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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Colin Fisher Young entitled "Female Head Coaches of Men's Collegiate Teams: A Critical Feminist Analysis." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Education.

Joy T. DeSensi, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancellor and Dean of
Graduate Studies

FEMALE HEAD COACHES OF MEN'S COLLEGIATE TEAMS:

A CRITICAL FEMINIST ANALYSIS

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy Degree

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Colin Fisher Young

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Thesis
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the inspirational coaches of this study.

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ABSTRACT

Women hold less than 2% of NCAA men's head coaching positions (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Although there is extensive research that explores the experience and lack of female head coaches of women's teams, little research investigates the experience and lack of female head coaches of men's teams, particularly at the collegiate level. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the experience of female head coaches of men's collegiate teams. Issues these coached faced because of their gender, the impact they had on their male athletes, and their male athletes' impact on them were investigated.

A critical feminist ontology and epistemology was used to analyze in-depth interviews with ten female head coaches of men's NCAA Division I and Division III swimming, track and field, cross country, tennis, and golf programs. The four major themes of this study included: positives, difficulties and issues, athlete gender differences, and consciousness raising and empowerment. The major themes, their respective subthemes, and supporting participant quotes are described and discussed along with ties to relevant research. Also, based on the findings, conclusions, recommendations to improve the work situation of female head coaches of men's collegiate teams and increase the number of women coaching men, and suggestions for future research are provided.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION	1
	Purpose of the Study	4
	Significance of the Study	5
	Operational Definitions	5
	Scope of the Study	6
II	REVIEW OF LITERATURE	9
	Introduction	9
	Feminism	9
	Feminist Theories	10
	Critical Feminist Epistemology	21
	Coach-Athlete Relationship	27
	Lack of Female Coaches of Women's Teams	60
	Female Coaches of Men's Teams	70
	Summary	79
III	METHODOLOGY	81
	Introduction	81
	Qualitative Research Methods	81
	Research Tradition	84
	Methods	87
	Methodological Issues	104
	Summary	107
IV	RESULTS	109
	Introduction	109
	Theme One: Positives	109
	Theme Two: Difficulties and Issues	123
	Theme Three: Athlete Gender Differences	131
	Theme Four: Consciousness Raising and Empowerment	137
	Summary	148
V	DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	149
	Introduction	149
	Positives	149
	Difficulties and Issues	152
	Athlete Gender Differences	156
	Consciousness Raising and Empowerment	160
	Conclusions	162

CHAPTER PAGE

Recommendations to Improve Female Head Coaches of Men's Collegiate Teams Work Situation and to Increase the Number of Female Coaches of Men's Teams..... 163
Suggestions for Future Research..... 164

REFERENCES..... 167

APPENDICES..... 185
Appendix A: Letter of Information and Informed Consent... 187
Appendix B: Interview Guide..... 188
Appendix C: Confidentiality Form..... 193

VITA..... 195

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Coaching men's collegiate athletics is one of the most sex-segregated occupations in our society. According to the Acosta and Carpenter (2004), women hold less than 2% of NCAA men's head coaching positions. This percentage is lower than the number of women occupying positions in traditionally male-dominated occupations such as criminal investigators (23.8%), chemical engineers (14.7%), welders (6.8%), fire fighters (3.5%), and construction laborers (3%) (US Department of Labor, 2004). Yet women comprise about 54.5% of the undergraduate and 43% of varsity student-athlete populations at NCAA colleges and universities (NCAA, 2004).

Specifically, from the 2001-2002 National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Gender-Equity Report, which had an 86% response rate from its 1,034 member institutions in Division I, II and III, there were two reported full-time and 54 part-time women head coaches of men's teams in Division I. In Division II, there were no reported full-time and 51 part-time women head coaches of men's teams. In Division III, there were three reported full-time and 121 part-time women head coaches of men's team (NCAA, 2004). Therefore, women coaches are over twice as likely to coach men at the non-scholarship Division III level than at the scholarship Division I or II level, and are almost always part-time head coaches. Also, virtually all female coaches of men's collegiate teams coach women as well in combined gender, non-revenue, low-profile sports, such as swimming and diving, cross county, track and field, golf, or tennis (Jacobson, 2001).

The issue of women coaching men's athletics is particularly significant to me because of my history in athletics and graduate studies in sport sociology and psychology. As an athlete, I played several organized sports such as football, basketball, soccer, baseball, and continued with cross country and track throughout college. During this time, the majority of my schoolteachers were women, including a number of my favorites. However, I had only one female coach, a junior high assistant cross country coach, who primarily worked with the girls. I wonder, what kind of impact female coaches would have made on my sport experience?

Before my graduate studies, I never considered why there are so few women coaches of men but an abundance of men coaching women. According to Acosta and Carpenter (2004), men coach about 56% of women's collegiate teams. It seemed like common sense that men dominated coaching because they liked sport more and had more experience as participants. However, from my research, particularly about gender issues in sport and feminism, I learned how in our patriarchal society, men have more power and privilege in most spheres of life largely based on their gender, and that characteristics considered masculine are more highly valued than characteristics considered feminine (Renzetti & Curran, 2003). Also in sport, the status quo of masculine hegemony is especially guarded, and many scholars have considered sport one of few remaining male preserves (Theberge, 1985). Preferences and sport experience are insufficient to account for these low percentages of women coaches. Sexist gender ideology, discrimination, and other barriers affect women in the coaching profession, especially with men's teams (Coakley, 2004). I sought to examine these factors in this study.

In addition, there have been numerous sport sociology and psychology studies investigating the experience and lack of female coaches of women's teams. However, there is little research about the experience and lack of female coaches of men's teams, particularly at the collegiate level. I believed that female head coaches of collegiate men's teams would likely have positive experiences and influences on their male athletes. I was curious to see how the coaches would describe the female coach-male athlete relationship. Would they describe ways in which they transformed sexist gender ideology of their male athletes and colleagues, or how they challenged the ways in which these men think about women as coaches, leaders, athletes, and as equals (Staurowsky, 1990)? Would they describe how they were effective coaches who helped their athletes achieve their performance goals and have fun?

Furthermore, the majority of the sport sociology and psychology literature concerning the coach-athlete relationship has concentrated on how coaches' behaviors, attitudes, and characteristics (such as gender) influence athletes, particularly their satisfaction and performance (e.g., Chelladurai & Saleh, 1978; Salminen & Liukkonen, 1996; Smoll & Smith, 1989; Weiss & Friedrichs, 1986). Little research investigates how athletes' behaviors, attitudes, and characteristics (particularly gender) affect coaches (Wylleman, 2000), especially how male athletes impact their female coaches. In this study, I sought to examine the influence male athletes have on female coaches from the coaches' perspectives.

Sport is a highly valued institution in our culture. NCAA coaches in particular, have an aura of power, status, and respect (Knoppers, 1987). Many coaches earn high salaries, influence a large number of people, and serve as role models. Often coaching

careers lead to other positions, such as athletic director, which may bring more power and privilege. It seems to be a social injustice that many women may be missing out on rewarding opportunities that come with coaching in the NCAA, particularly men's teams.

Similarly, some women may prefer coaching a collegiate men's sport, such as men's basketball, which may emphasize more isolation plays and dunking, while some women may prefer coaching a collegiate women's sport, such as women's basketball, which may emphasize more passing and outside shooting. I believe women should have the opportunities, as men currently have, to coach the type of sport and athletes they prefer. Finally, suggestions from female coaches of men's collegiate teams were sought to make their and other female coaches of men's teams work situation better, and to possibly increase the numbers of women coaching men's teams.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the experience of female head coaches of men's collegiate athletic teams. Issues these coaches faced because of their gender, the impact they had on those in their coaching world, particularly their male athletes, but also their coaching colleagues, athletic directors, and female athletes, and the impact those in their coaching world had on them, especially their male athletes, was investigated (Staurowsky, 1990). The under-studied lives and voices of these women deserve attention to better understand gender power relations and to work toward gender equity in athletics. Therefore, my main research question was: What is the female head coaches' experience of coaching collegiate male athletic teams?

Significance of the Study

By exposing barriers and negative experiences, this study has the potential to raise the consciousness of the participants and readers and lead to improvements in the work situations of women coaches of men's teams and offer means of increasing their numbers. Equally important, by exposing positive experiences, this study may help show that women coaches are competent to work with male athletes and possibly challenge sexist gender ideology, particularly of women as coaches and leaders (Staurowsky, 1990). Furthermore, this study may motivate more women to coach men and may influence men's athletic directors to hire more women head coaches. Finally, there currently is a lack of in-depth descriptions of female head coaches' experiences of coaching NCAA men's teams and female coach-male athlete relationships in the sport sociology and psychology literature, and this study may help fill that gap.

Operational Definitions

The following terms are defined for a better understanding of their use in this study:

Epistemology. Philosophical beliefs about what can be known and how knowledge may be acquired (Hatch, 2002).

Gender. The appearance, actions, thoughts, and feelings that society deems as masculine or feminine (Birrell, 2000).

Gender discrimination. Unfair treatment of women or men because of their gender (Ehrich, Flexner, Carruth, & Hawkins, 1980).

Gender ideology. "A set of interrelated ideas about masculinity, femininity, and relationships between men and women" (Coakley, 2004, p. 12).

Hegemony. Dominance of a group over others using cultural influence rather than coercion (Sage, 1998).

Homophobia. "Irrational fear or intolerance of lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people" (Griffin, 1998, p. xv).

National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). The NCAA is split into three major divisions, Division I, II, and III. The divisions differ in scholarships, academic and eligibility standards, scheduling requirements, revenue goals, and emphasis on participation or spectating (Earle, 2001). Most athletic programs in both Division I and Division II offer athletic scholarships, but most Division I programs have larger athletic budgets and emphasize a higher level of competition than most Division II programs (Coakley, 2004). Most Division III athletic programs have smaller budgets than Division I and II athletic programs, no athletic scholarships, and an emphasis on learning through sport for the participants rather than making a profit from spectators (Earle, 2001).

Ontology. Philosophical beliefs about the nature of reality (Hatch, 2002).

Patriarchy. "A structured and ideological system of personal relationships that legitimates male power over women and the services they provide" (Sage, 1998, p. 58).

Sexual harassment. "Any unwanted leers, comments, suggestions, or physical contact of a sexual nature, as well as unwelcome requests for sexual favors" (Renzetti & Curran, 2003, p. 127).

Scope of the Study

This study included ten female head coaches of men's collegiate teams. Three of the participants were head coaches of men's cross country, three of swimming, two of track, one of golf, and one of tennis. Eight of the participants coached NCAA Division

III teams, and two coached NCAA Division I teams. All of the participants coached combined gender programs, coaching both the men and women's teams. They all coached at institutions in the Midwest. This study did not include female coaches from every men's collegiate sport, assistant coaches, coaches from NCAA Division II, junior college, or National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (NAIA) programs, coaches of non-combined gender programs, or coaches from regions other than the Midwest. Therefore, although some of these coaches' experiences may be similar to those of other female coaches of men's collegiate teams, their experiences are not generalizable to all female coaches of men's collegiate teams.

Included in the next chapter, The Review of Literature, is a discussion of the critical feminist ontology and epistemology that I employed in this study. In addition, I review the sport sociology and psychology research related to the coach-athlete relationship. Lastly, I review the literature describing the experiences and dearth of women coaches of women's teams and women coaches of men's teams.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss several topics to better understand and situate my study of female head coaches of men's collegiate teams in the sport sociology and psychology literature. First, I describe types of feminism, concentrating on my critical feminist ontology and epistemology in this study. Second, I discuss the sport psychology and sociology literature pertaining to the coach-athlete relationship, especially literature that examines the influence of gender in the relationship and the cross-gendered coach-athlete relationship. Third, I review the literature about the lack of female coaches of women's teams. Finally, I discuss the literature about women coaches of men's teams.

Feminism

Feminism is a dynamic and multivocal perspective (Birrell, 2000). Different feminist theories share the common ontological stance that gender is a significant factor in life experiences, and they assert that gender inequities and harmful or destructive aspects of gender relations need to be addressed and eradicated (Renzetti & Curran, 2003). Feminist theories primarily diverge in explanations of the causes of oppression and goals and strategies for change (Costa & Gurthrie, 1994). Types of feminist theories include: existential feminism (Messner & Sabo, 1990), cultural feminism (Birrell, 2000), psychoanalytic feminism (Messner & Sabo, 1990), eco feminism (Unger & Crawford, 1992), and postmodern feminism (Zalewski, 2000). The most common ontological perspectives, or the "Big Three," are liberal, radical, and Marxist/socialist feminism (Maynard, 1995). The ontological perspective that I employ in my study exploring the

experience of female coaches of men's collegiate athletic teams is critical feminism, which combines aspects of the Big Three as well as expansion and differentiation. Following, I describe characteristics of liberal, radical, Marxist/socialist, and critical feminist theories, including their beliefs, goals, strategies for change, merits, and critiques (Costa & Guthrie, 1994). I explain why a critical feminist ontological perspective best suited the purpose of my study, and how a critical feminist epistemology impacted my methodology.

Feminist Theories

Liberal feminism. Liberal feminism is the most prevalent form of feminist thought and action in Western society (Birrell, 2000). Based on a humanist ontology, it assumes that the similarities between the sexes are more important than the differences (Birrell, 2000). Developed using Enlightenment dualistic notions that rationality is paramount to physicality, liberal feminists argue that since women are equal in their ability to reason as men, they should be allowed the same political rights (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). For liberals, concepts of individual liberty, justice, and equality are societal imperatives, and the role of government is to ensure that these natural rights are not impinged upon by it or by other people (Costa & Gutherie, 1994).

Liberal feminists assert that because of society's barriers, such as sexist legislature and unequal educational opportunities, women have different experiences, opportunities, and expectations than men (Birrell, 2000). They believe that if these barriers are removed, and women are given equal access to opportunities and are treated the same men in the public sphere then they will be rewarded equally for their work

(Boutlier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Liberal feminists claim that equality may be achieved through reform in our current social structure (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983).

Liberal feminists' political efforts have led to many significant improvements in women's pubic lives, such as passing legislature like Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, which prohibited sex discrimination in any institution receiving federal funds (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). However, liberal feminists are criticized for not addressing the root of problem – the patriarchal structure in society. Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) describe this stance:

> Just as civil rights legislation for minorities has not eradicated racism, neither will the Equal Rights Amendment or other laws eradicate sexism. These deeply rooted prejudices cannot be eliminated simply by changes in the law; they must be combated by other, more basic changes in people's consciousness and the very structure of cultural and social life (p. 14).

Therefore, liberal feminists are critiqued for neglecting sexist ideology and masculine ways of seeing the world that keep certain social structures in place (Birrell, 2000). For instance, according to Costa and Gutherie (1994), liberal feminists work to ensure that the rules of the game are fair, but they do not question the masculine ideology that there have to be winners and losers in that game. Aggression, competition, and hierarchy are taken for granted by liberal feminists, and when women are incorporated into the current structures, they often adopt this patriarchal ideology (Birrell, 2000; Hall, 1996). Furthermore, as has become evident in politics, economics, education, and athletics, equal opportunity for participation has not led to an equal number of positions of power or equality of salaries for women and men (Costa & Gurtherie, 1994).

Radical feminism. In contrast, radical feminists do not believe that society needs reform to rectify women's oppression; they feel that it needs a complete transformation.

They claim that patriarchy has failed dramatically and the only solution is to reconstruct society from the ground up based on a woman-centered perspectives and values (Birrell, 2000). According to Costa and Gutherie (1994), some radical feminists are essentialist and stress biological differences between women and men. They also believe that women have unique strength, creative powers, and knowledge based on emotions and interpersonal relationships that differ from men. Other radical feminists view gender as socially constructed. They posit that classifications of gender, sex, and sexuality are used to subjugate women (DeSensi, 1992). Since men have more power over women in patriarchal societies, they are the ones that construct standards and ideologies that define and differentiate men from women (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). For instance, the traits of confidence and strength are defined as masculine and passivity and vulnerability are defined as feminine. Not surprisingly, traits that are attributed to masculinity carry more societal worth than traits attributed to femininity (DeSensi, 1992).

Both camps of radical feminists would agree that men's oppression of women is total and is the root of all other forms of oppression such as racism and classism (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). Some radical feminists feel that the only solution is a complete separatist movement where women remove all their goods and services, particularly sex, and live in celibacy or as lesbians to work toward the demolition of patriarchy (DeSensi, 1992). Others advocate pockets of separatism in society, such as women's colleges (Costa & Gutherie, 1994).

Benefits of radical feminism are that it puts women's experiences at the center of analysis and scrutinizes the ways that patriarchy infiltrates all experiences, public and private, including pornography, sexual harassment, and wife-battering (Costa & Gutherie,

1994; Zalewski, 2000). Radical feminists show how circumstances of patriarchal oppression are connected and demand immediate and serious attention.

Radical feminists are criticized for oversimplifying the complexity of women's oppression (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). Other factors, such as race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation play a significant part in women's experiences. Radical feminists, along with liberal feminists, are accused of totalizing women's oppression, according to middle to upper class, heterosexual, white women's experiences and neglecting the experiences and needs of minority, homosexual, and lower class women (Costa & Gutherie, 1994).

Separatist radical feminists are critiqued for going too far and having unrealistic agendas that are not explicated fully (Boutlier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Also, as hooks (1984) points out, if society should be based on feminine values of cooperation, intimacy and camaraderie, does not a separatist movement betray these values and perpetuate the war between the sexes? As hooks (1984) suggests, we need to show why eradicating sexist oppression, and all forms of oppression, is helpful for everyone, not just women, and should be worked for by all.

Marxist feminism. Marxist feminists argue that the base of all oppression is the unequal distribution of wealth and that class should be the primary site of analysis (Birrell, 2000; DeSensi, 1992). They attack capitalism for organizing work and society in a way that divides people into two classes – the capitalists who own the means of production, and the proletariat who are the producers but do not own means of production (Sage, 1998). According to Marxists, capitalists exploit the workers to maximize profit. They accumulate as much property and income as possible on the backs of the proletariat. They are able to perpetuate this inequality in wealth and power for generations through

inheritance, education, laws that protect their interests, and by promoting a self-serving ideology (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Sage, 1998). For instance, they promote the ideology that capitalist society is a meritocracy, where individuals are personally responsible for their economic success. If one is rich, he or she deserves it because of work hard, morals, talent, and skill. If one is poor, he or she deserves it because of a deficiency of skill, talent, morality, or effort (Sage, 1998). Therefore, if the proletariat and capitalists accept this ideology, the class stratification seems fair and justifiable.

Marxist feminists claim that gender oppression is an extension of class oppression; if class oppression is eliminated then gender oppression will follow (Birrell, 2000). Women, Marxist feminists argue, are oppressed because of their subordination in the work world. They are systematically routed into the lowest paid segment of the workforce and are not paid for much of their labor – child and home care (Birrell, 2000). Marxist feminists believe that if women were not economically disadvantaged and dependent on men financially, they would not be oppressed (DeSensi, 1992). They argue that if capitalism is replaced with socialism, all women become wage earners including pay for home and child care, and there is collective ownership of the means of production, no one will be dependent or subordinate to another (Birrell, 2000; DeSensi, 1992).

Socialist feminism. Socialist feminists, unlike Marxist feminists, do not claim that women's subordination is a byproduct of class oppression. Instead, they assert that capitalism and sexist ideology are both central causes of women's oppression (Birrell, 2000). Therefore, socialist feminism is a merger of radical and Marxist feminism (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). For instance, unfair wages in the public work world, as well as sexist

relations in the private family sphere, are contributors to women's oppression (Boutlier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Costa & Gutherie, 1994). A socialist feminist wants sport to be tailored to satisfy women's needs and wants. Also, they want women in the key decision-making positions and the government to provide equal funding for female and male athletes (Costa & Gutherie, 1994).

Socialist feminists show how women's oppression is tied to gender and class, but they are criticized for not fully explicating how other important social factors such as race, sexual orientation, and ableism are linked to oppression (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). Furthermore, they are criticized for not developing a theoretical framework that fully synthesizes radical feminist and Marxist feminist ideas and for having contradictions in its application (Costa & Gutherie, 1994). For instance, a contradiction may be identified in the socialist feminist advocacy of a socialist organizational democracy, where there is democratic control of procreation, instead of private ownership. One might argue that government control of prenatal care (a socialist position) would conflict with a women's right to her body (a radical position) (Costa & Gutherie, 1994).

Critical feminism. My ontological perspective in this study is based in critical feminist theory. Like other feminist perspectives, a critical feminist perspective takes gender as a fundamental aspect of individuals' identity, values, behavior and how they are perceived and treated by others (Gottfried, 1996; Messner & Sabo, 1990). As Hatch (2002) describes, "For critical theorists and feminists, the material world is made up of historically situated structures that have a real impact on the life chances of individuals. These structures are perceived to be real (i.e., natural and immutable), and social action

resulting from their perceived realness leads to differential treatment of individuals based on race, gender, and social class (p. 16)."

The social construction of gender through sport is an important concept for many critical feminists. In society, gender is usually seen as a simple binary classification; either one is a man or a woman (Coakley, 2004). Sexuality, gender, and sexual orientation are conflated to create what Butler (1990) calls the "heterosexual matrix," in which these identities are assumed to be casually related, when in fact they not (Birrell, 2000). For instance, being gay (sexual orientation) does not make one less of a man or woman biologically (sexuality), and not all men and women (sexuality) have the appearance, actions, thoughts, and feelings that are deemed masculine or feminine (gender) (Birrell, 2000). People vary widely and are on different points of a continuum among each of these categories (Coakley, 2004).

Critical feminists use postmodern feminist deconstructions of gender, sexuality, and sexual orientation. However, they recognize the reality that these categories hold in society and how it is often important to essential categories (such as women as a gender group) to mobilize political action (Birrell, 2000).

Regarding sexuality, critical feminists assert that sport has been a main vehicle to prove and promote differences between men and women. According to Willis (1994), sport is taken by many as the social reality because of its concentration on the body and its actions. The physical is often perceived as a pure representation of God-given nature, and something that is God-given is difficult to dispute as evidence. Also, physical evidence is apparent to the eye and hand instead of requiring interpretation. Sport is highly measurable, as it is easy to show and document who throws the farthest, runs the

fastest, and jumps the highest (Nelson, 1994). Men set the standards on what is viewed as valuable such as size, speed, and strength (masculine traits) and largely ignore traits such rhythm, balance, and endurance, at which women may be able to outperform men (Burton Nelson, 1994).

Moreover, as Messner (1992) suggests, male homophobia toward other males and females in sport serves as a way to construct masculine identity. To maintain homogeneity in the male gender binary category and accentuate their differences from women, men prove their heterosexuality by treating women as erotic objects to be conquered and by gay bashing (Curry, 1991; Theberge, 1985). This behavior may be especially prevalent in sport because of the amount of emotionality and physicality between men (Theberge, 1985). Male athletes, coaches, and fans may believe that they need to neutralize this homoeroticism through homophobia and demonstrating their heterosexuality (Messner, 1992).

Homophobia toward women in sport, such as athletes, coaches, and reporters, also serves as a way to maintain a strict gender binary. Women in "masculine" sports (i.e., not figure skating, gymnastics, tennis, or cheerleading) or women who do not perform heteronormative femininity (by wearing make-up, having long hair, being skinny, and talking about family life or romantic relationships with men) are often labeled as lesbians, or not "real" women as a way to keep them out of the men's world of sport and to not blur the male/female binary by acknowledging similarities between the genders, especially admirable traits such as strength, assertiveness, and leadership (Messner, 2002).

Furthermore, regarding gender, Whitson (1990) suggests that masculine identity is primarily achieved through the embodiment of physical competency. In our current society, with less value placed on demonstrating physical prowess in spheres such as physical labor and combat, sport has become the primary performance site of masculine power. According to Messner (1992), adolescent males' performance in competitive sport is the most important factor in their peer-group status.

Also, sport has become a key site of gender socialization and unification. Through social learning, or rewarding, punishing, and modeling appropriate gender norms, men learn masculine traits such as assertiveness, discipline, toughness, competitiveness, teamwork, and achievement orientation, which can be used for power and status in other spheres of life such as business, politics, military, and family (Coakley, 2004; Messner, 1988; Renzetti & Curran, 2003). Kidd (1990) suggests that many men fear that they may lose this "masculine nurturing" site to teach skills that differentiate and privilege men as a group over women if women are allowed to join.

Of course, women have joined. Yet, they are still marginalized, trivialized, and excluded in the sportsworld, and are often socialized differently in sport than men with more of an emphasis on grace, deference, thinness, and cooperation (Coakley, 2004). There is extensive sport sociology, psychology, and history literature that has examined women's experiences of discrimination in athletics. However, critical feminist work takes a step further by exploring male resistance and gender inequalities in sport, such as with female coaches of men's teams, by investigating why sport is so critical to male gender construction and hegemony.

Also, like the perspectives of liberal, radical, and socialist feminists, but unlike Marxist feminists, critical feminists believe that one's gender is a central to one's experience, rather than always being subordinate to one's class. However, differing from other feminist perspectives, in employing a critical feminist perspective, I took the interaction of race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, age, and ableism as also important to examine in describing the women coaches' experience, although the focus was on gender.

Concerning gender, critical feminists argue that women in our patriarchal society have historically been structurally and systematically devalued and silenced. As a result of this discrimination, many women have had fewer life chances and less access to power and privilege (Hatch, 2002; Sielbeck-Bowen, Brisolara, Seigart, Tischler, & Whitmore, 2002). To rectify descrimination, increasing opportunities and numbers of women participating in the workplace through legislation is important, as liberal and Marxist feminists advocate. However, critical feminists, like radical and socialist feminists, argue that it is also important that sexist ideology needs to be addressed. The interconnected ways that patriarchy impacts women and men in the public and private spheres is an important aspect of critical feminist work.

As radical and socialist feminists advocate, in using a critical feminist lens, I used the perspectives of women to make suggestions for social change based on their experiences, values, needs, and wants (Birrell, 2000). For instance, I directly asked them for suggestions to improve their coaching situations and if they believed there should be an increase of women coaching men's teams.

A final key characteristic of critical feminism is viewing power as perpetually in negotiation (Birrell, 2000). Power is not seen as static like Marxist feminists advocate, instead critical feminists hold that individuals and groups use agency to resist and transform social inequities. From a critical feminist perspective, significant strides toward gender equity have been made, but patriarchy continues to thrive and privilege men over women. Therefore, critical feminist work centers on exposing, explaining, and transforming sexist ideologies and practices to work toward gender equity in society (Coakley, 2004).

My study aimed to contribute to critical feminist work by examining gender inequity in the athletic world – how it may be formed, propagated, resisted and transformed through everyday actions of women and men (Coakley, 2004). By using the voices and experiences of women coaches of men's collegiate teams, I aimed to expand the understanding of gender power relations in sport, and to propose changes based on their perspectives, experiences, issues, and impact.

Thus, critical feminism borrows as well as diverges from liberal, Marxist/socialist, and radical feminist tenets. Addressing both legislation and sexist ideology, using women's experiences, beliefs, values, and needs to implement change, taking interacting social forces such as race, class, and sexual orientation into account along with gender, and valuing agency of individuals and groups are characteristics of the critical feminist perspective I assumed in my study of women's experience coaching men's collegiate teams.

Critical Feminist Epistemology

Next, I describe how a critical feminism epistemology may impact research, and specifically how it was incorporated into the methodology of my study. Characteristics of critical feminist epistemological perspective include: (a) having an explicit political stance (Lather, 1986), (b) incorporating reflexivity (Fine, 1995), (c) building a non-hierarchical, collaborative researcher-participant relationship (Oakley, 1981), and (d) raising the consciousness of and empowering research participants (Gorelick, 1996).

Having an explicit political stance. A major tenet of the critical feminist epistemology is acknowledging a political perspective. According to Lather (1986), critical feminist work is overtly committed to challenging the status quo and working toward social justice. In this study, I made explicit to the participants and reader, my political goal of decreasing gender inequities in men's collegiate coaching. Also, this anti-positivist epistemological position views all knowledge as political and subjective. As Lather (1986) asserts, no research is neutral. According to Oakley (1981), the traditional ways of perceiving and conducting research with a positivist perspective are based on masculine values of objectivity, detachment, hierarchy, and the notion that science is more important than the individuals who are involved in science's production. As Oakley suggests, this masculine perspective is manipulative and deleterious. Oakley explains that in this type of research, the interviewee is taken as an object, simply a source of data under surveillance. The interviewer assumes a detached position, being just friendly enough to establish the minimum amount of rapport necessary to get the respondent to produce data. Oakley points out that the term "respondent" signifies passivity. The participant and researcher are both socialized to act in productive ways for

the study. The participant is socialized not to ask questions back, and the researcher is socialized to avoid sharing beliefs and values to obtain unbiased data. Thus, according to Oakley, both parties are depersonalized participants in the research process whose purpose is to benefit the institution conducting the research, and whose logic is that what is good for the participants or researcher is irrelevant and the ends justify the means.

Gorelick (1996) associates the positivist research perspective with an autopsy. The subjects of the study are seen as products of science on which to be operated rather than human agents who are extremely different to study as compared to material things. Gorelick describes a relationship where the researcher studies people with less regard for the positive or negative effects on the participants than on the researcher's career as exploitive and immoral.

Fine compares positivist or masculine research methods with ventriloquism (1995) and colonialism (1994). As a ventriloquist, the researcher declares truths while hiding the authority to be unidentifiable and irresponsible. The researcher is a colonizer in traditional research on marginalized populations because he or she defines the "others'" (or subjects') problems and perceives the participants as damaged victims to be pitied. The colonizer has the others tell him or her their story so that the colonizer can translate it in a way that it becomes the colonizer's. The researcher brushes over any contradictions to purport giving a clear product that says it all.

