

HOW SEXISM LEADS TO INTENTIONS TO LEAVE AN ORGANIZATION
AMONG COACHES OF WOMEN'S TEAMS IN DIVISION I
INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS

A Thesis

by

THOMAS JOSEPH AICHER

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

August 2007

Major Subject: Kinesiology

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ABSTRACT

How Sexism Leads to Intentions to Leave an Organization among Coaches of Women's Teams in Division I Intercollegiate Athletics. (August 2007)

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Since the passage of Title IX, there has been a steady decline of women head coaches in intercollegiate athletics. Previous research indicated that perceived treatment and access discrimination may be a plausible cause of the decline; however, research has not identified the antecedents of discrimination. Research indicates that sexism levels are associated with hiring intentions, ascription of attributes to managers, and performance appraisals. This study attempted to identify sexism as one possible antecedent of discrimination. A dyadic study between head and assistant collegiate coaches was utilized to determine the relationship between hostile and benevolent sexism, treatment and access discrimination, and intentions to leave the profession. I sampled 364 head coaches and 163 assistant coaches, creating 71 dyads. Each of the measures was validated in previous research. Results indicated that men possessed higher levels of hostile ($M = 2.02, SD = 1.02$) and benevolent ($M = 2.33, SD = 1.01$) sexism beliefs than females ($M = 2.00, SD = .97, M = 1.62, SD = 1.00$). Additionally, females coaches indicated significantly higher levels of perceived access discrimination ($F [1, 384] = 38.05, p < .01$), treatment discrimination ($F [1, 384] = 7.353, p < .01$) and intentions to leave ($F [1, 384] = 13.146, p < .01$) than men. Results indicate that there is

a correlation between benevolent sexism and access discrimination ($r = .322, p < .001$) within the coach dyads. Further, to support previous literature, this study found that 17% of the variance in intentions to leave the profession was explained by perceived treatment and access discrimination. Though the results of this study show only one relationship between sexism and perceived discrimination, the results that sexism is present in intercollegiate athletics and that females perceive higher levels of discrimination and intentions to leave the profession are an interesting finding. Sexism may have an effect on perceived discrimination; however, the relationship may be mediated through other variables such as group identity or organizational citizenship behavior. Ultimately, this study has indicated that sexist beliefs are present in intercollegiate athletics and has negative implications that should be further researched.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my wife who gives me encouragement, support, and allows me the time necessary to complete my thesis. Without her there would be no thesis.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION: THE REASONS FOR THE
DECLINE IN FEMALE COACHES

Since the passage of Title IX in 1972, the decline in the proportion female coaches has been a pervasive phenomenon in intercollegiate athletics. Washington and Karen (2001) point out that one of the most disappointing byproducts of Title IX is the decrease in the proportion of female coaches. This is supported when taking into account that in 1972, 90% of the head coaches of women's teams competing at the division I level were women; whereas in 2006, only 42.4% of the head coaches were women (Acosta & Carpenter, 2006). To exacerbate the effects of women leaving the profession more quickly than men, Acosta and Carpenter (2002) found that 90% of new positions are being filled by men. Though female head coaches have continued to decline through the years, the majority of the assistant coaching positions are still held by females (Stumph & Sagas, 2005), and there is evidence from sport literature that gender does influence the hiring process (Lovett & Lowry, 1994).

One of the reasons advanced for the decline of female head coaches is that women leave the profession sooner than their male counterparts (Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing, & Forrest, 1991; Sagas, Cunningham, & Ashley, 2000.) Research has linked many reasons for the earlier departure such as the amount of time with friends and family, lack of financial incentives, stress (Pastore, 1991), time demands, low perceived

This thesis follows the style of *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*.

competence (Lowry & Lovett, 1997) and departmental compliance with Title IX (Sagas & Batista, 2001). More importantly, Knoppers et al. (1991) suggested that low possibilities for advancement, which is a discriminatory practice, is one of the main reasons for gender differences in career satisfaction and exit intentions. This discriminatory practice may be manifested by either access limitations or differential treatment of female coaches (Knoppers et al., 1991). Additionally, researchers have found that access and treatment discrimination may lead to differences in career satisfaction, organizational commitment, and motivation for career success (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Cunningham, Sagas, & Ashley, 2003; Sagas, Cunningham, & Ashley, 2000), and thus intention to leave the organization. Although studies have examined treatment and access discrimination in intercollegiate athletics, little is known about the antecedents of these types of discrimination.

Gender stereotypes in a society are often responsible for prejudice and discrimination against women (Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002); therefore, sexism can be a plausible antecedent of perceived access and treatment discrimination. Additionally, it has been posited that despite U.S. citizens' endorsement of equal opportunity for women in employment, discrimination and limited opportunity have prevailed (Kahn & Crosby, 1985). Glick and Fiske (1996) identified two types of sexism, hostile (prejudicial views of women), and benevolent (viewing women stereotypically in subjective roles that are positive in tone) that are present cross-culturally, are strongly correlated, and may be the antecedents of the different types of discrimination previously mentioned.

Research using the ambivalent sexism inventory (a scale developed by Glick and Fiske, 1996) to measure the different types of sexism have identified that hostile sexism may be related to the negative evaluation of, and lower employment recommendations of a female candidate for a masculine-typed position (Masser & Abrams, 2004).

Additionally, there is a strong correlation between sexism and negative attitudes toward female managers (Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002), and that women in leadership positions were devalued more relative to their male counterparts when the leadership style was carried out in a masculine style (e.g. autocratic or directive) (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993). Women as a general social group are perceived as inferior to men in those instrumental, agentic qualities that are thought to qualify one for employment, especially in vocations that are male-dominated (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993). Cross-culturally, women are a disadvantaged group when compared to men (Glick & Fiske, 2001), and this is further intensified in an industry that is a male dominated profession (e.g. sports) (Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002). Thus, it can be advanced that if ambivalent sexism is revealed in intercollegiate athletics it may be very detrimental to women in sport, and particularly those in leadership positions (e.g. coaches).

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between the two types of sexism (hostile and benevolent) as antecedents of perceived access and treatment discrimination, and how they may affect female coaches in intercollegiate athletics. This study will utilize the ambivalent sexism inventory to determine if hostile and benevolent sexism can be linked to access or treatment discrimination in intercollegiate athletics, and the intentions to leave the profession by female coaches.

