough space was occupied that the table was "taken" and that it might be inappropriate to ask to sit. Perceptions of appropriateness are obviously largely based on cultural background and other factors, but given the range of nationalities of those who gave this suggestion at various events, it seems relevant to many people's experiences of intergroup contact and communication. Several fans mentioned that if the tables were just a bit longer, it would have felt much more natural to either ask to sit in the unoccupied space or simply sit down and would have made the likelihood of meeting and talking with others (F1) much higher. As illustrated in the meta-structure, meeting and talking with others is in the leftmost stage of Primary Support Factors, meaning that it has a high level of power to support other ICT factors in fans' experiences. The more present and active ICT factors are in a context, the more positive intergroup contact and communication people in that context experience (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Therefore, increasing the likelihood of F1 with bigger picnic tables seems likely to result in a boost to several ICT factors via F1 and to fans positive intergroup contact and communication in general.

Rafaela from Brazil confirmed this notion, saying that "more common tables" would have helped her meet and talk with others (F1) more, and Camila from Argentina said the same when referring to "sharing a table" with people from other countries. Camila also cited "sharing a table" as a form of cooperating with each other (F6), which is a Secondary Support Factor with a relatively high level of power to support other factors, as well. Bigger tables would also have been a sign of support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities (F16) for creating an environment conducive to intergroup contact and communication according to Henry from Great Britain and Rafaela. As evidenced by

the composite meta-structure, F1, F6, and F16 support a host of other factors, including each other, learning about others' ways of life (F2), learning about individual people (F12), seeing how others are similar to me (F4), respecting each other (F15), having a pleasant time (F5), making new friends (F8), feeling equal to others (F10), and sharing information about ourselves with each other (F14).

Interviewees experienced all of these factors simply by sharing a table with strangers when they wanted to eat lunch or watch an event on nearby big screens, but they often convinced themselves they should wait to find an empty table instead. When sitting with others, they had engaging conversations ranging from minutes to hours and exchanged contact information, local travel tips, fascinating personal stories, and more that informed and in some cases transformed their perspectives about individuals and the groups of which they were a part. Many also exchanged contact information to continue communication through Facebook and email.

Several interviewees, including Helena, Celine, and Simon, noted that ICT factors emerged in their experiences of joining tables at which only one or two strangers were sitting, but no more. Leslie and Henry even suggested that the tables were an awkward size for knowing whether it was appropriate to sit with strangers, and Henry added that pushing the tables together would have helped people meet and talk (F1) and participate in the fan experience with others voluntarily (F13).

This example illustrates how viewing and understanding the factors that foster positive intergroup contact and communication more holistically can inform decision-making for intergroup contexts. By thinking more broadly about how they can shape the environment in which intergroup contact occurs, organizers could consider what barriers

exist that dissuade people from meeting and talking with others (F1), consider how their choices regarding the physical layout support contact and interaction (F16), and thus decide to rent eight-person tables instead of six-person tables. The composite meta-structure of fans' individual ISM structures can help inform such thinking and action.

Primary Support Factors

As the stage's leftmost position and high INF scores suggest, Primary Support Factors have a high degree of influence to support other factors on their right. They are F1 (Meeting and talking with others), F11 (Displaying my group identity), and F16 (Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities). They should therefore be perceived as a high priority when organizing and planning for intergroup contact in ripe (Zartman, 2000), vulnerable (Allport, 1954) contexts, particularly mega-sporting events. Successfully implementing these three Primary Support Factors may not optimize a context to its full potential but likely will lead to other ICT factors entering fans' experiences and foster an environment of positive intergroup contact and communication. Primary Support Factors' leftmost position also suggests they are less likely to be supported by other factors, because their high INF scores indicate a relatively low number of instances of interviewees saying that other factors supported them. Therefore, it would likely be inappropriate and ineffective for organizers to rely upon other ICT factors to foster and support Primary Support Factors.

Secondary Support Factors

To a lesser but still important extent, Secondary Support Factors serve a similar role to Primary Support Factors. They are F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily), F7 (Avoiding insults to each other's group), and F6 (Cooperating

with each other). Their INF scores are much lower than Primary Support Factors, meaning they are less powerful sources of support for fostering other ICT factors and require more support from other factors to emerge in fans' experiences. However, they also have high levels of influence over the 12 factors to their right, and more than any other stage, Secondary Support Factors have power to contribute toward fostering Primary Support Factors with the exception of Primary Support Factors' support for each other. Any factors with the means to foster Primary Support Factors serve important functions given the value of the factors in the first stage. Organizers and practitioners seeking to promote positive contact and communication in ripe intergroup contexts should perceive and treat Secondary Support Factors similarly to Primary Support Factors but with appropriately lower expectations of their power to support other ICT factors. While they are more likely than those on their left to receive support from other factors, it would still likely be inappropriate and ineffective for organizers to rely upon other ICT factors to support Secondary Support Factors in ripe intergroup contexts, unless Primary Support Factors had a strong presence in the context. In this case, Secondary Support Factors would likely be generated and enhanced by those in the first stage.

Mediators and Conduits

The third stage, which contains more factors than any other, is Mediators and Conduits. It is comprised of F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), F9 (The unity inspired by the Olympics), F18 (Solidarity with my own group), F3 (Having common goals), F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me), and F15 (Respecting each other). The stage's name represents these factors' unique and important role as the middle third of the

overall meta-structure. Much of the support and influence of the Primary Support Factors and Secondary Support Factors flows through these Mediators and Conduits. Without them, some positive effects of intergroup contact and communication and factors toward the right of the meta-structure may be diminished or lost completely. This is illustrated through several fans' rationales that linked these six factors in between the more and less influential stages on either side of them. I never asked for interviewees to link more than two factors in a single rationale, but many did, intentionally and unintentionally, and Mediators and Conduits played a prominent role in the "in between" links of their experiences of ICT factors. Therefore, in order to channel and/or maximize the support of factors in the left two stages of the meta-structure to those on the right, organizers and practitioners should ensure that Mediators and Conduits are present and active in their intergroup contexts. Fortunately, factors in this stage are often supported by Primary and Secondary Support Factors given they fall to these stages' right in the meta-structure, which indicates that they often naturally emerge if those on their left are implemented.

Supportive Outcomes

The fourth stage in the meta-structure, Supportive Outcomes, is comprised of five factors: F12 (Accommodating to each other), F5 (Having a pleasant time), F8 (Making new friends), F10 (Feeling equal to others), and F17 (Learning about individual people). As its name suggests, the stage's factors are largely outcomes of the support from the 12 factors on their left. Consequently, generating and/or maximizing these ICT factors in an intergroup context often depends on the more supportive factors. Therefore, organizers and practitioners should not perceive or expect Supportive Outcomes to generate positive intergroup contact and communication as much as Primary Support Factors, Secondary

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Support Factors, and Mediators and Conduits. They should not rely upon the implementation of Supportive Outcomes to support and enhance the presence of other ICT factors in an intergroup context, which would likely be an ineffective approach. They should instead understand these factors primarily to be outcomes of other factors' support. It is worth noting, however, that these factors all have positive, albeit low, INF scores ranging from 22 to two, and they sometimes support other factors. This explains the use of "supportive" in the name of the stage.

Outcomes

The fifth and leftmost category, Outcomes, contains only F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other). The category name is pluralized in order to allow for building upon the meta-structure in future research. Should more factors be found to fit the category, they will be added. As its name suggests, the category's current lone factor is largely the outcome of support from the other 17 factors in the stages on its left. Therefore, generating and/or maximizing F14 in an intergroup context often depends on the other factors. F14 was the only factor with a negative INF score, meaning it is a net receiver of support among the factors included in the structure. At -25, its INF score also has a relatively large separation from the next lowest factor in the Supportive Outcomes category. While interviewees responded that F14 supported other factors in their experience, they did so less than for any of the other 17 factors. Therefore, organizers and practitioners should perceive and approach F14 as an outcome that likely requires the support of many other ICT factors in order to be present and active in fans' experiences. These results suggest that it would likely be inappropriate and ineffective to treat it as a starting point to fostering positive intergroup contact and communication.

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Addressing RQ 3

Research Question 3 is: What themes emerge from Olympics fans' discussion of supportive relationships between ICT factors at the Olympics? I sought to answer RQ 3 through analyzing the 516 rationales fans provided after answering "yes" that one factor supported another during ISM interviews. As described earlier, I sorted each rationale into groups with consistent ideas of *where* and *when* they fit in fans' experiences at the Olympics. These groups included general contexts, situations, and sites in which fans commonly found themselves as well as reoccurring, routine aspects of the event that fans regularly encountered throughout their time at the Games.

These groups of rationales developed into nine themes that add breadth to the data set by depicting where and when fans experienced ICT factors and the factors' supportive relationships. The themes also offer specific detail to the data and its interpretation in that each theme is comprised of specific experiences and insights from fans based on their experiences at Olympics. This also serves the participant-centered commitment of the dissertation. The themes provide insight into ICT's presence and operation in an underexplored, ripe (Zartman, 2000), vulnerable (Allport, 1954) context that is consistent with Allport's calls for research and application. They also provide organizers and practitioners, particularly of mega-sporting events, with recognizable aspects of fans' experiences in their intergroup contexts in which ICT factors emerge and function. This allows them to view broad realms of fans' experiences to consider for implementing ICT factors as well as specific ways in which ICT factors emerged and supported each other in fans' experiences.

This section will discuss the themes by integrating them and their rationales with previous literature about AUMEC, concentric ingroups and dual identities, social capital, Categorization, Recategorization, and Decategorization, and IOC and Olympic ideals. The nine themes are: Humanity as an Ingroup, Identity and Brand of the Event, Decent and Considerate Behavior, Doing Things Together (interpersonal), Differences and Comparing, Communication Behaviors and Styles, Initiating Communication and Contact, Physical Spaces, and Collective Activity.

Anxiety Uncertainty Management Theory of Effective Communication

Fans at the Olympics primarily discussed ICT factors consistent with AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005) principles in their experiences under the umbrella of Communication Behaviors and Styles. Many interviewees referred to anxiety, uncertainty, comfort, confidence, and expectations regarding their communication with others, all of which are central to Gudykunst's theory. AUMEC contends that when faced with communicating with culturally-different others, one's anxiety must be low enough for them to feel comfortable enough to interact, and one's uncertainty must be low enough for them to feel confident enough to interact. Several interviewees discussed the influence of ICT factors in creating a comfortable environment in which they felt confident communicating with others, including Celine, who noted that feeling equal to others (F10) gave her confidence to share information with them (F14). Maxime offered that communicating with others was easier when his uncertainty about them was reduced slightly, and Carlos talked about how learning about others' communication styles could generalize to help him understand how to communicate with people from different places in the future.

Fans also alluded to AUMEC concepts in their descriptions of how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in theme Physical Spaces. Interviewees described feeling a sense of equality and similarity with those at Olympic Park or in stadiums with them, which reduced their anxiety and discomfort when thinking about communicating with others. Because they were sharing a Physical Space and attending the Olympics, they felt they knew a bit of information about others' current and recent experiences and potentially shared interests in sports. Leslie described how being at Olympic Park reduced her anxiety and uncertainty about communicating with others, because she felt equal (F10), common goals (F3), a sense of unity (F9), and similar to others (F4) at the park, which helped her share information about herself (F14).

Concentric Ingroups and Dual Identities

Interviewees often described their experiences of the theme Humanity as an Ingroup consistently with Allport's (1954) notion of concentric ingroups, which refer to how larger ingroups can contain smaller ingroups within them. Camila expressed an ingroup identity with Argentinians and all Latin Americans, Helena felt part of an ingroup of medical professionals with Brazilian doctors, and several others talked about similar simultaneous, multi-level ingroups, some of which overlapped with the people around them and some of which did not. These examples reflect Allport's assertion that "concentric loyalties need not clash. To be devoted to a large circle does not imply the destruction of one's attachment to a smaller circle." (p. 43). Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) add that establishing common ingroup identities does not require groups to discard their other group identities. "The benefits of a common ingroup identity can be achieved while people maintain a 'dual identity' with their superordinate group and subgroup identities

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simultaneously salient" (Dovidio et al., 2003, p. 12). These connections between the findings and scholars' theoretical concepts suggest the Olympics is a valuable context for fostering concentric ingroups and dual identities, which Allport (1954) notes can reduce prejudice, promote multicultural understanding, and create more inclusive mentalities about people with different group identities.

Many interviewees experienced such dual identities, including Maxime, who noted the salience of his region in France when talking to someone from a neighboring region, his national ingroup identity when cheering for France at handball, and a more superordinate ingroup identity of fans at the Olympics when referring to being part of the event's diverse, international environment. Other interviewees expressed similar dual identities and concentric ingroups, including Joey, who expressed a common bond of humanity in reference to why the event was not divided by national and racial identities. Joey also, however, highlighted how being from the USA and being a soccer fan fostered positive intergroup contact and communication in his experience.

These instances of expressing various ingroup identities also exemplify how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in fans' experiences of the theme Differences and Comparing. Interviewees frequently talked about enjoying exchanging information about themselves and their group memberships and how ICT factors emerged in conversations with outgroup members. These factors include learning about others' ways of life (F2), seeing how others are similar to me (F4), respecting each other (F15), having a pleasant time (F5), making new friends (F8), feeling equal to others (F10), learning about individual people (F17), and sharing information about ourselves with each other (F14). For example, Agustina explained how comparing differences with others from

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different countries enriched her experience with them. Fans still expressed these "smaller circle" ingroups in the form of Differences and Comparing while identifying with "larger circle" ingroups.