The epistemological perspective taken by critical feminists is quite different. As a critical feminist researcher, I did not claim to give voice to participants, like ventriloquists, rather my aim was to hear their voices (Gorelick, 1996). I did not attempt to speak to or for marginalized groups, rather with them (Lather, 1994). Researchers play

an active role in generating or constructing the data of their studies. Generating such data may be accomplished through dialogue such as talking and listening in an in-depth individual interview (Mason, 1996). As Pollio, Henley, & Thompson (1997) describe:

> Dialogue methods encourage the self and the other (the I and the You) to clarify for each other the meaning of their dialogue as it unfolds between them. Dialogue not only allows the speaker to describe experience; it also requires him or her to clarify its meaning to an involved other and, perhaps, even to realize it for the first time during the conversation itself (p. 29).

Researchers greatly affect participants' responses through the questions raised, their body language, and probes. Plus, researchers choose their research topics and what to report as significant from their studies based on their history and political views.

Incorporating reflexivity. Because research is subjective, as a researcher with a critical feminist epistemology, I incorporated reflexivity into this study. This includes reflection on how my identity, roles, and positions influence the participants and my understandings of the participants' experiences (Creswell, 1998). We all have multiple identities that impact social relations (Fine, 1994). Being a white, middle class, twenty-eight year old, male, student, athlete, coach conducting a study is important to how I perceived the participants and what they shared with me. As Sielbeck-Bowen et al. (2002) describe, knowledge is filtered through our values, experiences, and beliefs and we must know ourselves as well as the participants.

Fine (1995) suggests that researchers need to "break the silence" (p. 222) of how researcher's use information from the study. According to Fine, "Researchers should engage critically in the process of interrogating how we settle on the stories we tell; how else these stories could be told; how we organize disruptively for what could be within these stories" (p. 224). I was reflexive about my data analysis, looking for ways in which

my biases may have influenced what I reported and how I portrayed my findings. For instance, as Hatch (2002) suggests, I looked for evidence in the data that contradicts my findings. Also, I had the participants and other researchers (graduate students and professors) read my findings and interpretations and examine if my claims were supported by the data (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 1990).

Building a non-hierarchical, collaborative researcher-participant relationship. Valuing the researcher-participant relationship is essential in critical feminist research. In traditional positivist research methods, the researcher claims to have the expertise and the sole power to interrogate. He or she is usually perceived by both parties, the researcher and the participant, to have higher status on the social hierarchy. Oakley (1981) suggests diffusing the inequality in power through a process of collaboration. In taking this perspective, I was open about the interview process and explained that I did not plan to exploit the participants in the interview or to exploit their data (Oakley, 1981). I tried to be clear about the research process's goals and expectations (Lather, 1994). I also monitored how the research process was going for the participants by asking the participants and observing their body language and comments (Bloom, 1998).

Moreover, in critical feminist research, the researcher works to establish a relationship with the participant that goes beyond merely asking questions. The researcher may disclose personal beliefs and experiences to enhance the participant-researcher relationship. Oakley (1981) asserts that learning about participants' lives is more easily done if there is a mutual friendship rather than a detached formal interview. She describes that intimacy is hard to reach without reciprocity. Bloom (1998) demonstrates how one-way disclosure is intrusive and exploitive by quoting a participant

saying, "You knew so much about me and I knew nothing about you. My shell was broken open and the vulnerable meat of the clam was splayed to the sun, to the world. Yours remained tight and impenetrable" (p. 22).

Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) also discuss the importance and process of empathy in gaining knowledge. According to the authors, for many women, the central way to gain knowledge is through experience and the main method of sharing experiences is through two-way conversations. The authors state that small truths are gained by disclosure by both individuals. In order to build a closer connection while conducting this study, I shared my background, answered participants' questions, and if appropriate, provided information and shared my perspective (Oakley, 1981).

Furthermore, allowing interviews to be more open-ended rather than structured promotes a sense of freedom and control for participants. They may feel that they have more determination to steer the study in the direction of what they believe is important, and feel more control in forming their expressions of ideas. Member checks may also build a sense of collaboration. By having participants read over transcripts and the data analysis, they had power to verify and make corrections or additions to my data collection and interpretations (Hatch, 2002).

Raising the consciousness of and empowering research participants. A global goal of research from a critical feminist epistemological perspective is contributing to the transformation of society. More locally and directly, in using a critical feminist epistemology, a central aim was to transform participants through consciousness-raising and empowerment. Though the research interaction, participants may have become better informed about how they are active participants in the social-political world (Fine,

1995). They may have been challenged to recognize and better understand oppression in the world and their lives. Participants may have been shown or led to discover how meaning in their lives is connected to broader structures of power in society (Lather, 1994). In this study, I described research theory to participants and addressed issues of false consciousness, in which sexism is internalized and participants are unaware of how their ideology and actions may be subversive to gender equity (Gorelick, 1996). As Gorelick (1996) asserts, "We need ruptures in patterns of normality, so that the pathology of normal may be perceived" (p. 27). Challenging ideas, rather than simply describing them, is a valuable method of rupturing normality.

Belenky et al. (1986) describe how empowering is helping individuals develop an authentic voice. Rather than simply giving information to participants, I tried to play the role of a facilitator, assisting in "giving birth to their own ideas, in making their own tacit knowledge explicit and elaborating it" (p. 217). Through dialogue, I shared in the participants' process of developing knowledge and critical thinking (Belenky, et al. 1986). Also through dialogue, I encouraged the exploration of ways in which these coaches and other women coaches' situations may be improved. Especially as a male, I did not lecture the female participants about their experiences of oppression, rather I offered suggestions of alternative perspectives to view their experiences.

Thus, in espousing a critical feminist epistemology, I believe that the positivist, traditionally male model of research needs transformation. By taking an explicit political stance, using reflexivity, engaging in true dialogue that aims to dismantle hierarchies, and raising the consciousness of and empowering others, a progressive transformation may be achieved.

Coach-Athlete Relationship

To situate this study of the experience of female coaches of men's collegiate teams, it is essential to review the literature pertaining to the coach-athlete relationship. Following, I describe issues or lines of inquiry in the sport psychology research related to the coach-athlete relationship, which at times intersect with sport sociology and philosophy literature. Included in this review are the following topics: (1) the multidimensional model of leadership and the leadership scale for sports (Chelladurai, 1993; Chelladurai & Saleh, 1978); (2) coaching decision styles (Chelladurai & Haggerty, 1978); (3) the mediational model of leadership and the coaching behavior assessment system (Smith, Smoll, & Hunt, 1977; Smoll, Smith, Curtis, & Hunt, 1978); (4) athletes' gender-bias toward male and female coaches (Parkhouse & Williams, 1986); and (5) male coach-female athlete sexual harassment (Nelson, 1994). I devote particular attention to research that examines the influence of gender in the relationship and the cross-gendered coach-athlete relationship. Also, I discuss the issues of gender differences in coaching behaviors (Millard, 1996) and the coach-athlete interpersonal relationship (Wylleman, 2000), which are important lines of inquiry about the coach-athlete relationship, although they are under-represented in the sport psychology and sociology research. Finally, I critique the literature from a critical feminist perspective (Birrell, 2000).

Multidimensional Model of Leadership and the Leadership Scale for Sports. A significant line of inquiry into the coach-athlete relationship is based on Chelladurai (1978) and Chelladurai and Carron's (1978) model of coaching leadership, the Multidimensional Model of Leadership (MML) (Chelladurai, 1993). In the

multidimensional model, athlete and team performance and satisfaction are determined by the congruence of required leadership behavior, actual leadership behavior, and preferred coaching leadership behavior by the athletes. These three leadership constructs have situational, leader, and member characteristics as antecedent factors (Chelladurai, 1993; Horn, 2002). In other words, successful coaching leadership behaviors, based on athletes' satisfaction and performance, vary according to different situations, coaches, and athletes (Horn, 2002). Specifically, both required and preferred leadership behaviors are largely determined by situational factors such as organizational goals and task type, as well as athlete characteristics such as age and ability. The required and preferred behaviors, in addition to leader characteristics such as gender and years of experience, then directly determine the actual leadership behavior. Therefore, situational and member characteristics are important indirect antecedent factors impacting actual leadership behavior (Chelladurai, 1993; Horn, 2002).

From the Multidimensional Model of Leadership, Chelladurai and Saleh (1978, 1980) developed the Leadership Scale for Sports (LSS) to examine preferred coaching leadership behaviors of athletes. Chelladurai and Saleh (1980) used the questionnaires of Canadian university male and female physical education and varsity athletes to categorize 40 coaching leadership behaviors into five dimensions, including: Training and Instruction, Autocratic Behavior, Democratic Behavior, Social Support, and Positive Feedback.

In their 1978 study, Chelladurai and Saleh (1978) surveyed male and female university physical education students and found that athletes in closed sports, such as swimming, preferred more training behaviors from their coach compared to open sports,

such as basketball. Chelladurai and Saleh suggest that this preference by the athletes in closed sports is possibly due to a desire for more structure to push the training monotony. Also, they found that male athletes had a greater preference for autocratic coaching behaviors compared to females, who preferred more democratic behaviors. Furthermore, male athletes preferred more social support behaviors from their coaches, which the authors suggest contradicts the assumption that women have higher dependency needs than men. The authors might have suggested that since most coaches of women's teams are men, possibly the women athletes felt more comfortable turning to teammates, friends, and/or family for social support rather than a male coach.

Chelladurai and Carron (1983) examined how maturity, or age and ability, affects athletes' preference for the coaching leadership behaviors of training instruction and social support using the LSS. The authors tested basketball players from four divisions: high school midget division, high school junior division, high school senior division, and university intercollegiate. However, they did not state the gender of the athletes or coaches, which may have been significant factors. Chelladurai and Carron found a linear increase in preferred social support as maturity increased. They suggest that athletes competing at higher levels devote more time and energy to their sport and may neglect social interactions outside of sport. Therefore, these athletes may turn more to coaches for their need of social support than athletes at lower levels. Regarding training and instruction coaching leadership behavior, Chelladurai and Carron found that athletes' preferences decreased throughout high school but increased at the university level. According to the authors, this may be due to an increasing need for adolescent independence followed by a need for expertise as one matures.

Terry (1984) examined the difference in coaching preference for elite athletes' in team and individual sports. He found that team sport athletes preferred more autocratic, training, and rewarding behavior, and less social support and democratic behavior than individual sport athletes. However, Terry asserts that the variations between individual and team athletes were relatively small. Overall, athletes preferred coaches that use frequent rewarding and training behavior, and occasionally use social support and democratic behavior, and rarely use autocratic behavior. Furthermore, Terry found a consistency of preference among male and female athletes and athletes of differing ages and nationalities.

In a study of collegiate men's basketball players and coaches, Weiss and Friedrichs (1986) found that rewarding coaching leadership behaviors were the most predictive of team satisfaction. Also, democratic and social support behaviors were associated with the greatest athlete satisfaction. Interesting, a high level of social support was associated with a low win/lose percentage. The authors suggest that this may support a "winning-team-versus-satisfied-athlete paradox" (p. 345), but that this finding needs further examination. However, a higher level of social support for unsuccessful teams may have existed to cope with and overcome losses, and that members of winning teams also prefer frequent social support behaviors from their coaches.

Chelladurai, Malloy, Imamura, and Yamaguchi (1987) found differences in collegiate male athletes' preferred leadership among different cultures (Japanese and Canada) and different sports (modern and traditional). In modern sports, Japanese athletes preferred more democratic behavior and more social support than Canadian athletes. However, in traditional sports, Japanese athletes preferred more authoritative

coaching behaviors than Canadian athletes. Like Weiss and Freidrichs' (1986) study, it would have been informative if female athletes also participated in this study.

Sherman, Fuller, and Speed (2000) found that Australian female and male athletes (age, 18-33), regardless of sport context (single-gender male football, single-gender female basketball and dual-gender male and female netball), had the same preference order of the five LSS coaching behaviors. Athletes indicated that they preferred positive feedback, training and instruction, and democratic coaching behaviors, and not social support and autocratic behavior. Also, the authors found that female athletes indicated a slightly higher preference for positive feedback, training and instruction, and democratic behavior, and male athletes had a slightly higher preference for autocratic behavior. However, Sherman et al. suggest that their study challenges the notion that women athletes prefer significantly different coaching behavior. They conclude that regardless of sport context, widespread similarity exists in coaching behavior preference among male and female athletes.

Therefore, from the literature using the LSS to examine preferred coaching leadership among athletes, variation due to several factors is evident. The type of sport (closed v. open, individual v. team, traditional v. modern, single v. dual gender) and the characteristics of the athletes (male v. female, young v. old, novice v. elite, nationality and culture) all have a significant effect on reported preferences of coaching behaviors. Studies that investigate the affects of gender on coaching preference vary in their conclusions. However, as Sherman et al. (2000) and Chelladurai and Saleh (1980) suggest, female athletes may report a higher preference for democratic behavior and a lower preference for autocratic behavior than male athletes, although, as Terry (1984)

asserts, both men and women report a preference for a low level of autocratic behavior compared to the other coaching behaviors. Therefore, studies of preferred leadership using the LSS suggest that there are more similarities than differences between the genders, and woman and men are not "opposite sexes."

Coaching decision styles. Another important line of inquiry into coaching leadership behaviors in sport psychology is based on a normative model of decision styles in coaching, developed by Chelladurai and Haggerty (1978) (Chelladurai, 1993). Neil and Kirby (1985) assert that coaching styles vary according to tasks and situations and are not mutually exclusive. The names and number of coaching style categories vary among researchers and over time. For instance, Chelladurai and Haggerty's (1978) model includes three decision styles (Autocratic, Participative, and Delegative) and Chelladurai, Haggerty, and Baxter (1989) include five decision styles (Autocratic I, Autocratic II, Consultative I, Consultative II, and Group). According to Chelladurai, Haggerty, and Baxter's (1989) model, a coach employing an autocratic I decision style collects information and solves the problem by him or herself. With an autocratic II style, the coach obtains information from the athletes to assess the situation, but makes decisions by him or herself. A coach using a consultative I style talks with the athletes *individually* and may ask for possible solutions, but makes the decision by him or herself. The consultative II style is identical to the consultative I style except the coach talks to the players *as a group.* Finally, with a group style, the team and the coach discuss and find a solution together.

Similar to the Leadership Scale for Sports, much of the research on coaching decision styles has focused on examining athlete preferences. Chelladurai and Arnott

(1985) examined university male and female basketball players and found that female athletes reported a preference for a participatory coaching style significantly more often than male athletes, who had a higher preference for an autocratic style. Also, virtually all males and females rejected a delegative style. However, the authors argue that situational differences such as coach's information, problem complexity, and quality requirement played a greater role in the preferences of decision style than did individual differences such as gender.

Neil and Kirby (1985) also found that situational factors were more significant than individual differences such as gender, skill, and age in their study of Canadian rowing, canoeing, and kayaking athletes. The authors assert that there were differences in preference for a few coaching behaviors but not for entire leadership styles. They found that novice athletes had a higher preference for their coach to explain how each athlete contributes to the team, help new members make adjustments, not separate him or herself from the team, make it pleasant for the athletes to be apart of the team, and emphasize more open communication and individual consideration than did elite athletes. Younger athletes (under 20 years old) had a greater preference for a coach who often collaborates with the athletes in decision-making and asking their opinion about game strategy than older athletes (20 years old or older). Gender differences were only found for one behavioral item in one leadership style. The male athletes displayed a greater preference for the coach to draw a definite line between him or herself and the athletes. This may be due to socialization or what athletes were used to experiencing with a male authority figure, but the authors did not suggest any reasons for this result. Possibly, if

male athletes were exposed to more personal relationships with authority figures, such as coaches, they would have less of a preference for a distinct line dividing their lives.

In a 1989 study, Chelladurai, Haggerty and Baxter examined the preferred leadership style for Canadian university basketball coaches and athletes. The authors explained that since the number of coaches was small (n=22), they would not examine coaching differences according to gender. As far as gender differences among the athletes, Chelladurai et al. found that in only one of the 32 scenarios did women differ from men. The authors assert that female athletes preferred more participation than male athletes, however they do not describe the exact case, which would have been helpful to understand the gender difference. As far as differences between coaches and athletes, coaches' choices were significantly different than either or both of the groups of athletes in seven of the 32 cases. Overall, coaches preferred a more autocratic style compared to athletes, who regardless of gender, had a higher preference for a participatory style. However, the male and female players still had a greater orientation toward an autocratic than a participative decision making style. This may be due to athletes' desire to have their coach make many of the decisions, which are often routine. Athletes most likely want to concentrate on playing and in most cases want to trust their coach to determine what drills to do, plays to call, and van company to select for travel. They probably want a say in important issues such as overall training plan, and at times small issues, but not most small issues.

Thus, athletes' preferred coaching decision styles vary according to situational and individual factors. As Chelladurai and Arnott (1985), Neil and Kirby (1985), and Chelladurai et al. (1989) assert, situational factors, such as problem complexity, may be

more significant than individual factors such a gender. However, similar to the findings of research using the LSS, research of decision styles point to a greater preference for a participatory coaching style and a lesser preference for a autocratic coaching style for female athletes compared to male athletes.

Mediational Model of Leadership and the Coaching Behavior Assessment System. A third significant line of inquiry in the sport psychology literature examining the coach-athlete relationship is based on Smoll, Smith, Curtis, and Hunt's (1978) Mediational Model of Leadership (MML) (Chelladurai, 1993). The MML describes three elements involved in coach-athlete interactions: Coach Behaviors, Player Perception and Recall, and Players' Evaluative Reactions (Smoll & Smith, 1989). As Smoll and Small (1989) explain, "This model stipulates that the ultimate effects of coaching behaviors are mediated by the meaning that players attribute to them. In other words, cognitive and affective processes serve as filters between overt coaching behaviors and youngsters' attitudes toward their coach and their sport experience" (p. 1527).

To measure and categorize coaching leadership behaviors, Smith, Smoll, and Hunt (1977) developed the Coaching Behavior Assessment System (CBAS). Unlike Chelladurai and Saleh's (1980) Leadership Scale for Sports, which measures coaching behavior solely though questionnaires, the CBAS measured leadership behaviors through observations of coaches in games and practices (Chelladurai, 1993). In the CBAS, two major categories of coaching behaviors are established: Reactive Behaviors, which are immediate responses to athlete or team behaviors, and Spontaneous Behaviors, which are not prompted by the immediate actions of athlete or team behaviors but are initiated by the coach. Eight reactive behaviors include: Positive Reinforcement or Reward,

Nonreinforcement, Mistake-contingent Encouragement, Mistake-continent Technical Instruction, Punishment, Punitive Mistake-contingent Technical Instruction, Ignoring Mistakes, and Keeping Control, and four spontaneous behaviors include: General Technical Instruction, General Encouragement, Organization, and General Communication (Smith, Smoll, & Hunt, 1977).

A major reason for developing the CBAS was to evaluate and train youth coaches. Smith, Smoll, and Curtis (1979) examined coaching behaviors of US little league (10-15 year-olds) coaches through observation and their athletes' perceptions of their behaviors through structured interviews. They then developed a training program to enhance self-awareness and positive coaching behaviors such as encouragement, positive reinforcement, technical instruction, and reducing the fear of failure of athletes. Smith et al. found that the program had a significant and positive affect on coaching behaviors and athletes' perceptions of their coach's behaviors. Athletes had higher self-esteem, liked their coaches more, and expressed a higher level of intrateam attraction after the coaches participated in the training program.

Also, research on the CBAS has examined how coaches' expectations of their athletes impact their coaching behaviors with them. Horn (1984) used the CBAS to investigate the self-fullfilling prophecy theory in the coach-athlete relationship, which she describes as the theory that claims that the expectations of a coach concerning the achievement potential of individual athletes are reflected in specific coaching behaviors that convey to the athlete the type of actions and level of achievement expected for him or her. Over time, the athlete's behaviors and performance conform to the coach's expectations. Therefore, high-expectancy athletes will receive more positive and

effective instruction than low-expectancy athletes. However, in Horn's study of female junior high softball players and their coaches (three female and two male), she found the reverse of the self-fulfilling prophecy theory in that low-expectancy athletes were given more technical instruction, general and mistake-contingent instruction, and more reinforcement after positive behaviors than high-expectancy athletes. Horn explains that the educational philosophy of the league and coaches may have emphasized instruction over competition.

In a more competitive context, Solomon, DiMarco, Ohlson, and Reece (1998) examined coaching interactions with low and high expectancy high school and Division I male and female basketball players using the CBAS. The authors found that high-expectancy athletes did receive more praise and instruction than low-expectancy athletes. Therefore, the self-fullfilling prophecy may be more likely to occur in higher competitive situations. Solomon et al. suggest that overall team performance may be enhanced if coaches are aware of their bias toward high-expectancy athletes and give equal quality and quantity of feedback to their low-expectancy athletes.

Horn (2002) suggests that athletes' gender may be a significant factor in coaches' expectations of their athletes. She argues that coaches, because of gender-stereotyped beliefs that women are physically and mentally inferior to men, may treat women as low-expectancy athletes. Horn suggests that this may be most apparent on combined teams. The female athletes may be given less attention, instruction, and positive reinforcement compared to male athletes. Furthermore, coaches' beliefs about athletes' sexual orientation may influence the coaches' behaviors toward him or her. For instance, Horn suggests that coaches may treat a male athlete that does not exhibit traditionally

masculine traits, such as aggressiveness, and/or a female athlete who does not exhibit traditionally feminine traits, such as wearing long hair, negatively because of coaches' homophobic attitudes. Horn asserts that coaches' beliefs about gender and sexual orientation and their behaviors with their athletes based on their beliefs needs investigation in research studies.

Therefore, research using the CBAS shows the influence that coaches' expectations of their athletes, based on prior athlete performance and stereotypes, has on how they treat their athletes. As Horn (2002) suggests, gender and sexual orientation may also be influencing factors and need to be examined. It also would be interesting to investigate male and female coach gender differences and how their expectations of male and female athletes may vary. For instance, do male coaches have lower expectations than female coaches for female athletes?

Athletes' gender-bias toward female and male coaches. A fourth relevant line of inquiry into the coach-athlete relationship examines expectations that female and male athletes have of their coaches based on their coach's gender, or their gender-bias toward female and male coaches.

Coakley and Pacey (1982) surveyed female Division I, II, and III athletes in a variety sports about their preference for a male or female coach. Fifty percent of the athletes had no gender preference; the other 50% of the athletes who did have a preference were split down the middle about their gender preference. When analyzed by division, the majority of DI athletes preferred a male coach and the majority of DII and DIII athletes preferred a female coach. Furthermore, athletes in individual sports preferred a male coach while athletes in team sports preferred the opposite. The authors

suggest that the variations may be do to the shaping of the athletes by their past coaches: female athletes in individual sports, particularly at elite levels, usually have a greater exposure to male coaches, and female athletes in team sports, particularly in high school and at DII and DIII, usually have a greater exposure to female coaches. They also suggest that athletes with no gender preference may have had equal exposure to male and female coaches, but they should also suggest that some athletes may not make gender assumptions or may be more open minded to having a male or female coach. Coakley and Pacey conclude that with more opportunities to participate in sport, women will find that they can learn from both male and female coaches. They should have gone a step further and suggested that gender-bias toward female coaches by *male* athletes may dissolve as well with greater exposure.

Weinberg, Reveles, and Jackson (1984) investigated junior high, high school, and collegiate basketball players' attitudes and feelings toward playing for a hypothetical new female or male coach. All the male athletes were currently playing for a male coach, and all the female athletes were playing for a female coach. The authors found that the male athletes displayed more negative attitudes towards female coaches than the female athletes. The female athletes, however, exhibited no difference in perception of male coaches compared to the male athletes. Weinberg et al. suggest that sex-role socialization may have been a factor; that male athletes have been taught that competitiveness and masculinity are compatible whereas competitiveness and femininity are not. Female athletes may have been socialized to think similarly; however, due to their positive experiences with female coaches, female athletes may have shaken this gender-bias.

To examine why a female athlete would prefer a male or female coach, Whitaker and Molstad (1985) developed a model based on the social exchange and expectancy value theories. According to the authors, the social exchange theory asserts that individuals are attracted to certain social interactions that will satisfy their needs, with an understanding that they must exchange something in return. The expectancy value theory posits that individuals behave in certain ways because they expect to be rewarded, and individuals learn through experience that some situations provide a higher quality of reward than others. Therefore, athletes may use both perspectives to determine their preference for a male or female coach. The authors suggest that female coaches may have "greater reward expectancy values" (p. 22) for female athletes in several areas compared to males. Female coaches may provide: same gender role models; opportunities to exercise instrumentalism since in most gender-heterogeneous situations men, especially in leadership positions, tend to assume instrumental roles; shared and reinforced values; more personal, interactive relationships; and a greater sense of value to the group since they are not comparing their value to a male who starts with a higher status because of his gender. A male coach may offer: a higher potential for competitive success because of men's longer and higher performance history in sport; more recognition, status, and money for the athletes; and comfort because men occupy the majority of leadership positions in society. Thus, Whitaker and Molstad offer possible factors that may be involved in female athletes' preference for either a male or female coach, which may also apply to males' coaching preference.

Similar to Weinberg et al. (1984), Parkhouse and Williams (1986) examined gender-bias toward a hypothetical male or female coach for male and female basketball

players. The high school athletes were presented with successful (based on win/loss record and honors) and unsuccessful female and male coaches. The athletes rated the coaches according knowledge, ability to motivate, desire to play under, and future success. In all categories, both the male and female athletes rated the male coach higher than the female coach, with the male athletes rating the female coach lower in all categories than the female athletes. The gender-bias only diminished when the athletes had to compare an unsuccessful male coach with a successful female coach. Therefore, unlike the Coakley and Pacey (1982) and the Weinberg et al. (1984) study, both male and female athletes had a gender-bias against the female coach. Also, like the Weinberg et al. (1984) study, athletes reported perceptions of hypothetical coaches, which may have engendered different responses than if they reported on actual coaches. It may be similar to an individual's assumptions of people of another culture, which are proven to be inaccurate when they get to know individuals from that culture personally.

Also, Williams and Parkhouse (1988), in a study of female varsity high school basketball players, investigated what specific mediating or contributing factors were involved in female athletes' gender-bias against female coaches. In the study, half of the athletes were coached by men and half by women. Attitudes were found to be mediated by the sex of the athletes' current coach and by the success of their team. Females on losing teams coached by men had a pro-male bias, although it was weaker than those on a winning male-led or female-led team. Athletes on winning teams coached by a female had a pro-female bias. Therefore, these findings point to the importance of having success under a female coaching role model. The authors suggest that although this study did not examine mediating factors involved in male athletes gender-bias against women

coaches, "Should males have a female coach and experience success within that competitive situation, these biases might be changed just as the pro-male bias was changed in female athletes exposed to female coaches who led them to success" (p. 331). Williams and Parkhouse conclude that they hope that with increased numbers of women coaching boys and men, this hypothesis can be tested.

LeDrew and Zimmerman (1994) examined adolescent (mean age=15.9) Canadian male and female athletes' biases toward female and male coaches in the sport of volleyball. All the male athletes currently had a male coach while 79% of the female athletes currently had a male coach. Eighty two percent of the athletes reported that they believed that females have the ability to be good coaches, although a greater proportion of females expressed this belief. Also, the majority of the athletes believed that women were physically strong enough to coach both genders; however, males were more likely to believe that females did not have enough physical strength to coach male athletes compared to women athletes. The authors should have discussed this peculiar bias. For instance, Bobby Bowden of Florida State is an overweight man in his seventies who limps and often rides around in a golf cart, yet his physical strength is not held against him while he coaches one of the most prominent college football teams in the United States. This bias most likely occurs because physical strength is often considered a masculine trait, along with leadership, particularly in sport, whereas weakness and dependence are often characterized as feminine traits. Therefore, in a gender ideology binary matrix, the traits of each gender are conflated and positioned as disparate to the other gender, resulting in an unjust rational for limiting women's opportunities and power, particularly women in sport leadership positions (Birrell, 2000).

Lastly, the athletes reported that they believed women should coach men (63%) and men should coach women (75%). Therefore, the authors suggest that since female coaches of men's teams were accepted by these adolescents, these athletes may be a part of a generation that may still have a male preference, but is starting with a belief that women should be coaches and may be successful with male or female athletes. However, LeDrew and Zimmerman caution, "Though the favourable [sic] attitudes revealed in the present would seem to provide the best opportunity yet to challenge prevailing assumptions about coaching and gender, however, traditional biases will not begin to disappear completely until greater numbers of women have secured coaching positions at all levels of sport" (p.12). Finally, the authors suggest that their finding involving athletes participating in the "gender-equal" sport of volleyball may differ with finding in sports that are traditionally perceived as dominantly field, masculine or feminine.

Frankl and Babbitt (1998) examined attitudes toward a hypothetical male or female coach by male and female high school athletes in what they classified as the gender neutral sport of track and field. The athletes were currently on a combined program with either a male or female coach and where asked about a hypothetical new coach with the same gender as their current coach. The authors found that both the male and female athletes had insignificant gender-bias toward a hypothetical male and female coach. The athletes expressed no difference in their belief that if they had a male or female coach, they would like the coach, have confidence that they could improve, would be comfortable telling the coach information, would take criticism from the coach, believe that she or he was a good coach, and believe the coach had a promising future. The only significant gender-bias reported was by female athletes who expressed that they

would be angrier if a female coach, rather than a male coach, yelled at them. Frankl and Babbit, like LeDrew and Zimmerman (1994), suggest that their findings indicate a growing acceptance of women in sport leadership positions, which may be credited to the increased participation of women in the sportsworld. Also, the authors suggest that because track and field is a non-contact sport as well as an individual sport, women may be more accepted. They assert that in individual (closed-skill) sports, athletes are expected to be more self-responsible with their training than those in (open-skill) team sports. Also, individual athletes do not need to coordinate their performance as much with others as team athletes. Therefore, athletes may not expect a coach to exhibit an autocratic coaching style, thought of as masculine, to coordinate the team to work as one.

