

KAMPHOFF, CINDRA S., Ph.D. *Bargaining With Patriarchy*<sup>1</sup>: Former Women Coaches' Experiences and Their Decision to Leave Collegiate Coaching. (2006) Directed by Drs. Diane L. Gill and Katherine M. Jamieson. 218 pp.

The purpose of the study was to better understand the experiences of former female coaches and their decision to terminate their careers, especially in relation to the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport. A feminist perspective and mixed-methods design were used to allow for an in-depth and rich understanding of women coaches' experiences.

The survey sample included 121 former women coaches who left collegiate athletics in the last ten years. The survey findings suggest that time and family commitments are the main reasons these women left coaching. The open-end comments, however, provided a more complex picture of why women may leave U.S. collegiate coaching. About 18% of the participants in this sample left coaching for positive reasons such as an opportunity for a promotion or to pursue further education. However, the majority of the reasons the participants provided on the open-end responses were negative, including a lack of support by administration, burnout, difficulty balancing life with coaching, and recruiting. The patriarchal nature of collegiate athletics was apparent in the numerous open-end responses that provided reports of perceived gender discrimination and homophobia.

Six women from the survey sample were individually interviewed once on the phone. Using a descriptive analytic strategy and the process of indexing, three general themes emerged: 1) Gender disparities in women's work, 2) Technical demands of

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<sup>1</sup> The title was inspired by the work of Deniz Kandiyoti (1991).

coaching, and 3) College coaching and normalized sexualities. Overall, the interview findings confirmed the open-end responses on the survey and described gender discrimination and the centrality of male coaches in collegiate athletics. The participants reported receiving fewer resources, lower salaries, more responsibilities, and less administrative support than their male counterparts. The participants in this study had difficulty balancing work and family, and reported that others saw them “distracted by motherhood” if they had children. The technical demands of coaching (including recruiting, the time commitment, pressure to win, dealing with parents and athletes, and coaching women) proved to be a stressor for these women and led some of them to leave coaching. Furthermore, the participants provided examples of rampant homophobia in U.S. collegiate coaching. Collectively, the survey and interview results reveal that there is not *one* reason that these coaches have left the profession. In fact, participants provided multiple, complex, and overlapping reasons for leaving U.S. collegiate coaching.

BARGAINING WITH PATRIARCHY<sup>1</sup>: FORMER WOMEN COACHES'  
EXPERIENCES AND THEIR DECISION TO  
LEAVE COLLEGIATE COACHING

by

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the United States, sport is an important part of social life that has enormous influence on culture. Sport is a popular cultural practice upon which dominant ideologies are constructed, maintained and reproduced (Coakley, 2004). These ideologies are so prominent in sport that we rarely question them; they become common sense and natural in sport. Gender ideologies, for example, are perpetuated and sustained in sport through patriarchy. While discussing patriarchy's historical nature, Sage (1998) clearly defines it as a "structured and ideological system of personal relationships that legitimates male power over women and the services they provide" (p. 59). Furthermore, scholars within sport (Birrell & Theberge, 1994 and Hall, 1996, for example) imply that patriarchy is accompanied with privilege based on class, race/ethnicity, and sexuality. As Birrell and Theberge (1994) argue, sport is a unique, important and often overlooked site for the struggle of patriarchal privilege, unrestricted capital accumulation, white skin privilege, hegemonic masculinity, compulsory heterosexuality, and reproduction of privilege (p. 362).

A patriarchal society is driven by male-centered ideology where women are seen as inferior to and dependent on men. It was in part through sport activities in the latter 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries that manliness was developed, reaffirmed, and reproduced (Sage, 1998). Sport is a uniquely powerful tool in society because it provides a location

for men to reaffirm their masculinity. For example, the dominant forms of sport in the U.S. demand strength, aggression, and courage – all which are congruent with the notion of masculinity, not femininity. Furthermore, hegemonic masculinity, or a dominant cultural idea of “real” manhood, is reproduced in sport through forms of masculinity including aggressive, non-emotional, competitive, muscular, powerful, and heterosexual. This standard is different, superior, and opposite to dominant forms of femininity (i.e., peacefulness, grace, passiveness, emotional, and submissiveness). It is important to note, however, that more advanced scholarly analyses of gendered experiences in sport suggests that the categories men and women are diverse within and cannot be accurately described as polar opposites (Birrell & McDonald, 2000; Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Hall, 1996; Messner, 1996; McDonald & Birrell, 1999). Yet, related to institutional centrality and power, research does contend that men (specifically, White, heterosexual, middle-class) occupy positions of power more often than women (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004; Lapchick, 2005). Sport continues to be one of the most obvious social institutions in which socially constructed beliefs about gender benefit men (Theberge, 1993; Thorngren, 1990).

The patriarchal nature of sport has deep implications for sexuality. One of the most effective means of controlling women and their experiences in sport has been to question or challenge women’s femininity and heterosexuality (Griffin, 1998). Because many women fear being called a lesbian, their sporting experiences are controlled. Therefore, there is pressure for women to “act” heterosexual to fit in (i.e., compulsory

heterosexuality) by avoiding certain sports (e.g., hockey or football) or engaging in certain activities to prove their heterosexuality (e.g., wear makeup or date a man).

Historically, males have had considerably higher participation rates in and access to organized competitive sport in the U.S., providing further evidence of the patriarchal nature of sport (Coakley, 2004). With the passage of Title IX, the Educational Amendment Act of 1972 that prohibited sex discrimination in all institutions that received federal financial assistance, women's participation at the high school and college level significantly increased (Bray 2004; Howard & Gillis, 2003). Yet, Title IX also proved to be a "curse" for two specific reasons (Hult, 1994). First, Title IX led to the demise of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW), the governing body of women's athletics that was centered on the experiences of women. With the take-over of women's athletics by the White male-dominated National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA), men's control of women's athletics became institutionalized (Eitzen, 1986; Hult, 1994). This marked a major change in athletics for women because before the passage of Title IX and the take-over by the NCAA, women's athletics were organized *by* women and *for* women. This change is unique to the social institution of sport (compared to law or education, for example) because women *were* in charge of women's experiences at some point in history. Second, Title IX was a curse because it led to a decrease in percentage of female coaches and administrators in women's college athletics (Hult, 1994). Acosta and Carpenter's (2004) longitudinal report clearly demonstrates this trend given that women made up 90% of coaches and administrators in women's college athletics in 1972, but only 44.1% of coaches and

18.5% of administrators in 2004. Even after Title IX had been in effect for 20 years, there was almost a 5% decline of women coaches in U.S. collegiate athletics from 1992 to 2002. Research also suggests that females intend to leave the coaching profession sooner than their male counterparts. Knoppers, Meyers, Ewing, and Forrest (1991) found that 12.3% of the female coaches in their study, compared to 50.3% of male coaches, planned to stay in the coaching profession until they were 65. Similarly, Sagas, Cunningham and Ashley (2000) found that 68% of the female assistant coaches, compared to 15% of male assistant coaches, anticipated leaving the coaching profession by the time they turned 45.

Sport, and more specifically, U.S. collegiate athletics are clearly defined around patriarchal ideologies, which most likely affects the work of women coaches. Hence, U.S. collegiate athletics may not be a location where women feel supported, valued and respected. For example, research with current women coaches working in collegiate sport indicates that women are devalued. Theberge (1993) interviewed current and former coaches in Canada and found that they experience marginalization common to “token” members of a work group. The women coaches were keenly aware of their token status, provided several occurrences of being the only women, spoke of the “old boys network” regularly, and felt that their actions were scrutinized and closely evaluated. Furthermore, several coaches spoke of demonstrating that they “learned to be one of the boys” to minimize their token status (p. 304).

Thorngren (1990) interviewed past and present female coaches, athletic directors, and leaders in U.S. collegiate athletics and found the following themes were especially stress-provoking: the devaluation of girls and women in sport, isolation, gender-related

bias, marital status and personal support system, and homophobia. The women felt that because they are female, people frequently questioned their role as a credible coach. Many of the women indicated that they believed athletic administrators, athletes, and the community assume that a male coach is more knowledgeable about athletics than a female coach just because of his gender. Thorngren (1990) argued based on the women's experiences that all women coaches, particularly if they are single, are at risk of being stereotyped as a lesbian because sport is traditionally a masculine construction. One coach in Thorngren's (1990) study, for example, believed that women leave coaching because "they are tired of constantly dealing with labels and stereotyping" (p. 59).

Additionally, Inglis, Danylchuk, and Pastore (2000) interviewed previous coaches or athletic directors from both Canada and the U.S. and found that women experienced multiple realities in their work. The authors used the concept of multiple realities to better understand that not all women's experiences are the same. Specifically, several of the women indicated that empowerment and support came from various outside connections (i.e., mentors), yet others did not. The authors acknowledge that they were not trying to reach consensus on how women experience college coaching, rather attempting to give meaning to their multiple work experiences. Several of the women discussed the lack of role models for women and gender disparities in women's work (regarding salary, job security, workload, facilities, budgets, etc.). One woman interviewed described women's "second-class status" in collegiate sport, while another woman indicated how a lack of job security becomes "a real silencing technique" for women in collegiate sport (Inglis et al., 2000, p. 7). Furthermore, four of the eleven identified sexual harassment as a problem

in their work environment. Once the sexual harassment was reported, typically it was “brushed under the carpet” and ignored (Inglis et al, 2000, p. 8). Inglis et al. (2000) indicate that further study should explore the multiple meanings that women give to their work with a view to expose or eradicate “the dark side” with the hopes of fostering an empowering culture in collegiate sport (p. 10). Clearly, the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics is apparent and U.S. collegiate athletics may not be a location in which women feel valued, respected and appreciated. It is quite likely that the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics impacts women’s experiences in coaching and their decision to terminate their careers.

#### Rationale for Study

The central aim of this study was to better understand how the experiences of former female coaches and their decision to terminate their careers are shaped by the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport. Since the takeover by the NCAA, the decision-makers within U.S. collegiate athletics have been primarily White men (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004; Lapchick, 2005) and women have had to work in this patriarchal system. Research suggests that within this system, women coaches experience marginalization, devaluation, gender bias, isolation, and homophobia (Theberge, 1993; Thorngren, 1990). It is likely that the patriarchal nature of collegiate sport has impacted women coaches and their decision to leave coaching.

Furthermore, the previous studies that have addressed gendered experiences of coaches (Inglis et al, 2000; Theberge, 1993; Thorngren, 1990) have interviewed former and current coaches and athletic directors from the U.S. and Canada. There may be a

need to solely focus on former coaches from the U.S. collegiate system. It could be that former and current coaches, and coaches from the U.S. and Canadian system may be uniquely different. Furthermore, experiences of former coaches and athletic directors may be different as well. There is also a need to reach a larger number of women to confirm and advance the research.

Additionally, much of the existing research within the area of women leaving college coaching focuses on one reason women leave the coaching profession without probing for multiple reasons with depth or complexity (Hasbrook, Hart, Mathes & True, 1990; Kelley, Eklund, & Ritter-Taylor, 1999; Sagas, Cunningham, & Ashley, 2000; Stangl & Kane, 1991). Only a few studies have focused solely on former female coaches and their experiences within the coaching profession. Current coaches can speculate on why they would leave, but former coaches can provide a direct explanation for why they have left the coaching profession. Certainly, there is a need to better understand the complexities of women's experiences in coaching and how the patriarchal nature of collegiate athletics has impacted women's decision to terminate their coaching careers in a comprehensive and rich way.

A feminist perspective could greatly add to our understanding of women coaches' experiences. Sport, particularly at the highly organized levels such as U.S. collegiate athletics, is anti-feminist (Hall, 1996) and organized around the needs and experiences of men. Due to several calls for feminist analyses of sport (Birrell & Cole, 1994; Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Hall, 1996, Messner & Sabo, 1990), research has acknowledged the complexities of sport as both a constraining and liberating experience for women. For

example, Birrell and Cole's (1994) edited text brings together work from feminist-informed sport studies while providing examples of the importance of utilizing a feminist perspective in the study of women's experiences in sport.

A feminist perspective is important because it purposefully brings women's experiences to the center of the research. Feminist research can expose the power structure of U.S. collegiate sport by providing a socio-historical context and identifying the role of patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalist ideologies (Du Bois, 1983). A study using a feminist perspective with former women coaches who have worked in U.S. collegiate athletics can address concerns about women's experiences and contribute to our understanding of structural and ideological aspects of women's experiences.

Therefore, the present study included former female coaches as participants using a feminist, mixed-method approach to gain understanding of how the experiences of these former coaches and their decision to leave the coaching profession are shaped by the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport. The mixed-method approach includes both surveys and interviews to allow for a more in-depth examination of the women's experiences. Much of the research directed at understanding why women leave the coaching profession has included survey data focusing on one possible reason women leave. In this research, the surveys were used to confirm and extend previous research on why women leave the coaching profession by considering multiple reasons. The surveys provide the opportunity to reach a larger number of women with more varied experiences. The interviews, on the other hand, allow for the opportunity to get at deeper and more complex reasons why women leave college coaching. The interviews also

provide women with an opportunity to be heard and allow for a more complete understanding of women's experiences. Furthermore, a mixed-method approach provides the opportunity to cross validate data and provides a more complete picture of why women leave the coaching profession.

### Background of Study and Reflexivity Statement

Hoff (1988) argues that in feminist research, the researcher must begin by acknowledging the experiences, beliefs, and biases that brought her to the research. This process ensures that the research reflects the voices of the participants and is not just supporting the researcher's beliefs. Feminist researchers argue that it is impossible to be objective; therefore, we must acknowledge our preexisting beliefs (Du Bois, 1983; Hughes, 1995; Keller, 1990; Namenwirth, 1986; Westkott, 1990).

The proposed study grew out of my experience as a Division I collegiate cross-country and track and field athlete. During my first three years at the university, I thrived under a female coach. At the end of my junior year, Coach sat the team down in the locker room and told us she was leaving coaching. I remember being devastated; I felt I lost my support system.

At this meeting with the team, Coach mentioned that she was leaving coaching to be with her two small children (approximate ages three and seven). She explained that the long hours and the weekend travel made it difficult for her to spend time with her children. Although I believed this was part of the reason that Coach left coaching, this was also the safe explanation to provide the team (i.e., no one could blame her for

wanting to be a “good mother”). Coach continued to explain that the men’s head coach would be taking over the women’s program.

Now looking back, I believe this experience reflects the gendered and patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics. After my female coach left, the men’s coach was in charge of both the men’s and the women’s programs. The coaching staff of the combined men and women’s programs now included four men, and no women (one male head coach, three male assistant coaches, and a male graduate assistant coach). As the head coach focused almost exclusively on coaching the men, he assigned the graduate assistant to coach the women. To me, this change in structure signified the second-class status of women and the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics in two ways. First, the female assistant coach that was part of the women’s coaching staff was fired and not hired as part of the combined men and women’s coaching staff. Second, assigning a graduate assistant to coach the women with the remaining coaching resources assigned to men provided evidence of trivialization of women’s experiences as well as the lack of resources allocated to women.

Before data generation of this project, I conducted a bracketing interview with my former coach to better understand my biases. During the bracketing interview, I followed the interview guide (Appendix A) designed for this project. I discovered two important components of my former coach’s decision to leave coaching that I was not aware. First, the department head of the Health, Physical Education, and Leisure Services program approached Coach about applying for a full-time teaching position within the department. The department head stated that he was amazed that my former coach could coach and

raise two small children. He suggested that a teaching position within the department would allow her to spend more time with her family. This statement made by the male department head reflects the belief that there is a disconnect between being a “coach” and a “mother.” Second, according to my former coach, the men’s head coach was hesitant to take over the women’s program. In fact, after his takeover, he asked Coach to return to coaching several times and asked for her advice frequently about how to coach women.

I must acknowledge that because of this experience I view women leaving college athletics as a problem in sport. Certainly, U.S. collegiate athletics is not a location where all women feel respected, appreciated, and valued and I understand why women may want to leave the profession. Yet, I believe that there are negative effects of women leaving college coaching on athletes and on collegiate sport in general. I believe that a lack of a female presence in collegiate athletics perpetuates the dominance of men (specifically, White, heterosexual, middle-class men) and keeps female athletes’ experiences on the margin. More specifically, the trend of women leaving collegiate coaching contributes to a lack of role models for women athletes and coaches and continues the lack of progress for women in athletics.

My multidisciplinary scholarly background has influenced this research. Although my primary area in sport studies has been sport psychology, I have also become deeply interested in sport sociology and sport history. Therefore, I view sport and women’s issues through a psychological, sociological, and historical lenses. Furthermore, I have come to see the importance of feminist theory and methodology in better understanding oppression of women in society and sport. Therefore, this research is multidisciplinary in

nature and draws on four general areas within sport studies: 1) Sport Management (relying on scholars such as Acosta, Carpenter, Pastore, Inglis, and Thorngren), 2) Sport Sociology (relying on scholars such as Theberge, Birrell, Cole, Coakley, Eitzen, Hall, Knoppers, Jamieson, and McDonald), and 3) Sport Psychology (relying on scholars such as Gill and Roper) and 4) Sport History (relying on scholars such as Hult and Morgan).

It is important to acknowledge that I believe that using equity (for example, compliance with Title IX) as a means to solve all women's issues in sport does not address the underlying problem for women in sport. Historically, sport as we know it today is based on the male-model and solely focusing on equity doesn't address the whole problem for women. Certainly, there are structural and ideological issues that constrain women that equity will not fix. I believe that sport, and specifically U.S. collegiate sport, can be reformed and changed for the better. I believe that it is possible to transform sport in a way that women's needs are being met. Although I have benefited in many ways from collegiate sport (i.e., a full athletic scholarship), I am also very willing to critique the current structure of U.S. collegiate sport. After graduating with my master's degree, I worked as an athletic academic advisor and saw firsthand many problems within U.S. collegiate sport. Therefore, it is important to note that this work explores the experiences of the former women coaches, but it is expressed through my own analytic lens and my past experiences. As Hoff (1988) contends, it is important to acknowledge my past experiences and biases in order to insure the research reflects the voices of the participants, and is not just supporting my personal beliefs.

### Statement of Purpose

The intention of this research is to explore the experiences of former female coaches and their decision to terminate their careers in relation to the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport. This research will place women's experiences at the center and probe the depth and complexity of women's experiences in coaching and their decision to leave. Feminist research should be conducted *for* women, not *on* women; therefore, this research is designed to give back to the women involved. Specifically, the hope of this research is to make a difference in the lives of the women involved. It is expected that the participants involved in the project will learn more about their own experiences in coaching and their decision to leave the profession, as well as the findings will be disseminated in a way that will assist other women coaches (Hall, 1996; Thompson, 1992). The research is also designed to shed light on the ways that U.S. collegiate athletics could be changed to better address the needs of women coaches, possibly enhancing experiences and promoting the retention of future collegiate coaches.

### Research Questions

The current research project, therefore, is designed to address the following main research question, particularly in relation to the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate coaching:

- o How do former female collegiate coaches describe their experiences as coaches and their decision to terminate their careers?

More specifically, this research question includes two key components:

- o How do former women coaches describe their daily work experiences when they were coaching?
- o What reasons do women provide to explain why they terminated their coaching careers?

These research questions will be addressed through a feminist, mixed-method study using both surveys and interviews to collect data. The mixed-method approach allows for an extensive, in-depth and rich explanation of the women's experiences. Surveys will be used to reach a large pool of former female coaches to extend the previous research. The interviews will include fewer women, but add depth and complexity to address the research questions. The mixed-method approach adds to the strength of this study by providing an opportunity for cross validation of the data and a more complete picture of how the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics influenced women's experiences, and ultimate decision to leave the coaching profession.

#### Significance of Study

Previous research has established the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport (Birrell & Therberge, 1994; Coakley, 2004; Hall, 1996). However, few studies have used the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport as a framework to better understand women's decision to leave the coaching profession. In fact, most studies have addressed one reason that women may leave the coaching profession without an in-depth analysis of the complexities of women's experiences, the multiple reasons women may leave college coaching, and the culture of U.S. collegiate athletics. The current study adds to our

understanding of how women experience U.S. collegiate athletics and why they leave the coaching profession. The current study is also unique in that feminist theory and methodology will be employed. As Hall (1996) argues, there is a lack of feminist research in sport studies. Feminist research is typically found in the sub-area of sport sociology, yet feminist research is lacking in sport psychology and sport management. Additionally, this research attempts to provide a new vision of U.S. collegiate sport that addresses the needs of women coaches. Few research studies have asked women to provide suggestions for changing U.S. collegiate athletics (Inglis, et al., 2000 and Thorngren, 1990 are notable exceptions). This study provides a deeper understanding of the ideological and structural constraints that women coaches face and the impact of the patriarchal culture of U.S. collegiate athletics on women's decision to leave the coaching profession.

#### Summary

An overall description of the study has been provided in this chapter. Specifically, background for the study has been provided as well as the rationale, purpose, research questions, and significance of the current study. Acknowledging that research cannot be unbiased and objective, I have described my experiences, background, and my intention to allow women's experiences to be at the center of the research. In general, this chapter has provided a framework to better understand the existing literature as well the methodology, results, and discussion that will be outlined in the remainder of this work.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, a review of literature related to women coaches in U.S. collegiate sport is explored. Specifically, the literature review includes three key areas: 1) Sport as a Gendered, Cultural Practice, 2) Women's Experiences as U.S. Collegiate Coaches, and 3) Feminist Theory, Methodology and Scholarship in Sport. The first section, Sport as a Gendered, Cultural Practice, provides a context to better understand the current structure of sport in U.S. society from a socio-historical perspective. Specifically, the history of women's involvement in the current form of collegiate sport as well as hegemony/power relations in U.S. collegiate sport are explored in this section. The second section, Women's Experiences as U.S. Collegiate Coaches, explores the current literature available regarding the experiences of women coaches. Structural (leadership of women's sport, organizational culture, and resources allocated for women) as well as ideological issues (women seen as "token," gender roles, homophobia, and media images of women in sport) impacting women collegiate coaches are reviewed in this section. In the final section, Feminist Theory, Methodology and Scholarship in Sport, a description of feminist theory and methodologies is provided as well as a review of feminist scholarship in sport. Feminist theory and methodology are utilized in this project; therefore, it is important to provide a background and context of the application of feminisms to sport.

### Sport as a Gendered, Cultural Practice

Sport is a popular social institution in U.S. society. Much of the fascination with sport in the U.S. is due to the increased media exposure of sports as well as the massive explosion of sports at all levels (high school, professional and collegiate). For example, women's participation in Division I collegiate athletics doubled in a twenty-year span (from 31,686 participants in the 1982-1983 season to 68,679 in 2002-2003; Bray, 2004). As interest and participation grew, there has been a raise in interest in studying sport as a social phenomena, particularly in sports current commodified form (Sage, 1998; Zimbalist, 1999).

As Coakley (2004) clearly argues, sport is more than just scores and performance statistics; sport is an important part of our social life that has enormous influence on our culture. Sport produces, maintains, and constructs influential ideologies that can be seen throughout the U.S. culture. Ideologies, or systems of interrelated ideas that justify and explain social life as natural and common sense (Coakley, 2004; Sage, 1998), can be seen in the form of gender as well as racial ideologies. Ideologies are so deeply rooted into our culture that they are rarely questioned. Phrases in our language that reinforce dominant gender ideologies such as "sports make boys into men" and "don't throw like a girl," emphasize male superiority and female inferiority in sport. Furthermore, males have considerably higher participation rates in and greater access to organized competitive sport (Coakley, 2004). For example, historical data on participation rates suggest that boys have had and continue to have higher participation compared to females in both high school and collegiate sport (Bray, 2004; Howard & Gillis, 2003). Furthermore,

gender socialization patterns exist in which “socializing others” (e.g., parents, coaches, etc.) emphasize and encourage sport participation for boys more often than for girls (Eccels & Harold, 1991; Gill, 2000). In addition, women’s sport experience are often tokenized and deemed less credible or significant than are men’s sport experiences (Theberge, 1993). As Birrell and Theberge (1994) argue, sport is an important, and often overlooked site for the struggle of: patriarchal privilege, unrestricted capital accumulation, white skin privilege, compulsory heterosexuality, and reproduction of privilege. Sport is a location where inequalities and power struggles regarding gender, race, class, and sexuality are reproduced and we cannot understand sport without reference to these relations of dominance.

#### *A History of Women’s Exclusion*

We cannot understand the presence of women in sport today without considering the history of women’s involvement in the dominant form of U.S. collegiate sport. Historically, women have been excluded in the dominant form of collegiate sport. For example, the National Federation of State High School Association reports that only 294,015 girls participated in high school sports during the 1971-1972 school year compared to approximately 3.6 million high school boys (NFSHA, 2005). The same trend holds true for women’s participation in college sport; specifically, only 31,686 women participated in Division I collegiate sport in the 1982-1983 season compared to 81,254 men (Bray, 2004). Yet, as Hult (1994) argues, although women have been excluded in the dominant form of U.S. sport, there is a legacy of strong women leaders in the history of women’s physical education/athletics. Leaders in women’s athletics

provided a women-orientated environment long before the women's movement of the 1970's (Gill, 2000). In the late 1800's, for example, Catharine Beecher's students participated in gymnastics, croquet, archery, sailing and tennis (which was reflective of her nature-related prescription). By the early 1900's, golf, baseball, field hockey, swimming, and basketball were a part of the curricula for women in colleges (Hult, 1994).

Recognizing the exploitation of the athletes that was occurring in the men's athletic programs, the women leaders wanted to develop their own programs for women that were an alternative to men's programs. Therefore, key women physical education leaders set guidelines for physical education/athletics that included putting athletes first, preventing exploitation, downplaying competition while emphasizing enjoyment and sportsmanship, promoting physical education for *all* rather than a few, experiencing the joy of sport, and utilizing women as leaders for women and girls sport (Cahn, 1994; Gill, 2000; Hult, 1994). The Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) clarified this democratic ideal with the statement: "A sport for every girl and a girl for every sport" (Morgan, 1999; NAAF, 1930). To accomplish these idealized goals, Play Days were developed as a part of this all-inclusive, noncompetitive philosophy. Play Days included three or more colleges coming together; but instead of the women playing under the school's colors, the athletes were divided and played on a team of girls from all schools at the event (Hult, 1994). There were no winners and losers of Play Days; women, instead, participated for the joy of sport.

The exploitation, commercialism and overemphasis on winning in the men's programs greatly concerned the leaders of women's sport/athletics. This concern continued with a new liberal vanguard of athletic leaders that emerged in the 1960's (Hult, 1994, 1999). These women's concerns eventually led to the creation of the AIAW, Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women, which served as a governing body for women's athletics starting in 1971. Soon after the AIAW was developed, Title IX, the Educational Amendment Act of 1972, was passed which prohibited sex discrimination in all institutions that received federal financial assistance.

As scholars have argued, Title IX proved to be a blessing and a curse for women (see Hult, 1994 for a discussion). Title IX has proved to be a blessing for women because women and girls have made giant steps in the athletic world. In fact, Hult (1994) argues that Title IX has been the single most significant piece of legislation to affect women's participation in sport. Bray (2004), for example, reported that women's participation in college athletics (in Divisions I, II, and III combined) has increased from 74,239 in 1981 to 160,650 in 2002. In addition, women are now participating at the high school level at an all-time high of 2.8 million (Howard & Gillis, 2003).

Title IX also proved to be a curse for two specific reasons (Hult, 1994). First, Title IX led to the decrease of women administrators and coaches. With the passage of Title IX came the merger of men and women's athletic departments and with each new merger, women administrators and directors were demoted to secondary positions (Hult, 1994). Acosta and Carpenter's (2004) longitudinal report clearly demonstrates this trend given that women made up 90% of coaches and administrators in women's athletics in

1972, but only 44.1% of coaches and 18.5% of administrators in 2004. As Zimbalist (1999) argues, “It seemed, the women’s programs were too worthy of women’s work” (p. 60). The second reason that Title IX proved to be a curse is that it led to the fall of the AIAW. After aggressive yet unsuccessful lobbying efforts by the NCAA to dissolve Title IX, the NCAA began to turn their attention to controlling women’s sports (Zimbalist, 1999). Enforcement of Title IX meant that men’s scholarships, money and facilities must be shared equitably with women’s programs – all of which directly concerned the NCAA. Therefore, the NCAA began hosting their own championships for women attempting to undermine the AIAW. As Eitzen (1986) argues, the NCAA fought to maintain male superiority in athletic programs and at the same time employed various power maneuvers to destroy the AIAW. Title IX emphasized the assumption that the male model was the norm given that women were fighting for half of all of the “men’s” scholarship money, and women should be allowed to participate in the men’s form of sport. Because of Title IX’s assumption that the male model was the norm, the male model was the criterion for the women’s programs to be measured. For many, equality meant access to what the men valued in sport (Theberge, 1987).

To lure women (i.e., mostly White women) to participate in the NCAA championships, as opposed to the championships hosted by the AIAW, the NCAA provided free trips, free memberships for women’s programs in which men’s programs belonged, and organized a national television package for the final round of the women’s basketball championship at the same time as the AIAW’s championship game (Zimbalist, 1999). With all of the “perks” the NCAA provided, it may be obvious that many

women's teams selected to attend the NCAA championships as opposed to the AIAW's. The AIAW was not as financially stable as the NCAA, and being overwhelmed by the NCAA maneuvers, the AIAW were forced to suspend operations in 1982 (Hult, 1994). As Hult (1994) cleverly argues, the educational values of the women's alternative model seemed to be lost in "the battle for equality" (p.99).

The power of women's sport experience now lay in the hands of men (particularly White, middle-class, heterosexual, Western men). Before the dissolving of the AIAW, 75% of the voting delegates that made decisions regarding women's participation in sport were women. However, after the take-over by the NCAA, 95% of the voting representations were men (Hult, 1994); thus, the NCAA is a male-dominant organization that clearly is "in control" of women's experiences in U.S. collegiate athletics. Still today, the majority of the members of the NCAA's Executive Board are White men. Specifically, men hold 28 of the 32 positions on the executive board (87.5%; NCAA, 2005), with the majority of those men being White.

#### *Hegemony/Power Relations in U.S. Collegiate Sport*

Power struggles over the control of women's experience in collegiate sport can be clearly seen in the NCAA's work to dissolve the AIAW. Hegemony, a theoretical concept relying on the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971), can be applied to sport to better understand women's historical and current status. Hegemony, or subtle forms of coercion, refers to the dominance and influence that can be seen in sport and society (Sage, 1998). Specifically, Johnson (2000) states that hegemony refers to a particular type of dominance in which the ruling class legitimates its position. Hegemony works to

form consent around a particular ideology that is accepted as natural, normal, and commonsense by those subordinated to it. Specifically, dominant groups use their power and influence to promote attitudes, beliefs, and values to secure the willingness of those without power. Those with power secure their beliefs in two ways: 1) By preventing others from raising demands, and/or 2) By having their interests prevail in conflict with others (Sage, 1998). As Theberge and Birrell (1994) explain, people in the subordinated position or those not served by the system are less likely to challenge their status because they either: 1) think and/or feel that their inferior status is a result of their own failings – the idea of “blame the victim,” or 2) that the pattern of discrimination and inequity seem natural so they don’t question their experiences. Hegemony, therefore, is the “simple acceptance of the status quo in society” (Whisenant, Pedersen, & Obenour, 2002, p. 486).

Two related concepts related to hegemony in sport include hegemonic masculinity and compulsory heterosexuality; hence both will be explained in order to truly understand the complex experiences of women in sport today. Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant form of masculinity in any culture; hence, there may be many forms of masculinity, but one form is dominant over the rest (Johnson, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity is a particular culture’s standard of real manhood, that is, the most lauded form of masculinity at a particular time in history (Whisenant et al., 2002). At this particular time in the U.S. culture, the dominant form of masculinity includes attributes such as aggressive, non-emotional, competitive, muscular, powerful, heterosexual, and dominant and is considered different and superior to femininity. Femininity, which is

implied as opposite, is associated with peacefulness, grace, passiveness, emotional, and submissiveness in U.S. society.

The notion of hegemonic masculinity places women in a lower social position, and in a society of hegemonic masculinity, women are not accepted in some areas. As Theberge (1993) clearly argues, sport has been one of the most obvious settings in which men can display traits and abilities that “signify masculine power and authority” (p. 301). All women’s experiences are limited in sport. For example, the denial of women to experience force and power in sport (e.g., in U.S. collegiate football) legitimates men’s control over women’s bodies. This domination of women by men (specifically, White, heterosexual, Christian men) derives from the ideology that success in sport is based on physical strength. As Theberge (1993) argues, men have physical strength, but women do not. Essentially, both men and women in sport are evaluated in terms of masculinity, a standard women can never reach.

Furthermore, sport promotes universal categories of masculinity and femininity in which both men and women are impacted. All women are clearly impacted by hegemonic masculinity; however, men are impacted as well. If men do not fit the dominant form of masculinity, they are singled out and isolated. Messner (1992) argues that the male hierarchy within sport renders some men (e.g., male in “minor” sports, gay males, males of color, etc.) as less powerful. In other words, *all* men are not created equal in sport. Men that fail to conform to contemporary notions of appropriate masculine behaviors (i.e., hegemonic masculinity) are marginalized. Furthermore, Messner (1992) argues that

sport shapes boys into men, but not girls into women and if men don't "do sport," they aren't "real men" – all which support the notion of hegemonic masculinity.