Interviewees also provided rationales for how ICT factors supported each other in ways that reflect Humanity as an Ingroup through using the term "we" with the same essential meaning, which is how Allport (1954) defines ingroups. They used "we" in reference to Olympic fans as a whole, which indicates they considered all fans as part of their ingroup regardless of national or other group memberships. They also used "we" in reference to all the people in stadiums, in lines for food, and other settings, as well as people with whom they engaged more interpersonally, exemplifying an experience of Humanity as an Ingroup and concentric ingroups, which contain various outgroups. Many of these ingroups also fit Allport's description of transitory ingroups in that they were limited to fixed times and places but still allowed their members to feel affinity, belonging, and similarity with each other.

Interviewees in Rio also, however, used terms such as "us" and "they" to indicate group differences within these larger and/or transitory, inclusive ingroups of fans. They illustrated Humanity as an Ingroup by emphasizing when they experienced similarities that transcended their differences. Several interviewees explained how they saw similarities and respect between themselves and others in the passion, pride, and energy with which others cheered for their national teams, even when their teams were competing against each other. Fans' experiences of ICT factors at the Olympics illustrate "unity in diversity" (p. 480), which Allport promoted as people from different group identities unifying as one group while recognizing and celebrating their differences. This

was a prevalent part of interviewees' experiences of Humanity as an Ingroup, as exemplified by Charlotte, who said, "I think everybody coming together. I think the unity I would see of the Olympics is everyone coming together, but also being able to feel that you can be proud of your team and push that." The variety of group identity memberships in the context unified fans into larger, more inclusive ingroups rather than emphasizing separation based on ingroup/outgroup distinctions. This is consistent with Brown and Zagefka's (2005) assertion that ingroups cannot exist without outgroups, but an ingroup's existence and identity does not have to be framed in relation or opposition to an outgroup. Fans recognized the existence of ingroups and outgroups but did not define them in relation to each other or pit them against each other. They co-existed peacefully. Instances when fans experienced this illustrate Humanity as an Ingroup.

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

Several themes illustrated social capital in fans' experiences, including Humanity as an ingroup, Collective Activity, Doing Things Together (interpersonal), Identity and Brand of the Event, and Physical Spaces. The peaceful, often celebrated coexistence of ingroups and outgroups, as well as their integration into larger, more inclusive ingroups, suggests promising possibilities of bonding social capital in ripe (Zartman, 2000) intergroup contexts such as the Olympics. Contrary to bridging social capital, which connects across differences with fluid group boundaries and fosters social inclusion, Putnam (1995) notes that bonding social capital typically has negative consequences of exclusion and division within social contexts due to intragroup bonding and preference. However, fans' experiences of Humanity as an Ingroup, including Charlotte's and others' above, illustrate that bonding social capital and ingroup membership coexisted and even

enhanced bridging social capital and outgroup inclusion. Interviewees described Humanity as an Ingroup in their experiences by expressing a bond to their own national ingroups through cheering and building solidarity while simultaneously bridging to other national groups through similarities that transcended their differences and experiences of unity in diversity.

Bonding social capital also manifested in fans' experiences of ICT factors in the theme Collective Activity, largely due to the peaceful coexistence of ingroups and outgroups discussed above. Fans regularly encountered positive outcomes of bonding social capital that are typically constrained within groups (Putnam, 1995) when they engaged in Collective Activity in intergroup contexts and crowds. These outcomes included pooling of resources and fostering inclusion, which Celine described based on her experience of ICT factors at a track event in which a triple-jumper had already secured the gold medal and was about to make her final jump. Everyone was cheering for the athlete, who was displaying gratitude to the fans. The fans at Olympic Stadium, and the triple-jump athlete, displayed inclusion and pooling resources by joining their voices and support for the athlete, and in doing so their Collective Activity exemplified bonding social capital between different groups.

Bonding and bridging social capital integrated with each other and emerged in fans' experiences of Doing Things Together (interpersonal) in the form intergroup photographs. Nearly every interviewee offered commentary on ICT factors that reflected bridging social capital in the phenomenon of seeing and/or participating in group photos with people from several different national groups. Finding people who displayed different national identities and asking to take photos with them was very common

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among fans, and it often grew to include fans displaying several national symbols as they saw an intergroup photo being taken and asked to join. Several interviewees explained how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in taking these photos with other people, including Leslie, who said, "This has been a very, just overall, very cooperative environment, a very like, 'How many flags can we get in this photo?' Great Britain jump in, Japan jump in, so in that way, cooperative." Reflecting the theme Doing Things Together (interpersonal), these photos were a collaborative effort in which ICT factors thrived as people passed around cameras, made room for whoever wanted to join, and took photos for each other. Bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) via fluid group membership boundaries and bonding social capital in pooling of collective resources (cameras, flags, etc.) can be seen in each image. Many of these images will also likely serve as reminders of the experience of Doing Things Together (interpersonal) in fans' photo albums, computers, and phones for many years.

The Olympic context was ripe with bridging social capital and many of its social benefits, and fans regularly explained these benefits relating to their experiences of Humanity as an Ingroup. The benefits include social integration and connection between ethnic groups (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008), development of friendships and a sense of belonging and community across group boundaries (Sherry, 2010), increased desire for social inclusion, community cohesion, enhanced understanding of group differences, and a positive shift in fans' attitudes about other groups (Sherry, Karg, & O'May, 2011). According to Portes and Landolt (2000), the positive outcomes of bridging social capital at the Olympics were likely due in part to diversity, which plays a large role in social capital development at sporting events. Fans discussed their experiences of integration in

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this diverse context, illustrating Humanity as an Ingroup. Homogeneous contexts tend to foster negative repercussions of bonding social capital due to reinforced group membership boundaries of the dominant group, but as Marta discussed regarding the theme Identity and Brand of the Event, international competition and the diversity it attracts oppose such negativity. She distinguished between professional sporting events with only two teams present and events like the Olympics, where many teams tend to compete at the same time and many teams' fans are present. She explained how this type of atmosphere dissolves "us versus them" mentalities and unites those present.

As an international, diverse context, the Olympics fostered bridging social capital through frequent intergroup contact and communication in many settings fans discussed as part of the Physical Spaces theme, including stadiums, Olympic Park, food lines, the metro, beaches, and more. As discussed above, Helena, Celine, and Simon specifically pointed out picnic tables as Physical Spaces where they experienced ICT factors. Many interviewees described routine sites of their experiences in Physical Spaces in ways that indicated they felt the Olympics represented a small version of the world that brought everyone closer together. For example, Maxime described the streets of Rio, the Olympic Park, and stadiums as places where he could see people from all over the world, and Carlos added the subway and bus to this list. The Physical Spaces of the Olympics were inherently part of every fan's experience if they attended a single athletic event or public festivity, and consequently many thousands of fans likely encountered the ICT factors that emerged and supported each other in these spaces.

Fans' frequent contact and communication in the Physical Spaces of the Olympics worked in-tandem with their experiences of Humanity as an Ingroup by

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increasing the likelihood of forming group memberships based on a variety of variables

instead of only national identity. This was also due to fluid membership boundaries

(Putnam & Goss, 2002), an atmosphere of inclusion, and the emergence of unity in

diversity described above. The Olympics therefore affirm Putnam's (2000) claim that

"sports provide good venues for social capital creation" by "transcend[ing] our social and

political and professional identities to connect with people unlike ourselves" (p. 411).

Fitting with Humanity as an Ingroup, in summation of seeing and communicating with

people from many different nationalities and ethnicities, Joey said, "We're all one. It's all

one world."

Recategorization, Categorization, and Decategorization

Recategorization, the final and elusive stage of Pettigrew's (1997) ICT theoretical

model, also fits the discussion of Humanity as an Ingroup regarding fluid, inclusive group

membership in that it transforms peoples' notions of group memberships from multiple

groups to a single, more inclusive group (Dovidio et al., 2003). Interviewees alluded to

recategorization in their reoccurring experiences of ICT factors in Humanity as an

Ingroup, as exemplified by Joey's "one world" comment and by Charlotte, who explained

that interacting with others revealed many hidden similarities regardless of national

differences. As a result of newly-formed, inclusive ingroup identities, people who

formerly considered each other outgroup members perceived themselves as part of the

same ingroup. This consequently established the positive cognitive and behavioral

attributes of ingroup members toward each other, including perceived similarity and

affinity, collaboration, and inclusive attitudes (Allport, 1954) and showed Humanity as an

Ingroup embodied in fans' experiences of ICT factors. Several interviewees exemplified

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how fans at the Olympics experienced Humanity as an Ingroup through recategorization by simultaneously perceiving others as ingroup and outgroup members. Thus, the Olympic context achieved Allport's (1954) idea of unity in diversity and showed progress toward his stated aspirations for humanity as an ingroup with various concentric groups contained within it.

Fans' experiences of ICT factors in the theme of Humanity as an Ingroup is very encouraging regarding the Olympics' ability to foster positive intergroup relations. Most planning and organization for positive intergroup contact and communication fails to reach the recategorization stage of Pettigrew's (1997) ICT model, and those contexts' participants consequently miss out on the depth and breadth of positive outcomes of the stage (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Interviewees' experiences of ICT factors in Humanity as an Ingroup, however, suggest the Olympics are teeming with reoccurring experiences of recategorization, which indicates that ripe intergroup contexts do much of the legwork required to create atmospheres in which fans from various group memberships experience recategorization.

When fans engaged in the theme Doing Things Together (interpersonal) they often experienced recategorization in combination with categorization, which is the second stage of group membership transformation in Pettigrew's (1997) ICT theoretical model. Hewstone and Brown (1986) explain that categorization seeks to maximize or maintain group membership salience within a context of intergroup contact and communication and argue that outgroup members must be perceived as part of their outgroup for participants' perspectives about the outgroup to improve. Categorization entered nearly every interviewee's interview in the form of seeing and/or participating in

group photos with people from several different national groups as described above. Daniela commented that she was often asked to be part of these photos, which she attributed to being one of the few fans from Venezuela. She also noted that she felt mutual respect flowed between the people taking photos. These photos illustrate common, reoccurring aspects of fans' experiences of Doing Things Together (interpersonal), and they also vividly depict how ICT factors were part of categorization and decategorization. Categorization occurred as fans were obviously perceived to be outgroup members. Their outgroup membership is the reason they were engaged for photos. Recategorization also occurred in that interviewees expressed a sense of camaraderie and affinity with the people with whom they took photos.

ICT factors also emerged and supported each other in the theme Differences and Comparing in ways that reflect categorization, particularly concerning generalization of the effects of positive intergroup contact and communication, which is an important goal of ICT (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Categorization typically results in generalization, because when group memberships are highlighted, a context's participants are more aware of others' group identities and more likely to extend the effects of their positive contact and communication with individual outgroup members to the outgroups as wholes (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Agustina and Marta noted how encountering ICT factors in Differences and Comparing had this effect when they realized how people from some other nationalities prioritized and practiced politeness. They specifically noted positive qualities they associated with different national groups based on their intergroup experiences of Differences and Comparing with members of those groups at the Olympics. Many other interviewees simply referred to having positive experiences with

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outgroup members while being aware of their group memberships, which Hewstone and Brown (1986) and Pettigrew (1997) also note to have the ability to generalize to outgroups as wholes. In these ways, fans' reoccurring experiences of ICT factors emerging and supporting each other in the form of Differences and Comparing fostered positive intergroup contact and communication in the moment and also likely generalized these positive effects with more breadth and longevity.

In addition to recategorization and categorization, fans also experienced ICT factors in ways that illustrated how decategorization contributes to Allport's (1954) notion of humanity as an ingroup. Decategorization, the first stage of group membership transformation in Pettigrew's (1997) model of ICT, minimizes the use of category labels and the salience of group identities and memberships in contact with others. Establishing each interaction on an individual basis follows from of Allport's (1954) goals of individuating outgroup members by highlighting personal information and distinctions as opposed to emphasizing their groups as wholes (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Commenting on her contact and communication in general, Celine offered a profound thought regarding the power of decategorization in her experience of ICT factors. "The more you know people, it's getting personal. It's not as impersonal as a group. It's individual. It's easier to hate a group than an individual." In addition to offering an abundance of settings and experiences in which fans experienced unity in diversity and recategorization, the Olympics fostered an environment in which decategorization produced positive outcomes in fans' intergroup contact and communication. Several interviewees even alluded to how ICT factors brought together decategorization and recategorization to work in-tandem and foster notions of humanity as an ingroup. Helena, for example, explained how getting

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to know a Brazilian couple as individuals allowed her to see similarities they had as medical professionals. Through decategorization and individuation apart from their national group, Helena learned about the Brazilian couple as individuals, and in doing so, she felt part of a recategorized ingroup with them, illustrating an experience of Humanity as an Ingroup.

