



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
FACULTY OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION & HEALTH



CENTRE FOR SPORT POLICY STUDIES

**CENTRE FOR SPORT POLICY STUDIES
RESEARCH REPORTS**

‘RACIAL’ REPRESENTATION IN CANADIAN INTERUNIVERSITY SPORT: A PILOT STUDY

**Madison Danford and Peter Donnelly
University of Toronto**

May, 2018

CSPS RESEARCH REPORTS

www.sportpolicystudies.ca

The Centre for Sport Policy Studies (CSPS), in the Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education at the University of Toronto, is engaged in empirically-based research in the service of sport policy, monitoring and evaluation studies, and education and advocacy for the two most important ambitions of Canadian sport: 'sport for all' (widespread grassroots participation) and healthy high performance in elite-level sports. The Research Reports represent an important part of the work of CSPS.

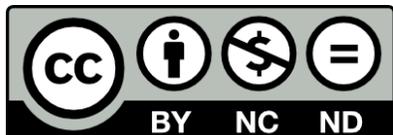
Research Reports Series Editor:

Peter Donnelly (Director, Centre for Sport Policy Studies)

peter.donnelly@utoronto.ca

Danford, Madison & Donnelly, Peter (2018). *'Racial' Representation in Canadian Interuniversity Sport: A Pilot Study*. Toronto: Centre for Sport Policy Studies, Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education, University of Toronto.

Creative Commons License



All CSPS Working Papers are the intellectual property of their author(s) and are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License. CSPS Research Reports may be distributed or cited as long as the author(s) is/are appropriately credited. CSPS Research Reports may not be used for commercial purposes or modified in any way without the permission of the author(s). For more information please visit: www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/.

Copyright for this paper: Madison Danford (madison.danford@mail.utoronto.ca) and Peter Donnelly (peter.donnelly@utoronto.ca).

Centre for Sport Policy Studies

Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education

55 Harbord Street

Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2W6

www.sportpolicystudies.ca

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	7
RESUMÉ.....	8
INTRODUCTION.....	10
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.....	12
RESEARCH METHODS.....	13
RESULTS AND ANALYSIS.....	19
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	22
NOTES.....	24
REFERENCES.....	26
APPENDIX.....	27

Tables

TABLE 1: THE SPORT TEAMS AVAILABLE AND ANALYZED AT EACH UNIVERSITY [CHECK MARKS INDICATE THAT THE SPORT WAS AVAILABLE FOR ANALYSIS.]	17
TABLE 2: TOTAL NUMBER OF ATHLETES IDENTIFIED FOR ALL UNIVERSITIES FOR THE FIVE SPORTS AND THE FIVE 'RACIAL' CATEGORIES.	20
TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF WHITE AND OTHER THAN WHITE ATHLETES AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE AND OTHER THAN WHITE STUDENTS [IN RED] AT EACH UNIVERSITY.	21
TABLE 4: YORK UNIVERSITY MEN'S TEAMS	28
TABLE 5: YORK UNIVERISTY WOMEN'S TEAMS	28
TABLE 6: UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO MEN'S TEAMS.....	29
TABLE 7: UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO WOMEN'S TEAMS.....	29
TABLE 8: RYERSON UNIVERSITY MEN'S TEAMS	30
TABLE 9: RYERSON UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S TEAMS	30
TABLE 10: QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY MEN'S TEAMS.....	31
TABLE 11: QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S TEAMS.....	31
TABLE 12: UBC MEN'S TEAMS.....	32
TABLE 13: UBC WOMEN'S TEAMS.....	32
TABLE 14: MCMASTER UNIVERSITY MEN'S TEAMS	33
TABLE 15: MCMASTER UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S TEAMS	33
TABLE 16: WESTERN UNIVERSITY MEN'S TEAMS	34
TABLE 17: WESTERN UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S TEAMS	34
TABLE 18: MCGILL UNIVERSITY MEN'S TEAMS.....	35
TABLE 19: MCGILL UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S TEAMS.....	35
TABLE 20: UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA MEN'S TEAMS.....	36
TABLE 21: UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA WOMEN'S TEAMS.....	36

Executive Summary

This pilot study attempts to determine, in a preliminary way, if there is any evidence of equality [equality is taken here to refer to proportional representation] in the 'racial' demographics in a sample of Canadian interuniversity sports teams. In other words, do the interuniversity athletes and teams that represent Canadian universities look like the student bodies from which they are selected?

Data were collected from nine universities: the three Toronto universities (Ryerson, Toronto and York), three more Ontario universities (McMaster, Queen's and Western), and the Universities of Alberta and British Columbia and McGill University. At these universities, we determined the 'race' [see Note 1] of student athletes using the online images of athletes during the 2016 season on the following teams: men's and women's basketball, men's and women's ice hockey, men's and women's volleyball, women's field hockey and men's football. This produced a total sample of 1,639 student athletes on 65 teams. These data were compared to the self-reported 'racial' demographics for students at eight of these universities, using National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) data for 2014.