The identification of one antecedent that leads to discrimination will allow intercollegiate athletic directors and conference managers to gain a better understanding of how to improve the gender inequities in the current structure. Additionally, through the identification of sexism as an antecedent, coaches and administrators will have a better understanding of practices that may not be believed to be sexist in nature, but are, nevertheless, detrimental to the person that are discriminating against. Secondly, Allport (1954) suggested that individuals, who demonstrate prejudice against one group, are more likely to be intolerant of multiple groups or topics. This is further supported by Aosved and Long (2006), who posit sexist beliefs are correlated with racist beliefs, homophobia, ageism, classism and religious intolerance. Identification of one antecedent of discrimination opens the door to the assumption that other antecedents of discrimination are also present. Varying perceptions of discrimination can affect the degree to which its members create an integrated culture or share common values, which in turn affect the policy making, procedures and a quality environment (Eshner, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001). Further, if this were to occur, then the diversity within sports organizations may increase by creating an environment that celebrates diversity. Through this increased diversity and awareness of the causes of discrimination, athletic departments may have a better chance for success (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). This is especially true, when you take into consideration that it has become increasingly important for organizations to consider employee perceptions of harassment or discrimination in the work place, because these perceptions of employees can affect their

attitudes, behaviors, and even the financial health of the organization (Eshner, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001).

Research Questions

1. Which is the most prevalent form of sexism (hostile or benevolent) reported by intercollegiate coaches; further, is there a significant difference between male and female coaches, and between head and assistant coaches?
2. What is the relationship between the five variables in the study (hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, perceived treatment discrimination, perceived access discrimination, and intentions to leave the profession)?

Specifically, does either form of sexism lead to a type of perceived discrimination, or to intentions to leave the profession, or does either form of perceived discrimination lead to intentions to leave the profession?

CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE FIVE CONSTRUCTS OF THIS STUDY
AND THE EFFECTS THEY MAY HAVE ON ONE ANOTHER

In this literature review, I define the different constructs used in this study: ambivalent sexism (hostile sexism and benevolent sexism), perceived treatment discrimination, perceived access discrimination, and intention to leave the profession. In the first part of the literature review, I provide an understanding of the research and constructs that define treatment and access discrimination for the purposes of this study, and discuss past research findings of the two constructs. I then provide an overview of the constructs of ambivalent sexism, hostile sexism, and benevolent sexism, and demonstrate how they can be related to treatment and access discrimination, and intentions to leave the profession. Appendix Figure A depicts the expected correlations between the five variables of the study.

Past researchers have posited that an employee faces discrimination at many different levels within an organization and different types of discriminatory acts (see Waters, 1994; Watts & Carter, 1991). Among women, perceptions of discrimination have been linked to negative outcomes, such as more work conflict and more hours spent on paid activities, whereas men in similar positions perceived little relationship with the same outcome variables (Eshner, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001). In this study, I examine two types of perceived discrimination, access and treatment discrimination, starting with perceived access discrimination.

Perceived Access Discrimination

Ilgen and Youtz (1986) define access discrimination as the “limitations unrelated to actual or potential performance which may face minority group members at the time the job is filled, such as rejection of applicants, lower starting salaries, limited advertising of position openings, or failure to send recruiters to locations where minority members are likely to be available” (p. 307). Access discrimination entails differential treatment prior to entering a position within an organization (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986; James, 2000) that is not linked to actual or potential work performance. This discrimination occurs at the time in which the position is filled (e.g. rejection of applicants, limited advertising of positions, and limited recruiting for positions) and in doing so, prevents a minority group member from being able to enter into an organization, profession or job (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). Additionally, there are several negative aspects that are consequences of access discrimination, such as, failure to advance in one’s career and disproportionately low pay (Greenhaus et al., 1990).

Terborg and Ilgen (1975) argued that access discrimination has been exhibited in traditionally masculine occupations and that women are evaluated as being less desirable for masculine type jobs when compared to men (e.g., sports). Intercollegiate athletic employees who are dissimilar from those that are the majority (e.g., white, protestant, able-bodied males) meet less than accepting environments than those who are similar (Fink, Pastore, & Reimer, 2001), thus potentially creating an environment of access discrimination. Furthermore, Graves and Powell (1995) suggested that perceived

similarity between employment recruiters and applicants is related to decisions to hire a candidate. Consistent with these predictions, Cunningham and Sagas (2005) found that white head coaches were more likely to hire white assistant coaches. Furthermore, the proportion of white assistant coaches on a black head coaches' staff was higher than the corresponding proportions, thus leading to the idea of access discrimination based on race. Furthermore, Acosta and Carpenter (1988) found subtle or implicit discrimination perceived by female athletic administrators as a barrier to women in administration. Stangl and Kane (1991), and Lovett and Lowry (1994) both found evidence that male intercollegiate athletic directors were more likely to employ a male rather than a female. Similarly, Pastore, Inglis and Danylchuk (1996) found that women perceive discrimination in the workplace, and call for new solutions to support and retain women in leadership positions. Gender bias/discrimination was mentioned by 64.7% of the female administrators interviewed in a study by Acosta and Carpenter (2002) that asked women administrators to identify barriers to their position. These findings portray sport as being a male dominated industry, and stereotypes of women's leadership abilities may create these barriers to access. I will further develop this assertion later in the hostile sexism section of this review.

Treatment Discrimination

The next form of discrimination I assess in this study is treatment discrimination, which is a form of discrimination that occurs once an individual is hired by an organization (Greenhaus et al., 1990). This type of discrimination comes in the forms of less monetary compensation, fewer rewards, fewer job growth opportunities, or fewer or

no promotions (Greenhaus et al., 1990). Treatment discrimination can affect several areas of an individual's performance, such as tangible outcomes (job assignments one receives, development opportunities, raises, and promotions), and intangible outcomes (workgroup inclusion, supervisor support, and discretion to perform job activities) (Button, 2001; Ilgen & Youtz, 1986; James, 2000). Furthermore, the effects of treatment discrimination result in less favorable work experiences, and thus, high turnover intentions and lower job satisfaction (Greenhaus et al., 1990). In terms of positions of authority, women have encountered forms of discrimination in various ways such as, withholding of rewards, facilities, or opportunities which are deserved (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975).

Previous research indicates that women are subjected to treatment discrimination at the intercollegiate administrative level (Fink et al., 2001) and at the intercollegiate coach level (Knoppers et al., 1991; Lovett & Lowry, 1994; Lowry & Lovett, 1997; Stangl & Kane, 1991; Sagas & Cunningham, 2004b). Female coaches and administrators, relative to their male counterparts, are likely to receive different returns for their human and social capital investments (Cunningham & Sagas, 2002; Sagas & Cunningham, 2004a), which would indicate a form of treatment discrimination.