IOC and Olympic Ideals

The themes also connect with IOC and Olympic ideals in ways that integrate with ICT and social capital. Interviewees' rationales under the umbrella of Humanity as an Ingroup that were discussed in connection with recategorization and bridging social capital are also consistent with the Olympic legacy components of reducing exclusion (IOC, 2014), reshaping collective identities, and fostering inclusiveness (Chen, 2013), as well as the Olympic value ideals of global solidarity (IOC, 2012) and unity (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015). Interviewees' reoccurring experiences of Decent and Considerate Behavior were often aligned with the IOC's (2014) Agenda 20+20, in which the organization declares, "Our message of tolerance…this Olympic message is perhaps more relevant than ever" (p. 4). Rafaela summarized how ICT factors emerged and supported each other in her experiences of tolerance, saying, "If you are changing your behavior and you are being a little bit more tolerant because they have different habits, you are already respecting each other. If you accommodate you are trying to respect." Charlotte told of a specific, reoccurring experience of tolerance and ICT factors she and her husband had due to having their baby with them. She explained that one of them had to leave their seats with their daughter at every athletic event they attended, but

no one showed annoyance or frustration toward them when they left or returned to their seats.

Fans' common encounters with Decent and Considerate Behavior also played an influential role in their explanations about creating and maintaining a positive, respectful atmosphere in which people felt comfortable. This is consistent with the Olympic value of respect (IOC, 2012) and Kenworthy et al.'s (2005) future directions, which suggest "contact under conditions that promote positive affect (e.g., lower anxiety, greater perspective-taking and empathy)" (p. 290). Decent and Considerate Behavior established this type of environment in which fans felt somewhat responsible for others' positive experiences and voiced this responsibility in terms of ICT factors. For example, Charlotte explained that she had not witnessed much booing, even for the Russian athletes whom she read might get booed because of the performance-enhancing drug scandal that gained much media attention prior to the Olympics.

Other fans noted similar ways in which they considered others around them. Daniela explained that she would not ask others about topics that might make them uncomfortable or smoke around others, and Marta said that because fans largely understood each other's experiences, they engaged in decent behavior and tried not to block others' views during competition. These manifestations of ICT factors in the form of Decent and Considerate Behavior match Kenworthy et al.'s (2005) suggestion for intergroup contact and communication in contexts with empathy and perspective-taking. This suggests that the theme of Decent and Considerate Behavior in fans' experiences is a site ripe with ICT factors and positive intergroup contact and communication.

The theme Doing Things Together (interpersonal) was also a site of fans' experiences of IOC and Olympic ideals in the form of Chatziefstathiou and DaCosta's (2015) Olympic value of internationalism. This occurred primarily through the photos fans took with people displaying a variety of national symbols. Most interviewees referred to seeing and/or participating in these photos and experiencing ICT factors in the activity. Each photo visually embodied internationalism, and fans experienced the concept when participating in the photos. This also connects with Allport's (1954) emphasis on symbols as important for offering unity and establishing ingroup identities, particularly national groups and their flags. He notes that global, international symbols are almost completely absent, but these photos, which are a form of Doing Things Together (interpersonal) in fans' experiences, suggest that humanity does not need global symbols for conceptual unity as much as it needs a context that celebrates group-based symbols, as does the Olympics.

Fans' experiences of the Identity and Brand of the Event connect with Chatziefstathiou and DaCosta's (2015) Olympic value of "blending sport with culture" (p. 19). This was illustrated by Camila, who noted that she learned about other countries' cultures when talking with others about sports, particularly rowing, which she said was not common in her home nation of Argentina. Many other interviewees also explained that their reoccurring conversations about sports gave rise to various ICT factors, including learning about others' ways of life (F2), seeing how others are similar to me (F4), respecting each other (F15), having a pleasant time (F5), and feeling equal to others (F10).

Rationales from Identity and Brand of the Event connect with "excellence," which is one of the IOC's three primary Olympic values. The IOC defines excellence as achieving the highest level of one's potential (IOC, 2012), and Leslie explained how witnessing an excellent performance fostered ICT factors between her and those around her. She recounted how Russia's synchronized swimming routine was so extraordinary that everyone in her vicinity stood, cheered, and seemed to acknowledge Russia was the best, which she felt fostered a sense of equality with those present (F10).

Fans' experiences of ICT factors consistent with "peaceful, productive relations" and "mutual respect," which are cited in the IOC's commitments and goals in the Agenda 20+20 (IOC, 2014), are part of The Identity and Brand of the Event. Thiago, Leslie, and Joey all mentioned the messages of respect, peace, and unity promoted by IOC officials' speeches during the Opening Ceremony, and Leslie called it "setting of the tone right off the bat." Interviewees cited this tone as a consistent aspect of their experience of ICT factors throughout the Olympics and noted that it fit the Identity and Brand of the Event. For example, Charlotte said, "I think that without being at the Olympics, I probably wouldn't go talk to people if I was on holiday normally," and Agustina explained that those who attend the Olympics expect an atmosphere that fosters friendship because of the Olympic values. Fans came to the Olympics with positive expectations for their experiences based on the Identity and Brand of the Event, and they cited the emergence and support of ICT factors as part of the identity and brand that fostered positive intergroup contact and communication.

The Identity and Brand of the Event is also consistent with Pettigrew's (1998) assertion that "When a society embraces intergroup harmony, equal-status contact

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between groups is no longer subversive. Normative support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier" (p. 78). Given the ways in which interviewees cited ICT factors emerging through the Olympics' legacy goals, values, and IOC speeches, the Olympic context clearly exemplifies the normative support, structural elements, harmony, and equal-status Pettigrew asserts as beneficial to the effects of intergroup contact, and these aspects of the Identity and Brand of the Event are successfully conveyed to fans and embodied in their experiences. Following from these ideas, Stephan and Stephan (2005) suggest, "The history of intergroup relations shows that peaceful, productive relations between groups involving mutual respect do not come naturally" (p. 432). The Olympic context intentionally fosters "peaceful, productive relations" and "mutual respect" as cited in its own commitments and goals (IOC, 2014) and as noticed and experienced by fans in the form of ICT factors. The Olympics also "come naturally" every few years. Therefore, it seems fans' experiences of the Identity and Brand of the Event suggest the Olympics contrast and complicate Stephan and Stephan's (2005) claim.

Addressing RQ 4

Research Question 4 is: What function does each ICT factor play in fostering positive intergroup contact and communication for fans at the Olympics? I sought the answer to RQ 4 by integrating all of the data discussed in this chapter. Fans identified the ICT factors relevant to their experiences at the Olympics, and they also identified the supportive relationships between these factors. From their rationales for the supportive relationships, I identified themes. This led to me being able to address the function each factor served in fans' positive intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics, including where and when the factors were active and supportive. This culmination of the

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relevant factors, where they fit in the meta-structure and its stages, and the sites and situations in which they operated offers theoretical insights in addition to providing practitioners and organizers of intergroup contexts an understanding of the roles each factor plays, the purposes they serve, and the ways they should be conceptualized, approached, and applied. In the following paragraphs, I identify the factors in each stage of the meta-structure and draw connections between the factors and previous literature. I also offer suggestions informed by the data to organizers and practitioners in intergroup contexts.

Primary Support Factors

As the category's leftmost position and high INF scores suggest, Primary Support Factors (F1, F11, and F16) have a high degree of influence to support other factors on their right in addition to their ability to foster positive contact and communication in their own right as ICT factors.

Factor 1: Meeting and talking with others. Given F1 proved to be the most influential factor by a wide margin, practitioners and organizers should prioritize ways to help people meet and talk with others. They should particularly focus these efforts in fans' experiences of Differences and Comparing and the Identity and Brand of the Event because of the themes' conduciveness to F1's functions. In order to maximize F1's presence and influence, organizers should also prioritize factors that support F1 and understand when and where those factors foster this support. Meeting and talking was most supported by other factors in fans' experiences of Initiating Communication and Contact, specifically through national symbols serving as conversation starters, sharing space with others, and perceptions of commonality with those around them. Therefore,

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organizers should consider how to increase and enhance these reoccurring aspects of fans' experiences to foster F1, which will open the floodgates of F1's support for other ICT factors and positive intergroup contact and communication as a whole. The next factor, more than any other, demonstrates an ability to support F1 and is largely responsible for F1's emergence in the theme Initiating Communication and Contact.

Factor 11: Displaying my group identity (clothes, flags, etc.). Displaying my group identity (clothes, flags, etc.) (F11) served the valuable function of strongly supporting F1, in addition to many other factors. F11 also functioned as an extremely strong source of support of other factors in fans' experiences of Initiating Communication and Contact. The national symbols people displayed drew people to each other and served as conversation starters, and when people shared spaces with each other, such as in stadiums and on the metro, symbols of group identity offered a bit of information that reduced uncertainty and increased confidence in communicating with outgroup members, consistent with AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005). Therefore, organizers and practitioners in intergroup contexts similar to the Olympics should consider how they can encourage people to display their group identities in order to generate F11's strong support for other factors in participants' experiences of Initiating Communication and Contact. This is especially appropriate for the Olympics because the event matches what Hewstone and Brown (1986) assert as a context in which people embrace categorization (maximizing group membership salience) and would reject attempts at decategorization (minimizing group membership salience), as evidenced by F11's high INF score and the magnitude of national identity displays fans described.

Displaying group identity also functioned as a strong source of support in fans'

experiences of Humanity as an Ingroup as fans recognized similarities that transcended

their national differences while also embracing those differences. This shows how F11

played an important role in recategorization, which is the final, elusive, stage in

Pettigrew's (1998) ICT theoretical model in which large, inclusive ingroups form that

contain smaller outgroups within them. The function of F11 also connects with Allport's

(1954) notions of unity in diversity and concentric ingroups in that fans simultaneously

recognized differences in outgroup members and felt united with them. F11 functions to

build bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) by inspiring social integration, inclusiveness,

and collective action, as evidenced by its presence in fans' experiences of Collective

Activity. Displaying group identity was mutually supportive of and supported by other

factors in situations of Collective Activity, which took the form of mass displays of group

identities that fostered celebratory atmospheres (singing, cheering, wearing a particular

color), as well as fans feeling comfortable displaying their group identities in these ways

because the crowds around them were doing the same.

Factor 16: Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities. The ways in

which F16 manifested in fans' experiences suggest that organizers and practitioners

should highlight and overtly express messages consistent with positive intergroup contact

and communication (respect, tolerance, etc.) as they are consistent with their contexts'

missions and public perceptions. The combination of F16's support within the Olympics'

positive messages and its support in the form of authorities endorsing positive intergroup

relations illustrates Pettigrew's (1998) assertion that "institutional and societal norms

structure the form and effects of contact situations…Normative support makes attainment

of other optimal conditions far easier (p. 78)." Organizers and practitioners should

recognize themselves as the authorities in F16, the influential role they represent in the

eyes of their contexts' participants, and their ability to promote behaviors, attitudes,

environments, and spaces that foster positive intergroup contact and communication. F16

is a strong source of support for other factors that organizers can largely control through

the presence and conduct of staff and volunteers, safety and security, and particularly

organizational messages aligned with their brand that promote decent and considerate

behavior.

Secondary Support Factors

To a lesser but still important extent, Secondary Support Factors (F13, F7, and

F6) serve a similar role to Primary Support Factors, especially for the 12 factors on their

right in the meta-structure. Their INF scores are much lower than Primary Support

Factors, meaning they are less powerful sources of support for fostering other ICT factors

and require more support from other factors to emerge in fans' experiences.

Factor 13: Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily. F13

was very active for fans in the theme Identity and Brand of the Event, particularly when

they were watching competition. This suggests that organizers and practitioners of ripe

(Zartman, 2000) intergroup contexts should consider ways to leverage the identities and

purposes of their events, in this case sports, to enhance F13's support for other factors

and those that support it. Additionally, Allport (1954) emphasized that contact was much

more likely to produce positive outcomes if people engaged in it voluntarily, and F13

exemplifies voluntary participation in a context ripe with ICT factors and positive

intergroup contact and communication. F13 was an especially powerful source of support

for solo travelers and involved choices to engage and share moments with others. Also, organizers should provide activities in which people meet strangers and encourage people to engage with those around them in order to generate F13.

Factor 7: Avoiding insults to each other's group. Avoiding insults to each other's group functioned to maintain a positive environment that fostered open expression and sharing. For organizers, this suggests benefits of establishing norms of Decent and Considerate Behavior. They should also discourage insults, because if participants perceive and experience the context to be free of insults, several ICT factors will be supported due to F7's relatively high level of influence.

Factor 6: Cooperating with each other. Fans seemed to perceive the environment as cooperative, and cooperation alleviated some of the negative aspects of their experiences. F6 functioned as a strong source of support to other factors in fans' experiences of Doing Things Together (interpersonal), including taking photos together, activities with strangers and acquaintances, and arranging to meet again. In these forms, F6 illustrates bridging social capital (Putnam, 1995) through pooling resources (i.e. a car ride, entry into the Dutch House, cameras) and inclusiveness. It also dispensed and received support in Decent and Considerate Behavior and Physical Spaces. For organizers in intergroup contexts, the sites and situations in which F6 functions suggest that by promoting Decent and Considerate Behavior, they will foster cooperation and its support for other factors, and this cooperation will likely emerge in the Physical Spaces of their contexts.

Mediators and Conduits

The third stage, Mediators and Conduits, contains more factors than any other stage: F2, F9, F18, F3, F4, and F15. In addition to each of these factors' capacity to foster positive intergroup contact and communication in their own right, the stage's name represents these factors' unique and most important function of channeling, connecting, and enhancing support from Primary and Secondary Support Factors to other factors. Without them, some positive effects of intergroup contact and communication and the factors to the right in the meta-structure may be diminished or lost.

