5-2017

Exploring the Masculine Domain of Professional Football: Perceptions of Credibility of Female Coaches in the NFL

Morgan Elizabeth Tadlock
Clemson University, mtadloc@clemson.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_theses

EXPLORING THE MASCULINE DOMAIN OF PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL:
PERCEPTIONS OF CREDIBILITY OF FEMALE COACHES IN THE NFL

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
Communication, Technology, and Society

by
Morgan Elizabeth Tadlock
May 2017

Accepted by:
Dr. Bryan Denham, Committee Chair
Dr. Erin Ash
Dr. Angela Pratt

ABSTRACT

Previous research shows that females are underrepresented in the masculine domain of sport. More specifically, the hyper-masculine domain of professional football has presented women with much resistance when trying to enter the industry. Hegemonic masculinity has some responsibility for maintaining this resistance. The current study uses the lens of hegemonic masculinity to explore the space of professional football and its progression toward equality for females. Despite the first full-time female coach being hired by the Buffalo Bills in 2016, very little research exists on the topic. This study aims to add to the existing conversation on hegemonic masculinity and females in sport in order for readers to understand perceptions of credibility of females in the arena of professional football. The researcher conducted an online survey to measure credibility perceptions, gathering responses from a total of 148 participants. Spearman correlation tests as well as ANOVA and ANCOVA procedures revealed that while gender of a coach does predict credibility, gender of respondent, political ideology of respondent, or level of competitive sport played by respondent is not significant in predicting credibility. The study offers limitations as well as directions for future research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

On January 20, 2016, the Buffalo Bills made history by hiring Kathryn Smith, the National Football League's (NFL) first female full-time coach. Smith had been visible in the Bills organization, as she had served as an administrative assistant to head coach Rex Ryan. Her new role as an assistant coach would involve working with the Bills' special-teams' unit as an assistant to special teams' coordinator Danny Crossman (Rodak, 2016). In a news conference introducing Smith, Ryan said, "I hired Kathryn because I know she'll do a tremendous job. She's all about the team and how she can help." He went on to say, "I recognize the significance of the hire, but it was all about getting someone good in that role" (Bergman, 2016).

While it is not unusual to observe men coaching women's sports, women coaching men's sports seems almost nonexistent. Acosta and Carpenter (2014) noted that the percentage of women coaching men's sports in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has remained steady across time, between 2% and 3.5%, the same percentage that existed before the passage of the Title IX legislation. While studies have reviewed underrepresentation (e.g. Acosta & Carpenter, 2004, Sartore & Cunningham, 2007), minimal literature exists on the more specific topic of females coaching in the masculine space of American football. Therefore, using the hiring of the Bills' coach Smith, this research looks at perceptions of credibility when a female enters the masculine domain of professional football as a full-time coach.

Regarding methodology, the researcher used an online experiment using a survey instrument to gather quantitative data regarding perceptions of credibility. The data collected through the survey was analyzed through the lens of hegemony theory, specifically the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 1995, p. 77). The survey was distributed through the researcher's personal social networking site (SNS). Facebook, the preferred SNS for snowball sampling, allows a researcher to communicate, directly and indirectly, quickly and easily with a broad range of "friends" on the site (Bhutta, 2012). At the conclusion of this study, the researcher gains a better understanding of the general public's perceptions of credibility surrounding females entering sport and more specifically, the masculine domain of American professional football.

Background

Title IX and Women's Athletics

With the landmark passage of the Title IX legislation in 1972, gender discrimination in all educational settings, including athletics, became illegal. Title IX is a federal law that was enacted to combat gender inequities that existed in secondary schools and higher education. While some institutions in the U.S. were progressing towards giving more rights to women, educational institutions were still not treating women and men equally. Intercollegiate and interscholastic sport opportunities, and financial support for women and women's sports programs, appeared inadequate. Title IX played a significant role in requiring colleges and schools to provide equal access and opportunity for girls and women in education and athletics (Yiamouyiannis, 2010). This

gave rise to a significant increase in women in sport (Messner, 1988). In 1972, the number of female athletes playing National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) sports was under 30,000. This number had swollen to approximately 200,000 by the year 2011 (Title IX and Athletics, 2012). In the 2015-2016 Participation Study by the NCAA, they found that there were 214,086 total female athletes participating in NCAA sports and 278,445 total male athletes participating in NCAA sports (Irick, 2016)

Another area of sport that has seen a rise of female athletes is the Olympics. In the 1960 Rome Olympics, less than 12% of all competing athletes were women. At the 2008 Beijing Games, this number had increased to approximately 42%. At the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio, that number climbed to 45%, with the United States women taking home more medals than the U.S. men (Myre, 2016). Internationally, women competing and coaching in elite sports has clearly become a more accepted practice.

Women in Athletic Leadership Roles

The statistics cited in the previous section show an increase in women as participants of sport, but when it comes to women in leadership positions in collegiate and professional sports, the percentages are considerably lower. It is important to understand how the general public perceives women in leadership roles in collegiate and professional sport, as this understanding can provide insight into why just one day after the announcement of Kathryn Smith's hiring, ESPN writer Mike Rodak (2016) published an article detailing five attributes about Smith that explained why she was hired by the Buffalo Bills organization. The attributes listed included her previous experience within the organization, her background in scouting and personnel, her work with a collegiate

men's basketball team, the duties of the individual she replaced, and the history of females within the Bills organization. The detailing of these attributes justified for mass audiences the hiring of a female coach in the NFL, something that may have been deemed unnecessary in the instance of a male hiring announcement.

Aside from Smith's hiring, several other women have entered the world of men's sport in different capacities in recent years. For example, in 2014, the San Antonio Spurs hired Becky Hammon as an assistant coach. Hammon served as an assistant coach for the Spurs during 2014 and then as the head coach for the Spurs' 2015 Summer League team (Harper, 2014). Also in the summer of 2015, the NBA's Sacramento Kings hired assistant coach Nancy Lieberman. Before she was hired by the Kings, Lieberman was with the NBA's Dallas Mavericks' Developmental League team (McCauley, 2015). The NFL hired its first female assistant coaching intern in Jen Welter. Welter worked for with the Arizona Cardinals inside linebackers during the 2015 preseason and training camp (Weinfuss, 2015). Sarah Thomas, the NFL's first female full-time official, made her debut in the world of men's professional football when she officiated a game in September of 2016 between the Kansas City Chiefs and the Houston Texans (Fox, 2015).

Major League Baseball has also hired several females since 2015. The Oakland Athletics, for their 2015 instructional league, hired Justine Siegal as the first female coach on a Major League Baseball team (Axisa, 2015). Similarly, the Seattle Mariners hired Amanda Hopkins as a full-time scout. When asked about the hire, scouting director Tom McNamara said, "We didn't make a big deal out of it, and the reason we didn't was because she fits right in" (Feldman, 2016).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Hegemony

While females are beginning to crack the glass ceiling that exists in the hyper-masculine domain of sport, concerns and perceptions come alongside the progression. With females aspiring to work in leadership roles in sports organizations, it is important to study the issues and perceptions that women face when entering this male-dominated field. The current research is grounded conceptually in hegemony, and more specifically, hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemony, as described in Gramsci's (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* is the concept of the creation and maintenance of domination by the ruling class through literal and ideological forces. Members of the ruling class and the subordinate class consent to this established hierarchy due to the means of persuasion and enforcement used by the dominant group (Walker & Sartore-Baldwin, 2013). Hegemony includes persuasion of a large part of society through media and social institutions in ways that appear common and usual (Donaldson, 1993). Hegemony does not assume violence, although it can include it, but instead it implies a hierarchy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In hegemonic order, a system of values function in our subconscious as rational and sometimes unchangeable. This system of values is not always achieved through social control but rather by an organization of practices and allocations of our energy toward understanding

the relationship of man and the world (Whitson, 1984). It was through the theory of hegemony that the concept of *hegemonic masculinity* began to take shape.

Numbers of female athletes in collegiate and professional sport, or just the common appearance of more women entering the masculine domain of sport may suggest that females have overcome the boundaries of hegemony, but the strategies and gate keeping practices that exist to protect the domain convey that hegemony is still present (Mean & Kassing, 2008). It was not until 2012 that Augusta National Golf Club, home of the Masters, allowed women access to membership (Crouse, 2012). The highly criticized all-male membership club was just one example of the resistance to women that exists in the hegemonic order of sport. Sport is swayed by society's cultural shifts brought about by movements for change of values and structures. Because of this, changes in patriarchal practice could shift the hegemonic climate of sport (Messner, 2002).

Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is a concept that emerged in the mid-1980s through hegemony theory and continues to underwrite hegemony in the gender order of society as a whole (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity refers to the "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, 1995, p. 77). It is a concept that allows men's dominance over women to continue. The concept of hegemonic masculinity does not pertain to all men, but it is nevertheless important to study (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

A hegemonically masculine male is independent, heterosexual, commanding, and impassive; a version of "male" that is typically celebrated in Western society (Denham, 2010). Many researchers have used the concept of hegemonic masculinity to study sport context. Because sport exists as a social institution, it is seemingly impossible to assert that the structure of sport is not interwoven with power relations and social values (Messner, 1992) linked to hegemonic masculinity. The physical strength and aggression of modern sport legitimatizes masculine domination. It also bonds men by providing a manner by which to claim their "manhood" (Messner, 1992). Sport exists as a masculine context in which hegemonic masculinity assigns females to a subordinate group. Messner (2002) claims that sport historically constructs hegemonic masculinity as supremacy over femininity. Because of hegemonic masculinity, a warrior, or masculine narrative is publicly praised in sport. Society, as well as sports media, reinforces the patriarchal structure by communicating that males are more informed, physically stronger, and overall better sport leaders and participants than females (Messner, 1992). In saying that a particular form of masculinity is hegemonic one is claiming, "that its cultural exaltation stabilizes the gender order as a whole. To be culturally exalted, the pattern of masculinity must have exemplars who are celebrated as heroes" (Connell, 1990, p. 90). Resistance to change and reminiscence are both factors in the formation and maintenance of hegemonic masculinity in the sport context, specifically professional football. Positioning past athletes and coaches as the normative disassembles any counter argument for athletes and sport in the present (Denham, 2010).

Hegemonic masculinity confirms the function of males as prominent leaders in both women's and men's sport (Walker & Sartore-Baldwin, 2013). The domination aids in the marginalization of females in their attempts to flourish in masculine institutions such as sport (Antunovic & Hardin, 2012). The masculine institutional arrangements of sport have become so engrained in culture that they appear to be indisputable and expected. Today, it is easy to see that boys' youth teams always have the priority to practice venues, high school football teams have the highest status, and coaches of men's collegiate sports have higher salaries than coaches of the women's teams (Messner, 2002). Contact sports, in particular football, function as an ''endlessly renewed symbol of masculinity'' (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 833). A study by Whisenant, Pedersen, and Obenour (2002) found that hegemonic masculinity was deeply rooted within National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) sports. Looking at the numbers of women in athletic administration at the college level, men dominate the NCAA Division I positions while women are more present in the lower level NCAA universities. The hiring of Kathryn Smith as a professional football coach presents a unique and great opportunity to understand how hegemonic masculinity may or may not influence perceptions of credibility of female coaches of professional sport.

"Sport is an expression of the sociocultural system in which it occurs" (Creedon, 1994, p. 4). The perception that females are not qualified to hold leadership positions in the masculine domain of sport stems from the gender norms of the industry (Hardin & Whiteside, 2012). Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) defined gender norms as "social expectations for appropriate behaviors of men as compared to women." Evidence

suggests that men's attitudes about gender norms and the preservation of these norms in institutions, such as sport, are directly related to their behaviors (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Though many studies reveal the importance of gender identity in sport, modern research has looked at the powerfulness of organized sport as a cultivating landscape for male superiority and dominance (Messner, 2007). Participation in sport contributes to an athlete adopting the traits of masculinity that are reinforced within an athletic environment. These attributes include but are not limited to, competitiveness, aggressiveness, power, and strength (Steinfeldt, Carter, Zakrajsek, & Steinfeldt, 2011).

Wellard (2009) sums up the concept of masculinity in sport in his book *Sport, Masculinities, and the Body*. He asserts that, "It is the perceived understanding of traditional, 'natural' version of masculinity which dominates sport and continues to hold immense power" (Wellard, 2009, p. 14). When analyzing the hyper masculine domain of professional football it is evident that being a male in Western society is accompanied with privilege. Professional football is a space where women are denied the access to be a player in the game, therefore communicating the idea that women are less qualified or powerful than men (Creedon, 1994). Televised football focuses much attention on the violence and physicality of the male athletes, while also paying attention to the extreme feminine nature of the cheerleaders, dancers, and sideline reporters. This focus helps to reiterate the hegemonic masculinity that is present in professional football (Denham, 2004). Results from a quantitative analysis that looked at how elite female athletes want to be portrayed in endorsement campaigns showed that females want to be shown for their athletic competence rather than in a feminine manner (Fink, Kane, & LaVoi, 2014.)

Because the pressure to conform to sport culture's gender norms is present at a young age, youth sports are an interesting landscape to explore. Messner (2000) discusses the position of "team mom" that many women play in youth sports leagues. The team mom is a parent who provides snacks, organizational assistance, and emotional support for the athletes. This role confirms the division of labor that exists in gender norms. It positions the female as belonging in the home. Messner (2000) goes on to study youth soccer team names in this same realm of gender norms of sport culture. He looked at over 150 team names from male and female youth soccer teams and coded them into the following categories: sweet names, neutral names, or power names. Male teams almost always chose a power name while leaving the sweet and neutral names to the female athletes (Messner, 2000). Sport is an instrumental environment where values and behaviors that are important aspects of masculinity in American society, such as competitiveness and toughness, are cultivated among boys. This creates strong gender expectations for those participating or working in the sport domain (Steinfeldt et al., 2012).

While most would agree that women and men conform to gender norms from an early age, many do not realize the connection between these gender roles and its role in creating a gender hierarchy. Existing social hierarchies have established women as "other than" or "less than" their male counterparts and these gender norms continue to shape the masculinity that exists in sport (Creedon, 1994). Sport is about physical activity and therefore produces a space that promotes standards of male physicality, muscularity, and excellence. This represents power and dominance over the "other," or

females. (Creedon, 1994). Sport, professional football in particular, requires participants to bear the pain and avoid showing weakness. Players are expected to "shake it off" and to not show emotion in order to uphold the hyper masculinity of the violent sport of football (Denham, 2010).

Even though Title IX legislation prevents those in power from excluding women in sport, the power structure and masculinity that is visibly apparent in this domain does not willingly embrace a social change that presents a challenge to male power and privilege (Creedon, 1994).

Females in Sport

Messner (2002) argues that sport was a core, patriarchal institution just a generation ago, but with the large growth of female's athletic participation, sport is now more internally challenged while retaining its position in gender relations. Today, gendered meanings are encoded in various cultural symbols such as team colors, uniforms, songs, and team names (Messner, 2002). According to young females in speaking about their transition to adulthood, becoming a woman meant that sport participation was of minimal importance in their lives. They noted that this idea derived from the gender norms they had learned while growing up (Coakley & White, 1992). With sport participation a low priority, they were directed toward activities that reaffirmed femininity. Contrary to their experience was that of men, who noted they were expected to participate in sport, as it was a confirmation of their manhood (Coakley & White, 1992). Through participation in sport, women construct their athletic identity by the gender norm standards of masculinity while still maintaining traits of femininity

that are desirable to society. Women report the difficulty of conforming to gender norms of being a female combined with the standards of participation in sport (Steinfeldt, Carter, Zakrajsek, & Steinfeldt, 2011). Long before the passage of Title IX, limitations were placed on women through differences in women and men's sports (Cain, 2000). For example, in 1938 the basketball court for women's basketball was divided into three court divisions with players not being allowed to leave their designated area. Physical contact and guarding of the shooter was banned. Rules confined women to a half court size to limit their motion and physical exercise (Cain, 2000).

While female participation in sport has been met with challenges throughout history, the passage of Title IX in 1972 allowed for female participation in sport to drastically increase (Title IX and Athletics, 2012). The Title IX legislation requires that "schools treat the sexes equally with regard to participation opportunities, athletic scholarships, and the benefits and services provided to male and female teams. It does not require that schools spend the same amount on both sexes, nor has it resulted in reduced opportunities for boys and men to play sports" (Title IX and Athletics, 2012, p. 7). Although this legislation requires that schools provide equal opportunity for both sexes, female participation rates still lag behind those of male athletes. In 2015, data collected by the NCAA research staff showed that women made up 43.4% of the total student athlete population of 482,533. (Schwarb, 2015). Researchers who studied attitudes of sports information directors on Title IX and women's sports found a high level of agreement that men's and women's sports should have equal resources. However, few agreed that women's sports deserve more resources than what they currently have

(Hardin, Whiteside, & Ash, 2012). Similarly, Burton, Grappendorf, and Henderson (2011) studied the perceptions held by 150 NCAA Division I athletic administrators regarding the hire of a female athletic director. They found that the participants in their quantitative study agreed that a female candidate is less likely to be selected for a position of athletic director.