On an interesting note, Sagas, Cunningham, and Ashley (2000) found that male coaches of women's sports indicated higher levels of perceived treatment discrimination than women; however, most of the research supports the notion that men receive more favorable treatment in coaching. Alternatively, Stumph, and Sagas (2005) found that there are no disparities between male and female soccer coaches in the areas of salary,

promotions, and career satisfaction, which would indicate that there is no treatment discrimination in this area of intercollegiate athletics. This is further supported by Cunningham and Sagas (2003) who found that female coaches perceived similar work experiences to men, and on occasion even better. However, Parks et al. (1995) posit that this may occur because of the paradox of the contented working woman. By definition, the paradox suggests that women will express higher job satisfaction, despite the clear disadvantages that they receive (e.g., lower salaries, opportunities for advancement, etc.) (Parks et al., 1995). Furthermore, Cunningham and Sagas (2003) posit that the women in their study may actually experience treatment discrimination, but still had better work experiences than their male counterparts.

Research has further studied treatment discrimination and how it may affect intentions to leave the profession. Knoppers et al. (1991) noted that curtailed career advancement opportunities, a form of treatment discrimination, resulted in lower career satisfaction and higher turnover intentions. In a study of 200 head coaches of women's teams, Cunningham and Sagas (In Press) found evidence to support the notion that treatment discrimination is correlated with career satisfaction, which in turn held a negative correlation to turnover intentions. Additionally, if one were to reduce treatment discrimination, then the differential turnover intentions between men and women in the coaching profession could be reduced (Cunningham & Sagas, 2003; Knoppers et al., 1991). Furthermore, Shellenbarger (1993) reports that minorities who perceived discrimination on the job, have a greater likelihood to change jobs, and a lower willingness to take initiative while on the job.

Ambivalent Sexism

Given the overview of access and treatment discrimination, I next turn to the concept of sexism. Researchers have conceptualized, measured and evaluated sexist attitudes in different ways. Sexism has traditionally been defined as a unitary hostility towards women (e.g. Spence & Helmreich 1972), which used to be expressed more openly in the past, but is now expressed in covert ways because of social and political changes (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995). However, traditional measures of sexism neglect the subjectively positive feelings towards women that empower sexist stereotypes. Glick et al. (1997) posit that ambivalent sexist men categorize women into more extreme polarized subtypes as a method of avoiding the experience of ambivalent affect toward a single female target.

Ambivalent sexism is the notion that sexist men have positive feelings toward women while, at the same time, still maintaining hostile attitudes (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism is suggested to be the negative attitudes towards women that are perceived to use their sexuality or other methods to gain control over men (e.g., an aggressive female coach trying to get ahead) (Glick & Fiske, 2002). Benevolent sexism refers to the ideal that women should be protected and fit into a traditional role of house wife (e.g. giving an assistant coach less challenging tasks to protect them from failure) (Glick et al., 2000).

The two forms of sexism are moderately positively correlated across numerous cultures, indicating that men who endorse benevolent sexism tend to endorse hostile sexism, thus creating support for the ambivalence (Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Glick and

Fiske (1996) argue that this positive correlation of hostile and benevolent sexism reflect complementary ideologies that serve to justify gender inequalities – a notion further supported through their research (see Glick et al., 2000; Glick & Fiske, 1997, 2001, 2002). Glick and Fiske (1996) further suggest that ambivalent sexist reconcile their hostile and benevolent feelings by classifying women in to good and bad subcategories. Additionally, Glick et al. (1997) posited that certain female subtypes activate either hostile or benevolent sexism, but not both.

Cross-cultural comparisons showed that the degree of gender inequality could be predicted by hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2000). As the different levels of sexism increased, gender equality decreased; however, some correlations were marginally significant (Glick et al., 2000). Additionally men's level of sexism strongly predicts women's level of sexism in both hostile and benevolent sexism, thus providing evidence that the dominant groups' beliefs are adopted by the inferior group (Glick et al., 2000). This could be supported by the idea that women are rewarded for acting in a manner that elicits men's benevolence, rather than hostility, as a result of trying to reject conventional females roles. Therefore, it is not surprising that the more sexist the nation, the more women accept benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2000). Furthermore, the reactions associated with benevolent and hostile sexism by men and women maintain a socio-cultural climate that emboldens women in subservient roles (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). Glick and Fiske (1996) contested that hostile sexism and benevolent sexism stem from social and biological conditions common to human societies: paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality.

By definition, paternalism is the “policy or practice of treating or governing people in a fatherly manner” (The American Heritage Dictionary, 1994, p. 608). Paternalism connotes domination, affection and protection (Russell & Trigg, 2004) and is present across cultures at a varying degree (Harris, 1991); however, it cannot be considered universal (Salzman, 1999). Furthermore, this orientation encompasses not only attitudes of male superiority and dominance over women, but also protectiveness toward the weaker sex (Fiske & Glick, 1995). This means that women are in need of a dominant male figure, and need to be protected, cherished, and loved at the same time (Russell & Trigg, 2004). Paternalism in a societal form is considered patriarchy, which refers to the structural control by men over religious, political, economic, and legal institutions (Glick & Fiske, 1997), and thus may create different discrimination or prejudice towards women. Given the ambivalence of paternalism, dominative paternalism (a part of hostile sexism) and protective paternalism (a part of benevolent sexism), this molds well with the idea of ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Gender differentiation is maintained by societal norms that embroider differences between genders, and allocate different levels of social prestige (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Gender identity is possibly one of the first group-based components to self-identity to be learned (Maccoby, 1988). Men are considered the dominant sex, and therefore, should provide for and control the home (Sakalli-Ugurlu & Beydogan, 2002). Competitive gender differentiation provides justification for male structural power, in that men are perceived as having the necessary traits to manage important social institutions. Furthermore, gender differences are associated with sex roles, and these roles develop

the notion of sex-typed jobs (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986). Complementary gender differentiation is the notion that women have positive traits that men do not possess creating a dependency of men on women, thus adding to the idea of the benevolent sexist, that a woman completes a man (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Sexual desire is linked to the hostility and a desire to dominate women (a trait found in men who are more likely to harass); however, sexual attraction can be the source of extremely positive feelings toward women and linked to genuine desire for intimacy (Bargh & Raymond, 1995) thus creating the ambivalence. Heterosexuality refers to a woman's role as being defined by childbearing and child rearing, that promotes intimate relationships between men and women (heterosexual intimacy) (Glick et al., 2000). One of the most important sources of happiness for men and women is a heterosexual romantic relationship (Brehm, 1992), and are usually the most intimate relationships that men possess. Men often use their power over women in their sexual relationships, and women can counter men's power by using their sexual attractiveness to gain power over men (heterosexual hostility) (Glick et al., 2000). However, this need for sexual intimacy creates benevolent sexism, in that it is the basis for men to put women on pedestals and to need to protect women (Glick et al, 2000). If women deviate from this norm, it may elicit hostile sexist responses from men (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Ambivalent sexism stems from two sets of related beliefs, benevolent and hostile sexism. Because these two constructs are so highly correlated it is beneficial to gain a better understanding of each of them separately, and how they may effect treatment or access discrimination, intentions to leave the profession.