The authors consider track and field a gender-neutral sport, most likely because traditionally women and men compete in similar events. It may be argued that the sport is not gender-neutral because men throw heavier implements, jump over higher hurdles, and compete in different events such as the decathlon rather the pentathlon, compared to women. Furthermore, there are events that are considered masculine such as the throwing events, and masculine characteristics are attributed to women that participate in these events.

Thus, the research about athletes' gender-bias in coaching preference suggests an increasing acceptance of female coaches of men's and women's teams, particularly in "gender neutral" sports. Also, having experience as an athlete with a female coach is an important factor, especially if one is successful. It is interesting that much of the research is with basketball teams, which is not as traditionally masculine as football, boxing, baseball, or hockey, or in the sports where female coaches of men's teams are much most

prevalent, such as swimming and cross country. Also, note that the many of the studies about gender-bias involve hypothetical coaches (e.g., Frankl & Babbitt, 1998; Parkhouse & Williams, 1986; and Weinberg et al., 1984), which are not as telling as studies involving real situations with real coaches.

Male coach-female athlete sexual harassment. A fifth important issue related to the coach-athlete relationship in the sport psychology and sociology literature is sexual harassment. Griffin (1998) asserts that since Title IX created more lucrative women's coaching positions, and women's athletic programs have come under the control of male dominated athletic departments and the male dominated NCAA, a way to limit women in leadership position, especially lesbians, has been to create the myth of a lesbian "boogywoman" who is apt to sexually harass innocent, young female athletes. However, as shown by research, young women are much more likely to be sexually harassed by heterosexual male coaches than by lesbian coaches (Griffin, 1998). According to Burton Nelson (1994), 96% of sexual exploitations by professionals are perpetrated by a male with occupational power over a woman. Therefore, the sport psychology and sport sociology literature has focused on sexual harassment of female athletes by male coaches.

Burton Nelson (1994) described sociological and psychological factors that influence sexual harassment of female athletes by male coaches. According to Burton Nelson, many men coach women because they could not obtain a more prestigious men's coaching job. They may feel that coaching women threatens their masculinity so they react by "proving" their masculinity by obsessing about winning, controlling their athletes' lives such as who they associate with outside of sport, and controlling their bodies such as urging a certain body shape or size and playing with injury or illness.

Also, male coaches may prove their masculinity by trying to be sexually attractive to the women on their teams. Furthermore, when female athletes succeed, Burton Nelson suggests that male coaches may feel threatened and respond by seducing and sexualizing them into dependent positions. In addition, as Gallop (2002) asserts, when women are harassed by men, it often serves to devalue and take less seriously their role in a certain sphere, in this case the sportsworld. Therefore, sexual harassment is not simply about the exploitation of individual women for sex, but about the effort to subjugate them as a group through sex. Finally, from her interviews with male coaches and administrators, Burton Nelson found that most men in these positions look the other way, trivialize, or defend situations where there are sexual relationships between a male coach and female athlete largely because they share this sexual fantasy. Also, they might share a similar fantasy that sport is really a heterosexual man's world and women may enter only as subordinates.

Furthermore, Burton Nelson (1994) explained why a male coach-female athlete sexual relationship is exploitive. She asserts that similar to a therapist or priest, coaches are in positions of both power and trust. Male coaches have power over athletes because of their knowledge, authority in training and competition, age, and gender. Also, athletes entrust that the coach will act in their best interests, not their own. Often coaches are perceived as therapists who help with personal problems, mentors who provide guidance and respect, and as surrogate parents who give care and set limits. Therefore, because of the power differential and trust issues, Burton Nelson suggests that women athletes are incapable of giving genuine consent to a sexual relationship with a male coach, regardless of the athletes' behavior or age.

From an analysis of personal accounts of sexually harassment by former female athletes, Brackenridge (1997) described how the culture of sport provides a conducive environment for exploitation of power and authority, particularly with older male coaches working with younger female athletes. As Brackenridge argues, sport may involve women who are under intense pressure for attention, selection, and achievement. They may spend many hours and have physical contact with a male coach who has good interpersonal skills and a positive self-image compared to their dependency and low self-esteem. According to Brackenridge, athletes who are harassed and/or abused are often "groomed" by coaches with systematic preparation, enticement, and entrapment.

Brackenridge reports that sexual harassment and abuse cases between female athlete and male coach are greatly underreported. Athletes are likely to feel guilty and embarrassed, may not be able to identify the actions of a coach as sexual harassment or abuse, and/or have genuine affection for the coach. Also, Brackenridge asserts that the sport system is to blame for maintaining a laissez-faire attitude toward inequities, individualizing the problem, and allowing or promoting an autocratic coaching style and a closed coach-athlete environment.

In a 1997 study, Volkwein, Schnell, Sherwood, and Livezey examined the reported prevalence of sexual harassment and abuse for women in collegiate athletics by male coaches and their perceptions of these issues. Twenty-six percent of the participants reported that they experienced non-instructional contact such as the coach asking them about their weekend plans or inviting them to lunch at a local restaurant. Fifteen percent reported a negative emotional response to this behavior. Twenty percent reported non-instructional/potentially threatening behavior of their coach, such as asking them out to

dinner or calling the athlete by a pet name. Eight percent felt negatively about this behavior. Nineteen percent of the participants reported that they experienced sexist comments such as sexist jokes or derogatory remarks about women by their coach, and 73% felt negatively about the experience. Finally, 2% reported verbal or physical advances, such as the coach staring at the athlete's breast, kissing the athlete on the mouth, or the coach proposes a sexual encounter and issues threats for rejection, and none of the athletes reported a positive emotional response to this behavior.

Volkwein et al. (1997) also examined the athletes' perceptions of sexual harassment for the above behaviors. In the first case involving non-instructional behavior, 18% perceived it as constituting sexual harassment. In the second case involving non-instructional/potentially threatening behavior, 46% agreed that the behavior was sexual harassment. In the third case involving sexist comments, 63% perceived the behavior as sexual harassment. Finally, 95% perceived verbal or physical advances as constituting sexual harassment. Volkwein et al. suggest that the results of the study probably underestimate the prevalence of the problem because teams that might have had problems with sexual harassment incidents and lawsuits may not have participated. Also, athletes who had experienced sexual harassment may have dropped out of sport earlier. However, the study does show how recognition of sexual harassment may be difficult, as for example, 27% of the athletes reported positive reactions toward derogatory remarks about women or sexist jokes.

Tomlinson and Yorganci (1997) examined the treatment of elite, British women athletes on a combined track club by their eight male coaches. They found that the coaches gave less attention to the female athletes compared to the male athletes, and

perceived the female athletes as sexual distractions for them and the male athletes. The authors also found an abusive power dynamic, in which coaches expressed that their role was not as an advisor but as one who gives orders that are obeyed. Concerning sexual abuse by their coaches, 69% of the female athletes denied any knowledge of it occurring. However, a quarter of the women reported one or more of the following behaviors from their coach: demeaning language, physical contact, verbal intrusion, fondling, and pressure to have intercourse. In most cases though, the athletes did not identify these behaviors as sexual harassment. They described them as "horrible," "embarrassing," "offensive," "annoying," or "not called for," but not sexual harassment. They often defended their coaches by rationalizing, "that is just the way they are" or "if I challenge it, then it will make it worse" (p. 150). Tomlinson and Yorganci conclude that the most striking finding of their study was the perception of normalcy of coaches' domination and sexual harassment. As they suggest, "Until this normalcy is widely recognized, understood, and debated, male coach/female athlete relations will be subject to polemic and misunderstanding, and the underlying nature of the culture and the dynamic will be ignored" (p. 152).

Thus, the research points to serious problems of sexual harassment by male coaches of female athletes. Surely there has been sexual harassment of male athletes by female coaches. However, since gender, as well as occupational power, is an important factor in sexual harassment, particularly in sport (as described by Burton Nelson, 1994), it seems that hiring a woman to coach women and/or men would be a safer choice than hiring a male to coach females to guard against abuse.

Gender differences in coaching behaviors. Although scarce, some literature describes actual gender differences in coaching behaviors, not just athletes' preferences and perceptions of them (Millard, 1996). Lacy and Goldston (1990) observed male and female coaches of varsity female basketball teams. They found that the female coaches exhibited slightly more praise behaviors and slightly less scold behaviors than the male coaches. The female coaches also demonstrated a higher percentage of preinstruction, postinstruction, and management behaviors than the men. They also used the athletes' first names more often. The male coaches exhibited a higher percentage of concurrent instruction. Therefore, Lacy and Goldston's findings suggest gender differences in coaching behaviors for their sample, yet it is inconclusive which behaviors would elicit a higher degree of satisfaction or performance success.

With the use of Smith, Smoll, and Hunt's (1977) CBAS, Millard (1996) examined gender differences in coaching behaviors of male and female high school soccer coaches. The male coaches were either men's or women's team coaches, whereas the female coaches coached only women's teams. Millard adjusted her analysis to account for differing demographics of the participants. The male coaches averaged about five more years of coaching experience (11.9 vs. 6.6), were an average of five years older (37.4 vs. 30.3), yet had about three fewer years of past athletic participation than the female coaches (10.8 vs. 13.7). Millard found that male coaches displayed a higher frequency of technical instruction and keeping control behaviors than the female coaches. Male coaches also exhibited a lower frequency of general encouragement behaviors than the female coaches. Millard suggests that the gender differences may be explained by gender role socialization; many women are taught to exhibit expressive qualities, and

many men are encouraged to exhibit instrumental qualities. Also, many women may value friendship and social interaction more than many men and value competition and achievement less than many men.

In a study of female and male Finnish coaches of female and male athletes (ages 9-18 years), Salminen and Liukkonen (1996) used Chelladurai and Saleh's (1980) LSS to examine differences in athletes' perceptions of coaching behaviors for male and female coaches. They found that the athletes perceived female coaches to exhibit significantly more democratic and less autocratic behaviors than the male coaches. They also perceived that the female coaches demonstrated slightly more instructional, social support, and rewarding behaviors than the male coaches.

Finally, Jambor and Zhang (1997) investigated gender differences among male and female junior high, high school, and college coaches using a revised LSS or the RLSS (Zhang, Jensen, & Mann, 1997), which had six leadership dimensions. They found that the only behavior that differed significantly between male and females was social support behavior. The female coaches reported that they provided a higher amount of support in the athletes' personal lives and attempted to make the sport experience more enjoyable for the athletes. However, the authors assert that the similarity in behaviors of female and male coaches was more striking and significant than the differences.

Therefore, based on the research pertaining to gender differences in actual coaching behaviors, female coaches do not appear to be perceived as inferior to male coaches. In fact, it seems that many women's coaching behaviors may be advantageous as they have shown to provide more praise, general encouragement, instruction, and social support than male coaches (Lacy & Goldston, 1990; Millard, 1996; Saliminen &

Liukkonen, 1996). However, Chelladurai (1993) does not include gender as an important leadership characteristic in his multidimensional model of leadership, and as Jambor and Zhang (1997) suggest, possibly "To say that a male is a different leader than a female is an out-dated method of leadership evaluation" (p. 4). Or, at least, gender is not as significant of a factor in coaching behaviors as assumed by many men in sport.

Coach-athlete interpersonal relationship. Another significant under-addressed topic in sport psychology and sociology is the interpersonal nature of the coach-athlete relationship (Wylleman, 2000). Wylleman (2000) argues that the majority of sport psychology research concentrates on the coach-athlete relationship from a uni-directional perspective, focusing on how the coach affects athletes and neglecting how the athlete contributes to the creation and maintenance of the coach-athlete interpersonal relationship. Additionally, Wylleman suggests that much of the literature, such as the LSS (Chelladurai & Saleh, 1978) and CBAS (Smith, Smoll, & Hunt, 1978), focuses on task-centered behavior rather than the affective-emotional experiences of the coach and athlete. Finally, Wylleman calls for more literature that examines coach-athlete relationship issues and the nature or dynamic of the relationship. Following are studies that have investigated the coach-athlete relationship from a non-unilateral perspective, the nature of the relationship, and interpersonal issues between the coach and athlete.

Carron and Bennett (1977) examined characteristics of compatible coach-athlete relationships for male and female college athletes and coaches in a variety of team and individual sports. The authors assert that interpersonal needs are based on three major behavior categories- Inclusion or interacting and associating with others and feeling of mutual interest with others, Control or the relations regarding power, responsibility, and

respect, and Affection or feeling emotional closeness to another. From their interviews of athletes and coaches, they found that the most critical factor in differentiating compatible from incompatible coach-athlete relationships was inclusion. For instance, positive relationships were described using inclusive terms such as "associate," "mingle," "interact," and "communicate," whereas negative relationships were described using non-inclusive terms such as "isolate," "exclusion," "outsider," "withdrawn," and "outcast." Furthermore, Carron and Bennett found that compatible relationships had more control behaviors and affection characteristics by athletes than incompatible relationships. Therefore, the findings show the bi-dimensional nature of the coach-athlete relationship and the athlete's significant role in making the relationship compatible, especially through inclusion.

Horne and Carron (1985) examined college track, basketball, swimming, and volleyball athletes' preferences and perceptions of their coaches' behaviors based on the LSS to determine coach-athlete compatibility. They found that when the athletes perceived that their coach provided a preferred amount of positive feedback, the relationship was likely to be perceived as compatible, and when the coach did not provide the athletes' preferred amount of positive feedback, the relationship was likely to be perceived as incompatible. Also, they found that if the coach did not greatly exceed the preferred amount of autocratic behaviors, the athletes rated relationship as compatible. If the athletes perceived a significant excess of autocratic behaviors than they preferred, they were more likely to characterize the relationship as incompatible. Interestingly, discrepancies in preferred amount of democratic behaviors did not discriminate between compatible and incompatible dyads. Therefore, the authors suggest that athletes prefer

the coach to have control in most decisions as long they take the athletes' needs into consideration.

Officer and Rosenfeld (1985) investigated self-disclosure in the coach-athlete relationship using surveys of female high school athletes. They sought to examine if self-disclosure is influenced by the type of sport (individual or team) and by gender of the coach. The authors found that the participants differed in their self-disclosure to their coaches according to sport, but not according to whether it was an individual or team sport. Also, Officer and Rosenfeld found that the participants did not differ in their overall amount of self-disclosure to female or male coaches, but they did differ in the content of their disclosures. The athletes' self-disclosure to male coaches was more impersonal and concerned school matters more than self-disclosure to female coaches, although some intimate topics were discussed with male coaches such as issues with a boyfriend or father. The authors suggest that the male coach was viewed primarily as an authority figure and a source of information similar to a parent or teacher, while self-disclosure to female coaches related more to personal topics such as self-concept development and role clarification issues. Officer and Rosenfeld suggest that the female coach was primarily perceived as a role model and counselor figure.

Parents of athletes are also a significant part of the coach-athlete dynamic. Hellstedt (1987) created a model to explain the parents' role and impact in the coach-athlete relationship. He suggests that coaches do not simply coach individual athletes; rather, they are involved in a family dynamic. Hellstedt offers suggestions for coaches to work with three different types of parents: underinvolved, moderate, and overinvolved parents. He asserts that overinvolved parents are the most often troublesome to coaches.

He explains several conflict interactions that are likely to occur and strategies for coaches to successfully absolve them. Overall, Hellstedt suggests that athletes need coaches and parents who work in cooperation for their success and well-being in sport.

Jowett and Meet (2000) examined the coach-athlete relationship in Greek Olympic married couples to work toward conceptualizing the coach-athlete relationship in general. From their open-ended interviews with the dyads (all female athletes and male coaches), they found that Closeness, Co-orientation, and Complemenarity (3 Cs) were key concepts in a positive relationship in terms of performance, satisfaction, attrition, self-esteem, and self-perceptions for both parties. Closeness was described as having affective or emotional interdependence with another. They found that belief in the other was the most powerful factor of closeness, followed by respect and commitment. Jowett and Meet described co-orientation as having a common view of the sport and the world formed by negotiation, agreement, and understanding. They found that positive relationships were characterized by open lines of communication, common interests, and a desire to reach similar goals. Finally, the authors describe complementarity as interaction that the dyad views as cooperative to accomplish a task. Positive coach-athlete relationships in this study achieved complimentarity by believing that each individual had a certain supportive role, such as director and follower. Therefore, Jowett and Meek's study helps explain the dynamics of the coach-athlete relationship and how both parties contribute to the relationship. However, note that the coach and athlete were married, which adds another significant dimension to their relationship.

Jowett (2003) used the 3 Cs model (Jowett & Meek, 2000) to examine how the coach and athlete dyad comes to an interpersonal crisis. Jewett employed open-ended interviews with an elite coach-athlete dyad (female athlete-male coach, not married) who had been working together for four years and had experienced negative relational issues. She found that when interpersonal conflict occurred, emotional closeness was lacking. There was a feeling of isolation, frustration, and anger. There was also a fissure in co-ordination. There were more disagreements and a feeling of disconnection. Finally, the dyad had a decreased sense of complementarity during interpersonal conflict. The coach and athlete both felt that they were receiving ineffectual support and felt the strains of a power struggle.

In an exploration of the nature of the coach-athlete relationship, Bergmann Drewe (2002) described two types of friendship that may develop in the coach-athlete relationship and explained which type may be healthiest for the athlete. She asserts a coach and athlete should not develop deep friendship because of the difference in authority, similar to the child-parent relationship. Bergmann Drewe argues that social conventions limit the coach-athlete interaction unlike intimate and romantic friends who, aside from rules of morality, do not have social rules. Additionally, there may be a conflict of interest; the coach has a duty to treat all his or her athletes with equal consideration in evaluation, instruction, and advising. Bergmann Drewe suggests that this equality may be compromised if a deep friendship is established with one or a few of the athletes.

The author asserts that a friendship that is developed for the purpose of attaining shared athletic goals is healthiest. Bergmann Drewe suggests that coaches should value

the welfare of each athlete because it is the welfare of one of their athletes, not because of it is the welfare of any athlete in particular. Bergmann Drewe recommends that the athlete and coach understand each other and concentrate on sharing professional information rather than personal information, unless it helps the athlete. According to the author, neither party should seek benefits from the coach-athlete relationship besides utility in the athletic world.

Thus, research on the nature of the coach-athlete relationship shows how the relationship involves influences from both parties as well as a social network, such as parents (Hellstedt, 1987; Wyllenman, 2000). Also, interpersonal relationship issues such as compatibility, disclosure, closeness, co-orientation, complimentarity, and friendship may be important in the coach-athlete relationship (Bergmann Drewe, 2002; Carron & Bennett, 1977; Jowett & Meet, 2000; Officer & Rosenfeld, 1985). However, none of these studies specifically examine female coaches and the impact they have on athletes and the impact that athletes have on them, particularly male athletes.

Critical feminist critique. In examining the sport psychology and sociology literature concerning the coach athlete-relationship from a critical feminist perspective, several critiques may be made. First, the literature seems to be balanced as far as examining the experience of both male and female athletes. Also, female coaches seem to be well represented compared to male coaches in the literature. Yet when female coaches are investigated, they were almost always coaches of women's teams (Horn, 1984; Lacy & Goldston, 1990; LeDrew & Zimmerman, 1994; Millard, 1996; Weinberg, Reveles, & Jackson, 1984). Authors such as LeDrew and Zimmerman (1994) and Williams and Parkhouse (1994) suggest that the pro-male gender-bias of athletes toward

coaches may be changed if women are given men's coaching positions at all levels of sports. From a critical feminist standpoint, this call for both ideological and structural change is needed.

Also, sexual harassment of female athletes by male coaches has been acknowledged as an important issue for the sports community. Uncovering injustices based on gender is a fundamental goal of critical feminism. As Tominson and Yorganci (1997) assert, the normalcy of the culture that these abuses against female athletes take place needs to be recognized, understood, challenged, and rectified.

The sport psychology and sociology literature may be criticized for neglecting the interacting social forces such as race, class, sexual orientation, and gender that may be significant factors for athletes and coaches in their relationship together. Gender and age seem to be the only social factor recognized, as race, class, sexual orientation, and ableism seem be neglected or viewed as insignificant. Furthermore, the way that these factors combine to shape experience and perspectives, such as race and gender, are virtually ignored.

Finally, scholars discuss the influence of gender-role socialization, such as Weinberg, Reveles, and Jackson (1984) and Whitaker and Molstad (1985). It is important to recognize that many men and women have been taught to value certain traits in leaders, and socialization is a major reason for gender-bias and the dearth of women coaches of men's teams. Furthermore, it may be related that the interpersonal nature of the coach-athlete relationship has been largely neglected, and outcome data have been emphasized, such as in Chelladurai's (1993) Multidimensional Model of Leadership and Smoll, Smith, Curtis, & Hunt's (1978) Mediational Model of Leadership. This may be

due to the traditionally masculine emphasis on instrumental goals rather than the traditionally feminine emphasis on expressive goals that are the focus of the research on the interpersonal coach-athlete relationship (Whitaker & Molstad, 1985). However, the increase in literature pertaining the coach-athlete interpersonal relationship may be viewed as a step forward for acknowledging the importance of women's values in sport.

Thus, from a critical feminist perspective, important strides have been made in the sport psychology and sociology literature on the coach-athlete relationship such as research that examines the experiences of female athletes and coaches, gender-biases of athletes against female coaches, and sexual harassment. However, sport psychology and sociology research that examines the interacting social forces such as race, class, sexual orientation, and gender in the coach-athlete relationship, investigates the female coach-male athlete relationship, and describes the interpersonal nature of the coach-athlete relationship needs further attention.

In summary, the coach-athlete relationship has been investigated from the perspective of coaches, athletes, and observers. Important issues such as models of coaching leadership, coaching decision styles, athletes' gender-bias toward male and female coaches, male coach-female athlete sexual harassment, gender differences in coaching behaviors, and the coach-athlete interpersonal relationship have been examined. However, the experience of the female coach working with male athletes, particularly from the coaches' perspective, is understudied in sport psychology and sociology. My critical feminist in-depth interview study of female head coaches of men's collegiate teams may help fill this literature gap.

Lack of Female Coaches of Women's Teams

A great number of sport sociology and psychology studies have investigated the reasons for the declining numbers of female coaches of women's teams since the enactment of Title IX in 1972. Participation and funding of women in high school and college athletic programs has drastically increased. For instance, according to Acosta and Carpenter (2004), nationwide there were 16,000 female college varsity athletes in 1968, and in 2004, there are 8,402 female college varsity *teams*. However, since the passage of the law, the percentage of female coaches of women's teams has decreased significantly.

To best examine the decline, it is important to trace the organizational history of intercollegiate athletics for women in the United States, particularly concerning the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW). Founded by women in 1972, the AIAW was established to govern women's intercollegiate athletics based on women's experiences, needs, and values in athletics (Boutlier & SanGiovanni, 1994). Its heritage began with the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education, which appointed a committee in the 1890s to modify basketball rules for women. An outgrowth of this committee was National Association for Girls and Women in Sport's (NAGWS), which was comprised of women physical education leaders who led the expansion of physical education and varsity sports for women. By 1920, women physical education leaders were alarmed at what they felt were abuses in varsity sports and introduced Play Days as alternatives (Davenport, 1979). Play Days were structured to reflect a female model of athletics that emphasized universal participation and de-emphasized competition. Play Days consisted of three or more schools or clubs meeting to play a variety of sports such as basketball, volleyball, track and field, swimming,

hopscotch, dodge ball, and folk dancing (Lucas & Smith, 1982). The athletes were divided up into teams comprised of athletes from other schools. After a decade, Play Days were superceded by Sport Days, where members of same school played on the same team, but the winning team was not honored and coaching was prohibited during the games. Despite the proliferation of Sport Days, there was a continual demand for varsity sports, and in the early 1960s, NAGWS shifted its position to provide opportunities for higher levels of ability and competition. In 1967, the NAGWS affiliated Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW) began organizing and sponsoring national championships (Davenport, 1979).

With expansion, the CIAW became the AIAW, and by 1981, the AIAW held 42 championships in 19 different sports and had an annual budget close to one million dollars. From 1972 to 1981, the AIAW increased the number of member institutions from 276 to 971, and increased the number of athlete participants from 10,000 to 99,000 (Hult, 1994).

However, expansion and providing opportunities for women athletes to compete at elite levels was not what made the AIAW unique compared to the NCAA (Hult, 1980). What differentiated the AIAW from the NCAA was its philosophy based on an alternative to the male model of sport. They sought to avoid the exploitation of athletes for commercial gain they witnessed in men's NCAA sports. They promoted a student and educational centered model in contrast to what they felt was a program and commercial centered model of the NCAA (Hult, 1980). Founders of the AIAW advocated a standard of success of athletics based on the extent that student-athletes learn from their sport experience and enjoy their participation, rather than a standard based on

win-loss records or revenue totals (Hult, 1980). In the AIAW's incipience, safeguards were implemented to help ensure its philosophical aims. For instance, to emphasize educational objectives, coaches were prohibited to recruit prospective students off-campus and offer athletic scholarships. Leaders of the AIAW believed that student-athletes should not be treated differently from non-athlete students and should choose a college or university based primarily on academics (Weiland, 1988).

In 1973, recruiting and athletic scholarships were accepted mainly because of the enactment of Title IX, but the AIAW still maintained differences compared to the NCAA (Hult, 1980). For instance, student-athletes in the AIAW could transfer and participate immediately but could not receive athletic financial aid; in the NCAA, transferring student-athletes could not participate immediately but could receive athletic financial aid. Therefore, as Hult (1980) argues, the AIAW based its transfer regulations on the needs of the student first, whereas the NCAA based its transfer regulations on what was best for athletic programs (Hult, 1980).

According to Hult (1989), the first step of many away from the AIAW's model of educational and student centered athletics toward the NCAA's commercial and athletic program model was to permit athletic scholarships. Then, with an increase in funding of programs and signing of TV contracts, it became more difficult to retain the educational emphasis. In 1979, the AIAW and the NCAA held preliminary discussions about forming a partnership, with the leaders of the AIAW hoping to retain its philosophy and women in leadership positions. However, the NCAA did not view the AIAW as equals and sought to simply absorb the AIAW in to its jurisdiction (Chepko & Couturier, 2001). According to Hult (1989), TV contracts led the NCAA to sponsor National

championships for women in 1981. Colleges and universities consequently had to decide whether to compete in AIAW or NCAA championships. Due to greater resources, the NCAA championships offered more financial incentives such as sponsoring travel and waving membership fees for women's programs.

The AIAW subsequently suspended its operations and concentrated its resources into an Antitrust Act lawsuit against the NCAA. The lawsuit failed and the AIAW dissolved (Hult, 1989). Since the demise of the AIAW, women in leadership positions in intercollegiate athletic administration have declined dramatically. The AIAW had an all women executive board, while 93% of the voting representatives in the NCAA are men (Hult, 1989). Also, women administered 90% of women's athletic programs in 1972 and now the percentage is 19%, and only 9% at Division I. In 1972, 90% of women's collegiate teams had women coaches and now the percentage is 44% (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Furthermore, the paucity of women coaches and administrators is the most evident at the highest levels of competition and pay (Coakley, 2004).

Therefore, the AIAW was successful, from a liberal feminist perspective, in helping to greatly expand the opportunities for women athletes and coaches. Also, the AIAW should be seen as an example of how women were successful in sport administration, from the governing board to the coaches. However, in examining the situation of women coaches, as socialist and critical feminists advocate, it is important to understand the interacting forces of gender and capitalism. Once women's sports were viewed as a site to make money, more men applied for positions and women administrators and coaches declined. Furthermore, the AIAW was promoted as being geared toward women's values and wants. Women coaches probably felt much more

welcome in this sphere compared with the NCAA, which has few women administrators and may not reflect women's values and demands (Weiland, 1988).

Besides this comparison of women's roles in the AIAW versus the NCAA, numerous other explanations in the sport sociology and psychology literature for the paucity of women coaching women's sports at the high school and college level have been given.

In a 1987 article, Knoppers suggests several limiting structural factors for women coaches. According to the author, sexual harassment, perceived lack of opportunities for advancement into administrative positions, lack of power over one's program due to the administration's limits, and being in the minority proportion with greater psychological costs such as representing all women in meetings, discourage women from the coaching field.

In a study of current college and university female athletes, George (1989) reported that 55% of the athletes expressed an interest in coaching. However, the athletes were also more likely to list male athletes as role models and preferred to be coached by males. Therefore, George calls for a greater emphasis to have female coaching role models. As she suggests, "The increasing absence of female role models could negatively influence the perceptions of young women in perceiving themselves as future coaches and leaders in sport. As men replace women as coaches of women, the coaching profession is viewed increasingly as a non-traditional vocational field for women" (p.6).

Similarly, Everhart & Chelladurai (1998) found that female high school, college, and university athletes had a higher level of attraction to coaching than male high school, college and university athletes. Moreover, female athletes coached by a female had a

higher valence toward coaching and perceived discrimination as less of a barrier than females coached by a male. The authors suggest that the influence of a female role model not encountering or overcoming discrimination may have instilled confidence that the athletes could do likewise.

Wishneitsky and Felder (1990) report that female high school coaches experienced more role conflict than male coaches in their study. According to the authors, the female high school coaches more often taught subjects such as English, math, and social studies, whereas the male coaches more often taught physical education and health, which are often less stressful and more related to sport and their coaching. Therefore, Wishneitsky and Felder suggest that many high school male coaches may have less diverse demands and less role confliction than many high school female coaches. However, at the collegiate level, Decker (1986) found that there were no differences in role conflict for female and male coaches of similar sports at small colleges.

In a study of female collegiate coaches, Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing and Forrest (1991) found that the women had fewer income opportunities than men in coaching, including salaries, but also with TV/radio shows and endorsements like courtesy cars. They also often relied on more informal networks to attain coaching position rather than the "Old Boys Club" that men often used to learn about and acquire positions.