The Title IX legislation only pertains to sport in educational institutions. Therefore, the media and professional sport are not bound by the same equal opportunity rules. In regards to sport media, a study in 1991 that focused on television air time found that 92% of television time was given to men's sports while only 5% was allotted to women's sports. Similarly, when looking at newspaper columns, there were 28.8 times as many column inches dedicated to men-only sports than women-only sports (Duncan et al., 1991). Moving forward more than twenty years, a study conducted by Rightler-McDaniels in 2014 found that male high school athletes received 61.6% of overall newspaper coverage while female high school athletes received the remaining 38.4% of newspaper coverage. During a six-week span in 2014, researchers found that ESPN's "Sportscenter" devoted only 2% of its highlight programming to women's sports (Taibi, 2015). In 2009 researchers found that the scrolling ticker text bar at the bottom of the screen on "Sportscenter" displayed coverage of women's sports only 2.7% of the time during their broadcasts. Although this is higher than the percentage of women's sports in their main broadcast, this number is down 5.8% from the ticker time dedicated to women's sports in 2004 (Cooky et al., 2013). In analysis of media coverage of global sporting events such as the Olympics where men's and women's professional sports are

on display, researchers have found that discrepancies still exist in the amount and manner in which commentators speak about male and female athletes (Billings et al., 2015). In an analysis of the 2012 Beijing Olympic Games, Billings et al. (2015) found that female athletes competing in inherently "feminine" sports such as gymnastics, swimming, and beach volleyball received more coverage; however, the coverage was still more likely to be filled with comments regarding their appearance than the coverage of their male counterparts.

Female professional sports receive a significantly lower amount of attention than men's professional sports. In an article published by *Time Magazine* (2015), it was noted that the 2015 Women's World Cup final was the highest rated televised broadcast of a soccer game in the United States. Nevertheless, the National Women's Soccer League struggles to attract the same level of attention as that of the men's league, Major League Soccer. This same struggle holds true for many other women's professional sports leagues (e.g. Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) and National Pro Fastpitch). Sexist attitudes and gendered stereotypes may be to blame for the lack of interest in women's sports (Berri, 2015). However, it is argued that even if women's sports leagues were fully supported by the media and sexist attitudes or gendered stereotypes did not exist, these leagues are in their infancy and would still need time to grow (Berri, 2015).

Underrepresentation of Females in Coaching

"The message in the 1930s was clear: Women are biologically destined to tend to the business of housework, childbearing, and childrearing" (Messner, 1992, p. 17).

While this message has diminished since the 1930s, it is important to recognize the structures that have shaped leadership positions today. The underrepresentation of women in the coaching profession directly mirrors the underrepresentation of women in senior level positions in corporate America (Menaker & Walker, 2013). Workplace discrimination in executive positions, often times a product of hegemonic masculinity, is common for 21st century America (Meneker & Walker, 2013). More specifically, in 2014 women represented roughly 47% of the total workforce in America (EEOC, 2014). However, of the over 24 million women in the workforce, only approximately 240,000 hold upper-level leadership (EEOC, 2014). Similar research and descriptive statistics are confirmation that women are still underrepresented in the workforce, particularly in the world of sport.

As mentioned earlier, the passage of the Title IX legislation in 1972 paved the way for females in sport. Still, the equality between men and women in sport is seen as a goal of the future. Messner (2007) argues that females' presence in sport and their pursuit of success in the industry presents a challenge to the male hegemony of sport. According to Acosta and Carpenter (2012), in 2012 males filled 97% of coaching positions in men's intercollegiate sports, while females held the remaining 3%. Kilty (2006) noted that in 2006 females held 56.7% of paid assistant coaching positions within women's NCAA athletics. This is compared with less than 2% of females coaching in men's NCAA athletics. As previously mentioned, it is much more common to see females in leadership positions within lower level NCAA programs. This holds true with Kilty's observation that only 8.7% of Division I programs in 2006 had a female athletic director while the

Division II and Division III percentages sat at 16.9% and 27.5%, respectively. In a study

by The Tucker Center at the University of Minnesota (2016), researchers documented the

decline of female coaches of women's NCAA Division I collegiate teams in the United

States from 1972 to 2014. In 1972 women coached approximately 90% of women's

collegiate teams. That number had fallen to only 45% by 2014. The researchers also

found that in a little over half of all head coaching position turnovers, a male was hired

(LaVoi, 2016). Statistics show that male athletes are rarely coached by women, that

women do not hold positions such as athletic directors, and that male athletes rarely work

for women because very seldom are they in the position of team owner (Smith & Cooper,

2010). Generally, male athletes spend insufficient time with women who could be seen

as their equal in the domain of sport, but instead typically interact with women whose

function is to serve them (e.g. administrative assistants, cheerleaders, or groupies) (Smith

& Cooper, 2010).

Kilty (2006) reviewed the challenges that female coaches face while also

presenting strategies to address these challenges. In her study, she classified issues of

external and internal barriers that interfere with females' professional development into

four categories. The external barriers included, "unequal assumption of competence,

hiring from a principle of similarity, homophobia, and lack of female mentors" (Kilty,

2006, p. 224). More specifically, participants alluded to the unequal assumption of

competence category with statements concerning male coaches automatically being

labeled as more competent than a female coach. Females also alluded to the need to

always prove themselves as capable of being a coach rather than being acknowledged by

16

their credentials. Proving themselves is a theme that holds true across different studies. For example, one of Walker and Sartore-Baldwin's (2013) male participants suggested that "if a woman steps into that [coaching position in men's basketball], she would be under a microscope" (p. 310). Participants in Kilty's (2006) study said they felt that they have been rejected from leadership opportunities because of their womanhood when trying to enter a male dominated space. However, if they are given the opportunity, the athletes' assessment of them, as a female coach, will be blurred by their environment, their past experiences, and their personal biases that have been cultivated from a young age. They will judge a female coach against their standards of femininity and acceptable femininity in the sport arena (LeDrew & Zimmerman, 1994).

Basketball is accepted and classifiable as both a male and female sport (Walker & Sartore-Baldwin, 2013). Females are nearly invisible in the position of head coach of a men's college basketball team and serve as assistant coaches on only 3.5% of men's college basketball coaching staffs. Vastly different are those statistics of men in the position of head coach of women's college basketball. Females occupy 40.2% of head coaching positions in women's NCAA athletics (Barrett, 2016). Walker and Sartore-Baldwin (2013) explored the issue of the underrepresentation of women in men's collegiate basketball through the lens of hegemonic masculinity and institutionalization. They interviewed eight male participants from both men's and women's college basketball in different geographic regions of the United States. Major themes that emerged from their research were, masculinity and culture, access and opportunity, institutionalized norms, and impermeable, cognitive institution (Walker & Sartore-

Baldwin, 2013). Interestingly, because of the gender norms in sport culture and the

hyper-masculinity associated with men's college basketball, participants said they felt

that the gender barriers confronted by females aspiring to enter the male domain was

"just part of society" (Walker & Sartore-Baldwin, 2013, p. 310). This institutionalized

norm gives way to the final theme that emerged, the impermeable, cognitive institution.

Participants recalled being blindsided by the discussion of females in men's college

basketball. One participant in particular stated, "It's something you don't even think

about because it doesn't exist. It's not even like it's rare, it's nonexistent at the Division I

level" (Walker & Sartore-Baldwin, 2013, p. 311). Hattery (2010), argues that although

women may be gaining more access to sport in the positions of participant or coach, it is

also becoming important for men to remind them that they are still only women and

therefore place a focus on gender differences.

Because sport is gendered as a masculine domain, it is assumed that women are

not qualified to hold coaching positions in sport. This can cause much resistance to

females attempting to work their way into the industry (Whiteside & Hardin, 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity plays a role in perpetuating this resistance for females entering

the masculine domain of sport. While there are some, but few, females working in upper

level management of popular men's professional sports, there are even fewer working in

a coaching capacity. While not nearly as inequitable and coaching of men's sports,

women's sports are not dominated by women either. Currently less than half of the head

coaches in the WNBA are females (http://www.wnba.com/coaches/). With only a handful

of females coaching men's professional sport, limited literature exists on this topic.

Sanderson and Gramlich (2016) examined Twitter conversations around the hire of the National Basketball Association's first female full-time, paid assistant coach. They found that tweets surrounding her hire fell into three categories: 1) Opening the space for conversation, 2) Offering evidence of sport cultural change, and 3) Expressing resistance to sport cultural change. While many offered words of encouragement and support, some individuals expressed doubt and frustration. Using the hire of Kathryn Smith as a springboard, the author of the current study seeks to uncover perceptions of credibility that may support and expand upon Sanderson and Gramlich's (2016) findings.