Compulsory heterosexuality, or the requirement of identifying and acting heterosexual to fit in and be welcomed, is manifested in sport. As Birrell and McDonald (2000) argue, sport as a male preserve has deep implications for sexuality; homophobia reinforces gender expectations, women who play sports are labeled as lesbians, and gay men are dismissed as "unmanly" and have not been welcome in mainstream sport. Thus, compulsory heterosexuality is "remade through sport" (Birrell & McDonald, 2000, p. 6). Furthermore, Birrell and McDonald (2000) argue that the terms homosexual and heterosexual were invented to differentiate and place sexual behaviors in a hierarchy.

However, even gay men can "do heterosexuality." As Messner (1996, 1999) discussed, gay men may "act" in a heterosexual way to align themselves with power. Sexuality is not about whom you are having sex with – instead it is about power. A person can "do sexuality" and perform acts of heterosexuality to identify with "systems of power, status, and privilege" (Messner, 1999, p. 233), yet identify with a same sex partner. Sexuality must be viewed as a fluid concept in which the lines between heterosexual and homosexual are not stringent. We must consider the social level, or the power structures, of society to fully understand sexuality in sport. Furthermore, Messner (1996) argues that it is important to "study up" in sport, which may include considering heterosexuality and whiteness in sport (p. 222).

*Power Lines Crossing*

Yet, by looking solely at binaries (e.g., male/female, heterosexual/homosexual, black/white), we are limiting our understanding of power (Birrell & Cole, 1999). Fausto-Sterling (2000), a biologist, contends that there are many gender categories, not just two (e.g. male/female). Coakley (2004) and Omi and Winant (1994) both contend that race cannot be categorized into two categories. Race is on a continuum, just like gender, social class, sexuality, ability, religion, etc. Therefore, not everyone can be stuck into neat categories and universalizing experiences (i.e., *all* women, *all* Black people, etc.) can occur if one system of power is used over another.

Birrell and McDonald (2000) argue that often narratives privilege one identity (e.g., race, class, gender) while ignoring the others. Structures of dominance (e.g., race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, nationality, ability, religion, etc.) do not work independently and cannot be understood in isolation of each other, they argue. To move beyond binaries is to understand the “space in the middle” or the “third space” (McDonald & Birrell, 2000; Jamieson, 2003). This “third space” is outside the binaries and a space without labels in which the most powerful work can be done. In focusing on only one relationship of power, we produce an “incomplete and dangerously simple analysis” (Birrell & McDonald, 2000, p. 7).

Furthermore, additive models (women + black) do not offer a comprehensive analysis to completely understand the complexity of people’s lives. As Hall (1996) argues, “Race does not merely make the experience of women’s oppression greater; rather, it qualitatively changes the nature of that subordination” (p. 44). Black, Latina,

Asian, and Native American women do not simply experienced increased oppression; their disadvantaged status in sport is qualitatively different from their white counterpart and different from each other (Birrell, 1990; Smith, 1992; Jamieson, 2000).

This section clearly demonstrates the pervasiveness of sport and powerful ideologies formed in sport. These theoretical concepts (e.g., hegemony, hegemonic masculinity, and compulsory heterosexuality) provide a foundation for us to understand how ideologies related to gender are formed in society and in sport. Coupled with the understanding of women's exclusion in the dominant form of U.S. collegiate sport, we can better understand the current experiences of women coaches in U.S. collegiate sport.

#### Women's Experiences as U.S. Collegiate Coaches

Coakley (2004) argues that the increased participation of girls and women in sport has been the single most dramatic change in the world of sport. One would assume, therefore, that with the increase of girls participation in sport, the percentage of women coaches has also increased. This has not been the case, however. In fact, the percentage of women coaches has decreased drastically since the passage of Title IX (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). With this drastic decline clearly documented, sport scholars have been investigating women's experiences as college coaches for several decades. This scholarly work can be separated into two larger constraints faced by women: structural and ideological. Therefore, structural issues (leadership of women's sport, organizational culture, and resources allocated to women coaches and athletes) as well as ideological issues (women seen as "token," gender roles in sport, homophobia, and media images of women) impacting women collegiate coaches are reviewed in this section.

### *Structural Constraints*

Sage (1998) argues that every American is “immersed in a complex network of gender relations” that are socially constructed and provide a structure for interaction between males and females (p. 60). This structure of society provides a framework for us to understand gender, race, and class as it relates to roles, statuses, rules and norms that form the backdrop of everyday life and of sport. Furthermore, looking closer at the social structure of an organization (i.e., sport and more specifically, U.S. collegiate athletics) can provide us with an understanding of patterns within the system and distributions of resources (Johnson, 2000). Women as a whole, as well as people of color, disabled individuals, and gays and lesbians, work in positions that are low in the organizational hierarchy. In this section, several key structural issues facing women coaching in U.S. collegiate sport will be explored including the leadership of women’s collegiate sport, the organizational culture, and resources allocated to women coaches and athletes.

#### *Leadership of Women’s Sport*

Since the AIAW was dissolved, men (specifically, White, heterosexual, middle-class men) have been accepted as legitimate organizers of women’s sport experience; they tell us (the mostly White women that participate) when to play, where to play, and what to play. The NCAA, which now controls women’s programs, is almost governed exclusively by White men (NCAA, 2005). Furthermore, the majority of athletic directors overseeing the women’s athletic departments are White men (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004; Lapchick, 2005). The role of an athletic director is key to the success of any athletic program and he/she controls the day-to-day operations of that program. As Myles Brand,

the current president of the NCAA, suggested, there are four main areas of responsibility of any athletic director: financial, personnel, fundraising, and marketing (Baughman, 2003) in which he/she provides the structure and key decision making within the athletic department. Acosta and Carpenters' (2004) widely accepted report acknowledges that before Title IX was passed, women were in the key decision making positions for women's teams. In 1971, women directed 90% of women's athletic programs. Today, however, women direct only 18.5% of the programs for women athletes. In fact, Acosta and Carpenter (2004) report that 17.8% of women's athletics program had no females at all - at any level. Division I, which is the most elaborate and prestigious of the three divisions of the NCAA, includes the smallest percentage of female athletic directors (8.7% compared to 16.9% in Division II and 27.5% in Division III). There are more female college presidents of Division IA schools, the larger of the two classifications within Division I, than there are female athletic directors of Division IA programs. Certainly, as Acosta and Carpenter (2004) argue, "There has been a loss in the presence of a female voice in athletic director's offices of NCAA schools" (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004, p. 3).

Lapchick (2005) in *The 2004 Racial and Gender Report Card: College Sports* provides similar statistics regarding the bleak status of women administrators. Lapchick argued that people of color and women continued to be underrepresented in the top administrative level. In Division I, White women hold 6.5% of the positions compared to only .4% Asian women, .4% Native American women, and 0% African American women in Division I collegiate athletics. Lapchick argued that the position of athletics director

was “one of the Whitest position in all of sports when HBCUs [Historically Black Colleges and Universities] were excluded” (p. 4). When combining both men and women, Whites hold 95% of the head athletics director positions in Division I, 94.1% in Division II, and 95.5% in Division III.

The same trend, the dominance of White men, can also be seen in the percentages of U.S. collegiate coaches for women’s teams. When considering gender alone, Acosta and Carpenter (2004) report that the proportion of women head coaches has decreased since the passage of Title IX from over 90% in 1972 to 44.1% in 2004. Although the largest decline in the proportion of women coaches took place between the years of 1972 and 1978, the last decade has seen a decrease of approximately 5% (from 49.4% in 1994 to 44.1% in 2004). This recent statistic of 44.1% is close to the *lowest* representation of females as head coaches in history (only 44.0% in 2002 was lower). In both Acosta and Carpenter’s 2002 and 2004 report, they acknowledged that men are being hired at a faster rate for head coaching positions with females compared to women. In their 2002 report, for example, Acosta and Carpenter report that women were hired for less than 10% of head coaching positions for women’s athletic teams between 2000-2002 (only 35 of 361 head coaching jobs for women’s teams). Even though over half of women’s teams are coached by men, women rarely coach men’s teams. In fact, less than 2% of men’s teams across all divisions are coached by women (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Lapchick (2005) reports similar findings stating that women hold 41.9% of head coaching positions of women’s athletics in Division I, 35.5% in Division II, and 43.9% in Division III. When looking exclusively at race, Lapchick (2005) reports that among women’s teams, Whites

hold 91.3% of the positions in Division I, 90.8% of the positions in Division II, and 93% of the women's coaching positions in Division III.

Certainly this data suggests that the norm of a coach in U.S. women's collegiate athletics is to be White man (more specifically, a middle-class, heterosexual, White man). As Knoppers (1992) argues, "It is obvious that coaching is a male-dominated occupation and it is becoming increasingly more so" (p. 211). This is particularly interesting given that in other male-dominated professions such as law and medicine, the proportion of women have steadily increased since the 1970's. Furthermore, this data suggests that women of color as administrators and coaches are almost completely absent and invisible in U.S. collegiate athletics.

#### *Organizational Culture*

When considering the "situation" for female coaches in U.S. collegiate athletics, Knopper's (1987, 1992) has applied a model from the business world (Kanter, 1977) to better understand the structure of collegiate athletics. Knopper's (1987, 1992) application of Kanter's model to sport is important because it provides a theoretical perspective in considering the under representation of women coaching in U.S. collegiate sport.

Kanter's first component of her model, opportunity, suggests that people with little opportunity to advance to other jobs or move upward in an organization tend to exit the profession. Applying the model to sport, for example, a women who coaches Division I women's basketball could either make a horizontal move to another women's basketball position, but if she wants to coach a men's basketball team or advance to an administrative position, her chances are slim compared to a male coach in a similar

position. In U.S. collegiate sport, men clearly have more opportunities to move up and advance. Men have the opportunity to coach either men or women; however, women are less likely to coach men (in fact, only 2% of men's teams in the nation are coached by women; Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Men have a greater chance to move into an administrative position compared to women given that a large majority of the current administrators today are men (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Supporting Kanter's model, two studies conducted with female coaches via questionnaires provide evidence that women are more likely to envision leaving collegiate coaching compared to men. Knoppers, Meyers, Ewing, and Forrest (1991) found that 12.3% of the female coaches in their study, compared to 50.3% of male coaches, planned to stay in the coaching profession until they were 65. Similarly, Sagas, Cunningham and Ashley (2000) found that 68% of female assistant coaches, compared to 15% of male assistant coaches, anticipated leaving the coaching profession by the time they turned 45. The lower satisfaction by women coaches could be due to sex discrimination in the workplace, the lack of opportunity they see in U.S. collegiate athletics for women, the lack of job security, or the success of the "good old boys network" - all structural determinants of gendered work behavior.

The second component of Kanter's model, power, is defined as having access to and the ability to mobilize resources and support (Knoppers, 1992). Kanter argues that those with little access to resources (i.e., power) tend to be less satisfied, and therefore, tend to exit the profession. Coaches with power can make decisions without getting their supervisor's approval, they are able to obtain a full-time secretary, their budgets are

approved without question, they are consulted in important decisions within the athletic department, and they socialize outside of work with athletic administrators. Coaches lacking power, however, may not have a say in hiring their assistant coaches, have no full-time secretary, must plea for budget items/requests, must consult with their supervisor when making decisions, only see the athletic director at scheduled meetings, and learn about the key decisions in the athletic department by reading the newspapers or publications provided by the athletic department (Knoppers, 1987). Power in a collegiate athletic department can be divided along the lines of the type of sport (specifically, revenue or non-revenue), but also along the lines of gender. Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing, and Forrest (1990) found that male and female basketball coaches differed in their access to resources. Specifically, men in revenue sports had a greater degree of access to and use of resources while women in non-revenue sports were most limited in their access to and use of critical resources. Furthermore, Knoppers (1987) argues that coaches who coach men's football and basketball typically have more power and receive full control over their programs. Since women rarely coach in these positions, the number of women coaches with power in any athletic department is virtually nil (Knoppers, 1987).

The final component of Kanter's model, proportion, refers to the notion that the lower the gender proportion in an organization, the more likely women will be treated as "token." Kanter suggests that just by changing the gender ratio in an organization will help erase gender segregation by decreasing the isolation of women. The increase in gender ratio positively changes the attitudes of women because they are more likely to perceive the job to be "women-friendly." Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing, and Forrest (1993)

found that women reported more women-to-women interactions under high gender-ratio conditions than under low, concluding that the increase of gender ratio could decrease the isolation of women. Furthermore, because a lower percentage of women are coaching women compared to men, research suggests that female athletes are less likely to see themselves working in the coaching profession (Kamphoff & Gill, 2006; Knoppers, 1992). Knoppers (1992) argues that fewer girls see themselves as coaches and are not brought up to believe that coaching is a desirable job. It is possible that by changing the gender ratio in athletic departments, this could also influence female athletes' perceptions that coaching is a viable career path for them. However, as Knoppers (1987) argues, it is important to note that as long as women are considered only qualified to coach women teams (and not men's teams), women will always be the minority.

Clearly, women experience unequal access to opportunity, power, and proportion (all structural constraints) within the current organizational structure of U.S. collegiate athletics. Another means to understand women's unequal access to opportunity, power, and proportion is to consider the "good old boys network." Researchers have demonstrated that men tend to hire men and women tend to hire women (Lovett & Lowry, 1994; Stangl & Kane, 1991). Understanding this trend is important because Acosta and Carpenter's (1985) study with women coaches indicated that women would leave the coaching profession because of the "good old boys network." Demonstrating the "good old boys network," Stangl and Kane's (1991) research focused on the theoretical concept of homologous reproduction or the tendency of "dominant group systematically reproduce itself in its own image" (p. 50). Stangl and Kane (1991) found

that significantly more women were hired under female versus male athletic directors. Furthermore, current female U.S. collegiate athletes provided the “bias of the old boys network” as one reason they would not enter the coaching profession (Kamphoff & Gill, 2006).

Acosta and Carpenter’s (1988) findings suggest athletic directors believe the reason for the lack of women coaches is due to five reasons: 1) The lack of qualified female coaches, 2) The failure of women to apply for job openings, 3) The lack of qualified female administrators, 4) Time constraints placed on females due to family duties, and 5) Females earlier burn-out and retire from coaching and administration. By emphasizing the inadequacies of women, the male athletic directors blame the decline of women coaches on individual women rather than on any institutional or structural factor. It is here, on the administration level, that individuals have the power and opportunity to determine who gets hired and fired. Workshops that focus on building weaknesses in women coaches also blame the victim by making the assumption that through workshops, women can become more competent and qualified, as though women are not already competent and qualified. Stangl and Kane (1991) argue that the central element in explaining these results is the issue of power/hegemony. Even though women administrators may have some power within women’s athletics, they are so few in numbers that their overall impact is extremely limited. Furthermore, Stangl and Kane (1991) conclude that the fact that women continue to be grossly underrepresented in the coaching profession is framed entirely in terms of female incompetence. Stangl and

Kane (1991) argued that if structural and institutional variables that perpetuate male hegemony are ignored, the emphasis will remain at “blaming the victim.”

It is also important to consider an additional structural constraint that women face related to the organizational hierarchy of U.S. collegiate athletics. Specifically, when interviewing previous coaches and women athletic administrators, Inglis et al. (2000) found that four of the eleven women they interviewed identified sexual harassment as a problem in their work environment. The harassment came from both male staff and male athletes and affected both the coaches as well as their female athletes. One coach indicated that when she took the issue to the athletic director, he only demanded that she speak to no one about the situation. When another female coach reported the sexual harassment, it was “brushed under the carpet” by the athletic director as well as an administrator higher than the athletic director (Inglis et al., 2000, p. 8). Certainly, the hegemonic masculinity that is present in the structure of U.S. collegiate athletics naturalizes men’s power and places women in a subordinate position, allowing women to be subject to sexual harassment (Whisenant et al., 2002). From Inglis et al.’s (2000) results, it is clear that the sexual harassment faced by women in U.S. collegiate athletics is too commonly ignored.

#### *Resources Allocated to Women Coaches and Athletes*

The monies and resources allocated to women coaches and women’s programs within U.S. collegiate athletics – another structural constraint faced by women – indicate women’s second-class status. Even though Title IX “requires” college athletic departments to provide equal funding by prohibiting sex discrimination in all institutions

that received federal funding, women still are discriminated against in this regard. In the 2002-03 *NCAA Gender Equity Report*, Bray (2004b) states that on average in Division I, \$3.4 million of total expenses are spent on women athletics compared to \$6.5 million spent on men's athletics. Furthermore, \$97,300 is spent in recruiting dollars for women's athletics compared to \$199,500 spent on men. Roughly \$1.3 million is spent on women's scholarships compared to \$1.7 million spent on men's scholarship in Division I institutions. Eitzen (1999) argues that it is not uncommon for an athletic program with a big-time football program to spend more money on their football team than on all women's sports. Weistart (1996) found, for example, that 85 Division IA schools spent an average of \$4 million on men's football while spending \$1.8 million on *all* of women's sport. The lack of equal funding of women's athletic department provides further evidence of the dominance of male hegemony as well as structural constraints that women face today. Clearly, from these numbers and figures, male involvement in U.S. collegiate sport is valued.

Full-time coaching has been defined as a "male" occupation (specifically for White, heterosexual, middle-class men) and this can be seen in the inequity of pay for women coaches. Humphreys' (2000) study analyzing Division I male and female head basketball coaches' salaries indicated that women's head basketball coaches receive only about half of the salary of men's head basketball coaches, even when accounting for differences in human capital, job performance, and revenues generated by the basketball program. Humphreys' (2000) argues that this large gap in salary, an average of \$71,000 for men's head basketball coaches compared to \$41,000 for women's head basketball

coaches, may be due to the prestige of men's sport, discrimination held by either athletic directors or consumers of U.S. collegiate sport, or the ability of men's basketball coaches to capture more "monopoly rents" compared to women's basketball coaches (p. 305). Across all sports in Division I, a similar trend appears. In 2002-03, the average money spent on head coaches' salaries for women was \$410,200 compared to \$660,500 spent on men's head coaches' salaries (Bray, 2004b). A larger gap in assistant coaches' salaries appears across all sports in Division I. For example, \$702,900 was spent on salaries for male assistant coaches, whereas only \$300,700 was spent on women assistant coaches in 2002-03 (Bray, 2004).

The lack of pay of women's coaches is clearly a reason some women leave college coaching. In investigating the reasons that current Division I coaches of women's athletic teams would leave the coaching profession, Pastore's (1991) study found that 58% of the respondents indicated that a "lack of financial incentive" was a reason they would leave the profession. In Pastore's (1992) study, with two-year college coaches of women's teams, a "lack of financial incentive" was the sixth highest reason for leaving coaching. Furthermore, in Kamphoff and Gill's (2006) study with Division I collegiate athletes, "lack of pay" was the third highest reason that would prevent women collegiate athletes from entering the coaching profession (only "Other professions are more attractive" and "Coaching conflicts with family responsibilities" were higher). In addition, Inglis, Danylchuk, and Pastore's (2000) interviewed eleven women who were former coaches and athletics directors and found that gender differences in allocation of resources was a key determinant in their experiences within collegiate athletics. The

women indicated gender disparities in regard to salary, workload, historical pension contributions, team facilities and operating budgets (e.g. travel, recruitment, scholarship monies). One woman in the study, for example, indicated that women coaches in positions without much job security becomes a “real silencing technique” (Inglis et al., 2000, p. 7). The imbalance of facility allocation also was a large issue and a location where major gender differences could be seen. One woman indicated that she had to fight for gym time, and the women were “really considered second class citizens [in] a lot of ways” (p. 7). In Thorngren’s (1993) study with previous and present coaches, athletic directors, and leaders, she argued that one reason that women leave assistant coaching positions is because the pay is so low that they can’t “afford” financially to stay.

This section provides a summary of key structural constraints that women coaches face in their work in U.S. collegiate athletics. These structural constraints – the leadership of women’s collegiate sport, the organizational culture, and the resources for women coaches and athletes provide evidence of the continual devaluation of women in U.S. collegiate sport. Furthermore, it is essential to recognize the structural constraints faced by women in U. S. collegiate athletics in order to avoid “blaming the victim” (the women) and to acknowledge the structural and institutional variables that perpetuate male hegemony (Stangl & Kane, 1991).

### *Ideological Constraints*

Gender ideologies, or interrelated ideas about gender that members of society do not question, are overtly apparent in the social institution of sport (Coakley, 2004; Sage, 1998). These ideologies, along with the dominance of both hegemonic masculinity and

compulsory heterosexuality, are perpetuated and reinforced in sport. As Knoppers (1992) argues, coaching as a full-time, paid occupation has existed primarily for men (that is White, heterosexual men) and has been defined by them; therefore, the norm of a coach is that *he* is a male – and a *heterosexual*. Certainly, the majority of the high profile coaches in U.S. collegiate sport are *heterosexual* as well as *men*, not women (e.g., Florida State’s football coach, Bobby Bowden, or Duke’s men’s basketball coach, Mike Krzyzewski). One woman, Pat Summit the University of Tennessee’s women’s basketball coach, is a notable exception. Clearly, one way that consumers of collegiate sport can “tell” the coaches are heterosexual are by the pictures of the coaches with their spouses and families that the media and athletic departments intentionally present. Even Pat Summit, for example, is heterosexualized when the media intentionally emphasizes pictures of her husband and son attending Tennessee’s games. In this section, several key ideological issues that women face in sport will be explored including: women seen as “token,” gender roles in sport, homophobia, and media images of women.

#### *Women Seen as “Token”*

Theberge (1993) argues that one of the cultural practices most significant to the construction of gender is sport. For men, sport has historically been a location to display traits that “signify masculine power and authority” (Theberge, 1993, p. 301). The denial of women to experience force and power in sport represents the control of women’s bodies by men under patriarchy. Theberge’s (1993) work explored the construction of gender in the work of women coaches and ways that the women’s work confirmed differences between the sexes. She interviewed former and current women coaches in

Canada and found that women coaches experience marginalization common to “token” members of a work group. The women Theberge interviewed were keenly aware of their token status and could provide clear examples of their isolation. A common example given by the women coaches included being interviewed by a selection committee of all men or being the only woman coach at a clinic, training camp, board meeting, conference, or a competition. The women coaches spoke of the “old boys network” in which coaching presented a “sort of male fraternity” (Theberge, 1993, p. 303). As other token members of work groups (Kanter, 1977), the women felt that their actions were scrutinized and closely evaluated. In an attempt to “fit” in sport, the women tried to be “one of the boys.” For example, one woman explained that “Once they [the guys] got the idea I wasn’t going to pull a female thing on them or I was part of the group and that there was no special behavior necessary by them, they didn’t have to be on their guard” (Theberge, 1993, p. 304). Another woman added that one male president of his sport club said to her, “If women in this country that were coaching could get on and coach first and forget about being women...that would be better” (Theberge, 1993, p. 304). Several times women stressed their performance at being invisible and minimize the role of gender. By trying to “ignore” their identity as a female (“I’m a coach first, a female second”), the women attempted to demonstrate their competence as coaches (not women) in a male dominated profession. For the most part, the women that Theberge interviewed accepted their token status in sport and realized it was something they must deal with (i.e., by being “one of the boys”); therefore, they did not actively challenge their token status.

Theberge (1993) argues that at the heart of women's token status is the ideology of masculine superiority; specifically, the ideology that males are naturally superior athletes and therefore make the best coaches. Several women coaches that Theberge (1993) interviewed had lost athletes because parents felt that their son or daughter would improve more with a male coach. As one coach indicated, "I got a call that it was time she had a man – [the parent said] 'she's at that age where she will perform better for a man, she will learn better from a man because she needs that attention'" (Theberge, 1993, p. 308). Certainly, there is a common belief that men are able to adapt to coaching women's sport, while women have more difficulty coaching men's events. As one coach stated, "There are very few women tennis pros that are head professionals at clubs because there is always a kind of chauvinism that men don't want to take lessons from women" (Theberge, 1993, p. 306). Theberge (1993) argued that women's sports and women coaches are evaluated in terms of masculinity, a standard that can never be reached. Therefore, women may not leave the coaching profession because they are women, but because they have less power and less access to resources because of their second-class status.

Thorngren (1990) found similar results of women's token status after interviewing past and present female coaches, athletic directors, and leaders in sport. Contributing to the devaluation of women, the coaches believed that the administrators and community placed more emphasis on male athletic programs to produce outstanding records. However, the more emphasis on male athletic programs did not result in less pressure for female coaches. One coach indicated, "There is a lot of pressure in always being

considered second class” (Thorngren, 1990, p. 57). The women felt frequently alone in an athletic setting because their viewpoint always seemed to be “a little bit different” (Thorngren, 1990, p. 57). Many of the women believed that there was an assumption made by administrators, students, and the community that males were more knowledgeable in athletics than females. One woman indicated, “Every time a female coach interacts with a person for the first time, she has to face that question about whether she is really a credible person in that role” (p. Thorngren, 1990, p. 57). Experienced women are seldom hired or even encouraged to apply for positions in male programs – this double standard perpetuates the myth of female incompetence in coaching. The women didn’t feel there were many coaching jobs available for them, especially head coaching positions. Thorngren (1990) suggest that this could be because women assistant coaches cannot “afford” to stay in entry levels positions long enough to be considered for head coaching positions because the assistant female coaches typically receive low salaries or are volunteers.

Nearly every athletic director that Thorngren (1990) interviewed indicated that they have seen situations in which female athletes are biased toward male coaches. One athletic director indicated,

We involve student athletes in hiring and I am appalled by their biases toward hiring men. We talk about it a lot because it is so important that they understand the consequences of their behavior. They are ultimately putting themselves down... (Thorngren, 1990, p. 58).

Furthermore, the coaches indicated that gender biases are evident in recruiting practices.

For example, one collegiate basketball coach said that a male coach told one of the

athletes that she was recruiting, “If you’ve never played for a woman. It’s going to be different and women are too soft” (Thorngren, 1990, p. 58) – essentially trying to lure away the athlete to play for his team. The coaches and administrators believed that gender bias by athletes towards males occurred because of the lack of female coaches and female role models in the athlete’s lives. The women coaches, leaders, and administrators that Thorngren (1990) interviewed believed that the way forward includes working towards more equitable gender balance in coaching by developing more effective networks among women, influencing the primary administrators of athletic programs, and working towards the commitment of educational institutions to accept affirmative action policies.

Knoppers (1992) also discusses women’s token status in relation to the coaching profession. Specifically, Knoppers (1992) argues that coaching women is viewed as being simpler than coaching men because of assumptions about women’s lower skill levels. Consequently, the job of coaching women is seen as less prestigious and could be filled by a coach that will accept a lower wage. The job of coaching men, on the other hand, is seen as requiring “real” skills and is associated with hegemonic masculinity; therefore, only men are seen as qualified candidates. When combined with capitalist interests, Knoppers (1992) argues that we find women coaching teams that are less in need of making a profit, or sports less associated with hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, when women are hired to coach men’s sports, they are likely to be non-revenue sports such as tennis, swimming, track and field compared to revenue sports such as basketball and football. Similarly, Inglis, Danylchuk, and Pastore (2000) study with former women

coaches and athletic directors discusses women's "less than" status. They argue that women are often left out of key circles of power and control that perpetuated a feeling of a "systemic lack of valuing women" (Inglis et al., 2000, p. 11). For example, one woman clearly articulated the dominance of male language and power as she indicated,

And [coaching] is still a male-dominated environment. You need to talk like they [the men] talk and figure out what things to say and how to say them. Just play their game because they call the shots. When I look around, women have to speak much more assertively and you can always tell when women start speaking (Inglis, Danylchuk, & Pastore, 2000, p. 11).

### *Gender Roles In Sport*

Gender ideologies are created and reproduced by the roles women play (and are expected to play) in society and in sport. Gender roles include the qualities, talents, and characteristics women and men are "suppose" to have (Griffin, 1998). Chafetz and Kotarba (1999), for example, illustrates how men and women "do gender" in support of their son's involvement in Little League. Mothers did support work by driving their children to practices and games, laundering their dirty uniforms, preparing meals, and raising money for the team. Fathers, on the other hand, did few support work activities. Many of the fathers' only involvement, on the other hand, were attending the games. When the fathers were involved in a role other than spectator, they were responsible for on-the-field or administrative matters such as coaching or field maintenance.

Shona Thompson's work (1999) provides further evidence of how wives "preserve order" and support their children and husbands in tennis (p.). The mother's work took place almost daily in which they provided transportation to and from

tournaments and training, prepared food, and laundered clothing. The activities the fathers were involved in, however, were more sport related such as playing tennis with their son or attending important tournaments. Because the mother's support work took place daily, the mothers tended to fit other commitments around her children's sporting needs. On the other hand, the fathers tended to fit their children's sporting needs around other commitments. Without being consciously aware of the ideologies present, the women and men "did gender." For example, one woman stated regarding the work she does to support her husband and son's involvement in tennis, "I've grown up with it. It's just part of my life. I do it without thinking" (Thompson, 1999, p. 112).

In U.S. society, many times women have to balance this "unpaid labor" with working outside of the home for money. With the responsibility of support work that traditionally women are expected to do, this places added pressure on women. A coach in Thorngren's (1990) study who was a university basketball coach and a mother of two teenage children stated,

A male in coaching does not have the pressure of society saying you should be home taking care of the children, because it is assumed that that is what his wife is doing. A female in coaching is constantly asked, how can you take care of your home and the children and have such a time-consuming job? The man is never asked questions like that (p. 59).

There is an assumption that is made by administrators, the community, and athletes that married male coaches have someone else at home taking care of the domestic work and/or his children. When a man (compared to a women) is being hired or interviewed for a coaching position, the assumption is made that the male will give priority to his job and

will have a “backup person” (i.e., a wife) to take care of the home, children or domestic responsibilities. Knoppers (1992) argues that coaching has been a “two-person single career for men” where the coaches wives are responsible for the housekeeping, cooking, the caring of the children, attending athletic events, and entertaining recruits (p. 219 ). A study conducted by Knoppers and her colleagues confirmed this finding, suggesting that married male coaches were most likely to be responsible for fewer domestic work responsibilities than married female coaches (Knoppers, Ewing, Forrest, & Meyer, 1989).

The examples of gender roles that are perpetuated in sport discussed thus far involve illustrations of heterosexual, married families (e.g. mother, father, children). Thorngren’s (1990) study, however, recognizes that single coaches often experience similar pressures, yet these pressures are not recognized as often or treated as seriously as those of married women. Many of the single women Thorngren interviewed indicated that their life would be easier if there were someone to help with tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and laundry. Many times these women coaches indicated that stress resulted because of the absence of such support. Furthermore, the women coaches recognized that because single coaches are often considered to have fewer responsibilities at home, and they may experience extra demands at work from athletes and administrators. Several coaches in Thorngren’s (1990) study, for example, indicated that administrators would assume that they didn’t have a personal life and had plenty of time for additional responsibilities.

### *Homophobia*

As Griffin (1998) argues in her text, *Strong Women, Deep Closets: Lesbians and Homophobia in Sports*, the importance of sport in socializing men into masculine gender roles also impacts the sporting experiences for women. Women are seen as “trespassers” on male territory, and their experiences are trivialized and marginalized. In fact, Griffin (1998) emphasizes, “Sports and lesbians have always gone together” (p. ix). One of the most effective means of controlling women and their experiences in sport, Griffin (1998) argues, is to question or challenge women’s femininity and heterosexuality. When a woman is called “lesbian,” “masculine,” “a dyke,” or “unfeminine,” she has challenged the male privilege and crossed the gender boundary (Griffin, 1998). Because many women fear being called a “lesbian,” their sporting experiences are controlled and they avoid participating in certain sports (e.g., masculine sports such as hockey or football), or engage in certain activities to “prove” their heterosexuality (e.g., wear makeup, or date a man). The use of the lesbian term has kept women under control and has limited women’s experiences in sport. Homophobia, or the generalized fear of intolerance of lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people, serves to hold gender relations in place.

Homophobia may be expressed through prejudice, harassment, discrimination or violence. As Griffin (1998) argues, athletic directors may fire women coaches if they suspect there are lesbians. Many times athletic directors count on the coach’s fear of being called a lesbian to prevent her from challenging harassment or discrimination. Negative recruiting occurs when coaches at rival schools make comments about another

coach's sexuality to "persuade" an athlete to attend their college. One field hockey coach that Griffin (1998) interviewed stated,

Negative recruiting is huge. It happens when a coach is sitting there with her husband and two kids and knows another coach [at a rival school] is gay. She says to the recruit and her parents, "You know, that other school you are thinking of, the lifestyle on that campus, I'm not sure you want to get involve in that" (p. 82).

Thorngren's (1990) interviews with past and present women coaches and administrators provide further evidence of negative recruiting. One female coach explained that a prospective athlete had been advised by her high school coach to "check out the team and see if they have boyfriends" (p. 60). In addition, a woman coach that Theberge (1993) interviewed provided a blatant example of homophobia in which a father did not want his son to be coached by a woman in the fear that he would take up female mannerisms.