Contrastingly, concerning the "Old Boys Club," in a study of male and female high school and NCAA Division III coaching applicants, Dubois and Bacon (1999) found that women applicants were more often sponsored compared to male applicants. Or, in other words, a larger percent of them used the help of an informal network in applying

for coaching positions. However, a lower percentage of women applied to jobs, and possibly those that did not apply felt less confident in obtaining a position compared to men, unless they had sponsorship.

Pastore and Meacci (1992) interviewed athletic directors at two-year colleges to examine ways athletic administrators could help increase the number of female college coaches. The athletic directors suggested that administrators need to actively recruit more females for coaching positions, increase opportunities for women to gain practical experience in coaching, and encourage more female athletes to go into the coaching profession. Interestingly, they did not suggest that the sport culture should be transformed to suit to many women's values and needs, or that the percentage of female athletic directors, who may be more likely to hire women coaches, should be raised.

Pastore and Kuga (1993) found that female high school softball and track coaches rated higher than male coaches in terms of feeling emotionally overextended and exhausted, as well as feeling negatively about an impersonal work environment. They more often reported feeling that their work and feelings were not being recognized. They concluded that this stress increased their rate of coaching burnout.

Pastore, Inglis, and Danychuk (1996) found similar results in their study of United States and Canadian collegiate coaches and athletic administrators. Females reported a lower sense of inclusiveness than males, and reported a higher demand for inclusiveness. The authors suggest that feeling isolated as a minority, discrimination, and harassment may be causes of the unsatisfactory level of inclusiveness for women. Further causes may be that men make women uncomfortable because of resentment of invading their

masculine domain, or possibly the male dominated culture is more often impersonal and focused on tasks and less on relationships that many women may prefer.

Weiss and Stevens (1993) found that the most frequent reason women cited for leaving high school coaching jobs was because of family, marriage, and child responsibilities. Also, female high school coaches reported that they quit coaching to concentrate on academic teaching and to escape the stigma of coach first, teacher second. Finally, many female coaches left coaching because they felt they were sacrificing too much of their personal time in practice, competition, and travel.

The rational that women do not enter or leave coaching because of family responsibilities is common. However, in a study of Division I coaches, Pastore (1991) found that both men and women listed a "decrease in the amount of time to spend with the family and friends" (p. 133) as their top reason for leaving the field followed by lack of financial incentive and the intensity of recruiting student-athletes. Many women may feel societal pressure to have family be their primary responsibility, but many men may also feel the strain that their job has on their family. Possibly, the culture that demands such a large time commitment, for often little pay, should be investigated, rather than the women (and men) that leave it.

Also, in her study, Pastore (1991) found similar reasons given by male and female coaches for entering the field. A large percent of the coaches wished to stay involved in athletics, work with skilled and motivated athletes, become role models, and help athletes reach their potential. Women did report a higher degree of desire to work with skilled and motivated athletes, become role models, and help athletes reach their potential.

Possibly, these aims should be discussed and emphasized with females involved in sport in order to recruit more coaches.

Wellman and Blinde (1997) cite homophobia as a major obstacle to female coaches. From their in-depth interview study of Division I female coaches, they found that all the coaches reported that the lesbian label discouraged many women from entering and staying in the field. The coaches reported that many single women do not go into coaching because of accusations, and many lesbian coaches would rather go into more comfortable careers, rather than the largely homophobic sportsworld. Also, the coaches report that athletic directors often hire males because female coaches are perceived as a risk to be gay and therefore may bring in gay athletes, hit on heterosexual athletes, and stain the reputation of the institution.

Steinbach, in a 2002 article, offers a couple of interesting reasons for the lack of female athletes entering the coaching world. According to the author, women athletes and women in general have more career opportunities than ever before, largely because of Title IX. He cites Jennifer Ally, the executive director of the National Association for Collegiate Women Athletic Administrators, who asserts that women athletes today are much more likely to major in usually higher paying occupations such business, accounting, and marketing compared to coaching. Also, in the 1960s and 1970s, many more elementary and high schools had mandatory physical education, and so physical education was a popular degree track. Today, most elementary and high schools have cut their physical education programs, with Illinois being the only one with mandatory physical education throughout the high school level. Therefore, there are fewer female physical education teachers, who are trained to teach sport and often coach as part of their

job obligations. Cutting physical education also affects men, but possibly men feel more confident in coaching without a physical education background because it is a male dominated field.

Finally, Abney (2000) discusses the dearth of African American women coaches. According to Abney, African American women comprise 2.1% of the DI head coaches, 1.6% of the DII head coaches, and 1.0% of the DIII head coaches in the NCAA. The author suggests several ways college athletic departments can raise these percentages, such as making diversity a primary goal that is emphasized in their strategic plans, and implementing a way to be hold the department accountable for demonstrating progress. Also, Abney recommends that athletic departments expand their recruiting networks and seek applicants who have diverse backgrounds and athletic experiences. Lastly, Abney calls for formal mentoring and career develop programs to be created, and training and educational programs on race relations for all athletic department members. These suggestions would likely increase the number of minority female coaches, and the number of female coaches overall.

Therefore, research has pointed to several possible explanations for the small percentage of women coaches of women's teams. The influx of men and masculine sport values, lack of career advancement, poor recruitment, lack of power, low salary, lack of female role models, being a minority, role conflict with teaching, family responsibilities, and homophobia may all contribute. Unfortunately, research abounds about this topic, especially over the last ten years, yet the percentage of women coaches has steadily declined from 49.4% in 1994 to 44.1% in 2004 (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Possibly,

those in power, particularly male athletic directors, know the reasons for the decline but are resistant to making changes to remedy the situation.

Female Coaches of Men's Teams

Although many studies discuss women coaches of women's teams, only a few of studies, in addition to a few anecdotal articles from the popular media, investigate the experience of female coaches of men's teams. Kane and Stangl (1991) examined the number of female head coaches of men's teams at the high school level in Ohio during three periods after Title IX (1974-1975; 1981-1982; and 1988-1989). They focused on the extent of tokenism and marginalization of women head coaches in men's athletics. The authors define tokenism as the practice in which a traditionally male occupation is integrated with a limited number of women (or other minorities) to portray the image of equality and to demonstrate that the system is open and democratic. Tokenism maintains the status quo, as it is used to promote the belief that any inequity no longer exists and therefore does not need to be addressed. According to Kane and Stangl, when women comprise 15% or less of an occupational field, they are classified as tokens. The authors found increasing numbers of women coaching high school men's teams in Ohio since the enactment of Title IX. Of the 2,365 head coaches identified, there were 10 women in 1974-1975, 35 in 1981-1982, and 48 in 1988-1989. However, the 48 women coaches of men's teams in 1988-1989 still constituted less than 2% of the number of coaches. Therefore, the authors described women as tokens in the men's athletic coaching field.

Kane and Stangl define marginalization as the situation where a group occupies less desirable positions in a profession. Desirability is based on the amount of prestige (eg. power, influence, status) a job affords. The authors describe team sports as typically

more prestigious than individual sports based on the number of spectators and the money paid by the media for broadcasting rights. In their study, Kane and Stengl found only one coach of a men's team sport, soccer in 1988-1989. They found that positions for women head coaches of men's teams were most often the individual sports of swimming (12.6%), gymnastics (12.5%) and tennis (7.3%). Therefore, they also characterize women coaches of men's team in the Ohio high school system as marginalized.

Staurowsky (1990) used qualitative interviews to examine the experience of female coaches of traditionally male sports teams at the high school level including: baseball, basketball, football, lacrosse, and soccer. From her interviews of ten Northeastern coaches, four main themes emerged, including: the issues and concerns of females coaching male athletes, professional relationships with male coaches and officials, attitudes of parents, and responses of male athletes. Issues included sexist wisecracks from opposing male coaches, disapproving glances and gestures from other teams, verbally expressing disgrace due to losing to a woman, and problems with authority with players and fellow coaches. Discrimination in the professional realm included overt instances, such as asking the coach to resign because of gender, and more subtle discrimination, such as requiring a demonstration of a higher level of competency than a male coach. Female coaches of men's teams reported often feeling awkward and frustrated. They believed they were generally accepted by parents but faced a visible and vocal minority, largely fathers, that questioned their ability. Mothers of the athletes would often help mitigate the resistance. The male athletes that these women coached generally displayed the least amount of resistance and demonstrated the most respect. Many of the players found the females' coaching style different from previous male

coaches and preferred their new coaches' greater open communication, less authoritarian, less violent, and less humiliating and denigrating methods. Hence, Staurowsky concludes that the female coaches presence in the traditionally male sport leadership role challenges male supremacy especially in coaching and in leadership. These coaches challenged gender expectations and helped dispel gender stereotypes, particularly that women are not tough or competent enough to coach men. Finally, Staurowsky suggests that the male sport model needs adjustment to address more personal developmental needs and female coaches may foster improvements in this area for men.

In a discussion of women coaches, Burton Nelson (1991) asserts that as long as accomplished female coaches stay committed to women's teams, such as Pat Summitt, men's sports will be dominated by men, whereas women's sports will remain heterogeneous. As she argues:

> What if stewardesses, who once held virtually all flight attendant jobs, tried to win back those positions for women? It wouldn't work. If women want half of all airline-related employment, they must apply for jobs as mechanics, baggage handlers, pilots, and air traffic controllers, as well as flight attendants and ticket agents. Similarly, women must start applying for jobs coaching and officiating men and boys. And must assert their right to 'fly the planes' – to serve as athletic directors not only in women's departments but in men's and coed departments as well (p. 172).

Burton Nelson suggests that some women coaches should show their ability in coaching by working with men because of the higher visibility and status of men's compared to women's sports. They may change perceptions of women in leadership positions in sport and in society, as well providing male athletes with excellent coaches. She quotes Katie Donovan, "Men are being hurt just as much. They may not recognize it as a loss, but it is. Whenever women are held down, men lose too" (p. 173).

King Hogue (1985), an Olympic gold medalist, wrote an article describing her experience coaching the Air Force Academy male diving team for four years. She explains that she came to the job as a novelty more than as a token because of her athletic fame. However, she still had to overcome a credibility gap as woman coach. She asserts that she based her coaching on her previous coach, a male, and tried to instill fearlessness, hard work, and respect. She explains that with each workout the athletes improved and came to trust her more and more. Also, King Hogue asserts that she tried to model her coaching after European, particularly Soviet bloc, female coaches because as she states, "In my sport the coaches there were predominantly women.... Women coached the best men in Europe and they didn't think anything of it" (p. 61). She concludes that she found substantial satisfaction coaching men, even more than competing, and achieved performance success, as she claims to be the first women in the NCAA to coach a male national champion.

Reed (1990) in Sports Illustrated "Scorecard" section briefly discussed the appointment of the first woman basketball coach in Division I history, Bernadette Locke. As Reed asserts, as a volunteer assistant coach for Rick Pitino at the University of Kentucky, her role was to help win over mothers of potential recruits. Also, because of her academic counseling and business background, a responsibility was to help players obtain jobs. Lastly, "To offset criticism that he was really only looking for a token, Pitino promised that the new coach would also be involved in instructing players in technique and in drawing up X's and O's" (p. 12). However, would not Locke be qualified to primarily instruct players because of her All-American status as a player and her five year experience as an assistant coach for a top DI women's basketball team?

Also, does a woman coach have to be exceptionally qualified, like Locke, to obtain a volunteer position on a men's team?

Wilson (2002) discussed legal, philosophical, and practical issues faced by women coaches of men's teams and administrators who hire them. Wilson describes how in 1999 Geraldine Fuhr became the first women to bring the issue of females coaching boys' and men's teams to the federal courts. Fuhr claimed she was unjustly discriminated against because of her gender when she applied to coach the varsity boys' basketball team at Hazel Park (MI) High School. Fuhr had coached the varsity girls' team for ten years, and was the boys' junior varsity head coach and the assistant varsity coach for nine years. She had a 60-20 record and had won three league championships with the junior varsity team. Furthermore, she received glowing job reviews and had a distinguished high school and collegiate playing career. However, despite her credentials, the head varsity coaching job went to a man who had coached the freshman team for two years. Fuhr's lawyer contested that she was not hired because of negative gender stereotypes of women coaching boys' varsity sports. Evidence included a testimony that during the hiring process, the school board president asserted that the varsity coach should be a man. Also, Fuhr's lawyer used Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits the hiring and firing based on gender. Narrow exceptions of Title VII include discrimination if a bona fide occupational qualification is necessary for operating business because of gender. However, Fuhr's lawyer argued that gender is not a bona fide occupation qualification for coaching. In addition, according to Title VII, a woman's experience coaching women's teams should be judged as equivalent to the experience coaching men's teams in judging qualifications to hire. Hiring can not be

based on gender assumptions such as a woman would be too emotional, not able to communicate with boys, or neglect work responsibilities for home responsibilities. The jury sided with Fuhr, and she was appointed the varsity boys' head coaching position.

Wilson also discussed philosophical and practical issues involved in having women coach boys' or men's teams. She asks if men's sports are fundamentally different from women's sports in physicality, intensity, competitiveness, and difficulty, and do these differences necessitate a style of coaching and knowledge only men have. Wilson cites a university athletic director who argues that the differences between men's and women's programs are constantly shrinking, and a high school coach who states that coaching is as much about education, personnel management, and administration as it is about drawing from personal experiences. Wilson also cites Robert Corran, the athletic director at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, who describes the covert gender-bias:

> There's an expectation that a male is going to stay in coaching, that this is going to be a career for him, and that his committed to the profession, whereas there's an attitude toward females that coaching for them is a temporary thing – that family obligations will become greater than they can handle and that they'll leave. But that is an unfair bias. There are lots of examples of men who leave coaching to enter other professions. We discount those occurrences involving men yet count those instances very heavily against women (p. 30).

In addition, Wilson argues a bias exists against women that their coaching-style will not work with male athletes. However, Wilson asserts that there is not one essential female or male coaching-style, and the best coaches adapt their coaching to meet their athletes' needs.

Furthermore, Wilson suggests adjusting the hiring process of coaches with gender neutral criteria for positions. Also, she calls for broadening the pool of candidates

to include minorities and women. Wilson quotes Donna Lopiano, the former women's athletic director at the University of Texas:

> For every head coach opening, I would get the NCAA ranking of the top 10 or top 20 coaches in the country. Then, I would call each one of those coaches and say, 'Would you please name for me the top 10 coaches of color in your sport, the top 10 female coaches, and the top 10 coaches [overall]. And the reason I asked those three questions is because typically you do confront unintentional sexism and racism when you talk to people. You have to force people to think about minority candidates (p. 32).

Finally, Wilson suggests that in hiring for men's coaching positions, men's team coaching experience should not be required, just as women's team coaching experience is not always required for men applying to coach women's teams.

Lastly, two female American Basketball Association (ABA) men's basketball head coaches have received substantial popular media coverage in their 2004-2005 debut seasons. In May, the majority owner of the Nashville Rhythm, Sally Anthony, announced the hiring of the first women coach of a men's professional basketball team, Ashley McElhiney (DailyHerald.com, 2004). Anthony sought to use her position to open doors and advance women's place in athletics, stating, "Men have been coaching us for a long time. Why shouldn't women coach men? It's time. It's way past time" (as cited on p. 2, DailyHerald.com, 2004). Furthermore, the ABA has a socially progressive agenda. As the league's CEO Joe Newman asserts:

> One of the core values of the ABA is its diversification of ownership and management. Today, the ABA has more black, Hispanic, Asian and women owners than all professional sports leagues combined in the US.... We are equally proud to have women coaches with the ABA, including Ashley, both of whom have proven that they belong here, not because they are women, but because they can coach (as cited on p.3, SportsFan Magazine, 2005).

McElhiney was an outstanding player, being selected to the Southeastern Conference (SEC) All-Tournament Team at Vanderbilt University. She was also a promising coaching prospect (USA Basketball, 2005). As Sally Anthony attests, "I followed her at Vanderbilt. She was a great coach on the floor and she just played with this deep love of the game" (as cited on p. 2, DailyHerald.com, 2004). As McElhiney claims, "Everyone doubted I could play Division I basketball, especially in the SEC. I proved everyone wrong. You don't have to be athletic to play basketball, you just have to be smart" (as cited on p. 2, McEntegart, 2004).

McElhiney had success with the Rhythm, guiding them to an opening 18-7 record and being selected as an All-Star coach (Huggins, 2005; SportsFan Magazine, 2005). However, several sources cited her hiring as a publicity stunt. For instance, McEngart (2004) discusses her age, 23 years old, and coaching inexperience, as well as her high heels and "penchant for bare shoulders" (McEntegart, 2004, p. 2). He finds McElhiney's height comical, asking if players over 6-foot-5 will take directions from their 5-foot-5 female coach. Has height ever been a serious issue with short NBA coaches such as Mike Fratello, Lawrence Frank, or Scott Skiles?

DeLisha Milton-Jones was the second woman to be named head coach of an ABA team (ESPN.com, 2004). Milton-Jones was an Olympic Champion and WNBA All-Star who had previously been the assistant coach for the Los Angeles Stars. As the Stars chief executive officer Lowell Moore explained the promotion to interim head coach, "DeLisha has a terrific understanding of the game and has been making a great impact on the team with her knowledge, wisdom and leadership. Ashley McElhiney in Nashville has proven that women can, indeed, be successful in a man's game" (as cited on p. 1, ESPN.com).

However, what far overshadowed the hiring and success of these two coaches in the media was the so-called "soap opera," "cat-fight," or "tantrum" involving McElhiney and Anthony (Ballard, 2005; Sportsfan Magazine, 2005; & Hamlett, 2005). During a game, Anthony came down onto the court and argued with McElhiney, who was on the bench coaching, eventually firing her. Anthony was upset that McElhiney was playing a new athlete that Anthony ordered not to play. McElhiney ignored Anthony and continued to coach her team to a comeback victory. Anthony was escorted by security off the court and then swore at and shoved a brother of one of the players. Days later, the two other owners of the Rhythm reversed Anthony's firing, and McElhiney was reinstated to her position.

These two women are probably the most famous women coaches of men's teams. It is unfortunate if they were hired as a publicity stunt, but they have certainly shown their competence as coaches, especially McEliney for her composure in handling the on-court incident. However, it seemed the media tried to inflate the conflict and promote the belief that women do not belong in the men's sportsworld – that women owners and coaches of men's teams would be overly emotional and focused more on relationship issues rather than the task of winning. Perhaps the visibility of Milton-Jones and McElhiney will lead to the dismantling of these sexist stereotypes and more opportunities for women to coach men's sports, rather than as justification for men's monopoly of men's sports.

In conclusion, there is a lack of sport sociology and psychology literature about women coaching men's teams. Staurowsky (1990) and Kane and Stangl (1991) are the only studies examining female coaches of men's teams, both focus on high school

coaches, are at least 13 years old, and Kane and Stangl do not discuss issues involved in the female coach-male athlete relationship. Staurowsky also focuses on female coaches of traditionally male sports, which are a lot more uncommon than female coaches of gender neutral sports, especially in a combined programs such as swimming, cross country, and track. Furthermore, it is important to examine female coaches of collegiate men's teams, as they face different challenges than high school coaches, such as recruiting, possibly more time involvement with travel, and possibly more competitive and mature athletes.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed several topics that pertained to my study of female coaches of men's collegiate teams. First, I described types of feminism and why a critical feminist ontology and epistemology best suited my study. Second, I reviewed the sport psychology and sociology literature related to the coach-athlete relationship, particularly literature that examined the influence of gender in the relationship and the cross-gendered coach-athlete relationship. Third, I discussed the research examining the lack of female coaches of women's teams. Finally, I reviewed the literature about women's experiences coaching men's teams. In the next chapter, Methodology, I discuss my qualitative in-depth interview study. I describe why I chose this qualitative tradition, my methods including a description of the participants, data collection, and data analysis, and methodological issues.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this section, I describe the methodology of my in-depth interview study of female coaches' experience of coaching collegiate men's teams. I discuss my: (a) qualitative research methods; (b) research tradition; (c) methods; (d) and methodological issues.

Qualitative Research Methods

To best describe the experience of women head coaches of collegiate men's teams, I employed qualitative research methods. The essential characteristics of qualitative research fit my philosophical beliefs, research question, and purpose better than the characteristics of quantitative research. What follows are defining characteristics of qualitative research with comparisons to quantitative research, including: (a) qualitative research's focus on a holistic, in-depth examination of participants' subjective world (Patton, 1990); (b) the researcher as an instrument of the study (Hatch, 2002); (c) reflexivity (Mason, 1996); (d) an emphasis on studying social phenomenon as it occurs in natural settings (Creswell, 1998); and (e) inductive data analysis (Patton, 1990).

Qualitative research concentrates on examining the complexity of the social world. A holistic perspective is taken to gain a comprehensive understanding of a social phenomenon (Patton, 1990). The aim is to elucidate angles of experience, not to discover the singular Truth. By examining multiple perspectives, one may gain a richer and fuller understanding of a phenomenon. With qualitative research, attention is given to contexts, details, nuances, and contradictions (Patton, 1990).

According to Patton (1990), on one hand, quantitative research methods may be advantageous to gather data from or about many participants for a limited set of questions to achieve generalizability. On the other hand, qualitative research methods may generate a greater wealth of vivid, detailed information from or about a smaller number of people in order to gain a greater depth of understanding of the topic of study. Therefore, quantitative research emphasizes a wide-angle, surface view compared with qualitative's close-up view. In this study, I was not seeking to expose the breath or quantity of the female coaches of male NCAA athletic teams, but to describe the depth or quality of their experience.

Also characteristic of qualitative research is the emphasis on participants' subjective perspectives of meaning in the social world. Participants' inner worlds are not directly observable yet are important to examine because an individual's perspectives on reality determine his or her social actions (Hatch, 2002). How individuals make meaning, or interpret, understand, or experience life, is emphasized in qualitative research rather than quantitative research's goal of observing only outward behaviors (Mason, 1996).

In qualitative studies, the researcher's role is as a data gathering instrument (Hatch, 2002). The qualitative researcher does not claim to be an expert who judges the participants' behaviors, but rather aims to tell the participants' stories from their perspective (Creswell, 1998). Also, in defining the researcher as an instrument of the study, the qualitative researcher does not claim to be detached from the participants or research topic to assume objectivity, which is often the case in quantitative work. Instead, the researcher acknowledges and sees the benefit of his or her subjectivity in the

data gathering and interpreting processes. The qualitative researcher views familiarity and engagement with the participants as essential to building rapport and eliciting rich data (Hatch, 2002). While interpreting the data, closeness to the topic may make key insights possible (Patton, 1990).

Furthermore, the qualitative researcher is reflexive, seeking to understand and acknowledge his or her role in the research process (Mason, 1996). Patton (2002) describes researcher reflexivity as "...an ongoing explanation of what I know and how I know it...being attentive to and conscious of the cultural, political, social, linguistic, and ideological origins of one's own perspective and voice as well as the perspectives and voices of one's interviewee's" (p. 64). Therefore, unlike a quantitative researcher who assumes the researcher's views are insignificant and unbiased, the qualitative researcher situates and makes explicit his or perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003).

Studying participants in their natural settings is also an important characteristic of qualitative research (Creswell, 1998). Unlike some quantitative studies, variables are not manipulated in a controlled, artificial environment. Instead, human behavior is examined in its everyday, lived situations (Hatch, 2002).

Finally, qualitative research is largely inductive (Patton, 1990). The research emphasis is on the details that the participants provide. The data are not based on survey items that require yes or no, or Likert scale questions that are used to validate the hypotheses of the researcher. Even though there are deductive aspects of qualitative work, such as finding quotes to match created categories, the findings of the study are largely grounded in the data (Hatch, 2002).

Research Tradition

A fruitful research tradition to employ in order to examine the experience of female coaches of collegiate male athletes from my critical feminist ontology and epistemology is the qualitative in-depth interview study (Ritchie, 2003). This type of study may also be referred to as a focused, open-ended, or non-standardized interview study (Patton, 1990; Fielding, 1993). As Lather (1994) describes, the goal of an in-depth interview is not to make a long story short, but to ask probing questions to explain lives beyond the superficial level. As Ritchie (2003) asserts, in-depth individual interviews provide the opportunity for investigation of participants' personal perspectives, experiences, and social context in which the research phenomenon is located.

This tradition provides a productive balance of structure and flexibility (Ritchie, 2003). According to Patton (1990), the in-depth interview is based on a topic guide, which is a list of issues that the researcher seeks to address with the participants. The researcher is free to phrase his or her questions about the topics in whatever way seems to flow best with each participant, although possible guiding questions are useful. Often, the researcher may use the participants' own words in asking about topics. Questions may be raised in any order that seems to keep the interview fluid and comfortable. This method fosters active interviewing because the researcher must be responsive to the participants responses and particularly their terms, concepts, and language used (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003).

Fielding (1993) explains that most of the work is not in the topic guide but in the probes following the participants' responses to questions. Probes are to be used for a fuller and deeper understanding of the participants' meaning (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003).

For instance, in my study, I used the probes: "You talked about...could you tell me more about that? What do you mean by...? Could you please describe....more? Are there any examples you can give of this? Can you be more specific about...? What do you mean by...? (Repeat a word as a question) and, What was that like for you?" Such probes are meant to foster clarification, expansion, and description of specific examples.

According to Fielding (1993), in an in-depth interview, the researcher may even contribute to the conversation by sharing his or her thoughts on the topics. However, the researcher must be careful to not share his or her opinions too often because, as a researcher, she or he possesses a degree of authority and may influence the participants' responses. Along similar lines, the questions should be open-ended and non-leading to best capture the point of view of the participants without predetermining what that point of view should be, and to generate as much description as possible.

Other qualitative research traditions may have been productive to investigate the experience of women coaches of male collegiate athletic teams, such as phenomenology, critical ethnography, biography, and participatory action research. However, they each have aspects that do not fit my research aims as well as an in-depth interview study does.

First, phenomenology would have produced valuable data about the phenomenon of females coaching male collegiate athletes. I would have been able to gather a very rich description in their experience, largely in their own words (Pollio, Henley, & Thompson, 1997). However, there were particular topics that I wished to address that might not have been covered if I followed the phenomenological interview procedure of asking one main question, such as, "What is your experience of coaching a collegiate men's team as a female?" and then probing further based only on their previous

statements. For instance, I aimed to inquire about topics such as discrimination, challenges, and recruiting, which may not have been addressed in a phenomenological study. Most coaches would probably be reluctant to talk publicly about difficulties and issues they face within their system, and these difficulties and issues are a large part of what I hoped to expose.

Critical ethnography would have also been a useful research tradition to employ. Studying the culture of a collegiate male team coached by a female would have been revealing. Using documents, observations, and interviews to investigate how power operates and is negotiated in the culture could have built awareness and incited criticism of the status quo (Simon & Dippo, 1986; Lather, 1986). However, in this study, I sought to concentrate on the experience of female coaches and to examine a greater variety of female coaches than would be feasible in an ethnographic study.

Writing a biography of a female coach of a men's team would have been interesting, and I would be able to explore the life of an individual deeply (Creswell, 1998). However, I was interested in a number of women coaches' experiences. Also, my focus was on examining participants' experiences in coaching, not necessarily providing a detailed account of their whole lives.

The political criticism and activism of participatory action research could have been beneficial in addressing the dearth of female coaches of men in the NCAA. However, I was not certain that the women coaches who head men's teams feel a sense of urgency to change their particular situation. Furthermore, I was not sure they would want to share the ownership of analyzing social problems for community action (Kemmis &

McTaggart, 2000). If some coaches were interested in this collaborative approach with a researcher or researchers, dramatic changes may have been achieved.

Therefore, I chose to conduct an interview study to investigate the experience of female coaches of collegiate men's teams. Other methods may have yielded useful information; however, concentrating on in-depth interviews best addressed my research question: What is the experience of coaching collegiate male athletic teams for female head coaches?

Methods

Pilot study. Nine months before I interviewed the participants for this study, I conducted an in-depth interview pilot study of two female coaches of men's collegiate teams. Conducting the pilot study helped me create my topic guide. For instance, I learned about topics that were most likely important to address, such as respect and comfort, and topics that should possibly be omitted to limit the scope of the study, such as working with their assistant coach and communicating with both the men's and women's team together. Also, I became more familiar and comfortable with the interview and data analysis processes. Lastly, I gained a sense that this study would generate useful information to possibly benefit the participants, readers, and the athletic world.

Participant introduction. In this study, I interviewed ten female head coaches of men's collegiate teams individually. This number was small enough to manageably work with their detailed descriptions and large enough to elicit a variety of experiences. I used judgment sampling in which participants were chosen because they are members of a subculture, felt comfortable, and were able to articulate their experiences (Fettermen,

1998). I interviewed current head coaches of men's collegiate teams (except for one who coached the previous season). I located possible participants by exploring college athletics' websites for female coaches of men's teams. I chose to contact coaches in the Midwest because I was familiar with the region, and there are a number of small colleges, which have a higher percentage of women coaches of men's teams compared to large universities. I interviewed coaches of different sports, including: swimming and diving, track and field, cross country, tennis, and golf, as well as coaches of NCAA Division I, II, and III teams. Also, as far as possible, I interviewed coaches of various races, ages, and years of experience.

Following is a description of the individual participants as well as a group summary. A table of the participant demographics is also provided (see Table 1). From these descriptions, the reader should gain a better understanding of the participants' situations, backgrounds, and personalities. This should then help in understanding these coaches' perspectives and experiences in coaching a collegiate men's team as a female.