Results: 1,336 student athletes (81.5%) were identified as White, and 303 student athletes (18.5%) were identified as Other than White. The proportion of White students in the sports included over 90% of the players on ice hockey and volleyball teams, approximately 80% of the players on field hockey teams; three-quarters of football players were White, and almost two-thirds of basketball players. Basketball, with 34.3% Other than White players, is the sport that comes closest to the proportion of Other than White students (47.25%) at the eight universities where demographic data were available.

In every sport and team in this pilot study, White student athletes are overrepresented in comparison to their proportion in the student population at their university, in some cases almost twice their proportion in the student population. And in every sport and team in this pilot study, Other than White student athletes are underrepresented in comparison to their proportion in the student population, in some cases less than 0.4 of their proportion in the student population. As might be expected from population demographics, the three Toronto universities had a higher proportion of Other than White student athletes (25%) in comparison to the other six universities where 14.9% of the student athletes in the sample were Other than White.

This pilot study uses limited data but they are the only data available. The data should not be seen as comprehensive or authoritative; rather, they are instructive regarding the situation of student representation on interuniversity sport teams. We have no reason to believe that, as universities begin to collect more specific 'racial' data, the results will be markedly different than those presented here. Since many universities are about to start gathering high quality data on the 'racial' identities of their students, U Sports and university Departments of Athletics would be wise to monitor the extent to which students who represent their universities in sports are representative of all of the students at those universities. Also, to honour the principles of diversity, and the call for Truth and Reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, university Departments of Athletics and U Sports would also be wise to begin to consider policies that are more inclusive before perceptions emerge that the opportunity to participate in interuniversity sports in Canada is another aspect of 'White privilege'.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Ms. Kimberly Chau, Dr. Michele Donnelly, Dr. Jean Harvey, Dr. Janelle Joseph, Ms. Naomi Maldonado-Rodriguez and Ms. Earla-Ashlee Massiah for their assistance and thoughtful contributions to this report.

Also thanks to the many academics, athletes, coaches, sport administrators and other interested persons who encouraged us to undertake this study.

Resumé

Cette étude pilote tente d'évaluer, préliminairement, s'il y a preuve d'égalité (dans le sens de représentation proportionnelle) entre les différents groupes raciaux présents dans un échantillon d'équipes sportives interuniversitaires canadiennes. Autrement dit, est-ce que les athlètes et les équipes interuniversitaires représentant les universités canadiennes sont comparables en proportion aux corps étudiants dont ils sont issus?

Les données ont été recueillies auprès de neuf universités : trois universités à Toronto (Ryerson, Toronto et York), trois autres en Ontario (McMaster, Queen's et Western), ainsi que l'Université de l'Alberta, de la Colombie Britannique et McGill. Dans chacune de ces universités, nous avons assigné la race (Note 1) des étudiants-athlètes en consultant les images disponibles sur le site de leur équipe, au cours de la saison 2016, et ce dans les équipes suivantes : le basketball masculin et féminin, le hockey masculin et féminin, le volleyball masculin et féminin, ainsi que le hockey sur gazon féminin et le football masculin. Ceci nous a donné un total de 1639 étudiants-athlètes dans 65 équipes. Ces données ont été comparées à la démographie raciale auto-déclarée des étudiants de huit de ces universités, en utilisant l'Enquête nationale sur la participation étudiante de 2014 (*National Survey of Student Engagement*).

Résultats : 1336 étudiants-athlètes (81.5%) ont été identifiés Blanc, tandis que 303 étudiants-athlètes (18.5%) ont été identifiés Autre que Blanc. Le pourcentage d'étudiants blancs dans les sports mentionnés représente plus de 90% des équipes de hockey et de volleyball, approximativement 80% de l'équipe de hockey de gazon, 75% de l'équipe de football et environ 2/3 des équipes de basketball. Le basketball, avec un pourcentage de 34.3% d'athlètes qui sont d'une race que Blanche, est l'équipe la plus représentative de la diversité raciale et ethnoculturelle présente dans les huit universités recensées.

Dans tous les sports et les équipes de cette étude pilote, il y a surreprésentation d'étudiants-athlètes blancs, comparativement à la proportion que l'on retrouve dans la

population étudiante totale. Dans certains cas, ils sont moins de 0.4 de leur proportion au sein de la population étudiante. Comme nous le prévoyions, ce sont dans les trois universités de Toronto où l'on a trouvé le plus haut pourcentage d'athlètes Autre que Blanc, soit 25%, comparativement à 14.9% d'étudiants-athlètes dans les six autres universités.