Factor 2: Learning about others' ways of life. F2 often served as a Mediator and Conduit between F1 (Meeting and talking with others) and more personal forms of contact and communication. The factor channeled influential factors' support to other factors in fans' experiences of Differences and Comparing and Humanity as an Ingroup, especially when fans recognized similarities that transcended differences between their and others' groups. This is consistent with the Olympic value of multicultural understanding (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015). It also indicates that dialogue (Broome, 2009; Buber, 1937) is a regular part of fans' experiences at the Olympics, because Broome (2009) includes mutual understanding and learning about others as outcomes of productive dialogue. This exemplifies the value of communication literature, ICT, and the Olympic context informing each other when they intersect.

Learning about others' ways of life functioned similarly in fans' reoccurring encounters with the Identity and Brand of the Event, particularly when they talked about sports as it related to their ways of life and cultures. This reflects Chatziefstathiou and DaCosta's (2015) Olympic value of "blending sport with culture" (p. 19). F2's function

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as a Mediator and Conduit and the sites and situations in which it operates suggest that organizers and practitioners in positive contexts should implement cross-cultural learning opportunities aligned with the centerpiece of what brought people to their event (i.e. sports). This will maximize the support from more influential factors by channeling their support to factors on the right of the meta-structure that function more as outcomes.

      Factor 18: Solidarity with my own group. Fans often referred to a form of *intra*group contact in their experiences with people from their own national groups. However, this *intra*group contact was simultaneously *inter*group contact as evidenced by discussion about ethnic, socioeconomic, professional, and other group differences within a national ingroup. This exemplifies how Allport's (1954) notion of concentric ingroups was manifested in fans' experiences. It also illustrates how concentric ingroups fostered bonding social capital through intragroup connection and cooperation, but in the larger context of bridging social capital through inclusive, flexible group membership boundaries that unified different groups under the umbrella of a national group (Putnam, 1995). This serves to remind organizers, particularly in international contexts, that while positive relations between different national groups are important, there is also value in national ingroup solidarity that promotes positive contact and communication between different groups within a national ingroup.

      The solidarity some fans experienced extended to even larger ingroups, as well, expressed as feeling a sense of world citizenship and cheering for several national teams. This indicates the fulfillment of the IOC's goal of promoting global solidarity (IOC, 2014) and Olympic legacy goal of reshaping collective identities (Chen, 2013). It was also spread relatively evenly across the themes, suggesting that organizers should

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recognize the prevalence of ingroup solidarity and its value for generating positive intergroup contact and communication within larger ingroups.

Factor 3: Having common goals. Having common goals functioned to channel support between factors most prominently when fans encountered the Identity and Brand of the Event. In particular, this occurred when they recognized they had the same reasons for attending the Olympics, including traveling and seeing sports. This suggests that organizers and practitioners should investigate and thoroughly understand the common goals and reasons why people attend their intergroup contexts. They can then highlight these as part of the context's identity and brand with messages of "This is why we're here," which will reinforce notions of common goals among participants, and consequently the important function F3 plays as a Mediator and Conduit for support between other factors.

Factor 9: The unity inspired by the Olympics. The strength of F9's presence in the Identity and Brand of the Event aligns with bridging social capital outcomes of inclusiveness and flexible group membership boundaries (Putnam, 1995) and the achievement of many ideals relevant to Olympic values and legacy goals, including reducing exclusion, global solidarity (IOC, 2014), and unity (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015). The successful implementation of the IOC's stated goals connect with Pettigrew's (1998) assertion that "Normative support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier" (p. 78). The Olympic context clearly exemplifies normative support in its values and legacy goals represented by F9, and the factor's function as a Mediator and Conduit made the "attainment of other optimal conditions far easier." The relatively strong presence and function of F9 in fans' experiences of Humanity as an Ingroup also

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indicates that the final, rarely-achieved step in Pettigrew's (1997) ICT theoretical model, recategorization, thrived at the Olympics, as people felt the atmosphere created a sense of inclusiveness and reshaped collective group memberships that unified former outgroups.

Fans described F9 as a "you had to be there" experience exclusive to those who attended the Olympics due to the event's unique atmosphere and positive tone. Organizers should leverage similar unique and/or unifying elements of their identities and brands in order to generate similar effects. It seems the Rio Olympics did this successfully, as evidenced by "the unity inspired by the Olympics" having the highest score on the initial survey by a wide margin.

Factor 15: Respecting each other. Fans perceived F15 to be a norm of the environment, and its presence and function in their experiences indicates the Olympics were a site of productive dialogue (Broome, 2009), which produces mutual respect. F15's emergence in Decent and Considerate Behavior also aligns with ethical treatment of others, which is the IOC's definition of respect as one of its three, core Olympic values (IOC, 2012). This confirmation of one of the most important values of the organization responsible for the intergroup context and that value's function in fostering positive intergroup contact and communication suggests that organizers should identify with and promote values that align with how they want people to treat each other.

Factor 4: Seeing how others are similar to me. In the themes Humanity as an Ingroup and the Identity and Brand of the Event, F4 typically relied upon other factors to emerge, especially Primary and Secondary Support Factors. However, once it did emerge, it strengthened and propelled these factors' support to Supportive Outcomes and Outcomes. Similarly to F3 (Having common goals), this suggests that organizers and

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practitioners should identify similarities in who is participating in their events or contexts and why they choose to attend. Organizers should emphasize these similarities in their messages to participants in order to maximize the ways influential factors support other factors.

Supportive Outcomes

The fourth stage, Supportive Outcomes, contains F12, F5, F8, F10, and F17. Despite each of these factors having the capacity to foster positive intergroup contact and communication in itself, as stage's name suggests, its factors are largely outcomes of the support from the 12 factors on their left. Consequently, generating and/or maximizing these ICT factors in an intergroup context often depends on the more supportive factors.

Factor 12: Accommodating to each other. F12's function as an outcome with some supportive capacity and its emergence in fans' experiences of Decent and Considerate Behavior suggest that organizers and practitioners in positive intergroup contexts should not rely on accommodation to emerge on its own or foster other ICT factors. They should treat F12 primarily as an outcome of other factors, and if they want accommodating others to be part of the contexts they oversee, they need to consider how to enact other factors that support accommodation and promote Decent and Considerate Behavior.

Factor 5: Having a pleasant time. F5 is often a consequence of a positive environment and positive experiences generated by other factors, especially related to people's moods, Collective Activity, and Doing Things Together (interpersonal). Given these insights, organizers should not treat having a pleasant time as a starting point for fostering positive intergroup contact and communication. Asking the question, "How can

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we help attendees have a good time here?" should be answered by looking to the left in the meta-structure to understand the factors that supported F5 and considering how to enhance Collective Activity and Doing Things Together (interpersonal). A less informed, less structured approach of brainstorming and implementing several fun ideas may be less effective in fostering F5 and an overall environment in which positive intergroup contact and communication thrives.

Factor 8: Making new friends. F8 was typically an outcome of other factors' support, as relational development required previous interpersonal experiences with others and a positive environment. F8 was highly active (supportive and supported) in fans' experiences of interpersonal activities and was often generated in the theme Initiating Communication and Contact. Fans' experiences of this theme and the factors that supported F8 within it may have started the process of productive dialogue, which produces relationship development (Broome, 2009). The presence and function of making new friends indicates the Olympics achieved the Olympic value of friendship (IOC, 2012) as well as relationship building, which is an intangible social and human benefit of mega-sporting events (Chen, 2013). It also reflects bridging social capital (Putnam, 1995) in the form of friendship development, which is typical within the context of sport and often dissolves group membership barriers, fosters inclusivity, and inspires sharing of resources (Sherry, 2010). Several interviewees noted their friendships to have these effects, including Henry, who shared his apartment in Rio with a new friend and became friends with people from a variety of national and socioeconomic backgrounds.

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As illustrated in the previous discussion about the importance of picnic table size, organizers and practitioners should not narrow their focus to building friendships if they have the goal of building friendships. The answer to "How can we help participants make new friends?" seems to start on the left of the meta-structure and travel through a series of ICT factors in fans' experiences of Initiating Communication and Contact and Doing Things Together (interpersonal) before manifesting in people making new friends. Additionally, treating friendships as a starting point to positive intergroup contact and communication and assuming making new friends will lead to a host of other ICT factors is likely to be inappropriate and ineffective, as F8 functions much more as an outcome than a source of support.

Factor 10: Feeling equal to others. The presence and function of feeling equal to others is consistent with Chatziefstathiou and DaCosta's (2015) finding of equality as an Olympic value. F10 also operated within Allport's (1954) notion of concentric ingroups, as fans felt equal to others from their nations but outside their socioeconomic and professional groups. Given how and where F10 functioned in fans' experiences of ICT factors, organizers should understand feeling equal to others to be an outcome of other factors' support, particularly in experiences of inclusive ingroups, Physical Spaces, and shared interests in the event. F10 likely holds little potential to serve as a starting point for supporting other factors, and it is more appropriate to ask, "Which factors promote a sense of equality?" than attempting to implement equality by itself.

Factor 17: Learning about individual people. F17's presence indicates productive dialogue occurred between fans at the Olympics because learning about others is an outcome of productive dialogue (Broome, 2009). Learning about individual people

also illustrates the process of decategorization, which is the first stage in Pettigrew's (1997) ICT theoretical model depicting the process of group membership transformation in intergroup contact. Decategorization is a process through which group memberships become less salient, and the goal is to establish interaction on an individual basis instead of simply perceiving others as members of their groups (Kenworthy et al., 2005). The function and position of F17 toward the far right of the meta-structure suggest intriguing ideas about the appropriateness of Pettigrew's (1997) theoretical model to positive intergroup contexts such as the Olympics. These ideas will be explored in depth in the Conclusion chapter.

F17 rarely supported other factors and typically required their support to emerge in fans' experiences. This often occurred when fans talked about sports, exchanged contact information, and made plans to hang out again, as these behaviors tended to require and reveal personal information. Given how and where F17 functioned in fans' experiences of ICT factors, organizers and practitioners should treat it similarly to other Supportive Outcomes. They should look to the left of the meta-structure to understand the factors that support experiences and environments in which people learn information about individual people and not rely on F17 to start a process through which other ICT factors emerge. They should also consider how to motivate conversations about the context's identity or purpose (i.e. sports) and create opportunities for interpersonal and small-group activities.

Outcomes

The fifth and leftmost stage, Outcomes, contains only F14. As its name suggests, the stage's current lone factor is largely an outcome of the support from the other 17

factors on its left. Therefore, while F14's status as an ICT factor suggests it fosters positive contact and communication, generating and/or maximizing F14 in an intergroup context often depends on the other factors.

Factor 14: Sharing information about ourselves with each other. Interviewees reported that they were more open to sharing personal information with others because they felt comfortable being open in such a positive environment. They also had some confidence when talking with others due to reduced uncertainty about them, which occurred through seeing others' nationalities displayed and assuming similarities and common goals based on being at the Olympics. This illustrates AUMEC's relevance to fans' experiences of Communication Behaviors and Styles, because the theory contends that as people become more comfortable and confident as a result of reduced anxiety and uncertainty, they are more likely to engage in effective communication with outgroup members. The presence of F14 also indicates the Olympics as an ideal context for intergroup contact and communication according to Kenworthy et al.'s (2005) future directions. They offer, "We suggest…contact under conditions…that encourage the presentation of uniqueness and differentiation among outgroup members (e.g., via individuation and self-disclosure)" (p. 290). Fans' experiences of F14 exemplify self-disclosure and individuation.

Similarly to F17 (Learning about individual people), F14 illustrates when and how decategorization enters fans' experiences of ICT factors and group membership transformation through individuating outgroup members, which begs questions about Pettigrew's (1998) ICT theoretical model I will address in the next chapter. Given F14's function as an Outcome and its extremely low INF score, organizers and practitioners

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should understand people are not likely to share information about themselves with each other unless they have experienced several other ICT factors, and participants may need a communication climate that builds confidence toward communicating with others by reducing people's uncertainty about each other. If organizers want people to get to know each other more personally and engage in self-disclosure, they likely need to consider how and where other factors support the emergence of this behavior.

Implications and Connections

In this section, I discuss additional connections to previous literature and mega-sporting event industry concerns and practices, as well as implications of the data not addressed in the previous discussion of each research question. The section is organized according to methodological, theoretical, and practical connections and implications

Methodological Implications and Connections

The Contact Hypothesis that catalyzed over six decades of research on intergroup contact and communication largely was developed using qualitative research methods and data. Allport (1954) developed his understanding of how the original four factors reduced prejudice and fostered positive intergroup relations with a blend of quantitative, critical, and qualitative methods, but scant qualitative investigation of ICT has followed (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In my methodologies, I have sought to revisit and revitalize qualitative exploration of ICT by including Allport's (1954) use of interview responses and individuals' narratives. In doing so, I was able to develop an understanding of how an intergroup context's participants conceptualized ICT factors in their experiences, intricacies in the ways the factors supported each other, holistic views of individuals' and composite experiences of ICT factors, experience-based themes depicting when and

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where ICT factors emerged in participants' experiences, and more. The depth and detail of this study's contribution to understanding ICT was only possible through following Allport's model of qualitative investigation.