Allison. Allison received her B.A. and master's degrees from the small, private, Division III college at which she currently coaches. As a high school athlete, she played golf, softball, basketball, and track. In college, she played softball and golf. She started her coaching career as a graduate assistant working with the softball and volleyball teams and became the head coach of those teams a year later. However, after eight years, the athletic department combined the men's and women's golf teams, and Allison chose to switch to coaching golf. As she expressed, "At the time, when I was coaching volleyball and softball, I was single, I didn't have any kids, it was easy for me to do, but then I got married and had two kids. So golf was kind of a logical choice for me – the seasons

Table 1: Participant Demographics

Participant	Allison	Ann	Chris	Kara	Kate	Liz	Marie	Patti	Sue	Vicky	Mean
Age	37	26	38	27	49	44	27	42	45	37	37.2
Race	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	White	Black	
Married	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Children	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	3	1
Education	M.S.	B.A.	M.S.	M.S.	M.S.	M.S.	M.S.	B.S.	M.A.	B.A.	
Collegiate Athletic Participation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Years Coaching	13	4	20	5	27	15	5	25	11	11	13.6
Years Coaching Men	4	4	15	5	16	15	2	25	11	9	10.6
Years as Head Coach of Men's Team at Current Institution	4	1	10	4	11	5	2	4	6	2	4.9
Sport Currently Coaching	Golf	Tennis	Swim.	Swim.	Cross Ctry.	Swim.	Cross Ctry., Track	Cross Ctry.	Track, Cross Ctry.	Track	
NCAA Division	III	III	III	I	III	III	III	III	III	I	
Other Professional Responsibilities	Teach, Advise	Hall Director	Teach, Aquatics Director	Teach	Teach	Teach	Teach, Advise, Champs	Coach Other Athl.	Ast. A.D.	None	
In Season Hours Per Day Spent on Coaching-Related Activities	9	6.5	8	8	6.5	9	8	8	3.5	5	7.15

aren't as long.... In golf, I can take my kids to practice and they can putt on the side or whatever." Interestingly, in golf, the men and women's seasons are different, with the women's main season in the fall and the men's in the spring. Although, both teams have a few tournaments in their off-season, and Allison coached them at the same time during daily practices.

In addition to coaching, Allison teaches between three and four physical education classes a term and currently advises about thirty students. She credits her understanding spouse for supporting her during her busy times. Also, what probablyhelps is her enthusiasm – she seems like an energetic, light-hearted woman who laughs a lot.

Ann. Ann is a twenty-six year-old first year head men's and women's tennis coach at a small, private DIII college. She also works full-time as a residence hall director and is finishing her master's degree. Ann is married, with she and her husband sharing an apartment in the residence hall.

Ann was raised in a small town and was a standout high school tennis player. Her father introduced her to the sport and as she stated, "Growing up in a small town, I always played with men, and to be honest, what probably helps me now is that I am more aggressive, I am more competitive, kind of diehard, because that's what I grew up with."

Ann played tennis for four years at a DIII university and still hits with her players. She became the head coach of her program after serving as an assistant for three years. Ann seems like an assertive, confident leader and has achieved notable coaching success thus far.

Chris. Chris coaches men's and women's swimming at a small, private, liberal Division III college. She seems very aware and expressive about social issues and the

educational philosophy of her institution. She enjoys her numerous duties on campus: coaching, teaching physical education classes, serving as the aquatics director, and various others, such as working as the admission liaison between the admission office and athletic department.

As an athlete, Chris was state high school champion, collegiate All-American, and Olympic Trials qualifier. As a coach, she has also achieved performance success. In her ten years at her current institution, the women's team has won the last six conference championships and the men have won the last four. Interestingly, a coaching role model of hers is Bobby Knight, whose picture is on her office wall. She admires his academic philosophy – that his athletes have to go to class in order to play, and he is against Tuesday night games because they interfere with class and study time. As Chris explained, "Love him as a coach, I really do.... I mean he runs a clean program. I could never play for him, and I definitely think he has some anger problems...but I agree with his philosophy."

Kara. Kara is a fourth year head coach at a large, public Division I university. In addition to coaching, Kara also teaches Kinesiology classes. In fact, the Kinesiology department pays her, not the athletic department. However, she admitted, "You have all these other duties, *but* you really focus your time on coaching, and the class stuff is just, 'Oh, I got to go to class now (laughs),' and you don't plan as well, you're not prepared because it's not your priority."

Kara was an outstanding DIII swimmer, winning 20 All-American certificates. She does not perceive her role as a head of a men's team as special because she sees

swimming as a co-ed sport. For instance, she described how she swam with boys in age group swimming, although the majority of her coaches were men.

Kara seemed to have a serious and intense demeanor during the interviews. It was obvious that she cared a lot about how her athletes performed and was dedicated to helping them achieve their potentials.

Kate. Kate is the head men's and women's cross country coach and an assistant professor in physical education at a small private Division III college. She was a sprint track star in high school and college, where she competed in three AIWA championships. She majored in physical education and began teaching, as well as coaching a variety of sports, at the junior high and high school levels for twelve years. When she started coaching at her current institution, eleven years ago, the cross country team needed a lot of work. As she remarked, "We would have practice and no one would show up, and then I had a choices to make – either you be a hard-liner and you kick those kids off the team, but then I wouldn't have a team left, and then how do you recruit, 'Oh, come to my team, I kicked everybody off. This would be a great place to run (laughing).' So I really felt like I had to compromise how I normally would have coached." Since then, both her teams have improved significantly.

Kate was aware and critical of equality issues in women's sport, and she corroborated her points with in-depth stories, often infused with humor. Her perspective of collegiate sports is also broadened because her husband has coached at a large, public Division I university for thirty years. They have three children.

Liz. Liz coaches men's and women's swimming at a large, public Division III university. She also teaches physical education classes. Liz seems to love athletics,

participating in several for fun, talking about them with athletes, and of course coaching. As an athlete, Liz states, "I have been a swimmer all my life – that was my main sport. I started swimming at the age of eight, all the way through college, and I did a little bit of master's swimming."

In Liz's 15 year coaching career, she has worked with one high school team and five colleges. In her five years at her current institution, her teams have been consistently at the top of the conference. Liz expressed that she feels more comfortable coaching men than women because they seem to share more of Liz's love of sport, competitiveness, and intensity.

Marie. Marie is a second year head men's and women's cross country and assistant track coach at a small, private Division III university. In addition, she said that she spends as much time on teaching physical education classes as she does on coaching.

Marie began running distance at nine years old, ran competitively in high school and college, and still runs for fun today, including marathons. Despite having a few successful individual athletes, the cross country program that Marie inherited at her current university has been at the bottom of its conference for a number of years. This has been frustrating for Marie. As she stated, "Anything that I've tried and wanted to do, I've been mildly successful at or highly successful at. And this just felt like a struggle the whole time.... And it's really a weird feeling to not feel like you are doing a good job." Added to this frustration has been an overload of other professional responsibilities. Therefore, for a highly successful, cerebral, and critical person like Marie, her current coaching position has been a challenge.

Patti. Patti has coached cross country at her small, Division III private college for the last four years. Although she has extensive athletic and coaching experience (twenty-five years), she still seemed curious and concerned how to become a better coach and build more successful teams.

She was a collegiate swimmer and began competing in running races and triathlons after she graduated. Her participation was influenced by her town's running club, and she still coaches several, mostly multi-sport, athletes in the area. In fact, one of her role models and allies is an Olympic marathoner in the club. As Patti described, "She and I are great friends.... She's a bright lady who will even call her old coach for me and say, 'Hey this is going on, what would you do?' So I definitely not only have her support but knowledge also."

Patti seems like a quiet but talkative coach who finds the personal connections and holistic benefits of sport rewarding. Patti is married and has "four-legged children."

Sue. Sue was the head coach of track and cross country at her small, private DIII college for six years. This year she decided to devote her time to her assistant athletic director duties, including running the Recreation Center, and not coach. Interestingly, to get collegiate coaching experience, Sue started coaching as an assistant men's basketball coach at her alma mater. The next year, she took the head men's and women's cross country and assistant track coaching position at the same school.

Also, Sue was a non-traditional student-athlete in cross country and track. As she stated, "The kids around here say point blank, 'I have too much to do.' I say, 'I was a single mother raising two boys by myself, my ex-husband didn't call for fifteen years, he didn't pay child-support, I had almost a full-time job bartending until two o'clock in the

morning. I graduated with a 3.49 GPA, and I still competed in collegiate athletics'.... I don't have a lot of sympathy for excuses."

Sue seemed like a strong, dedicated leader who cares a great deal about people. She expressed her appreciative of the opportunities she was given in the athletics world, but the way I saw it, she was an assertive, admirable woman who largely created her own successful path.

Vicky. Vicky is a second year head men's and women's track coach at a large, private Division I university. She was a world champion sprinter and served as assistant coach at her alma mater for seven years while she was competing professionally. She stopped competing in 1999, and became an assistant coach in 2000 at the school she currently coaches. As she described, "It was kind of like I almost fell into coaching.... I found that through the years, I was doing more coaching than I was competing.... I think I had been doing it so long, the love for doing it, and traveling, and all that, was getting tiresome.... So I really wanted to get on with my life and do something different."

Vicky's teams are competitive in their conference, but find it difficult to reach the top because they are an expensive private school competing against several less expensive public state schools. Vicki's husband is an assistant for her, and they have three small children.

Vicki seemed confident of her coaching abilities, and without having professional duties besides coaching, she also seemed comfortable with her workload. Furthermore, I felt that she was a great people person – an attentive listener and loquacious speaker.

Participant summary. Several characteristics of this group of ten female coaches of men's collegiate teams stood out. First, there was little racial diversity, with Vicky as

the only minority. However, as mentioned in the literature review, collegiate coaching is very white, especially concerning female coaches (see Abney, 2000). Also, eight of the coaches in the study coached NCAA DIII programs. Interestingly, of the five coaches who chose not to participate (10/15= sixty-seven percent response rate), four coached DI or DII teams. This may be due to the philosophies of the divisions, with a greater emphasis on athletic performance for Division I and II and less on the connection of sport with the academic community.

Also, it was interesting that all of the participants had brothers, most of them older. Several also mentioned playing sports with males growing up. Furthermore, the athletic experience seemed to differ across generations. Coaches over forty (Sue, Patti, Kate, and Liz) expressed facing fewer opportunities and less societal acceptance of being a female athlete than those under thirty. This most likely reflects the ideological and practical changes that went along with the implementation Title IX in 1972. However, all of the women had collegiate athletic experience, and a number of them were All-Americans. Also, eight of the participants had a master's degree in a physical education related field, such as athletic administration, and had an average of 13.6 years of coaching experience. It is evident that this group of coaches is very well qualified to coach collegiate teams. Furthermore, it was encouraging that the majority of the coaches did not have to start their coaching career at a losing program, with about half of the coaches beginning at a program with a history of success.

Finally, the coaches of this study had a range of personalities, with some more jovial and some more serious, and some more verbose and some more reticent. However, all of the coaches seemed friendly, cooperative, enthusiastic, and thoughtful during the

interviews, even though they were busy. They talked about the sacrifices they made, especially when they were beginning their careers. They did not seem to be driven by money or ego-gratification, rather they expressed a genuine passion for coaching, their sport, and helping people grow athletically and personally.

Bracketing interview. Next, as a form of reflexivity to better understand my assumptions and ideological beliefs about the research topic, I participated in a bracketing interview (Dale, 2000). This exercise was also helpful to remind me to suspend my assumptions during the interviews and analysis – to make sure that I did not ask leading questions in the interviews or make unsupported claims in the findings. A fellow sport sociology graduate student who had taken a number of courses in qualitative research and in gender issues in sport interviewed me using my topic guide. I answered the questions how I thought the participants would. Also, at times, she asked me questions not on the topic guide, such as, as an athlete, would I prefer a male coach? She also helped me modify and formulate new questions, such as, when are you most aware of your gender?

I learned from the bracketing interview, that as a man, I have a lot to learn about women in sport. For instance, I found it interesting that I thought the coaches might say they feel uncomfortable working with male athletes because they were new to working with a male population. The interviewee suggested that female coaches may be more likely to feel uncomfortable because, "the spotlight would be on her," and she felt that she had to constantly prove herself. My ignorance may be due to being in the privileged majority as a white male. I have the luxury that in most everyday situations I am not

aware of my gender or race, do not feel that I am a representative of these categories, and do not feel that I am being judged (see McIntosh, 1989).

Furthermore, I found that I do have a bias toward male coaches in two respects. I expressed that if a male and female coach had the same success as an athlete, then I would not have a gender preference. However, if a woman coach had a comparable athletic performance standard, such as a 2:38 marathon compared to a 2:22 for a male, I would probably have a bias toward the male coach. It is not fair to hold men and women to the same performance standards (also athletic performance does not directly relate to coaching competency). Interesting though, I said I probably would rather be coached by a woman who ran a 2:20 than a man who ran a 2:05 because the woman's performance is closer to my performance level.

Additionally, I expressed that I believed it is helpful to have a same-sex role model to identify with. Therefore, if I had to choose only one coach for my whole athletic career, I would most likely choose a male. However, I also discussed that I have had numerous coaches, and feel that I would have benefited and enjoyed being coached by women as well as men. I was a bit surprised about my biases. It helped to articulate them in the interview, see that they are unfounded, and have an open mind to let the biases go.

Data collection. Following the pilot study and bracketing interview, I contacted possible participants by email or telephone, informed them of the main topic to be investigated, and provided the research protocol, an introduction of myself, and an invitation to participate. Access, entry, and rapport may have been facilitated because of my familiarity with the collegiate athletic world as an athlete, coach, and sport studies

graduate student. However, I am not a true insider to the participants' culture because I am neither female nor a head coach, which may have been advantageous in that my presumptions did not prevent me from investigating fully the participants' experience (Hatch, 2002). In addition, many college coaches may be accommodating to graduate research because they did graduate research themselves and/or they wish to project a positive public image.

Once participants agreed to participate, convenient times and locations were scheduled to conduct an interview lasting approximately 45-60 minutes. Eight of the interviews were held in the coaches' athletic offices, which were convenient and comfortable for them, as well as offering a sufficient degree of privacy (the two exceptions were conducted in a participant's living room and in a college classroom). Entry to the interview setting did not seem difficult, as visitors to coaches' offices are common, such as when a potential recruit and their family visit. The coaches served as my gatekeepers and provided official permission to be in their office (Hatch, 2002).

I scheduled interviews in the coaches' off-seasons or non-championship times, when the coaches may have been less occupied with job responsibilities. Before each interview, I had the participants read a letter of information and had them review, sign, and date an informed consent form (see Appendix A), which described the purpose of the study, their participation in the research process, the benefits of the study, information about how their anonymity would be protected, contact information if they had any questions about the study, and their right to voluntarily withdraw from the study.

The interviews began with background questions about the participants (see Appendix B for the interview guide). These questions were not only for information but

to build rapport and to warm the participants to the topic and interview process (Dale, 1994). Then I asked a grand tour question, which invited participants to lead the discussion where they wished (Shank, 2002). I asked, "Could you please tell me about your experience of coaching a collegiate men's team as a female?" Then I asked questions from my topic guide, often using my guiding questions. My topic guide protocol included issues to address based on my literature review, pilot study, bracketing interview, and discussions with my advisors. I also probed the participants about issues that they raised, asking for clarification, expansion, more specific description, or to challenge their claims.

Data analysis. Data analysis began during the data collection process (Patton, 2002). While interviewing participants, I wrote notes in a split-page format with descriptive notes, points that seemed important, and statements to possibly probe on one side, and reflexive notes with questions, insights, and interpretations on the other (Wright, 2003). Also, as soon as possible after each interview, I reviewed my notes and reflected on the interview. Then I wrote a thick description of the interview process and reflective thoughts in a narrative form while the interview were fresh in my memory (Wright, 2003).

Next, I transcribed each audiotaped interview verbatim. Transcribing the interviews myself promoted immersion in the data and increased my sense of familiarity and feel for the data protocol as a whole (Fielding, 1993; Patton, 2002). Also, as Patton (2002) suggested, insights often emerged during the transcription process.

Then, I emailed each participant's respective transcript to her and asked her to read the transcript, correct any errors, and make any deletions or additions she wished

(Pollio et al., 1997). This process served as a member check, for participants to add to the construction of the findings (Lather, 1986). The participants may have wanted to share more and were able to articulate their points better if they had time or if they preferred to write. Plus, allowing them to read their transcripts provided an opportunity to make sure the data I transcribed was accurate and reflected what they intended to communicate.

Also, when I emailed the transcripts to the participants, I asked them to create a pseudonym for themselves or allow me to create one for them to protect their identity. Only one participant had a preference for a pseudonym. In addition, I asked a few follow-up questions of four participants. These were short questions that arose after the interview. For instance, I asked for clarification of a statement that I found inaudible on the transcript, or a demographic question, such as, "Do you have brothers?" Four of the participants sent me feedback about the transcripts. Two of the participants that responded made minor corrections, one expanded on a number of her points, and one made no corrections or additions.

Next, I analyzed the transcripts for themes based on the political data analysis model described by Hatch (2002). This type of data analysis fit my study well because I had an explicit political objective for this research and was drawn to the systematic rigor of Hatch's model.

After transcribing the interview protocol, I read the entire protocol and my notes at once to get a sense of the data as a whole (Hatch, 2002). I resisted stopping to highlight passages or to make interpretive notes. The goal was to take inventory and see the big picture before I concentrated on the details.

In the next step, I revisited and wrote out my ideological position on the topic of women coaches of men's collegiate teams and stated ideological issues that I believed occur in their experience (Hatch, 2002). For instance, a statement of my ideological position was:

> I hold a critical feminist perspective. I believe that gender is a significant and determining factor in the social world. I believe that in a patriarchal society, men are unjustly privileged and hold more positions of power. Furthermore, there exist oppressive ideologies and practices that operate to maintain male hegemony. This should be changed, and work that exposes and eliminates gender inequities is important.

An ideological statement based on my critical feminist perspective was:

> I expect that female coaches will describe negative experiences, barriers, and issues faced in their profession because of their gender, including issues with male athletes, fellow coaches, and their athletic departments.

The process of making my political position and assumptions explicit helped to ensure that my analysis was focused on my position. As Hatch (2002) asserts, "Your belief system will guide how you proceed and shape what you will look for" (p. 194).

Next, I read through the data and marked quotes that contained information relevant to each ideological issue (Hatch, 2002). I also developed new issues and modified or changed issue statements based on the data. I numbered my ideological issues with Roman numerals and coded relevant passages with the corresponding number. Some passages had information that related to more than one issue, and I marked them with as many number ass applied.

I then read the set of data coded for each ideological issue (Hatch, 2002). I examined the passages and wrote generalizations about how my ideological statements related to the actual data, asking: "What evidence exists in my data to support, alter,

refine, or refute my beliefs about what is going on in this setting" (p. 196)? Each issue had a set of generalizations. An example of a generalization was: Female coaches in this study faced the issue of having a difficult time gaining respect and trust from their male athletes because of their gender.

In an outline form, I then listed each ideological issue coded with a Roman numeral and the relevant generalizations coded with capital letters under each issue (Hatch, 2002). Next, I read through the protocol and coded the data based on my generalizations. Then I read the data set coded for each generalization and decided if the generalizations were supported by the data (Hatch, 2002). I then marked particularly convincing or salient quotes to possibly insert in the results section.

Next, I reread the entire protocol and my notes to get a more thorough understanding of the data, to make sure I did not miss important information, and to gain additional insights. Following, I wrote a summary of the generalizations in a narrative form. I revisited the quotes that I identified and inserted ones that were the most salient to my generalizations. I then shortened and labeled my ideological statements as major themes and my generalizations as subthemes for clarity and succinctness.

I then emailed this summary to the participants (Hatch, 2002). The participants again had the opportunity to make comments on the transcripts. This step served as another member check and a way for participants to help construct the study's findings. It may have also raised consciousness of issues and provided applicable suggestions given by other participants to enhance participants' situations and to work towards increasing the number of women coaches of men's teams. Three of the participants responded. Perhaps the other participants were too busy to make revisions, and also, I

assumed that no news was good news. One coach only stated that the results looked good. Two of the coaches thanked me for involving them in the study and made about six revisions each, mostly to clarify or expand points. Interestingly and similar to revisions made on the transcripts, coaches modified a few of their comments to make them less critical or controversial, such as providing a more positive evaluation of an athletic director or to eliminate a comment that pointed to racial discrimination. Therefore, I feel that the negotiation process with the participants helped the rigor of and verisimilitude of the study because I knew the coaches had a chance to edit and critique my points. However, I also see why perhaps not letting the participants edit the findings would be beneficial in order to keep their comments critical.

Additionally, I used investigator triangulation. I had other researchers (a graduate student and professor), after reading and signing a confidentiality form (see Appendix C), read my summary and played devil's advocates to question whether my themes were supported by the data (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 1990).

Finally, I wrote a revised summary, which became the results of this study described in Chapter IV. I took in consideration the input from the fellow researchers who read my summary, and included information given by the participants in the previous step (Hatch, 2002).

Methodological Issues

Throughout this qualitative study design, I have discussed several methodological issues. Three issues that should be addressed further include: conducting a critical feminist study as a male (Messner & Sabo, 1990), validity (Creswell, 1998), and ethical considerations (Hatch, 2002).

First, a significant methodological issue in this study was that I was a male using a critical feminist perspective to interview women about negative experience and discrimination by men. A woman espousing a feminist standpoint perspective might be uncomfortable with this approach. Feminist standpoint theorists argue that men have an incomplete view of reality because they value and participate only in certain types of activities, such as the public career world, whereas women have a more complete view because they know a fuller picture of human activities, such as childcare (Costa & Guthrie, 1994). Therefore, feminist standpoint theorists assert that legitimate research about women may only be conducted by women because they alone can understand the reality of their gender (Messner & Sabo, 1990).

However, I feel it is important not to essentialize women. For instance, not all women raise children, and as black feminists have shown, middle class white feminists do not have the same experience, perspective, and concerns as black feminists of differing classes (see Smith, 1992). What is imperative is that the participants were made aware of my ideological perspective toward the research topic. I agree with Hearn (1987) who asserts, "The most dramatic action that men can take politically, personally, or academically is not to try and solve the problems for women, but to recognize our love and responsibility for each other, to change our relationship with each other" (as cited in Hall, p. 236). My gender was an important factor in my perspective and the participant-researcher relationship, but by describing my political goal of conducting research to benefit particularly women, but also men, in sport, and to learn about women's experiences, the participants may have felt that my study can tell small truths. Furthermore, if I conducted the interview well, by fostering comfort and rapport, the

participant and I should have been able to generate valuable data. I was pleased how willing and eager the participants were to speak with me about their experience as women. There were no comments made by the participant about feeling uncomfortable because of my gender. Also, the coaches expressed support for the data when they read their transcripts and support for my analysis when they read the results.

Finally, I believe in Messner & Sabo's (1990) notion that an inclusive, multiple standpoint view of feminism is beneficial. My experience, privilege, and insight into men's sports was likely advantageous to a study of gender.

Second, validity may be a methodological concern. It was important that I took steps to ensure that my report was accurate (Creswell, 1998), and as Acker, Barry and Esseveld (1983) ask, did I "...explain the lives of others without violating their reality?" (p. 429). Creswell (1998) suggests that validity (or as he feels is a more congruent term to qualitative work, verification) should be a vital process throughout the data collection, analysis, and write-up steps. As described previously, rigorous data methods, repeated member checks, researcher reflexivity, and investigator triangulation should have fostered a high degree of verification.

However, because research is always subjective, it may be argued that verification may never be achieved and that understanding is a more appropriate goal (Creswell, 1998). As Lather (1986) suggests, qualitative researchers should not be Truth seekers or testers but rather vivifiers of experience in order to describe phenomena well, and that narratives that acknowledge potential holes, questions, partialities, and situatedness may be more useful than research that claims to be air-tight in its findings.

Third, ethical issues were important for me to be conscious of throughout the research process. The Institutional Review Board's requirements to protect participants from physical and emotional harm and to protect their right to privacy were obviously imperative. As described in my epistemology description, reciprocity was also an essential ethical consideration. Whether through personal disclosure, sharing information, member checks, and empowerment, the participants should not have felt exploited but gained benefit from the research process (Hatch, 2002).

Furthermore, collegiate coaches are probably used to accommodating most media requests as part of their professional responsibilities. Therefore, they may have felt a sense of obligation to participate in an interview. Thus, I gave care to make the requirements of participation known and not pressure them into feeling obligated to participate by explaining that it was perfectly acceptable to refuse participation.

Summary

In this chapter I described why I chose a qualitative in-depth interview study research method. Also, I discussed the methods of this study, including a description of the participants and my procedure, as well as methodological issues. In the next chapter, Results, I describe the findings from my interviews with ten female head coaches of men's collegiate teams.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the experience of female head coaches of men's collegiate athletic teams. The data analysis from in-depth interviews of ten female coaches of men's teams supported four major themes that I labeled: (a) positives; (b) difficulties and issues; (c) gender differences; and (d) consciousness raising and empowerment. These major themes and their subthemes are described in this chapter. Also included are salient quotes from the participants that illustrate each subtheme. Figure 1 depicts the themes and subthemes of this study.

Theme One: Positives

The coaches of this study described coaching male athletes as a largely positive experience. In fact, Allison stated, "I've had such a positive experience that it's hard to be negative." Other coaches reported a similar sentiment expressed by Kara, who said, "I don't necessarily think it's that big of a deal for me to be coaching a men's team." The participants talked about several subthemes that contributed to their positive experience, including: (a) mutual respect with male athletes; (b) the coaches' positive impact on their male athletes; (c) the male athletes' positive impact on the coaches; and (d) professional support.

Mutual respect with male athletes. Going into the interviews, I expected the female coaches to discuss how gaining respect from their male athletes was difficult because of their gender. However, the coaches of this study reported that this was not the

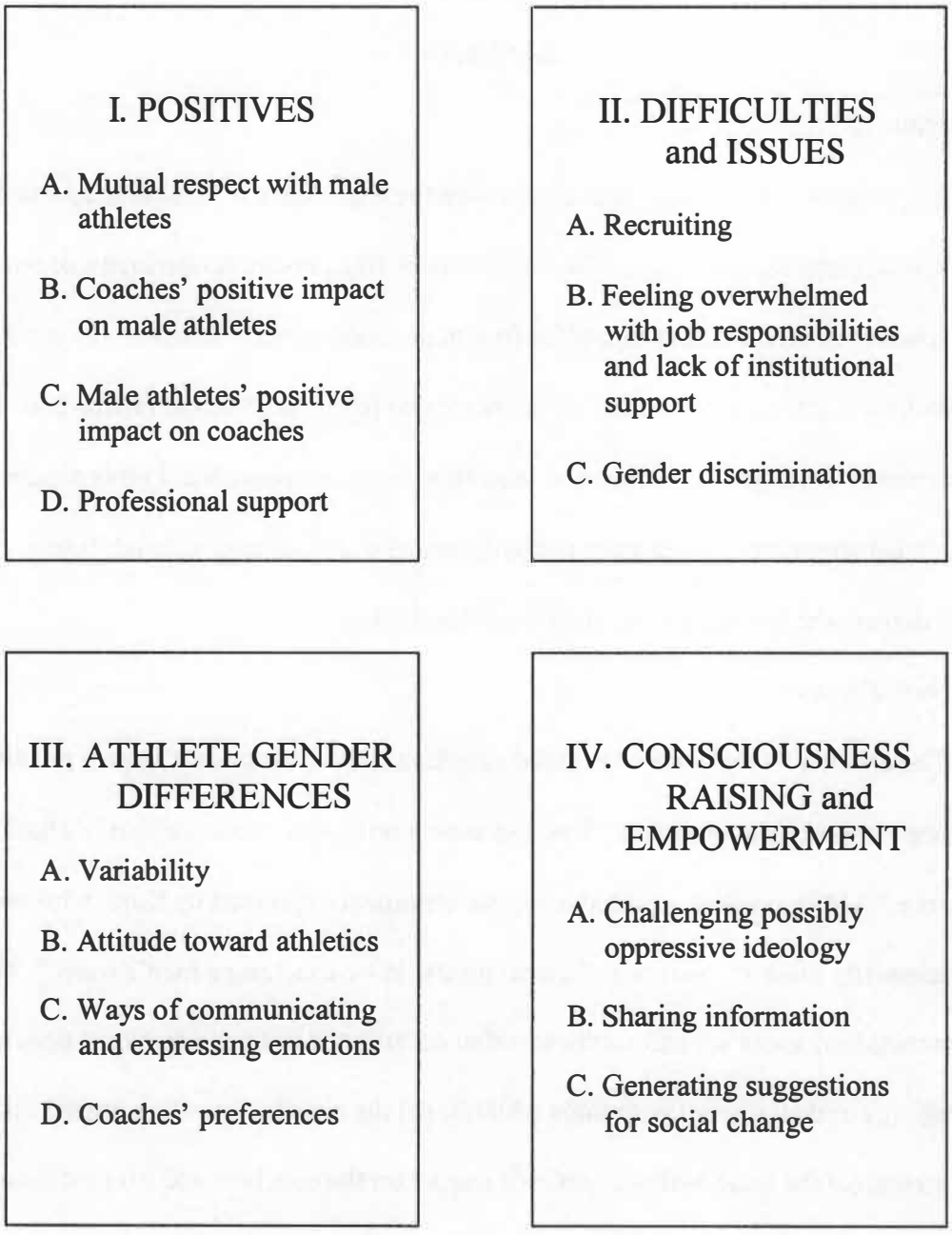

Figure 1. Major themes and subthemes of this in-depth interview study of the experience of female head coaches of men's collegiate teams.

case, and that other factors were significantly more important in gaining and maintaining their athletes' respect.

Initially, in gaining their male athletes' respect, coaches reported that being a successful athlete helped. All the coaches had experience as athletes in the sport they coached (although two cross country coaches had road racing and track experience not specifically cross country experience). Vicky was a world-class athlete. As she asserted, "I think having Olympian behind my name really helped in that aspect. It helps a lot of guys that may have second-guessed if I was capable."