Cette étude présente des données préliminaires et limitées puisqu'aucune autre information n'est présentement disponible. Ces données ne devraient pas être considérées complètes ou faisant autorité. Elles nous donnent plutôt une première idée de la démographie raciale de certaines équipes sportives interuniversitaires, comparativement à la population étudiante totale. Il est improbable que les résultats seront différents, maintenant que ces universités ont commencé à amasser des données spécifiquement sur la démographie raciale. Puisque plusieurs universités commenceront bientôt à recueillir des données de bonne qualité à ce sujet, U Sports et les services des sports universitaires devraient examiner la démographie raciale de leurs équipes sportives par rapport à celle de leurs étudiants. De plus, afin d'honorer le principe de diversité, ainsi que l'appel à l'action pour la Vérité et la Réconciliation entre les Canadiens et les peuples autochtones, il serait sage de la part des services des sports universitaires et U Sports, de réfléchir à de politiques plus inclusives, avant que l'on commence à penser que la participation dans un sport interuniversitaire canadien est un autre aspect du « Privilège Blanc ».

‘Racial’¹ Representation in Canadian Interuniversity Sports: A Pilot Study

Introduction

Canadian universities are currently engaged in attempts to implement the Calls to Action of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission by, in part, seeking to provide more places for Indigenous students and faculty members. They are also continuing to address wider questions of diversity, especially in terms of faculty positions. However, as James, et al. (2017) note, “Expressions of support for diversity that aren’t backed up by data represent a profound failure of universities to accept their obligations under human rights law.”

For the past eight years, based on the principle that “if you can’t measure it, you can’t change it,”² the Centre for Sport Policy Studies at the University of Toronto has been carrying out a series of gender audits of sport, including studies of gender representation in Canadian Interuniversity Sport(CIS)/U Sports.³ During that time a number of scholars and administrators have asked us whether we could also carry out research on the ‘racial’ demographics of athletes and coaches/administrators in U Sports.

We recognize the need for such research, but the logistics of carrying it out have been challenging. For the gender studies we employed a liberal feminist perspective of equality, and used the same gender binary that is the basic structural principle of most organized sports. Thus, we worked from the assumption that people who identified as women competed on women’s teams and people who identified as men competed on men’s teams – our work was to determine the number of women and men athletes at each CIS/U Sports university by reviewing the rosters for each team. For leadership data (coaches and athletics directors) we contacted each university to determine whether each of the coaches and athletics directors identified as men or women. Data were also available from every university indicating the total number of women and men

students, affording us the opportunity to determine if the number of women and men athletes at each university was proportional in relation to the number of men and women students at the university.⁴

Canadian universities in general, and CIS/U Sports in particular, have not collected data about the 'racial' identity of their students, student athletes, or staff. In order to carry out research on 'racial' representation in interuniversity sport in a way that is now considered most ethical and appropriate, every athlete, coach and athletics director at CIS universities would have to record how they self-identified in terms of 'race' and those (anonymized) data would have to be made available. Even then, with no overall university data available, it would not be possible to determine if athlete representation was proportional in relation to the student body.

Following a CBC report (McDonald, 2017; see also, James, et al., 2017) indicating that 63 out of 76 Canadian universities were not able to provide information about the 'racial' demographics of their students, that situation is about to change. Many Canadian universities are about to start collecting those data (Crawley, 2017), and in Ontario they are doing so with the full support of the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC). The OHRC *Policy guidelines on racism and racial discrimination* (2005) point out that "collection of data about race, Aboriginal status, sexual orientation and disability is not just permissible, but 'necessary'" (cited by James, et al., 2017).

Given that these data will not be available for some time, the Centre for Sport Policy Studies carried out an interim pilot study, using the only data available, to determine in a preliminary way the 'racial' demographics of a sample of Canadian interuniversity sport teams, and to compare those data, to the extent that this was possible, with the 'racial' demographics of the universities that those teams represent.

Purpose of the Study

James, et al. (2017) point out that: “Statistical data is required to monitor discrimination, identify and remove systemic barriers, and track progress towards substantive equality.” Legal equality guarantees are a human rights standard in Canada, and it is the purpose of this pilot study to try to determine, in a preliminary way, if there is any evidence of equality [equality is taken here to refer to proportional representation] in the ‘racial’ demographics in a sample of Canadian interuniversity sports teams. In other words, do the interuniversity athletes and teams that represent Canadian universities look like the student bodies from which they are selected?⁵

Although there has been frequent speculation about the ‘racial’ demographics of Canadian interuniversity sport, there is a striking lack of actual data. In the book, *Race and Sport in Canada* (Joseph, et al., 2012), only one chapter deals with university sport (Wells, 2012), and that is concerned with the social class and ‘racial’ demographics of young athletes who aspire to achieve athletic scholarships in order to compete at U.S. universities (see also, James, 2005).

‘Racial’ demographic data are routinely collected at U.S. universities, and by Athletics Departments for the student athletes at those universities who, in turn, submit those data to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), the main governing organization for interuniversity sport in the U.S. The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sports (TIDES), directed by Richard Lapchick at the University of Central Florida, uses those data for their annual *Racial and Gender Report Cards*. The quality of the data seem to vary, depending on the methods used by each university to collect the data (usually a short check list of ‘racial’ categories, on forms completed by students, that may include limited choices, and may not include mixed ‘race’, Indigenous, Polynesian, or many other specific ethnoracial identities). ‘Racial’ categories are often compressed, such that the main categories are: *African American*, *Latina/o*⁶ and *Asian*, and the *Report Cards* note the proportion of athletes, coaches and administrators in university sport by those categories. The TIDES web site currently (www.tidesport.org; January,

2018) notes that: “The change in the nation’s demographics has been dramatic with the most recent census making all people of color and minorities closer to 35 percent of the total population.” Grades on the *Report Cards* are determined by the proportion of ‘people of color’/‘minorities’ in each group surveyed, the closer to population proportion, the higher the grade.