Hypotheses

Given the literature reviewed and the topic of this thesis, a quantitative survey analysis will seek to test the following hypotheses:

H1: Gender of a coach in professional football predicts perceived credibility.

H2: Gender of a respondent predicts perceived credibility.

H3: Level of competitive play of respondent predicts perceived credibility.

H4: Political ideology of a respondent predicts perceived credibility.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

In this study, the researcher conducted an online experiment in which participants used their own computer or mobile device to answer questions about the hiring of a female football coach. As the popularity of the Internet increases, more individuals are using the Internet for communication and information (Wright, 2005). The same is true for survey researchers seeking to measure public attitudes. Online survey research is an efficient mode of data collection in quantitative research that accurately measures what participants do and believe (Keyton, 2015).

The researcher's experiment analyzed differences (or lack thereof) between males and females in terms of perceived credibility of male and female coaches in the NFL. Similar to experiments that have been conducted on labor market discrimination (Mullainthan & Bertrand, 2004; Fryer & Levitt, 2004), the researcher sought to uncover any preconceived perceptions of credibility based on gender. Researchers Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) studied labor market discrimination by manipulating perceived race in a standard resume template. They found that individuals with white-sounding names received 50 percent more callbacks for interviews than individuals with distinctively African-American names, even when resumes' contained identical information. For the current study, the researcher manipulated gender using the names Stephanie White and Jon White in a standard press release announcing the hiring of a new full-time assistant coach in the NFL.

Participants

Individuals who were members of one of the groups the researcher is a member of or general Facebook "friends" with the researcher were provided access to a link containing a questionnaire. In an article by Bhutta (2012) on using Facebook as a sampling frame, she noted the following:

"The value of Facebook as a snowball sampling frame extends beyond its size. Equally important is how quickly, easily, and diffusely users communicate information with each other—both directly and indirectly." (p. 6)

For the current study, the participant obtained completed questionnaires from 148 participants. A total of 143 participants completed the gender variable to account for 30 males and 113 females. Race in this study included 89.2% white (n = 132) and 8.8% minority races (n = 14), with two individuals not completing the race variable.

Dependent Variable

Credibility. Drawing from Etling and Young (2008) and Graneheim and Lundman, (2004), the researcher conceptualized credibility as the believability and trustworthiness of a source, more specifically in this case, the coach. The researcher used a credibility scale developed by Newell and Goldsmith (2001), who had drawn from Hovland, et al. (1953) in a study of credibility among corporate sources. The scale included the following Likert statements: *(1) The newly hired coach is qualified to coach in the National Football League; (2) The newly hired coach provides unbiased coaching to the Denver Broncos organization; (3) The newly hired coach can be trusted to provide adequate coaching to professional football players; (4) The newly hired coach demonstrates coaching expertise in the field of professional football; (5) The newly hired*

coach is reliable to provide coaching to professional football players; (6) I believe the

Denver Broncos hired White based on the football knowledge White possesses. The

response options to each statement ranged from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree with

five responses between the two anchors.

A reliability test was performed using SPSS to check the six-item credibility scale

for internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha (α) is a score that measures internal

consistency. Researchers test internal consistency to analyze "whether the test designer

was correct in expecting a certain collection of items to yield interpretable statements

about individual differences" (Cronbach, 1951, p. 297). Cronbach's alpha is expressed as

a number between 0 and 1 with the acceptable values of alpha ranging from 0.70 to 0.95

(Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). For this study, the credibility scale proved reliable with a

Cronbach's alpha score of 0.92. The overall mean for the scale was 30.35 with an overall

standard deviation of 7.43.

Independent Variables

The experiment included multiple independent variables. Respondent gender and

coach gender (as indicated in experimental article) were of primary interest, but the

questionnaire used in the study also gathered information on participant age, race, home

state, political ideology, and involvement in sport. Because the preponderance of

participants were White, the author created a dichotomous race measure as White /

member of racial minority. Political ideology contained the following categories: very

liberal, liberal, moderately liberal, moderate, moderately conservative, conservative, and

very conservative. Highest level of sport played included the following categories: none,

junior varsity, varsity, collegiate, and professional. While respondent gender and gender of coach were categorical variables, both political ideology and highest sport played were used as covariates in factorial analysis of covariance models.

Procedure

To conduct the experiment, the researcher presented one of two paragraphs detailing a new hire of a coach in the NFL to each participant. These paragraphs were identical in content with the insertion of an inherently feminine name and female pronouns in one paragraph and an inherently masculine name combined with male pronouns in the other paragraph. The online software Qualtrics presented the paragraphs at random to participants. Following exposure to the selected paragraph, the participant was presented with a survey instrument. The survey instrument consisted of 12 Likert statements for participants to respond to based on their respective attitudes (McIver & Carmines, 1981). The first six statements formed the credibility scale, while the remaining six statements existed to draw other conclusions among participants.

To test the proposed hypotheses, the researcher distributed a link to the online experiment through her personal Facebook page. The researcher first opened and posted the link to the online experiment on Monday, January 16, 2017, for the initial distribution of the survey. The survey remained active for two weeks following the initial posting. This two-week time frame allowed the researcher to gather enough responses to garner an accurate sample of the total population. The survey went inactive on January 30, 2017. During this two-week period, the researcher continued to sporadically post the link to her personal Facebook page. Several participants also shared the link via personal Facebook

page. The survey took participants no more than 15 minutes to complete. Of participants, 45.3% (n = 67) received the paragraph concerning the hire of a male coach while 54.7% (n = 81) were presented with the paragraph concerning the hire of a female coach. Upon completion of data collection, the survey responses were exported to IBM SPSS for Windows for analysis.

Analytic Strategy

In the Results section, the author first reports descriptive statistics, followed by bivariate analyses and then multivariate analyses. Bivariate analyses included Spearman correlations, and multivariate analyses included a factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) and factorial analysis of covariance (ANCOVA).

A factorial ANOVA, or analysis of variance, is appropriate when the researcher is comparing means across at least two independent variables and one continuous dependent measure. A factorial ANOVA can assume that one or more of the independent variables has a cause-effect relationship on a characteristic in the study ("Conduct and Interpret a Factorial ANOVA").

ANCOVA, or analysis of covariance, is used when pertinent continuous covariates are included. In this case, covariates used for the ANCOVA test were level of competitive sport and political ideology.

An ANOVA model tested gender and gender of coach as predictors of credibility, thus providing answers to Hypotheses 1 and 2. An ANCOVA model included the two categorical factors as well as political ideology and highest sport played. Thus, in effect, the ANCOVA tested the effects of four predictors on the credibility index.

24

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

The researcher gathered 148 completed surveys. As mentioned previously, 143 participants completed the gender variable to account for 30 males and 113 females. Race in this study included 89.2% white (n = 132) and 8.8% minority races (n = 14), with two individuals not completing the race variable. Age for this study ranged from 19 to 76 (n = 147) with one person not completing this variable. The mean age was 34.49 with a standard deviation of 16.49. In regards to the home state question, 147 completed this variable with 60 (40.8%) being from South Carolina, 51 (34.7%) being from North Carolina, and 36 (24.5%) from other states outside of the Carolinas.