Hostile Sexism

Hostile sexism by definition is “an adversarial view of gender relations in which women are perceived as seeking control of men, whether through sexuality or feminist ideology” (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 109). Hostile sexism is correlated with the negative evaluations of the nontraditional female subtype (“career woman”) (Glick et al., 1997), and is expressed through the negative and aggressive attitudes toward women that are perceived as competing with men, and therefore, are a threat to the patriarchal norm (Glick et al., 2000). Furthermore these aggressive attitudes towards women who are perceived to compete with men may be viewed as a threat to the current social hierarchy (Sibley & Wilson, 2004).

Hostile sexism has many different effects in the social world. Sibley and Wilson (2004) demonstrated the men’s hostile sexism increased while the benevolent sexism decreased when presented with a woman that fit the negative sexual female subtype category (promiscuous sexual temptress). Additionally, a shared characteristic of men and women who tolerate sexual harassment (a form of treatment discrimination) is hostile sexist beliefs about women (Russell & Trigg, 2004). Hostile sexism is correlated with the ascription of negative feminine traits and masculine traits, and not positive feminine traits (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Hostile sexism has been linked to the perceived glass ceiling in the corporate world, predicts negative attitudes toward career women (Glick & Fiske, 2001), and may also predict the type of profession that a person may choose (Fernandez, Castro, Otero, Foltz, & Lorenzo, 2006). Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu (1997) noted that men

in their study, who possessed hostile sexist beliefs feared, were intimidated by, or felt competitive toward career women. In a study of 317 participants, Masser and Abrams (2004) found that hostile sexism, not benevolent sexism was related to the negative evaluation of, and lower employment recommendations of, a female candidate for a masculine-typed position. Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan (2002) further support this notion in that, in their study of Turkish college students, they found that participants who scored high in hostile sexism felt that women were less able to be managers. These conclusions foster support for Schein's (1975) assertion that if you "think manager, think male". In a study conducted in Spain, Fernandez et al. (2006) found that students who revealed higher levels of hostile sexism were more likely to study in technical fields which are associated with masculinity (similar to that of sports). Fernandez et al. (2006) also found that women in technical majors held higher levels of hostile sexism than their female counterparts in other majors. These studies demonstrate the possibility that hostile sexism may be correlated with access discrimination and treatment discrimination.

Given the very nature of hostile sexism and the results of the previous mentioned research, and the research to be discussed in the benevolent sexism section, there is no reason to think that hostile sexism would be correlated directly to intentions to leave the profession. Furthermore, sexual harassment and lower career advancement opportunities would be more directly correlated with treatment discrimination which may lead to intentions to leave the profession. Given the nature of the inflammatory beliefs (e.g., hostile sexism correlated with approval of sexual harassment), it is likely that hostile

sexism will be correlated to perceived treatment discrimination. Given this information, I expected that hostile sexism of a superior would lead to perceived treatment discrimination, and would hold a correlation with intentions to leave the profession.

Benevolent Sexism

Benevolent sexism is defined as a “set of interrelated attitudes towards women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles, but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as pro-social or intimacy seeking” (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 491). The three sub-dimensions of benevolent sexism are protective paternalism (women should be rescued first), complementary gender differentiation (women are more pure than men), and heterosexual intimacy (every man needs a woman, which he adores) (Glick et al., 2000).

Despite the positive feelings of the perceiver, benevolent sexism lies in traditional stereotyping and masculine dominance and its result are often detrimental (Glick and Fiske, 2001). Glick et al. (2000) state that benevolent sexism is “sexist in that it presumes women’s inferiority, but it is subjectively positive in that it characterizes women as pure creatures, whose love is required to make a man whole” (p. 764.). Eagly and Mladinic (1993) found that both men and women attribute an exceptionally positive set of traits to women, and have more favorable attitudes toward women than men. Benevolent sexism characterizes women as pure creatures who should be protected, supported, and adored and whose intimacy is necessary to make a man complete, thus implying that women are weak and are best suited for conventional gender roles (Glick

& Fiske, 2001). However, this belief also implies that women should act in a certain manner in order to elicit the protective paternalistic instinct of men (Glick et al., 1997).

Benevolent sexism is reported to be correlated with positive evaluations of women in traditional roles (e.g., homemaker) (Glick et al. 1997), and should be considered a form of sexist objectification that rewards women for conforming to the patriarchal society (Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Benevolent sexism has been related to sexual harassment (Fiske & Glick, 1995; Russell & Trigg, 2004), predicts the endorsement of gender stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 1996), leads to negative reactions towards rape victims (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003), and is associated with the legitimizing of domestic violence (Sakalli, 2002). Whereas, hostile sexism may elicit outrage from those being discriminated against, benevolent sexism may often obtain their acceptance, as effectively and invisibly advance gender inequalities (Glick and Fiske, 2000). Furthermore, Barreto and Ellemers (2005) posit that people who express benevolent sexist views are less likely to be considered sexist.

Sibley and Wilson (2004) found that men expressed increased benevolent and decreased hostile sexism toward a female character that fit a more traditional role that is more consistent with a positive sexual female subtype (chastity and purity). This finding continues to support the notions of Glick et al. (1997) that men's expression of benevolent sexism may be utilized to reward women that are categorized into the traditional female subtype, and conform to patriarchal social hierarchies. Furthermore, Abrams, Viki, Masser and Bohner (2003) found that participants presented with a scenario in which a woman is seen as sexually promiscuous, benevolent sexism, not

hostile sexism was found to predict harsher evaluations of the female target (see also, Viki & Abrams, 2002; Viki, Massey & Masser, 2003). The benevolent sexist perception of a woman leads to the blame of a rape victim for her assault (Abrams et al., 2003), and this is attributed to the fact that the victim has behaved inappropriately by varying from the expected norm. Glick et al. (1997) argue that these actions challenge the traditional female roles, and that is the reason that benevolent sexism is a better predictor of negative evaluations.