Theoretically it is possible in the U.S. to make other comparisons, for example, between student athletes and the larger student population at a university, and between the larger student population and the community population, but these are rarely (if ever) carried out.

Research Methods

Distributive research involves determining, in a systematic way, whether resources and opportunities are distributed equally, or at least proportionally, in a given population. In the sociology of sport distributive research began during the U.S. Civil Rights era. A trigger moment for sociology of sport researchers was probably the Civil Rights demonstration by John Carlos and Tommy Smith on the medal podium at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics (Edwards, 1969). Attention in the scholarly community began to focus on the absence of African American athletes on a number of university sports teams, and on quotas restricting the number of African American players on the court or field in professional sports. The first systematic data to be published was Loy and McElvogue’s (1970) study of ‘stacking’ in professional baseball and football. Systematic calculations of the number of African American and European heritage players, and the playing positions they occupied, showed that African American players were routinely assigned to ‘non-central’ positions in both sports. Subsequent research also showed that post-playing career leadership positions in sport were also routinely given to former players who had played in ‘central’ positions (e.g., quarterback in football, catcher in baseball).

Further research, following the template established by Loy and McElvogue began to confirm the original data, and to discover 'stacking' in other sports and in other countries. Distributive studies went on to examine, for example, Francophone athlete representation on Canadian national sports teams, the social class origins of athletes on British and Canadian Olympic teams and, most frequently, opportunities for and representation of girls and women at many levels of sport. These data may be collected from secondary data sources with, as noted, binary gender being the defining structural characteristic of organized sport, and with language and social class data sometimes readily available from biographical information published with regard to national team athletes. However, as noted, it was for many years considered inappropriate (at least in Canada) to collect self-defined or other data on the 'racial' demographics of athletes, students, and others.

In Canada, the United States and other countries, data for 'stacking' and other 'racial' representation or 'racial' differences studies, and where no self-reported data are available, has routinely identified 'racial minority' individuals based on a subjective evaluation of an individual's appearance, either face-to-face or from photographic images using, for example, team media guides or online athlete images. With the rise in social and political concerns about identity and representation in the early 1990s, many social scientists stopped carrying out such studies, recognizing that it was not their place to categorize another person's 'race' based on such limited evidence.⁷

Given both the absence of freely given self-defined descriptions of athletes' 'racial' heritages, and the increasing requests for data relating to the 'racial' composition of university sports teams in Canada, this study represents an attempt to use the only available data in order to provide at least a preliminary estimate of the composition of a sample of teams. Photographs of individual athletes on team sport teams were found on selected university Athletics Departments' web sites, and 'racial' categories were assigned in the most careful manner possible, and in full awareness of the limitations and interim nature of the samples collected for this pilot study.

Sample: Nine universities from across Canada were selected for this pilot study. These included the three universities located in Toronto (Ryerson University, University of Toronto, York University), selected on the basis that they are located in the most 'racially' diverse city in Canada and may be more likely to have diverse team memberships. Six additional universities included three from Ontario (Queen's University, McMaster University, Western University), one from Québec (McGill University), one from British Columbia (University of British Columbia), and one from Alberta (University of Alberta). All except Ryerson University were also selected on the basis that they have large Departments of Athletics that include a number of men's and women's sports.

Five sports were selected on the basis that they are recognized by U Sports for national championships, have relatively large teams, and are identified at the University of Toronto as the 'University Division'. This means that they receive full funding for league play and play-offs (*Varsity Blues Intercollegiate Sporting Model*). These sports/teams also tend to receive full funding at other universities where there is now a tiered funding system. The sports are: men's and women's basketball, ice hockey, and volleyball, women's field hockey, and men's football. Table 1 indicates the sports available and analyzed at each university. Given that this was a pilot study, carried out with limited resources, there were clear limits to the number of possible universities and sports that could be included. As it is, nine universities, and approximately four men's and four women's sports at each university (65 teams in total), generated a sample of 1,639 athletes.

Ethnoracial categorization: Once sport teams and universities were selected, and the web site pages that included photographs of each team member were located, the researcher selected the photographs of each individual athlete and saved them into documents sorted by teams. Individual athletes were identified by their team number rather than their name.

Consistent guidelines were created in order to categorize each athlete. Five 'racial' categories were selected: Black, White, East Asian, South Asian and Other. These conform to the National Survey of Student Engagement demographic data collected at a number of universities, and were selected on the basis of their breadth, and the relative ease of researcher categorization. The guidelines are similar to those employed by Douglas and Halas (2013) to categorize the 'race' of faculty members at Canadian university Departments of Physical Education/Kinesiology. They involved a three-point rating system: 'three' was assigned to individual athletes who 'appeared white' or 'appeared to be a racialized minority' in one of the four pre-determined categories; 'two' was assigned when the researcher was less certain about categorization; and 'one' was assigned to photographs of athletes when the researcher felt least certain in categorizing the athlete. This process was carried out for all 1,639 photographs.