Figure 1 shows the percentages of participants who completed the "level of competitive sport played" variable. As shown, a majority of participants selected varsity as the highest level at which they played competitive sport (n = 81). Of the 148 participants who completed the level of competitive sport variable, 2.7% played competitive sport at the professional level (n = 4). Additionally, 13% of participants had no experience playing competitive sport (n = 19), 10.3% of participants played competitive sport at the Junior Varsity level (n = 15), and 18.5% of participants played competitive sport at the collegiate level (n = 27).
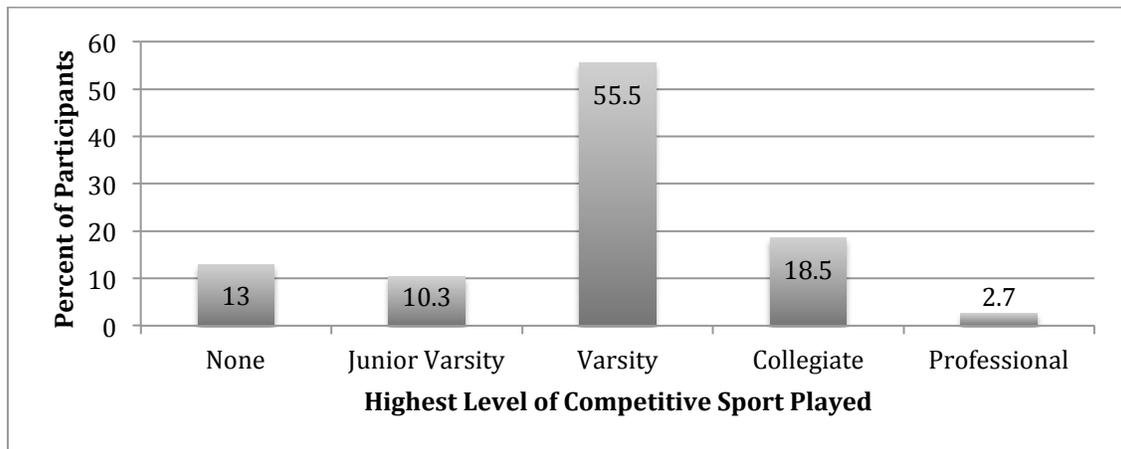
Figure 1: Percentages for participant's highest level of play in competitive sport

Figure 2 displays the percentages at which respondents identified their political views. This was measured on a 7-point scale with the choices Very Liberal, Liberal, Moderately Liberal, Moderate, Moderately Conservative, Conservative, and Very Conservative. As shown in the figure, moderately conservative (n = 30) and conservative (n = 44) were most common indicators among participants. Additionally, Figure 2 shows that only 2.1% of participants indicated their political ideology as very liberal (n = 3). Only 9% of participants indicated their political ideology as very conservative (n = 13). The categories of liberal, moderately liberal, and moderate were all similar in percentages (n = 18, n = 16, n = 20).
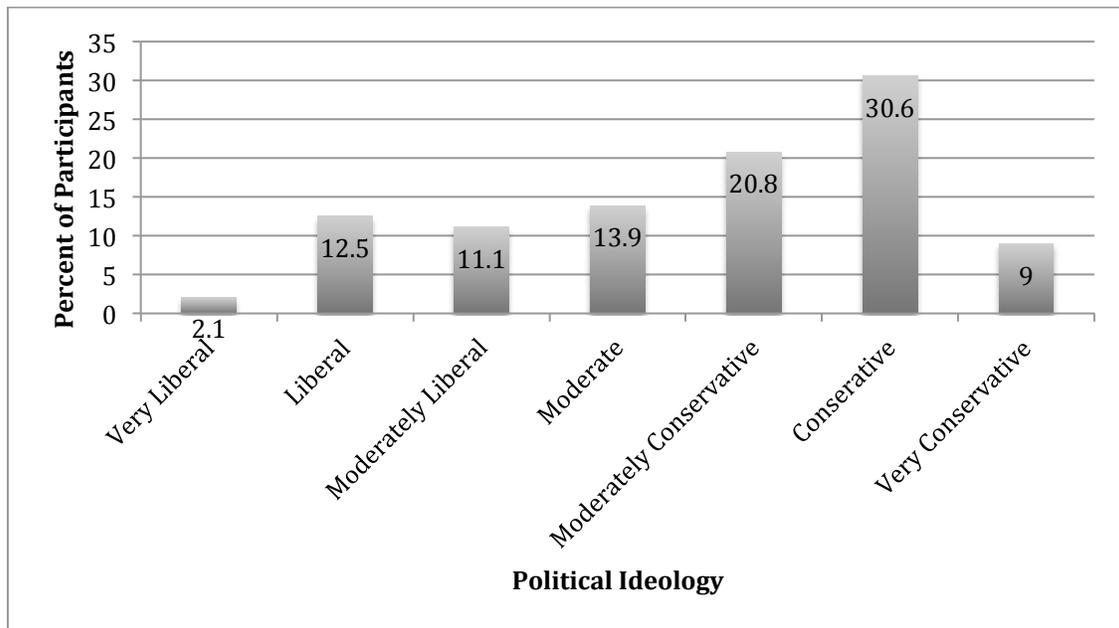
Figure 2: Percentages for participant's political views

Regarding the Likert statements included in this study, Table 1 reports the means and standard deviations for the 12 statements. For the 6 statements on the credibility scale, the statement "The newly hired coach can be trusted to provide adequate coaching to professional football players," accounted for the highest mean score of the statements (M = 5.26, SD = 1.41), meaning that this statement had the highest average score by the most participants. The statement "The newly hired coach provides unbiased coaching to the Denver Broncos organization," produced the lowest mean score of statements included in the credibility scale (M = 4.69, SD = 1.64).

Of the six statements that were not included in the credibility scale, the statement "I support female coaches in the National Basketball Association" accounted for the highest mean (M = 5.52, SD = 1.46). The statement that produced the lowest mean score

of the remaining six statements was "I like to follow women's professional sports" (M = 3.72, SD = 1.54). The large standard deviations of the two statements "I support female coaches in Major League Baseball" and "I support female coaches in the National Football League" (SD = 1.74 and SD = 1.73) indicate more variance about the means of the statements.

Table 1: *Likert Statement Means and Standard Deviations*

Items	M	SD
Qualified to coach in the National Football League	5.24	1.42
Provides unbiased coaching to the Denver Broncos organization	4.69	1.64
Be trusted to provide adequate coaching	5.26	1.41
Demonstrates coaching expertise	4.87	1.44
Reliable to provide coaching	5.19	1.33
Hired White based on the football knowledge White possesses	5.10	1.54
I consider myself a fan of the National Football League	5.41	1.46
I like to follow men's professional sports.	5.52	1.46
I like to follow women's professional sports.	3.72	1.54
I support female coaches in the National Basketball Association.	5.54	1.36
I support female coaches in Major League Baseball.	5.02	1.74
I support female coaches in the National Football League.	5.06	1.73

Bivariate Analyses

The researcher chose to run Spearman correlations (ρ) because some of the variables were technically measured at the ordinal level. Additionally, some of the measures contained significant skews. The Spearman correlation matrix shown in Table 2 revealed many significant relationships. Based on the findings from the correlation analysis, males tend to follow men's professional sports ($\rho = -.17^*$). As expected, the correlation between those who considered themselves fans of the NFL and those who followed men's professional sport was highly positive ($\rho = .62^{**}$). Still positive, but less so, was the correlation between those who are fans of the NFL and those who follow women's professional sports ($\rho = .22^{**}$).

Continuing through the correlation matrix, the researcher found that conservatives are less likely to support female coaches in the NBA, MLB, and NFL. More specifically, the researcher found conservatives were highly opposed to females coaching the in NFL ($\rho = -.39^{**}$, $\rho = -.39^{**}$, $\rho = -.44^{**}$).

The researcher also found that playing at a high level of competitive sport has a significant positive correlation with support for females coaching in the NFL ($\rho = .21^*$).

In regards to race, people of minority races were also shown to be supportive of female coaches in the NBA, MLB, and the NFL ($\rho = -.20^*$, $\rho = -.22^{**}$, $\rho = -.25^{**}$).

Females are more supportive of female coaches in the National Basketball Association, Major League Baseball, and the National Football League ($\rho = .17^*$, $\rho = .21^*$, $\rho = .18^*$). Those who support female coaches in the NBA also tend to support female coaches in MLB and the NFL ($\rho = .79^{**}$, $\rho = .71^{**}$).

Table 2. *Spearman Bivariate Correlations*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
1. Gender	1.0												
2. Race	.14	1.0											
3. Age	-.01	.02	1.0										
4. Politics	-.21*	.35**	.16	1.0									
5. Level of Competitive Sports Play	-.21*	-.17*	-.29**	-.15	1.0								
6. Gender of Coach	.01	.07	-.05	-.01	-.01	1.0							
7. Fan of NFL	-.12	-.06	.11	-.01	-.00	.05	1.0						
8. Follow Men's Professional Sport	-.17*	-.12	-.07	-.03	.13	-.00	.62**	1.0					
9. Follow Women's Professional Sport	.13	-.05	.23**	-.17*	-.11	-.07	.22**	.18*	1.0				
10. Support Females in the NBA	.17*	-.20*	-.13	-.39**	.09	.07	.15	.18*	.31**	1.0			
11. Support Females in the MLB	.21*	-.22**	-.04	-.39**	.12	.13	.17*	.17*	.30**	.79**	1.0		
12. Support Females in the NFL	.18	-.25**	-.12	-.44**	.21*	.16	.14	.09	.26**	.71**	.85**	1.0	
13. Credibility	.15	-.05	-.01	-.12	-.14	.23**	.19*	.17*	.14	.24**	.30**	.28**	1.0

** $p < .01$ (2-tailed)
* $p < .05$ (2-tailed)

Multivariate Analyses

In this study, the independent variables by which the research compared means were gender of coach, respondent gender, political ideology, and level of competitive sport. In the first ANOVA the test of assumption of equal variances was not significant, meaning the variances were statistically equal ($p = .12$).