I also intentionally broke from standard practices of developing models and frameworks of ICT by putting the theory and its concepts into the hands of the fans experiencing its factors and outcomes. The fans in Rio who participated in the study added to ICT from a vastly different perspective than established ICT scholarship. Each fan participant generated an individual model of ICT's factors based on their experiences, which I highlighted and described individually and also combined for a more holistic model representative of fans' experiences from their perspectives. Allport (1954) created an accessible and intuitive framework with his original four conditions, and the participants in this study confirmed the accessible nature of ICT. They understood how ICT was embedded in their experiences of intergroup contact and communication and clearly articulated why, how, where, and when ICT factors manifested and supported each other in ways that offered insight into specific details and larger processes of the theory. Scholars have researched and modeled ICT for over 60 years, and this study suggests the value of adding perspectives from new sources.

My participant-centered methodological approach is also consistent with the IOC's approach to the Agenda 20+20 document (IOC, 2014), which was generated by input from over 40,000 industry professionals, IOC members, and everyday citizens. The agenda serves as the IOC's public declaration and commitment to its goals, and it shapes the organization's approach to the Olympics. In the document's opening remarks, the IOC (2014) writes,

We need to change because sport today is too important in society to ignore the rest of society. …If we want to continue to put Olympic Sport at the service of society, which is part of our Olympic Principles, we must engage with this society, we must be in a respectful dialogue with this society. (p. 2)

The document emphasizes that people "from all walks of life" (p. 5) contributed to its list of commitments. One commitment in particular, Recommendation 39: "Foster dialogue with society and within the Olympic Movement," explicitly addresses this approach. The recommendation describes the IOC's regular engagement and consultation with Olympic fans and everyday citizens regarding how the IOC can better serve social concerns and the role of the Olympics in bettering society. This study's participant-centered methodologies reflect the IOC's approach by seeking, valuing, and prioritizing fans' experiences and insights regarding the Olympics.

Methodological implications also emerged from the use of Interpretive Structural Modeling (Broome, 1995; Warfield, 1976). During data analysis, my committee and I struggled with how to treat rationales in the transcripts and decided on a broad, thematic analysis without more specific coding. It became clear when performing the thematic analysis that we were unsure how to code the transcripts because the coding had essentially already been done by the interview itself. Traditional approaches of identifying codes in interview transcripts and allowing those codes to develop into themes (Tracy, 2013) were inappropriate, because the ISM software introduced the most relevant terms and phrases to interviewees by putting ICT factors in questions on the screen in front of them. The terms and phrases most relevant to the study are built into each interview question and serve as codes in the transcripts. Therefore, unless a

researcher is seeking the emergence of ideas specifically outside the content they program into the interview questions, they can rely on the interview itself to code their transcripts. In order to take full advantage of this feature of ISM interviews, interviewers should read each question aloud so the codes (terms and phrases that are part of the questions) appear in the transcripts. Fortunately, I did this for ISM interviews in Rio, and it allowed me to capitalize on this ISM feature.

Theoretical Implications and Connections

This study supports Lam and Corson's (2013) general finding that ICT has potential and value for understanding social capital in mega-sporting event contexts despite the near absence of research on ICT at mega-sporting events. From their research at the London 2012 Olympics, they note that "those who engage closely with sport," such as fans at the Olympics, experience more "social cohesion, where bonding and bridging of social capital between sporting members are argued to generate reciprocal contact and trust" (p. 381). This reciprocal contact and trust, in addition to several other positive outcomes of social capital, also occurred in Rio. Interviewees discussed experiencing ICT factors in ways that indicate the Olympics produced bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) among fans. Social capital outcomes that connected with interviewees' experiences of ICT factors include collective action, fluid group membership boundaries, inclusiveness, and pooling of collective resources, which emerged when fans took intergroup photos and engaged with each other in a variety of ways. Several of these outcomes can also be observed in the themes developed from fans' rationales, suggesting they were an important part of fans' experiences of ICT factors.

This dissertation suggests that the Olympic context complicates traditional notions of bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital occurs when networks, norms, and trust fuel *intra*group connection and cooperation, which can reinforce division and separation between differing groups by establishing rigid boundaries to group membership, normalizing rejection of those outside the network seeking to join it, and creating an "us versus them" mentality (Putnam, 1995). Bridging social capital is typically considered to benefit societies through peaceful integration, collaboration, and pooling of resources, whereas bonding social capital can have negative effects of exclusion, segregation, and fear and contempt for other groups (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Interviewees expressed notions of bonding and bridging social capital working together to produce the social benefits of both while avoiding the negative consequences of bonding. It seems bridging social capital permeated fans' experiences and dissolved rigid group membership boundaries to build inclusive groups. Fans then experienced *intra*group connection and cooperation within their new, larger ingroup that contained many different groups within it, which they discussed regarding F18 (Solidarity with my own group) in ways reflective of the IOC's stated goal of global solidarity (IOC, 2014). They noted how their national, socioeconomic, and other groups all fit within the larger ingroup of Olympic fans with whom they also felt solidarity. By achieving this, the context also manifested Allport's (1954) notion of concentric ingroups and his optimism for the possibility of humanity as an ingroup, at least for the microcosm of humanity represented at the Olympics. Thus, the context also accomplished part of the Olympic legacy to reduce exclusion (IOC, 2014) and promote the Olympic value of unity (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015).

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Gudykunst's (1995; 2005) Anxiety Uncertainty Management Theory of Effective

Communication (AUMEC) also seemed to connect with ICT in many ways throughout

the literature review, results, and discussion. This suggests that AUMEC can make

valuable contributions to ICT and understanding intergroup contact and communication

in positive contexts similar to the Olympics. AUMEC contends that when faced with

communicating with culturally-different others, one's anxiety must be low enough for

them to feel comfortable to interact, and one's uncertainty must be low enough for them

to feel confident to interact. These principles prominently emerged in fans' experiences

of the themes Communication Behaviors and Styles, Physical Spaces, and Initiating

Communication and Contact, as several interviewees noted that having a pleasant time

(F5) and feeling equal to others (F10) due to sharing the same space with them lowered

their anxiety and made the thought of interacting more comfortable. Additionally,

perceptions of having common goals (F3) and similarities to others (F4) due to attending

the Olympics and specific athletic events reduced uncertainty and increased confidence in

interacting with others, as did displays of group identity (F11) by offering bits of

information about others that served as conversation starters. These factors then fostered

others in accordance with AUMEC's explanation of how increased comfort and

confidence lead to effective communication, including: meeting and talking with others

(F1), learning about others' ways of life (F2), making new friends (F8), and sharing

information about ourselves with each other (F14).

The Olympic context seems highly conducive to fostering the effective intergroup

communication AUMEC promotes, which can be largely attributed to a sense of

eagerness to engage with others that interviewees described in conjunction with F13

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(Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily). Interviewees frequently emphasized that they intentionally sought out contact and communication with people from different national groups and engaged with those around them in stadiums, the metro, and other common sites at the Olympics. This suggests that the Olympics may provide an environment that makes overcoming the barriers of anxiety and uncertainty easier, consequently leading to effective communication between people from different cultural groups.

Dialogue is another concept from the field of communication that strongly connected with ICT literature, IOC values and goals, social capital, and the data. Buber (1937) describes how dialogue transforms perceptions of and relationships with others from *I-It* to *I-Thou*. *I-It* relationships are consistent with negative ingroup-outgroup relationships in that the "*I*" views the "*It*" as a stereotyped other who interferes with or threatens goals, and therefore is treated and communicated with as an object for manipulation. *I-Thou* relationships bridge differences between oneself and another through dialogue. Broome (2009) lists several outcomes of productive dialogue that are consistent with fans' experiences of ICT factors, and the presence of these factors consequently suggests that fans engaged in productive dialogue with outgroup members. The factors fans discussed in relation to outcomes of productive dialogue include F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), F17 (Learning about individual people), and F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other), which according to fans' conceptualizations exemplify dialogue's outcomes of learning about others, mutual understanding, and listening. Additionally, F15 (Respecting each other) is consistent with

the outcome of mutual respect, and F8 (Making new friends) connects with the outcome of relationship development (Broome, 2009).

Other theoretical connections with the field of communication include the emergence of communication concepts in the factors fans chose as relevant to their intergroup experiences and the sites and situations in which they experienced these factors. Many of the top 18 factors directly require or imply verbal and/or nonverbal communication with others, and each connects to communication theories and concepts that could be utilized to further explore individual factors and advance ICT. Among others, these factors include F1 (Meeting and talking with others), F11 (Displaying my group identity), F7 (Avoiding insults to each other's group), F6 (Cooperating with each other), F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me), F12 (Accommodating to each other), F8 (Making new friends), F17 (Learning about individual people), and F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other). Other factors imply considerations for communication from and between larger entities, including F16 (Support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities) and F18 (Solidarity with my own group). Given these various connections between the factors and the discipline, it seems natural that communication strongly emerged as central to two themes that indicate the reoccurring sites and situations in which fans experienced the factors: Initiating Communication and Contact, and Communication Behaviors and Styles. These connections between ICT and the field of communication suggest the appropriateness of merging the two in this study and the potential insights and advancements they can offer each other with continued integration.

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Practical Implications and Connections

As discussed in the preceding paragraphs, the IOC's current priorities regarding the inclusion of fans' and everyday people's perspectives is evidenced by their acceptance of ideas from a variety of contributors for their Agenda 20+20 document (2014). This study is consistent with the IOC's model in its participant-centered approach, through which fans' perspectives and experiences established the relevant data and largely informed its analysis and interpretation. The study's results and discussion also connect with and offer insight to the IOC and Olympic organizers due to the prominent emergence of so many Olympic values and IOC goals in fans' experiences of intergroup contact and communication. The functions of the factors and the sites and situations in which the factors operate shed light on when and how the IOC's values and goals enter fans' experiences and the influence fans attribute to them. Agenda 20+20 declares a mission to foster communication across differences, dialogue, diversity, and global solidarity through the Olympics, all of which interacted with ICT factors and themes, as did the core Olympic values of friendship and respect (IOC, 2012). I did not directly ask fans about supportive relationships between ICT factors and IOC values and goals, nor do the themes explicitly address where and when fans experienced the values and goals, so I cannot draw many strong conclusions about these ideas. However, as this chapter outlines, there are robust connections between many of these concepts that suggest how they support each other and enter fans' experiences.

In addition to the IOC's stated values and goals, the results also illuminated several Olympic Studies scholars' findings about Olympic legacy goals and values in connection with ICT. These include blending sport with culture, internationalism,

multicultural understanding, unity, equality (Chatziefstathiou & DaCosta, 2015), reshaping collective identities, social impact (Chen, 2013), increased cultural understanding and exchange, festive atmosphere, and spirit of community (Cashman, 2006). Chen (2013) advocates that Olympic host cities should recognize the positive potential the event offers for cultural and social benefits and leverage the event for these outcomes, which include reducing social exclusion, generating positive group identities (Waitt, 2003; Minnaert, 2011; Deccio & Baloglu, 2002), fostering social integration (Girginov & Parry, 2005), improving intragroup and intergroup interaction (Misener & Mason, 2006; MacRury & Poytner, 2009), and increasing awareness of global issues. This study has sought to help Olympic host cities recognize the positive potential Chen (2013) identified and understand how to take advantage of it. Given the research context and methodologies are consistent with the IOC, and the results reflect many of its central values and goals, this study seems relevant and useful to the organization and the contexts it organizes, in addition to other similar organizations and intergroup contexts. These could include the Commonwealth Games, FIFA and its World Cup events, and several other global and international sports federations and events.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I integrated contextual features of the research context from the Introduction and theory and previous research from the Literature Review to shed light on the study's results. I also sought to use the results to reciprocally shed light on theoretical and practical applications for the research context and previous literature. I did this by addressing each research question to discuss implications and applications regarding *what* factors were relevant, *why* and *how* they worked together through

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supportive relationships, and *where* and *when* they emerged and supported each other in fans' experiences at the Olympics. This progression built the conversation toward an integration of all the data, culminating in RQ 4 and its discussion of the functions each factor serves and where and when these functions are most productive. Informed by this discussion, I offered suggestions for how organizers and practitioners in positive intergroup contexts similar to the Olympics can approach and implement the factors to enhance group membership transformation and positive intergroup contact and communication for fans. After addressing each research question, I discussed additional methodological, theoretical, and practical connections and implications of the study. In the next and final chapter, I summarize the study and discuss several of its more specific, significant contributions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I outline five primary contributions of the study that emerged with more significance and specificity than the implications and connections in the previous chapter. I start with contributions to interviewing methodologies in general, followed by contributions to Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM). I then discuss contributions to mega-sporting events and their organizers and contributions to Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT) through a new context and effective data collection within that context. The final contribution requires background and development as I justify and propose a preliminary model of ICT adapted from Pettigrew's (1998) to explain what happens when ideal contextual features are present for intergroup contact and communication. This includes identification of features for ideal intergroup contexts, Pettigrew's ICT model, my preliminary model for ideal intergroup contexts, and a discussion of their differences. I conclude the chapter and the dissertation as a whole by addressing limitations and future directions.

Contributions to Interviewing Methodologies

Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) software has only recently been utilized for individual interviews (e.g., Chen, 2016; Valianos, 2013), and this study suggests it has specific benefits most forms of interviewing lack and implications for how researchers normally conduct interviews. I did not determine the interview questions. The software determined the questions based on the order in which the factors were entered into ISM (which was identical for every interviewee) and each interviewee's previous answers. Consequently, I had less control over the questions than is typical for

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researchers, which was an unanticipated way the research design fit my participant-centered goals. Frequently, the software would put a combination of factors in the question shell that seemed like a clear "no" to me, but the interviewee surprised me by answering "yes" and offering an insightful, experience-based rationale. I would not have thought to ask these questions, and they yielded valuable data.