After the researcher carried out the preliminary analysis and numerical assignment of each photograph, two assistants who self-identified as 'other than white' re-analyzed the photographs of athletes who had been assigned a 'one' or a 'two'. The assistants used the same 'racial' categories and ranking system to categorize the athletes who had originally been assigned a 'one' or a 'two', and the researcher established a guideline for best accuracy. In order for athletes assigned a 'one' or a 'two' to be placed into a racialized category, at least two of the three evaluators had to agree upon the category. If there was no agreement, the athlete was added to the 'Other' category.

	Men's/ Women's Volleyball	Men's Football	Men's/ Women's Ice Hockey	Women's Field Hockey	Men's/ Women's Basketball
University of Toronto	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
York University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ryerson University	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓
McMaster University	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓
Queen's University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Western University	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
McGill University	Women's ✓ Men's ✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
University of Alberta	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓
UBC	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 1: The sport teams available and analyzed at each university
[Check marks indicate that the sport was available for analysis.]

University demographics: As noted, most Canadian universities have not collected demographic data on 'race' from their students. However, in an attempt to give some context to the pilot study findings, the researchers again employed the only available data – from the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE). NSSE surveys of first and fourth year students are conducted every three years at most Canadian universities.⁸ These surveys are not mandatory, and approximately 30 percent of the first and fourth year students participate (NSSE Toronto, 2015).

Some universities report the data as 'White' or as 'Other than White'. At other universities data are reported according to the choices available in the NSSE survey check list, and where the data were available we made an initial effort to match these to our five 'racial' categories. However, the available data from the universities are not consistent, and in some cases the percentages for each 'racial' category did not total 100%, with no explanation of missing data.

As a consequence, we report the student athlete/sport data employing the five 'racial' categories in the Appendix, but the NSSE data are reduced to 'White' and 'Other than White'. We also collapsed the student athlete data to this binary for the basis of comparison, and because the numbers for some of the 'racial' categories are so small that it is not very reliable to report them individually.

Results and Analysis

Athlete demographics by sport: Of the 1,639 athletes (65 teams at 9 universities), 81.5% (1,336) were identified as White, 12.6% (207) as Black, 2.1% (34) as East Asian, 2.2% (36) as South Asian, and 1.6% (26) as Other. A total of 18.5% of the athletes (303) were reclassified as Other than White because of the small numbers in most of the Other than White groups. Table 2 shows the number and proportion of athletes in each 'racial' category by sport. In the following the non-White players have been consolidated as Other than White.

Of the 268 basketball players, 65.7% (176) were identified as White, and 34.3% (92) as Other than White.

Of the 406 ice hockey players, 95.8% (389) were identified as White, and 4.2% (17) as Other than White.

Of the 278 volleyball players, 90.3% (251) were identified as White, and 9.7% (27) as Other than White.

Of the 116 women's field hockey players, 79.3% (92) were identified as White, and 20.7% (24) as Other than White.

Of the 571 men's football players,⁹ 75.0% (428) were identified as White, and 25.0% (143) as Other than White.

Tables in the Appendix provide the specific data for the men's and women's teams at each university in the sample.

Comparisons with 2014 NSSE data: As noted, first year and fourth year undergraduate students are given the opportunity to complete NSSE surveys every three years. An average of the data from all nine universities shows that 81.6% of the athletes on the sampled teams were White, while NSSE data from eight of those universities shows an average of 52.75% White students.¹⁰ An average of the data from the three Toronto universities shows that 74.6% of the athletes were White, while NSSE data show an

average of 39.5% White students at those three universities. An average of the data at the other six universities shows that 85.1% of the athletes were White, while NSSE data from five of those universities shows an average of 60.75% White students (see Table 3).

SPORTS	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	'Other'	TOTAL
<i>Basketball</i>	176 (65.7%)	71 (26.5%)	6 (2.2%)	10 (3.7%)	5 (1.9%)	268
<i>Ice Hockey</i>	389 (95.8%)	3 (<1%)	3 (<1%)	4 (1.0%)	7 (1.7%)	406
<i>Volleyball</i>	251 (90.3%)	15 (5.4%)	8 (2.9%)	3 (1.1%)	1 (<1%)	278
<i>Field Hockey</i>	92 (79.3%)	3 (2.6%)	11 (9.5%)	8 (6.9%)	2 (1.7%)	116
<i>Football</i>	428 (75.0%)	115 (20.1%)	6 (1.1%)	11 (1.9%)	11 (1.9%)	571
TOTAL	1336 (81.5%)	207 (12.6%)	34 (2.1%)	36 (2.2%)	26 (1.6%)	1639

Table 2: Total number of athletes identified for all Universities for the five sports and the five 'racial' categories.