Hypothesis 1 stated, "Gender of a coach in professional football predicts perceived credibility." As Table 3 shows, the researcher found that hypothesis 1 was supported and shows that gender of a coach is a significant predictor of perceived credibility because the significance level was found to be $p < .05$. With this variable being significant, it is important to note that female coaches scored higher in credibility than male coaches in this study (M = 31.80, M = 27.23). In the factorial ANOVA conducted for this study, the researcher found the mean for males who read the paragraph concerning the hire of a male coach was 24.57 with a standard deviation of 9.57. Males who read the paragraph about the hire of a female coach reported a mean of 29.69 and a standard deviation of 9.41. Females who read the paragraph detailing the hire of the male coach reported a mean score of 29.94 and a standard deviation of 5.82. Females who read the paragraph concerning the hire of a female coach reported a mean of 31.97 and a standard deviation of 7.01.

Hypothesis 2 was, "Gender of a respondent predicts perceived credibility." While the main effect did prove to be statistically significant ($p = .02$), the researcher believed that this hypothesis was best answered by the interaction between gender of respondent

31

and gender of coach; however, the interaction was not statistically significant ($p = .39$),

thus H2 was not supported.

Table 3: *ANOVA Results*

Source	df	F	p
Gender of Coach	1	4.05	.05
Gender of Respondent	1	4.05	.02
Interaction of Coach Gender & Respondent Gender	1	.74	.39

     The ANCOVA conducted for this study included the two initial categorical

variables and also used level of competitive sport and politics as covariates to test

hypothesis 3 and 4. It is important to note that the values for the first three sources listed

in the table are slightly different from the values in the ANOVA results because of the

addition of the two covariates.

Table 4: *ANCOVA Results*

Source	df	F	p
Gender of Coach	1	4.25	.04
Gender of Respondent	1	2.13	.15
Interaction of Coach Gender & Respondent Gender	1	.55	.46
Level of Sport	1	1.00	.32
Political Ideology	1	1.24	.27

Hypothesis 3 stated, "Level of competitive play of respondent predicts perceived credibility." The test confirmed what was in the correlation matrix; the hypothesis was not significant ($p = .32$). Hypothesis 4 stated, "Political ideology of respondent predicts perceived credibility." The test also confirmed what was shown in the correlation matrix. The hypothesis was not supported at the $<.01$ or $<.05$ level ($p = .27$). With the next chapter, the thesis turns to a discussion of its quantitative results.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

This study offers findings about perceptions of credibility of females coaching in the National Football League. While some research has been conducted on females coaching in men's professional sports, little literature exists on the specific topic of females coaching in the hyper-masculine domain of professional football. Because professional football is such a hyper-masculine domain, females are met with much resistance while attempting to work their way up the ladder (Whiteside & Hardin, 2012). With the Buffalo Bills hiring Kathryn Smith as the first full-time female coach in the NFL, the results of this study are important for understanding how the public perceives females entering this domain.

Theoretically speaking, hegemonic masculinity helps to maintain the resistance within the industry. Messner (2002) argues that sport traditionally constructs hegemonic masculinity as rule over femininity. Because of hegemonic masculinity, the masculine narrative is publicly praised in sport. In looking at the content analysis of Twitter conversations conducted by Sanderson and Gramlich (2016), many users offered words of encouragement and support, but some individuals articulated hegemonic masculinity through their tweets expressing doubt and frustration with the hire of the NBA's first female full-time, paid assistant coach. One could argue that a female coach in the NBA could be perceived as credible because she played the sport at a high level. Because females entering the NFL coaching ranks do not have the same opportunity to play the

sport that they will be coaching, the results of this study are unique to existing literature

on hegemonic masculinity and the underrepresentation of females in coaching.

Concerning the descriptive statistics, many of the correlations found by the

researcher were anticipated. For example, the researcher assumed that females would be

more supportive of female coaches in the National Basketball Association, Major League

Baseball, and the National Football League. Likewise, the researcher assumed that those

who support female coaches in the NBA would also support female coaches in MLB and

the NFL. Also expected was that conservatives are less likely to support female coaches

in those organizations with conservatives being highly opposed to females coaching the

in NFL. After researching political ideology broken down by race, the researcher knew

that minority races lean more towards the liberal end of the spectrum (Smith, 2005), thus

it was not surprising to find that people of minority races were shown to be more

supportive of female coaches in the NBA, MLB, and the NFL. The researcher found that

those who played competitive sport at a high level were supportive of females coaching

in the NFL. Assuming that these individuals know what it takes to coach at this level,

this interaction was a unique and progressive find for this study.

Regarding hypothesis 1, "gender of a coach in professional football predicts

perceived credibility," the data supported this hypothesis at the < .05 level. The

significance score of .05 shows that gender is a predictor of credibility meaning that

credibility is in fact dependent on the gender of the coach in the NFL. Intriguingly,

female coaches scored higher than male coaches in perceived credibility showing that

people felt female coaches were more credible than male coaches in the NFL (M = 31.80, M = 27.23).

Hypothesis 2 concerning gender of respondent predicting perceived credibility of a coach in the NFL was best answered with the interaction of the gender of respondent and the gender of coach. While the significance level of .39 did not support the hypothesis, this interaction between the two variables produced trends that are still noteworthy. Contrary to what the researcher assumed before data collection, both male and female respondents perceived female coaches more credible than male coaches. More specifically, female respondents perceived female coaches most credible (M = 33.56) while male respondents perceived male coaches least credible (M = 23.52). The sample, which contained approximately 3.5 times more female respondents than male respondents, could have affected those trends.

Hypothesis 3, which was concerned with respondent's level of competitive play predicting credibility, was not supported. Prior to data collection, the researcher assumed the level of competitive play would have a significant effect on perceived credibility. Although the results did not prove significant, the interaction shown in the Spearman correlation matrix confirmed that those who played competitive sport at a high level were more likely to support females in the NFL. The level of knowledge and experience these individuals have about competitive sport could explain this support for equality among gender of coach.

Lastly, hypothesis 4 stated that political ideology of respondent predicts perceived credibility. While this hypothesis was not supported in predicting perceived credibility,

the results from the Spearman correlation confirmed what the researcher assumed. Considering the current political climate with President Donald Trump elected only a few months prior to data collection for this study and the numerous women's rights protests that surrounded his appointment (Heaney, 2017), the researcher anticipated that those who identified as conservatives would be less likely to support females coaching in the masculine domain of the NBA, MLB, and the NFL.

Limitations

The current study produced significant findings about perceptions of credibility of female coaches in the NFL. However, there were still important limitations that should be discussed. While the researcher's goal for this research was to obtain at least 100 completed surveys, the skew in the gender of respondents may have affected the results. Gathering responses from 113 females and only 30 males could have influenced the results towards a more female-supporting sample.

Additionally, a different sampling technique could have been used to prevent the skew in gender while also gathering a wider range of participants across all demographic variables. As some of the positives of using Facebook as a sampling technique are how quickly and easily the researcher can communicate with participants, it also offers limitations to the sample of the study. Generally, the researcher is Facebook "friends" with individuals who have many of the same characteristics as the researcher. As a female, the researcher may have had more female friends on Facebook who saw the posting about her survey thus garnering more female respondents. Similarly, as a white female, this limitation could explain the skew in race within the sample. The sample for

this study was made up of 89.2% white participants and only 8.8% participants who identified as a minority race.

Likewise, previous research (Correa, Hinsley, & Zuniga, 2010) has shown that females place a greater value on using social media because it forges connections and builds a sense of community. In a study conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2016, researchers found that while men are catching up with women in Facebook use, 83% of women recorded using Facebook and only 75% of men recorded using Facebook (Greenwood, Perrin, & Duggan 2016). Women are more drawn to the use of social media. This limitation could have been overcome by using a different sampling technique in order to gather a more equal number in the gender variable within the sample thus making the sample more representative of the entire population.

Future Research

As this study sought to expand upon the qualitative content analysis conducted by researchers Sanderson and Gramlich (2016), future research could compare the results of the two studies to uncover perceptions across different sports. Differences in perceptions of credibility may exist across basketball and football because of the nature of the two sports and the level of play available to females. While sport as a whole is traditionally considered a masculine domain, football is known to be a hyper-masculine domain that presents resistance to women. Similarly, the WNBA exists as a league for females to compete at the same level as offered for males in the sport of basketball. The NFL does not offer a professional league on the same scale as the NBA. This could influence why people do not perceive females as a credible source of coaching in the NFL. Comparing

results across sport could shine light on the role the actual sport plays in predicting credibility.