After Thorngren's (1990) interviews with women coaches and administrators, she concluded that homophobia is the "least publicly discussed yet potentially important stress faced by female coaches" (p. 59). Thorngren (1990) argues that because sport is traditionally a masculine domain, women in competitive athletics have always risked being stereotyped as lesbian, especially if they are single. Some of the women she interviewed had been directly questioned about their sexual preference on a job interview, and most believed this was used as a subtle form of discrimination to justify hiring or firing practices. A female coach that Thorngren (1990) interviewed said, "If you are single and over 25, there is a tag on her" (p. 59). She and other coaches believed many women leave coaching because they are tired of constantly dealing with labels and

stereotyping. A female athletic director articulated the experiences of the female athletes and homophobia by stating,

Because a lesbian label is so often attached to women in sport, young student athletes (who subconsciously feel that pressure, but cannot articulate it) fall over backward in the opposite direction and become totally inflexible in their attitudes. They are intolerant because they dare not be tolerant (Thorngren, 1990, p. 60).

All women, regardless of sexual preference, are impacted by homophobia. As Theberge and Birrell (1994) argue, “All women face pressures to conform to a dominant image of feminine athleticism” (p. 338). Furthermore, Thorngren (1990) argues that an athlete may feel that she is less likely to be labeled if she is coached by a male. The intentional hiring of male assistant coaches by female head coaches to “balance the atmosphere” also provides evidence of homophobia in sport. For example, a female coach interviewed by Thorngren (1990) said that she always has at least one male on her staff for “image,” implying that the male would ensure a heterosexual persona for the program.

Further evidence of how homophobia is manifested in sport can be seen where people are “suspicious” of women spending too much time together. When male coaches and athletes spend a lot of time together, for example, people do not question their sexuality. When women spend a lot of time with other women, however, their sexuality is questioned. Griffin (1998) argues that this sex difference reflects the notion that “all-female groups challenge gender roles, sexism, and compulsory heterosexuality” (p. 57). This gender difference can be further seen with women coaching men. For example,

Knoppers (1992) points out that when women coaching men is discussed, the issue of sexual attraction is often raised, but the same does not occur when men coach women.

*Media Images of Women*

The mass media has the power to transform cultural images and ideologies about women coaches and athletes; however, there still remains differential treatment of women in the media. Women are certainly underrepresented in the media (both in print and electronic forms) in which men are highlighted in over 80% of the coverage (Duncan & Messner, 1998; Coakley, 2004). When women *are* mentioned in the media, their sporting experience is trivialized and marginalized which work towards naturalizing differences between males and females (Hall, 1996). Reflecting ideological constraints that women face, the media tends to emphasize ability and physical strength for men and appearance and family for women (Coakley, 2004). Therefore, women's bodies are presumed to be weaker and incapable for men's achievements. Women are called by their first names and referred to as "girls" or "ladies" (Duncan, Messner, Williams, Jensen & Wilson, 1994). Men, however, are seldom called by their first names and are almost never called "boys" or "gentlemen." Critical media research demonstrates the trivialization, marginalization, objectification, sexualization, and the heterosexualization of women athletes (Hall, 1996).

Media coverage of U.S. collegiate coaches provides further evidence of marginalization and heterosexualization of female coaches. Griffin (1998), for example, discussed the newspaper coverage of the 1995 NCAA women's basketball finals that included several pictures of Pat Summit's husband and son sitting in the stands. Furthermore, after Tennessee's 1996 national championship, Summit's husband

explained to a national audience that Summit is a “wonderful cook” that “loves nothing better than to whip up a fancy meal for him and her son” (Griffin, 1998, p. 69). Summit is one example of how her heterosexuality is “played up” in the media to provide evidence of heterosexuality as the standard in sport. The lack of media attention and the complete silence of the family life of lesbian women coaches further perpetuate the ideology of compulsory heterosexuality. As Coakley (2004) argues, “Lesbian images are carefully erased from coverage, even though the partners of players and coaches are known and visible among spectators” (p. 430). Lesbian coaches are never profiled in a way that acknowledges their lifestyle. In fact, lesbian athletes and coaches are “treated and expected to act like single women whose family members include only mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers” (Griffin, 1998, p. 70). The absence of any mention of the coach’s personal life, however, leads many people to assume that she is gay because if she were heterosexual she would provide evidence in a public manner.

Stringer, Kamphoff, Jamieson, Scrogum, and Harrell (2005) provide evidence of the ideological differences in the way female and male coaches are portrayed in the media. While analyzing Division I softball media guides with a feminist framework, the authors found that female coaches are heterosexualized and “inned,” rather than “outed.” Stringer et al. (2005) explains that although women “rule” softball in numbers, a certain image of the female coach is desirable. This image is reproduced through portraying a coach as a mother and a wife, and showing pictures of her with her family in the media guide. None of the coaches were described as being gay or lesbian; in fact, the authors argue that some of the visual images of head coaches were “staged” (Stringer et al., 2006,

p. 11). Most often the male head coaches were shown in coaching attire only, while the female head coaches were shown dressed up (almost as “glamour-shots”) for their official team and staff photos. The authors explain these “glamour-shots” as “heterosexual drag shows” for the purpose of countering images of lesbian women (Stringer et al., 2005). Essentially, the media guide produces images of female coaches as “heterosexual”; specifically, the women’s “sexuality was silenced” and “marriage was portrayed as an advantage” (Stringer et al., 2005, p. 12). Furthermore, Stringer et al. (2005) argue that although the women coaches held credentials to coach Division I softball, many times their status was reduced to that of daughter, maintaining their subordinate location under hegemonic masculinity.

As Theberge (1990) argues, coaching is a “key site for the production of masculinity” (p. 64). Clearly, one can see from this section on ideological constraints that U.S. collegiate sport remains a setting in which powerful ideas about gender are constructed and expressed. The ideological constraints discussed include women seen as token, gender roles in sport, homophobia, and media images of women. Reflecting on the evidence provided, U.S. collegiate sport is not an open atmosphere in which women feel safe being women. In fact, many women “act” like men and hide their identity as women to fit in U.S. collegiate sport. Women are seen as trespassers in sport and their experiences are trivialized and marginalized. Women’s experiences as head coaches are marginalization and heterosexualization through media coverage of U.S. collegiate athletics.

### Feminist Theory, Methodology and Scholarship in Sport

Sport is a masculine domain that has historically been centered around men (particularly, White, heterosexual men), hence, women's needs and experiences are ignored. As Birrell & Theberge (1994) argue, sport is a location in which patriarchal relations are played out, specifically because masculine superiority has been produced as commonsense. Scholars, therefore, have argued that to reform sport and bring women's experiences to the center, a feminist perspective is warranted (Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Hall, 1996; Gill, 2001). Because this research will employ a feminist perspective, a description of feminist theory and methodologies are provided. Furthermore, a review of relevant feminist scholarship in sport is summarized to provide a context and locate this research within feminist, sport studies research.

#### *Feminist Theory and Methodology*

bell hooks' (2000) definition of feminism as the "movement to end sexist oppression" (p. 26) provides a good starting point to understand feminisms (Gill, 2001). Specifically, hooks (2000) argues that feminisms should be inclusive of all types of women, and scholars must incorporate race and class into a true feminist analysis. A feminist analysis considers gender at the center, however all systems of power (i.e., (dis)ability, age, social class, religion, race, sexual orientation, culture, ethnic relations, etc.) must be considered in relation to gender. It is essential that a feminist analysis does not marginalize either class or race over gender, for example. Furthermore, feminisms must provide a location where women in and outside of sport can speak freely, make political demands, and challenge patriarchal structures (Hall, 1996).

Feminist theory and methodology provides a structure to critique male-dominated society. A feminist approach uses a set of assumptions and guidelines that are fundamentally different from traditional science. Feminist scholars argue that traditional science and the scientific method have been characterized by the biases of patriarchy and sexism (Du Bois, 1983; Hughes, 1995; Namewirth, 1986). Feminists have critiqued the scientific method for decades stating that it is impossible to be objective, unbiased, value-free, and control data (Hoff, 1988; Keller, 1990). In fact, feminist scholars argue the scientific method was constructed by men (specifically, White, heterosexual, Christian, middle-class men) to support political ideology and exploitation of subordinate groups in our world (Keller, 1990; Westkott, 1990). The scientific method has been constructed to explain social phenomena in which men's experiences have been viewed as the norm and women's experience as the "other," or deviant from the norm (Aitchison, 2005). Feminist research, however, purposely places women's experiences at the center because their experiences have been left out of previous research. As Audre Lorde (1981) contends, "The master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (p. 112). I believe that the purpose of feminist research is to dismantle the master's house by placing women's experiences at the center.

Flax (1986) argues that the most important characteristic of feminist theory is a "systematic, analytic approach to everyday experiences" (p. 3). Feminist research must focus on everyday life and experiences. This allows the participant's experience to be personal and provides the researcher the ability to apply theory to everyday life (Harding,

2000; Hartsock, 2000). As Stanley and Wise (1983) argue, feminist theory assumes that “the personal,” or the everyday lived experience, is intensely political (hence the phrase, “personal is political”) and must be the subject of feminist inquiry (p. 194). By focusing on women’s everyday experiences, feminist researchers are better able to apply theory to understand women’s oppression and the structure of society and sport that reinforces dominant gender ideologies.

A fundamental purpose of feminist methodology is to liberate or emancipate the lives of women (Harding, 1987). Essentially, feminist researchers are interested in transformation or change. That is, feminists are interested in influencing the world, transforming social institutions, and making a difference in the lives of women (Thompson, 1992). Feminist research is conducted *for* women, not *on* women. Research *on* women is typically not conducted with careful examination of social institutions that structure our society, values women against male standards, and does not consider how the research can better women’s lives (Klein, 1983; Thompson, 1992). Instead, feminist researchers are interested in conducted research that betters the lives of the women involved and is *for* these women, not *on* women. Therefore, all feminist research should contribute in some way to the ending of oppression of women. Furthermore, the researcher must be relevant to the lives of the women involved. The research must acknowledge and validate their experiences and reflect their voices (Gross, 1992). As Gross (1992) argues, feminist theory “seeks a new discursive space, a space where women can write, read, and think as women” (p. 6). Feminist researchers must also present and disseminate the results in ways that improve the lives of women and are

available to the women involved (Flax, 1986; Hall, 1996). The project should make a difference in the lives of women and should be disseminated in a way that will assist other women in the same situation (Hall, 1996; Thompson, 1992).

As with any research, feminist research follows a careful and systematic adherence to methodology. Feminist researchers believe in a dialectical approach or an interaction between the researcher and the participant (Hoff, 1988). Specifically, an equal and democratic relationship between the researcher and participant should be developed. Feminist research utilizes a collaborative process in which the researcher gains insight into the lives of the participants, and the participants have the opportunity to be heard (Creswell, 1998; Oakley, 1981). In an attempt to create a less hierarchical relationship within the research process, the women in this study will be referred to as “participants” or “respondents,” not “subjects.”

A collaborative process incorporates reciprocity, intersubjectivity, and reflexivity to create an environment in which the participant can feel validated. First, reciprocity, or a bond between the researcher and the participant, allows all parties to gain from the experience (Du Bois, 1983). To develop a strong rapport during the process, the researcher must listen and care about the participant (Lugones & Spelman, 1983). The researcher must be willing to share about her life in order to develop a stronger rapport (Lather, 1986; Oakley, 1981). During the data collection process, the participant is the expert and together with the researcher decides the direction of the research. This is a non-hierarchical relationship in which the goal is to disrupt the power structure (Du Bois, 1983; Oakley, 1981). Second, intersubjectivity, is the point where the participant and the

researcher meet with a shared experience (Measor, 1985). Intersubjectivity allows for the integration of knowledge from both the researcher and the participant. This differs from traditional scientific research in which the researcher takes the information from the participant and makes sense of it without discussing it with the participant. This collaborative relationship between the participant and researcher should involve the process of member checking (Creswell, 1998). In feminist research, the participants should be given the opportunity to change information that was presented in the interview and voice their agreement or denial with the conclusions of the researcher. Essentially, the women interviewed will be viewed as partners or collaborators (Aitchison, 2005). Third, reflexivity is the act of the researcher reflecting on the experience and the knowledge gained. Feminist researchers believe that we are all profoundly influenced by our personal views, values, language and concerns (Hughes, 1995; Keller, 1990; Namenwirth, 1986; Westkott, 1990). As Du Bois (1983) argues, both the research and the researchers are molded by society; therefore, it is not possible to undergo research without biases. The researcher must confront and acknowledge her own biases before the research begins as well as during research. This allows the researcher to be more open to the participants and situates the researcher by allowing her to see how political, personal, social, cultural factors have influenced her perspective. Furthermore, by acknowledging her biases, the researcher ensures that the research reflects the voices of the participants and is not just a reflection of the researcher's beliefs (Hoff, 1988).

Using feminist methodologies, participants are not chosen from random samples but from established groups or communities that share a problem or concern. If the

problem is of interest, the participants are more likely to invest their time and concern in the research project. The interpretation of the problem should be complex and involve a process of “peeling off the labels” to understand the whole experience (Van Den Bergh, 1990). Specifically, the researcher must not view the experience as simple or straightforward, instead, the researcher must be able to see the experience in its entire form and be willing to view the situation as complex and multi-layered. Furthermore, a researcher must situate the data by providing a socio-historical context and identifying the role of patriarchy, white supremacy, capitalist ideologies in the analysis (Du Bois, 1983). Feminist researchers acknowledge that there is not just one type of woman, or a “universal women’s experience” (Hawkesworth, 1989, p. 544). Hence, feminist scholars argue that there is no one single truth, but rather that truth is socially constructed, historically situated, and changing moment to moment (Harding, 1987; Thompson, 1992).

Providing as much detail of the research and description of the rigorous research process provides validity (Armstead, 1995). Furthermore, feminist research is valid if the research meets its emancipatory goal, that is, if the research contributes to the liberation of women by leading to a change in consciousness, and/or changing the status of women in society. As Lather (1986) indicates, the research should encourage change by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding by the participant of her situation. As Auker, Barr, and Esseweld (1983) articulate, consciousness-raising is “an essential component of the feminist movement and a necessary part of feminist action” (p. 426). This conscious shift is what Paulo Freire (1993) calls conscientization, which is a new

way of seeing the world and putting life into context. Furthermore, Auker et al. (1983) indicate that for the research to be valid, the interpretation should also include an active voice of the subject, must account for the investigator and the investigated, and must reconstruct the underlying social relations that affect the daily lives of the women.

### *Feminist Scholarship in Sport*

In order to reform sport, scholars have argued that a feminist perspective is needed (see Hall, 1996 for a discussion). Ann Hall (1996), in her text *Feminisms and Sporting Bodies*, provides a comprehensive application of feminisms to sport. Sport, however, has been stubbornly resistant to feminism and remains a highly conservative institution, she argues. U.S. college sport, for example, trivializes women's experiences, provides a popular cultural site for men, and divides women along the lines of race, class, and sexuality. Furthermore, sport naturalizes masculinity and differences among women are exaggerated and purposefully announced. Certainly, U.S. collegiate sport does not allow for a space for women to come together as one. The current structure is exclusionary and women's issues and concerns are regarded with a deaf ear. U.S. collegiate sport provides a structure for pitiful conditions that women must work in (Hall, 1996). Two important topics will be discussed in this section: 1) Feminist Research in Sport Psychology, and 2) Feminist Activism in Sport.

#### *Feminist Research in Sport Psychology*

Much of the feminist research conducted in sport studies have been in the area of sport sociology/critical sport studies (Hall, 1996; see sections above titled "Sport as a Gendered, Cultural Practice" and "Women as U.S. Collegiate Coaches" for a thorough

discussion). The application of feminisms to sport psychology, however, has been rather limited and sporadic (Roper, Fisher, & Wrisberg, 2005). Hall (1996), for example, critiques sport psychology research for our simple analysis of gender and categorical research on gender (i.e., our focus on sex/gender differences). As Fine and Gordon (1989) argue, researchers and scholars in psychology too often pretend to be objective, conduct gender-analysis without discussing power, social context, and meanings, and use narrow questionnaires and scales that place girls and women in categories. Sport psychology's emphasis on gender differences and categorical research can be seen from the results of Kamphoff, Araki, and Gill's (2004) study in which they systematically coded presentations at the annual AASP (Association of Applied Sport Psychology) conferences. Kamphoff et al. (2004) found that the majority of the presentations that discussed diversity issues (i.e., gender, race, social class, disability, international, age) were in the form of gender differences. Furthermore, Fisher, Butryn, and Roper (2003) argue that traditional sport psychology has been reluctant to actively engage in critical scholarship and address issues such as power, oppression, privilege, power and agency in their work. Fisher et al. (2003) argue that sport psychology researchers, educators, and practitioners could use a cultural studies perspective to enhance their work.

Hall (1996) makes one exception in the sport psychology literature. Hall argues that Diane Gill's (1992, 1994a, 1994b) work indicates that there has been a small shift away from an emphasis on biologically based sex differences to more social cognitive constructs and models in sport psychology. Gill argues that sport psychologists should adopt a true social-psychological perspective in which the research must be placed in a

broader sociohistorical and cultural context. Gill (2001), for example, identifies four key themes that have guided her feminist sport psychology scholarship, including: 1) Gender is relational, not categorical, 2) Gender is inextricably intertwined with race/ethnicity, sexuality, social class, and other cultural identities, 3) Gender and cultural relations involve power, privilege, and oppression, and 4) Feminist theory must move to action (p. 366).

As Hall (1996) argues, Diane Gill's work has lead the way in incorporating feminist practice and scholarship into sport psychology. Other sport psychology scholars have followed Gill's recommendations and begun to incorporate feminist theory/methodology in their work (Bredemeier, 2001; Greenleaf & Collins, 2001; R. Hall, 2001; Krane, 1994, 2001; Oglesby, 2001; Roper, 2001; Semerjian & Waldron, 2001; Whaley, 2001).

#### *Feminist Activism in Sport*

The feminist activism that has taken place in sport has been almost entirely liberal in philosophy and strategy. As Hall (1996) argues, the problem with liberal approaches is that they call for "solutions focusing on individuals rather than on issues of systematic power and privilege" (p. 79). Liberal approaches in U.S. collegiate sport may include affirmative action programs or mentor programs in which female athletes are role models to young girls. These programs provide a limited amount of effectiveness because they ask women to change and fit into male-defined system. Traditional male values are held as the standard and women's experiences are disregarded in U.S. collegiate sport. Liberal viewpoints tend to ignore the structural issues and do not always see problems as part of

the hierarchy of U.S. collegiate sport. Liberal perspectives also tend to treat women as a homogeneous category ignoring the difference between women's background, race, ethnicity, social class, age, ability, etc. A more radical feminist approach adopts a women-centered approach that celebrates differences and seriously questions the structure of U.S. collegiate sport as male-dominated and defined (Hall, 1996).

Radical feminist activism is needed at the U.S. collegiate level to change the structure and atmosphere be more inclusive of *all* women. Sport studies scholars have critiqued U.S. collegiate athletics for decades, yet our writing and scholarship is inaccessible to women working in the field. Our writing may be inaccessible because our language is obtuse or the journals are unavailable to coaches and administrators. Hall (1996) argues that there is a noticeable gap between our theory/research in sport feminisms. We need ways to connect the research and practice; otherwise, it will take a long time to bring substantial change to U.S. collegiate sport. Feminist research that includes praxis – a feminist commitment to the knowledge *for* women (Hall, 1996; Klein, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1990; Thompson, 1992) - would produce the kind of useful knowledge wanted and needed by women working in the field.

### Summary

The above literature review shows how sport produces, maintains, and constructs influential ideologies that can be seen throughout the U.S. culture (Coakley, 2004). One way that these influential ideologies become clear is in the review of women's experiences in U.S. collegiate sport. Women coaches face both structural and ideological constraints in their daily lives working in U.S. collegiate sport. Historically, women have

been excluded in the dominant form of collegiate sport and as a result, women's sport experience are often tokenized and deemed less credible (Hult, 1994; Theberge, 1993). Feminist methodology moves women's everyday experiences to the center and provides us with a means of better understanding women's experiences as coaches in U.S. collegiate sport.

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

This chapter provides details regarding how data were organized, treated, and analyzed in this research project. Explanations of the research approach as well as details about the participants, procedures, setting, and analytic strategy are included. Steps taken by the researcher to verify the data are also explained.

#### Overview of the Study

As a feminist analysis of women's departure from the coaching profession, this study aimed to address the following main research question, particularly in relation to the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate coaching:

- o How do former female collegiate coaches describe their experiences as coaches and their decision to terminate their careers?

A mixed-method approach including both surveys and interviews was used to allow for an in-depth and rich understanding of the women coaches' experiences. The surveys were intended to advance the previous research while reaching a large pool of women with varied experiences. Much of the existing survey research has focused on a single, most important reason to explain women's departure from collegiate coaching. It is most likely that there are multiple, complex, and competing reasons women leave college coaching; therefore, this survey considered several reasons for women's departure from coaching. Furthermore, results of the survey were utilized to identify

women to interview. The interviews, on the other hand, reached a smaller number of women, but added depth and complexity to better understand how the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics has impacted women's experiences and their decision to leave coaching. The mixed-method approach adds to the strength of this study by providing an opportunity for cross validation of the data and a more complete picture of why women leave the coaching profession. The original survey items were used as a basis for the interview indexing, which connects the two methodologies and provides further support for using both survey and interview within this study.

## Surveys

### *Participants*

The survey was intended to include only women that left U.S. collegiate coaching within the last ten years to address the 5% decline of women coaches (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Even though all recruitment materials indicated this criterion, 7 of the women who completed the survey ( $N = 122$ ) left coaching between 1994-1988 (from 12-18 years ago). Six of the seven women left coaching between 1992-1994, while one woman left collegiate coaching in 1988. Because 1988 was an outlier compared to 1992-1994, that one survey was deleted (leaving 121 possible surveys). In order to decide if the remaining 6 survey responses should be deleted, the demographic characteristics of these respondents were compared to the main sample of 115 surveys. A one-way Analysis of Variance indicated that these six participants were slightly older ( $m = 56.5$  years old compared to  $m = 42.6$ ;  $F(1, 112) = 9.95, p < .01$ ). However, there were no other significant differences related to demographics (e.g., race, marital status, total years of

collegiate coaching) or reasons they left coaching between the participants who left coaching between 1992-1994 and the remaining sample. Furthermore, the original intention was to address the 5% decline of women coaches since 1995 (48.3% compared to 44.1% in 2004). Interestingly, the same percentage of women were coaching women in collegiate athletics in 1992 (48.3%). In addition, the women who left coaching between 1992-1994 represented the same coaching era as those that left coaching in 1995 (as opposed to women that left coaching 20 years ago). Therefore, the decision was made to keep these participants' survey responses in the sample. The total number of analyzed surveys was 121.

The mean age of the former women coaches that completed the survey was 43.4 years old ( $SD = 10.87$ ; ranging from 24-73). The majority of the sample were Caucasian/European American women ( $n = 116, 95.9\%$ ) with 2 African Americans, 1 Hispanic, 1 Native American, and 1 "other" (she indicated "Black" in the space provided). Regarding their marital status, 50 (41.3%) of the participants indicated they were single, 34 (28.1%) were married, 28 (23.1%) were partnered, 5 (4.1%) were divorced, 2 (1.7%) were divorced and partnered, and 1 (.8%) indicated she was engaged. Only 23 (19.0%) of the participants had children or dependents and their ages ranged from 4 months old to 44 years of age. The participants who completed the survey were extremely well educated with 31 (25.6%) having earned a bachelor's degree, 76 (62.8%) having earned a master's, 13 (10.7%) having earned a doctorate, and 1 (.8%) having earned a medical degree. Almost all of the participants competed in athletics in college (115,  $n = 95.0\%$ ). See Table 1 for complete demographic information.

Table 1

*Demographic Information of Survey Participants*

	<i>n</i>	%
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>		
Caucasian/European American	116	95.9
African American	2	1.7
Hispanic	1	.8
Native American	1	.8
Other	1	.8
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Single	50	41.3
Married	34	28.1
Partnered	28	23.1
Divorced	5	4.1
Divorced and Partnered	2	1.7
Engaged	1	.8
Missing	1	.8
<i>Kids/Dependents</i>		
No	98	81.0
Yes	23	19.0
<i>Highest Degree</i>		
Bachelors	31	25.6
Masters	76	62.8
Doctorate	13	10.7
Medical Degree	1	.8
<i>Competed in College</i>		
Yes	115	95.0
No	6	5.0

On average, the participants had 14.4 years ( $SD = 9.17$ ) of collegiate coaching experience (ranging from 1 year to 43 years). To ensure that the sample included women with significant experience in U.S. collegiate athletics, a goal was set for at least 50% of the respondents to have at least five years of experience in college coaching. In fact, the

sample had ample amount of experience; 82.6% of the participants had over 5 years of experience.

The participants spent an average of 9.6 years ( $SD = 8.40$ ) in their last collegiate coaching position (ranging from 10 months to 30 years). The majority of the participants had coached in Division I in their last collegiate coaching position ( $n = 72$ ; 59.5%), followed by Division III ( $n = 32$ ; 26.4%), Division II ( $n = 14$ ; 11.6%); community college ( $n = 2$ ; 1.7%) and 1 woman (.8%) indicated “independent” under Division. Women basketball coaches made up 42.1% of the sample ( $n = 51$ ), followed by volleyball ( $n = 20$ ; 16.5%), softball ( $n = 10$ ; 8.3%), field hockey and lacrosse ( $n = 8$ ; 6.6%), golf ( $n = 5$ ; 4.1%), soccer ( $n = 5$ ; 4.1%), multiple sports ( $n = 5$ ; 4.1%), only field hockey ( $n = 4$ ; 3.3%), only lacrosse ( $n = 4$ ; 3.3%), track and cross country ( $n = 3$ ; 2.5%), swimming ( $n = 2$ ; 1.7%), tennis, ( $n = 2$ ; 1.7%), and only track and field ( $n = 1$ ; .8%). Only one woman stated that she coached both a combined men’s and women’s team (i.e., men and women’s cross country).

Nearly three-fourths of the participants indicated they had held the position of head coach in collegiate athletics ( $n = 88$ ; 72.7%) and a similar percentage indicated they had held the position of assistant coach ( $n = 92$ ; 76.0%). On average, the participants who held the position of head coach had 15.3 years ( $SD = 9.54$ ) of head college coaching experience (ranging from 1 year to 43 years). The participants who held the position of assistant coach had 4.8 years ( $SD = 3.47$ ) of college coaching experience (ranging from 1 to 17 years). See Table 2 for a summary of the sample’s coaching experience including coaching experience outside of collegiate athletics.

Table 2

*Coaching Experience of Survey Participants*

	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Division of Recent College Position</i>		
Division I	72	59.5
Division II	14	11.6
Division III	32	26.4
Community College	2	1.7
Independent	1	.8
<i>Sport Coached in Last College Position</i>		
Basketball	52	42.1
Volleyball	20	16.5
Softball	10	8.3
Field hockey and lacrosse	8	6.6
Golf	5	4.1
Soccer	5	4.1
Multiple sports	5	4.1
Field hockey	4	3.3
Lacrosse	4	3.3
Track and Cross Country	3	2.5
Swimming	2	1.7
Tennis	2	1.7
Track and Field	1	.8
Missing	1	.8
<i>Head College Coaching Experience</i>		
Yes	88	72.7
No	33	27.3
<i>Assistant College Coaching Experience</i>		
Yes	93	76.0
No	28	24.0
<i>Years of Coaching Experience</i>		
1-5 years	27	22.3
6-10 years	25	20.7
11-15 years	15	12.4
16 or more years	54	44.6
<i>Coaching Experience at Youth Sport</i>		
Yes, in the Past	56	46.3
Yes, Now	6	5.0

No	47	38.8
Yes, in the Past and Yes, Now	11	9.1
Missing	1	.8
<i>Coaching Experience at the Community/Recreational League Level</i>		
Yes, in the Past	35	28.9
Yes, Now	5	4.1
No	78	63.6
Missing	4	3.3
<i>Coaching Experience at the High School Level</i>		
Yes, in the Past	53	43.8
Yes, Now	13	10.7
No	51	42.1
Yes, in the Past and Yes, Now	4	3.3

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The former women collegiate coaches were also asked to describe their current position of employment. The responses were grouped into categories without interpretation (Mason, 2002). Seven of the participants held the position of Athletic Director, 18 were Assistant/Associate Athletic Director and/or Senior Women's Administrators, 4 held a position in the athletic department but not in administration (e.g., in compliance, as administrative assistant, etc.), 14 held a position at a university staff or administrative position outside of athletics (e.g., admissions counselor, fitness director, residence director, etc.), 6 indicated they worked in the university setting as college professors or instructors, 15 worked in the business setting outside the university (e.g., in sales, as an accountant, etc.), 16 indicated they worked in sport outside the university (e.g., parks and recreation director for a city, golf instructor, etc.), 16 stated they worked in a high school, middle school, or elementary school setting (e.g., athletic director, coach, teacher, etc.), 6 indicated they were retired, 5 were full-time graduate students, 4 stated they were unemployed, 3 stated they owned their own company and were self-

employed (i.e., graphics design company, bed and breakfast, etc.), 1 worked in the medical field, 1 still received compensation from her last college coaching position, and 5 of the positions were unknown. Table 3 summarizes the sample's current position.

Table 3

*Current Position of Survey Participants*

	<i>n</i>	%
Athletic Director	7	5.8
Assistant/Associate Athletic Director and/or Senior Women's Administrator	18	14.9
University athletic department, not administration	4	3.3
University setting, staff/administrative position	14	11.6
University setting, instructor/professor	6	5.0
Sport, not university/school setting	16	13.2
High school, middle school, or elementary school	16	13.2
Business setting	15	12.4
Retired	6	5.0
Full-time student	5	4.1
Unemployed	4	3.3
Self-employed	3	2.5
Medical setting	1	.8
Receiving compensation for last coaching position	1	.8
Unknown	5	4.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100</b>

*Measures*

The former coaches completed a demographics questionnaire, several open-end items related to their experience in coaching and their decision to terminate their careers, and the Perceived Hindrance Scale.

*Demographics questionnaire.* The participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, race/ethnicity, marital status, ages of children or dependents, degrees earned, college athletic experience, coaching experience, most recent coaching position, sports

coached, and current position of employment. The purpose of the demographics questionnaire (Appendix B) was to better understand the background of the women involved and to determine if there are differences by demographic information in reasons they left the coaching profession. Furthermore, the demographics questionnaire was used to determine if the participants met the participant criteria for the interview.

*Open-end Items.* Four open-end questions (Appendix C) were added to the survey packet to gain a better understanding of the challenges women faced in the profession and reasons women terminated their coaching careers. The four questions include: 1) “List the 3 biggest challenges you experienced when you were coaching in collegiate athletics,” 2) “What was the main reason you decided to leave college coaching?” 3) “What were the other reasons that influenced your decision to leave college coaching?” and 4) “Is there anything you would like to add about your experiences in coaching or your decision to leave the profession?”

*Perceived Hindrance Survey.* The Perceived Hindrance Survey was used in the present study to better understand the reasons that ultimately led the participants to terminate their coaching careers. The Perceived Hindrance Survey was adapted from Everhart and Chelladurai (1998) and used in Kamphoff and Gill’s (2006) study. Everhart and Chelladurai (1998) developed the original scale by using several items from the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) survey on Perceived Barriers of Women in Intercollegiate Athletics; therefore, the items were directly relevant to former female coaches. The questionnaire addresses reasons women may leave the coaching profession and includes several items related to gender issues in coaching. The Perceived

Hindrance Scale (Appendix D) includes 34 items with a response format of 1 = not at all to 9 = completely. Item analysis of all 34 items resulted in strong internal consistency ( $\alpha = .96$ ; Kamphoff & Gill, 2006).

### *Procedures*

The survey participants were identified in three ways: 1) through national sport organizations, 2) through personal contacts, and 3) by a snowballing technique in which participants were asked to identify other women who have left college coaching. The surveys were mailed, e-mailed, administered in person to the former women coaches. Initial contact was made over the phone, by e-mail, or in person to assess the former coach's interest in completing the survey. Appendix E includes an invitation that was sent to the coaches if the initial contact was made via e-mail or mail. If the former coach was contacted in person or over the phone, general points from the invitation letter were addressed. The former coach indicated which delivery method would be most convenient (mail or in person). Although e-mail was not stated as a possible form of delivery, fourteen women asked if I could e-mail them the survey. Because it was the most convenient form of delivery for them, the survey was sent via e-mail to those fourteen participants. An official letter of invitation was sent with the survey that outlined the study (Appendix F). As outlined in the UNCG IRB Application, if the surveys are sent via mail or e-mail, the participants do not need to sign a consent form if the letter of invitation includes all the information required in informed consent. As the letter of invitation that accompanied the survey indicated, just returning the surveys reflected their informed consent. An additional form was sent with the survey that asked the former coach

to provide contact information for other former coaches that would be interested in participating in the study (Appendix G).

#### *Return Rate*

A total of 145 surveys were sent to former women collegiate coaches and 122 of those surveys were returned (84.14%; note: 1 of the 122 surveys was later deleted because it did not meet the criteria of the study). The return rate did not differ in terms of the delivery method (mail compared to e-mail). More specifically, the return rate for surveys sent via mail was 83.8% (109 survey were returned out of 130) compared to a return rate of 85.7% survey via e-mail (12 surveys were returned out of 14). Only one survey was delivered and returned in person. It is also important to acknowledge that an additional 25 emails were sent to former female collegiate coaches; two of these women declined to participate whereas the remaining 23 women did not respond to the request. Therefore, 122 surveys were returned from the 170 that were contacted (71.8%).