University	White	Other than White
Toronto	75.25% (38.0%)	24.75% (62%)
York	70.7% (35.4%)	29.3% (64.6%)
Ryerson	77.9% (45.0%)	22.1% (55.0%)
Queen's	90.1% (77.0%)	9.9% (23.0%)
UBC	82.5% (44.0%)	17.5% (56.0%)
U of Alberta	86.4% (66.0%)	13.6% (34.0%)
McMaster	84.0% (58.0%)	16.0% (42.0%)
Western	86.7% (-)	13.3% (-)
McGill	80.75% (58.75%)	19.25% (41.75%)

Table 3: Percentage of White and Other than White athletes and percentage of White and Other than White students [in red] at each university.

At the University of Toronto in 2014, 65% of first year students and 59% of fourth year students (averaged at 62% of students in Table 3) self-identified as Other than White (NSSE, University of Toronto, 2014), while 25% of the student athletes sampled were identified as Other than White. [Table 3 permits a specific comparison between the proportion of Other than White students and the proportion of Other than White athletes for each university sampled except Western.] An average of students at the three Toronto universities shows that 60.5% self-identify as Other than White, and Other than White students comprise 23.4% of the student athletes. At the other six universities, 39.25% of the students are Other than White, and Other than White students comprise 14.9% of the student athletes.

We also note that six of the nine universities in our sample are located in the three largest and most diverse metropolitan areas in Canada (Vancouver – University of British Columbia; Toronto/Greater Toronto-Hamilton Area – McMaster University, Ryerson University, University of Toronto, York University; and Montréal – McGill University). An average of students at these six metropolitan universities shows that 53.6% self-identify as Other than White, and Other than White students comprise an average of 21.5% of the student athletes.

Discussion and Conclusion

As noted throughout, this is a pilot study; and it is a pilot study that uses limited data, but it is the only available data in order to provide a ‘racial’ demographic profile of students at eight Canadian universities, and to compare that profile to the ‘racial’ demographic profile of a sample of student athletes on selected sports teams at those universities (plus one other for which NSSE ‘racial’ profile data was not available). Thus, the data should not be seen as comprehensive or authoritative; rather, they are instructive regarding the situation of student representation on interuniversity sport teams. We have no reason to believe that, as universities begin to collect more specific ‘racial’ data, the results will be markedly different than those presented here.

Of the 1,639 student athletes categorized according to five specific ‘racial’ categories (White, Black, East Asian, South Asian, and ‘Other’) on five sports (M&W basketball, M&W ice hockey, M&W volleyball, W field hockey, and M football), at nine universities, 81.5% were identified as White and 18.5% as ‘Other than White’. The proportion of White students in the sports included over 90% of the players on ice hockey and volleyball teams, approximately 80% of the players on field hockey teams; three-quarters of football players were White, and almost two-thirds of basketball players were White. Basketball, with 34.3% Other than White players, is the sport that comes closest to the proportion of Other than White students (47.25%) at the eight universities where data were available.

In every sport and team in this pilot study, White students are overrepresented in comparison to their proportion in the student population, in some cases almost twice their proportion in the student population. And in every sport and team in this pilot study, Other than White students are underrepresented in comparison to their proportion in the student population, in some cases less than 0.4 of their proportion in the student population.

In the absence of high quality self-identity data from both the student body and student athletes, these data may only be seen as suggestive. But as high quality data become available, this pilot study indicates that interuniversity sports (U Sports and university Departments of Athletics), that are funded largely by student fees, would be wise to monitor the extent to which students who represent their universities in sports are representative of all of the students at those universities.¹¹ Also, to honour the principles of diversity, and the call for Truth and Reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, university Departments of Athletics and U Sports would also be wise to begin to consider policies that are more inclusive.

For example, they might consider a more diverse offering of interuniversity sports, adding sports that are more likely to appeal to and/or be in accord with the experiences of students from diverse backgrounds. They might also consider becoming involved in targeted athlete development programmes at the high school and community levels in order to help to create interuniversity sports opportunities for a much more representative sample of students. If these data are indicative of the current situation in interuniversity sport, it is important for Departments of Athletics to be prepared to engage with any growing perceptions that the opportunity to participate in interuniversity sports in Canada is another aspect of 'White privilege'.

Notes

1. Terminology with regard to 'race', 'racial' categories and 'racial' differences is complex and difficult, and we reflect our concerns about the issues involved with the use of ' '. Terms such as 'minorities' and 'persons of colour' seem inadequate and we use the terms 'race' and 'racial' as more easily understood sociological categories, rather than biological categories, precisely because so many assumptions, practices and exclusions have been socially constructed on the basis of human differences in skin colour.

2. The principle is not strictly accurate, and we recognize that there are many possible ways to make changes that do not involve distributive data. However, in terms of 'racial' and gender representation, those concerned with increasing equality have called for the type of data that the Centre has been collecting precisely because the data may show where inequalities exist [see the quote from the Ontario Human Rights Commission on p. 11 of this Report, and by James, et al., on p. 12].