The current study used the highest level of competitive play by respondent as an independent variable. While this variable did not significantly predict credibility, it was shown to have a positive correlation with support for females coaching in the NFL. However, the study did not answer why this interaction exists. For future research, researchers could include the gender of coach at the highest level of competitive play for respondents. If respondents have played for a female coach, they may be more likely to support females coaching in all sports.

Lastly, future research could draw upon framing theory to explore the avenue of media coverage of females in the NFL. While Kathryn Smith's stint with the Buffalo Bills only lasted one season due to the dismissal of the entire coaching staff after several disappointing seasons, future research could seek to understand how the media portrays the hire and career of the next full time female coach in the NFL. In conclusion, future research should be conducted similarly to the present study by drawing upon literature that previously exists to offer understanding of hegemonic masculinity and the masculine domain of sport as a whole.

APPENDIX A

Experiment for Participants

A)   On January 20, 2016, the Denver Broncos hired Jon White as a full time assistant to special teams coordinator Danny Crossman. White had been visible in the Broncos organization, as he had served as an administrative assistant to head coach Gary Kubiak. In a news conference introducing the hiring of White, Kubiak said, "I hired Jon because I know he'll do a tremendous job. He's all about the team and how he can help." He went on to say, "I recognize the significance of the hire, but it was all about getting someone good in that role."

<p align="center">OR</p>

B)   On January 20, 2016, the Denver Broncos hired Stephanie White as a full time assistant to special teams coordinator Danny Crossman. White had been visible in the Broncos organization, as she had served as an administrative assistant to head coach Gary Kubiak. In a news conference introducing the hiring of White, Kubiak said, "I hired Stephanie because I know she'll do a tremendous job. She's all about the team and how she can help." He went on to say, "I recognize the significance of the hire, but it was all about getting someone good in that role."

<p align="center">Survey Instrument</p>

Thank you for your participation in this survey. Your identity will remain anonymous and you are free to withdraw at any point. If you have any questions about this survey, please contact Morgan Tadlock at mtadloc@clemson.edu.

Using the following scale, please respond to statements 1-6 based on the facts in the paragraph appearing at the beginning of this questionnaire.

(1) Strongly Disagree   (4) Neutral   (7) Strongly Agree

1. The newly hired coach is qualified to coach in the National Football League.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

2. The newly hired coach provides unbiased coaching to the Denver Broncos organization.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

3. The newly hired coach can be trusted to provide adequate coaching to professional football players.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

4. The newly hired coach demonstrates coaching expertise in the field of professional football.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

5. The newly hired coach is reliable to provide coaching to professional football players.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

6. I believe the Denver Broncos hired White based on the football knowledge White possesses.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

7. I consider myself a fan of the National Football League.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

8. I like to follow men's professional sports.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

9. I like to follow women's professional sports.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

10. I support female coaches in the National Basketball Association.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

11. I support female coaches in Major League Baseball.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

12. I support female coaches in the National Football League.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS

Year Born: _____

Sex: Male   Female

Race: May select more than one category.
____White
____Black/African American
____American Indian/Native Alaskan
____Asian
____Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander
____Two or more race

Hispanic Ethnicity: Yes   No

Abbreviation of Home State: _____

Political Ideology:

Very Liberal   Liberal   Moderately Liberal   Moderate   Moderately Conservative
Conservative

Please indicate the highest level at which you played competitive sport:

None   Junior Varsity   Varsity   Collegiate   Professional

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

WORKS CITED

Acosta, R.V., & Carpenter, L. (2006). *Women in intercollegiate sport: A longitudinal, national study*: *1997-2006. Women in Sport.*

Acosta, R. V., & Carpenter, L. J. (2012). *Women in intercollegiate sport: A longitudinal, national study: Thirty-five year update, 1977-2012.* Brooklyn College.

Acosta, R. V., & Carpenter, L. J. (2014). *Women in intercollegiate sport: A longitudinal, national study: Thirty-seven year update, 1977-2012.* Brooklyn College.

Antunovic, D. & Hardin, M. (2012). Activism in women's sports blogs: Fandom and feminist potention. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 5, 305-322.

Axisa, M. (2015). Athletics hire Justine Siegal, become first team to employ female coach. Retrieved from http://www.cbssports.com/mlb/news/athletics-hire-justine-siegal-become-first-team-to-employ-female-coach/

Barrett, M. C. (2016). There are fewer women coaching in college basketball now than there were a decade ago. Retrieved from https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/there-are-fewer-women-coaches-in-college-basketball-now-than-there-were-a-decade-ago/

Bergman, J. (2016, January 22). Rex Ryan: Kathryn Smith 'all about the team.' Retrieved from http://www.nfl.com/news/story/0ap3000000626933/article/rex-ryan-kathryn-smith-all-about-the-team

Berri, D. (2015, July 6). Here's what it will take for women's sports to grow in the U.S. Retreived from http://time.com/3945762/world-cup-womens-sports/

Bertrand, M. & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than
   Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. An
   American Economic Review, 94(4), 991-1013.

Bhutta, C. B. (2012). Not by the Book: Facebook as a Sampling Frame. *Sociological
   Methods & Research*, 1-32. doi: 10.1177/0049124112440795

Billings, A.C., Angelini, J.R., MacArthur, P.J., Bissell, K., Smith, L.R., & Brown, N.A.
   (2015). Where the gender differences really reside: The "Big Five" sports featured
   in NBC's 2012 London primetime Olympic broadcast. *Communication Research
   Reports, 31*, 141-153.

Burton, L. J., Grappendorf, H., & Henderson, A. (2011). Perceptions of gender in athletic
   administration: Utilizing role congruity to examine (potential) prejudice against
   women. *Journal of Sport Management*, 25, 36-45.

Cain, P. A. (2000). Women, race, and sports: Life before Title IX. *Journal of Gender,
   Race, & Justice*, 4, 337-351.

Coakley, J. & White, A. (1992). Making decisions: Gender and sport participation among
   British adolescents. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 9, 20-35.

Conduct and Interpret a Factorial ANOVA. (n.d.). Retrieved from
   http://www.statisticssolutions.com/conduct-interpret-factorial-anova/

Connell, R. W. (1990). An iron man: The body and some contradictions of hegemonic
   masculinity. *Human Kinetics Books*, 83-95.

Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berekley: University of California Press.

Connell, R. W. (2005). *Masculinities* (2nd ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California

    Press.

Connell, R. W. & Messerschmidt , J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the

    concept. *Gender & Society*, 19 (6), 829-859.

Cooky, C., Messner, M. A., & Hextrum, R. H. (2013). Women play sport, but not on TV:

    A longitudinal study of televised news media. *Communication & Sport*, 1(3), 204-

    230.

Correa, T., Hinsley, A. W., & Zuniga, H. G. (2010) Who interacts on the web?: The

    intersection of users' personality and social media use. Computers in Human

    Behavior. 26. 247-253.

Creedon, P. (1994) *Women, Media, and Sport: Challenging Gender Values*. Thousand

    Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Crouse, K. (2012). Augusta National Golf Club to Add First Two Female Members.

    Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/21/sports/golf/augusta-national-

    golf-club-to-add-first-two-female-members.html

Denham, B. E. (2004). Toward an explication of media enjoyment: The synergy of social

    norms, viewing situations, and program content. *Communication Theory,* 14(4),

    370-387.

Denham, B. E. (2010). Masculinities and the sociology of sport: Issues and ironies in the

    21st century. *Sociology of Sport and Social Theory*. 143-152.

Donaldson, M. (1993). What is Hegemonic Masculinity? *Theory and Society, Special*

    Issue: Masculinities, 22(3), 643-657.

Duncan, M. C., Messner, M., and Williams, L. (1991). *Coverage of women's sports in four daily newspapers*. Los Angeles: Amatuer Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles

Etling, L., & Young, R. (2007). Sexism and the authoritativeness of female sportscasters. *Communication Research Reports, 24*(2), 121-130.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (2014). 2014 Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry. U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Retrieved from: http://www1.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/2014/index.cfm#select_label

Feldman, K. (2016, January 21). Eight women breaking barriers in men's sports. Retrieved from http://www.nydailynews.com/sports/women-breaking-barriers-men-sports-article-1.2504642

Fink, J. S., Kane, M. J., & LaVoi, N. M. (2014). The freedom to choose: Elite female athletes' preferred representations within endorsement opportunities. *Journal of Sport Management*, 28, 207-219.