Research could not be found that has examined the negative career effects that benevolent sexism may have on females. However, the feeling that women should be protected means that they may receive less challenging tasks which may lead to fewer financial and career rewards, and that by definition is treatment discrimination. Additionally, the positive correlation of benevolent sexism to sexual harassment (Fiske & Glick, 1995; Russell & Trigg, 2004) is a direct correlation between benevolent sexism and treatment discrimination. Given these contentions about benevolent sexism, and the previous description of treatment discrimination, it seems logical that there may be a correlation between the two variables. Therefore, I expected that benevolent sexism indicated by a head coach could be correlated with feelings of perceived treatment discrimination of the assistant coach.

Secondly, I expected that there would be a correlation between benevolent sexism and perceived access discrimination. When considering that benevolent sexists believe that women should fit traditional gender roles, this may lead to feelings that females are not fit for a career in a male dominated profession (e.g., athletics).

Additionally, research indicates that benevolent sexists have harsher evaluations of women who do not fit the traditional gender role (see Abrams et al., 2003).

In terms of intentions to leave the profession, there is a paucity of possible correlations between benevolent sexism and intentions to leave the profession. Given the notion that a benevolent sexist believes that women should be protected and nurtured rather than challenged, this may lead to lower career satisfaction and intentions to leave the profession, but no direct link is likely to be related. Furthermore, previous research indicates that there are a few steps that one must take to get from discrimination to intentions to leave the profession (Cunningham & Sagas, In Press). For the purposes of this study, I expected that there would be a correlation between the benevolent sexism level of the head coach and the intentions to leave by the assistant coach.

In summary, the relationships indicated in Appendix Figure A are the expectations of this study. The illustration posits that hostile sexism will be correlated to perceived access and perceived treatment discrimination and a correlation to intentions to leave the profession. Benevolent sexism will have a correlation to perceived treatment discrimination, perceived access discrimination, and intentions to leave the profession. In order to create the dyad relationship between assistant coaches and head coaches two studies will be conducted, which will be further discussed in the upcoming chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study represents a formal investigation of one antecedent (sexism) of treatment and access discrimination, and the effects that these variables may have on intentions to leave the profession. Primary data were collected through the utilization of two studies, which will be further discussed in the following sections. Descriptive statistics were collected through secondary data that allowed me to ascertain the sex of the head coach, and assistant coaches for each team, thus giving an idea of the diversity within the coaching staff.

Study One

Sample

The population for this study was Division I head coaches of women's teams. In order to get a representative sample of the entire population, I randomly selected head coaches from soccer, volleyball, basketball, ice hockey, bowling, field hockey, cross country, and softball. The remaining sports were eliminated from the sample due, in a large part, to the cases where the men's and women's team head coaches and staff were one and the same, thus creating a different environment for the coaches. With the selection of the aforementioned eight specific sports, the demographic representation of the sample should be indicative of the entire population, because the selected sports constitute a large portion of all the women sports teams in Division I athletics. However, the exclusion of certain sports may hinder the overall external validity or generalizability of the study.

In total, 1600 head coaches were selected for this study; the rationale for selecting this number of head coaches will be included later in this chapter. The response rate of this study was slightly lower than expectations: a total of 364 (23%) head coaches responded to the survey and, of those surveys, 225 were complete. This gave Study One a response rate of 14%, which will be discussed in the limitations section of the final chapter. After the initial e-mail was sent to the head coaches, the bulk of the respondents replied ($n = 269$, 17%). The second, reminder e-mail increased the response rate by 4%, with the addition of 65 new respondents. The final e-mail added 30 new respondents and increased the response rate by 3%, to the final response rate of 23%.

This study measured four constructs: ambivalent sexism (hostile and benevolent sexism), perceived treatment discrimination, perceived access discrimination, and intentions to leave the profession. The following sections indicate how the different constructs were measured and checked for validity and reliability.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

To measure hostile and benevolent sexism this study utilized the instrument developed by Glick and Fiske (1996). Glick and Fiske (1996) developed a 22-item scale that measures the respondent's feelings of sexism through Likert-type questions. Eleven of the items measure the respondent's hostile sexism, and the remaining 11 items measure the respondent's benevolent sexism. The inventory comprises mainly statements concerning male-female relationships, to which participants indicate their level of agreement on a six point scale (0 = disagree strongly to 5 = agree strongly).

Examples of such statements are, “Women are too easily offended” (Hostile Sexism), and “Women should be protected and cherished by men” (Benevolent Sexism).

Researchers have used this scale to find that benevolent sexism is related to the idealization and positive evaluation of women in traditional gender roles; whereas, hostile sexism is related to the negative evaluation of women who violate traditional gender roles. For the purposes of this study, six items for each were included in the instrument. Eliminating five of the items from each of the scales may eliminate some of the potential respondent fatigue, and should not hinder the validity or reliability of the results, based on previous research results (Glick & Fiske, 2000). Additionally, some of the items in the scale seem to fit the current research study better than others in that they are more occupationally-related (e.g., “Women exaggerate the problems that they have at work”) than socially-related (e.g., “Feminists are making entirely unreasonable demands of men”).

Perceived Access Discrimination

Respondents were asked to answer a series of Likert-type questions (0 = Disagree Strongly, 5 = Agree strongly) that should ascertain the respondents feeling of perceived access discrimination. An example of this type of question is: “Because of my gender I have missed out on potential employment opportunities.” The questions were based on the work of Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, and Taylor (2000), which attempted to determine the effects that multi-group membership may have on perceived discrimination.

Treatment Discrimination

In order to ascertain feelings of perceived discrimination, I asked the respondents to answer a series of Likert-type questions that will identify notions of treatment discrimination. An example of such a question is: “I have been treated unfairly by my supervisors, co-workers, and colleagues because of my gender.” The responses will range from Disagree Strongly (0) to Agree Strongly (5). This section of questions were modeled after an instrument used by Lanrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, and Roesch (2006) in their study to identify ethnic discrimination in health research. The questions were modified from identifying associations with race or ethnicity to that of gender.

Intention to Leave the Profession

Five items were used to measure turnover intentions of the coaches. Statements adapted from Meyer, Allen, and Smith (1993) asked the respondents to indicate their level of agreement (0 = disagree strongly to 5 = agree strongly) on a Likert-type scale. An example of one of the statements is “I frequently think about leaving the profession.”