This exemplifies how ISM can overcome the limitations a researcher's knowledge and experience can have on the questions they ask interviewees. I was seeking to understand each fan's experience, and the software helped prevent me from omitting questions relevant to them based on *my* experience. ISM manages to do this while maintaining a structured interview format that interviewees found easy to learn and follow, and it therefore combines spontaneity (unique, unanticipated questions) with structure. I would advise researchers planning to use interviews to consider the benefits of ISM for these reasons, even if ISM structures would not be useful for their studies. My experience of gathering valuable data I would not have thought to explore has led to this contribution to interviewing methodologies.

Contributions to Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM)

Using thematic analysis to analyze interviewees' rationales from ISM interviews is unique to this study, and it provided a more in-depth analysis of the 18 ICT factors than would have been possible without thematic analysis. Typically, rationales are treated as supplemental data that simply inform ISM structures (Broome, 1995), but this study has sought to illustrate that they are valuable and worthwhile for understanding the factors in ISM interviews when analyzed with more attention. Through my thematic analysis of 516 rationales, I strived to provide theoretical and practical understanding of *where* and *when*

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fans experienced positive intergroup contact and communication and the sites and situations most conducive to each factor's functions and effective implementation. This proved to be of high value to the study, and I would not have been able to explore these ideas without analyzing the rationales in more depth than previous researchers who have used ISM. For future researchers using ISM, exploring *where* and *when* and using thematic analysis may or may not be appropriate for the context, population, or ISM interview content, but regardless, this study suggests the value of considering how to analyze rationales in order to capitalize on the previously overlooked potential of these data.

Contributions to Mega-Sporting Events and their Organizers

The mega-sporting event industry and related academic fields (e.g., Sociology of Sport, Olympic Studies) are not just pursuing the goals of Olympic legacy, Olympic values, and building social capital; they also seek an in-depth understanding of the processes that lead to achieving these goals. This study has addressed several calls and concerns from the industry and these fields. For example, positive social impacts of the Olympics are often the product of intentionally-designed strategies and planning from organizing committees and sports federations (Chen, 2013). In the Discussion chapter, I made dozens of suggestions for organizers and practitioners of intergroup contexts to inform their intentionally-designed strategies and produce positive social impacts. These included suggestions regarding how to approach and execute the implementation of every one of the 18 ICT factors.

This research seeks to establish a better understanding of the intricacies of fans' experiences. Consequently, it strives to offer insight to organizers' and federations'

strategies for positive social impacts by shedding light on how to foster positive

intergroup contact and communication (Allport, 1954), reduce intergroup anxiety

(Gudykunst, 2005), promote dialogue (Broome, 2009), and build social capital (Minnaert,

2011; Waitt, 2003). By intentionally investigating influential, interacting, and sometimes

minute details of fans' positive experiences, the study addressed Misener and Mason's

(2006) call for more research at the micro-level of mega-sporting events to explore how

they generate positive social impacts.

Contributions to Intergroup Contact Theory

This study contributed to Intergroup Contact Theory (ICT) by exploring a new

context and effectively collecting data within it. In most intergroup contexts, organizers

and practitioners seeking to foster positive contact and communication must create an

event or environment that attracts people from different group backgrounds to voluntarily

participate (Allport, 1954) based on a shared desire or interest, despite their differences.

Organizers must then successfully build rapport and trust between these groups,

recategorize group identities to be more inclusive, and develop a pleasant atmosphere that

feels natural and desirable to participants, which is a difficult and rare achievement

(Kenworthy et al., 2005; Moody, 2001). However, the Olympics in Rio exemplified all of

these traits as evidenced by the relevance and presence of many ICT factors, their active

support for each other in various aspects of fans' experiences, and distinct and

widespread processes of group membership transformation, all in a context that

motivated hundreds of thousands of people from around the world to eagerly, voluntarily

travel to Rio to be part of it.

Somehow, the Olympics, and likely other mega-sporting events, have gone

unnoticed by ICT scholars despite providing such conducive, or in Allport's (1954)

terminology, vulnerable, contexts for positive contact and communication and doing so

every few years for decades. In this dissertation, I have sought to bring attention to the

Olympics and mega-sporting events as prime contexts for using ICT to inform planners

and organizers how to more fully maximize on the ideal contexts they oversee. I have

also strived to illuminate new understandings of how ICT operates in severely

underexplored contexts of positivity and ripeness (Zartman, 2000), which Allport (1954)

advocated but following scholarship has neglected. This study has not only contributed to

ICT in its investigation of a new context, but also by providing an example of how to

effectively gather data in the context.

Preliminary ICT Model of Group Membership Transformation in Ideal Intergroup

Contexts

In this section, I provide necessary background for and propose a preliminary

theoretical model of ICT that is more reflective of some of the general features of my

research context than the most common model of ICT (Pettigrew, 1998), which focuses

on fixing or resolving negative issues and contexts. Pettigrew's model does not

adequately represent the experience of fans at the Olympics, which matched Kenworthy

et al.'s (2005) description of an ideal context for positive intergroup contact and

communication. They write,

> We suggest…contact under conditions that promote positive affect (e.g., lower
>
> anxiety, greater perspective-taking and empathy), and that encourage the
>
> presentation of uniqueness and differentiation among outgroup members (e.g., via

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individuation and self-disclosure), while at the same time ensuring that

participants remain aware of their own and others' group memberships. (p. 290)

Every contextual condition they promote was present and active at the Olympics

according to fan participants, whose experiences were grounded in the context. ICT

factors served as "conditions that promote positive affect." For example, interviewees

attributed lower anxiety to F5 (Having a pleasant time), F10 (Feeling equal to others), F4

(Seeing how others are similar to me), F7 (Avoiding insults to each other's group), and

other factors. Their reduced anxiety resulted in increased comfort (Gudykunst, 1995;

2005) to share information with each other (F14), make new friends (F8), and cooperate

with others (F6), all of which fostered individuation, self-disclosure, and

decategorization. This illustrates how the factors worked in conjunction with processes of

group membership transformation from Pettigrew's (1998) ICT theoretical model, but as

I will discuss below, perhaps in different ways than Pettigrew's model explains. At the

Olympics, categorization, recategorization, and decategorization manifested in fans'

experiences in ways that "encouraged presentation of uniqueness" and awareness of

one's "own and others' group memberships," evidenced by F11's (Displaying my group

identity) high level of influence and fans' widespread embrace of differences in

intergroup photos and other activities. Given these connections, which are examples

representative of many others discussed in previous chapters, it seems that the Olympics

foster all of Kenworthy et al.'s (2005) criteria for ideal conditions for positive intergroup

contact and communication, making the event a unique context in which to explore ICT.

What happens in such an ideal context for intergroup contact and communication?

Are traditional theoretical understandings and approaches to implementing ICT factors

and transforming notions of group membership appropriate and effective in these positive, ideal environments? This study suggests it may be necessary to reconsider ICT in such contexts and develop understandings and frameworks that more appropriately and effectively reflect how ICT operates within them. In an effort to start this new conversation, I discuss these considerations and propose a tentative, preliminary model for ICT in ideal intergroup contexts in the following paragraphs.

I recap Pettigrew's (1998) ICT model and briefly summarize its core components and approach to group membership transformation. I then present, explain, and discuss a preliminary theoretical model for ICT in contexts with contextual features different from those targeted by Pettigrew. Because of these contextual differences, the model I propose is best described as an adaptation of Pettigrew's (1998) for a different context. To establish the contextual features that may be compatible with the adapted ICT theoretical model, I reintroduce several characteristics previous scholars have identified as ideal for contexts of intergroup contact and communication. I first ground each contextual feature in previous literature about context-based characteristics that are ideal for contact and communication. When describing each contextual feature, I also include how this study's data illustrated each feature in order to affirm the feature's presence and appropriateness and to shed light on specific ways the features can be represented and identified.

Contextual Features for Ideal Intergroup Contact and Communication

Indicating a severe gap in ICT, most efforts to foster positive intergroup contact and communication are focused on particular, problematic situations in which conflict and/or prejudice are prevalent and disruptive. This is valuable, but Allport (1954) calls for ICT work to go beyond these types of contexts. He advocates the importance of

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understanding and implementing positive contact where prejudice is not explicitly observed in order to gain understanding about the forces promoting positive intergroup relations. Essentially, he writes that exploring how to foster positive contact and communication and seeking to understand how it works in thriving contexts is a worthwhile endeavor. The following concepts help conceptualize these types of contexts.

Transitory and voluntary. The first contextual feature seems to illustrate an idea from Allport's (1954) work that is yet to be fully explored. Allport refers to transitory events in reference to how ingroups can be temporary, exemplified by how people at a dinner party may use the word "we" to describe themselves in that short-term context, despite group differences within this ingroup. This example reflects the Olympic context and the experience of fans, as they temporarily shared space, engaged in many experiences together, and often used "we" to talk about fans at the event as a whole. Given Allport's description of fixed times and places for transitory contexts, the Olympics embodies this contextual feature simply by matching its definition. This study's data illustrates how the Olympic context was transitory in the theme of Physical Spaces, where people came into contact and communication with each other for short spans of time at stadiums, at Olympic Park, at National Houses, and in other locations. This contact and communication was also voluntary for fans, and Allport notes voluntary participation as important to positive contact. The presence and influence of voluntary participation in fans' experiences of the context is evidenced by their selection of F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily), which is a Secondary Support Factor.

Indirect contact. Fans' intergroup contact and communication at the Olympics mostly rose organically from the context and was not part of a structured effort to promote positive contact. This fits Stephan and Stephan's (2005) description of indirect contact, which does not explicitly address the concepts of prejudice, conflict, and stereotyping, but instead intentionally enacts Allport's (1954) conditions to foster positive contact in contexts that may not have a specific problem to fix or even be prone to positive contact and communication. This connects with data from F5 (Having a pleasant time) and the presence and relevance of so many ICT factors in the context. It is also consistent with the theme Identity and Brand of the Event regarding the positive tone of the event.

Normative support. Pettigrew (1998) offered,

> Situations are embedded in social institutions and societies. Thus, institutional and societal norms structure the form and effects of contact situations…when a society embraces intergroup harmony, equal-status contact between groups is no longer subversive. Normative support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier. (p. 78)

Given the IOC's legacy goals and values, messages of tolerance and respect at the Opening Ceremonies, and putting on the Olympics in general, it seems support from Brazilian and Olympic authorities (F16) embodied normative support at the Olympics. Fans also referred to the unity inspired by the Olympics (F9) in ways reflective of normative support. This contextual feature also connects with Physical Spaces that were built for fans to share space with each other and Decent and Considerate Behavior in the form of promoting understanding, obedience, and compliance.

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Affective means. Contrasting intergroup contact experienced through affective means versus cognitive means, Allport offers, "Action is ordinarily better than mere information. Programs do well therefore to involve the individual in some project…a neighborhood festival. When he does something, he becomes something. The…more realistic the contacts, the better the results" (p. 470). The Olympics are a real context, in many ways similar to a festival, in which people engaged in the themes Doing Things Together (interpersonal) and Collective Activity in a variety of ways. In their update on the state of ICT research and application, Kenworthy et al. (2005) describe well-established empirical support that affective, action-oriented contact programming is more effective than mere cognitive information gains about different groups. In addition to the themes, this contextual feature also emerged at the Olympics in the form of F6 (Cooperating with each other), F18 (Solidarity with my own group), F12 (Accommodating to each other), and F8 (Making new friends).