#### *Analyses*

Descriptive analyses (means and standard deviations) were computed on the women's responses on the Perceived Hindrance Scale. A series of Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA) analyses were used to explore differences in factors that influenced their decision to leave the coaching profession by division, education level, marital status, having kids or dependents, years of coaching, and sport coached at her most recent college coaching position. For all analyses, the level of significance was set at  $p = .05$ . The open-end responses on the survey were read literally. As Mason (2002) explains, a literal reading includes documenting a version of "what is there" (p. 149).

Specifically, the open-end responses were read literally and grouped into categories. The items from the Perceived Hindrance Scale were used as a starting point for possible categories. It was clear when analyzing the open-end responses that the items on the Perceived Hindrance Scale were not reflective of *all* women's experiences, therefore, additional categories were added. The open-end responses were combined until the categories were clearly distinct from each other and mentioned by multiple participants. Similar categories were then grouped in themes; each theme was explained while providing direct responses from participants. The open-end responses were also analyzed across division, sport coached, and head or assistant coach when appropriate.

## Interviews

### *Participants*

All participants who were interviewed had completed the survey as part of this project. The participants interviewed met the following criteria: 1) had at least five years of college coaching experience, 2) held the position of head coach for a Division I collegiate athletic team, and 3) had left college coaching within the last five years. These criteria were assessed through the survey.

Table 4 and Table 5 include demographic information for the six participants interviewed. Because confidentiality was guaranteed to the participants who participated in the interview, the participant's name is replaced with a pseudonym.

Table 4. Selected Demographic Information of Interview Participants

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Sport</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Children or Dependents</b>	<b>Total Years of Coaching</b>	<b>Total Years as Head Coach</b>
Cathy	Volleyball	52	Single	No	26	26
Tiffany	Volleyball	36	Married	Yes – Ages 6 and 8	15	5
Linda	Basketball	50	Single	No	28	26
Kim	Field Hockey and Lacrosse	35	Partnered	No	10	5
Amy	Basketball	43	Partnered	No	18	5
Sue	Softball	38	Married	Yes – Ages 2 and 4	6	6

Note: The demographic information for the interview participants summarized in Table 4 was gathered from the survey the women completed before the interview.

Table 5. Current Position of Interview Participants

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Current Position</b>
Cathy	Faculty member
Tiffany	High school teacher and coach
Linda	Associate athletic director
Kim	Salesperson
Amy	Academic advisor
Sue	Stay-at-home mom

### *Procedures*

Beginning on February 10, 2006 (over one month after the start of the survey distribution), a purposeful sampling of the survey responses took place. Specifically, the researcher began selecting participants based on their responses on the survey and the criteria outlined for the interviews (see Participants section above for criteria). Sixteen participants met the criteria for the interview a month after the start of survey distribution (note: 67 participants had returned their completed survey but the majority of the

participants did not meet the interview criteria specific to year they left collegiate coaching, division coached, and years of coaching experience). When choosing participants to interview, it was important the interview participants reflect the survey sample. Therefore, the researcher considered carefully the sport coached, age of the women, education, marital status, years in coaching, current position, and reasons the participants indicated they left college coaching to ensure the participants reflected the survey sample. For example, on the specified date, 35.8% ( $n = 24$ ) of the participants who had returned their survey had coached basketball whereas 20.9% ( $n = 14$ ) had coached volleyball, 15.0% ( $n = 10$ ) had coached field hockey and/or lacrosse, 7.5% ( $n = 5$ ) had coached softball and no other sport was represented by more than 3 coaches (less than 4.5%). Therefore, to reflect the survey sample, 2 of the participants interviewed were basketball coaches (34%; out of 6), 2 were volleyball coaches (34%; out of 6), 1 of the coaches interviewed was a field hockey and lacrosse coach (17%; out of 6), and 1 of the coaches interviewed was a softball coach (17%; out of 6). After choosing the participants to interview, eight former coaches were emailed or phoned to gain their interest in participating in the interview process. Two of the eight coaches contacted did not return the email or voicemail. Six women agreed to participate in the study; therefore, a time and date was arranged to conduct an interview that was convenient for them.

Six former college coaches were individually interviewed once on the phone. Phone interviews were used in order to reach women throughout the country. It was expected that more than six participants might be interviewed, however, a saturation point occurred after six interviews. As Mason (2002) suggests, the size of a qualitative

sample should be dictated by a saturation point in which the researcher has a good understanding of what's going on and has an explanation for it. This saturation point is clear when the data stops revealing new information.

Each of the participants was interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide (Appendix A). The interview guide consisted of general questions aimed at identifying how the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport impacted women's experiences in coaching and her decision to leave the profession. Before the start of the interview, the researcher described the purpose of the research, which was to better understand why U.S. collegiate female coaches leave the coaching profession. In addition, the researcher explained that confidentiality was guaranteed, participation was voluntary, and all names would be changed in the presentation of the results. The researcher emphasized that the former coach's identity would not be revealed and a pseudonym would be used for each participant to ensure her anonymity. The participant was given the opportunity to ask questions regarding the research. At the beginning of the interview, the researcher briefly described her background and what motivated this study.

Questions during the interview followed the interview guide; however, other questions were added to clarify statements made by the participant. As Meloy (1994) argues, it is appropriate to refine and rephrase interview questions because the researcher has a better understanding of the phenomenon after each consecutive interview. For example, the first question related to working in collegiate athletics stated: "Describe your interactions with others during your coaching career." I found that the majority of the women had difficulty responding to this statement and rephrasing the question proved

useful. For example, I rephrased the statement to, “I’m trying to get a picture of what it was like to work within college athletics, could you describe the interactions that you had with people both inside and outside the athletic department?”

The interviews ranged in time from 54 minutes to 1 hour and 20 minutes. The interviews were tape-recorded and the researcher took notes during each interview. Each interview was transcribed verbatim. Participants were provided a copy of the transcription and given the opportunity to make corrections or clarify statements. Two of the six participants replied with corrections they wanted to make to their interviews.

#### *Analytic Strategy*

This study follows a descriptive analytic strategy when examining the interview transcripts (see Appendix H for a visual). Specifically, the process of indexing was used to analyze the interview transcripts. The process of indexing allows for a systematic means of analyzing data in order to gain a more measured view of the whole picture (Mason, 2002). The original items on the Perceived Hindrance Scale were used as a starting point for the indexes. The items listed on the Perceived Hindrance Scale, however, were not comprehensive of all of participant’s articulated experiences. Therefore, additional indexes or codes emerged when reading the interview transcripts. Mason (2002) argues that during the process of indexing it is important that the researcher keep the research questions nearby to constantly cross-check between the research question and the data. While applying and developing codes, notes were taken regularly in order to develop a clear definition of each category or theme. Although it is essential to use the “right” amount of codes or indexes, it is impossible to provide the

“right” amount of codes before the start of analyzing the transcript. Therefore, a large number of indexes were used at the beginning of the process, but these indexes were narrowed as the analyses progressed.

The researcher recorded notes during each interview to allow the researcher to document possible indexes or follow-up questions to ask the participant. Notes were also taken directly after each interview to record how the questions should be refined for the next interview as well as how the researcher’s interview skills could be improved. At the conclusion of each interview, initial reactions as well as possible codes were noted.

The transcription of the interview was completed as soon as possible after the interview. The researcher transcribed three of the interviews, whereas the remaining three interviews were transcribed by others (1 was transcribed by a professional transcriber and 2 were transcribed by a colleague). After the transcription was completed, the researcher immediately began to read each transcript. It is important during the process of indexing that the researcher is very familiar with the data (Mason, 2002). Therefore, the researcher read each transcript multiple times to ensure all possible statements were indexed. As Creswell (1998) argues, the data analysis should be a circular or spiral process in which the researcher engages in a process of “moving in analytic circles rather than using a fixed linear approach” (p. 142). When analyzing the transcripts, the researcher will move in “analytic circles.” Specifically, the process of reading, note taking, and indexing was circular and the researcher “weaved in and out” of each process. Furthermore, this allowed for a constant comparison across the interviews to ensure that all women’s experiences are incorporated.

A textual description of each code or theme was written to explain the essence of the participants' experiences (Creswell, 1998). Powerful statements given by the participants were identified to exemplify the themes. Once the themes had been finalized, the participants were sent a copy of the themes via email to assess their relevance and accuracy. Feedback was returned from three of the six interview participants. If feedback was not returned, it was assumed that the themes were acceptable to the participants. The final step of the analysis process was to synthesize the information into a meaningful, feminist description of how women's experiences and their decision to leave the coaching profession is influenced by the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics (see the Results section).

Throughout this process, external auditors were employed. As Creswell (1998) indicates, the external auditor should examine if the findings and conclusions are supported by the data. Therefore, the researcher worked closely with the readers to make sure all statements had been identified and indexed as well as that final themes reflected the women's experiences. The first set of external auditors were three graduate students in Exercise and Sport Science. Each reader read two of the interviews and a meeting took place with the researcher to discuss the themes. Before the meeting, the researcher had a general idea of the themes present, but the auditors helped to clarify the themes. The second use of an external auditor was to verify the themes after they had been set by the researcher. The reader read all of the themes and the quotes from the women that demonstrated the themes. The reader has extensive experience utilizing qualitative methodology and is also a former female U.S. and Canadian collegiate coach with

graduate education in both the sociology and psychology of sport. Therefore, she understands both the sample and literature regarding women coaches. She terminated her coaching career approximately three years ago.

Three copies of each interview were made. One copy was sent to the participant as a member check for her to review and change in any way. A second copy of the interview was the working copy for the researcher to identify potential themes. The third copy was given to the second reader to check the themes for accuracy.

#### *Verification and Collaboration of Data*

Scholars of qualitative research methods agree that verification is important in any qualitative research (see Creswell, 1998 for a discussion). The term “verification” is preferred instead of “validity” because verification underscores the uniqueness of qualitative research (Creswell, 1998). Furthermore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicate that trustworthiness and authenticity is the key to establishing a credible research study. Creswell (1998) adds to their discussion describing eight procedures that researchers can engage in to verify their data: triangulation, prolonged engagement and persistent observation, peer review or debriefing, negative case analysis, clarifying researcher bias, member checks, rich and thick description, and external audits. Creswell (1998) recommends that researchers engage in at least two of these procedures to verify their research.

In the current study, the following methods of verification were used: triangulation, clarifying researcher bias, rich and thick descriptions, member checks, and external audits. First, triangulation, or the use of multiple and different sources, was used.

Specifically, both survey and interview methodology were employed in this study. Second, to clarify researcher bias the researcher engaged in a process of reflexivity. This process includes the reflexivity statement detailed in the introduction, participation in two bracketing interviews before the beginning of the first interview, and the continual process of reflexivity throughout the research project. Third, while presenting the results of this project, an attempt was made to include rich and thick descriptions. Direct quotes were used whenever possible to provide support for the themes of the research as well as to allow women's experiences to be at the center. Fourth, member checks occurred on two separate occasions as part of this research. The participants were sent a copy of their interview transcript to review and change. The participants were sent a copy of the themes, each with a description to verify and ensure that the themes reflect their experiences. Finally, the results went through a process of external audits in which several readers verified the process of identifying and finalizing the themes.

In addition, feminist researchers also argue that for the research to be credible, the research should be designed *for* women, not *about* women. The project should make a difference in the lives of women and should be disseminated in a way that will assist other women in the same situation (Hall, 1996; Thompson, 1992). This project is designed *for* the women involved in that it is expected that the women interviewed and surveyed gained a better understanding of the reasons they left U.S. collegiate coaching as well as their experiences in coaching. Furthermore, it is expected that the results of the project will assist other coaches and administrators through dissemination in professional

forums such as athletic administration and coaching journals or coaching workshops.

These strategies were employed to enhance verification and credibility of these findings.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

The central aim of this project was to better understand the experiences of former female coaches and their decision to terminate their careers, especially in relation to the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport. To address this research question, a mixed-method approach including survey and interviews was utilized. The survey results were used to extend previous research while reaching a large number of women. The interviews were used to gain a deeper and more complex explanation of why women leave U.S. collegiate coaching. Two sections, therefore, are included in this chapter. The first section focuses on the survey findings from 121 women who have left U.S. collegiate coaching. The second section addresses the findings from interviews with six women who left U.S. collegiate coaching.

#### Survey Findings

One hundred and twenty-one women who left U.S. collegiate coaching completed the survey addressing their experiences and reasons for leaving the profession. The survey included three sections: demographics, the Perceived Hindrance Scale, and open-end questions related to leaving coaching. The demographics are summarized in the Methods section of this document, whereas the following section summarizes the findings from the Perceived Hindrance Scale and the open-end responses.

### *Perceived Hindrance Scale Findings*

The Perceived Hindrance Scale was utilized in this study to better understand the reasons that ultimately led the participants to terminate their coaching careers.

Specifically, 34 reasons were listed on the scale and the participants were instructed to indicate to what extent each reason impacted their decision to leave the coaching profession. Table 6 presents the means and standard deviations for each item on the Perceived Hindrance Scale.

The findings presented in Table 6 demonstrate that the main reasons that these participants decided to leave the coaching profession were related to time, family, salary, pressures to win, and lack of support from administrators. Specifically, the top reasons that influenced (i.e., mean above 4.5) the participants' decisions to leave included: 1) Coaching takes too much time ( $M = 5.7, SD = 2.55$ ), 2) Unfavorable work hours ( $M = 5.3, SD = 2.76$ ), 3) Coaching conflicts with family commitments ( $M = 5.3, SD = 2.89$ ), 4) Time spent traveling to competitions ( $M = 5.0, SD = 2.86$ ), 5) Coaching means working evenings and weekends ( $M = 5.0, SD = 2.82$ ), 6) Low salary ( $M = 5.0, SD = 2.93$ ), 7) Lack of support for women coaches from superiors ( $M = 4.8, SD = 3.11$ ), 8) Pressure to win ( $M = 4.7, SD = 2.63$ ), and 9) Coaching interferes with social life ( $M = 4.7, SD = 2.66$ ). It is important to point out that half of the items on the Perceived Hindrance Scale had a mean of 3.5 or below, indicating that several of the items did not impact the participants' decisions to leave the profession. Few participants indicated that any items related to discrimination issues for racial/ethnic minority coaches influenced their decision to leave the coaching profession.

Table 6

*Means and Standard Deviations on the Perceived Hindrance Scale*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Q1. Coaching takes too much time.	5.7	2.55
Q9. Coaching conflicts with family commitments.	5.3	2.89
Q7. Unfavorable work hours.	5.3	2.76
Q8. Low salary.	5.0	2.93
Q16. Time spent traveling to competitions.	5.0	2.86
Q15. Coaching means working evenings and weekends.	5.0	2.82
Q21. Lack of support for women coaches from superiors	4.8	3.11
Q14. Coaching interferes with social life.	4.7	2.66
Q4. Pressures to win.	4.7	2.63
Q11. Other professions are more attractive.	4.3	2.97
Q3. Lack of opportunities for promotion.	3.8	2.74
Q18. Women coaches are discriminated against.	3.7	2.98
Q20. Lack of support systems for women players.	3.7	2.84
Q13. Lack of job security.	3.7	2.82
Q29. Women coaches are treated unfairly.	3.6	2.84
Q2. Public scrutiny of life.	3.4	2.61
Q25. Biases of “old boys” network (men hiring only men).	3.3	2.70
Q12. Difficulties with parents/spectator.	2.9	2.38
Q22. Perception of homosexuality among women coaches.	2.6	2.39
Q26. Male coaches do not accept female coaches.	2.6	2.32
Q28. Lack of role models among women coaches.	2.5	2.12
Q5. Having to do a lot of training.	2.5	1.92
Q24. Female players prefer male coaches.	2.2	1.83
Q27. Perceptions of women coaches as unfeminine.	2.0	1.66
Q23. Lack of training programs for women coaches.	1.9	1.58
Q19. Women coaches are perceived to be unattractive.	1.8	1.75
Q30. Racial/ethnic minority coaches are discriminated against.	1.7	1.65
Q33. Lack of role models for racial/ethnic minority coaches.	1.7	1.36
Q17. Hassles with the media.	1.7	1.27
Q10. Difficult to obtain an entry coaching position.	1.6	1.35
Q32. Racial/ethnic minority coaches are treated unfairly.	1.6	1.33
Q6. Difficulties with alumni.	1.6	1.31
Q31. Lack of support for racial/ethnic minority coaches.	1.6	1.19
Q34. Affirmative action has created extra hassles.	1.5	1.20

Response format for the above items was 1 = did not hinder at all to 9 = completely hindered.

with the five items addressing discrimination issues having a mean less than 2.0.

Considering that the majority of the sample (95.9%) was Caucasian/European American women, this finding seems logical. Other items with low ratings included: 1) Difficulties with alumni ( $M = 1.6, SD = 1.35$ ), 2) Difficult to obtain an entry coaching position ( $M = 1.6, SD = 1.35$ ), 3) Hassles with the media ( $M = 1.7, SD = 1.27$ ), 4) Women coaches are perceived to be unattractive ( $M = 1.8, SD = 1.75$ ), and 5) Lack of training programs for women coaches ( $M = 1.9, SD = 1.58$ ).

### *MANOVA Findings*

A series of Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA) and follow-up univariate Analyses of Variances (ANOVAs) were conducted to explore differences in reasons by marital status, having kids or dependents, division of last college coaching position, education level, sport coached in last college coaching position, and total years of coaching experience.

#### *Marital Status*

Six participants' responses (5 women that indicated "divorced" and 1 woman that indicated "engaged") were not used in the analysis of marital status because there were too few responses in those categories. The two participants who indicated they were "divorced and partnered" were coded in the "partnered" category because "partnered" was their most recent marital status. Although the overall MANOVA indicated a non-significant main effect for marital status,  $F(68, 138) = 1.10, p = .29$ , significant univariate effects were found for "Public scrutiny of life," "Coaching conflicts with family commitments," "Lack of role models among women coaches," and "Women coaches are

treated unfairly.” To determine differences among the three levels of marital status, Tukey’s post hoc tests were performed (Table 7 represents the significant differences and  $F$  values). Overall, the Tukey’s post hoc tests indicated that married coaches were more likely to cite “Coaching conflicts with family,” single coaches were more likely to indicate “Women coaches are treated unfairly,” and partnered coaches were more likely to cite “Public scrutiny of life.”

Table 7

*Significant Differences Related to Marital Status*

	Single	Married	Partnered	Univ. $F$	$\eta^2$
Public scrutiny of life	3.2 <sub>a</sub>	3.1 <sub>b</sub>	4.8 <sub>a,b</sub>	3.84*	.07
Coaching conflicts with family	4.6 <sub>a</sub>	6.5 <sub>a</sub>	5.0	4.46*	.08
Lack of role models among women coaches	3.1 <sub>a</sub>	2.6	1.6 <sub>a</sub>	4.27*	.08
Women coaches are treated unfairly	4.4 <sub>a</sub>	2.8 <sub>a</sub>	3.5	3.19*	.06

*Note.* Means having the same subscript are significantly different at  $p < .05$  using the Tukey’s post hoc analysis. Univariate  $F$  values are: \*Significantly different at  $p < .05$

*Having Children or Dependents*

A MANOVA indicated a non-significant main effect for having children or dependents,  $F(34,75) = 1.49, p = .078$  with one significant univariate effect, “Coaching conflicts with family commitments,”  $F(1, 108) = 13.11, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11, \text{power} = .95$ . Specifically, women who had kids or dependents ( $M = 7.3$ ) were significantly more likely to indicate that “Coaching conflicts with family commitments” influenced their decision to leave coaching compared to women who did not have children or dependents ( $M = 4.9$ ).

### *Division*

Three participants' responses (2 "community college" and 1 "independent") were not used in the analysis of Division (I, II, III) because there were too few responses in these categories. A MANOVA indicated a significant main effect for division, Wilks lambda = .30,  $F(68, 142) = 1.75, p < .01, \eta^2 = .46, \text{power} = 1.00$ . The significant univariate effects include: "Public scrutiny of life," "Pressure to win," "Having to do a lot of training," and "Low salary." Tukey's post hoc analysis indicated that participants in Division II ( $M = 5.1$ ) cited several reasons more often than Division III coaches including "Public scrutiny of life," "Pressure to win" and "Low salary." Division II and Division III coaches were also more likely to indicate that "Having to do a lot of training" to be a coach influenced their decision to leave coaching compared to Division I coaches.

Table 8

#### *Significant Differences Related to Division*

	Division I	Division II	Division III	Uni. F	$\eta^2$
Public scrutiny of life	3.7 <sub>b</sub>	5.1 <sub>a</sub>	2.4 <sub>a,b</sub>	5.62*	.10
Pressure to win	4.8	6.1 <sub>a</sub>	4.0 <sub>a</sub>	3.23**	.06
Having to do a lot of training	1.9 <sub>a,b</sub>	3.4 <sub>a</sub>	3.3 <sub>b</sub>	7.95*	.13
Low salary	4.9 <sub>a</sub>	7.5 <sub>a,b</sub>	4.3 <sub>b</sub>	6.56*	.11

*Note.* Means having the same subscript are significantly different at  $p < .05$  using the Tukey's post hoc analysis. Univariate  $F$  values are: \*\*Significantly different at  $p < .01$ , \*Significantly different at  $p < .05$

### *Educational Level*

The MANOVA on educational level indicated a non-significant main effect with one significant univariate effect, "Lack of job security,"  $F(2, 104) = 5.62, p < .01, \eta^2 = .10, \text{power} = .85$ . Tukey's post hoc analysis indicated that participants with a bachelor's

degree only ( $M = 4.6$ ) indicated that “Lack of job security” influenced their decision to leave coaching more than did participants with doctorate ( $M = 2.3$ ) degrees.

### *Sport Coached*

For the MANOVA on sport coached, basketball was compared to other sports for two specific reasons. First, several of the sports included too few coaches in the sample to compare (see demographics in Table 1). Second, women’s basketball is the most frequently found sport in women’s collegiate programs and has a larger percentage of women coaches compared to other women’s sports (i.e., golf, soccer cross-country, swimming; Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). The MANOVA indicated a significant main effect for sport coached, Wilks lambda = .55,  $F(34, 74) = 1.77$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta^2 = .45$ , power = .99. Significant univariate effects included: “Coaching takes too much time,” “Low salary,” “Lack of support systems for women players,” and “Lack of role models among women coaches.” Tukey’s post hoc analysis indicated that the only reason having more impact for participants who coached basketball was “Coaching takes too much time” (basketball coaches  $M = 6.2$ , other sport coaches  $M = 5.2$ ). Women who coached other sports were significantly more likely to indicate the following three reasons: “Low salary” ( $M = 5.2$  compared to  $M = 4.4$ ), “Lack of support systems for women player” ( $M = 4.2$  compared to  $M = 3.0$ ), and “Lack of role models among women coaches” ( $M = 2.9$  compared to  $M = 2.0$ ).

Table 9

*Significant Differences Related to Sport Coached*

	Basketball	Other Sport	Univ. <i>F</i>	$\eta^2$
Coaching takes too much time	6.2 <sub>a</sub>	5.2 <sub>a</sub>	4.69*	.04
Low salary	4.4 <sub>a</sub>	5.2 <sub>a</sub>	5.70*	.05
Lack of support systems for women players	3.0 <sub>a</sub>	4.2 <sub>a</sub>	4.97*	.04
Lack of role models among women coaches	2.0 <sub>a</sub>	2.9 <sub>a</sub>	4.61*	.04

*Note.* Means having the same subscript are significantly different at  $p < .05$  using the Tukey's post hoc analysis. Univariate *F* values are: \*Significantly different at  $p < .05$

*Years of Collegiate Coaching Experience*

To examine years of coaching experience, participants' years of coaching experience were divided into four groups: 1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, and 16 years and over. It seemed logical to split the participants' years of coaching experience in five year increments, with the last category as 16 years and over. Further dividing the years beyond 16 years of coaching experience did not seem to serve any purpose. The MANOVA indicated a significant main effect, Wilks lambda = .18,  $F(102, 219) = 1.69$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .44$ , power = 1.00, and significant univariate effects including: "Difficulties with alumni," "Unfavorable work hours," "Low salary," "Coaching conflicts with family commitments," "Difficult to obtain entry coaching position," "Other professions are more attractive," "Coaching interferes with social life," "Coaching means working evenings and weekends," "Hassles with the media," "Perception of homosexuality among women coaches," "Female players prefer males coaches," "Perceptions of women coaches as unfeminine," and "Affirmative action has created extra hassles."

Tukey's post hoc analysis indicated that participants who coached over 16 years were significantly less likely to indicate that the following seven reasons impacted their

decision to leave the coaching profession: “Unfavorable work hours,” “Low salary,” “Coaching conflicts with family commitments,” “Other professions are more attractive,” “Coaching means working evenings and weekends,” “Difficult to obtain entry coaching position,” and “Perceptions of women coaches as unfeminine.” Additionally, participants with 11-15 years of coaching rated five reasons higher: “Difficulties with alumni,” “Hassles with the media,” “Perception of homosexuality among women coaches,” “Female players prefer male coaches,” and “Affirmative action has created extra hassles.” See Table 10 for means and Univariate  $F$  values.

Table 10

*Significant Means Related to Years of Coaching Experience*

	1-5	6-10	11-15	Over 16	Uni. $F$	$\eta^2$
Unfavorable work hours	6.2 <sub>a</sub>	6.3 <sub>b</sub>	5.3	4.8 <sub>a,b</sub>	4.80**	.12
Low salary	7.4 <sub>a</sub>	5.8 <sub>b</sub>	5.2	3.6 <sub>a,b</sub>	12.82***	.27
Coaching conflicts with family commitments	6.0 <sub>a</sub>	6.2 <sub>a</sub>	6.1	4.2 <sub>a,b</sub>	4.33**	.11
Other professions are more attractive	6.4 <sub>a</sub>	5.1 <sub>b</sub>	5.8	3.2 <sub>a,b</sub>	8.47***	.19
Coaching means working evenings and weekends	5.5 <sub>a</sub>	6.1 <sub>b</sub>	4.1	3.8 <sub>a,b</sub>	5.43**	.13
Difficult to obtain entry coaching position	2.4 <sub>a</sub>	1.6	1.4	1.3 <sub>a</sub>	3.85*	.10
Coaching interferes with social life	5.5	5.7 <sub>a</sub>	4.7	4.0 <sub>a</sub>	3.10*	.08
Perceptions of women coaches are unfeminine	2.2	1.9	3.2 <sub>a</sub>	1.7 <sub>a</sub>	2.97*	.08
Difficulties with alumni	1.2 <sub>a</sub>	1.2 <sub>b</sub>	2.4 <sub>a,b</sub>	1.7	3.93*	.10
Hassles with the media	1.5 <sub>a</sub>	1.2 <sub>b</sub>	2.6 <sub>a,b</sub>	1.8	3.67*	.09
Perceptions of homosexuality among women coaches	2.9	2.1 <sub>a</sub>	4.2 <sub>a</sub>	2.3	2.83*	.07
Female players prefer male coaches	1.3 <sub>a,c</sub>	1.9 <sub>b</sub>	3.7 <sub>a,b,c</sub>	2.2 <sub>c</sub>	6.29***	.15
Affirmative action has created extra hassles	1.4 <sub>a</sub>	1.3 <sub>b</sub>	2.8 <sub>a,b,c</sub>	1.5 <sub>c</sub>	6.17***	.15

*Note.* Means having the same subscript are significantly different at  $p < .05$  using the Tukey's post hoc analysis. Univariate  $F$  values are: \*\*\*Significantly different at  $p < .001$ , \*\*Significantly different at  $p < .01$ , \*Significantly different at  $p < .05$

### *Open-end Responses*

To gain information in women's voices not constrained by survey item format, the participants completed five questions related to their experience leaving collegiate coaching. The first four open-end questions were listed before the survey items and included: 1) "List the 3 biggest challenges you experienced when you were coaching in collegiate athletics," 2) "What was the main reason you decided to leave college coaching?" 3) "What were the other reasons that influenced your decision to leave college coaching?" 4) "Is there anything you would like to add about your experiences in coaching or your decision to leave the profession?" The last open-end question followed the survey items so that the participants could indicate reasons that were not listed on the survey. Therefore, the final open-end question included: "Please list any other reasons that influenced your decision to leave the coaching profession that are not listed above [on the survey]." The length of the open-end responses was impressive and certainly showed the interest of the participants in the subject matter. In fact, several of the participants continued their responses on the back of the page and few left any of the open-end items blank.

Open-end responses were read literally and grouped into categories (Mason, 2002). Each open-end response was read and grouped into a category. The items from the Perceived Hindrance Scale were used as a starting point for possible categories. It was clear when analyzing the open-end responses that the items on the Perceived Hindrance Scale were not reflective of all women's experiences, therefore, additional categories

were added. Similar categories were then grouped into themes. Each theme is explained below while providing direct responses from participants.

When a response could be placed in multiple categories, the response was coded based on the emphasis within the statement, or the description listed first in the statement. For example, one participant indicated that “Recruiting and travel” was one of her biggest challenges. This challenge was categorized under “Recruiting” because recruiting was listed first in the statement. Another participant reported: “Long hours; Being too consumed with recruiting, i.e., phone calls to recruits, letters, emails, etc.” Even though she discussed recruiting, this response was coded under “Time commitment” because of the emphasis placed on “Long hours” (being that it was underlined and listed first). When appropriate, open-end responses were also compared across division, sport, and head/assistant coaches. Division, sport coached, or head/assistant coach was not considered if less than six mentioned the specific challenge/reason for leaving coaching. The following section represents the participants’ responses on the open-end items.

### *Three Biggest Challenges in Coaching*

On the survey, the former women coaches were asked to “List the 3 biggest challenges you experienced when you were coaching in collegiate athletics.” Almost all listed three challenges (112 out of 121); seven listed two challenges, one woman listed one challenge, and one woman left the question blank. Table 11 summarizes the challenges provided by 121 women. More detailed description of the responses in each category follows and Appendix I provides additional examples.

Table 11

## Main Themes of Three Biggest Challenges in Coaching

<i>Total in Sample</i>	<i>n</i>	Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
		<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
Demands of the Position	178 (53.0)	107 (60.1)	21 (11.8)	45 (25.3)	5 (2.8)	129 (72.5)	49 (27.5)	74 (41.6)	104 (58.4)
Conflict with Others in Sport	51 (15.2)	35 (68.6)	6 (11.8)	9 (17.6)	1 (2.0)	37 (72.5)	14 (27.5)	23 (45.1)	28 (54.9)
Gender Issues	50 (14.8)	28 (56.0)	4 (8.0)	17 (34.0)	1 (2.0)	42 (84.0)	8 (16.0)	18 (36.0)	32 (64.0)
Personal	32 (10.0)	19 (59.4)	6 (18.8)	6 (18.8)	1 (3.0)	20 (62.5)	12 (37.5)	15 (46.9)	17 (53.1)
Coach/Athlete Issues	25 (7.0)	18 (72.0)	1 (4.0)	5 (20.0)	1 (4.0)	14 (56.0)	11 (44.0)	11 (44.0)	14 (56.0)

Note: Each survey respondent may have listed up to 3 challenges. Frequencies are listed with percentages in parenthesis.

Table 12

*Demands of the Position*

<i>Total in Sample</i>	<i>n = 178</i>	Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
		<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
Recruiting	54 (30.3)	31 (57.4)	7 (13.0)	15 (27.7)	1 (1.9)	41 (76.0)	13 (24.0)	31 (57.4)	23 (42.6)
Resources	46 (25.8)	26 (56.5)	7 (15.2)	12 (26.1)	1 (2.2)	39 (84.8)	7 (15.2)	12 (26.1)	34 (73.9)
Time commitment	31 (17.4)	21 (67.7)	2 (6.5)	6 (19.3)	2 (6.5)	18 (58.1)	13 (41.9)	16 (51.6)	15 (48.4)
Low salary	16 (9.0)	12 (75.0)	2 (12.5)	2 (12.5)	0 (0)	8 (50.0)	8 (50.0)	3 (18.8)	13 (81.2)
Multiple responsibilities	11 (6.2)	2 (18.1)	3 (27.3)	5 (45.5)	1 (9.1)	10 (90.9)	1 (9.1)	2 (18.1)	9 (81.9)
Importance of winning	11 (6.2)	8 (72.7)	0 (0)	3 (27.3)	0 (0)	8 (72.7)	3 (37.3)	7 (63.6)	4 (36.4)
Traveling	3 (1.7)	3 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)
Staffing issues	3 (1.7)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	1 (33.3)	0 (0)	3 (100)	0 (0)	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)
Only a "part-time" job	3 (1.7)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	1 (33.3)	0 (0)	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	0 (0)	3 (100)

Note: Each survey respondent may have listed up to 3 challenges. Frequencies are listed with percentages in parenthesis.