Validity and Reliability

In terms of validity, the items used in the questionnaire were designed directly from previous research, as mentioned in the previous sections. To further ascertain the validity of these items, the instrument was reviewed by a panel of experts including professors and doctoral students. This panel was able to further determine face and content validity of the measure, and determined that no significant changes were needed to be made prior to the collection of data. To determine the reliability of these measures Cronbach’s alphas were calculated. Previous research indicates that the benevolent

sexism scale is less reliable than the hostile sexism scale; however, it is not a significant difference (Glicke & Fiske, 2002). Overall, calculating Cronbach's alphas should determine that each of the previously discussed sections of the instrument were reliable.

Procedures

For each study, the method of data collection was similar. An initial e-mail was sent to the sample of 1600 head coaches of women's teams, informing them of the questionnaire to follow in the upcoming weeks. The sample size was determined for two reasons. First, I expected that the response rate would be around 25% (actual response rate was 23%), thus giving us a respondent sample size of 400, which would have allowed the results to be generalized to the entire population. Second, in order to generalize the dyad relationship between head and assistant coaches, more head coaches were needed. This increase would increase the likelihood of a significant number of dyad relationships occurring, based on the expected response rate of the assistant coaches.

An e-mail with a link to the online questionnaire and cover letter was sent to the head coaches selected for the sample and asked the respondents to indicate by e-mail if they had completed the questionnaire. This e-mail reply was received separately from the instrument and asked the respondents to indicate when they had completed the survey so that their names could be withdrawn from future mailings. Two weeks after the initial e-mail that contained the questionnaire link was sent, an e-mail was sent to respondents to remind them that the survey had been distributed and to ask them to complete the survey. Two weeks after the follow-up e-mail, a third e-mail was sent to

the respondents to ask those that had not completed the survey to do so, and to emphasize the importance of their responses to this research. This e-mail also emphasized the confidentiality of the study.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics indicated which form of sexism was most prevalent among head coaches of women's teams. In order to create a dyadic relationship with head and assistant coaches, no analysis of the data from Study One was completed without data from Study Two. This will be further explained in the next section.

Study Two

Sample

The population for this study was Division I assistant coaches of women's sports. In order to compare the head and assistant coaches' feelings of sexism, treatment and access discrimination, the same teams that responded in Study One were used in Study Two. The same limitations of Study One applied to the second study. However, for every one head coach that responded, two assistant coaches were contacted, if available, to complete the instrument. If more than two assistant coaches were available, the two closest to the head coach were chosen (e.g., Associate Head Coach vs. Assistant Coach).

The sample size for this study was 490 assistant coaches. Of the 490 assistant coaches, a total of 163 responded to the survey (33%), and of the 163 respondents, 132 completed the instruments (27%). The initial e-mail to the assistant coaches proved to be the most beneficial, with 88 of the respondents responding at this time (18%). Interestingly, in this study the second e-mail only increased the response rate by 3% (14

new respondents); whereas, the final e-mail increased the response rate by 13% (adding 61 new respondents. The length of time between the two e-mails was the same; however, more head coaches replied at this time increasing the overall sample size. The reduced response to the second e-mail and the increased response to the third, may have been caused by the second e-mail being sent on a Thursday, whereas the final e-mail was sent on a Monday.

Ambivalent Sexism, Treatment Discrimination, Perceived Access Discrimination and Intentions to Leave the Profession

The same measures used in Study One were also used in Study Two. This information would be the basis for answering the research questions in this study.

Validity and Reliability

In terms of validity, the items used in the questionnaire will be designed directly from previous research, as mentioned in the previous section. To further ascertain the validity of these items, the instrument was reviewed by a panel of experts including professors and doctoral students. This panel was able to determine face and content validity of the measure, and determine that no significant changes were needed to be made prior to the collection of data. To determine the reliability of these measures Cronbach's alphas were calculated. Previous research indicates that each of the scales used in this study was reliable in previous studies.

Data Collection

Data was collected utilizing the same methodology used for Study One. Data was collected via an internet survey and the correspondence schedule was the same as

that of Study One. The sample for this study consisted of two assistant coaches (if available) for every head coach that responded to Study One. Head coaches that responded, but either did not have assistant coaches, or had no assistant coaches that responded, were not used in the second part of the data analysis that attempted to answer the second research question.

Data Analysis

The following sections will explain how the collected data was evaluated in order to answer the above research questions. Descriptive statistics, bivariate correlations, multiple analysis of variance, multiple analysis of covariance and multivariate multiple regression models were used to answer the research questions in sections.

The first research question asked: what was the most prevalent form of sexism (hostile or benevolent) among college coaches, the differences between male and female coaches, and the differences between head and assistant coaches. To indicate whether the respondent possessed hostile or benevolent sexist beliefs, mean scores were calculated for each of the six items in the instrument for Study One and Study Two. Cronbach's Alphas were calculated to determine the reliability of the scales. When needed, a principal axis factor analysis was conducted to determine the highest structure-valued item in a scale for further analysis of the data. Bivariate correlations were calculated to define any existing relationships between the variables and the means and averages of the types of sexism, discrimination and intentions to leave the profession. MANOVA analysis was used to determine any differences between male and female coaches, and head and assistant coaches.

Though it is not part of the research questions, it is important to indicate whether there were any gender differences in perceived access and treatment discrimination and intentions to leave the profession. Previous research had counter arguments on the presence of the different items so it appears germane to add them, also, to this study. In order to indicate any gender differences, a MANOVA was utilized. The MANOVA gave the means of the different scales and indicated any gender differences among intercollegiate coaches.

The second research question asked what the relationship was, if any, between the five constructs: hostile and benevolent sexism, perceived treatment and access discrimination, and intentions to leave the profession. In order to indicate if there is any mediation between the variables, the model depicted in Appendix Figure 1 was utilized as a guide to the following tests. This will determine whether the two forms of sexism lead to the two forms of discrimination and/or to intentions to leave the profession, as well as whether either of the types of discrimination were correlated with intentions to leave the profession. First, in order to indicate the difference between high and low levels of sexism, the means were split into two groups at the midpoint. Any mean lower than 1.99 was considered to be low sexism and 2.0, or above, considered to be high sexism. To translate the data and determine correlations between the five variables, a MANCOVA table was created to determine if there was a relationship between high levels of sexism of the head coach and perceived access and treatment discrimination of the assistant coach.