3. Data for this study were originally collected in 2016, when the governing organization for interuniversity sports was called *Canadian Interuniversity Sport* (CIS); in 2017 the organization changed its name to *U Sports*.

4. While gender demographics are still given primarily as binary statistics, a number of universities have started to report those who have chosen not to identify as either men or women, and/or to identify as another gender category. [We are not aware of any U Sports policies that will accommodate those athletes not identifying as men or women in interuniversity sports.] We also recognize that our 'liberal feminist' approach and distributive data do not directly help to explain inequalities. However, the data are an important starting point for more 'critical feminist' and relational analyses.

5. We recognize that the larger question here is the one that a number of universities are about to measure – does the student population of a given university look like the larger communities from which the students are selected. We also recognize that, even if our results showed that university teams did 'look like' the student population from which they were selected, that student population may not, in itself, reflect the larger community from which it is drawn.

6. As an example of the problems with these check lists, the *Latina/o* category rarely affords the opportunity for individuals within the category to identify as being, for example, of Hispanic, Indigenous, African, Asian or Mixed origin – a problem recently addressed in data on the proportion of Black athletes in professional baseball (Armour & Levitt, n.d.).

7. Research using subjective evaluations, usually conducted by white male researchers, did not end in all disciplines. In the mid-1990s, a well-known exercise physiologist in the US was asked how he determined the 'race' of research participants in a large-scale 'racial differences' study. He replied that he "just looked at them."

8. All Ontario universities, and a total of 70 universities in Canada collect NSSE data. The NSSE overview report for 2014 provides the following summary for Canada:

Canadian respondents profiled here include 114,511 students from 70 institutions in ten provinces, including 27 institutions in Ontario, 12 in Quebec, 9 in British Columbia, 7 in Alberta, 5 in Nova Scotia, 3 each in New Brunswick and Saskatchewan, 2 in Manitoba, and 1 each in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. Canadian respondents included 61,920 first-year and 52,591 fourth year students. Female students and full-time students, respectively, accounted for about 65% and 88% of Canadian respondents. About 18% of Canadian respondents were at least 24 years old. Ethnocultural categories for Canadian institutions participating in NSSE were adapted from those used by Statistics Canada, Canada's national statistical agency. The majority of students providing ethnocultural information identified as White (67%), while 12% identified as Chinese, 7% South Asian, 4% Black, 3% each Arab and North American Indian, and about 2% each Latin American, Filipino, and Southeast Asian. Less than 2% of respondents identified with each of the remaining categories.

http://nsse.indiana.edu/2014_Institutional_Report/pdf/NSSE%202014%20Overview.pdf

We were able to obtain NSSE data regarding 'race' for eight of the nine universities in the sample.

9. In the Appendix, the size of the men's football team is far more variable than other teams, with squads on the eight teams measured ranging from 43 to 70 (most are in the 40s). We suspect that some universities may only post images of players who actually played in games.

10. The data in Note 8 (above) shows that, in the total responses from all 70 universities sampled, some two-thirds (67%) of the students are White, and one-third are Other than White.

11. In terms of gender representation, women students represent approximately 56% of the student population in Canada, but only have approximately 44% of the opportunities to represent those universities on interuniversity teams. In the index we have developed, there are 2.8 interuniversity sport participation opportunities for each 100 men students, and 1.7 opportunities for each 100 women students (Donnelly, et al., 2013). If the data in this pilot study are confirmed in larger studies employing more appropriate data, 'racialized' athletes will be even more significantly underrepresented than women athletes in terms of opportunities to represent their universities.

References

- Armour, M. & D. Levitt. (n.d.). *Baseball demographics, 1947-2016*. Society of American Baseball Researchers: <https://sabr.org/bioproj/topic/baseball-demographics-1947-2012>
- Crawley, M. (2017). Ontario to begin collecting data on students' race, ethnicity, hoping to boost achievement: Move announced Thursday as part of the province's new equity action plan. *CBC News*, September 7: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ontario-students-race-based-data-1.4278303>
- Donnelly, P., Norman, M., & Kidd, B. (2013). *Gender Equity in Canadian Interuniversity Sport: A Biennial Report (No. 2)*. Toronto: Centre for Sport Policy Studies (Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education, University of Toronto).
- Douglas, D. & J. Halas (2013): The wages of whiteness: Confronting the nature of ivory tower racism and the implications for physical education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 18 (4), 453-474.
- Edwards, H. (1969). *The revolt of the Black athlete*. New York: Free Press.
- James, C. (2005). *Race in Play: Understanding the Socio-Cultural World of Student Athletes*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- James, C., K. Robson & K. Gallagher-MacKay (2017). Universities have a serious data gap on race: How can we tell if there's a problem if we don't measure it? *University Affairs*, May 19: <http://www.universityaffairs.ca/opinion/in-my-opinion/universities-serious-data-gap-race/>
- Joseph, J., S. Darnell & Y. Nakamura (eds.) (2012). *Race and Sport in Canada: Intersecting Inequalities*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Loy, J. & J. McElvogue (1970). Racial segregation in American sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 5, 5-24.
- McDonald, J. & A. Ward (2017). Why so many Canadian universities know so little about their own racial diversity: Experts say race-based data key to supporting students, addressing inequality. *CBC News*, 21 March: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/race-canadian-universities-1.4030537>
- NSSE Toronto (2015). *Results of the National Survey of Student Engagement 2014*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Wells, S. (2012). Athletic aspirations: NCAA scholarships and Canadian athletes. In, J. Joseph, et al., *Race and Sport in Canada: Intersecting Inequalities*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, pp. 265-289.