*Demands of the Position.* The participants cited challenges related to demands of their position more often than any other category (i.e., Conflict with others, Coach/Athlete Issues, etc.). In fact, 53% of the challenges listed on the surveys were related to “Demands of the Position.” Several of the challenges within this theme include formal responsibilities that would be part of a coach’s job description, such as recruiting and traveling with the team. Other challenges such as the importance of winning or the time commitment (i.e., working 70 hours a week) would typically be “unwritten” expectations. The following are examples representing the most frequent responses related to demands of coaching:

Recruiting: “Recruiting [was] becoming cut throat – illegal recruiting – negative recruiting and young women who were becoming increasingly more spoiled.” (Division I head basketball coach)

Resources: “Our program was not funded, and we played against many league teams that were. We couldn’t compete on an even playing field.” (Division II head volleyball coach)

Time Commitment: “Time commitment [which included] 70 hours per week in season.” (Division I head lacrosse and field hockey coach)

Low Salary: “The terribly low salary compared to what I made teaching physical education. My salary at the college level was less than half of what I [now] make teaching physical education and coaching varsity athletics. My experience was really not rewarded financially.” (Division III head softball coach)

Of all of the challenges listed, “Recruiting” was cited most often ( $n = 54$ ), with 57.4% ( $n = 31$ ) of the responses from basketball coaches (see Table 8). “Resources” was cited most often by head coaches (39 of 46) and coaches of a sport other than basketball (34 of 46). Of the participants who indicated “Multiple responsibilities” as a challenge,

all but one (10 of 11) were head coaches, and 5 of the 11 were Division III coaches. A similar trend might be expected related to salary, however, 12 of the 16 women who listed “Low salary” were Division I coaches. The majority of the participants who cited “Importance of Winning” were Division I coaches (8 of 11) and basketball coaches (7 of 11).

In relation to the research question, it is important to note that several of the challenges under “Demands of the Position” were related to gender and patriarchy. The following examples illustrate that gender is threaded throughout the challenges in “Demands of the Position.”

Resources: “Budget for female athletics.” (Division I assistant softball coach)

Resources: “Lack of financial support [at women’s colleges]. Women’s colleges suffered because Title IX could [not] or did not apply! Other coed institutions went ahead of women’s colleges.” (Division III head field hockey coach)

Low salary: “Being compensated fairly in a good ole’ boy environment.” (Division I head golf coach)

Low salary: “Not being compensated equivalent to the male counterpart on the men’s side.” (Division I head basketball coach)

*Conflict with Others in Sport*. The second largest theme related to challenges (51 out of 336 responses; 15.2%) was “Conflicts with others in sport.” Of those, 35 of 51 were provided by participants who coached in Division I. The following are examples of the most frequent responses related to “Conflicts with others in sport.”

Lack of administrative support: “Athletic administration: Lack of support financially and professionally.” (Division I assistant softball coach)

Parents: “Parents...unsportsmanlike conduct, unrealistic expectations of their child, scholarship pressure.” (Division I head field hockey coach)

Leadership of head coach: “Incompetent leadership – Head coach did not provide staff or players with adequate leadership. Poor role-model [and] lack of knowledge.” (Division I assistant lacrosse coach)

Division I coaches were more likely to list several of the categories such as “Parents,” “Lack of educational emphasis,” and “Fans” (see Table 9). Head coaches were also more likely to cite “Lack of administrative support,” “Parents,” “Lack of educational emphasis,” and “Fans” as challenges. Six out of 7 assistant coaches who indicated “Leadership of head coach” were all Division I coaches. Additionally, 5 of the 7 responses related to “Leadership of head coach” came from women working with a male head coach.

Again, a large number of women described challenges related to gender and patriarchy within the “Conflicts with others in sport” category. Several of the responses under “Lack of administrative support” emphasize the lack of support for women’s athletics among administrators. The following examples illustrate that gender issues were threaded throughout “Conflict with others in sport:”

Lack of administrative support: “Not being allowed to coach how I wanted. Unfairness that females had to be coached different. Disagreement with AD that females were fragile. Too much interference of AD.” (Division I head volleyball coach)

Leadership of Head Coach: “I spent the majority of my time putting out ‘fires’ that the head coach started by not understanding female athletes.” (Division II assistant soccer coach)

Parents: “Helicopter parents who butt in for daughters, but tell sons to deal with coach themselves.” (Division III head soccer and softball coach)

*Gender Issues*. Although gender was threaded through several of the challenges in other categories, several responses were *solely* related to gender including: “Coaching conflicts with family commitments,” “Discrimination,” “Equity issues,” “Responsibilities to women,” “Title IX issues,” “Homophobia, and “Opportunities for women.” It is important to note that in the category “Coaching conflicts with family commitments,” family was defined broadly and included partner/spouse, children, brothers/sisters and parents. Following are examples from the most frequent responses related to gender issues.

Coaching conflicts with family commitments: “Once I had a family, it became incredibly difficult to juggle coaching and family – working weekend, traveling, recruiting, late nights.” (Division I head field hockey and lacrosse coach)

Discrimination: “As an aging woman coach not given the respect of an older “saged” male coach.” (Division III head coach for multiple sports)

Equity issues: “Always wanting to get what men’s program was getting.” (Division I assistant basketball coach)

Responsibilities to women: “Being the kind of role model that would encourage young women to expect to be treated fairly and equally in their lives.” (Division I head basketball coach)

Several of the statements highlighted inequalities beyond gender. As Birrell and McDonald (2000) argue, it is important to consider how “power lines” cross because structures of dominance (e.g., race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, nationality, ability,

Table 13

*Conflicts with Others in Sport*

<i>Total in Sample</i>	<i>n = 51</i>	Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
		<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
Lack of administrative support	25 (49.0)	14 (56.0)	4 (16.0)	6 (24.0)	1 (4.0)	20 (80.0)	5 (20.0)	13 (52.0)	12 (48.0)
Parents	8 (15.7)	6 (75.0)	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	0 (0)	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	0 (0)	7 (100)
Leadership of head coach	7 (13.7)	6 (85.7)	1 (14.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (100)	4 (57.1)	3 (42.9)
Lack of ed. emphasis	6 (11.8)	4 (66.7)	0 (0)	2 (33.3)	0 (0)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)
Fans	5 (9.8)	5 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (100)	0 (0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)

Note: Each survey respondent may have listed up to 3 challenges. Frequencies are listed with percentages in parenthesis.

Table 14

*Gender Issues*

<i>Total in Sample</i>	<i>n = 51</i>	Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
		<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
Coaching conflicts with family	17 (33.3)	11 (64.7)	0 (0)	6 (35.3)	0 (0)	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	4 (23.5)	13 (76.5)
Discrimination	13 (25.4)	6 (46.2)	1 (7.6)	6 (46.2)	0 (0)	11 (84.6)	2 (15.4)	2 (15.4)	11 (84.6)
Equity issues	6 (11.8)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	4 (66.7)	2 (33.3)
Responsibilities to women	6 (11.8)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	2 (33.3)	1 (16.7)	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)
Title IX issues	3 (6.9)	1 (33.3)	0 (0)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	3 (100)	0 (0)	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)
Homophobia	3 (6.9)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	1 (33.3)	0 (0)	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)
Opportunities for women	2 (3.9)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)

Note: Each survey respondent may have listed up to 3 challenges. Frequencies are listed with percentages in parenthesis.

religion, etc.) do not work independently or in isolation of each other (p. 4). Specifically, several of the comments were related to women's age, inferring a lack of respect for women coaches as they age. A few comments were also made about the homophobic nature of collegiate sport in which lesbian women felt they needed to "hide" their homosexuality. These examples illustrate that "power lines" cross (Birrell & McDonald, 2000, p. 4) and have consequences in women's coaching experiences.

In terms of division, sport, and assistant or head coach status, a few trends were identified (see Table 10). "Coaching conflicts with family commitments" responses were only provided by Division I (11 of 17) and Division III coaches (6 of 17). All but one (16 of 17) of the participants who indicated "Coaching conflicts with family commitments" were head coaches and 13 of 16 coached a sport other than basketball. Interestingly for "Discrimination" issues, 11 of the 13 responses were head coaches in a sport other than basketball. Additionally, 5 of the 6 "Equity issues" responses were from Division I head coaches, and 4 of the 5 responses were from basketball coaches.

*Personal.* A total of 32 challenges (out of 343; 9%) were related to "Personal" with the majority of responses (21 of 32) related to balancing work and personal time. Several women stated that it was difficult to have a personal life because of the time commitment and responsibilities of their coaching position. Other challenges related to "Personal" issues included "Health and well-being," "Career questions," and "Burnout." The following are representative comments related to "Personal."

Life Balance: "Absolute lack of personal life time; We teach/preach balance in life (from the president of the college on down), but it [is] not only not rewarded, it implicitly and explicitly discouraged." (Division 2 head basketball coach)

Burnout: Coaching at the college level is physically and emotionally exhausting. The longer I coached, the harder it was to sustain the energy and intensity necessary to be successful.” (Division I head softball coach)

The participants citing challenges related to “Life balance” reflected the overall sample in terms of division, head or assistant coach status, and sport coached (see Table 11).

*Coach/Athlete Issues*. “Coach/athlete issues” was cited 25 times (out of 336; 7%). Eight of these comments were related to “Relationship with the athlete,” including several comments about the difficulty of balancing the roles of “coach” and “friend” as well as the need for a coach to rely on athletes for their job security. The challenges listed under “Athletes’ attitudes” overlapped some with “Change in athlete,” which referred to the difference between today’s athletes compared to 10-15 years ago. “Team cohesion” issues referred to getting athletes to accept their role and work as a group/team. The following are representative comments related to “Coach/athlete issues.”

Relationship with athlete: “Inability to relate to student-athletes. Difficulty finding balance between friend and coach. Finding ways to motivate became very difficult.” (Division I assistant lacrosse coach)

Athletes’ attitudes: “Working with student-athletes who seemed to lack a true appreciation for the game itself.” (Division I head softball coach)

Almost three-fourths of the comments related to “Coach/Athlete issues” were made by Division I coaches (18 of 25 responses; 72%). More specifically, 6 of the 8 responses related to “Relationship with athlete,” 6 of the 7 responses related to “Athlete’s

Table 15

*Personal*

<i>Total in Sample</i>	<i>n = 32</i>	Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
		<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
Life balance	21	12 (57.1)	3 (14.3)	5 (23.8)	1 (4.8)	13 (61.9)	8 (38.1)	10 (47.6)	11 (52.4)
Health and well-being	5	4 (80.0)	0 (0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0)	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)
Career questions	3	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)	3 (100)	0 (0)
Burnout	3	2 (66.7)	1 (33.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)	0 (0)	1 (33.3)	2 (66.7)

Note: Each survey respondent may have listed up to 3 challenges. Frequencies are listed with percentages in parenthesis.

Table 16

*Coach/Athlete Issues*

<i>Total in Sample</i>	<i>n = 25</i>	Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
		<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
Relationship with athlete	8	6 (75.0)	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	0 (0)	2 (25.0)	6 (75.0)	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)
Athletes' attitudes	7	6 (85.7)	0 (0)	1 (14.3)	0 (0)	3 (42.9)	4 (57.1)	3 (42.9)	4 (57.1)
Change in athlete	5 (25.0)	4 (80.0)	0 (0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0)	5 (100)
Team cohesion	5 (25.0)	2 (40.0)	0 (0)	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	5 (100)	0 (0)	3 (60.0)	2 (40.0)

Note: Each survey respondent may have listed up to 3 challenges. Frequencies are listed with percentages in parenthesis.

attitudes,” and 4 of the 5 responses related to “Change in athlete” were made by Division I coaches (see Table 16). The participants who tended to cite “Change in athlete” were head coaches (4 of 5) and all coached a sport other than basketball. It is interesting to note that 6 of the 8 participants who indicated “Relationship with athlete” were assistant coaches, possibly reflecting the role of assistant coaches.

### *Reasons for Leaving Collegiate Coaching*

The participants were asked to indicate the reasons they left college coaching with two open-end questions: “What was the main reason you decided to leave college coaching?” and “What were the other reasons that influenced your decision to leave college coaching?” All of the 121 participants who completed the survey completed these two questions. On the question related to other reasons the women left coaching, three women stated “no” indicating there were no other factors that influenced their decision to leave coaching beyond the main reason. Table 17 includes the “main” reason and “other” reasons the participants indicated for leaving collegiate coaching. The most frequently cited main reasons for leaving collegiate coaching on the open-end responses were: 1) Opportunity for promotion ( $n = 16$ ), 2) Family commitments ( $n = 14$ ), 3) Burnout ( $n = 13$ ), and 4) Lack of support by administration ( $n = 11$ ). Similar frequently cited reasons were apparent when looking at both the main reasons and other reasons (i.e., the total column on Table 17). To see trends in the open-end responses, the responses were further separated into three large themes: “Positive reasons,” “Negative reasons,” and “Neutral reasons” and tabled by division, head or assistant coach status, and sport coached.

*Positive Reasons.* Much of the literature on women leaving college coaching discusses reasons that would be negative including lack of opportunity, power, and a smaller proportion of women coaches (Knoppers 1987, 1992); lack of funding and resources (Bray, 2004b; Whisenant et al, 2002), low salary (Humphreys, 2000), homophobia (Griffin, 1998), lack of women athletic directors (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004; Lapchick, 2005) and the perception of women as “less than” (Inglis, Danylchuk, & Pastore, 2000; Thorngren, 1990). Few scholars have discussed “positive reasons” why women may be leaving college coaching. For example, the survey used in this project, the Perceived Hindrance Scale, included no positive reasons that women may have for leaving college coaching. One coach noticed that the survey included only negative reasons and placed a note at the end of the survey:

“Cindra: It has been my experience that many women leave coaching because they have the opportunity to [be] promote[d] into administrative positions. Obviously, you are seeking these that leave due to workload or discrimination. I’m sure you will find them, but you are only getting part of the picture by focusing on these groups. Also not listed is 'got fired,' the involuntary departure.”

This former coach thought it was obvious that I wasn’t searching for the positive reasons. In fact, given the literature, as well as discussions with the former coaches before this project, I assumed women were only leaving for so-called negative reasons. Therefore, it is essential to discuss the positive reasons these women stated that led them to leave U.S. collegiate coaching. 24.0% (29 of 121) of the main reasons and 20.1% (57 of 283) of the total responses were positive reasons including: “Interest in other careers/areas,” “Opportunity for promotion,” “Pursue further education,” “Retired,” and

Table 17

*Reasons Women Indicated They Left Collegiate Coaching*

<i>Total in Sample</i>				Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
	<i>n Main</i>	<i>n "Other"</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
<b>Positive Reasons (n = 57)</b>											
Opportunity for promotion	16	11	27	12 (44.4)	3 (11.2)	12 (44.4)	0 (0)	25 (92.6)	2 (7.4)	11 (40.7)	16 (59.3)
Interest in other careers	7	14	21	16 (76.1)	1 (4.8)	3 (14.3)	1 (4.8)	10 (47.6)	11 (52.4)	11 (52.4)	10 (47.6)
Pursue further education	3	1	4	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)
Retired	3	0	3	1 (33.3)	0 (0)	2 (66.7)	0 (0)	3 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)
Wanted to go out on top	0	2	2	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)
<b>Negative Reasons (n = 191)</b>											
Lack of support by admin.	11	14	25	12 (48.0)	6 (24.0)	6 (24.0)	1 (4.0)	23 (98.0)	2 (8.0)	9 (36.0)	16 (64.0)
Burnout	13	7	20	9 (45.0)	3 (15.0)	7 (35.0)	1 (5.0)	16 (80.0)	4 (20.0)	10 (50.0)	10 (50.0)
Life balance	8	11	19	13 (68.4)	4 (21.1)	0 (0)	2 (10.5)	8 (42.1)	11 (57.9)	14 (73.7)	5 (26.3)
Recruiting	2	12	14	7 (50.0)	1 (7.1)	5 (35.8)	1 (7.1)	10 (71.4)	4 (28.6)	8 (57.1)	6 (42.9)
Climate of college athletics	4	7	11	7 (63.6)	2 (18.1)	2 (18.1)	0 (0)	8 (72.7)	3 (27.3)	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)
Fired	9	2	11	5 (45.5)	2 (18.2)	4 (36.4)	0 (0)	11 (100)	0 (0)	6 (54.5)	5 (45.5)
Low salary	3	8	11	9 (81.8)	1 (9.1)	0 (0)	1 (9.1)	6 (54.5)	5 (45.5)	4 (36.4)	7 (63.6)
Athletes' attitudes	1	10	11	10 (90.9)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (9.1)	8 (72.7)	3 (27.3)	4 (36.3)	7 (63.7)
Coaching responsibilities	4	6	10	3 (30.0)	3 (30.0)	3 (30.0)	1 (10.0)	8 (80.0)	2 (20.0)	2 (20.0)	8 (80.0)
Time commitment	3	6	9	5 (55.5)	1 (11.1)	3 (33.3)	0 (0)	8 (88.9)	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	8 (88.9)
Head coaching issues	2	6	8	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (100)	5 (62.5)	3 (37.5)
Gender discrimination	2	5	7	4 (57.1)	2 (28.6)	1 (14.3)	0 (0)	4 (57.1)	3 (42.9)	3 (42.9)	4 (57.1)
No longer enjoyed coaching	4	2	6	4 (66.7)	0 (0)	2 (33.3)	0 (0)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)
Homophobia	2	4	6	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)	5 (83.3)	1 (16.7)
Health issues	2	2	4	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)
Resources	1	3	4	4 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	4 (100)
Personal characteristics	0	4	4	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)	2 (50.0)	2 (50.0)
Lack of winning	2	0	2	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)

Table 17 continued

*Reasons Women Indicated They Left Collegiate Coaching*

<i>Total in Sample</i>				Division				Head or Assistant		Sport (Bskball/Other)	
	<i>n Main</i>	<i>n "Other"</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>DI (59.5)</i>	<i>DII (11.6)</i>	<i>DIII (26.4)</i>	<i>Other (1.5)</i>	<i>Head (72.7)</i>	<i>Ast. (27.3)</i>	<i>BB (42.1)</i>	<i>Other (57.9)</i>
Lack of growth	0	2	2	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	2 (100)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)
Lack of control	0	2	2	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)
Lack of job security	0	2	2	2 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	2 (100)
Location	0	2	2	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	2 (100)
Parents	0	1	1	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)
<b>Neutral Reasons (n = 35)</b>											
Family commitments	14	12	26	18 (69.2)	2 (7.7)	6 (23.1)	0 (0)	23 (88.5)	3 (11.5)	7 (26.9)	19 (73.1)
Wasn't interested in moving	2	3	5	4 (80.0)	0 (0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0)	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)
Moved	3	1	4	3 (75.0)	0 (0)	1 (25.0)	0 (0)	1 (25.0)	3 (75.0)	0 (0)	4 (100)

Note: "n Main" is the number of women indicating the reason as the "Main" factor that influenced their leaving coaching. "n Other" is the number of women indicating the reason as an "Other" factor that influenced their leaving collegiate coaching. Frequencies are listed with percentages in parenthesis.

“Wanted to go out on top” (Note: The two responses in “Wanted to go out on top” were categorized under positive because both women were promoted to athletic administrators). The following are examples of the most frequently mentioned positive reasons the participants provided for leaving collegiate coaching.

Opportunity for promotion: “Decided to be a full-time administrator. This way I could have an influence [and had] input for more athletes. [It was a] promotion.” (Division III head cross country coach)

Interest in other careers/areas: “Wanted to [do] research and improve the lives of many female athletes instead of 15 female athletes.” (Division I assistant basketball coach)

Over three-fourths of the participants who cited “Interest in other careers/areas” were Division I coaches (16 of 21). Assistant coaches (11 of 21) and basketball coaches (11 of 21) were also more likely to cite “Interest in other careers/areas” as a reason for leaving coaching. Furthermore, all but two of the participants who indicated the reason they left collegiate coaching was for the “Opportunity for a promotion” were head coaches (25 of 27), and 12 of the 27 responses came from Division III coaches (see Table 17).

*Negative Reasons.* Although positive reasons were provided by the participants, the clear majority of the reasons these participants provided for leaving coaching were negative (61.2%, 74 of 121 “main” reasons and 67.5%, 191 of 283 total responses), including 23 different reasons (see Table 17). Following are examples from the most frequent negative reasons provided by the participants.

Lack of support by administration: “Lack of leadership: we were assigned so much busy work and [I] really wondered what the jobs of all 5 associate/assistant athletic directors was. I believe the appropriate word is ‘bureaucracy.’ Lack of departmental support for the program.” (Division III head softball coach)

Burnout: “I didn’t have much more to give. My tank was on empty. Coaching is a very emotionally demanding profession. I was drained. I found myself not caring as much about the players as I had earlier on in my career.” (Division III head basketball coach)

Life balance: “Wanted a ‘normal’ life with time for something other than coaching.” (Division I head basketball coach)

Recruiting: “My last experiences with recruiting was difficult - I felt I had to not be entirely truthful to young 17 year old girls to give our team the best chance at signing them. At times I felt I was lying to these ‘kids,’ which was very opposite of my ethics. Recruiting had become very cut-throat and my program was the target for various negative recruiting techniques (i.e., other teams saying negative things about our program to recruit).”

Former Division I coaches and participants who coached basketball were over-represented in several categories. For example, almost three-fourths (14 of 19) of the participants who cited “Life balance” were basketball coaches and 13 of the 19 were Division I coaches. Over half (6 of 11) of the participants who stated they were “Fired,” and 5 of the 6 who cited reasons related to “Homophobia” were basketball coaches. Division I coaches were also more likely to cite “Low salary” (9 of 11), “Athlete’s attitudes” (10 of 11), “Head coaching issues” (as assistant coach coaches; 7 of 8), and “Homophobia” (5 of 6).

Trends were also apparent related to head coaching status. All but two (23 of 25) of the participants who mentioned a “Lack of support by administration” were head coaches. Head coaches were also more likely to cite “Burnout” (16 of 21), “Fired” (11 of 11), “No longer enjoyed coaching” (5 of 6), and “Homophobia” (5 of 6). It is also

interesting to note that the majority of participants who indicated “Coaching responsibilities” (8 of 10) and “Time commitment” (8 of 9) were head coaches of a sport other than basketball (see Table 17).

Several comments within “Negative Reasons” directly related to gender and the role of patriarchy in college athletics as shown in the following comments.

Gender Discrimination: “I felt threatened in the work place by another assistant coach (male).” (Division I assistant basketball coach)

Gender Discrimination: “Hated the way I was treated. Women not getting the chance to coach men.” (Division I assistant track and field/cross country coach)

Homophobia: “Working in a homophobic environment and the fear of losing my job.” (Division I head women’s golf coach)

Fired: “I lost my position – didn’t fill the expectations of my AD (also men’s basketball coach) especially in the recruiting arena. One year I had 43 admitted/matriculated student-athletes (10%) of total incoming class but I didn’t follow the ‘male model.’ I didn’t recruit enough.” (Division III head field hockey and lacrosse coach)

*Neutral Reasons*. The three reasons that were not clearly either positive or negative included: “Family commitments,” “Wasn’t interested in moving,” and “Moved.” “Family commitments,” listed by 14 women as the main reason they left coaching, was the second most cited reason for leaving collegiate coaching (see Table 17). The following are examples of these neutral reasons.

Family commitments: “I left because I could not give my children and my boys the attention, time, and energy they needed and deserved. I felt like I was always on the ‘go’ and I started to feel like my days were all about trying to juggle how I was going to coordinate everything (my husband is a physician so he could not help with the kids).” (Division I head field hockey and lacrosse coach)

Wasn't interested in moving: "I wanted to stay in \_\_\_\_\_ and knew I'd have to move around a lot to stay in coaching." (Division I assistant basketball coach)

Moved: "Got married, moved and found another job." (Division I assistant soccer coach)

All but three of the participants (23 of 26) who indicated "Family commitments" were head coaches possibly providing evidence that it is more difficult to balance family with the role of head coach. The participants who were also more likely to cite "Family commitments" were Division I coaches (18 of 26) and coached a sport other than basketball (19 of 26).

#### *Additional Open-end Responses*

The participants were asked to provide their responses to two other open-end questions on the survey: 1) "Is there anything you would like to add about your experiences in coaching or your decision to leave the profession?" and, 2) "Please list any other reasons that influenced your decision to leave the coaching profession that are not listed above [on the survey]." In response to these two questions, 90 additional comments were made covering topics from recruiting to homophobia and gender discrimination. The 20 comments (of 90; 22.2%) that were specifically related to the role of patriarchy in the lives of women collegiate coaches were considered closely because they reflect the project's research questions. The following selected responses highlight the role of patriarchy and additional examples are provided in Appendix I.

"I enjoyed coaching it is a wonderful lifestyle with a 'large' fraternity of coaches. However, the fraternity seems to be turning into a boy's club. After leaving \_\_\_\_\_ and applying for every job available, the only job

I was a finalist for was in [another state] - way too far away.” (Division I assistant volleyball coach)

“At this point it is obvious that I am no longer employable in Women's Basketball. I have become a pariah who will take a university on over their Title IX issues and still the Supreme Court rules that termination over these issues has merit. I doubt I will ever get an interview as a head coach again. I have not received one in the last four years.” (Division I head basketball coach)

“I don't necessarily think that women LEAVE coaching...I would not say I left. I was forced out despite being the winningest coach in two sports at the school that expelled me at age 47. Dean Smith said his greatest accomplishment as a coach was retiring as a coach. I do not think women get the same opportunity to do so...” (Division III head soccer and softball coach)

“At my last position the Administration was systematically removing/firing all ‘perceived feminists lesbians’ from department. I felt I had to make other plans before they got to my name on the list...”(Division I head basketball coach)

“Wouldn't recommend it unless the person was White, male and wanted to coach football or basketball.” (Division I assistant track and field coach)

### *Changes to the Perceived Hindrance Scale*

Based on the responses to the open-end items, it is clear the Perceived Hindrance Scale is not comprehensive of *all* reasons women may leave collegiate coaching. Specifically, the scale does not include any “positive” reasons that women leave the coaching profession. Table 18 presents items cited by participants in the current study that are missing from the Perceived Hindrance Scale.

Table 18

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**Reasons Not Addressed on the Perceived Hindrance Scale**


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*Positive Reasons*

Interest in other careers or professional areas.  
 Opportunity for promotion.  
 Interested in pursuing further education.  
 Retired.

*Negative Reasons*

Lack of support by the administration.  
 Burnout.  
 Recruiting.  
 Lack of educational emphasis within college athletics.  
 Attitudes of athletes.  
 Was fired.  
 Responsibilities in coaching.  
 No longer enjoyed coaching.  
 Difficulties with head coach (as assistant coach).  
 Negative recruiting.  
 Am gay and felt that I needed to “hide” my sexuality.  
 Health reasons.  
 Lack of resources.  
 Lack of opportunity to grow.  
 Lack of control.

*Neutral Reasons*

Wasn't interested in moving.  
 Moved.

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### Summary of Survey Findings

The preceding section presents the survey results from 121 women who left coaching in collegiate athletics in the last ten years. The results from the Perceived Hindrance Scale provide evidence that time and family commitments are the main reasons these participants have left coaching. Similarly, the second cited reason on the open-end questions was also family commitments. The open-end comments, however,

provided a broader picture of why women may leave U.S. collegiate coaching. About 18% of the participants in this sample left coaching for “positive reasons” such as an opportunity for a promotion and to pursue further education, which was not apparent from the survey responses. However, the majority of the reasons the participants provided on the open-end responses were “negative,” including a lack of support by administration, burnout, difficulty balancing life with coaching, and recruiting. The role of patriarchy was apparent in the several open-end responses providing reports of perceived gender discrimination and homophobia.

#### Interview Findings

To gain further insight into former coaches’ experiences and perceptions, six women were selected from the survey sample for interviews about their experiences in coaching and their decision to leave the profession. The participants interviewed were all Division I former head coaches that left U.S. collegiate coaching in the last five years. Analysis of the interview transcripts followed a descriptive analytic strategy and the process of indexing was used to analyze the interview transcripts. A description of the analytic strategy can be found in the Method section and Appendix H. After a comprehensive and extensive analysis of the interview transcripts, three general themes emerged: 1) Gender disparities in women’s work, 2) Technical demands of coaching, and 3) College coaching and normalized sexualities. A textual description of each theme and powerful statements made by the participants follow in the next section.

Table 19 provides a comparison of the interview and survey findings.

Interestingly, not much overlap occurred between the interview themes and the items on

the Perceived Hindrance Scale possibly due to the constrained format of the survey (i.e., the participants can only answer what has been provided). However, much overlap occurred between the interview themes and the open-end responses. Certainly, the interview themes and open-end responses are more subjective in nature, yet several steps were taken to clarify researcher bias (see Verification and Collaboration of Data in the Methods).

Table 19  
*Comparison of Interview and Survey Findings*

<i>Label of Interview Findings</i>	<i>Similar Label of Survey Findings</i>	PHS	Open-End
<b>Gender Disparities in Women's Work</b>			
<i>Structural Inequalities</i>			
Lack of Adequate Resources	Resources		X
Compensation and Duties	Low Salary & Multiple Responsibilities	X	X
Lack of Administrative Support	Lack of Administrative Support	X	X
<i>Ideological Inequalities</i>			
Negotiations and Gender Hierarchy	Gender Issues & Gender Discrimination		X
Women as Caregiver	Coaching conflicts with family	X	X
<b>Technical Demands of Coaching</b>			
<i>Recruiting</i>	Recruiting		X
<i>Time commitment</i>	Time Commitment	X	X
<i>Pressure to Win</i>	Pressure to Win & Importance of Winning	X	X
<i>Dealing with Students and Parents</i>	Difficulties with Parents, Parents, Athletes	X	X
	Attitudes & Change in Athletes		
<i>Coaching Women</i>	Responsibilities to Women and Opportunities for women		X
<b>College Coaching &amp; Normalized Sex.</b>			
<i>Need to Hide Their Sexuality</i>	Homophobia (Note: only a few comments)		X
<i>Negative Recruiting/Use of Family</i>	Homophobia (Note: only a few comments)		X
<i>Discrimination of Lesbian Coaches</i>	Homophobia (Note: only a few comments)		X

Note. PSH = An item appeared on the Perceived Hindrance Scale.

### *Gender Disparities in Women's Work*

All of the participants interviewed talked extensively about gender disparities, noting that women's work was "different," "unequal," and "less than" men's work. The women were clear to point out that they experience these inequalities because they are female coaches of women's teams. Hence, "gender disparities" was used to describe this theme because the women's perception was that they experience these areas "differently" than men. When reading the interview transcripts and searching for a way to describe gender disparities, it seemed that the data fit nicely into two areas: 1) structural inequalities and 2) ideological inequalities. The data were not *intentionally* organized around these two areas. Meaning, the two inequalities were not used as a starting point before interview transcripts were read. Instead, after reading and indexing the interview transcripts, gender disparities seemed to fit into these two areas. This differentiation parallels the guiding description used in this project: patriarchy is the "structured and ideological system of personal relationships that legitimates male power over women and the services they provide" (Sage, 1998, p. 59). Regarding structural inequalities, the women discussed three areas of "difference": 1) lack of adequate resources, 2) compensation and duties, and 3) lack of administrative support. The ideological inequalities included two areas: 1) negotiations and gender hierarchy, and 2) the woman as caregiver. As highlighted in Table 19, only a few of the inequalities were on the Perceived Hindrance Scale (including "Low salary," "Lack of administrative support," and "Coaching conflicts with family"). However, the majority of the inequalities mentioned were reflected in the open-end responses.

### *Structural Inequalities*

Looking closer at the social structure of an organization (i.e., college athletics) can provide us with an understanding of patterns within the system and distributions of resources (Johnson, 2000). Women are in positions low in organizational hierarchy in society as well as in sport, and this awareness provides us with a better understanding how sport operates (Sage, 1998). In fact, the majority of athletic directors overseeing the women's athletic departments are men, specifically White men (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004; Lapchick, 2005). As several of the participants indicated, the role and support of an athletic director is key to the success of any athletics program. Certainly, the social structure of college athletics provides a framework to better understand inequalities related to gender, race, class, sexuality, etc. and how these inequalities operate in sport and society. The following section describes three structural inequalities the women discussed in their interviews: 1) lack of adequate resources, 2) compensation and duties, and 3) lack of administrative support. It is interesting to note that Title IX, the 1972 law that prevented gender discrimination, addresses many of these structural inequalities (such as resources, facilities, and salary). It seems that even though Title IX was passed over 30 years ago, the law has been ineffective in this regard.

Lack of Adequate Resources: As with the open-end comments on the survey, the participants identified resources as a challenge in coaching, and specifically cited a lack of adequate resources related to budget, scholarship funding, support staff, and facilities. When asked why she left the coaching profession, Sue pointed to the lack of support staff and the additional responsibilities this placed on her:

We didn't have an equipment manager, you laundered the uniforms. Oh, yeah, we didn't have a trainer travel with us. You know, unbelievable. All of those responsibilities landed on you too... I would say in that respect in terms of not having the funds for a quality assistant, no equipment manager, [and] no trainer.

As several of the participants mentioned, it is an administrative decision as to how funding is distributed among sports. Cathy's statement illustrates the lack of resources related to administrative support when she described her interactions with others in the athletic department:

We had a sports information person that traveled with us and a certified trainer and different support personnel. Then this administration decided we didn't need to travel with a sports information [person] and that maybe we could get by on a graduate student as our trainer. And so I felt like things just went a little backwards from where we had been in the early 80's.

Four of the six women specifically mentioned facilities as a major challenge. Interestingly, the two women that did not mention facilities as a challenge were the two basketball coaches. This was a unique finding given that facilities did not appear anywhere on the Perceived Hindrance Scale or the open-end responses, and has rarely been mentioned in previous studies (Inglis et al, 2000 is an exception).