Fox, A. (2015). Meet Sarah Thomas, NFL's first female official. Retrieved from http://www.espn.com/nfl/story/_/id/12669370/meet-sarah-thomas-first-female-nfl-official-referee

Fryer, R. G, & Levitt, S. D. (2004). The causes and consequences of distinctively black names*. *The Quarterly Economic Journal*, 119(3), 767-805.

Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from the prison notebooks. New York: International

    Publishers.

Graneheim, U., & Lundman, B. (2004). Qualitative content analysis in nursing research:

    Concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Education*

    Today, 105-112.

Greenwood, S., Perrin, A., & Duggan, M. (2016) Social Media Update 2016. Pew

    Research Center. Retrieved from http://www.pewinternet.org/2016/11/11/social-

    media-update-2016/

Hardin, M., & Whiteside, E. (2012). Consequences of being the "team mom": Women in

    sports information and the friendliness trap. *Journal of Sport Management, 26*,

    309-321.

Hardin, M., Whiteside, E., & Ash, E. (2012). Ambivalence on the front lines? Attitudes

    toward Title IX and women's sports among Division I sports information

    directors. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 49(1) 42-64.

Harper, Z. (2015). Spurs hire Becky Hammon, NBA's first paid female assistant coach.

    Retrieved from http://www.cbssports.com/nba/news/spurs-hire-becky-hammon-

    nbas-first-paid-female-assistant-coach/

Hattery, A. J. (2010). Feminist theory and the study of sport: An illustration from Title

    IX. *Sociology of Sport and Social Theory*, 97-113.

Heaney, M. T. (2017). Partisanship and the resurgence of women's protest in the United

    States. Retrieved from http://sites.lsa.umich.edu/mheaney/wp-

    content/uploads/sites/38/2017/02/Partisanship_and_Womens_Protest.pdf

Hovland, C. I., Janis, I. L., & Kelley, H. H. (1953). *Communication and Persuasion.* New

    Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.

Irick, E. (2016). Student-Athlete Participation 1981-82 – 2015-16. *NCAA Sports*

    Sponsorship and Participation Rates Report.

Keyton, J. (2015). *Communication Research: Asking Questions, Finding Answers* (Fourth

    ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

Kilty, K. (2006). Women in coaching. *The Sport Psychologist, 20*, 222-234.

LaVoi, N. M. (2016). Head coaches of women's collegiate teams: A report on select

    NCAA Division-I Institutions 2015-2016. *Tucker Center for Research on Girls &*

    Women in Sport, 1-16.

LeDrew, J. E. & Zimmerman, C. (1994).Moving towards an acceptance of females in

    coaching. *Physical Educator*, 51(1), 6.

McCauley, J. (2015). Kings hire Nancy Lieberman as assistant coach. Retrieved from

    http://www.nba.com/2015/news/07/31/kings-name-nancy-lieberman-assistant-

    coach.ap/

Meân, L. J. & Kassing, J. W. (2008) "I Would Just Like to be Known as an Athlete":

    Managing Hegemony, Femininity, and Heterosexuality in Female Sport, Western

    Journal of Communication, 72:2, 126-144

Menaker, B. & Walker, N. A. (2013). "I don't feel that women are capable of coaching a

    men's team": Impact of hegemonic masculinity on collegiate coaching

    perceptions. *Journal of Contemporary Athletics*, 7(1).

Messner, M. A. (1988). Sports and Male Domination: The Female Athlete as Contested

    Ideological Terrain. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 5*(3), 197-211.

    doi:10.1123/ssj.5.3.197

Messner, M. A. (1992). *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston,

    MA: Beacon Press.

Messner, M. A. (2000). Barbie girls vs. sea monsters: Children constructing

    gender. *Gender & Society*, *14*, 765-784.

Messner, M. A. (2002) *Taking the field: Women, men, and sports*. Minneapolis, MN:

    University of Minnesota Press.

Messner, M. A. (2007) *Out of play: Critical essays on gender and sport*. Albany, NY:

    State University of New York Press.

Myre, G. (2016, August 21). U.S. women are the biggest winners at the Rio Olympics.

    Retrieved from http://www.npr.org/sections/thetorch/2016/08/21/490818961/u-s-

    women-are-the-biggest-winners-in-rio-olympics.

Rightler-McDaniels, J.L. (2014). Changes through the lens? US photographic newspaper

    coverage of female high school athletes. *Sport in Society, 17,* 1076–1094.

Park, R. J. (2012) Contesting the Norm: Women and Professional Sports in Late

    Nineteenth-Century America, The International Journal of the History of Sport,

    29:5, 730-749, DOI:10.1080/09523367.2012.675205

Pulerwitz, J. & Barker, G. (2008). Measuring attitudes towards gender norms among

    young men in Brazil. *Men and Masculinities,* 10(3), 322-338.

Rodak, M. (2016, January 21). Five things to know about Bills' Kathryn Smith, first NFL

    female coach. Retrieved from http://espn.go.com/blog/buffalo-

    bills/post/_/id/23543/five-things-to-know-about-bills-kathryn-smith-first-nfl-

    female-coach

Sanderson, J. & Gramlich, K. (2016) "You go girl!": Twitter and conversations about

    sport culture and gender. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 33, p. 113-123.

Sartore, M. L. & Cunningham, G. B. (2007). Explaining the under-representation of

    women in leadership positions of sport organizations: A symbolic interactionist

    perspective. *Quest*, 59, p. 244-265

Schwarb. A. W. (2015, October 29). Number of NCAA college athletes climbs again.

    Retrieved from http://www.ncaa.org/about/resources/media-center/news/number-

    ncaa-college-athletes-climbs-again.

Smith, E. & Cooper, B. (2010). Race, Class, and Gender Theory: Violence against

    women in the institution of sport. *Sociology of Sport and Social Theory*, 129-141.

Smith, S. (2015, April 07). A Deep Dive Into Party Affiliation. Retrieved from

    http://www.people-press.org/2015/04/07/a-deep-dive-into-party-affiliation/

Springer, S. (2014, September 24). Why do fans ignore women's pro sports? Retrieved

    from https://www.bostonglobe.com/magazine/2014/09/23/why-fans-ignore-

    women-pro-sports/A37CAUWxMv0cvF5xkkAe1J/story.html.

Steinfeldt, J. A., Carter, H., Zakrajsek, R., & Steinfeldt, M. C. (2011). Conformity to

    gender norms among female student-athletes: Implications for body image.

    Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 12(4), 401-416.

Steinfeldt, J., Rutkowski, L. A., Orr, T. J., & Steinfeldt, M. C. (2012). Moral atmosphere

and masculine norms in American college football. *Sport Psychologist*, *26*, 343.

Taibi, C. (2015, June 9). TV ignores women's sports now more than it did 25 years ago.

The Huffington Post. Retrieved from

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/08/womens-sports-tv_n_7535766.html.

"Title IX and Athletics." (2012) Retrieved from

http://www.ncwge.org/TitleIX40/Athletics.pdf

Walker, N. A., Sartore-Baldwin, M. L. (2013) Hegemonic masculinity and the

institutionalized bias toward women in men's collegiate basketball: What do men

think? *Journal of Sport Management*, 27, 303-315.

Weinfuss, J. (2015). Jen Welter hired by Cardinals; believed to be first female coach in

NFL. Retrieved from http://www.espn.com/nfl/story/_/id/13328608/jen-welter-

hired-arizona-cardinals-assistant-coach

Wellard, I. (2009). *Sport, masculinities and the body*. London: Routledge.

Whisenant, W. A., Pedersen, P. M., & Obenour, B. L. (2002). Success and gender:

Determining the rate of advancement for intercollegiate athletic directors. *Sex

Roles,* 47, 485-491.

Whiteside, E. & Hardin, M. (2012). On being a "good sport" in the workplace: Women,

the glass ceiling, and negotiated resignation in sports information. *International

Journal of Sport Communication*, 5, 51-68.

Whitson, D. (1984). Sport and hegemony: On the construction of the dominant culture.

Sociology of Sport Journal, 1, 64-78.

"WNBA," Retrieved from, http://www.wnba.com/coaches/coaches.html

Wright, K. B. (2005), Researching Internet-Based Populations: Advantages and

Disadvantages of Online Survey Research, Online Questionnaire Authoring

Software Packages, and Web Survey Services. *Journal of Computer-Mediated

Communication*, 10.

Yiamouyiannis, A. (2010) Women's leadership in the enactment and enforcement of

Title IX. *Gender and Women's Leadership: A Reference Handbook* (2) 851-860.