Pettigrew's (1998) ICT Model

In *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1954) called on others to apply his ideas to implement contact in intergroup contexts (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Kenworthy et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). Pettigrew's (1998) theoretical model of ICT, introduced in the Literature Review, illustrates Allport's (1954) goal of blending theoretical understanding with practical application. It combines Allport's ICT factors with intentional phases of establishing and transforming notions of group membership in intergroup contexts. Pettigrew (1998) notes that it is specifically focused on how to create environments that foster positive intergroup contact and communication.
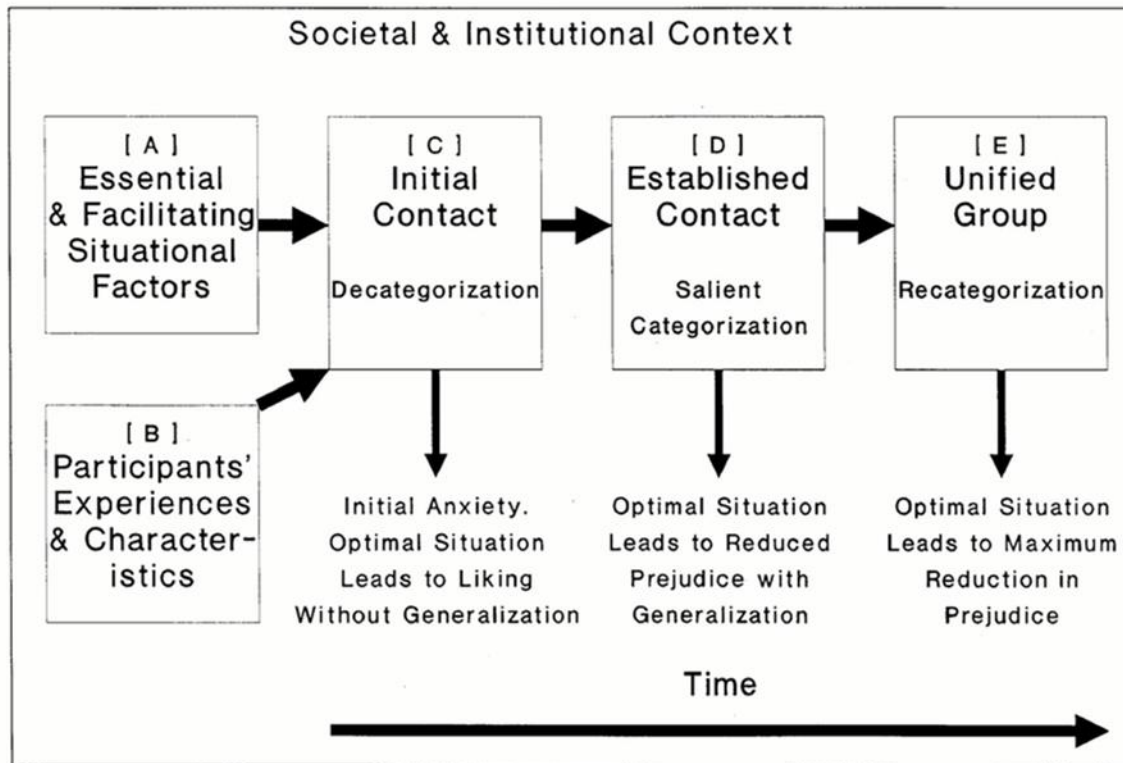
Figure 24. Pettigrew's (1998) model of ICT.

Briefly summarizing his model, Pettigrew (1998) contends that the combination of ICT factors implemented into contact and individual participants in the contact situation (both on the left) should go through a process leading from decategorization, to categorization, to recategorization over time. This leads to optimal prejudice reduction through intentionally-organized intergroup contact and communication. Decategorization, categorization, and recategorization were initially three separate lines of research that were contested as separate solutions, but they are now commonly shown to be complementary and sequential, as in Pettigrew's (1998) model (Dovidio et al., 2003; Kenworthy et al., 2005). They mainly differ in their approaches to the role of group membership salience in intergroup contact and communication (Kenworthy et al., 2005).

Next, I will briefly summarize each of these three concepts and identify the factors and themes in which each emerged in this study.

Recategorization. Recategorization was largely developed by Gaertner et al. (1993) and Gaertner and Dovidio (2000). The concept "transforms participants' representations of memberships from [multiple] groups to one, more inclusive group" (Dovidio et al., 2003, p. 11). As a result of this newly-formed, inclusive ingroup identity, people who formerly considered each other outgroup members perceive of themselves as part of the same ingroup, thus establishing the positive cognitive and behavioral attributes of ingroup members toward each other, such as perceived similarity and affinity, collaboration, and inclusive attitudes (Allport, 1954). Interviewees frequently offered rationales consistent with this conceptualization and operationalization of recategorization. These rationales most commonly comprise the theme Humanity as an Ingroup, as the theme's name largely captures the ultimate goal of recategorization. It also emerged in the Identity and Brand of the Event in the forms of having the same reason to attend the Olympics and the uniqueness of the event's atmosphere, the theme Physical Spaces in fans' descriptions of the Games as a microcosm of the world, and Collective Activity as massive intergroup actions (such as "the wave" or joining to cheer for one particular athlete).

Categorization. Efforts of categorization, originally promoted by Hewstone and Brown (1986), seek to maximize or maintain group membership salience within a context of intergroup contact and communication. Its proponents argue that outgroup members must be perceived as part of their outgroup for prejudice to be reduced. If they are simply viewed as individuals, the potential of the contact and communication to generalize its

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effects is diminished or erased. In this way, categorization seeks one of the primary goals of intergroup contact and communication by aiming for maximal generalizability to outgroups as wholes based on contact with individual members of those outgroups. Additionally, ignoring or downplaying the salience of group membership is often resisted by group members who take pride in their membership, as it seems would have been true at the Olympics based on interviewees' ubiquitous positivity about their own and others' displays of national identity (F11). Interviewees provided rationales consistent with this conceptualization and operationalization of categorization, often referring to many nationalities expressing support for their respective teams at athletic events in the theme Identity & Brand of Event. Categorization also prominently emerged in Differences & Comparing as people learned about and observed other national groups. Other themes include Initiating Communication & Contact in the form of national symbols serving as conversation starters, and Collective Activity in the form of people feeling more comfortable expressing their nationalities in crowds of compatriots and the strong and obvious presence of these crowds' support for national teams and athletes.

Decategorization. Decategorization is largely credited to Brewer and Miller (1984). As the term implies, decategorization seeks to minimize the use of category labels and the salience of group identities and memberships in intergroup contact and communication. The primary goal is to establish interaction on an individual basis in pursuit of Allport's (1954) goals of individuating outgroup members by highlighting personal information and distinctions as opposed to emphasizing people's groups as wholes (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Interviewees' rationales were consistent with this conceptualization and operationalization of decategorization in the theme Differences and

Comparing, as they learned a variety of topics about others, engaged in self-disclosure, and expressed an appreciation for challenges others faced in their lives. The concept also emerged in Humanity as an Ingroup in the form of individuation of outgroup members, as well as the theme Doing Things Together (interpersonal) when interviewees hung out with each other, arranged to get together again, and exchanged contact information.

Preliminary Theoretical Model for ICT in Ideal Contexts

I must emphasize that the following theoretical model is a preliminary and tentative proposal for understanding and applying Intergroup Contact Theory in ideal, ripe (Zartman, 2000), vulnerable (Allport, 1954) settings with the contextual features described above. I strongly advocate that scholars and practitioners of intergroup contact and communication question, critique, investigate, and appropriately make improvements and adjustments to the model.
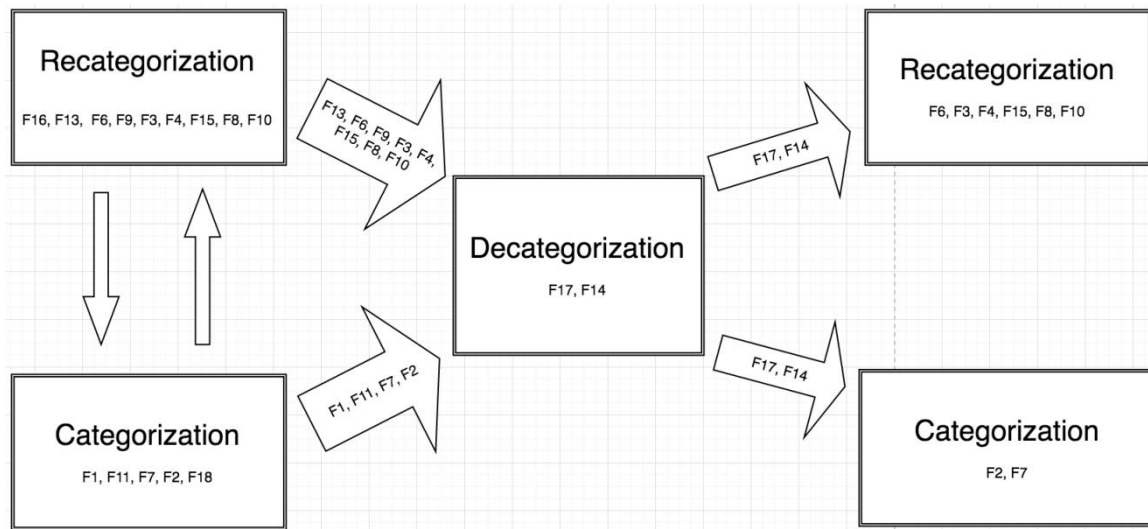

Figure 25. Preliminary theoretical model for ICT in ideal contexts.

This proposed theoretical model of ICT and Pettigrew's (1998) are different in two primary ways that illustrate why I believe an adapted model is needed for ICT in contexts with ideal contextual features. The first difference is the presence and function of ICT factors in the model, and the second difference is the sequence and relationships between recategorization, categorization, and decategorization. I also excluded participants' past experiences and personal traits, which Pettigrew's (1998) model includes, because I did not investigate any ICT factors relevant to these items, as explained in the Literature Review.

ICT Factors in the Model. Instead of depicting ICT factors separately as pre-existing aspects in the general context of intergroup contact and communication, I have integrated them into the process of group membership transformation. This is due to the strong connections between interviewees' conceptualizations of the factors and their supportive relationships with each other and scholars' conceptualizations and operationalization of recategorization, categorization, and decategorization. The factors seem to play an integral role in these aspects of the larger process of group membership transformation, which I realized when looking through each factor's document listing all of the rationales interviewees provided for every other factor. In addition to discussing several factors consistently with scholars' notions of recategorization, categorization, and decategorization, several interviewees answered "yes" to the same questions (i.e. F11→F12). I noticed consistencies between which factors interviewees conceptualized according to scholars' discussion of these three concepts and how those factors tended to support other factors conceptualized according to one of the other three concepts.

For example, I noticed that F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me) fit with recategorization and commonly supported F17 (Learning about individual people) and F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other). This is illustrated in the model by F4's presence in the Recategorization box and the arrow pointing to the Decategorization box, which contains F17 and F14 due to their fit with the concept. I also noticed that interviewees provided rationales for how F17 and F14 supported F4, which is illustrated by the arrow leading from the Decategorization box to the Recategorization box on the right.

When analyzing the ISM meta-structure, I noticed that the factors most aligned with decategorization and individuation, F17 and F14, had the two lowest INF scores and were consequently most likely to be outcomes of other factors' support more than any other factor. This seems to contrast Pettigrew's ICT model, which places decategorization first in a sequence of group membership transformation. I then noticed F2 (Learning about others' ways of life), which is similar to F17 and F14 in that they are all forms of getting information from other people, but distinctly different in that it fits much more with categorization than decategorization. F2 has a much higher INF score, ranked seventh highest, and therefore has a much higher level of power to influence other factors than F17 and F14. F2's rationales also suggest that it supports F17 and F14, as do the collections of rationales for F1, F11, and F7, which is why these four factors are in the arrow from the Categorization box on the left to the Decategorization box. This tentatively suggests what the model displays: at the Olympics, categorization preceded and supported decategorization in a process of group membership transformation.

Sequence of Recategorization, Categorization, and Decategorization. The model makes several tentative suggestions about the sequence and process of recategorization, categorization, and decateogrization in ideal intergroup contexts. Recategorization and categorization tended to be *simultaneous and initial forces* of shaping fans' notions of group membership, and the rationales of their associated factors suggest they reciprocally fostered each other. Also, between the two of them, they are associated with the top 12 most influential factors, which occupy the left two-thirds of the ISM meta-structure and are more likely than other factors to function as starting points to foster other factors. This offers credence to recategorization's and categorization's position on the left of the ICT model as starting points of the process of group membership transformation; a process largely dependent upon ICT factors (Kenworthy et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). Recategorization is associated with nine ICT factors, eight of which are indicated to lead to decategorization according to their rationales for F17 and F14. Categorization is associated with five ICT factors, four of which lead to decategorization.

Cycle of Recategorization, Categorization, and Decategorization. According to the above, preliminary model, decategorization, associated with F17 and F14, tended to absorb the influence of many factors associated with recategorization and categorization, suggesting it is somewhat an outcome of these two concepts in the process of group membership transformation at the Olympics. However, unlike in Pettigrew's (1998) model, it also seems that there is another stage in which decategorization leads to additional and new forms of recategorization and categorization in fans' experiences. This is illustrated by the arrows leading from the Decategorization box to the two boxes

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on its right. Notably, the number of factors in the recategorization and categorization boxes on the right are both fewer than the number sent to decategorization from those concepts' boxes on the left. This illustrates that decategorization absorbs more support from the other two concepts than it channels forward to them (on the right).

The extension of this model past Pettigrew's (1998) to repeat recategorization and categorization (in the boxes on the right) suggests further interplay between how fans experienced these stages of group membership transformation. It seems there may not be a definitive end to the model above, as it could repeat itself several times to keep extending farther right. This is exemplified by fans' rationales that show how their experiences of this sequence can complicate, enrich, and enhance one stage's effects on group membership notions in future cycles of that stage. For example, several interviewees alluded to how ICT factors linked recategorization to support decategorization, which in turn supported recategorization in distinctly new and enriched ways. Helena explained,

> When you're talking with other people and meeting with other people, you get to know them and get to see that we're all people and human beings who, I think most people have something in common when you get to speak to each other. When we met the Brazilian couple, who invited us to the apartment, I got to know that for them the education that they got is very important, and it's the same for me. …If I had not learned that they are doctors, I could not have seen how they were so similar to me, and I got to learn them as the couple and not as a Brazilian…not as the group in total.

Helena noted this process started with F1 (Meeting and talking with others), which is associated with categorization. This moved upward in the model and supported F4 (Seeing how others are similar to me), which is associated with recategorization. Helena then noted that she learned individuation information about the Brazilian couple and shared some about herself, indicating F17, F14, and decategorization. This decategorization then fed into recategorization by Helena feeling similar to the couple because they all worked in the medical field. This full cycle through the above model tentatively suggests that the different stages of group membership transformation evolve as fans experience them. Consequently, the cycle may keep moving toward the right to foster experiences of recategorization, categorization, and decategorization in increasingly nuanced and numerous ways.