Several coaches mentioned that without an updated facility, it was difficult to "entice recruits" to decide to attend their university. As Tiffany, a former head volleyball coach, mentioned, facilities were "something always tangible to sell to kids." Cathy called the facility at her last university a "high school gym" which was shared with "intramurals and physical education;" hence she felt like the volleyball team was a "little

step-child.” Sue, a former head softball coach, explained that the field “didn’t have a dugout” and her team had to share the field with the field hockey team.

Kim, a former head lacrosse and field hockey coach, described her office as a “dungeon.”

I had a bleacher office...under the bleachers. Lovely. Lovely. I dealt with everything from mice to overflowing toilets to ceiling tiles falling in from the rain...For about a week, I had no heat. The electric came back on, but I didn’t have a computer so it didn’t matter. I was down there in my winter coat with gloves with a hat on trying to run practices.

Kim described the offices “under the bleachers” as housing a “majority of the women’s coaches,” but rarely any of the male coaches.

Without hesitation, Cathy cited the facilities as the “ah-ha” moment that finally made her decide to leave the profession:

The thing that drove me over the top about retiring was the facilities.... not being able to recruit kids to [an old] building. I found [that] was very frustrating. When I brought a girl in that was looking at us or [another Division I university], she asked me if I was kidding....I said, “No, I’m really not kidding, this is where we play.” So I drove to my mother’s house that day and said, you know, I can’t do it anymore. I cannot spend my weekends on the road, bringing kids in for a visit and have them ask me if I’m kidding.

Cathy suggested that because women coaches have fewer resources they tend to burnout earlier. Similar to the open-end comments on the survey, Cathy suggested that women were not given the opportunity to “retire” and stay in coaching.

Our careers probably don’t last as long because we don’t have support staff that some of the male sports do -- basketball, football, baseball....

And so, women burn out *earlier* because they are just doing the same things they were doing when they were twenty-two.

The lack of resources may be more apparent in the “non-revenue producing sports” or “lower tier sports.” As Linda stated, women’s golf, tennis and cross-country lacked the resources at her university because these sports weren’t “on television” and were unable to bring in money “with ticket sales.” Linda, a head basketball coach at a “big-time” university, commented further on differential resources:

Women’s basketball was the #1 women’s sport in the two schools that I coached at. And I never had an issue with scholarships or travel or meals or uniforms or practice times, I always had more than enough to win.

Therefore, according to the participants interviewed, resources allocated to women’s sports could vary with the sport, the visibility of the team in the media, the revenue brought into the university by the sport/team, as well as by gender discrimination.

Compensation and Duties: Though not directly queried, half of the participants stated that low salary directly impacted their decision to leave the profession, with one stating it was the “main” reason she left. This finding was consistent with the survey responses and with previous research (Inglis et al, 2000; Kamphoff & Gill, 2006; Pastore, 1991).

Sue earned a mere \$2500 annually to coach softball full-time with other responsibilities within the athletic department to supplement her salary. She stated, “My husband is the main breadwinner...[my salary] was *nothing* compared to what my husband was making working the same amount of hours.” She continued that when

thinking about starting a family and which partner will be the main caregiver, “Salary becomes an issue.” For Kim, who was single without dependents, her \$30,000 salary as the head field hockey and lacrosse coach didn’t “cut it” living in a big city. She stated:

I [was] just living paycheck to paycheck. When I took a look at everything, I was the sole breadwinner. It was me. It was me. There was no money left over for retirement. Nothing. I just took a look at my future that I wanted to have children some day and was never going to be able to do it with my schedule and with my salary. [I wondered] what I was going to do with the rest of my life because this wasn’t cutting it.

Cathy mentioned the inequity of coaching salaries several times and argued that the pressure to win and the salary in Division I athletics should match.

Think about a basketball coach who’s making 2 million and he has the same pressure that you do. If he loses his job, or gets fired, at 2 million, I think he can make it awhile. Most women coaches that are making 50’s, 60’s, you know somewhere in that range, if they lose their job, well they better have the next one in line.

When serving on the university’s NCAA compliance committee, Cathy saw the coaches’ salaries and stated, “There wasn’t a female that touched what a male made.” Cathy also discussed the salary earned by the male coach of the women’s basketball team at her institution. She stated:

The women’s basketball coach, the male, hadn’t even set foot on campus and he’s given double what some of us that have already been there and have proven themselves to be good coaches, to be successful coaches...That’s hard to swallow.

On the other hand, the two basketball coaches interviewed provided a different picture. Linda mentioned that for women's basketball "you're talking about ½ million dollar salaries" compared to "cross-country [coaches] making \$40,000." Amy, also a former head basketball coach, stated at one time she was making \$150,000 and received free gifts regularly.

The women interviewed provided the perception that salary depends on the sport and the administrative priorities. As one coach indicated, athletic directors do not need to provide a "rhyme or reason" to coaching salaries. According to the participants, athletic directors do not need a rationale for paying a coach a certain salary. In fact, the salary paid to a coach usually depends on the potential to bring in money to the athletic department.

One way to increase compensation is to accept "additional" responsibilities within the athletic department. The former field hockey and lacrosse coach and the former softball coach both discussed their additional responsibilities. Both of the participants coached "lower tier sports" at smaller Division I universities (compared to larger "big-time" universities). Kim described her additional responsibilities:

But I always had an *other* duty. I was also a sports information assistant just because of funding they had to always put two things together. Most of the women coaches that I coached with, even if they were just a single sport coach, they had another responsibility.

Similarly, Sue stated that her athletic department was able to "get coaches in a full-time capacity" by writing this additional responsibility into their contract. Given her \$2500 yearly softball stipend, being at the university full-time would be impossible financially.

Having additional responsibilities was difficult for the two women because they “wanted to be with their team” but had this “other job that was part of the contract.” Sue described how her athletes questioned why she was unable to devote 100% of her time to the team.

I was basically on call 24-7 and we would be practicing in the gym and there would be a problem out in the facilities and they would come in get me. [The athletes would say] “This is softball time. This is softball time.” I was, “Sorry.” But then the way I looked at it that was the job that I was being paid for. So, I really needed to make sure I got it done.

The women interviewed provided the perception that balancing additional responsibilities with coaching can be difficult. Given that the two women who mentioned additional responsibilities were coaching non-revenue sports at smaller universities, the sport coached and size of the athletic department could impact this finding. The participants also mentioned that women in their athletic departments were more likely to have additional responsibilities in their contract. This could be reflective of unequal salaries that women earn and the emphasis of the men’s teams within the athletic department. Specifically, athletic directors may feel the need to assign women additional responsibilities to “compensate” and “make up” for their lower salaries.

Lack of administrative support: All of the participants alluded to the fact that a supportive administration was the key to success in coaching. Several of the participants cited the lack of support as critical in their decision to leave coaching, which was consistent with the Perceived Hindrance Scale and open-end responses. The participants described their administrators as sexist, homophobic, and controlling. As Cathy stated, the key for women’s sports is having “administrators that believe in women’s sports and

are supportive of women.” Yet, the participants seldom described such supportive administrators. Sue stated that in her last softball season the athletic director assumed that she did not want to return the next season because she had a baby. Sue stated that the athletic director had made other plans and told her “they decided to move into a different direction” instead of having a conversation with her about her interest in remaining a coach. Sue stated that the athletic director completely blind-sided her when they meet for her annual review.

I fully expected that I was going in for my end of the year eval and I walk in and sit down and he says...“Well, I just wanted to let you know that we have decided to move into a different direction.” I am like, “I thought we were here to talk about this year, not next year.”...Having not bothered to have a sit-down discussion between he and I, there were a lot of assumptions made.

Amy cited “politics” of the athletic department and the lack of trust she had in the athletic director. Amy, a former head basketball coach, described a situation in which her athletic director stated that “athletics [among all sport] should be equal,” but wanted to take resources away from Amy.

They wanted to take resources away out of one side of their mouth because this philosophy, but on the other side they still wanted me to be successful. We were very successful for about...3 years and then I had a huge turnover in recruiting class.

According to Amy, the athletic director felt that spending under the previous coach was “too much, too frivolous” and wanted to “rein back into control a program that she felt

was out of control.” Amy was hired specifically because the athletic director thought she would understand. Amy described her bitterness:

And I resent that I was hired as a pawn and it took me a long time to figure that out. But I did and I was resentful and there is a part of me that is still extremely bitter but I am getting better about just letting it go.

One of the former basketball coaches was clear to point out that she felt very supported by her administration. Linda stated, “I never had a problem with administration...I ran my program and my administrators gave me a lot of flexibility and a lot of autonomy.” Linda never discussed the structural inequalities discussed heavily by the other women and it was clear that she felt very supported by the administration in regards to resources, facilities, salary, and duties.

#### *Ideological Inequalities*

Ideological inequalities were apparent in all of the interviews. Specifically, ideologies are interrelated ideas that members of society do not question (Coakley, 2004; Sage, 1998). As Knoppers (1992) argues, coaching as a full-time, paid occupation has existed primarily for men and has defined by them; therefore, the norm of a coach it that *he* is a male – and a *heterosexual*. These ideological inequalities apparent in the interviews relate to women’s work and the second-class status of women in sport and society and fall into two areas: 1) negotiations and gender hierarchy and 2) woman as caregiver.

Negotiations and Gender Hierarchy. As Johnson (2000) indicated, power is a result of “an ongoing process of negotiations, bargaining, and compromise in which the

actual distribution of power emerges, takes shape, and changes over time” (p. 206).

Within the system of college athletics, women have continuously engaged in negotiations related to gender (Hall, 1996; Hult, 1994) and the women interviewed provided several examples of negotiations. Specifically, it seemed that these negotiations related to the women’s ability to “keep” their job, rather than the process of negotiating their written contract “for” their job. The participants discussed negotiations and gender hierarchy in two ways during the interviews: 1) a lack of respect for female coaches, and 2) the privileging of males and male teams. This finding is unique to the interviews. No item on the Perceived Hindrance Scale directly addressed negotiations and gender hierarchy, and only a handful of the participants’ open-end responses related to this area.

All of the participants discussed the lack of respect for female coaches in some regard during the interviews. Cathy described the actions of her administrators when hiring a new coach after she left. Specifically, the administrators asked the female volleyball players if they would prefer a male or female coach. By asking the women athletes if they prefer a male or female head coach, the administrators “assumed” there is a difference between a male and female coach. Cathy explained:

So the thing that I find interesting in this day and age is when administrators lose a coach and they go to their team, particularly if it’s a female coach and they say to the team, “Do you want a male or a female to be your next coach?”

Cathy continued to argue that this trend is specific to college athletics and is possibly “illegal.” She argued that administrators would never ask a men’s team if they wanted to female coach and furthermore argued that this would never occur outside of athletics:

When we hire a faculty member, they don't come in and say "Students, [should we] hire... a man or a woman?" Well, they would never ask that. First of all, it just sounds completely illegal to me. But anyway...it makes them assume that there's a difference.

A lack of respect from her athletes was evident when Tiffany explained her decision-making skills.

I felt like I always did a good job of explaining and sometimes I think that that was perceived as being, not apologetic, but, second guessing, or feeling like I had to explain things.

Several of the participants discussed the perception of women coaches by the public and media. Tiffany stated, "Some people on the outside didn't really understand your job." And Kim was constantly asked, "What is your real job"? Kim explained her response to this question:

I would always say, do you ask Joe Paterno what his real job is? Do you ask Mike Krzyzewski what his real job is? "No they are a coach." I really think it comes down to a male/female thing. Male coaches work and their wives stayed home with the kids, so they were the main breadwinner. They are perceived as breadwinners, but women are perceived as this is not a real job?

Kim discussed the belief that women are incapable of coaching men, and argued that the media and public see coaching men as a "step up."

It drives me nuts when they talk to Pat Summit or they talk to Dawn Staley and they say, "Well, you have had so much success, are you going to coach the men?" Like it's step up and it's a promotion.

Furthermore, Kim provided an example of disrespect of women coaches by parents. Two of her athletes came to practice drunk, and when she took actions against the athletes (by asking them to leave practice), a father of one of the athlete accused Kim of “embarrassing his daughter.” She stated:

Dad calls me at 10 o'clock yelling. I told him that I would be more than willing to sit down with him and the athletic director during business hours. This is my home phone. This is my home time. He didn't care. So basically he was calling me 2 times a night at home trying to [explain that] his daughter was great. Basically telling me that my judgment was terrible and why I shouldn't be coaching....“You don't know what you are doing, and we are going to take this up with the administration.”

All of the participants interviewed also discussed the privileging of males and male teams within U.S. collegiate athletics. The privileging of males includes the perception of the participants that a good coach = male. Because of this perception, the participants argued that men tend to receive more resources and funding (also a structural inequality discussed in the previous section) and female coaches are “judged against” male coaches. Cathy illustrated the belief that a good coach = male when describing people's responses to her research about good coaches. She stated that people's typical responses are: “Oh, the guy at North Carolina soccer...[or] what about the guy that coaches at Arizona, man they've got a great program.” Rarely do people think of women as “good” coaches or the “best” coaches.

Half of the participants specifically cited the increase of men coaching women when Title IX was implemented, and several of the participants provided the perception that male coaches came into the profession for the money. As Linda stated, “So when the

salaries improved, men came over from the men's side..." Amy made a similar claim: "When did the men start getting into [coaching women]? They really started when there was a lot of money to be had." This trend, of the increase in male coaches when the salaries for women's teams increased after Title IX, has been documented (Carpenter & Acosta, 2006). Yet, the women spoke with resentment implying that men were only interested in the "money to be had" in women's athletics.

Several of the participants discussed the different expectations of male and female coaches. Tiffany stated:

If a man coach gets up and he's demanding them to do this, he's a great coach. He's just hard, you know. If a woman does it, she's playing head games...she's off her rocker, that's not right. Or there's some kids that if a guy explains it then that makes sense. If a woman starts to explain it, it she's trying to sell me on this.

Amy also reflected a similar sentiment:

And I think the thing that aggravates me to this day is there is a double standard. I watch Geno Auriemma on the sidelines and [he] wrips them up and down, and wrips them up and down, and wrips them up and down. And what do the announcers' say, men and women a like, "Look at the passion that he coaches with..." If I did that, I need to calm down...there is a double standard there and I hate it. I resent it. You see how the guys sometimes treat their players. If a woman would do that, it's not the same.

The belief that the men are typically the "breadwinners" within a heterosexual family may contribute to the belief that men *need* a higher salary to support their family compared to women. Kim provides a story from a female colleague:

Coaches have approached me and said, “I don’t get paid as much as the men’s lacrosse coach.”... It’s the same sport. It’s the same tier. It’s the same or better credentials on the women’s side. You know, one in particular said that he was told, “He is the breadwinner of the family, so he could get paid more.”...He was told that he was the breadwinner, so he has a high salary. And that still happens. You would think that it wouldn’t happen. But I know the specific case of that and that happened just last year.

Tiffany stated that when the administrators at her university fired the female head coach of the women’s basketball team, they “brought in a male coach and gave him the world.” For Tiffany, this ultimately led her to leave coaching and was the “straw that broke the camel’s back.” She stated:

When we brought in our women’s basketball coach and paid him what they did, and then I’m looking at it, going Wow! I’ve done this and I don’t even get a raise...But, anyhow, you say, “Oh, what does your wife do? Oh, she’s not working.” Oh isn’t that nice, that’s great.

Tiffany mentioned several times the frustration that she had with the male women’s basketball coach making enough so that his wife could stay home. She stated:

When you’ve got two people that are working, one being in college sports, it’s nuts. You’ve got to have somebody there that’s able to manage the house and do those things because their schedule is so crazy. And a lot of men that coach, they are paid that so their spouse stays at home. And that makes things a heck of a lot easier.

Furthermore, several of the participants provided the perception of the centrality of men’s sports within the athletic department. Sue stated that several of the sports at her university such as women’s swimming and water polo were added “to balance out the

numbers because we had a football team.” She also stated that the men’s basketball team was really at the center of the department and explained:

If there was upheaval in men’s basketball, that tended to affect the whole department. Once that was taken care of, we had four years of a consistent coach there, where he and his staff got along and were supportive of other programs. They were not there with the attitude that everything is about them, and everybody needs to do everything for them. That was the best thing to happen to [the department] to have a coach come in that was very supportive and wanted to be a part of a team, a department.

The Woman as Caregiver. Nearly all of the participants interviewed struggled with the demands of their families in some way. This finding is consistent with survey findings given that “Family commitments” was the second most common reason on the open-end responses and the third highest reason participants indicated on the Perceived Hindrance Scale for leaving coaching. More specifically, several of the participants interviewed commented directly that the administration was unsupportive of women having children, and if athletic departments want to keep women in coaching “something needs to change.” Tiffany stated:

I still say that it takes certain women that can be okay with, if they have a family, to be able to just turn that off. I struggled with that.

Tiffany continued that for women with children, talking about leaving coaching is “almost always a conversation.”

Sue, the other woman interviewed who had children, provided numerous examples of having to ask family members to watch her son during practice or games.

Sue stated:

I had to have my mother come over and meet me at [the university] for practices and she would sit in the office with him and I would be in the gym.

Both of the women who had children discussed the perception of coaches as mothers. Tiffany stated, for example, “I still feel as if there is this thought pattern of women and coaching and their not as capable. Because their minds on other things....” Tiffany described the athletic director’s comments when she decided to leave coaching, implying that women cannot be good coaches, good wives and good mothers.

When I resigned, I remember [the athletic director] telling me, “You know, I often wondered how you could juggle being a wife, and having two kids.” When he said that to me, I’m like that’s in your head, that’s what you’re thinking every time you look at me. Are you kidding me? He wouldn’t say that to a man.

Tiffany believed that the same comment would not be said to a male coach because being a “good father” does not interfere with being a “good coach.” Tiffany also found it difficult that no kids were allowed in the department or to travel with her team. She was unable to have her children travel to games with her, yet this “luxury,” was provided to other male coaches within her athletic department. She stated:

That is where I was troubled because I would look at our men’s basketball, football, and their spouses and kids always traveled with them, and they’d take care of that. That was never an option for me.

Sue also mentioned that none of the women coaches at her university had children, nor did any of the women coaches in her conference. She argued that she was fired because she had a baby and was “no longer a desirable employee.” Sue felt passionate about this issue and argued that administrators need to address women having children.

But if I think they wanted to attract...females to head up your women's program, then you are going to fire her when she starts a family? You really need to think about that. That's an issue that you really need to think about before you make those decisions.

Tiffany also stated that if college administrators want to “keep coaches in,” the need is there to be more supportive of females and their families. She stated, “You know I could be married and have children, or I could not be married and have children, that doesn't matter, it's a female issue.” Tiffany felt that the key to balancing coaching with family is the administrator's support. Yet, she stated, the support is “just not there yet.”

All of the participants struggled with the role of “caregiver” in some way regardless of their sexual orientation or if they had children at the time of the interview. One of the single coaches, Cathy, stated that an “aging mother” discouraged her from taking another position. She stated, “My mother was still living in town...and she was elderly and we can't move from here.” Kim, who stated during our conversation that she was a lesbian, mentioned that she wanted to have children some day, and coaching was not conducive to having children. Furthermore, Amy, a former head basketball coach, mentioned that she rarely had time for her family because of recruiting demands and the

need she had “to be there for her athletes.” Approximately a month after leaving collegiate coaching, her mother passed away and she said:

And did you know how many times I just wanted to beat myself up because I did not go to those family reunions. Because I was chasing 16 and 17 year olds. That just, to this day, that is just one thing that will kill me. Because, wow... And should have I went those family reunions and screw what I was missing recruiting. Yes, I should have.

The women interviewed expressed a perception of a disconnect between work and family. Regardless of sexual orientation, all of the participants struggled with balancing work and family in some way. As Mercier (2000) argues, because work and family are seen as separate domains in North American society, women feel conflicted because there is an assumption made that women cannot be “work-orientated” and “family orientated.” As Tiffany argued, it takes a “certain women” to balance both family and work, providing further evidence of the belief that the majority of women cannot do both. The participants perceived that women with children are seen as “distracted by motherhood” or “not committed to work.” Their administrators sent messages to the participants that family interferes with being a “good coach” (one woman was even “fired” because she had a baby).

#### *Technical Demands of Coaching*

All of the participants discussed the “technical demands of coaching” in some way. For example, Amy talked thoroughly about recruiting whereas Tiffany discussed the pressure she felt to win. In general, the participants provided the perception that coaching is very time-consuming and the participants rarely felt they had any extra time.

Any coach (regardless of gender or other inequality) would be forced to deal with these demands of coaching. As Cathy stated, “It’s just a long, hard position...It’s just non-stop activity.” The position is 24 hours a day, 7 days a week with “no vacations” or breaks. The participants discussed five areas within the “Technical demands of coaching”: 1) recruiting, 2) time commitment, 3) pressure to win, 4) dealing with athletes and parents, and 5) coaching women. All five areas were mentioned in the open-end responses, whereas “Time commitment,” “Pressure to win,” and “Dealing with students and parents” were items on the Perceived Hindrance Scale.

#### *Recruiting*

Four of the participants interviewed mentioned recruiting during the interview. Recruiting was apparent in the open-end findings of the survey given that recruiting was the most frequently cited challenge (55 times), and a prominent reason the women indicated they left coaching. These areas of concern related to recruiting that the participants mentioned in the interviews included the changes in Division I recruiting over the last several years and the general stress of “always being on” to get the recruits. As Kim described:

You are always on. You are always looking and you are always making sure you are at the right place at the right time seeing the right games recruiting wise. And it just got tiring.

Amy spent the most time during the interview discussing the stress of recruiting and named recruiting as the “main” reason she left coaching. She said:

I would have to say that the main reason that I left was recruiting...yep, definitely. The time and commitment, all of those things. The growth and expenditures.

Amy provided several examples of the growth of recruiting over the last few years and described the current state of recruiting in Division I as “grotesque” and “obscene.” She provided two clear examples of the growth of recruiting relating to Federal Express and technology. First, Amy stated:

I think about what we could do with the excess money that is used on frivolous and stupid things in recruiting. To Federal Express a kid everyday, you could save that money alone and have a scholarship for a kid that has no money to come to school. It was again just keeping up with the Jones. Someone else started Federal Expressing and giving a kid something and then everyone jumps on the bandwagon and does it to...you know, to take a charter flight somewhere to see a kid play and then fly back. Do you know how expensive that is?

Amy also discussed the role of technology in recruiting process:

Technology has made it horrible. With the IMing, the emailing, the text messaging. I am telling you what, if a recruit calls you at 2 o'clock in the morning, and you see it on your caller ID. You better pick up and talk to them.

Amy stated that if she didn't pick up the phone, the recruit would call the next coach and “think that coach is really cool.” Recruiting seemed to be a 24-hours/7 day a week activity and could disrupt any chance of having a “normal life.”

Getting the best recruits also related to winning – a stressor that several participants mentioned. Furthermore, several coaches described a sense of entitlement

the athletes had. The athletes realize that multiple schools are competing to sign them and try to get as many “things” as possible. Amy stated:

It’s keeping up the Jones. Recruits would come in and they would be like what are you going to give me, what kind of tennis shoes are we wear, how many pairs of sweats do we get... you know all those of kind of things. And if you couldn’t keep up with the Jones, you couldn’t get those recruits. And I will be honest with you, you don’t get the recruits, you don’t win. You know...not at the Division I level.

#### *Time Commitment*

All but one of the participants discussed the time commitment of coaching in Division I. This finding was similar to the survey results given that “Coaching takes too much time” and “Unfavorable work hours” were the two most frequently cited reasons for leaving the coaching profession on the Perceived Hindrance Scale. Furthermore, “time commitment” was the third most frequently cited challenge on the open-end responses.

During the interviews, the participants described their coaching positions as “nonstop activity,” “a 24-7 job,” “a lot of nights and weekends,” and “your life.” Recruiting played a large role in the time commitment, but several participants also talked about the day-to-day activities of practice, paperwork, traveling, and competition. Kim discussed how her whole day was lacrosse:

The thing about it is that you are practicing from 6:30 [a.m.] to 6:30 [p.m.] and then you talk to people on the phone and your whole day is lacrosse. I would say planning for the next day and any student-athlete issues that constantly arise. So, it was a pretty long day.

Sue's remarks are another example of the time consuming nature of coaching.

It becomes...it is your life. It's not like a job that you work 9 to 5 and then you leave and the job ends. It's a job that you do take home. It's a job that it's a 24-7 job, 365 days. There isn't any vacation time from that job.

Sue continued that coaching also impacted her social life and if she weren't engaged before she started coaching, she probably wouldn't be married because there is "no time for social life." Tiffany acknowledged that the stress and time commitment interfered with the time she wanted to be with her family:

The stress level of always being on, and not knowing your schedule for yourself or for your family. I mean it would be very likely that I would be home on a Sunday and think okay you have Sunday off and I could get a phone call around noon and it could be from some family, "Hey we're driving in the area were going to be at [the university] at 2 o'clock, can we come see you?" You had to go and then you wouldn't be home until 5 o'clock.

According to the participants, coaching is time consuming and negatively affected the women's personal lives. Rarely did the participants have time at night or on the weekend for themselves. As one coach stated, if you go into coaching, "You need to be prepared to make it your life."

#### *Pressure to Win*

Half of the participants interviewed talked extensively about the importance of winning. The participants that discussed the pressure to win included both of the basketball coaches and one of the volleyball coaches. Although less prevalent than recruiting and time commitment, the pressure to win was also apparent in the survey

results. Specifically, the “Pressure to win” was a highly rated reason for leaving coaching on the Perceived Hindrance Scale, and eleven women listed the “Importance of winning” as a challenge on the open-end responses.

During the interviews, the participants described the pressure to win as a “constant stress” and “hard to sustain.” Tiffany described this stress:

[You don't want to] cause a riff in the team... You don't want that to happen and have kids that are disgruntled. Cause they're not going to play well, and then if they play well, you don't win, you don't win, you don't have a job.

Both Tiffany and Linda argued that some of the pressure that coaches have to win might be self-induced. As Linda stated, “Coaches want to win 90% of their games, and if they don't, they feel like...they haven't done something well.” A few coaches provided examples of other female coaches being fired for not winning at their institutions, inferring that the administration was sending a message that winning was important.

Tiffany stated:

But I had to win. Because I was looking at our basketball coach, she'd done well and then dropped off, and they got rid of her. So of course, that sticks in the back of your head. For me, it was just that constant stress.

Tiffany also mentioned the stress of depending on college athletes to determine a coach's success.

I think it's always in the back of your head, that the constant thought that I've got to win, I've got to win, or I could lose my job. And when you're

thinking about it in terms of your livelihood being dependent on 18, 19, 20 year olds playing a game. That gets scary.

Amy, one of the former head basketball coaches, described the pressure the media placed on her to win. The first time Amy heard about her coaching job “being on the line” was from the media. When her team was really struggling to win, an article in the local paper was published stating that the administration said, “Oh, we don’t know if we are going to renew [her] contract.” When Amy’s team was winning, the media really enjoyed and supported her because she was “a great sound bite.” But when her team started losing, she described the media as “wanting to bury her.” Amy stated:

And [the media] start second-guessing and start questioning your coaching and they start questioning your recruiting...and so now all of the sudden they beat the horse when they are down. You know...and they turn on ya. They are going to do what sells papers. And if that what’s gonna sell them, that’s what they are going to do.... They are just not going to support you. That’s not their job. They are there to sell papers.

#### *Dealing with Athletes and Parents*

Several of the participants provided the perception that changes in athletes and parent involvement have taken place since they started coaching. This finding was apparent in the open-end responses. Specifically, the participants provided examples of a sense of “entitlement” and a lack of respect for coaches by the athletes. Tiffany expressed:

What I found over the years, well kids have changed in general. When I played, whatever the coach said went. And that’s not the case necessarily anymore, it’s okay to question authority, it’s okay to disagree out loud.

It's okay to take you're scholarship and sit on your butt and not do anything.

When asked what she thought was particularly challenging about collegiate coaching,

Linda stated:

Dealing with athletes that didn't get to play as much as they thought they should have played, or dealing with their parents. Those are the more challenging things of coaching. Yeah, you know, you're always going to have parents that think their kid is better than the next parent's kid. And I used to tell my parents "I have 12, sets of, 14 sets of parents that I answer to, not just you."

Kim reiterated similar sentiments about the change in parents:

From '92 until I got out of coaching, the change in parent's mentality and attitude was unbelievable. And it's probably one of the main reasons that I got out.

Kim continued that negative parent involvement occurs at every level within women's athletics regardless of the coach's success. Furthermore, she drew parallels with events outside of sport, stating:

Kids will step back and their parents will step in. It's almost like stage moms now. Where the kid is the singer, or whatever, and the mom does everything for them or dad... You are being judged constantly and told by parents that you don't know what you are doing and parents are calling your administration. It doesn't matter if you are the best coach. It doesn't matter if you are number 1 or number 101. It happens to everybody.

Kim also argued that this change in parent's involvement has recently occurred in women's athletics.

It's almost a double-edged sword where women are getting more and more opportunities and there are more and more scholarships out there. And there is more and more prestige out there for women. Which is *fantastic*. But on the other side of that, it has made the parents into something that wasn't there before with women. Pushing and making sure everything is happening for their kid no matter if their kid wants it or not.

### *Coaching Women*

All of the participants interviewed talked about coaching women. Although rare, a few women mentioned coaching women on the open-end responses citing “Responsibilities to women” and “Opportunities for women” as challenges within coaching.

In the interviews, a few of the participants provided the perception that it was an advantage being a woman and coaching women. Amy stated, “On an emotional level, you could really relate to them.” She concluded, “I just know how it helps to be a woman and to know how women are wired.” Linda similarly stated:

I think it was an advantage, coaching women, coaching a women's team. I had a women's trainer, I had a female trainer, I had a female media relations. I had women assistants...It was huge, I mean I understood them. I was tough on myself, so I'm sure that I wasn't afraid to be tough on them. Yeah, they could not get one over on me, or anything.

Amy stated that coaching women was difficult at times:

You know...women are so emotional, you know, and I think sometimes that was hard because you had to so much had to understand their personalities and it was so hard sometimes to make them understand their role. Women don't [see their role]. They really have a hard time seeing why she is playing and I am not.

Tiffany argued that athletes that come from home with “strong female role models” do “fine with a female coach.” She continued:

Those that came from a home where Dad is the only one that makes the decisions.... have a more difficult time taking instructions from a female coach. Their moms were very complacent, very passive, a lot of them didn't work outside the home. And then I look at the kids who really thrived under me, and most of them had very strong moms.

Interestingly, two of the participants described their role as a “mom.” Kim stated that the athletes come to her with “everything from suicidal thoughts to eating disorders.” Kim stated:

It's fun and scary because you are really their mom. If they have a problem, they come to you...then all of the sudden you have to deal with it. Plus coach and recruit.

Sue acknowledged a similar sentiment stating, “You're their mom, you're their coach, you're their psychologist, you are it.” Tiffany acknowledged that sometimes this “motherly role” got in the way of coaching. When she “started demanding” athletes work hard, particularly if they were new recruits, they would comment, “Wait a minute I thought that because you are a mom that you'd be more nurturing.”

From the interviews, the participants provided a perception that the demands of coaching can be difficult to manage. Most demands were also mentioned in the survey findings, providing evidence that coaching can be a demanding position.

*College Coaching and Normalized Sexualities*

As Griffin (1998) argues, one of the most effective ways of “controlling” women in sport is to call her a “lesbian.” The threat of being called a “lesbian” affects *all* women, regardless of one’s sexual orientation. When women do not act “normal” or “standard” (i.e., heterosexual), they are ostracized.

During the interviews, the participants provided a clear perception of the homophobic environment of collegiate athletics. Three of the participants stated they were lesbians during our conversation and none of them felt comfortable “being out” as a coach. In fact, they all went to great lengths to “hide” their homosexuality, and each discussed how the homophobic nature of collegiate athletics contributed to their decision to leave coaching. Interestingly, only a few of the 121 women mentioned issues related to homophobia on the survey responses. This could be related to the methodology used in that the participants may feel less comfortable mentioning issues related to sexual orientation on a survey. In addition, homophobia was not mentioned until later in the interviews suggesting that rapport can be important.

The women interviewed expressed a perception of the homophobic environment of collegiate athletics during the interviews through a discussion of the use of “negative recruiting” by other coaches. Furthermore, one of the participants interviewed suggested there is a trend of more lesbian women leaving collegiate coaching compared to heterosexual women. Therefore, the theme “College coaching and normalized sexualities” includes three key areas: 1) need to hide their sexual orientation, 2) negative recruiting and the use of “family,” and 3) discrimination of lesbian coaches. In general,

the prominence of issues related to homophobia was surprising given the lack of discussion of these issues in the open-end responses and the lack of items on the Perceived Hindrance Scale.

*Need to Hide Their Sexual Orientation*

All three of the participants who disclosed they were lesbians during the interviews discussed the need to “hide” their sexual orientation. They did not perceive U.S. collegiate athletics to be a “safe space” for lesbian women to be “out” about their sexuality while coaching. One of the coaches feared that she would be fired whereas the other two saw consequences such as not being able to sign the recruits if they were “out.”