The other coaches in this study did not reach the elite level that Vicky did, but a few had success at the school where they coached and were familiar to the athletes when they began coaching. Allison played golf at the school where she coaches and had a younger brother who had graduated the year before she began coaching. This familiarity helped make the transition "smooth" and "easy." Moreover, coaches expressed that having the male athletes believe in the coaches' knowledge gained from being an athlete was more important in establishing respect than the coaches' specific athletic performance results. As Allison explained:

> Another thing is that I golf.... They knew the success I had while I was in college, so that helped quite a bit because they know that I know what I'm talking about. And I think that's probably the biggest thing now.

Liz was an outstanding collegiate swimmer but, like the other coaches, believed that respect for a coach was established mainly from the athletes' own performance. Doubts about gender seemed to dissolve when athletes reached their goals. Liz described:

I feel that I have earned their respect by their performing well, and I feel like I

> I know what I'm doing with them when it comes to, in swimming we do what is called a taper where we rest, and that's always a big issue because it's very individualized and it's very sensitive, and you work for six months and if that one short rest period doesn't work right, then their big meet is down the tubes. And so I feel that I've gotten to the point where I know what I'm doing with that, and the guys know that because they been able to do well.

Another primary factor in gaining and maintaining respect was establishing a positive coach-athlete relationship. As Kate related:

> I finally decided through my coaching experiences and my own experiences as an athlete that the bottom line is that kids want a coach that they respect and that cares about them and helps them develop.

When I asked Kate if gaining initial respect of her male athletes was an issue, she responded:

> No, because I really think it's the process of if you get hired for a position, people will think you're qualified to do that position.... I really believe that *so much* of coaching is your relationship with your athletes, and that believing that what you are telling them to do is the correct thing.

Furthermore, coaches explained that a major factor in gaining respect was holding their male athletes accountable by being firm about their expectations. As Sue described:

> There are always issues of respect. I don't think it matters whether you are a male or a female, or whether you are coaching men or women, you just have to establish yourself. And my first experience was when I was coaching the men's basketball team and the coach said, 'I'm leaving. You are in charge here. I want you to do this.' It was some drill that they were doing, and they wanted to test me. And I said, 'You know what? Coach Brady makes you run if you don't listen to him, and I can make you run just as easily as he can. And I will. So you are going to do this drill or you are going to run your butts off. That's all there is to it.' And they were like, 'Oh, she's serious.' They could just tell that I was. And from that point on, if I was in there, and I was in charge, it wasn't an issue because they knew me, and that's the way it was.... I think as long as you have rules and then you hold people accountable to them, then you develop respect.

An issue I thought these coaches might face would be disrespect by their athletes

because of their gender. However, none of the coaches reported being hit on by their athletes or discussed demeaning comments made toward them by their athletes. I thought this might be an issue, particularly for younger female coaches of men's teams, but this was not corroborated by the coaches of this study. Instead, the coaches described how their athletes mainly saw them as a "teacher," "older sister," or "mother figure." Also, some may wonder whether the locker room poses problems for female coaches of men's teams. However, only Chris brought this issue to light and remarked:

> Possibly going into the men's locker room for pre-game [may be a drawback to coaching a men's team], but I don't go into the *women's* locker room for pre-game. We do that on deck as a group. So I don't look at that as a drawback; that's not an issue.

The coaches did discuss how they were aware of romantic relationships between coaches and athletes, especially those that resulted in publicized lawsuits. To them though, setting up barriers between them and the athletes was not a major issue, rather something they were cognizant of as unethical. As Allison expressed:

> I think anywhere there is cross gender, that's an issue, but I think it just takes a coach that knows that's wrong. That's just wrong to me. And I've even had friends say, 'Wow, you have a really good looking team.' And I'm like, 'Nice looking, but I don't look at them that way.' To me that's disgusting, and to me morally, it's not even something that I think about. But it is something the parents are thinking about. I mean you read stories everyday in the paper about something like that happening with a teacher and student or coach.

Coaches talked about giving the athletes' personal space in terms of physical contact and discussing romantic relationships to best maintain the coach-athlete relationship and avoid unethical relationships. Chris stated that this space was essential for a healthy coach-athlete relationship regardless of the gender and sexual orientations of the coach and athletes. However, in terms of working with her men's team, Liz asserted:

> I am very aware of not touching the males, even if it would be to put my hand on their shoulder to talk to them and things like that. And I try to be careful about what I talk about. I don't *delve* into their relationships, but just to say, 'Oh, your girlfriend is going to be at the meet to watch' and what not. And it makes it really hard because I like to slap guys on the back when they have done a good job, and what I've gone to is just doing a high-five with them when they have done a good job. So yeah, it's a concern, but just something we have to keep in the back of our mind all the time.

Coaches' positive impact on their male athletes. The coaches discussed several positive influences on their male athletes. They described positive affects such as helping athletes build self-esteem and gain a life-sport. In addition, they discussed how they influenced their male athletes' perspectives and treatment of women.

First, the coaches talked about the important life lessons that they taught their male athletes, which were not directly related to gender. For instance, the coaches described teaching responsibility, balancing work and family, and working with others. They discussed how they believed the lessons taught in athletics carried over into their academic and career performance. For example, Liz spoke of the importance of teaching responsibility to her athletes. She related:

> College kids are really going through such a transition in their lives, and I like that I can help develop them as a person and perhaps teach them some life-skills, and being away from their parents for the first time, and having to get themselves out of bed and to class. I see responsibility as such a huge thing that I hope I am teaching them, and it really makes me happy to see them graduate and be successful – to get out there and have good jobs.

Coaches also discussed how they hoped to develop people who were productive members of society. According to Patti:

> You can get really deep into what impact coaching has on the rest of the world, and probably the single most important thing is how we develop the student-athletes as being good people, and respecting each other, and working hard, and making commitments and goals. If you do all those things, when they go out into the world, they may not be running any more, but they are still goal-oriented and

> treating the people that they work with with respect and all those kind of things. That's really all I care about.

Furthermore, as touched on in the discussion of the subtheme of mutual respect with male athletes, almost all of the coaches talked about how they had a positive influence on their male athletes' performance. For instance, Sue told an in-depth story about an athlete's significant improvement and how rewarding it was for the athlete and herself. As she recounted:

> One of my guys, his freshman year, said that one of his goals was to qualify for Nationals in cross country. I said, 'That's easy to make the goal. What are you willing to do in order to achieve that goal?' And he said, 'I am willing to do whatever you tell me to do, and I'm going to work to achieve that goal.' He progressed each year. At Regionals, he finished 156th, then 85th, then 35th. Prior to his junior year, he got serious. I said, 'If you want to qualify for Nationals, this is *exactly* what you need to do and gave him a plan. I said, 'You get one day off. Otherwise, this is exactly what you need to do. These are the miles you need to put in, these are the workouts.' He ended up missing his goal by 21 seconds. But that was a big positive, and he said, 'It's all because of you.' I replied, 'No, it's not because of me. It's because of you. I am just the one that gave you the tools to do it. You're the one that could do it.' And I don't know if that's being a role model or not, but I like to think that at least, it's being a positive influence in helping a person achieve his goals.

Concerning gender, coaches discussed ways in which they positively influenced their athletes' perceptions of women, especially women as coaches and leaders. For instance, coaches described how their athletes' performance success might relate to how their athletes viewed the capability of their female coach. As Patti described:

> I had a student who ran primary for another school, and he showed up, and he said his first year that he had one other woman that coached him and that women can't coach. I mean this kid came in and the only reason he ran was because of the other guys. But I think I've shown him that the other bad coach was just a bad coach. But this kid came in and ran fast and set school records. So I think he realized that it really isn't gender-based.

Vicky expressed how some of her male athletes developed a positive coach-

athlete relationship with her that influenced how they perceived female coaches in general. As she asserted:

> The impact that I give to them I think is that women do know how to coach, and they do put workouts together that make sense, and they can explain themselves. So I don't necessarily think that the guys that I coach are seeing me as a woman, when initially they probably did. But now I think they are just seeing me as a coach. I think the impact is that you can be, not friends, I don't want to make it like we're buddies, but you can have a relationship with a female coach that isn't linked to anything else; it's just linked to coach-athlete and we're fine.

Moreover, the coaches talked about teaching their male athletes how to work better with and be more respectful of women. They explained that their male athletes would likely have a woman supervisor in the future and how important it was to be respectful of women in their everyday life, including co-workers and significant others. As Chris described:

> I want as many men to come to the program as possible so they have the experience of a female coach because most often if they are playing any other sport, they will not have a female coach. And this might be their only opportunity to have a female work with them and train them. Hopefully it will impact other experiences that they have like working with women in their relationship, what have you. And with how they treat women too. I think if they come into coaching, teaching, what have you, how they treat women.

The coaches reported that their male athletes were largely respectful of them and women in general, but did discuss how, at times, they had to address sexist ideology and discourse. For instance, Allison described:

> I think they now have more respect for women.... I *do not* tolerate when the guys are sitting around and they are talking, and as a coach, you hear way more about their lives then you really need to, but if they start talking about their girlfriends or they treat their mothers or something like that, I don't jump on them, but I try to make them see the differences - you just don't treat people like that.

Stopping and discussing homophobic statements was also part of how the coaches stressed acceptance of the non-traditionally masculine athlete. As Ann

remarked:

> Obviously, the players will say something, 'Oh, that's gay.' So stopping them and talking about those women who come across very manly or those men who appear to be more effeminate and calling out those things. I think that it's important to set that tone.... Sometimes it's, 'Oh, that shot was so gay.' And I'm like, 'I didn't know that shot had a sexual orientation,' and just like, 'Really, how can that be?' And I think it's not necessarily putting them on the spot, but asking those questions and making them realize what they are saying. And there are many times that they're talking about a woman that's very aggressive, and I'm like, 'Hey, what am I?' And regardless of how you intend to come across, it's easier to pick on those you don't know, and so to help them see, 'Well, I never thought of that,' type of thing. So I think it's just making sure that the students and players know that you stand for that – for being fair and accepting to everybody.

Several of the coaches discussed their influence on their male athletes' assumptions of coaches. They often stated that they were not sure it was gender related, but their coaching style was different from the stereotypical masculine authoritative style many of their athletes had experienced. For instance, Chris described:

> I don't know if it's gender, but I'm not a yeller; I'm not a screamer, and I don't know if that's because I'm a woman. It's just not how I motivate people – to yell, 'We are going to go out and crush and kill 'em.' Is that gender related?

Male athletes' positive impact on the female coaches. First, the coaches of this study discussed how they enjoyed coaching their male athletes because most of them were fun and enthusiastic people with whom to work. As Ann asserted:

> I just love coaching. And for me, working in this position [residence hall director] has been the most challenging. You work with probably the five-percent of kids who are not the most positive. For me in coaching, working with great students rejuvenates me.

Most of the coaches described rewarding positive coach-athlete relationships. They discussed how many positive relationships continued after the athletes' collegiate playing careers were over. A few of the coaches talked about how it was especially

rewarding if an individual was challenging or negative as an athlete and then later gained an appreciation of the coach and athletic experience after college. For instance, Liz described:

> What's actually been *the* most satisfying are the ones that go out and become coaches and contact me and say, 'Now I know what you were going through.' And I even had one situation where a kid was very hard on me and didn't respect me, just would not do what I said, and on and on. And now became a college coach and came back and said, 'I am so sorry. Now I know,' and they just don't realize, and so to have them come back, or just to say, 'Thanks coach,' or to email me and say, 'Thank you.' That's very neat.

Furthermore, a major positive impact the athletes' and coaching experience had on the participants was the sense of satisfaction in their athletes' performance success. The coaches were pleased for their athletes' sake, but they also found it rewarding to see that their coaching methods were working. As Kara articulated:

> I think some of the really fun, surprising things, with the males especially, are when they are at the peak of the season, and they just swim unbelievably fast. It's just kind of a good feeling as a coach when the men do that because, to me, you know what you are doing is good.... I think that is just the biggest, biggest reward for me as a coach.

Seeing their athletes succeed in school, their careers, or in their personal lives was another positive impact on the coaches of this study, especially if their sport experience contributed to their success. For instance, as Chris expressed:

> Probably the comment, the exclamation after somebody does something that they never thought they could do. And it could be a swimmer that's as slow as a slug, it doesn't matter. And they come and they're like, 'I can't believe I just did that.' All their hard work, all their determination, their risk taking paid off, and they just feel *so* good about themselves. That's probably the best thing in coaching – they did something that they never thought they could do, and sometimes it's not even sport related, but their sport experience really helped them reach that goal. They see the relationship. Even athletes that go through the program and come back and say, 'Those were the most important parts of my college experience.' Just that it has had such a *positive* effect on their career here, in their college experience, and helped them to grow as an individual – that's the best thing about

coaching, male or female.

In addition to the enjoyment of coaching and having a positive and successful relationship with athletes, coaches discussed how they loved sport in general, particularly the sport they coached. Several of the coaches described how they liked to talk about sports such as professional football and baseball with their male athletes and continued to participate in sport for enjoyment. Having a career that enabled them to be in the athletic environment was a key benefit of coaching for these women. As Allison exclaimed:

> I love coming to work. I love coaching golf. It's getting paid to be at the golf course all day. For some people that might not be very much incentive, but for me, because I like golf, it really works well.

Lastly, coaching male athletes had a positive affect on the coaches' perceptions of men. Coaches talked about how some of their negative gender assumptions were challenged and altered because of their experience coaching male athletes. For instance, Chris related:

> I think as a college student I had these assumptions like, 'Guys are like this and girls are like this.' You know, you got to throw the f-word around all the time if you want to get the men fired up, and that's what they listen to. That's their language, and they're crude and they're disrespectful to women and that's funny. And women are sensitive and, 'You need to be doing this (in a gentle, soft voice).' And touchy-feely and, 'How are you doing,' and stuff like that. And neither of those I think is accurate, but that's the way I always thought it would be.

In addition, the coaches discussed how they became more aware of what they described as their male team's positive attributes. For instance, Kate asserted that she learned to be more demanding of her male athletes in terms of workload. Kara talked about how she looked to model her men's team's cohesion and athlete leadership for her women's team. Liz described how she learned more about competitiveness from her

experience of working with male athletes. As she explained:

> By coaching men now and seeing how competitive they are, and how hard they work, and they want to improve because they want to get better. And to be able to say, 'Why don't you try and do this, this time?' Boom, they try their hardest and more times than not, they will do it.... And I have had some male athletes that have come that do not have much swimming background, if any at all, and all of a sudden, they decide that they want to swim in college. And I've always thought, 'He'll never be able to do it. He's not going to survive; he'll quit after the first week,' and they haven't. And I guess it's that competitive edge or that challenge.

Vicky talked about how she thought that the men on her team were being critical of her as a coach when they asked questions about their workouts. She learned that her athletes were not challenging her authority but wanted to understand how their training would help them improve. She described how this realization benefited her as a coach:

> So much of it in the beginning I thought was, 'They are being critical of me. They don't trust me. They think that I don't know what I'm doing.' And I would almost come back and be combative like, 'Well what are you talking about? This worked for...' And then I found that I didn't need to do that because they aren't asking me whether it works or not; they are just asking me what's the best way to do it. So understanding that whenever they ask a question, it's not an interrogation of you as it is, 'Can you just explain this so that I know when this is going to benefit me and what should I expect from it?' And that's all they are asking. And so I think it has helped in terms of making sure when I put together workouts for four weeks that it's tight and accurate and ready to go.

Therefore, a positive impact of coaching a men's team for these female coaches was a better understanding of the male athlete, and using some of their athletes' attributes to help improve their coaching. More of how the coaches perceived male athletes versus female athletes is described under theme three: gender differences.

Professional support. The coaches of this study discussed several sources of professional support. A few mentioned a supportive spouse, mentors, and family members, particularly fathers. However, the most significant sources of professional

support reported came from fellow coaches in their athletic department, athletic directors, and colleagues coaching their sport at another institution.

Two of the coaches had female athletic directors, which as Patti articulated, "speaks a lot" about her university and athletic department's awareness of gender equity. Also, coaches reported having supportive male athletic directors. For instance, as Sue described her athletic director:

> The athletic director is an amazing, remarkable person. He never ceases to amaze me, every single day with his ideas, his experiences. I mean he's the one who said to me two years ago, 'You have your master's degree in athletic administration, I want to offer you more. I think you've done a good job. You work hard. I'd like you to be our senior women's administrator, and it's not a token position. It's a position that you will be very involved in the administrative aspect of things. Later in the summer, you are going to be the director of the rec. center.' This past year, he said, 'I want you to be the assistant athletic director for internal affairs.' He said, 'I don't plan on being here forever. This is the last job I plan to have, and will eventually retire, so I want to give you and the other assistant ADs as much experience as possible, you or one of the other assistant ADs will be hired for the job when I retire. I think that shows he doesn't have a gender-bias. He has a daughter that's a head coach and is working on her doctorate. He has stated that having a daughter, seeing her grow up, and wanting her to have the same opportunities that men are entitled to has been very beneficial as a director of athletics.

Coaches talked about the importance of the athletic director not being gender-biased and communicating with the department about fairness. As Liz asserted:

> Our new guy has made it very clear that everybody is equal and every sport is equal.... And he's shown that – he's demonstrated that he is going to be equal across the board.... He's been very up front about budgets and how they are going to be distributed, and he's been very upfront that there will be performance rewards monetarily to everybody, not just if the football or basketball teams do good. So things like that have really helped. And his this communication – he has communicated to each of us individually and then we have meetings once a month with the whole department, and he's very upfront about, 'Ok, this is where we are at, and this is where we are going, and we're at a point where we need to add some more women's sports to be equitable,' which is a good thing.

Moreover, coaches of this study discussed how their athletic director set the tone

for the department as far as acceptance, respect, and communication. Coaches talked about how it was important for them to be respected by the other coaches in their department, as well as have allies in their department to discuss issues in coaching, mainly in dealing with athletes. As Chris expressed:

> I have a very good relationship with our baseball coach, and I feel like I can go in and talk about me or my athletes. And the women's soccer coach. I feel like I have male and female allies here. In the coaching profession, that's interesting now that I think about it, I expected my allies would be female coaches coaching men or women.

Other coaches discussed having male coaches as their allies as well. All of the coaches that were mentioned were of non-revenue, often combined programs. The coaches often had similar budgetary concerns, issues with athletes, and the sense of being overwhelmed. As Marie described:

> I don't think it's just a male/female thing, but it's like high-profile sport versus you know sports that don't get counted or whatever. You know I'm not going to go in and tell my gripes to one of the assistant football coaches. There are four of them and my biggest problem is that I don't have any help and I have too much on my plate, whereas their sole job is to be an assistant football coach, and they don't have x, y, and z extra duties that I have. So I don't feel like I can relate, like they don't see, I'm sure they don't' think there is a problem. They think, 'Oh, cross country is not as time consuming as football.' So it's not just about gender, it's about specific sports I think.

Additionally, coaches talked about how they felt respected and supported by coaches in their sport who worked outside of their university, particularly those in their conference. For instance, Ann described:

> As an assistant coach on the men's side last year, I was the only woman on the coaching staff in the whole conference. So whenever I would be cheering, they knew it was me. I think what has helped is that I know the game well. Many coaches during conference are warming up players and are like, I have respect, which is good, I feel. I am able to ask questions, and that so far, they have been very nice, regardless of what they say behind my back maybe. But for the most part, it wasn't as challenging as I thought it would be. I know there are some that

> are not my biggest fans, but I guess this year as a head coach, voted by my peers who are mostly men, I was voted Coach of the Year, in my first year. So that's a reason why I feel more confident in working with men in a position like this.

Also, a few participants reported that there were other coaches in their sport that they trusted and with whom they consulted about coaching issues. As Liz related:

> There are a lot of swimming coaches throughout the different states that I've got to be friends with, and I keep in touch with, and just bounce things off the walls with, and share ideas about practices we do or, 'How do you handle this situation?' Because I spent seven years before I came here in New York, at a state school, and we had a very close-nit conference, and coaches that were swim coaches – we really all get along, which is really nice. So I still keep in touch with them. And even another coach out there, he wasn't even in our conference, I am going to go out this coming summer and work one of his swim camps that he has and just network with him, and things like that.

However, Liz's description of support was not as prevalent among the coaches as I expected. I thought that each of these coaches would have a female friend and mentor in their profession to look to for guidance, especially concerning gender issues in coaching. Unfortunately, as Vicky admitted, there are not many female coaches out there, particularly at the DI level, and she did not know of any other women who coach men.

In summary, positives was the first major theme that was supported by the data analysis. Subthemes of positives described by the coaches included: mutual respect with male athletes, the coaches' positive impact on their male athletes, the male athletes' positive impact on the coaches, and professional support.

Theme Two: Difficulties and Issues

The second major theme of this study was difficulties and issues in coaching related to gender and the coaches' sport. The difficulties and issues that the female coaches of this study reported as particularly significant included: (a) recruiting; (b)

feeling overwhelmed with job responsibility and lack of institutional support; and (c) gender discrimination.

Recruiting. The "problem" or "challenge" most often brought up first and described as the most significant in coaching a men's collegiate team as a woman was recruiting. As Liz asserted, "That's the hardest part of the job." Coaches especially expressed concern and anxiety about how male athletes would respond to their initial recruiting contact. For instance, Marie explained:

> I'm definitely more nervous sometimes calling guys because I'm not sure if they have had a woman coach or not. Some of them have, like I have a couple guys on the team who, actually one of my freshmen had a high school coach who was a woman, so that made it a lot easier. But the fact that I didn't have an assistant coach last year made it really hard. So I'm selling myself, and I'm selling the program, but for a lot of guys that's probably a tough sell.... I don't know, and this may be some of my own insecurities, but I think particularly high school guys might be like, 'Well what does a young woman know? What can she teach me?' type of thing.

Coaches discussed strategies for attenuating the apprehension of male recruits. For instance, coaches suggested that the athlete talk to the men on the team who would support the coaches' competency to coach male athletes. As Liz related:

> At the collegiate level, since recruiting is so big, I wonder when I'm talking with high school boys if they decide not to come here because I'm a female. What I've done is try to get my current males involved in the recruiting so they can say, 'Hey, she's ok, she knows what she's doing. We've done well. Come here even though you might have reservations that she is a female.'

Furthermore, coaches also described why they thought it was important to have a male assistant for recruiting. As Kate explained:

> You'll call up a male recruit and they'll often, and you can tell by the way that they talk, they'll be incredulous, 'You coach both. You coach the men!' I say, 'Yes, I'm the head men's and women's cross country coach.' Sometimes I'll volunteer that my assistant is a male coach, if that makes a difference to them.

Fortunately though, the coaches expressed how their gender became less significant of a factor in recruiting once the athletes got to know the coach better and talked to male athletes on the team. For instance, Marie remarked:

> I think when you meet people it's different. I think if a kid is coming to visit or whatever, and you actually meet them face to face, they are just so excited to be talking to a college coach, that I don't think gender really matters that much.

Feeling overwhelmed with job responsibility and lack of institutional support. All but one of the participants reported feeling overwhelmed at times and identified this as a negative aspect of their coaching experience. Despite the professional support they received from individuals, there were institutional structures in their job that contributed to the coaches feeling overwhelmed. These included: an inadequate number of assistants, a low salary, poor facilities, and too many non-coaching professional duties.

First, the coaches of this study talked about needing to add an additional assistant coach, particularly to help with recruiting responsibilities. For example, Patti asserted:

> I think it would just be nice to actually have, here you go, there are schools in our conference that have a men's coach and a women's coach. And I think it would be nice to have two head coaches, and you are kind of each other's assistant, so the recruiting effort can be much more focused and more time can be devoted to it. That, in itself, can simplify things. I mean it doesn't sound like much until you look what I'm trying to recruit is like recruiting for a men's or women's basketball team, if you only get four or five players every year. Well, guess what, I'm doing that times two.

Similarly, Chris related:

> We have up to 70 athletes on team now.... I'd like a bigger coaching staff. I have a full-time assistant. I'm really thankful for that, but I have so many people. We have more than what's on the football team and far fewer coaches.

Some coaches asserted that their job would be less stressful if they coached just one gender or at least coached the two teams in different seasons. As Kate pointed out:

> I think it's just always hard to have double things to do, you know. Would life be easier if I just coached one or the other? Yeah, probably.... Also, it's really hard doing two because it seems as though you can never really be happy at the same time with results. Like this year at conference, our men did really well, and they were really excited, and the women were a little disappointed. So you're coming home from the conference meet, and you have such mixed emotions.... And that part is hard.

A deficiency of budget was related to not being able to pay for an adequate number of assistant coaches. Also, for coaches in this study, the lack of budget was related to not paying them a fair amount for their work. For instance, Marie described:

> I definitely feel like I'm not getting paid what I'm worth. And that's such a hard thing to know – like what would be fair, and does it have anything to do with the fact that I'm a woman, or is it just because I coach cross country, which is like the bottom of the barrel in terms of budget? But for example, my boyfriend who got hired, he has no master's degree, yet they are starting him at higher than I'm making now. And his only responsibility is track, whereas I have cross, assistant in track, half a professor's load, student advisory committee, and Champs. And that's not very affirming to me. And I kind of think, 'Well, am I not worth as much to the department? Am I not contributing as much?' And maybe that's letting my emotions affect how I feel about work too much, but it doesn't feel very good.

Also concerning budget, coaches discussed having inadequate facilities. For instance, two of the cross county coaches did not have an outdoor track and one of the coaches did not have a men's locker room. Ann talked about the issue of inadequate facilities for her and other female coaches at her college. As she expressed:

> Many of programs such as Jenny's [a men's and women's golf coach at her college] – are low budget, small sports. You know, we're not running with the football or basketball's budget. It's just the fact of the matter. So I think those resources, the facilities of the sports that, at least at this institution, the women tend to coach, don't have the resources available to us.... We don't have good facilities for year-round tennis, which is very challenging, and we don't have enough facilities to share. So even though the facilities aren't great, we are still fighting for them.

Finally, coaches reported feeling overwhelmed with job responsibilities besides

coaching. All but one of the coaches had occupational duties beyond coaching. The most common additional responsibility was teaching. A few coaches talked about feeling spread too thin and guilty that some of their duties had to be compromised, including their coaching. As Sue explained:

> Last year? I would say honestly, I probably did the crappiest job coaching ever. I was so busy with my other administrative responsibilities with running the rec. center. From August, when I took the position, until the middle of November, I didn't have any university staff assistance. It was all work-study staff. So I was here from 5:30 in the morning until 10 at night. At 3:30 took off for coaching until 6 o'clock. And so I really think that I probably didn't do nearly as well as in the past when I was not the director. I don't think I did terrible, but as far as my time commitment, it wasn't what I would expect of myself.

Gender discrimination. The participants of this study reported several instances where they faced gender discrimination as female head coaches of men's collegiate teams. Most often it was not blatant sexist remarks or exclusion, rather it operated in more subtle and possibly unintentional ways.

The most common type of gender discrimination experienced by these female coaches was by other coaches, officials, parents, and the public who assumed that the coaches, because of their gender, were either not a coach or coached only the women. The coaches reported that others expressed mostly "surprise" and "incredulousness" that they coached a men's team. For instance, Kate recounted:

> Oh my god, one year I went to pick up the meet results and it was the men's results, and the guy literally hugged them to his chest and said, 'These are the men's results!' And he wasn't going to give them to me. I'm like, 'I am the men's coach!' And so it's like that, or you go to give your money to pay for the meet packet, and they will just automatically assume to only give you the women's, and give the male coach the men's.

Coaches expressed a sense of irritation with others' disbelief, but often dismissed the assumptions and claimed that the individuals were old. Vicky discussed this, as well

as how race and age interacted with gender in terms of assumptions. She explained:

> What I've noticed lately, if we travel with the team, actually people will see the three of our staff together, which you've got a white male and then you've got my husband, an African American, and me. And they will actually go up to them and ask them, 'Hey, what's your team? What do you guys do?' Versus ever asking me. And maybe it's an age thing, where maybe I look like one of the athletes, I don't know, but if there's something that pertains to my team, waitresses, whatever, they will automatically go to him who is a white male. It's really kind of strange.... And some of the coaches that I work with, the younger ones are really good, the older ones *still* (laughing) don't want to acknowledge it – that you're a woman and you're a coach. The older coaches will greet me with a 'hey' rather than 'hey coach' or just 'coach.' It's as if they respect me as a former athlete, but not among the coaching ranks. I can't discern if this is based on youth, being a woman, or experience since I've only been a head coach for four years.

Additionally, the coaches reported other forms of gender discrimination. Again, they usually expressed that the problems were not prevalent in their profession, but nonetheless, they described sexism. For instance, Vicky related:

> Not to the extent that it's been overt, but there have been some undertones that you think, 'Now would you have said that to a male coach?' You just wonder, sometimes they'll cross over the line, and they're just being nice, especially when I lost all the weight from my third pregnancy, you'll get a lot of compliments.... And they're like, 'You look particularly attractive in this outfit,' versus saying, 'John, you lost a lot of weight, you look good man.' So instead of saying, 'Vick, you've been working out,' which is a different thing than, 'Wow, you look stunning in....' There is some uncomfortableness among male and female coaches at staff gatherings. They want to include me in conversations yet aren't sure how to do it. So I'll have one coach that *constantly* talks about, 'Are you having another kid?' And I'm like, 'Ok, first off – none of your business,' and you just think, 'Shut up. It's like three years now that you've been asking me.' I'm like, 'Are you?' And he's like, 'No, no, I'm done.' And you just think, 'Why? Back off the kid deal.'

I asked Vicky if by emphasizing her looks and mothering role, the male coach was subtly demeaning her professional coaching role. She agreed and described his actions as "condescending" regardless of how friendly he was about it.