Once the relationships between hostile and benevolent sexism, and perceived treatment and access discrimination were determined, the second part of the model was tested through a regression analysis. Controlling for age, hostile and benevolent sexism of the head and assistant coach, a dyad relationship, and years with the head coach, a regression analysis of access and treatment discrimination was completed to determine the relationship that the two variables had with intentions to leave the profession. In order to create the dyad relationship, the variables were split based on same sex dyads and different sex dyads. Meaning that a male head coach with male assistant coach and female head coach with a female assistant coach were grouped into one category; whereas, a male head coach with a female assistant coach, and a female head coach with a male assistant coach were grouped into a different category. This assisted in determining if there are differences based on the gender dyadic relationship. Finally, the regression analysis determined what, if any, relationship exists between perceived treatment and access discrimination and intentions to leave the profession.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Research Question One

Four steps were taken to answer Research Question One: “Which is the most prevalent form of sexism (hostile or benevolent) reported by intercollegiate coaches; further, is there a significant difference between male and female coaches and, head and assistant coaches?” First, Cronbach’s Alpha were calculated to determine the reliability of the measures in the survey. With the exception of access discrimination, the items were reliable ($\alpha > .7$). The results of this analysis are presented in Appendix Table 1.

Based on a reliability analysis of the scale for perceived access discrimination it was apparent that further analysis needed to be completed before continuing on to further analysis of the research questions. The scale for access discrimination had a Cronbach’s Alpha of .586 and when any of the four items were deleted the value of the Cronbach’s Alpha decreased (AX1 $\alpha = .523$, AX2 $\alpha = .419$, AX3 $\alpha = .575$, AX4 $\alpha = .521$). Thus it was determined that for perceived access discrimination, a principal axis factoring method could be utilized to determine which of the four items was the most appropriate for the remaining data analysis. No rotation was indicated through the factor analysis, indicating that none of the scale items were interrelated to another scale item. Therefore, the highest valued structured item was retained (AX1 = .515, AX2 = .685, AX3 = .380, AX4 = .492). AX2 was utilized in the different analyses that follow as the access discrimination variable.

Means were calculated to determine the most prevalent form of sexism among college coaches in intercollegiate athletics. Overall there was no significant difference between the average score for benevolent ($M = 2.01$, $SD = 1.01$) sexism and hostile sexism ($M = 1.95$, $SD = .99$). This result is somewhat expected given the previous correlation established between the two variables in previous research (see Glick and Fiske, 1996).

The third and fourth steps of the analyses were used to answer the first research question, assessing gender differences (Appendix Table 3), and position differences (Appendix Table 4) in the hostile and benevolent sexism levels. To determine if there was a gender difference between male and female coaches, a MANOVA of the entire data set was calculated. Overall, female coaches ($n = 190$) had a lower score in hostile sexism ($M = 2.00$, $SD = .97$) than their male counterparts ($n = 160$, $M = 2.02$, $SD = 1.02$); however, this difference was not significantly different ($F [1, 355] = .032$, $p > .05$). In terms of benevolent sexism, female coaches did have a significantly lower mean ($M = 1.62$, $SD = 1.00$) than male head coaches ($M = 2.33$, $SD = 1.01$, $F [1, 355] = 40.551$, $p < .01$). In terms of differences between head ($n = 225$) and assistant coaches ($n = 132$) there was no significant difference between hostile sexism ($F [1, 355] = .707$, $p > .05$) and benevolent sexism ($F [1, 355] = 3.302$, $p > .05$). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that assistant coaches scored higher in benevolent sexism ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 1.11$) and hostile sexism ($M = 2.06$, $SD = .980$) than their head coach counterparts (benevolent sexism $M = 1.87$, $SD = 1.10$; hostile sexism $M = 1.98$, $SD = 1.00$).

Lastly, it is what important to indicate if there were any gender differences in perceived treatment and access discrimination and intentions to leave the profession. A MANOVA analysis of the entire dataset determined female coaches ($n = 202$, $M = 2.21$, $SD = 1.96$) perceived a higher level of access discrimination than their male counterparts ($n = 184$, $M = 1.1$, $SD = 1.53$, $F [1, 384] = 38.05$, $p < .01$), females ($M = .79$, $SD = 1.00$) had higher perceived treatment discrimination than males ($M = .53$, $SD = .82$, $F [1, 384] = 7.353$, $p < .01$) and females ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 1.56$) had higher intentions to leave the profession than males ($M = 1.669$, $SD = 1.62$, $F [1, 384] = 13.146$, $p < .01$). Further analysis is presented in Appendix Table 5.

Research Question Two

The second research question sought to determine, what, if any relationship exists between the level of hostile sexism of the head coach with perceived treatment and access discrimination and the level of benevolent sexism with the two types of discrimination, and finally, if either of the types of discrimination lead to intentions to leave the profession. Bivariate correlations were calculated for each of the 5 variables to indicate any existing relationships between the 5 variables. The significant correlation between hostile and benevolent sexism ($r = .322$, $p < .001$) continued to support previous research that benevolent and hostile sexism are strongly correlated. In terms of this study, evidence supports the notion that treatment and access discrimination were also highly correlated ($r = .398$, $p < .01$). Finally, a small correlation between benevolent sexism of the head coach was related to perceived access discrimination of the assistant coach. The complete correlation analysis can be found in Appendix Table 2.

In order to determine the level of hostile and benevolent sexism, two new variables were created into which individuals could be placed, based on their mean score for the two types of sexism. Those higher than the midpoint (2.0) were considered to possess a high level of sexism, while those below the midpoint were considered to be low in the type of sexism. This aided in determining whether the different levels of sexism affect the different levels of perceived treatment and access discrimination.

The first stage of the model was analyzed with the utilization of a MANCOVA. The MANCOVA determined whether there was a difference in the mean scores of perceived treatment and access consideration based on the level of the two types of sexism, when controlling for the number of years that the assistant coach worked with the head coach. This was determined to be important because the effect that sexist beliefs may have on the assistant coach may be increased with time. The analysis suggests that a high level of benevolent sexism ($M = 1.77, SD = 2.09$) appears to have a greater effect on the mean score of perceived access discrimination ($F [1, 62] = 4.149, p < .05$), than low levels of benevolent sexism ($M = .70, SD = 1.49$). Further analysis of the means illustrates that when there is a high level of hostile sexism possessed by the head coach (hostile sexism score $> 1.99, n = 34$), the perceived access discrimination mean ($M = 1.13, SD = 1.33$) was higher than that of an assistant coach whose head coach scored low in hostile sexism ($n = 33, M = .64, SD = .81$). Further analysis of the means suggested that when hostile and benevolent sexism are low, the level of perceived treatment and access discrimination was lower than in those with high levels of hostile

and benevolent sexism; however, only one of the mean differences were significant.

Appendix Table 6 displays the complete MACNOVA results from this analysis.