Linda argued that the need to hide her sexual orientation was based on the view of a gay person in society. She stated:

You get tired of defending the fact that you are just a whole. I would be just the same person without seven brothers and sisters and thirteen nieces and nephews and being Catholic. But in some way I’m trying to build my case that I’m not a pedophile because Catholic is a fairly strict religion and most people know that... You know there’s kind of this, sort of, sexual perversion attitude about [being gay] or at least that people play on.

Kim expressed the concern about being fired because administrators provide a coach with “no real protection.” She stated that coaches “can be let go for any reason” and the administrators don’t need to state, “It’s because you are gay.” In fact, she provided an example:

I know of a specific case of a lesbian coach that was asked to leave and had a conversation that they didn’t say it specifically, but they said, “We want to *change* the face of the coaching staff.” So, what does that mean?

A lesbian coach, of course, is going to take that as you want a straight coach... You are saying it without saying it.

Kim continued to discuss the frustration she felt for having to hide the person you are and “this little secret world with a lot of pressure.” Amy stated that she felt “dirty” and that she was just trying “to save her own throat.” Both stated that having to hide who they were contributed to their decision to leave coaching. As Amy stated, “It just got old and I was living a lie and I hated it.” She continued:

And I got tired of not being here for my partner. She had to be a ghost. She was Casper. When I had recruits over, she had to leave her own home. And when they left, I would call her and I would say, “You can come home.” That’s no life. That’s not fair. So, it was time that I understood and I paid attention to that part of my life too. And I needed better balance and I needed a life, basically.

Furthermore, Amy described how others in the athletic department were clear about the need for her to hide her sexual orientation. She recalled her athletic director “thanking her” for not putting her partner on the “pass-list” of family and friends that could get in free to the NCAA tournament. When Amy was offered an assistant coaching position, she told the head coach that she would not hide her sexual orientation, and the head coach responded, “Okay, no problem. No problem.” Yet, Amy described the situation once she arrived at the university:

Once I got there then she laid it down. Wow. That was tough. And to be very honest with you and the hard part of it was [she] knew that I was gay but she wanted me to hide that part of my life... she wanted me to hide it for the sake of the program. And again, that was hard.

None of the women were out with her team, yet as Amy described, “They knew, the kids aren’t stupid, they aren’t dumb. They knew; they just let it be what it was.”

The three participants who stated they were lesbians discussed the pressure to “hide” their sexual orientation from the recruits and their parents. Linda talked about having to “prove her personal worth” to a high school star and her parents. She stated that most parents perceive that playing for a heterosexual coach promotes “a healthier environment,” whereas there is something “unsafe” about playing for a lesbian coach.

I mean I’ve got seven brothers and sisters and I’ve asked them before, most parents would prefer their daughter go play in, what they would consider a healthier environment.

Amy also felt that parents haven’t “grasped the acceptance of their daughter going to play for a gay woman” and that being out can “destroy you” in the recruiting process.

Kim provided an example:

Only the parents cared...They know 18-22 years is a growing time. Will they be influenced? Will the coach ask them out on a date? Who knows what they think. But it’s a lot of pressure and you have a recruit sitting in your office that you want on your team, and the parents are saying that they are not sending them over there because the coach is a lesbian, and you know yourself that you are a lesbian. Wow, you could possibly be in some trouble here in the next four years if these parents find anything out.

The participants who were interviewed also provided examples of other women they have seen “doing heterosexuality” – or “acting” in a heterosexual way to align themselves with power and avoid being marginalized (Messner, 1996; 1999). Linda described coaches that use outward signs of their religion to “cover” that they are gay:

There are quite a few lesbian coaches that are in the profession and are born again Christian. Or I mean with all due respect, they cover [their sexuality], should I say. There are quite a few women in our profession that are not married that are lesbian but wear crucifix around their neck in a prominent position and talk quite a bit in their media guide about Jesus Christ and so and so forth.

Sue provided an example of her athletes “doing heterosexuality.” She described softball as a sport in which the perception is that the athletes may be gay, which may contribute to the athletes’ beliefs that they had to “prove” their heterosexuality (i.e., act in a heterosexual way regardless of sexual orientation). She described:

You have the seniors; you have some of the senior girls just sleeping with any hockey player or any football player they could just to make sure they didn’t get that stereotype. What is wrong with you? Who cares? It is so hard, you have to be really strong in who you are no matter if you are homosexual or straight.

All three of the participants discussed the need to “hide” their sexual orientation as unique to being a female in college coaching. Kim argued that rarely is the assumption made that a male coach is dating his female players, yet the assumption is made regularly about lesbian coaches. Amy stated:

It’s a money-making thing. It’s about revenue. It’s about being able to recruit and society is not ready for that. So, for you to protect yourself and to be able to stay in the profession, for you to be successful, you have to live that lie. Or else you are going to go under.

Linda, Amy and Kim all agreed that since they have left coaching there is less of a threat of being out at work in their current position. Linda stated that as an athletic administrator there is no need to hide her sexual orientation. In fact, she argued there was

no way for others to use “my sexual orientation against me” and she thought that because of her *perceived* sexual orientation, she was seen as an ally for other minorities. Amy, who worked in a university setting outside of athletics at the time of the interview, stated that she was able to be completely out about her sexual orientation at work:

You know, to tell you the truth, that’s what is great about my life now is [co-workers] ask about her. They know about her and they ask about her. They want her to come to the functions, the Christmas parties, they want her to be part of it.

The participants who stated they were lesbians during the interview felt the need to hide their sexual orientation in order to keep their jobs as coaches and/or be successful in coaching. As the participants mentioned, the need to hide your sexual orientation may be more important in coaching than in any other position within the athletic department or the university.

#### *Negative Recruiting and the Use of “Family”*

The participants provided the perception that negative recruiting is rampant within U.S. collegiate athletics and argued that it must to be controlled to keep more women in the coaching profession. According to the participants, negative recruiting occurs when another coach uses negative information about a coach from another college to persuade an athlete to attend their college. Negative recruiting typically occurs related to a coach’s “perceived” homosexuality. The women discussed the role of male coaches and the “family” culture (i.e., heterosexual family) within negative recruiting.

As several of the participants articulated, other coaches used their perceived sexual orientation against them to get recruits. The participants reported that other

coaches never asked them if they were gay, but made the assumption that they are. As Linda stated, “When you’re 50 years old and you’re not married and you don’t have children” people tend to make the assumption that you are gay. Amy stated:

They don’t know me. They haven’t spent 10 minutes with me. But they are going to use something that you think you know about me to get another kid. You know nothing about me...He hasn’t spent 30 seconds in my bedroom. And even if I am, what right do you have to use that?

Linda further illustrated how negative recruiting takes place stating that the process includes both college coaches and high school/club coaches. Linda described:

[It] depends on the professional level of the high school or club coach. A club coach could say, she’s gay ain’t she? And the college coach could just raise their eyebrows, I don’t know, she’s not married.

Most of the participants who discussed negative recruiting were adamant about the role of male coaches in negative recruiting. Linda argued that negative recruiting started when male coaches came into the profession and found “a way to shoot a hole through my credibility.” According to Linda, heterosexual women learned quickly from the men that negative recruiting worked and hired men as assistant coaches to do “their dirty work.” As Linda stated:

Heterosexual women [have] learned from the heterosexual men...They don’t do the... negative recruiting, they hire male top assistants to do it for them. So it’s the top male assistants who run around because most the high school and club coaches are male, so they have that male network...I think it’s a travesty.

Linda continued to describe how men are rewarded for negative recruiting; the men get the higher salary, the players, the win, and the longer contracts. She stated, “You are not rewarded for integrity, you’re rewarded for winning.” The participants who discussed negative recruiting implied that if men had not entered the profession of coaching women negative recruiting would not take place.

The participants also provided the perception that “family culture” (i.e., a heterosexual family) is used in trying to get recruits. Linda stated:

I just know that when more straight coaches were hired, one advantage that the male coaches felt that they could get over the lesbian coaches was to promote the family atmosphere and to promote the fact that they were married and to promote the fact that it was a “healthier environment” for the young girl to attend college.

Even the participants who stated they were lesbian felt that they needed to promote this “family atmosphere.” Linda stated that when an athlete or her parents would ask about her family, she would emphasize that she had “seven brothers and sisters and I have thirteen nieces and nephews.” Linda further stated:

Now I will definitely say I’ve had kids that tell me they’re going to another school because they had, it’s much more of a family atmosphere, *definitely*.

Kim also mentioned that she “just tried to paint a family” (i.e., a heterosexual family) when recruiting.

Tiffany mentioned that several of her players chose to attend her university because she was a mother.

You know most parents that I encountered liked the fact that I was a mom, because they felt like I could relate and I had a more personal feeling for their kids. And I saw them as people, not just as a volleyball player...There was a lot that...told me that part of the reason that they made their decision was the fact that I was married and that I had kids and they felt like that was an environment that their kids would be comfortable in.

Linda discussed extensively how being perceived as a lesbian, and the negative recruiting that came with that perception, made it difficult to be competitive. She felt that she needed to work “three times as hard to get the recruits,” and she didn’t get the “same talent to win ball games.” Linda named this inability to compete for players, and therefore win ball games, as the “main” reason she left college coaching:

And the main reason was that I could not compete for the players...I’m not saying it was impossible, it became increasingly more difficult. I had to work harder than the next person and be impeccable with what I did and hold myself to a high, high, high standard...I just got tired of what that demanded of me when I saw so many others gaining with less effort.

As illustrated, the participants expressed a perception of how negative recruiting is prudent within collegiate coaching. In fact, one coach argued that negative recruiting is so rampant within U.S. collegiate athletics that a coach would need to settle with “mediocre” if they are not willing to engage in this unethical battle. Not only does negative recruiting “bruise your ego” as one coach stated, the participants provided examples of how negative recruiting does not allow perceived lesbians to be competitive with in U.S. collegiate athletics. According to the participants, lesbian women are limited

in recruiting, making their ability to win games difficult. As one coach argued, it is time that someone “corrals” this negative recruiting.

*Discrimination of Lesbian Coaches*

The participants provided clear examples of discrimination that lesbian coaches face within U.S. collegiate athletics. One participant argued that lesbian women in particular are leaving the coaching profession due to the discrimination that occurs. The participants who stated they were lesbians during the interviews did not feel that U.S. collegiate athletics is a “safe” space for women to be out about their sexual orientation and if they are out they must be willing to “suffer the consequences.” Yet, as the participants illustrated, even if lesbian coaches hide their sexual orientation, the perception still remains that they are lesbian if they are not married or do not date a man. The discrimination that lesbian women face in U.S. collegiate athletics could be compared to other marginalized populations. Linda spoke extensively about this subject:

You felt like you walk in the front door on a recruiting visit and right away you’re on the defensive. And it’s really made me help understand what it must feel like to be black. That if two black 25-year-old men walk into a convenience store, wearing hooded jackets, how does the owner react to that as opposed to two white fraternity brothers walking in?

Linda continued by blatantly stating that other coaches are using “gay bashing” to sign the recruits. She stated, “Essentially they got the high caliber athlete by gay bashing, essentially that’s what they did.” Yet, Linda stated that even though “gay bashing” occurs within U.S. collegiate athletics, nothing is being done to address the situation.

Linda argued that comments about any other disenfranchised population would immediately be addressed:

I mean it, it should be a non-issue, it's not really fair. If they said don't go play for [that coach] because she is black, I mean all hell would break lose. Yeah, or [that coach] is in a wheelchair, I mean you can't discriminate against religion or disability or color, but you can for sexual orientation.

Sue, who stated she had children and a husband, provided examples of the homophobia nature of her athletic director. She stated that he made homophobic remarks regularly about the female supporters of women's basketball. As a straight coach, Sue noticed the rampant homophobia within women's athletics. Providing her opinion on *which women* could be successful in college athletics, she stated, "You have to be a straight, single person that has to want to make it your life."

All of the participants who stated they were lesbians during the interview explained that in some way the homophobic atmosphere impacted their decision to leave. As Linda stated, "The main reason [I left] was that I could not compete for the players because of negative recruiting. Amy described that one of the reasons she left coaching was because she "didn't want to live that kind of life" and she wasn't interested in "growing old and alone." Kim also concluded that having to hide her sexual orientation "lead partially to my decision to leave."

Linda stated that she thought this study should be changed to address "Why do lesbian women leave the coaching profession?" Linda argued that particularly lesbian women were leaving the profession.

Oh I think women are going in. I think, and some people might think they've cleaned up the sport. Women are going in, they're married...I don't think we're particularly losing women, I do think we're losing lesbian women. And some people may not really care about that. I mean who really cares about that?

Linda also stated that being a lesbian was one of the reasons that she entered the coaching profession in the 1970's. She described that she avoided the private business sector in the 1970's because she would feel "isolated, closeted and paranoid." Yet, later she saw blatant homophobia in U.S. collegiate athletics – the whole reason she avoided the private sector. She stated: "What I saw shift, probably from 1980 to 2005 in that 25 year period, was the very thing that I wanted to avoid in the private sector." She believed one of the contributing factors to the shift from 1980 to 2005 was that more heterosexual women and men entered the profession and lesbian coaches left. Because there were more lesbian women in coaching during the 1970's and early 1980's, negative recruiting was less likely to occur. She illustrated:

The issue of the coach's sexual preference *never* came up in the recruiting process, ever. So it was safe, since the rules were pretty much the same for all coaches. First of all, you weren't going to say that about her cause she'd turn around and say that about you.

In summary, several of the participants provided a perception that the homophobic environment of U.S. collegiate athletics had led them to leave the profession. Furthermore, heterosexual coaches described the homophobic nature of collegiate coaching in which one stated that you need to be a "straight, single coach" to be successful. The lesbian participants interviewed have experienced "gay bashing" in an

environment that rewards winning at all costs. As one woman stated, “It’s a sad thing about our culture that people value winning *so much* that they’ll degrade other human beings to get that.” According to the participants, the need to “hide” one’s sexual orientation may be more apparent in the coaching profession compared to other positions within a collegiate athletic department or university setting (i.e., athletic administration, academic advising, etc.). Several of the participants interviewed believed that the recruiting as well as the revenue produced by coaches makes negative recruiting a threat in coaching. The participants provided examples of discrimination faced by “perceived” lesbian women in U.S. collegiate athletics. Furthermore, it may be possible that more lesbian women are leaving the profession and lesbian women are not entering the profession.

#### *Former Coaches Recommendations for Change*

At the conclusion of each of the interviews, the participants were asked two questions: 1) Given your experiences, what advice would you give a female friend who is considering coaching at the collegiate level? and 2) What suggestions do you have to improve college athletics to better meet the needs of women?

Few studies have asked women coaches for recommendations. Yet, these participants have worked in the system, clearly see problems inherent within U.S. collegiate athletics, and have a unique perspective from which to offer solutions. Furthermore, this project is feminist in nature and was designed to impact the lives of the participants involved in the project as well as women still working in the system of U.S. collegiate athletics. Therefore, the following section uses the women’s advice and

suggestions to provide a “new vision” of U.S. collegiate athletics in six main areas: 1) salary, 2) recruiting, 3) coaches associations and unions, 4) family, 5) negotiations and coaching contracts and 6) life after coaching.

Several participants discussed the need to address salary issues within U.S. collegiate athletics, with one stating that her salary was so low it was difficult to have a “good quality of life.” Specifically, Tiffany cited having the same pressure to win as the men’s coach who made five times as much as she did, and stated:

I think it goes back to one of the reason that I was out, is your compensation equaling your expectations? If you’re paying me \$200,000 a year, well I know I better win. And if I don’t well I don’t deserve to stay in there, getting paid that kind of money. But if you’re paying me \$40,000, but you still expect me to do what the guy that’s getting paid is given, now you’re comparing apples to oranges.

Kim also discussed salary and envisioned a “union” for coaches. She stated:

So that you have an across the board basic level so that I know if I don’t coach here and go there, I am going to still have the same quality of life. I am not going to go from a \$40,000 salary to a \$28,000 salary with this level of experience.

Kim mentioned a Division II conference, the Pennsylvania Scholastic Athletic Conference, in which the conference has salary standards for each coach (e.g., head or assistant in each sport) with a minimum that the universities must pay each coach and incremental increases in pay.

Several of the participants argued that recruiting must be controlled and “corralled.” Specifically, comments were directed towards the “negative recruiting” as

well as how recruiting in general has gotten out of control. Linda argued that the Women's Basketball Coaches Association should have an "open conversation" about negative recruiting because it's an "age old problem." She stated that "everybody knows it goes on, everybody knows it's not fair," yet nothing is done about negative recruiting. Although I agree that the Women's Basketball Coaches Association should address negative recruiting, it seems from these interviews that negative recruiting occurs in other sports as well as in basketball. If negative recruiting is to be truly addressed throughout the coaching profession, the NCAA must address the problem head on.

Amy argued that recruiting in general must be controlled by the NCAA so coaches actually have lives outside of coaching. She stated:

I really wish that the NCAA or who ever that they would corral this recruiting. We don't need to be out there spending an entire month on the road in the summer. We don't need to be out there having events in May, after the season has just ended. For heaven sakes, can we just not recruit these kids with the high school seasons that we have.

Amy continued to state that she thought "corralling" the recruiting would "save" women and would allow women to stay in the profession longer.

Cathy argued for a women's coaches association across all sports. Currently, several sports have their own women's coaches association (i.e., Women's Basketball Coaches Association) but Cathy thought this should be expanded to include *all* women regardless of sport to provide women with more support. She mentioned the Women's Coaches Academy assists women coaches by providing them with support related to

“problem solving, issues with the media, recruiting, and time management.” Cathy also mentioned the need for female role models, stating:

We need to have qualified female coaches, and I think young girls learn that by getting good coaching at a young age...I think there needs to be women on the staff and it doesn't always necessarily have to be the head coach, but I think there has to be a diversified staff and so as women come in and learn the role of coaching.

According to several of the participants, providing young girls with more female coaches as role models is a large issue within women's athletics, and a women's coaches association could take a primary role in increasing the female role models available to young women.

Several of the participants also argued that “family issues” need to be addressed within U.S. collegiate coaching. Sue argued that if the administration wants to keep women in coaching, family support must be provided. She stated that there is a need to “educate the administrators,” and stated that if administrators want to “hire a heterosexual female to head up the women's program,” they are going to need to address family issues. Tiffany also stated that a supportive administration makes all of the difference when you have a family. She mentioned several other volleyball coaches who have been in the profession for several years, and are able to be successful and have children because their administration is supportive. Tiffany provided an example of a successful volleyball coach in which her athletic director's philosophy is, “Take your kids with you on the trip. Take your husband with you on the trip and we will pay for

that.” Tiffany felt that if more administrators would be supportive of women having children, women would be more likely to stay in coaching.

Several of the participants advised female coaches to carefully negotiate their contracts when deciding to take a new coaching position. A few of the participants regretted not asking the right questions when they visited the campus or not insisting certain requirements written in the contract. Tiffany stated that coaches should find out as much as you can about the position and the philosophy within the department on everything from “Salary, trips your family can go on, if you have a family, what is their policy on that.” Kim stated that it is important to not be afraid of asking questions during the interview to insure you will have the resources. She stated that you should “see your office” and “get every single thing in writing.” Kim also advised women coaches to fight for multi-year contracts because it is difficult to live on a year-to-year contract when you are not sure if you have a job the next year.

Several of the participants also talked about being scared of leaving coaching because they didn’t “know what else they could do.” Kim stated that when she decided to leave college coaching everyone asked her, “What are you going to do? What else are you trained for?” She argued that college coaching is like running a small business which included “budget planning, sponsorships, and public relations.” Kim explained that she used the business aspect of coaching to market herself for a position within the business realm. She said that coaching “really does offer you a lot of training in a lot of aspects.” Amy noted that too many times she sees women who have stayed in coaching that seem “miserable like she was.” Amy offered the following advice:

Don't be miserable. Life is so short. You will be fine. You will be fine. And every coach that I know that has gotten out, when I see them, we laugh. We laugh about how happy we are and why it took us so long to figure it out.

None of the women were advocating that women leave the profession. Several agreed, however, that if a woman was unhappy, her coaching skills would make her a good candidate in several other professions. Across the board, all participants believed that more should be done to keep women within the coaching profession. The suggestions the participants had for improving college athletics directly addressed several of the “main” reasons that the participants stated they left the coaching profession including salary, recruiting, and family issues.

#### Summary of Findings

This chapter has presented the results gleaned from the surveys and interviews with women who have left U.S. collegiate coaching. This project has provided evidence that there is not *one* reason that women are leaving the coaching profession. In fact, there are multiple, competing, and overlapping reasons that women leave the profession. From the surveys, it seemed that a small number of the participants left for more “positive reasons.” However, the majority of the participants in this study left for negative reasons including the time commitment and the all-consuming nature of the coaching position. The interview findings confirm the open-end responses on the survey and describe gender discrimination and the centrality of male coaches in collegiate athletics. The participants reported a perception of receiving fewer resources, lower salaries, more responsibilities, and less administrative support. The participants in this study had difficulty balancing

work and family, and others saw them as “distracted by motherhood” if they have children. Furthermore, the participants provided examples of rampant homophobia in U.S. collegiate coaching. Collectively, the survey and interview results reveal that these coaches experience the gendered and patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics.

## CHAPTER V

## DISCUSSION

Sport and more specifically, U.S. collegiate athletics are defined around patriarchal ideologies. Rarely do women athletes compete with men and sport continues to be one of the most obvious social institutions in which socially constructed beliefs about gender benefit men (Thorngren, 1990; Theberge, 1993). Sport, particularly at the highly organized levels such as U.S. collegiate athletics, is anti-feminist (Hall, 1996) and organized around the needs and experiences of men. As Sage (1998) contends, patriarchy has been the “ideological nucleus of women’s oppression” in which “mainstream thought is male-stream thought” (p. 59).

The patriarchal structure of U.S. collegiate athletics is apparent today in that only 44.1% of all coaches for female collegiate teams are women, and less than 2% of all coaches for men’s teams are women (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Certainly, men have a greater opportunity to coach in U.S. collegiate athletics in both men’s and women’s sport programs. Furthermore, women once governed women’s sport, but today the decision makers are mostly White men (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004; Lapchick, 2005). Men (i.e., White, Western, middle-class, heterosexual men) have become known as legitimate organizers of U.S. women’s collegiate sport.

The purpose of this study was to better understand the experiences of former female coaches and their decision to terminate their careers, especially in relation to the

patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport. This study is similar to the work of Inglis et al. (2000), Theberge (1993), and Thorgren (1990), but focused solely on former U.S. female coaches and utilized a mixed-method approach to provide an in-depth and rich understanding of female coaches' experiences and their decision to leave the coaching profession. The surveys reached a large pool of women whereas the interviews reached a smaller number of women but added depth and complexity.

This chapter discusses the findings presented earlier in an attempt to draw analytic conclusions related to the original research questions. Therefore, a summary of the research, the scope of the study/limitations, and possibilities for future research are provided in this chapter. More specifically, the summary of the research is divided into four areas: 1) Bargaining with patriarchy, 2) Limitations of liberal policy, 3) Women "heteronorming" the coaching role, and 4) A mismatch between work and family.

#### Bargaining with Patriarchy

Kandiyoti (1988, 1991) utilizes the term "patriarchal bargain" to explain how women strategize and use various coping mechanisms when faced with oppression in any society (p. 274). Specifically, she argues that different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct "rules of the game" and call for women to use various strategies to "maximize security and optimize life options" (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 274). Across methods, it is clear that the gendered and patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate coaching has presented challenges and influenced women's decisions to leave the coaching profession. Women receive few resources, older facilities, lower salaries, more responsibilities, and less administrative support. Women experience gender hierarchy

within U.S. collegiate athletics and male coaches of men's teams remain the center of athletic department. It is also apparent that women coaches may experience coaching in very different ways depending on their location in hierarchies of sexuality, family type, and sport tier. Furthermore, homophobia is rampant in U.S. collegiate coaching and these women felt that they needed to "heteronorm" the coaching profession.

Although the participants in this study "bargained with patriarchy" by strategizing and using various coping mechanisms to deal with the gendered structure of U.S. collegiate athletics, it is clear that women's experiences are diverse. In fact, these findings provide multiple, overlapping and complex reasons women leave college coaching. The women in this study have articulated *many* reasons for leaving college athletics; therefore, it is impossible to state *one* reason why women have left collegiate athletics. For example, the findings from the Perceived Hindrance Scale provide evidence that time and family commitments are the main reasons these participants left coaching. Yet, the open-end comments on the survey provide evidence that some women may leave coaching for positive reasons including to pursue further education or for promotion to an athletic administration role. The interview findings describe gender discrimination and the centrality of male coaches in collegiate athletics. The participants interviewed also described the all-consuming nature of collegiate coaching the recruiting demands, the pressure to win, and the difficulty in dealing with students and parents.

### Limitations of Liberal Policy

The passage of Title IX<sup>1</sup> in 1972 drastically impacted the number and percentage of women athletes participating today in sport (Bray 2004; Howard & Gillis, 2003), and women's access to sport was acknowledged for the first time as a public agenda (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1994). Title IX is a liberal policy in that it required "equal opportunity" for women with the assumption that adjusting the numbers of women could eliminate discrimination in collegiate athletics (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1994; Messner & Sabo, 1990). For example, Title IX requires that women have comparable facilities and similar financial assistance, and although Title IX does *not* require equal numbers of female and male coaches or address the gender of the coach, it *does* require that women athletes have the same access to coaching as do their male counterparts. Furthermore, the law requires a "gender-neutral hiring process and determination of salary" for collegiate coaches (Carpenter & Acosta, 2006, p. 174).

It is clear in several ways that as a liberal agenda, Title IX has not been fully effective. It appears that there has been several "unanticipated consequences" for women coaches resulting from the application of Title IX (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1994, p. 105). First, one consequence of Title IX is the decrease in percentage of women coaches in collegiate athletics since the law was passed and implemented (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004). Second, as demonstrated in this study as well as others (Inglis, et al. 2000; Theberge, 1993; Thorngren, 1990), gender discrimination, which was directly prohibited

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<sup>1</sup> Title IX states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance" (Carpenter & Acosta, 2006, p. 3).

by Title IX, still occurs within U.S. collegiate athletics. Inequities remain today in regards to resources, facilities, duties, compensation, and support from the administration for women coaches. The participants in this study clearly demonstrated that they left coaching due to several of the areas that Title IX was developed to address (i.e., a lack of compensation, inequitable resources). Third, several of the participants in this study perceived that Title IX has negatively “redefined” the profession of coaching women. One of the interview participants cleverly used the word “redefined” to explain the increase of men coaches with the passage of Title IX, and argued how the increase of male coaches changed the profession of coaching women. For example, one of the participants suggested that negative recruiting started with the emergence of men into the profession of coaching women in which the men found a way to “shoot a hole through [her] credibility.”

All of the participants who were interviewed discussed “the men” in some regard – suggesting that *all* men act or think a certain way. For example, several of the women discussed the role of “the men” in negative recruiting and argued that “the women” (i.e., heterosexual women) have learned from “the men” how to negatively recruit (i.e., use negative information about another coach – usually their “perceived” homosexuality – to persuade an athlete to attend their college). The participants implied that if “the men” had not entered the profession of coaching women, negative recruiting (i.e., using would not take place. It seemed as though several of the women blamed “the men” for the changes in women’s athletics which led several of the participants to leave collegiate coaching.

The “battle for equality” (Hult, 1994, p. 99) is further divided by the “tier” of sport, which Title IX has not addressed. As several of the women interviewed indicated, the “tier” of each sport is usually stated by the administration and reflects the emphasis placed on the sport as well as the revenue produced. The NCAA acknowledges the tiers suggesting that the tier system means that “an institution treats sports [within the athletic department] in significantly different ways” (Gender-equity, 2005, p. 1). Tier 1 sports, for example, may have maximum scholarships, a national schedule, and expenses that allow for recruiting at both the international and national levels. On the other hand, Tier 3 sports may have 25% scholarships, a local schedule, and expenses for primarily in-state recruiting (Gender-equity, 2005).

This study provided evidence that some female basketball coaches may receive adequate resources, facilities, salary, and administrative support that could reflect the tier the sport has been assigned. One of the basketball coaches stated that she earned \$150,000 a year. In contrast, the softball coach interviewed received a yearly \$2500 stipend for coaching, and the lacrosse and field hockey coach earned \$30,000 annually. Furthermore, the survey findings suggest that basketball coaches differed from other coaches in that they were less likely to indicate “Low salary,” “Lack of support systems for women players,” and “Lack of role models among women coaches” as reasons that influenced their decision to leave the profession. Acosta and Carpenter’s (2004) data suggested that women’s basketball is the most frequently found sport in women’s collegiate programs and has a larger percentage of women’s coaches compared to other women’s sports (i.e., golf, soccer cross-country, swimming). It may be that because more

women are coaching basketball, female basketball coaches may feel more supported.

Other factors that could contribute to female basketball coaches feeling more supported than other coaches in this sample include the popularity of basketball (Suggs, 2005) as well as the professional league available to women as athletes and coaches (i.e., the WNBA).

### Women “Heteronorming” the Coaching Role

As Griffin (1998) argues, women may act in a sexually normative way to “pass” as heterosexual, even though they are gay. As evidenced within this study, several women publicly performed heterosexuality (i.e., compulsory heterosexuality) to be successful as coaches and participated in the façade of “heteronormativity” in college coaching. The interview participants provided clear examples of homophobia within collegiate athletics, and all who identified as gay indicated the need to “hide” their sexuality. Issues related to sexuality were less apparent within the Perceived Hindrance Scale results, yet several participants mentioned issues related to sexuality throughout the interviews and open-end comments on the survey. These variations in findings again reflect the value of using mixed methods of data gathering.

Homophobia and the need to “hide” being gay occurs outside of sport as well. Tucker, Al-Timimi, Darrup, Jacobs, Lieberman, Templar-Eynon, von Zuben, & Washington (2000) provided evidence of homophobia and the negative consequences of being “out” about one’s homosexuality in the corporate world, helping professions, athletics, the police force, and religious organizations. Lubensky, Holland, Wiethoff and Crosby (2004) show attitude changes towards lesbian, gay, and bisexuals in the

workplace, however, they note that discrimination and prejudice persists. Furthermore, Schatz and O'Hanlan (1994) surveyed 191 employers and found that 18% would fire, 27% would refuse to hire, and 26% would refuse to promote a person that was perceived to be gay, lesbian or bisexual. And, Russ, Simonds, and Hunt's (2002) study indicated that discrimination against people that are gay still occurs on college campuses. Specifically, Russ et al. (2002) found that undergraduate students in an introduction to communication studies courses perceive a gay teacher as less credible and believe that they learn considerably less from a gay teacher than a straight teacher. Taken together, this research (Lubensky et al, 2004; Russ et al. 2002, Schatz & O'Hanlan, 1994, Tucker et al. 2000) demonstrates that homophobia and the need to hide one's homosexuality occurs outside of sport.

Yet, it seems from the participants in this study that the experiences of women coaches may be unique compared to other working women. As Messner (1996) argues, sport participation offers a "normalizing" equation for men as "athleticism = masculinity = heterosexuality," yet the same is not true for women in sport. For women, the equation has been more paradoxical and is represented by "athleticism? femininity? heterosexuality?" (p. 225). This equation is certainly not held for *all* working women. Even if a woman works in predominately male-dominated professions (i.e., in law or medicine), her sexuality is seldom questioned just because she is a female lawyer or female doctor, for example. As Messner (1996) argued, the "dualities of *lesbian versus heterosexual* and *gay versus heterosexual*" have been differently constructed for women and men in sport (p. 225).

As stated earlier, all three of the participants who identified as gay indicated the need to “hide” their sexuality. The participants provided clear examples of ways they aligned themselves with heterosexuality (although these words were not used in their descriptions). For instance, Amy provided several examples of ways she avoided acknowledging her partner and Linda stated that she used the Catholic role to get recruits. A few of the women even used the ideology of a heterosexual family to align themselves with heterosexuality. For example, Linda stated that when people would ask about her family, she would emphasize that she had “seven brothers and sisters and I have thirteen nieces and nephews.”

These participants continued the process of heteronorming the coaching role in that they acted in a heterosexual ways to “prove they were just as whole.” It was clear why the women felt the need to engage in compulsory heterosexuality. In a few cases, women athletic directors and other head coaches asked the women to hide their partners. Rarely were the women interviewed open about being gay in their roles as coaches and *never* talked about being a lesbian to their athletes. All of the women felt that being open about being a lesbian would come with extreme negative consequences. Several of the participants feared the ability to be competitive. This inability to be competitive was the main reason that Linda left coaching, and another woman feared that she would be fired because the administration would want to “change the face of the coaching staff.”

The participants described the perceptions of parents as well as the use of their lesbian status by other coaches as the reasons they would be unable to be competitive if they were openly gay in U.S. collegiate coaching. Respondents were painfully aware of a

parent's hesitation to send their daughters to a collegiate team with a gay coach for fear the coach may influence their daughter, as though homosexuality is contagious. Linda stated that she was unable to be competitive as a coach because of "gay bashing." Nothing is done to address the discrimination against "perceived" lesbians even though negative recruiting is illegal according to the NCAA. Discrimination of other marginalized groups (i.e., class, race, disability, for example.) would be stopped immediately, yet "gay bashing" is not addressed.