Two coaches discussed having a sexist athletic director. Liz described her

experience with an athletic director who has since been replaced:

> The guy that was here before seemed to really favor the males, and he would go out and socialize with just the male coaches.... Like pizzas and beers with the male coaches. He would go golfing in the spring. And it really seemed like a buddy-buddy thing. And it just seemed that they were just more favored, and this was widely know by all, so for the few female coaches that we do have here, that was a sticky point.... We had virtually no communication as a department, as a whole. He would just communicate with some of the male coaches, and then there is what we call a fund-raising budget that is supposed to be distributed for the entire department, and we would start hearing about how the soccer team got some money for whatever – to buy equipment – well, where's that coming from, and why do they get it? Well, the soccer coach was a male who he was friends with. So that doesn't go over well.

Kate talked about gender discrimination issues with her current athletic director. As she related:

> The new athletic director will often go to lunch with male coaches, but he never asks female coaches. And I notice things like that. And two years ago, the administration believed that we should hire a woman basketball coach. Our offices are separate groups of offices in completely different places, and they put all the three of us women coaches' offices together. And in the back of my mind, it would have been much more logical, because at that time I was coaching track, to be close to the track coach. I don't know if that was an unconscious decision but why did they not group the coaches together by sport rather than by gender?... Because we're down the hall and up the stairs (laughing).

Finally, coaches described how women are held to a higher coaching standard than men: that they're performance is more closely examined and they are more likely to be fired. As Chris explained:

> I think there's more scrutiny for women coaches, if they can't get the job done, nine times out of ten, I would bet money, they replace that woman with a male coach. I mean that's why I feel like in Division I, if you don't get it done, there are so few successful, so few women coaches out there, I mean there are *no* head coaches that coach both [in swimming]. I mean there are mostly programs that have separate coaches for each gender. And I think there is a lot more pressure n the women – if they don't get the job done then they're gone. I mean that's just the way that I feel, I don't know if that's a fact.

Kate provided a specific example of what she felt was a firing based on gender.

As she described:

> There was a coach in our conference, just this past year, who was really having a tough time – she had been there five or six years as the main cross country coach and was the assistant track coach. And the head track coach didn't like her…. Basically her athletic director one day told her, 'You've done all these things wrong – you're done.' And she had no chance to defend herself; he didn't let her defend herself.

A few coaches reported that this unjust standard and fear of being discriminated against because of their gender led them to feel apprehensive or self-conscious at times about how they were perceived by their athletes, colleagues, and athletic directors. For instance, Vicky explained:

> You really go in the steps of procedures and policies, and I think women are just a little more anal when it comes to that because we want to make sure that all the ducks are in a row so that the administration can't go back and say, 'You didn't do your job here.' Whereas a male coach would say, 'Yeah, I understand what you're saying,' and still run the program their way (laughing), whether it fits or not, and just keep making moves until they say stop, whereas women will keep going and say, 'Is that ok? Is that ok?'

When I asked Vicky if these added checks hindered her coaching ability, she responded:

> It totally does. Because when you're going to make a decision, I've got six things to consider, where a male coach has two…. And in a coaching staff meeting, we really calculate our words and want to make sure everything's correct in what you say because you don't want them to say, 'Look at that ding-bat woman over there.' So you do think that, and it kinds of holds you back from saying things.

Therefore, the participants in this study described significant difficulties and issues in coaching men's teams as women. Female head coaches of women's collegiate teams most likely face similar issues, such as gender discrimination and feeling overwhelmed with job responsibility and lack of institutional support. However, they most likely face less disbelief and surprise that they coach men from recruits as well as

other coaches, officials, and the public. Again, it was promising that the coaches did not report sexism from their male athletes as a significant issue.

Theme Three: Athlete Gender Differences

As discussed in the description of my critical feminist ontology in the Literature Review, it may be subversive to equity to gender stereotype and emphasize disparate categories of women and men. A gender binary classification, particularly in athletics, has often been used to unfairly justify men's power and privilege in society. I did not expect the coaches of this study to also concentrate on the differences between the genders. However, to best describe and define their experience of coaching a men's team, it perhaps helped the participants to explain what it is not like by comparing and contrasting the experience to coaching a women's team. These coaches have a particularly close perspective because they all coach combined teams. The experience of coaching both genders was probably fresh in their mind.

To best give voice to their perspective and experience, gender differences are discussed as a major theme of this study. Subthemes of their discussion of gender differences include: (a) variability; (b) attitudes toward athletics; (c) ways of communicating and expressing emotions; and (d) coaching preference.

Gender variability. Coaches, in their discussion of gender differences, described how there was variability within the different genders and similarities between them. For instance, Kate illustrated:

> I've had issues on the team, personality issues, that on the girls' side, if a couple of girls don't like each other, they will be miserable for the whole year. Whereas the guys, usually it's not that big of an issue. Although I've had a men's team a few years ago that had several clashes – I'd send them out on a run and want them together, and they would split up, and I had to have some major meetings with the

> two factions to see if we couldn't work out their differences. At that time, the males reminded me of what is usually perceived as having typical girl behavior in their disagreement.

Because of gender variability, coaches asserted that it was more important to get to know each individual and team's personality than to rely on gender assumptions. As Sue suggested:

> Regardless, if they are male or female, you still have to get to know each person and find what makes them work and what is going to motivate them and how you need to deal with them.

Similarly, Chris stated:

> Related to gender, I really feel that I look at this person as Joe, not this is Joe, a male swimmer, this is Sara, Sara's on the women's team. I mean Joe is on the team; Sara is on the team.

Also, coaches discussed dealing with male athletes who did not demonstrate stereotypical male behavior, such as male athletes who cried or were interested in the social more than the competitive aspect of sport. However, the coaches discussed much more at length the differences between male and female athletes, and their remarks of variability amongst the genders was often a preface to describe differences between them. For instance, Liz began, "Each individual is different too. I do have a couple of women that would respond to, 'Ok, get going now,' and they would, but for the most part.... The men respond in a different way than the women."

Attitude toward athletics. Coaches described, in largely similar ways, how their men's and women's collegiate teams viewed and participated in the same sport differently. First, they saw a significant difference in competitiveness between many of their male and female athletes. For instance, as Patti articulated:

> The guys here, they all would love to be the fastest; they would like to be faster

> than they are, so they will do just about anything. You know we joke about, but definitely you have it here, and it's typical with a lot of men that I work with, bike guys, they get together, and they just can't just go easy, everybody tries to beat the next guy. Even today, it is supposed to be an easy three hour long, easy ride, aerobic base work, and they are out there killing each other. You know the guys are kind of weird – getting them to work is not the problem, getting them to recover is the problem (laughs). I mean with the women, every other block they have to make sure they don't get separated, 'Ok, you got to run for at least five-minutes before you double back, then you can double back, but don't stop and chit-chat (laughing).' You know they just want to be social (laughing).

Other coaches, like Patti, discussed how many of their male athletes were more competitive with others and themselves compared to their female athletes, while many of their female athletes were more interested in being social than many of their male athletes. Chris related:

> I have noticed this year because we have had separate team meetings, and when I go out of one and into the other, it's almost like I get a little more serious or more relaxed. I'm definitely more relaxed, I think, with the women. The women as a team are not quite as competitive as the men.... Males at this age want facts, they want technical critiquing. They don't want, 'Oh, how do you feel?' They want a little bit of that, but they also want concrete information, and so I think that puts a little of a serious tone for me.... The women are more chatty and there is definitely more of a social aspect.

Also, coaches described this competitiveness of male athletes as having more of an ego than female athletes. For instance, as Allison explained:

> Sometimes you will see with the women that they have a better short game. You are going to see guys all over the course because with guys it's an ego thing. One thing different between guys and women, guys always want to hit their driver, and so you have to get 'em to hit smart, like, 'Who cares if you hit it 20 yards past that guy if you're behind a tree?' And so that's a thing that's different when I go from the men's to the women's tournament. Women are like, 'I can't hit it that far.' And I'm like, 'Who cares, you are downhill.' And guys just want to keep beating it. It's a lot with course management. The guys definitely have an ego thing that you have to tone back a little bit, but that has nothing to do with whether the coach is a male or female, it's just a guy thing, that's what I tell them (laughing).

Finally, many of the female athletes on these coaches' teams were more focused

on academics than athletics compared to many of the male athletes. As Liz described:

> The women get very emotional about academics, and they are very invested in that. And it's very difficult, at least here, to keep women and have them swim all four years because of academics. A lot of them, once they get into their junior and senior years, are very stressed about their academics and are at the point that, 'Ok, swimming's taking too much time away from my academics, so I'm going to quit swimming so I can concentrate on my academics.' Where the men don't care; they could be failing out and they're still in the pool.... And the women do bring it to the pool; they are very emotional and very invested. And talking to them I found helps, and trying to convince them to take their stress out on the water (laughing), if they can. But most times, if they have a test coming up, I have to accommodate them and maybe swim that particular practice at a different time or something like that.

Ways of communicating and expressing emotions. Coaches talked about how many of their female athletes communicated differently than many of their male athletes, especially in dealing with conflict. The coaches reported that many of their female athletes kept problems to themselves, whereas many of their male athletes were more outspoken about problems. For example, Sue described:

> Men might get mad, but they get over it. It's like, 'I'm mad, I'm over it, let's move on.' Women, on the other, want to hold it against you forever.... It was in-between the conference meet and the cross country regional meet and one woman was upset. I asked what was wrong. I tried to talk to her about it. I have absolutely no reason why, but she didn't want to run the regional meet, didn't want to have anything to do with me, didn't want to talk, and still to this day, I don't know why.... I didn't know why she was mad or upset. She even planned to have the team to her house for dinner but cancelled. With men, they tell you why they are mad, such as, 'Oh, I skipped practice and didn't compete, so I was mad at you.'

Coaches described how their male athletes were more likely to verbally challenge them as a coach. This included questioning workouts to angry confrontations. Sue recounted an experience with a male athlete who confronted her mainly because he was upset that she did not excuse him from practice to go to a concert. She described:

> We were doing a pool workout, and he was sitting alongside the pool in his coat, just sitting there, and I said, 'What are you doing? It's time to get into the pool.' And he said, 'I'm not getting into the pool. I'm sick. I have bronchitis.' I said, 'Have you been to the doctor? If you are sick, then go back to your room and go to bed. Get some sleep.' And he's like, 'Oh, why do you have to confront me like that?' And I said, 'Why do you have to disrespect me like that? You didn't even have the courtesy to come up and tell me what was going on, that you aren't feeling well. I had to come up to you and ask you what's going on.' And he's like, 'F you,' in front of the team, 'F track,' and he said to the people in the pool, 'I'm done with this bullcrap, I'm out of here,' and leaves. And I followed him out and said, 'What going on? You don't need to talk that way. That's not right. You shouldn't act that way.' And he said, 'Screw it.'

Related to differences in projecting emotions, coaches discussed how many of their female athletes would "stew" or cry if upset, whereas many of their male athletes would yell or show anger. For instance, Allison explained:

> Men will take it out more. If they are having a bad day, the women you can tell because they are just like really down on themselves and it takes them a couple holes to get back up. Men too, but men don't, men aren't going to, one, with women, they might cry. I hate to say that, but we've had some and that's one of the mottos on the women's team is we don't cry because it's not that big of a deal (laughing). I mean there are bigger things in your life. But at the time it is because women are competitive, they want to do well. With the men, they are going to throw a club. The women don't necessarily throw clubs, but guys do.

Coaches' preferences. I found it interesting that several of the coaches reported a preference for coaching male athletes. A few of the coaches described their men's team as "easier" to coach than their women's team because of their more intense focus on sport, less intrateam conflict, and different ways of expressing emotion. A couple of the coaches expressed their preference when I initially asked them to describe their experience of coaching male athletes. As Sue asserted, "Coaching men and women are two different things, totally. And to be honest, I would rather coach men than coach women (laughing)."

However, all of the coaches who described a preference for coaching men also

described positive experiences with female athletes. For instance, when I asked Patti if she had to choose, would she prefer to coach the men, she responded:

> Oh, yeah. This is confidential; don't tell the girls (laughing). Although this year, the girls have been a lot of fun.... So I mean this year would have been a toss-up, but in terms of my history, hands down, the men.

Similarly, the coaches that expressed a preference for coaching women also spoke highly of the men's team. For example, Kara stated, "Ultimately if I had to choose, I would choose to coach women, yes, but I really do enjoy coaching the men."

A few coaches explained that they preferred to coach both genders because they presented different challenges and attributes. As Chris described:

> It's given me a lot of balance. I feel sometimes it is easier to coach the men than it is the women, and sometimes vice versa.... I prefer to coach both. I'm very happy in the position that I'm in, and I'm not sure if I had to choose between one and the other, what I would do.

Furthermore, coaches asserted that they just enjoyed coaching, regardless of gender. For instance, when I asked Kate if she had a coaching preference, she replied, "I don't know, that's a good question. I'm not sure I have a preference. I just love to coach so I'm not sure whether there is one or the other that I prefer."

Therefore, this description of coaching preference should support the idea that many women would like coaching men and debunk what Allison described as the view of many who "see no reason why a woman would want to coach a male sport." This description should not be used to support the notion that women are less enjoyable to coach or are less suited for athletics.

Thus, the coaches' descriptions of differences between male and female collegiate athletes was a major theme of this study. Their discussion of gender differences included

the subthemes: variability, attitudes towards athletics, ways of communicating and expressing emotions, and coaches' preferences.

Theme Four: Consciousness Raising and Empowerment

As discussed in the Literature Review, a central aim of critical feminist research is its transformative impact through consciousness raising and empowerment for the readers and especially for the participants of the study. I believe this was achieved during the interviews by: (a) challenging oppressive ideology; (b) sharing information; and (c) generating suggestions for social change.

Challenging possibly oppressive ideology. Throughout the interviews, there were times when I asked the participants probing questions or gave my opinion if they expressed perspectives and actions that may be used to justify women's subordination, particularly relating to women who coach men's athletics teams.

First, several of the coaches talked about the importance of having a male assistant coach. As discussed previously under the subtheme of recruiting, they spoke of the importance of having a male assistant in order to connect with the male athletes. I believe this ideology may be subversive to achieving gender equity. It may be beneficial to have representatives of athletes' identities on staff, however I do not feel that it should be described as vital. It seems like this may be used as a rationale for why men may be superior head coaches of men's team – that women need men in order to be competent in their occupations and need men to legitimate their competency to others. I wonder if it would have been as significant a concern for male coaches of female athletes. An example of my challenging what I perceived as possibly sexist ideology in discussing male assistant coaches was an exchange with Liz, who remarked:

> There's still that little bit of a barrier of they like to talk to a male about male things, I guess, so I always try to hire a male assistant coach. Because there are just, and you could probably answer this being a male, there are things that males just like to talk to males about, I guess.

Coaches spoke of the necessity of having a male coach for male athletes to talk to about male things. However I was not able to generate specifics from the participants about what sort of issues would be best talked about with a man. I believe having an assistant to relate to, perhaps on a more personal level, has more to do with authority status than gender. As I suggested to Liz:

> It's kind of interesting, you talked about maybe males need to talk to a male about male things, but I kind of wonder if it's just maybe being a head coach, you're the authority, and there may be some things that you may want to talk with somebody about more informally, so maybe you look for an assistant coach that is not going to judge you or have an influence on if you are going to swim in a meet. You can probably tell them, 'Oh, I shouldn't have gotten drunk last night.' You feel more comfortable, so maybe it's not so much a gender thing as it is an authority issue.

To this suggestion, Liz responded:

> Right. No, you're exactly right. And it's the same with the females. There are things they won't tell me because they are afraid they will get in trouble or something. Yeah, you're right.

Other coaches did not express agreement with this view, but perhaps they may revisit this idea in the future and become more conscious about feeling that it is important to have a man a man on their staff.

Another example of possibly oppressive thinking that I challenged was when participants said that they thought it would be interesting and enjoyable (and most likely more lucrative) to coach a traditionally male sport, such as football, but then expressed that they would not feel competent because they had not played that sport on a formal, organized team. For instance, Allison asserted:

> I don't know because at least in golf, I played, I'm been in a tournament, I know what it's like when you get into the last couple holes and you are leading a tournament, or maybe you have to catch somebody. I think it's hard for somebody that has never golfed to coach golf because it's hard if you've never been in that situation, like on the first tee when everybody's watching you, and you're nervous as all get out.

When I replied, "In football and basketball, a lot of men coaches at the different levels haven't played in the NBA or big time sports," Allison responded:

> As far as football, I'm not saying that women couldn't do it because if you want to coach a sport, you don't necessarily have to play it, but you really would have to do research on it and know what it's like to be on the court, or out on the course, or in track, especially because you are nervous before you start. I'm not saying that a woman couldn't coach football. I truly believe that if I wanted to coach football, and I researched it, that I could do it. I wouldn't have a problem with that. Now is football a little different in how you handle guys? I *definitely* think so. When you are in a physical sport like that, you definitely have to get them jacked up to want to go out and beat heads (laughing). But I think if a woman wants to do, I don't see any reason why she couldn't. I think the only thing that is holding women back is the experience – you've never been on the field.

Other coaches described how it would be an interesting challenge and fun to coach men in a traditionally male sport or to coach their sport at a more elite level. Moreover, they expressed that they would feel competent to do so if they had coaching experience in that sport. For instance, Vicky gave the enthusiastic rejoinder:

> I would love that, yeah. I think that would be awesome – if I definitely had the experience. If I ended up and say I was going to be the Olympic coach for the men's team, I think that would be awesome. Again, it's all relative because you don't do a lot of coaching, but you need to have been a coach in order to do that. But yeah, I think that would be exciting. I would definitely do that.

The interview dialogue possibly helped the participants and readers think more about this issue and explore new possibilities such as coaching a traditionally male sport or their sport at a more competitive level. Also, perhaps the participants and readers may examine more closely for validity the justifications that have been given for limiting

female coaches in traditionally male sports, particularly at elite levels, specifically that women do not have transferable playing experience, and female coaches are not interested in coaching men in a traditionally male sport.

Another example of how I challenged possibly oppressive thinking is when coaches stated that their difficulties and issues were due to the low profile of the sport that they coached. I may have helped raise their awareness that it may not be a coincidence that the vast majority of high paying, prestigious coaching jobs are occupied by men, and the vast majority of female collegiate coaches, especially, those that coach men's teams, coach non-revenue, DIII, individual sport programs. As Ann expressed:

> I think it's just working with your resources – many of the programs such as Debbie's [a men's and women's golf coach at her college] – are low budget, small sports. You know, we're not running with the football or basketball's budget. It's just the fact of the matter. So I think those resources, the facilities of the sports that, at least at this institution, the women tend to coach, don't have the resources available to us.

I then questioned:

> If you look at the larger picture, where are most of the women coaching? It's not in DI men's basketball or football, where they are making millions. It's more the combined programs, and coaches have other job responsibilities. Do you feel a sense of injustice about that?

The last example of how I challenged possibly oppressive ideology was to discuss with the participants about how few women coaches, particularly of men's teams, there were, and to think about and articulate views of gender equity. For instance, when I asked Kara about to talk about the number of women coaches in her athletic department, she replied:

> There are a number of women coaches: the head women's basketball, and she has a woman assistant also; the women's softball, of course, is all women; women's volleyball head coach; track and field has a woman assistant; women's soccer has

> a woman assistant; and golf, the women's coach; and that's it; that's the women's staff right there. So there's a handful (laughing). There really isn't that many, huh?

Sharing information. In addition to challenging possibly oppressive ideology, I provided information that may have raised coaches' awareness of social issues and their own situation in the social world. Before I began the interviews, I informed the coaches of the purpose and significance of my study, and why the topic interested me. Perhaps this information helped the participants better understand their own social significance. Furthermore, throughout the interviews I tied in theory and brought up social issues that coaches may not have seen as important. For instance, in discussing homophobia with Vicky, I explained how it related to her as a female coach. As I stated:

> Homophobia has been given as a reason for the decline of women coaches because male athletic directors may fear that if they hire a woman they may hit on the female athletes, even though it is much more common for male coaches to hit on female athletes.

To this, Vick responded:

> Right, right. I didn't think about that, yeah.... I had kids, which still could be a great front if I was [gay], but I do think that added a little bit more stability to it, maybe. That's interesting. I never thought about that. Wow. There's another women's coach here, I think she's single, I wonder if she ran into any of that.

Also, I hope adding information helped encourage these coaches. For instance, as I told Patti:

> I have found it interesting that all the women coaches of men's teams that I have interviewed have said like, 'I grew up in a male sport culture, or I have brothers that I played with.' And it's kind of interesting, you said that it helps to have a male, but men in sport are most likely just familiar with male sport culture, so if there is a combined program, they may be more a fish out of water than a woman who understands being a female athlete and understands male athletes because of her experience. She may have a more balanced perspective. So that could be an argument for hiring more women to coach combined programs.

To this idea, Liz replied, "Exactly, and that's a good way to put it – with balance. That's great."

In addition, I asked if the participants saw themselves as pioneers in their field. Almost all of them seemed to underestimate their uniqueness, and only one coach considered herself a pioneer. Coaches reasoned that the sports that they coached were not traditionally male sports, such as football, wrestling, or baseball, there were several other women coaches of women's teams, and the numbers of women coaching men does not seem to be growing. Also, a few coaches expressed that they would need to achieve a higher level of performance success to be considered a pioneer. According to Vicky:

> I think a lot of it for me, while I do it, until I've really had some really good success with male athletes, then maybe I would think that it is really unique. I don't think it's much for any woman to coach male athletes, but to actually generate some success from it, then I think you get into a whole different level. So now, even though I have athletes that I coach, and they're conference champions, they have gone to the Regional meet, but until they have gone on to the NCAA meet, I don't think there's that kind of stand out yet.

However, most said they viewed themselves as role models, especially for female athletes that may go into coaching. For example, Liz explained:

> I teach a coaching of swimming class here, and that's part of what we talk about. Most of the kids who sign up want to coach high school, and I talk to the females about, 'Don't be afraid to coach the males. Don't be afraid to go after the job if it's just a boys' or men's opening, whatever the case may be.' So I know I've had a little influence there. How my athletes see that, I don't know how many go into coaching, but I hope I've had an influence.

In addition, Kate saw herself as a role model or mentor for younger female coaches. She asserted:

> In a lot of ways it's nice that the other two coaches in our office are female. Although I'm at the point in my career now that I feel like I'm more of a mentor

> to them because they are quite a bit younger than I am and quite a bit younger in their coaching careers. But I enjoy that role, and I know that for the last couple of years in our conference, I've served that role for a couple of the other coaches.

Marie did view herself as a pioneer. As she articulated:

> If you look around at the coaches' meetings, whether it be at Nationals or at the convention last week, there aren't many of them around and most of them are the women's coach, hardly any of them are coaching men. So when you are actually in a room with people, I think you get a sense of how rare it is. Also, I have gotten a fair amount of attention, not a lot, but I got to speak at [a college] last winter for Women's History Month about women in sports, and June [head men's and women's track coach last year] and I actually worked together, they paid us to talk about our experience. So getting asked to do stuff like that, and then this man from the [city newspaper] came over and watched me.... It's when someone is an outside person that you're really like, 'Whoa, I guess this is pretty cool.'

Although, when I asked her if she felt like a role model or pioneer on a daily basis, she responded:

> (Laughing) No, on a daily basis, you are kind of getting by and getting stuff done. But no, and maybe I lost that perspective a little bit, why I'm.... Obviously you can tell I sound kind of burnt out. I think I have lost some of the perspective about this opportunity.

Perhaps coaches like Marie who may have felt under-appreciated or overwhelmed may have gained a sense of inspiration from the attention of participating in this study. Additionally, perhaps by explaining if they saw themselves as role models or pioneers, the coaches gained a better understanding of their social impact. Also, I tried to relate a sense of respect and support, and hopefully the coaches found this beneficial. For example, I tried to encourage Marie, who was stressed, by suggesting:

> With all your responsibilities, I think it's definitely understandable.... Also, I wanted to say, you were talking about how frustrating it was to be on a losing program and questioning your abilities and stuff, but before you give up coaching absolutely, maybe you need to go to a different situation.

Finally, I feel that I provided information or that the interview generated

information that may have helped the participants' coaching. For instance, as Patti asked me, "The whole recruiting thing, you got any answers for me?… Think back to when you were eighteen. What would be going through your mind?" I then discussed with her what I thought were possible draws for her college and cross country program – the academic reputation, proximity to the beach and a major city for internships, financial aid, and not having a track season. Perhaps by sharing my views and experiences and engaging in dialogue, particularly as a male athlete, this helped Patti's recruiting. Likewise, I hope my input and the interviews contributed to the coaches' overall knowledge base.

Generating suggestions for social change. In discussing positives and negatives of their coaching experience, the coaches of this study provided numerous ways to improve their and other women coaches of men's collegiate teams experience. For instance, support from other coaches, their athletic directors, and their institutions as well as additional assistant coaches, higher salaries, better facilities, fewer non-coaching professional responsibilities, and eliminating gender discrimination would likely help attract and keep female coaches of men's collegiate teams. Furthermore, I asked the participants directly for suggestions to improve their and other female coaches of men's collegiate teams experience and to increase the number of women coaching men's teams.

First, coaches in this study stressed the importance in changing people's mindset. As mentioned previously in the discussion of positives, the coaches talked about the importance of having a progressive-minded athletic director who was open to hiring and supporting a woman coach of a men's team. The coaches also discussed how they

influenced female athletes and physical education students to consider coaching men as a possible career (in the previous subtheme). They remarked that older generations may have too firmly established perspectives and that change may be best instigated by younger generations. As Allison described:

> We're going to have to change around our mindset, and people our age are going to have to start it because you know that people like our parents and grandparents aren't going to.... The biggest thing is a leap of faith in the athletic department to hire someone like that.

However, Kate explained her frustration in the sexist ideology of her current physical education students. When I asked her if she saw herself as a pioneer, she responded:

> As time has gone on, I don't know if pioneer is the right word because I think it's dying out; not branching out and growing. I am a little worried about women coaches overall. Probably what worries me is as I teach classes, especially as I teach first year class, nothing is changing, the attitudes of some of these kids that I have in class is ridiculous – some of the things they say. I will say, 'Well why aren't there women basketball coaches? With all these women athletes coming out playing basketball, why aren't there women coaching men's basketball?' And they'll say, 'Because men are better,' and they'll say, 'Because the women don't know as much,' and all those stereotypical things that they are saying as freshmen in college, and you would have hoped that those things would have changed by now, and I don't think those stereotypes are changing, even with the young kids now.

Patti described how she has seen dramatic changes in women's sport, particularly youth sport, since she grew up in the '60s and '70s and had the choice of only participating in either gymnastics or swimming. Also, she talked about how youth athletes may be more accepting of women coaches. As she explained:

> A lot of it's changing for the better, like little boys are being coached in swimming by their moms, which didn't happen twenty-five years ago. There's definitely all kinds of new programs where whoever is willing to volunteer and coach, whether you are a girl being coached by a man or a boy being coached by a woman, I think that's *all* changing. I think it's more than at this [college] level, it's that level, and how those kids are growing up. It's just respect the coach.

Marie said she saw changes in youth programs as well, such as soccer for little kids, which she described as largely co-ed. However, she also provided a less optimistic view and spoke of the perpetuation of stereotypical gender roles in youth athletics. As she illustrated:

> When you are dealing with guys growing up from a very young age always having their dads being the coach of their Little League or their little football team or whatever, it's just beaten into their heads from a young age that this is how it is. I mean I went out and watched, Bob's little brother is in a little football league around here, he's like nine and they play tackle football with full gear and stuff, and it's just, 'We're tough,' and made into this big deal – they have fancy uniforms, the dads are the coaches, all the moms and little brothers and sisters come watch. And for the girls, there is like this little cheerleading thing. That's just life in the suburbs; that's how it is. So it's not surprising that it doesn't occur to very many people why women don't coach men's sports. Saw more moms on the sidelines.

Furthermore, in order for progress for women coaching men's collegiate teams, the coaches described the necessity to increase the number of women in key positions, such as athletic directors. As Kate asserted:

> I think somewhere along the line, they should just go out and hire more women coaches so that you have more of a balance within programs, so that it is more equal. I think that there should be more women administrators.... And I really think that unless there is affirmative action to make people do it, they are just going to keep hiring men all the time, just keep hiring white men all the time.

Ann stated that if there were more women in coaching positions, this would help attract more women to the profession. As she described:

> I think it's not necessarily something that women think about, for the most part, and so I think it's important to just get it on their radar. I think, hopefully, as the field has more women coaches, that will help, and going to see other successful women would also be a good thing. But I think it's something that more just to get the ball rolling a little bit more.

Allison suggested that change may be best started in lower profile sports that women have experiences playing in. She explained:

> I think it has to start with golf and tennis, volleyball – look at how many men that coach volleyball that probably never played it. You know there's no reason that women couldn't coach volleyball. And wrestling, now that there are more women wrestlers, there shouldn't be a reason why they can't coach wrestling.

Vicky suggested that having a well known female coach of a women's team coach a men's team may open doors and really push the idea of women coaching men's teams on different competitive levels forward. As she expressed:

> I think of the ones that are really good women's coaches, and I think, 'Would they ever coach men's teams?' I don't know if they ever would.... I mean because then it shows that you are completely there now – you can coach anybody.... Across the board socially, I think you will have arrived when that day comes. Not that you're not successful doing your own thing, and it's all good, but I think that definitely would be setting the bar.

Finally, the coaches emphasized the need to provide opportunities for women to get relevant coaching experience. As described in the previous subtheme of sharing information, coaches talked to their female athletes and physical education students about looking at coaching as a profession. However, the coaches also discussed the need to provide women with coaching opportunities. For instance, Ann described:

> I guess for me at twenty-six, I never would have thought that I would get to be a head coach, so I think it's important, and what I would like to begin doing, is have players run a practice because I think many people don't think that they could do it, or are not sure that they could do it.... I think it's important to share the jobs and skills that you have with the players so that they have a better idea of what you do, not only because they will respect you more, but it will give them the skills if that's something that they want to do in the future too.