Ideal Contextual Features. The contextual features of the Olympics as a positive environment and voluntary event seem particularly relevant to the differences between Pettigrew's (1998) model and my proposed adaptation for the Olympic context. As Pettigrew explained, his ICT model was built from and for relatively negative contexts in which there are problems to alleviate (prejudice, violence, stereotypes, etc.). It seems unrealistic that participants in such a setting would respond well to highlighting group differences via categorization and/or attempts at making them feel like part of the same inclusive ingroup via recategorization. At the Olympics, however, fans voluntarily and eagerly attended a context in which they expected people to highlight their various group identities and understood the inclusive, unifying reputation of the context. The barriers to recategorization and categorization in the contexts in which Pettigrew's (1998) model applies did not seem to be present in Olympic fans' experiences. Consequently,

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recategorization and categorization served as starting points for group membership salience.

Differences in the models (and the contexts to which they apply) could also be due in part to the transitory, unstructured nature of the Olympics versus the contexts on which Pettigrew (1998) focused, which tended to be structured, ongoing efforts over a span of weeks or months. At the Olympics, people often encountered each other for short spans of only a few minutes in lines, on the metro, and other locations. They were more likely to engage in categorization in the form of learning general, group-based information reflective of F2 (Learning about others' ways of life) in these experiences than they were to engage in individuating outgroup members through conversing about more personal information. Fans also often experienced recategorization in short, powerful moments, such as the Opening Ceremonies or when they were part of a diverse atmosphere unified by inhabiting the same space, interest in the sport being played in front of them, or collectively cheering for a team or athlete. F17 (Learning about individual people) and F14 (Sharing information about ourselves with each other), both of which reflect decategorization through individuation, were very often outcomes of these experiences of recategorization and categorization and took more time to develop. This explains decategorization's position in the sequence of group membership transformation in the above model and why it may have happened as a result of the other two concepts in the sequence.

Most planning and organization for positive intergroup contact and communication fails to reach the recategorization stage of Pettigrew's (1998) ICT model, and those contexts' participants consequently miss out on the depth and breadth of

positive outcomes of the stage (Kenworthy et al., 2005). Fans at the Olympics, however, seemed to start with recategorization and therefore experienced these positive outcomes in ways different from Pettigrew's (1998) model. It seems they simultaneously experienced categorization, as well, and these two concepts reciprocally fed into each other as they also fostered decategorization. Decateogorization then forwarded its own support back to these other two stages in ways often different than fans experienced them the first time, and the cycle seems to have the potential to continue in this way. To conclude this section, I must reiterate that this preliminary theoretical model for ICT is an adaptation of Pettigrew's for an ideal intergroup context; it is not a proposed replacement. Additionally, it requires a substantial amount of development and review before being considered as a legitimate, tested source of theoretical understanding and practical insight.

Limitations

I must acknowledge a few limitations to contemplate when considering this study's theoretical and practical implications. Despite the Olympic context's high level of diversity, it was not entirely representative of the world's population, and the context also lacked the longevity advocated by many ICT scholars and practitioners. Additionally, despite encouraging implications related to AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005), survey results suggest potential limitations regarding fans' experiences of anxiety and the timing of the survey.

Diversity

The Olympics exemplify perhaps one of the most diverse, representative samples of humanity to gather in one physical context. However, lower socioeconomic groups are

mostly excluded from mega-sporting events due to a lack of funds to travel to the events'

host locations. In Rio, even many local residents were not able to afford tickets to attend

some of the athletic events. While my sample was quite diverse in many ways and I did

not inquire about financial means, the wealth of the people who participated in this study

is likely not as representative of humanity as other aspects of the sample. Discussing F10

(Feeling equal to others), Celine from Canada pointed out that fans visiting Rio for the

Olympics "all have enough money to be here. We are equal in the sense that we are not

equal for the entire planet. We are all equal because we also have enough money and

time to be in Rio." A few interviewees expressed consistent thoughts that while they felt

equal with others present, many people in the world were not present due to issues of

economic inequality. They also noted that this was perhaps the most significant

characteristic of humanity missing from what was otherwise an extremely diverse context

relatively representative of the world's population. Participants' experiences of

intergroup contact and communication, therefore, likely lacked socioeconomic

differences representative of the world. However, this does not cause concern for the

representativeness of the sample, because the focus throughout the study was on fans at

the Olympics, so the financial means to be at the event is part of the population on which

I focused.

The sample was, however, a bit unrepresentative in that it required people who

were fluent in English. In addition to excluding people based on English aptitude, this

also likely meant I excluded people who did not have access or means to English

education. As I mentioned in the Methods chapter, I estimate only eight people out of

roughly fifty were excluded from the initial survey due to lacking English fluency, but this nonetheless reduced the representativeness of the sample of Olympic fans.

Longevity

Several ICT scholars emphasize the importance of longevity of intergroup contact and communication in order for its effects to emerge (Kenworthy et al., 2005; Pettigrew, 1997; 1998). However, based on fans' agreement of an abundance of ICT factors' presence in their experiences as well as consistent and ubiquitous affirmations of positive contact and communication with others, it seems perhaps the contextual features of ideal intergroup contexts discussed in the previous section resulted in the emergence of contact's effects despite the short duration of the event. Longer experiences of contact and communication in this context likely would have extended and enhanced ICT factors and their effects for fans, but the effects their experiences of intergroup contact had on them exceed those in most ICT research (Kenworthy et al., 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), suggesting the context is a worthwhile site to investigate and apply ICT despite its short duration.

Anxiety and Survey Timing

The exclusion of "I was not very anxious about interacting with others" from the top 18 factors is an exception to the implications that anxiety and uncertainty are minimized by the Olympic context in accordance with AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005). Fans who took the survey ranked this factor 25th out of 26, which seems to starkly contrast other findings related to AUMEC. This could be in part due to administering the survey relatively early in the Olympics, as fans might not yet have become accustomed in the event's atmosphere. The other excluded factors may have suffered from the same

issue of timing, which is important to recognize but does not take away from the relevance of the 18 factors participants "Agreed" were part of their intergroup experiences. As explained in the Methods chapter, I could only realistically include up to 18 factors in the remainder of the study out of consideration for interviewees' time, so while there is likely value in understanding factors 19 through 26 in the Olympic context, it would not have been feasible or appropriate to ask interviewees to consider them in ISM interviews. Survey participants also may have identified anxiety they felt when interacting with others without contemplating whether this anxiety was more or less than they typically feel when interacting with culturally-different others. The factor is not phrased in comparative wording, so while fans may have felt less anxious at the Olympics than they typically felt, any level of anxiety could have influenced their responses to this factor on the survey.

Future Directions

Given the appropriately preliminary, tentative nature of the ICT theoretical model I proposed earlier in this chapter, I am eager to understand if and how it withstands investigation in other contexts with similar contextual features of ideal intergroup settings. Based on the abundance of data and implications presented in this study, I also believe these contexts have much value to offer ICT theoretically and practically, and they are severely underexplored. Potential contexts with features similar to the Olympics include: other international mega-sporting events (World Cup, Commonwealth Games, world and continental championships, etc.), cultural events such as concerts and festivals, inter- and intra- religious conferences, city governments' events such as fireworks, fairs

and parades, conferences based on academic and/or business topics, and special weeks

and months at universities and schools (orientation week, Black History Month, etc.).

I excluded previous scholars' ICT factors related to personality traits, past

experiences, and predispositions from entering my methods for a few reasons, including

my lack of expertise in psychology and ICT factors related to psychology. These factors,

however, would add value to the conversation this study seeks to promote and create new

understandings and applications of ICT. Several interviewees even alluded to

psychological components as they interacted with the 18 ICT factors included in this

study and their overall intergroup experiences, including Leslie, who emphasized the

ways in which being an introvert influenced her experiences with others. Additionally,

Celine started her interview by saying, "After we met you the first time, we were thinking

there's already a little bit of bias even in the population that you interviewing, because we

feel that the people who are here are already open-minded." Based on the results of this

study, it seems the open-mindedness Celine mentioned played a large role in people's

intergroup contact and communication. I did not investigate personality traits and

predisposition such as open-mindedness and introversion, but I think investigation, from

a psychological perspective, of the factors I excluded within ideal contexts for intergroup

contact and communication would add breadth and complexity to my and others' work

on ICT.

I also did not intentionally investigate ICT in order to discover and suggest new

factors that foster positive intergroup contact and communication. However, some

preliminary, untested ideas for factors emerged, and given the severe lack of

understanding of ICT in ideal contexts, it seems there may be legitimate factors hiding in

the data. I am not aware of any studies seeking to find ICT factors present and active in

contexts characterized by positive intergroup relations, so the stage may be set for an

abundance of discoveries to add to the list of 65 factors I compiled from the last six

decades of research. A few starting points from my data include Bram's keen observation

of a bias against differences in ICT. Halfway through his interview, he interjected

between questions, "Why are all questions about similarities? I'm not seeing differences."

I briefly summarized the origin of the factors and how they have been shown to promote

positive intergroup contact and communication, but Bram and I agreed that there is a bias

against the positive potential of learning about others' differences in addition to

similarities (F4) and common goals (F3). "Learning about others' differences" would

likely be counterintuitive as an ICT factor in contexts where the theory is most commonly

used, but especially considering the positive and prominent role categorization and the

theme Differences and Comparing played in fans' experiences, Bram may have suggested

a new ICT factor in ideal intergroup contexts.

Other potential new ICT factors may emerge from the bullet-point definitions of

the themes built from fans' rationales. Several of these seem to have potential for future

investigation, including similarities transcending differences, sportspersonship,

international competition (more than two fan groups in a stadium), knowledge of others'

sensitivities, helpfulness, norms of decency, exchanging contact information, intergroup

photos, safety and security of the environment, appreciating others' challenges, giving

and/or receiving advice, online and mediated communication opportunities, displaying

national symbols, shared frustration, collectively creating an atmosphere, and being part

of a collective intergroup effort, such as "the wave" in a stadium. The final section of the

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Results chapter contains several dozen quotes that offer much more specificity to these preliminary ideas.

Solo travelers at the Olympics also offer an opportunity for exploration of a more specific sample's experience of intergroup contact and communication. The solo travelers I interviewed voiced several notions that became small patterns in the data they produced, including proactivity toward engaging with others in order to not be alone in their experiences. F13 (Participating in the fan experience with others voluntarily) was more influential in solo travelers' ISM structures than the sample as a whole, and it was the most influential factor for three of them. Henry was also able to put his experiences as a solo traveler in contrast to his expectation for the trip, because two friends from home had to cancel their plans to join him right before the Olympics. He said,

> The plan wasn't to initially come on my own, but I still wanted to come anyway. So I've definitely made more of an effort to make friends because I was on my own initially. It wouldn't have been the same experience had I not made any friends.

Comparing his anticipated experience of traveling with friends to his actual experience traveling alone, Henry offered,

> I would've been in a queue with a group, and I wouldn't necessarily have to be accommodating with other people, and I wouldn't have made as many attempts to help people out because I didn't need to impress anyone or help anyone….That's what people I've met have been doing. It's made it more, 'I want to do it.' Yeah, that would've been different….The group that I came with, we would've chat with other people, and we would've met and we'd have said 'Hi.' What we wouldn't

have done is we wouldn't made the effort…to exchange numbers, and it'd be

more like, 'Oh, good to see you,' rather than having to make a plan, which is what

I'm having to do here, so that is different. We would've chatted with people, and

we would've been nice, but we wouldn't have had the same needs to sort of make

an actual connection where you exchange details. Yeah, that would've been

different. We just wouldn't necessarily have made the same effort to sort of

expand the group necessarily.

Henry's honesty about how his expected and hypothetical experience with pre-existing

friends differed from his actual experience traveling by himself suggests solo travelers as

unique actors in their own and others' experiences of intergroup contact and

communication in contexts like the Olympics.

Finally, the integration of communication theories and concepts enriched the

ways I was able to understand and interpret ICT and fans' experiences of intergroup

contact and communication. AUMEC (Gudykunst, 1995; 2005), dialogue (Broome,

2009; Buber 1937), and ripeness (Zartman, 2000) all offered unique contributions to ICT

that are often not included in its discussions. ICT has long been adopted within the field

of communication, but further integration of ICT with communication theories and

concepts will likely serve to enhance both entities and the results and application of their

research.

Conclusion

In this study, I pursued a participant-centered approach to understand *what* ICT

factors were most relevant for fans at the Olympics, *why* and *how* those factors fostered

positive intergroup contact and communication through exploring their supportive

relationships, and *where* and *when* fans experienced these factors and supportive relationships. From the integration of all these questions, I also sought to shed light on the functions each of the ICT factors played in fans' experiences in order to offer informed suggestions to organizers and practitioners in intergroup contexts. During this process, I also compiled a comprehensive list of ICT factors from previous scholars' empirical research and developed a preliminary model of ICT that may be more appropriate and effective in understanding and applying ICT to foster positive intergroup contact and communication and group membership transformation in ideal contexts. These efforts exemplify the aim and context of this dissertation. My hope is that the research will generate an increased understanding of how to foster positive intergroup contact and communication in a severely understudied context with great potential for theoretical and practical contributions. In other words, I hope people's experiences of positive intergroup contact and communication will lead them to say, "You had to be there."

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