Appendix

Data for the nine Universities

York University

Table 4: York University Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	5	12	2	2	1	22
Hockey	22	0	0	1	0	23
Volleyball	13	2	1	0	0	16
Football	60	27	0	4	2	93
TOTAL	100	41	3	7	3	154

Table 5: York University Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	10	1	1	2	0	14
Hockey	25	1	0	0	0	26
Volleyball	11	3	0	0	0	14
Field Hockey	13	0	3	0	1	17
TOTAL	59	5	4	2	1	71

University of Toronto

Table 6: University of Toronto Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	6	7	0	0	2	15
Hockey	26	0	0	0	1	27
Volleyball	12	1	2	1	1	17
Football	46	18	2	1	1	68
TOTAL	90	26	4	2	5	127

Table 7: University of Toronto Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	9	8	0	0	0	17
Hockey	21	1	2	0	1	25
Volleyball	16	0	0	0	0	16
Field Hockey	19	0	1	1	0	21
TOTAL	65	9	3	1	1	79

Ryerson University

Table 8: Ryerson University Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	2	9	0	2	0	13
Hockey	29	0	0	0	0	29
Volleyball	13	1	1	1	0	16
Football	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	44	10	1	3	0	58

Table 9: Ryerson University Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	7	7	0	0	0	14
Hockey	25	1	0	0	0	26
Volleyball	12	2	1	0	0	15
Field Hockey	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOAL	44	10	1	0	0	55

Queen's University

Table 10: Queen's University Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	12	1	1	1	0	15
Hockey	26	0	0	0	1	27
Volleyball	16	0	1	0	0	17
Football	69	12	1	1	0	83
TOTAL	123	13	3	2	1	142

Table 11: Queen's University Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	Total
Basketball	14	0	0	0	0	14
Hockey	22	0	0	0	0	22
Volleyball	16	0	0	0	0	16
Field Hockey	17	1	1	0	0	19
TOTAL	69	1	1	0	0	71

University of British Columbia

Table 12: UBC Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	8	3	0	0	1	12
Hockey	21	0	0	2	1	24
Volleyball	16	0	0	1	0	17
Football	49	9	1	2	2	63
TOTAL	94	12	1	5	4	116

Table 13: UBC Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	10	0	1	1	0	12
Hockey	22	0	0	1	1	24
Volleyball	17	0	1	0	0	18
Field Hockey	13	0	2	3	1	19
TOTAL	62	0	4	5	2	73

McMaster University

Table 14: McMaster University Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	12	6	0	0	0	18
Hockey	0	0	0	0	0	0
Volleyball	13	2	0	0	0	15
Football	44	10	0	1	0	55
TOTAL	69	18	0	1	0	88

Table 15: McMaster University Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	15	0	0	0	0	15
Hockey	0	0	0	0	0	0
Volleyball	16	0	0	0	0	16
Field Hockey	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	31	0	0	0	0	31

Western University

Table 16: Western University Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	10	3	0	1	0	14
Hockey	25	0	1	0	0	26
Volleyball	15	0	0	0	0	15
Football	47	10	0	1	3	61
TOTAL	97	13	1	2	3	116

Table 17: Western University Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	14	0	0	0	0	14
Hockey	27	0	0	0	1	28
Volleyball	17	1	0	0	0	18
Field Hockey	15	1	2	2	0	20
TOTAL	73	2	2	2	1	80

McGill University

Table 18: McGill University Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	9	7	1	0	0	17
Hockey	26	0	0	0	0	26
Volleyball	0	0	0	0	0	0
Football	43	17	1	0	3	64
TOTAL	78	24	2	0	3	107

Table 19: McGill University Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	14	0	0	0	0	14
Hockey	27	0	0	0	1	28
Volleyball	17	1	0	0	0	18
Field Hockey	15	1	2	2	0	20
TOTAL	73	2	2	2	1	80

University of Alberta

Table 20: University of Alberta Men's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	6	7	0	1	0	14
Hockey	24	0	0	0	0	24
Volleyball	18	0	1	0	0	19
Football	70	12	1	1	0	84
TOTAL	118	19	2	2	0	141

Table 21: University of Alberta Women's Teams

SPORT	'RACE'					
	White	Black	East Asian	South Asian	Other	TOTAL
Basketball	13	0	0	0	1	14
Hockey	21	0	0	0	0	21
Volleyball	13	2	0	0	0	15
Field Hockey	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	47	2	0	0	1	50