Coaches also discussed the importance of graduate assistantships and internships as development steps to becoming a head coach. As Ann exclaimed about the chance to work with an established coach:

> If there was any time to work with any program, I definitely would. I think for me, it's my first year as a DIII coach, I would not want to coach DI right now (laughing) as a head coach. I would love to learn, to watch a true Division I

> coach coach or a Division II coach coach, and realize the things that they do extremely well and learn. The opportunity to coach at any level, I would love.

Therefore, consciousness raising and empowerment was a major theme of this study. This may have been achieved in this study, particularly for the participants, by: challenging oppressive ideology, imparting information, and generating suggestions for social change.

Summary

Thus, the data analysis supported four major themes for this in-depth interview study of female coaches' experience of coaching men's collegiate athletic teams. These major themes included: positives, difficulties and issues, gender differences, and consciousness raising and empowerment. In the final chapter, Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations, I will discuss possible relationships between the major and subthemes of this study and the sport sociology and psychology literature. I will also provide additional interpretations of the data, conclusions, recommendations to improve female coaches of men's teams experience and increase the number of female coaches of men's teams, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine female head coaches' experience of coaching men's collegiate athletic teams. In the previous chapter, the themes of the study were described and discussed. In this chapter, the major themes of: (a) positives; (b) difficulties and issues; (c) athlete gender differences; and (d) consciousness raising and empowerment and their subthemes are discussed further along with ties to the sport sociology and psychology literature. Also, included in this chapter are conclusions, recommendations to improve female coaches of men's collegiate teams work situation and to increase the number of female head coaches of men's teams, and suggestions for future research.

Positives

The first major theme of this study was positives and included the subthemes of: mutual respect with male athletes, coaches' positive impact on male athletes, male athletes' positive impact on coaches, and professional support. First, it was promising that the coaches of this study emphasized feeling respected by their athletes. Their report is similar to the female coaches of men's teams at the high school level in Staurowsky's (1990) interview study. Staurowsky found that high school coaches' male athletes displayed the most respect and the least amount of resistance compared to other coaches, parents, and opposing players. It is encouraging that those with the closest perspective of the female coaches at the high school and collegiate levels demonstrated the most respect.

Also concerning respect, it seemed that the coaches espoused the similar belief as Bergmann Drewe (2002) to not develop deep friendships with the athletes through which a lot of personal information is shared, unless specific information helped the athletes. As Chris asserted, "As a coach, no matter who I'm coaching, I want to make sure that I've very respectful of their space and they of mine as well."

Moreover, the female coaches reported having a positive impact on their male athletes. Williams and Parkhouse (1988) found that a pro-male coaching bias by female high school athletes was altered to a pro-female bias when they participated on winning teams coached by a female. The authors suggest that male athletes' pro-male coaching bias may also be mediated by successful experience with a female coach. Although the coaches of this study did not discuss how male athletes expressed to them a new preference to be coached by a woman, they did report how some male athletes changed their negative perceptions of women as coaches because of a successful experience with them.

Furthermore, the coaches in this study talked about how they were uncertain if it was gender related, but they may have had a different coaching style than their male athletes' previous male coaches, and some of their athletes may have preferred this. Coaches discussed how they may have been less autocratic, violent, and loud. The coaches' sense of gender differences in coaching behavior is supported by sport psychology and sociology literature, which has shown female coaches to exhibit more instruction, social support, praise, and less autocratic behavior than male coaches (Jambor & Zhang, 1997; Lacy & Goldston, 1990; Millard, 1996; Saliminen & Liukkonen, 1996). However, the female coaches did not talk much about their possible differences in

coaching behaviors compared to men or describe it as a stark contrast. This supports research findings that men and women are more similar than different in their coaching behaviors, and other factors such as situational and athlete characteristics may be more influential in determining coaching behavior (Chelladurai, 1978; Chelladurai, 1993; Jambor & Zhang, 1997; Salminen & Liukkonen, 1996).

Another positive influence reported by the coaches of this study was that the male athletes gained a better understanding and more respect for women. It was interesting how coaches discussed ways in which they may have impacted male athletes' assumptions regarding women. For instance, Kate described how it was positive that her male and female athletes could see how a woman could have a career and raise children without having a "house-husband." Ann described how she challenged homophobic remarks when male athletes were speaking negatively and labeling female athletes who were aggressive as gay by asking, "Well, what am I?" Perhaps this helped Ann's male athletes realize that being a female athlete who was aggressive, outspoken, strong, successful, or not wearing make-up, does not relate to her sexual orientation or make her deviant, in addition to learning to be more accepting of women acting outside the traditional feminine barriers of etiquette. Finally, Vicky discussed how she got upset when male coaches and administrators would not let her do physical tasks such as lift hurdles when she was pregnant. As she exclaimed:

> I'm thinking, 'Come on, I'm still lifting weights, I'm still running. Just because my stomach is out to here doesn't mean that I'm not capable.' So I remember setting up hurdles and everybody was having a fit, you know, 'Don't touch them because you're…' 'I'm what? I'm gonna drop the kid right here (laughing)?'

Therefore, Vicky's male athletes, as well as male coaches and administrators, may have

gained a better understanding of the work capabilities of pregnant women, and let go of some of the assumptions they had about pregnant women's limits in the workplace.

As far as professional support, two coaches of the ten had a woman athletic director, with one coach having a woman associate athletic director. This is a close representation of the number of women athletic directors in the NCAA (19%, Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). It was promising that the coaches reported a positive relationship with their athletic directors, particularly if they were male. However, two coaches did report gender discrimination with past male athletic directors, and possibly coaches who had a negative experience with a male athletic director were no longer coaching, or the coaches did not wish to talk negatively about their current boss for fear of repercussions.

Difficulties and Issues

The second major theme of this study was difficulties and issues. The results of this study of female coaches of men's teams point to several similar difficulties and issues to those discussed in the sport sociology and psychology literature about female coaches of women's teams. For instance, Knoppers (1987) suggests that a central limiting factor for women coaches is a lack of power over one's program due to administrative restraints. Coaches of this study also discussed frustration because of administrative restraints, particularly needing more assistant coaches, a larger team budget, and better facilities. As Marie expressed, "My career coaching men has been difficult because I don't feel that I can give them everything I would want them to experience."

In addition, a few of the coaches of this study talked about feeling somewhat isolated from the rest of the athletic department. For example, Ann said that since she

had a full-time job in a residence hall, her office was in a separate building from the other athletic coaches, and she wished she had more of a connection. Also, Kate described how she and the other two female coaches had offices "down the hall and up the stairs" from the other coaches in the department, as well as the athletic director only asking the male coaches to lunch. This sense of isolation reported by a few coaches in this study is similar to that found by Pastore, Inglis, and Danychuk's (1996) in a study of Canadian female collegiate coaches and athletic administrators. The female coaches and athletic administrators in Pastore et al.'s study reported feeling less inclusion and a higher demand of inclusion than the men in the athletic departments.

Furthermore, I found it significant that the female coaches of this study did not discuss how having children contributed to their feeling overwhelmed at work. According to Weiss and Stevens' study (1993), the most common reason given by women for leaving high school coaching jobs was family, marriage, and child responsibility. Of the four women with children in this study, only one described a conflict involving coaching and raising children. Sue stated that because she and her husband had children, she would be less flexible in moving the family to pursue a coaching position in another region. However, another factor in her decision was that her husband made more money than she did and therefore his occupation may have taken precedence. As she described:

> My husband and I argue that he makes more money than I do, and I've gone to school for nine years, and I have my master's degree, and he went to college for one year, and he makes more money than I do. So, 'Why can't you go get a job?' 'Because, for one thing, if you want us to be close to your daughters, the opportunities aren't *here* right now. There might be opportunities, but we're talking totally different parts of the United States where you're not going to be anywhere close to your daughters.'

Interestingly, Patti, who does not have children, brought up child rearing as a limiting factor for female coaches. As she explained:

> How do you do it – work nights and weekends? How do women with kids work night alone, that's when your kids are home. Obviously, there are people that do that, but I don't know how.... You can say that you can recruit from home, well, no, not if you are sitting on the phone talking to a recruit, you're not spending time with your kids. So for this level, I do it all myself, so it would have to just be a change in finding funding, so it's not just a single person doing the coaching.

Therefore, the experience of these female coaches of men's teams seem to contradict the notion that women coaches are extremely handicapped in collegiate coaching because of family responsibilities. However, the coaches may have been cautious in describing this common rational that has been used to limit women in the workplace. Also, coaches who found this to be a major issue may not be coaching anymore. Finally, it is important to keep in mind the findings by Pastore (1991), that both male and female Division I coaches list spending more time with family and friends as the top reason for leaving the field. A solution may be, as Patti suggested, increasing the funding of athletic programs in order to hire assistant coaches who can lessen the head coach's time demands.

Additionally, it was significant that the coaches of this study described recruiting as their biggest issue and difficulty. The sport psychology and sociology literature has pointed to this as a contributing factor, but rarely as a major one (Pastore, 1991). The coaches of this study discussed the undesirable time demands of recruiting, as well as issues related to their gender in recruiting male athletes. As supported by research, many female athletes also have a positive bias towards male coaches, but this bias may not be as strong or as prevalent as that held by many male athletes (LeDrew & Zimmerman,

1994; Parkhouse & Williams, 1986; Weinberg, Reveles, Jackson, 1984). Again, it was encouraging that the bias seemed to diminish throughout the recruiting process as the athletes gained more information about the program, team, and coach. However, this initial bias is still a significant issue that hopefully with more women coaching men, especially successfully, will be eradicated.

As far as gender discrimination, the coaches of this study reported less blatant and frequent sexism compared to the female coaches of traditionally male high school teams in Staurowsky's (1990) study. Issues high school coaches in Staurowsky's study reported facing that the collegiate coaches of this study did not report, included: wisecracks from opposing male coaches, disapproving glances and gestures from other teams, verbally expressing disgrace due to losing to a woman, and fathers questioning their ability. The difference in findings may be due to the maturity level of the athletes and the difference between coaching higher profile traditionally male team sports such as baseball, football, and basketball and lower profile individual sports such as golf, swimming, and cross country.

Furthermore, all but one of the coaches of this study reported that homophobia was not a significant issue for them. Marie provided an example of how homophobia affected her coaching experience when she described:

> I know for a fact that the search committee talked explicitly about it in regards to me after I interviewed and they realized where I went to school [an all women's college], people did sit around and discuss whether or not they thought I was a lesbian. And I would not have gotten the job if they thought I was. So like people compared conversations they had with me to try and figure out, which kind of made me angry when I found out, but....

As Griffin (1998) and Wellman & Blinde (1997) argue, homophobia discourages women from collegiate coaching because lesbians may not feel comfortable or accepted, and heterosexual women may fear the lesbian label. Also, lesbian and single women may be discriminated against in the hiring process.

Concerning the concurring discrimination of sexism and racism, Vicky, who is black, only mentioned how those in the public assumed that her white male assistant was the head coach, her black male assistant was an assistant coach, and she was an athlete. Interestingly, when I asked her if she was more aware of her race or her gender in coaching meetings where she was a minority in both categories, she replied:

> I think being a female is always the first thing, and then it's [race] is secondary.... Now it's a second thought where I might be in a meeting, and I'll look around, and half way through it, I'll be like, 'Oh man, I'm still the only woman. This is interesting.'.... And you'll see other black coaches, and you think, 'Ok, there's three of us in here. This is good,' but at the same time, just because they share the same race does not mean they share the same thoughts and that's a thing that I've learned – that it really doesn't matter because you think when you present a thing, and that they'll get your back on it because that's been a stereotype that all black people stick together. But they don't (laughing)!

Athlete Gender Differences

The third major theme of this in-depth interview study of female coaches of men's collegiate teams was athlete gender differences. The coaches described variability among their male and female athletes, differences in attitude toward athletics, differences in ways of communicating and expressing emotions, and their preferences of coaching male or female athletes.

First, the coaches of this study discussed how each athlete they coached had a different personality, that gender stereotypes do not fit every athlete, and athletes varied in terms of how they wished to be coached. The sport sociology and psychology research

also shows how athletes' gender is one of several determining factors in how they play sport and like to be coached. For instance, studies of preferred leadership using the Leadership Scale for Sports (LSS) show that there are more similarities than differences between the genders, and other important factors in how one wishes to be coached include: type of sport, age, ability, and ethnicity (Chelladurai & Carron, 1983; Chelladurai, Malloy, Imamura, & Yamaguchi, 1987; Sherman, Fuller, & Speed, 2000; Terry, 1984). In terms of ability, eight of the coaches in this study coached Division III athletes who may have different perspectives of sport than Division I athletes, particularly in terms of competitiveness and dedication to sport.

Moreover, it is important to recognize the role that gender socialization plays in shaping men and women's attitude towards athletics and their ways of communicating and expressing emotion. Coaches discussed how many of their male athletes were more competitive with themselves and others in sport compared to many of their female athletes, and that many of their female athletes were more interested in the social aspect of sport and in academics compared to many of their male athletes. Also, the coaches talked about how more of their female athletes cried when they were upset compared to their male athletes who were more likely to yell or throw something. These contrasts are not surprising considering how boys and girls are socialized in the United States. For instance, research shows that parents use a greater number of emotional words when talking with their daughters compared to their sons, and that they talk more about sadness with their daughters and anger with their sons (Renzetti & Curran, 2003). In addition, many toys for boys encourage competition, conflict, and aggression, while many toys for girls encourage nurturance, attractiveness, and cooperation (Renzetti & Curran, 2003). In

elementary and high schools, studies have shown that teachers, parent, and students attribute academic achievement differently, with boys' achievement more often attributed to ability and girls' achievement more often attributed to effort. Therefore, many girls may believe that they must give greater effort in school than boys to succeed (Renzetti & Curran, 2003).

Thus, gender differences in attitude and actions of female and male athletes are largely shaped through their lives. Sport is a powerful socializer that, optimistically, may help women become more assertive and confident and men become more expressive of more emotions without violence and caring of others.

Also, from the coaches' descriptions of gender differences, it seems that what the coaches labeled as the male perspective was often unhealthy. It is largely accepted in the sportsworld and in U.S. culture that being highly competitive is meritorious. However, the coaches gave several examples of how being highly competitive may be destructive. For instance, Patti described how male athletes whom she coaches "kill each other" on recovery days, which defeats the goal of the training session. Also, if individuals devote the majority of their energy to beating others, they may neglect the formation of caring relationships. In addition, they may have low self-esteem if they base their self-worth on their sport performance and do not measure up (Messner, 1988). Finally, if athletes prioritize sport over school, they may be hindering their future careers, as the vast majority of them will not become professional athletes.

In terms of the coaches' preferences, it was interesting that coaches seemed to pick a preference for coaching a gender over another based on what they perceived as differences in attitudes towards sport and ways of communicating and expressing

emotions, not differences in how they perceived the genders played sport. For instance, I thought that perhaps a tennis coach would prefer coaching women over men because many collegiate women have longer rallies than many collegiate men who emphasize serving and attacking the net. A few coaches did discuss differences in how their male and female athletes played games, such as Allison, who stated that most of her female athletes "hit their ball to roll it up to the green. Guys are going to hit it to stick it right near the pin." However, it seemed that preferences in coaching were based much more on the athletes than the game.

Lastly, it was informative to see how the coaches of the study adjusted their coaching methods to best meet the differing needs and wants of their men and women's teams. For instance, Vicky described how she treats many of her female and male athletes differently after disappointing performances. As she explained:

> With the men, I kind of base it on getting back to their strategy and saying, 'This is how you raced, and this is what you *tried* to do, but this is actually what happened. So let's try to fix it.' With the women, it wasn't so much strategy, as it was, 'Let's talk about you. Why are you feeling this way? You're ok. It's not a big deal. No, they're not going to talk about you,' and there was a lot of emphasis on the relationship.

It was also interesting how Ann helped her male athletes learn to balance control and power in tennis, yet let them demonstrate their "manliness" in practice. As she described:

> We've had a few men that were successful with power, but yet they saw that a nice easy shot would have won ya the point, and they all just hit it into the net and gave it away. And so I think that it's important that they watch and learn from one another. But, oh yeah, I think it [masculinity] is important...one year I brought, my husband was a baseball coach, so we brought in the radar gun one day, and we were testing serves and to see who had the fastest. And so I think it's important to give them the opportunity to do that, and get it out of their system, so we can move on (laughing).

Consciousness Raising and Empowerment

The fourth major theme of this study was consciousness raising and empowerment. Subthemes included: challenging possibly oppressive ideology, sharing information, and generating suggestions for social change.

Challenging the societal assumption that one had to play the sport that she or he coaches, particularly at an elite level, resulted in informative responses by the coaches. For instance, when I asked Chris if she had the training and the experience, would she feel comfortable coaching a Division I football or baseball team, she exclaimed:

> That so interesting because *yes, yes*!... If you really understand the game, I mean the skill level, we're not talking about a golf swing; throwing the football, catching the football, and running, kicking maybe, but it's not a high skill sport, so if you knew the ins and the outs – the real strategy of football, I think you can coach. I mean there are probably a *ton* of football coaches out there that were pretty crappy football players, or never made it big-time, but are great coaches.

In addition, Allison and Liz pointed out that most skills in women's softball would transfer to men's baseball. Regardless, I believe that teaching sport skills is as much about pedagogy as it is about insight and experience with particular skills. So a skilled tennis teacher could most likely become a successful wrestling coach. Moreover, as Wilson (2002) asserts, coaching, particularly at the collegiate level, is as much about personnel management and administration as it is about teaching athletes.

Additionally, it was significant that coaches talked about the difficulties in coaching a low-profile sport, such as not having enough assistants, a low budget, inadequate facilities, too many non-coaching related responsibilities, and a low salary. As Kane and Stangl (1991) describe, marginalization is a situation where a group occupies less desirable positions within a profession and has less power, influence, and

status. These coaches' accounts of their experience coaching collegiate men's teams support the argument that they are marginalized in their profession, even though many of the coaches said that they enjoyed the sport and the level at which they coached.

It was also interesting how the coaches' seemed to underestimate their impact as role models and pioneers. As Everhart and Chelladurai (1998) found in their study of collegiate athletes, female athletes who had a female coach had a higher valence for coaching and perceived discrimination as less of an occupational barrier than women with a male coach. Therefore, women on combined teams with a female coach would also most likely have a greater attraction and feel more confident in coaching a men's team, which is a significant contribution from these coaches.

Furthermore, Vicky's suggestion that a renowned female coach of a women's team could work towards breaking the glass ceiling of coaching men in high profile leagues and influence the number of women coaching men at all levels is supported by Burton Nelson (1991). Burton Nelson argues that women can best demonstrate their ability by working in high profile men's sports because they are the most visible and have the highest status.

Lastly, it was significant that the coaches pointed to the need to increase the number of female administrators, particularly athletic directors, who would perhaps be more open to hiring a women to coach men's team. I think it is also important to look at the administration of the NCAA, where 93% of the voting representatives are men (Hult, 1989). What actions have they taken to increase the number of women coaches of men's teams? Have they even recognized the unequal representation of women coaching men compared to men coaching women as an issue?

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to examine the experience of female head coaches of men's collegiate teams in order to gain a better understanding of issues they faced because of their gender. Also, I sought to examine the impact they had on their coaching world and the impact their coaching world had on them, particularly concerning their male athletes. The data analysis of in-depth interviews from ten female coaches of men's collegiate teams supported four major themes, including: (a) positives; (b) difficulties and issues; (c) athlete gender differences; and (d) consciousness raising and empowerment.

On one hand, it may be concluded that these women had a mostly positive experience coaching men's collegiate teams in large part because of respect from their athletes and professional support from their athletic directors and fellow coaches. The findings support the idea that women may be successful coaching men, can have respectful and rewarding coach-athlete relationships, and may have a positive impact on men's performances and perceptions of women, especially female leaders and women in sport. On the other hand, the coaches of this study also reported several issues and difficulties that should be addressed, particularly with recruiting, feeling overwhelmed with job responsibilities and lack of institution support, and gender discrimination.

It was significant that the coaches interviewed discussed a number of differences in how many of their male and female athletes participated in athletics and communicated thoughts and feelings, and that some women preferred coaching women, some preferred coaching men, and some preferred coaching both. Furthermore, it was significant that the

coaches discussed how there was variability in athletes of each gender and similarities between female and male athletes.

Lastly, an important part of this study was to raise the readers and participants' awareness and to increase the participants' sense of empowerment. For the participants, this was accomplished through the interviews by challenging possibly oppressive ideology, sharing information to increase coaches' awareness of social issues and their significance in the social world, and generating suggestions to improve the work situation of female coaches of men's collegiate teams and to increase the number of women coaching men. For readers, I hope they gained a better understanding of the experience of female head coaches of men's collegiate teams and the relationship of power and gender in athletics, and this study may be used as support for action aimed at achieving true gender equity in collegiate athletics and society.

Recommendations to Improve Female Head Coaches of Men's Collegiate Teams Work Situation and to Increase the Number of Female Coaches of Men's Teams

Based on the finding of this study, the following nine recommendations are offered to improve female head coaches of men's collegiate teams work situation and to increase the number of female coaches of men's teams:

1. As female head coaches of men's collegiate teams, share the positives of the experience, particularly with female athletes, female physical education students, and athletic directors, such as having respect from the athletes, enjoying the coach-athlete relationship, and being supported by the athletic directors and fellow coaches in the department and in the conference.

2. Help decrease coaches' sense of being overwhelmed by providing additional assistant coaches, especially to help with recruiting, adequate facilities, and less non-coaching responsibilities, such as teaching classes.
3. Become aware of and work to eliminate forms of gender discrimination and homophobia.
4. When hiring candidates for men's coaching positions, do not emphasize playing experience and consider participation in a women's sport as equally valuable to participation in a men's sport.
5. Encourage renowned female coaches of women's teams to apply for highly competitive and visible men's coaching positions, such as for NCAA men's Division I basketball and the NBA.
6. Consider women for coaching positions for boys and men at all competitive levels, including youth and high school sports.
7. In elementary schools, high schools, and colleges, have teachers, coaches, and parents talk about coaching as an attractive occupational option for women, including coaching men's teams.
8. Provide prospective coaches with coaching opportunities, such as internships and graduate assistantships for men's teams.
9. In NCAA meetings, address the lack of female coaches of men's teams as an important issue.

Suggestions for Future Research

The following eight suggestions are offered for future research:

1. Interview collegiate male athletes who are coached by women about their experiences and perceptions.
2. Conduct an ethnography of female coaches of men's teams in order to more effectively examine serious gender issues such as sexual harassment and homophobia.
3. Conduct a study focusing on the culture of collegiate combined gender athletic programs.
4. Examine cross-cultural differences in perceptions and experiences of women coaching men in different countries.
5. Investigate the two female head coaches' experiences of coaching a professional men's basketball team.
6. Study the experience and perceptions of female coaches of youth boys' athletic teams, particularly in traditionally male sports.
7. Investigate the experience of female strength and conditioning coaches of men's teams, particularly traditionally male sports.
8. Interview high school and collegiate athletic directors about their perspectives of women coaching men's teams.

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APENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT

Hello my name is Colin Young. I am a graduate student in the Exercise, Sport, and Leisure Studies Department at the University of Tennessee. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to examine the experience of female coaches of men's collegiate athletic teams.

If you choose to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form and participate in a 45-60 minute interview. The interview will be audiotaped and transcribed. Then, you will also have the opportunity to review the transcript for accuracy prior to data analysis. After you have reviewed the transcripts, I may request a short (10-20 minute) follow-up telephone interview to ask any additional questions I may have. Then, I will write a summary of your interview, and email this summary to you for verification.

The information in the study will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely in a locked file cabinet in 144 HPER Bldg. at the University of Tennessee for 3 years past the completion of this study and will be made available only to persons involved in the study. You will be asked to create a pseudonym to preserve confidentiality. No reference will be made in oral or written reports that could link you to the study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decline to participate and may withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed your data will be returned or destroyed.

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact me at cyoung10@utk.edu, at 322 HPER Bldg., University of Tennessee Knoxville, TN 37996-2700, or at (865) 974-3340. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the Research Compliance Services section of the Office of Research at (865) 974-3466.

I acknowledge that the research procedures described above have been explained to me and that any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been informed of all the procedures in the study. I know that I may ask now, or in the future, any questions I have about the study or the research procedures. I have been assured that records relating to me will be kept confidential and no information will be released or printed that would disclose my personal identity without my permission. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time.

_____ _____

(Signature of Participant) (Name of Participant)

_____

(Date)

Colin F. Young
322 HPER Bldg., University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996-2700
(865) 974-3340, cyoung10@utk.edu

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Background questions:

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Age?
3. Race?
4. Ethnicity?
5. Are you in a long-term relationship?
6. Could you please briefly describe your educational background?
7. Could you please briefly describe your experience as an athlete?
8. Could you please briefly describe your experience as a coach?
    a. Years coaching?
    b. Which sports?
    c. Years coaching male athletes?
    d. Which sports?
    e. How did the opportunity to coach men come about?
9. What other responsibilities do you have in addition to coaching this team (i.e., teaching, another occupation, family)?
10. How many hours per day do you spend in coaching related activities?
11. What is the sport history at your school?
12. What is your coaching record at your school?

Grand tour question:

Could you please talk about your experience of coaching a collegiate men's team as a female?

Topic Guide:

1. Relationships and issues, as a female, with a men's team
    a. Importance of Gender: When are you aware of your gender while coaching a men's team? Any times in particular?
    b. Respect: Was gaining respect an issue for you in coaching a men's team? Was it different in coaching a women team (if applicable)? Would this be a different issue if you were a male coach?
    c. Comfort: Do you feel comfortable coaching men? Do you feel the same level of comfort as in coaching women? Do your male athletes seem comfortable in having a female coach? Any indications how you can tell?
    d. Enjoyment: Do you enjoy coaching men? Why or why not?
    e. Recruiting: What issues do you face in recruiting male athletes as a female coach?
    f. Difficulties: What possible difficulties have you faced, or that other women coaches may face, in coaching men?
    g. Negatives: What are possible drawbacks to coaching a men's team as a woman?
    h. Stereotyping: Have you experienced stereotyping by your male athletes, like they assume that you're going to be overly emotional or not really assertive just because you are a woman?

i. Harassment: Have you experienced harassment while coaching your men's team? If so, when?

j. Homophobia: Have you experienced homophobia with your men's team? If so, when? (define homophobia if necessary)

k. Discrimination: Have you experienced gender discrimination by your male athletes? (define discrimination if necessary)

l. Positives: What possible positives have you found in coaching a men's team?

m. Impact on male athletes, male athletes impact on you: What possible influences have you, or the experience of having a female coach, had on your male athletes? What possible influences have your male athletes, or the experience of coaching male athletes, had on you?

n. Surprises: Have there been any surprises for you, either positive or negative, in coaching a men's team?

2. Relationships and issues in the men's athletic department

a. Respect: Has gaining respect because of your gender been an issue for you in your athletic department?

b. Comfort: Do you feel comfortable in your athletic department? Have others made an effort to help? How, if yes?

c. Enjoyment: Do you enjoy working in your athletic department? Why or why not?

d. Gender inequality: Is there gender inequality in your athletic department? If so, when did it start? What keeps it going? How do you, or does

someone, resist it? How do you, or does someone, transform it? What changes do you think are necessary to make your department more equitable?

e. Stereotyping: Is stereotyping an issue for you in your athletic department?

f. Marginalization: Do you feel marginalized in your athletic department? Why or why not?

g. Tokenism: Have you experienced tokenism in your athletic department? If so, when? (define tokenism if necessary)

h. Discrimination: Have you experienced discrimination in your athletic department? If so, when?

i. Homophobia: Have you experienced homophobia in your athletic department? If so, when?

j. Harassment: Have you experienced harassment in your athletic department? If so, when?

k. Allies: Do you feel like you have an ally or allies in the athletic department, or in the coaching profession? Please explain.

l. Athletic director: Please describe your relationship with your athletic director.

m. Surprises: Have there been any surprises for you, either positive or negative, in working in your athletic department?

3. Do you prefer of coaching one gender over the other? Why?

4. Would you like to coach a men's Division I team, or men's power and performance (such as football, baseball, hockey) sport?

5. Do you have coaching role models? If yes, who?
6. Do you see yourself as a pioneer for being a female coaching a men's team?
7. Do you see yourself as a role model for other women?
8. Should there be an increase of women coaches of men's teams? If yes, why? If yes, what suggestions do you have to increase the numbers and to improve their experience?
9. What do you find most satisfying about coaching your men's team?
10. What suggestions do you have for improving your coaching situation?
11. Is there anything else you would like to add?

APPENDIX C

CONFIDENTIALITY FORM

I acknowledge that the information discussed in this research group is confidential. I will not disclose this information without the consent of the interviewer and the participants.

_____ _____

(Signature of Research Group Member) (Name of Research Group Member)

_____

(Date)

VITA

Colin Fisher Young was born in Naperville, Illinois on July 4, 1976. He graduated from Naperville North High School in June 1995. He attended Duke University in Durham, North Carolina for two years before transferring to North Central College in Naperville, IL in September of 1997. He graduated from North Central College in June 2000 with majors in history and physical education and a minor in psychology.

Colin then moved to Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania where he served as a volunteer assistant track coach at Elizabethtown College. In August 2001, he began his graduate studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He received his Master of Science degree in Human Performance and Sport Studies with an emphasis in Sport Psychology in December of 2002. In August 2005, he earned his doctorate in Education with an emphasis in Socio-Cultural Foundations of Sport and Education. Colin's plans include collegiate teaching and coaching.

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