As several of the women suggested, the need to hide one's homosexuality may be specific to collegiate coaching, in that the women were able to be open about their sexuality at work after leaving the coaching profession. Even the two women that still worked in the university setting, but not in coaching, spoke of a more inclusive atmosphere. It is possible that sexuality is differently constructed in the coaching profession compared to other professions within the typical U.S. collegiate athletic department. Linda, now an associate athletic director, stated that there was no way others could use her "sexual orientation against her" in her new role.

Given the research on homophobia in sport and physical education (Griffin, 1998; Morrow & Gill, 2003; Anderson, 2005), it is unclear at this particular moment if sexuality is constructed differently in collegiate coaching. For example, Griffin (1998) interviewed lesbian athletes, coaches, and athletic directors and found that homophobia was prominent in sport. One athletic director that she interviewed suggested that because she was in a position of raising money for the university as an athletic director "being out would get in the way" and would compound her ability to raise money (Griffin, 1998, p.

142). Yet, all three lesbians that were interviewed were able to be open about being lesbian in their positions after they left U.S. collegiate coaching. Specifically, there was less of a fear because the former coaches no longer needed to compete for players in their current positions (as an associate athletic director, admissions counselor, and a salesperson). Certainly, this area is “messy” and more research should be conducted to address how sexuality operates within the coaching profession.

#### A Mismatch Between Work and Family

All of the women that were interviewed struggled with the balance between work and family. Furthermore, “Family commitments” was the second most common reason indicated on the open-end responses and the third highest reason indicated on the Perceived Hindrance Scale for leaving coaching. It may also be that head coaches have a particularly difficult time balancing work and family because the majority of the women that indicated “Coaching conflicts with family commitments” on the survey were head coaches. Clearly, balancing family and work was a concern for these participants and ultimately led several of the women to leave coaching.

Mercier (2000), in her study with Canadian coaches, stated that the reason women see a disconnect between work and family is because of organization of North American society. Specifically, she argued that work and family are seen as separate domains and this setup does not allow for the loyalty of both work and family. She argued that “work” for pay has traditionally been seen as a male domain, whereas “family” has been viewed as the woman’s primary domain. Ranson (2005), who interviewed women working in engineering, which is another field dominated in percentage by men, stated that women

enter engineering not as women, but conceptually as “men.” Entering conceptually as “men” made it difficult for women to find a balance between the status of “mother” and “engineer.” This conceptual “cover” is blown when they become or think of becoming mothers. Ranson (2005) argued that “mother” and “engineer” are two potentially incongruous identities. A similar analogy could be made to female coaches in that “mother” and “coach” may be incompatible. Men who work full-time, however, are not subject to the same expectations of family involvement and are assumed to have a partner (i.e., a “wife”) who is more accountable for family responsibilities; hence “father” and “engineer” (or “father” and “coach”) rarely conflict.

This ideology of work and family being incongruent is constraining to all women. As Hochschild’s (1989) language of the “second shift” implies, “work” is also done related to family. She argues that most women work for pay as well as work a “second shift” at home (i.e., cooking, cleaning, laundry, etc.) and that this trend is prominent regardless if women have children (Hochschild, 1989, p.4). Women, as a whole, are primarily responsible for more household labor or family responsibilities, even though there has been a substantial increase in men’s household activities since the 1960’s (Sayer, 2005). Women, in general, spend less time in leisure activities than their male counterparts and more often occupy familial roles as “primary caregivers,” not “primary earners” (Hochschild, 1989; Sayer, 2005). Furthermore, women are primarily responsible for finding and managing childcare for children. In fact, the development and need for childcare has been interdependent with the increase of women in the workforce (Nakamura, McCarthy, Rothstein-Fisch, & Winges, 1981). This research taken together

(Hochschild, 1989; Mercier, 2000; Nakamura et al. 1981; Ranson, 2005, Sayer, 2005) provides us with a framework to better understand the disconnect that the participants in this study saw between work and family.

As apparent in both the survey and interview findings, several of the participants regardless of sexual orientation, felt conflicted about being able to be a coach and a mother. Comments related to family was the second most frequent reason for leaving coaching indicated on the open-end responses and discussion about family was also prominent within the interviews. In the interview, Tiffany stated that if a woman has a family, it takes a “certain woman...to be able to just turn that [the mother role] off.” Tiffany is implying that it is “natural” for a woman to have difficulty separating work and family. Furthermore, the assumption was made that women who have children should (and would) choose child-rearing over work for pay. Certainly at times, it was apparent that the participants as well as others around them (i.e., colleagues, athletic directors) were upholding essential ideas of men and women in society. The participants interviewed continuously discussed “the men” and many of their comments reflected the traditional roles of men and women in society.

Comments about the participants’ inability to be a mother and a coach came directly from several athletic directors and were specifically cited in the interviews. For example, when Tiffany told her male athletic director that she was leaving, he responded, “You know, I often wondered how you could juggle being a wife, and having two kids [with the responsibilities of coaching].” Furthermore, Sue was fired from her position as softball coach because she had a baby. These comments and actions by the male athletic

directors reflect the belief that women cannot be both “family-oriented” and “work-oriented” (Mercier, 2000, p. 3). An assumption is made that women who are mothers are less committed to work and “distracted by motherhood.” Certainly, work and parenthood are institutions in which gender ideologies are perpetuated and sustained. This can be demonstrated by the common use of the descriptor, “working mother,” for which there is no common equivalent term, “working father” (Mercier, 2000, p.4).

The participants also provided the perception that their colleagues who are male coaches do not experience this same incongruence of work and family. Tiffany recalled that in her athletic department, families could travel with the men’s basketball and football coaches, but the same “luxury” was not afforded to the women’s coaches. Again, the assumption is made that women would have a difficult time balancing work and family and might be “distracted” from the coaching responsibilities if their family were present.

#### Scope of Study/Limitations

This study was designed to allow for an in-depth analysis of the complexities of women’s experiences, the multiple reasons women may leave college coaching, and the culture of U.S. collegiate athletics. Previous research has established the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport (Birrell & Therberge, 1994; Coakley, 2004; Hall, 1996), yet few studies have analytically linked the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport to women’s decision to leave the coaching profession. It was clear within this study that the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate sport impacted these participants’ decisions to leave the profession.

This study adds to the current literature on the gendered nature of U.S. collegiate coaching in several other ways. Specifically, this study fills a void in the literature in that it focused solely on former female coaches who have left collegiate athletics. From the open-end survey findings, about 18% of the participants left U.S. collegiate coaching for positive reasons (i.e., opportunity for a promotion or to pursue further education). Much of the existing literature has focused on negative reasons women have left collegiate coaching (i.e., discrimination, low salary and resources) and few studies have acknowledged that female coaches may be leaving the coaching profession for positive reasons. Furthermore, this study is unique in that it utilized a feminist perspective and asked women for suggestions and recommendations for change. The study was designed *for* women, not about women with the hope that this research would make a difference in the lives of the women involved. One indication that the research may have made a difference in the lives of women involved is a comment from one of the interview participants. When sent the interview findings via email, Tiffany replied, “It sure made me feel better this morning when I read this and realized, wow, I was not the only one.” For Tiffany, reading about how other women experienced coaching validated her experiences and decision to leave the profession.

Furthermore, much of the existing research has focused on *one* possible reason women leave U.S. collegiate coaching. It was expected, however, that women leave collegiate coaching for multiple and complex reasons. Therefore, this study utilized a mixed-method approach to allow for an in-depth and rich understanding of the women’s coaching experiences. Specifically, the surveys were intended to advance the previous

research while reaching a large pool of women. The open-end responses on the survey provided a more complicated understanding of why women leave the coaching profession while still reaching a large number of women. The interview findings, though based on a small sample, offered a complex and rich understanding of women's experiences, and reinforced a majority of the open-end responses. The interview methodology allowed women to emphasize the relative importance of issues, and expand on issues they were most passionate about.

Certainly, the mixed-method approach enhances the meaningfulness of these findings. It was clear that throughout this study the two methods (i.e., survey and interviews) produced different findings regarding why women leave the coaching profession. In fact, when comparing the Perceived Hindrance Scale findings with the interview findings, only six areas overlap: 1) low salary, 2) lack of administrative support, 3) coaching conflicts with family, 4) time commitment, 5) pressure to win, and 6) difficulties with parents. There was more overlap with the open-end responses and the interview findings, but only a few comments on the open-end items related to homophobia although the issue was prominent in the interviews.

Of course, this is one study and generalizations cannot be made regarding all women's decision to leave the coaching profession. Furthermore, the women in this study were identified through personal contacts and the snowballing technique, rather than random sampling. Hence, this study was not objective and was intentionally designed with the understanding that research cannot be unbiased or controlled (Hoff, 1988; Keller, 1990). As with other feminist research, the experiences of the researcher

were acknowledged (see Reflexivity Statement in the Introduction) to insure that the research reflected the voices of the participants and that the research was not just supporting the researcher's beliefs (Hoff, 1988).

#### Future Research

This examination has provided insights on the experiences of women coaches and their decision to leave the profession, especially in relation to the patriarchal nature of collegiate sport. Because few people have asked women directly why they have left the profession, more work should be conducted to confirm these findings. It is clear from this study that patriarchy influenced the decision of these women to leave the profession, yet there were several new areas within this research that should be explored further. Specifically, the complexity of women's roles in the historically male domain of sport needs to be further explored. The complexity of women's experiences emerged in the interviews; therefore it is recommended that for future research in this area, interviews be used to generate data. There are four specific areas that should be addressed in future research with female collegiate coaches including: 1) negative recruiting, 2) women "heteronorming" the coaching role, 3) the role of "mother" in the lives of women coaches, and 4) experiences of racially diverse female coaches. Although there is some overlap between the previous discussion and the following recommendations, this process is needed in order to make the case for more research in each area.

Although other authors have discussed the practice of negative recruiting within women's collegiate athletics (Griffin, 1998; Krane & Barber, 2005), few studies have addressed negative recruiting as directly leading women to leave U.S. collegiate

coaching. One interesting finding in this study related to negative recruiting was the use of the heterosexual family to get recruits. For example, Linda discussed the use of the heterosexual family by male coaches of women's teams to sign recruits. From the women interviewed, the use of a family atmosphere was promoted to emphasize a "healthier" environment (i.e., heterosexual environment). Furthermore, several of the women (specifically, the older women) provided the perception that negative recruiting was a consequence of Title IX and more men entering the profession of coaching women's teams. Certainly, several questions remain as to the role of negative recruiting within U.S. collegiate athletics. Some of these questions that should be explored in future research include: How often does negative recruiting take place? Is the use of the "heterosexual family" prominent within U.S. collegiate athletics? Do other coaches believe that negative recruiting is a consequence of Title IX? What is the NCAA doing to address negative recruiting? What are the effects of negative recruiting on coaches, athletes, and public perceptions?

The women interviewed were clear about the need to "hide" being a lesbian, and several of the women provided examples of aligning themselves with heterosexuality. The women continued the process of "heteronorming" the coaching role by "acting" in a heterosexual ways (i.e., ignoring partners and homophobic comments, using the ideology of a heterosexual family, using the Catholic faith to get recruits). Rarely has this process been discussed in women's experiences in coaching and their decision to leave the profession. Certainly, additional research is needed to address ways that women coaches "heteronorm" the coaching role. Furthermore, Linda argued that more lesbian women are

leaving U.S. collegiate coaching. Although the trend of lesbian women leaving the coaching profession would be difficult to document, it would drastically help us to better understand *which women* are leaving collegiate coaching.

The role of “mother” as a female head coach was also unique in this study and is an area I am interested in pursuing further. In fact, few other studies have discussed the role of mother in coaches’ lives. It is unclear exactly how the role of “mother” is manifested within U.S. collegiate athletics. For example, Tiffany stated that being a mother and a wife made the athletes and their parents feel “safer” (hence, proved her heterosexual status). Yet, Tiffany also discussed ways that she had to turn her mother role off. Specifically, she stated that only certain women could coach and be a mother; she mentioned sexist comments from her athletic director about his disbelief that she could be a mother, a wife, and a coach. It is unclear when it is an advantage as a female coach to be a mother. Several questions remain regarding the role of mother as a female coach that should be explored in future research: Do other female coaches with children feel the need to turn their “mother” role off? And, do other female coaches experience the disconnect between being a “mother” and a “coach”? Ranson’s (2005) study in which she interviewed women working in engineering with regards to their negotiations with motherhood could be a model for research with female coaches.

Although an attempt was made to include a more racially diverse sample, roughly 96% of the survey participants were Caucasian/White women. The high percentage of Caucasian/White women is not surprising given that few female coaches are non-White (Lapchick, 2005). More research is needed which focuses exclusively on non-White

females coaches (i.e., Black/African-American, Asian American, Native American, Latina, etc.). Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that the findings of this study would possibly be different if more non-White women were contacted.

To address these research areas, it is recommended that a feminist perspective be employed in which women's experiences are at the center. As evident from the richness and complexity of the interview findings and the limitations of the survey format, it is recommended that interviews be used in future research with this population.

Furthermore, a snowballing technique in which the participants are asked to identify other women coaches may be the most effective way to reach participants.

#### Summary

This study has demonstrated that women provide multiple, complex, and overlapping reasons for leaving U.S. collegiate coaching. Certainly, there is not *one* reason that women are leaving the coaching profession. It is clear from this study that the gendered and patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate coaching has presented challenges and influenced women's decisions to leave the profession. Women receive few resources, older facilities, lower salaries, more responsibilities, and less administrative support. The participants in this study provided the perception that coaching is very time-consuming and they rarely felt they had any extra time. Recruiting, the pressure to win, and dealing with athletes and parents made coaching challenging. Women experience gender hierarchy within U.S. collegiate athletics and male coaches of men's teams remain the center of athletic departments. Although Title IX was passed over 30 years ago, the law has not been as effective for women coaches as it has for female athletes. It is also

apparent that women coaches may experience coaching in very different ways depending on their location in hierarchies of sexuality, family type, and sport tier. Women coaches see a conflict between working as a coach and motherhood, and others see women with children as “distracted” by motherhood. “Coach” and “mother” may be incongruous identities. Furthermore, homophobia is rampant in U.S. collegiate coaching and the participants in this study felt that they needed to “heteronorm” the coaching profession.

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## Appendix A Interview Guide

*Main Research Question:* How are the experiences of former female collegiate coaches and their decision to terminate their careers shaped by the patriarchal nature of U.S. collegiate athletics?

- Tell me about your experience in your last collegiate coaching position.
- Tell me about your most memorable experience in collegiate coaching.
  - What was particularly rewarding about coaching?
  - What was particularly difficult or challenging about coaching?
- How would you describe working in the system of collegiate athletics?
  - Describe your interactions with others during your coaching career. (Note: This could include other coaches, the administration, athletes on your team, athletes in general, and the public such as the media and the community)
  - Were some people easier or more difficult to work with? What made it easy or difficult?
  - Were some people treated differently in the workspace? Why do you think that happened? How did it affect you?
  - How did being a female coach of a women's program impact how you were treated and your experience?
- The literature suggests that there are multiple reasons that women leave collegiate coaching. What was the main reason you decided to leave coaching?
  - What were the other reasons that influenced your decision to leave?
  - To what degree was the decision to leave coaching your own?
  - Was any part of your decision to leave college coaching related to your gender?
  - Would have you chosen to stay in coaching if anything was different?
- Given your experiences, what advice would you give a female friend who is considering coaching at the collegiate level?
- What suggestions do you have to improve college athletics to better meet the needs of women?
- Is there anything else you would like to discuss about your experiences in coaching and your decision to leave?

**Appendix B**  
**Demographics Questionnaire**  
Please circle your response

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ (please fill in)

Gender:            Male                                  Female

Race/Ethnicity:    African-American            Asian/Pacific Islander            Hispanic

Caucasian/European American            Native American

Other (please list)\_\_\_\_\_

What is your marital status (e.g., married, partnered, widowed, divorced, single, etc.)?

\_\_\_\_\_

Do you have any kids or dependents?                                  Yes            No

List ages of kids/dependents:            \_\_\_\_\_                                  \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Education: Please list the highest degree you've attained (bachelors, masters, doctorate, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_

What was your area of focus (e.g., your major or specialization)?\_\_\_\_\_

Did you compete in athletics in college?                                  Yes            No

If so, what sport?\_\_\_\_\_

Indicate the level (Division I, II, III, club, intramural, etc.)\_\_\_\_\_

### *Coaching Experience*

Indicate your most recent college coaching position:

The University or College: \_\_\_\_\_

The Division: \_\_\_\_\_

The sport: \_\_\_\_\_

The conference affiliation: \_\_\_\_\_

Date you began and ended the position: \_\_\_\_\_

Age when you left this position: \_\_\_\_\_

How many years of head college coaching experience do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ years

At how many different universities/colleges were you a head coach: \_\_\_\_\_

Please circle the division in which you were a head coach (circle all that apply):

Division I

Division II

Division III

How many years of assistant college coaching experience do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ years

At how many different universities/colleges were you an assistant coach: \_\_\_\_\_

Please circle the division in which you were an assistant coach (circle all that apply):

Division I

Division II

Division III

Have you been an assistant for a male or female head coach (or both)? \_\_\_\_\_

How many total years of college coaching experience do you have? \_\_\_\_\_ years

Please list the sports you have coached at the college level:

As head coach: \_\_\_\_\_

As assistant coach: \_\_\_\_\_

***Coaching Experience Other Than Collegiate***

Have you coached at the youth sport level?	Yes, in the past	Yes, now	No
Have you coached at the community/ recreational league level?	Yes, in the past	Yes, now	No
Have you coached at the high school level?	Yes, in the past	Yes, now	No

***Current Position***

Please describe your current position of employment (e.g., position title, institution/organization, etc.):

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### Appendix C Open-End Items

List the 3 biggest challenges you experienced when you were coaching in collegiate athletics.

1.

2.

3.

What was the main reason you decided to leave college coaching?

What were the other reasons that influenced your decision to leave college coaching?

Is there anything you would like to add about your experiences in coaching or your decision to leave the profession?

**Appendix D**  
**Perceived Hindrance Scale**  
*Modified from Everhart and Chelladurai (1998)*

**Indicate the extent to which each of the following statements influenced your decision to leave the coaching profession. Please mark your answers according to the following 9-point continuum. There are no right or wrong answers.**

For example, if you think that “*coaching takes too much time*” completely influenced your decision to leave the coaching profession, you would circle 9 in the right hand column, and if you feel it influenced you somewhat, you would circle the number 5 and so on. Circle one number for each statement. *If a statement did not influence your decision at all or is irrelevant, please circle 1.*

	Did not					Completely			
	Influence at all					Influenced			
1. Coaching takes too much time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2. Public scrutiny of life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3. Lack of opportunities for promotion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4. Pressures to win	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5. Having to do a lot of training	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6. Difficulties with alumni	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7. Unfavorable work hours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8. Low salary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9. Coaching conflicts with family commitments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10. Difficult to obtain entry coaching position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11. Other professions are more attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12. Difficulties with parents/spectators	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13. Lack of job security	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14. Coaching interferes with social life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
15. Coaching means working evenings and weekends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
16. Time spent traveling to competitions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
17. Hassles with the media	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
18. Women coaches are discriminated against	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	<b>Did not Influence at all</b>					<b>Completely Influenced</b>			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
19. Women coaches are perceived to be unattractive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20. Lack of support systems for women players	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
21. Lack of support for women coaches from superiors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
22. Perception of homosexuality among women coaches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
23. Lack of training programs for women coaches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
24. Female players prefer male coaches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
25. Biases of “old boys” network (men hiring only men)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
26. Male coaches do not accept female coaches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
27. Perceptions of women coaches as unfeminine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
28. Lack of role models among women coaches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
29. Women coaches are treated unfairly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
30. Racial/ethnic minority coaches are discriminated against	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
31. Lack of support for racial/ethnic minority coaches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
32. Racial/ethnic minority coaches are treated unfairly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	<b>Did not</b>					<b>Influenced</b>			
	<b>Influence at all</b>					<b>Completely</b>			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
33. Lack of role models for racial/ethnic minority coaches									
34. Affirmative action has created extra hassles									

**Please list *any other* reasons that influenced your decision to leave the coaching profession that are not listed above:**

**Appendix E**  
**Initial Email**

Dear \_\_\_\_\_ ,

My name is Cindra Kamphoff and I am a Ph.D. student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. I received your name from \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_. She indicated to me that you recently left college coaching.

I am currently conducting my dissertation research to explore why women leave collegiate coaching. It is my hope that this research will provide a better understanding of the issues women coaches face as well as to provide suggestions to improve the experiences of women collegiate coaches. To do this, I am asking former collegiate coaches to complete a *confidential* survey regarding their experiences in collegiate coaching. If you agree to participate, I will send you a questionnaire which will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete.

If you would like me to send the questionnaire for you to complete, just send me your *mailing address*.

Also, I want to try to reach as many women as possible, so if you know of any other women that have left collegiate coaching in the last 10 years (could be assistants or head coaches), I would love their name or contact information.

Thanks very much for your help!

Cindra

## **Appendix F Invitation Letter**

5203 Highland Oak Drive  
Greensboro, NC 27410  
May 7, 2006

Dear

My name is Cindra Kamphoff and I am a Ph.D. student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro in the Exercise and Sport Science department. I am currently conducting my dissertation research to explore why women leave collegiate coaching. It is my hope that this research will provide a better understanding of the issues women coaches face as well as to provide suggestions to improve the experiences of women collegiate coaches. To do this, I am asking former collegiate coaches to complete a survey regarding their experiences in collegiate coaching. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete the attached questionnaire, which will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Once you have completed the survey, please return the questionnaire via the envelope provided.

A few women will be asked to engage in one interview regarding their experiences in collegiate coaching and will be contacted at that time to ask for consent. The interview will take less than one hour. All interviews will be tape-recorded. Of course, you are not required to participate in the interview if asked.

My hope is that the research will provide a better understanding of the issues women coaches face working in collegiate athletics. By participating in this project, you may also experience personal insights on why they left collegiate coaching. Furthermore, this research is designed to provide suggestions improve the experiences of women collegiate coaches. Of course, your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to refuse to participate or to withdraw your consent to participate in this research at any time without penalty or prejudice. Your privacy will be protected because you will not be identified by name as a participant in this project. There is no risk associated with this project. By completing the attached questionnaire, you agree that you understand the procedures and any risks and benefits involved in this research. All data will be stored in a locked cabinet and will be shredded and disposed of after 2 years.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro Institutional Review Board, which insures that research involving people follows federal regulations, has approved the research. Questions regarding your rights as a participant in this project can be answered by calling Mr. Eric Allen at (336) 256-1482. Questions regarding the research itself will be answered by myself by calling (336) 339-2897. Any new information that develops during the project will be provided to you if the information might affect your willingness to continue participation in the project.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research. If you have any questions about this study or would like more information, please contact me at the email or phone number below. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Cindra S. Kamphoff  
(336) 339-2897  
cskampho@uncg.edu

**Appendix G  
Request for Others Contact Information**

**Can You Help??**

I am trying to locate as many former female collegiate coaches as possible to complete my survey. It seems the best way to do that is to ask you.

If you know of any women who may be willing to participate in my study, please provide their contact information in the table below. The women should be former collegiate coaches who left collegiate coaching in the last 10 years. No other requirements exist to participate. So, regardless of division, assistant or head coach, sport coached, or reason they left, I would like to include them.

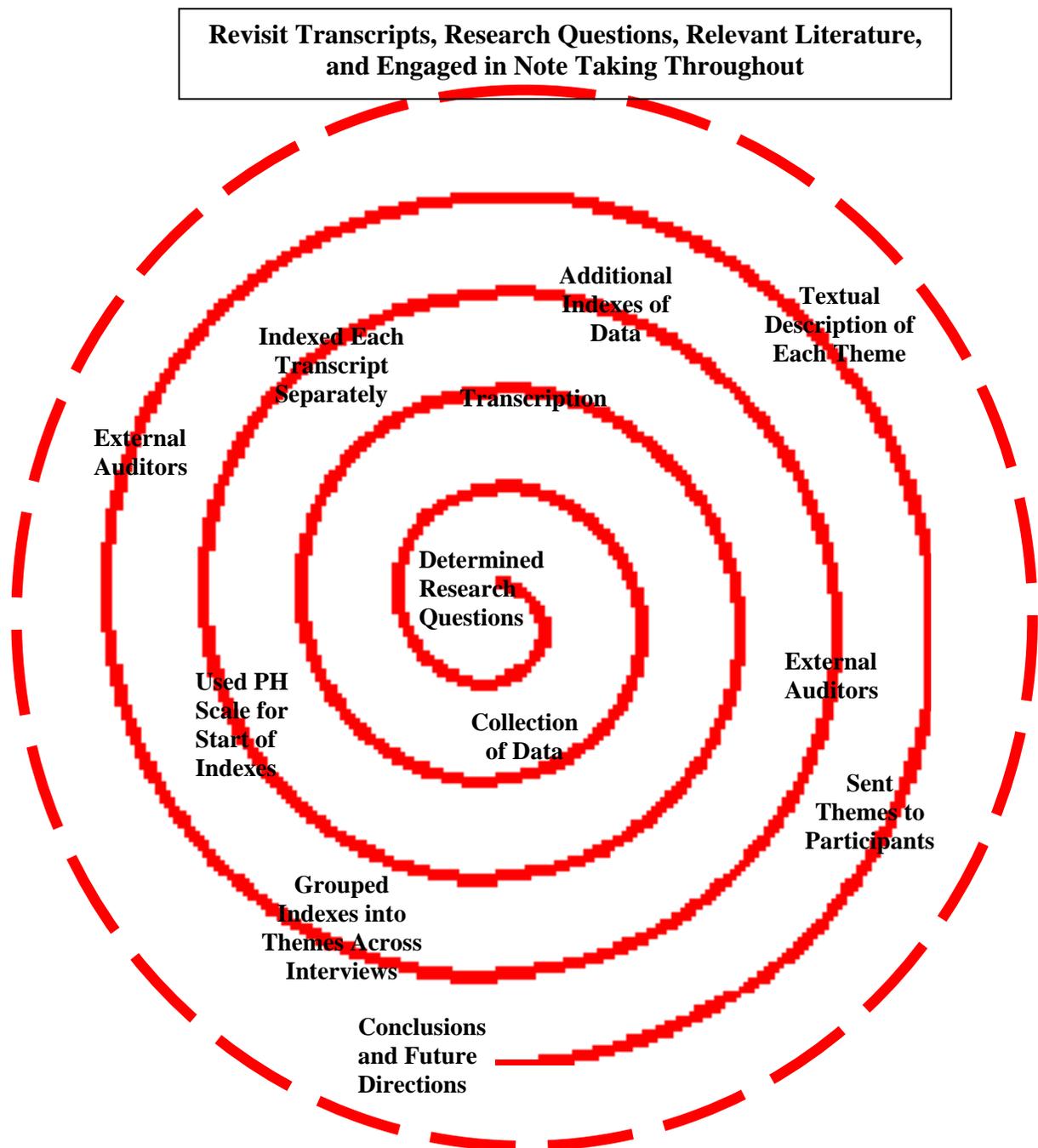
Thank you very much for your help and support. If you would prefer, you may provide my personal information to these women and let them contact me. Either way, I assure that any information provided will be used solely for the purpose of this research project.

Name	Address	Phone	Email

My contact information:  
**Cindra Kamphoff**  
**5203 Highland Oak Court**  
**Greensboro, NC 27410**

**Phone: (336) 339-2897**  
**Email: cskampho@uncg.edu**

**Appendix H**  
**Figure 1**  
**Diagram of Interview Analysis Using a Descriptive Analytic Strategy**



## Appendix I Additional Examples of Open-End Responses

### *Three Biggest Challenges in Coaching*

#### *Demands of the Position*

Multiple Responsibilities: “Balancing all aspects of the job which included teaching physical education, serving as Associate AD, and head coach of 2 sports.” (Division III head volleyball and softball coach)

Importance of Winning: “Judged only on a winning record instead of how your players are growing as people and that they are progressing in their major to be successful in their chosen field.” (Division I head basketball coach)

Traveling: “Travel and being on the road for recruiting, games, etc.” (Division I assistant basketball coach)

Staffing Issues: “Late in my career my assistants were getting head jobs very two years. This led to major breaks in continuing of recruiting and training.” (Division I head volleyball coach)

Only a “part-time” job: “Though it was a Division I job the position was only part-time and my full-time job made it difficult to do everything I wanted to do with my team.” (Division I head softball coach)

#### *Conflicts with Others*

Lack of educational emphasis in college athletics: “Confines of the DI system, priorities within the system are placed on athletic performance with little real attention on academic/personal or social development.” (Division I head volleyball coach)

Fans: “Getting support and fans in stand.” (Division I head basketball coach)

#### *Gender Issues*

Title IX issues: “Not transferring my stress over Title IX battles with University onto the athletes.” (Division I head basketball coach)

Homophobia: “Hiding my sexuality ([I] am gay).” (Division I assistant basketball coach)

Opportunities for women: “The progress was very slow [for women] from 1976-2000.” (Division I head basketball coach)

#### *Personal*

Career questions: “Figuring out if I wanted to do this as a career.” (Division II assistant basketball coach)

Health and well-being: “My health was feeling the stresses of constant evaluations.”  
(Division III head coach of multiple sports)

*Coach/Athlete Issues*

Change in athlete: “Dealing with change in the students athletes from 1975 to 1994.”  
(Division I head volleyball coach)

Team cohesion: “Getting kids to accept their role on the team.” (Division I head basketball coach)

***Positive Reasons for Leaving Coaching***

Pursue Further Education: “[To] pursue doctoral work full-time.” (Division III head tennis coach)

Retired: “Age – retired at 66.” (Division III head field hockey coach)

Wanted to go out on top: “I could have remained a coach, but I thought this was the “easy way out.” I was still successful and enjoyed it. Going out at the top was preferable...”  
(Division III head tennis coach)

***Negative Reasons for Leaving Coaching***

Climate of college athletics: “I was tired of the direction college basketball was moving. The emphasis on winning at the cost of education goals, experiences of the athlete, and the feeling of entitlement of the athletes. [The athletes] wanted all the perks without earning them.” (Division I head basketball coach)

Fired: “I was told that if I did not retire I would have been fired. I did not have a contract so I had no other choice.” (Division I head basketball coach)

Low salary: “Money! I had a master’s degree and was making \$21,000 a year.” (Division I assistant volleyball coach)

Athletes’ attitudes: “I was not feeling as comfortable dealing with today’s athlete. I feel that they are very self-centered and it is difficult to mold them into a team.” (Division I head volleyball and lacrosse coach)

Coaching responsibilities: “Too much time spent NOT coaching. Majority of time spent recruiting/paperwork.” (Division II assistant soccer coach)

Time commitment: “Time! I wanted to reclaim some of my hours. We work so hard to produce competitive programs and then add travel and distances to the mix...long hours.”  
(Division III head field hockey and lacrosse coach)

Head coaching issues: “The main reason I left \_\_\_\_\_ was some disagreements with the head coach. That probably helped encourage me to leave coaching altogether at the time. I wanted to have more to my life than just win/losses, and that created the perfect

situation for me to 'break free' :) College coaching can be like a cult at times! I really wanted to have my own life and time back." (Division I assistant basketball coach)

Gender discrimination: "I felt threatened in the work place by another assistant coach (male)." (Division I assistant basketball coach)

No longer enjoyed coaching: "Stagnancy - I was no longer improving as a coach. I felt as though I was losing many of the skills/characteristics that initial inspired me to coach and made me who I am - passion, enthusiasm, motivation, ability to inspire." (Division I assistant lacrosse coach)

Homophobia: "I am a lesbian. I got tired of being minimized as a leader, and accused of not understanding what a family is all about by my competitors during the recruiting process." (Division I head basketball coach)

### ***Additional Open-end Responses Related to Patriarchy***

"Women college coaches don't get rehired with the exception of a few cases." (Division III head basketball coach)

"I don't regret coaching but wish there had been a better support system of women coaches so one could figure out how to have a family while meeting the demands of coaching. I couldn't figure out how to do both and that is my only regret." (Division III head swimming and diving coach)

"I grew weary of being in a male dominated, male model of sport. I did not feel valued and was tired of feeling 'less than.' It does get old! The discrimination in athletics towards women and gay women is still very strong. It's hard on one's spirit." (Division II head basketball coach)

"I think homophobia is still a big problem for coaches and players. Some coaches use what they 'think' about coaches, teams to negative recruit. Many players feel frightened about being labeled (whether they are gay or not). This puts a lot of pressure on coaches, particularly women. No one seems willing to take this issue up - and I am saddened by that." (Division I head basketball coach)

"Yes, when hired at my last position there were 2 openings (1 for the 1st assistant, the other for the 2nd assistant). I was offered the 2nd asst. position despite having more professional experience than the candidate who was offered the top assistant position. I came to learn the reason for this was because HE was male, had a fiancé and needed to support her. I was single and therefore should be the 2nd assistant - there were many points beyond this in which as a female I was treated differently than my male counterpart - both by our AD and our head coach. Overall, I felt I was treated with less respect and not seen/viewed as strongly as my male counterpart." (Division I assistant basketball coach)

"The 20 years that I had coached, there was no change in supporting female coaches. Lack of support systems, limited role models, and unfairness compared to

male coaches. In the end, it comes down to not being worth the time anymore. Very unfortunate, but happening all over the country.” (Division I head volleyball coach)