In order to analyze the second part of the proposed model, a multiple regression analysis was utilized. This test indicated whether or not there was a relationship between treatment discrimination and intentions to leave the profession and access discrimination and intentions to leave the profession. When considering age ($\beta = -.061$, $p > .1$), hostile sexism of the head coach ($\beta = .007$, $p > .1$), benevolent sexism of the head coach ($\beta = .173$, $p > .1$), number of years with the current head coach ($\beta = .163$, $p > .1$), gender make up of the dyad (male with male and female with female = 0, female with male and male with female = 1) ($\beta = -.064$, $p > .1$), assistant coach hostile sexism ($\beta = .309$, $p < .1$), and assistant coach benevolent sexism ($\beta = -.366$, $p < .1$), perceived treatment and access discrimination explained almost 17% of the variance in intentions to leave the profession ($R^2 = .165$). Perceived treatment discrimination was a significant predictor to intentions to leave the profession ($\beta = .282$, $p < .10$), thus suggesting that as feelings of perceived treatment discrimination increased so to did the intentions to leave the profession. There was no significant relationship between perceived access discrimination and intentions to leave the profession ($\beta = -.020$, $p > .10$). The results of this analysis are depicted in Appendix Table 7.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS:

THE ROLE OF SEXISM IN INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this study was to determine if sexism had a negative impact on the career outcomes of assistant coaches of women's teams. Two research questions were tested to determine the most prevalent form of sexism, gender and position differences in sexism levels, and the relationship that sexism of a head coach had on the feelings of perceived access and treatment discrimination of the assistant coach, and ultimately intentions to leave the profession. The results did not support the proposed model; however, the results do add to previous research and suggest new directions for further research of the constructs used in this study.

Research Question One

Sexist beliefs, hostile and benevolent sexism, were found to be present among head and assistant coaches of women's teams, and further support evidence that men possess higher levels of sexism than females (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Results indicate that even though men were significantly higher than women in both sexism scores, hostile sexism displayed a greater disparity between the two groups. This further supports the assertion by Glick and Fiske (1996) that women tend to reject beliefs of sexism that are more hostile in nature and appear to be more accepting of benevolent forms. Additionally, Glick and Fiske (1996) posit that hostile sexism is more strongly correlated to the recognition of discrimination; however, that is not the case for perceived treatment

and access discrimination as suggested by the results of this study. This will be further discussed later in this section.

Similar to previous research the low mean scores in both benevolent and hostile sexism of the entire sample indicated that overall coaches are more egalitarian. This is similar to the results of Glick et al. (2000), in which they conducted a multinational study of the ambivalent sexism inventory. The results indicated that the United States on average possesses one of the lowest levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism. This may be due to the increasing number of women in power positions (e.g., the first female speaker of the House of Representatives took office in 2006) and the increasing education of our female youths. However, as presented in previous sections of this study, the proportion of female growth in power positions in sport has declined over the past 30 plus years. Further, the assertion that we are more of an egalitarian society may have skewed the results of this study because if we are considered to be more egalitarian than the effects of sexism may be reduced, because one may not outwardly display their sexist beliefs.

Fernandez et al. (2006) found that students in technology programs tended to possess higher levels of hostile sexism. Further, they asserted that this may be true of all masculine fields. This study indicated that in sports (a male dominated institution), females possessed higher levels of hostile sexism, however, significantly lower benevolent sexism. This could be attributed to the differences in the construct. A career woman is considered to break the mold of benevolent sexist beliefs; therefore, a

career woman (e.g., coach) would probably associate more with hostile sexist beliefs. These findings could be contributed to inter-group theory.

Inter-group theory suggests that there are two groups that one associates with in an organization: the organizational group and the identity group. If females tend to identify with the people that they associate with most, and those people tend to possess hostile sexist beliefs, they too may adopt these beliefs. Females that tend to identify with other females (given the lack of female personnel in intercollegiate athletics) then they may not have possessed higher sexism scores.

Given that the research does find that some coaches indicated high levels of sexism, benevolent ($n = 33$) and hostile ($n = 31$) there may be strong implications of that finding. Sexist beliefs of a person can have negative effects in career outcomes in women as presented by previous research. Additionally, the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) states that negative perceptions of an individual can affect hiring decisions, performance appraisals and the level of compensation one receives. Though this study was unable to attribute hostile sexist belief of the head coach to perceived treatment and access discrimination of the assistant coach, sexism may have other implications in sports. Alternatively, data indicated that there is a correlation between perceived access discrimination of the assistant coach and benevolent sexist beliefs of the head coach.

Research Question Two

Data indicated that a high level of benevolent sexism by the head coach leads to higher feelings of perceived access discrimination by the assistant coach. This

perception adds to previous research that indicated that male traits are associated with persons in management positions and that managerial hiring decisions tend to lead towards men. The main difference in this analysis and that of previous studies is that benevolent sexism, not hostile sexism is the link. Benevolent sexism is defined as “a set of interrelated attitudes towards women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles” (Glicke & Fiske, 2001, p. 491), thus supporting the idea that benevolent sexist prefer to view women as homemakers rather than career women.

This may give an explanation of the success of the “the good ol’ boys” network in intercollegiate athletics. If men in prominent positions in athletics possess benevolent sexism characteristics, then they may not be willing to hire females for coaching and other positions because of their expectations of women’s roles. Further, Acosta and Carpenter (1988) found that male administrators believe that the reason for the decline of female coaches is the “lack of qualified female candidates”, “role conflict”, “unwillingness to travel” and “failure of women to apply.” However, in the same study female administrators felt that the “lack of an old girls network” and “unconscious discrimination in the hiring process” were the reasons for the decline. These findings suggest that administrators in athletics may possess benevolent sexist beliefs because they feel that women have a lower willingness to travel and the role conflict could be read as direct associations that a woman should be a homemaker.

Sexism may determine who is hired for a coaching position and why the decision was made. Whether it is that coaching is associated with masculine traits and these traits

are only perceived to be held by men, or if the benevolent sexist may feel that women should spend more time with the family and therefore could not make the commitment to lead a team at the highest level. Additionally, sexism may have other individual impacts that lead to perceived treatment and access discrimination, such as a feeling of group exclusivity. If one does not feel as if they are a member of a group because of the sexist behaviors of others, they, then, may perceive treatment and access discrimination. This would be consistent with inter-group theory and will be discussed later in this chapter.

This study was a dyadic relationship of head and assistant coaches; it may have been better served to identify perceived sexism as an antecedent of treatment and access discrimination. If the United States can be considered to be more egalitarian in nature, then one may not be willing to outwardly display their sexist beliefs, but rather act in a more passive-aggressive nature. Given this, one may not perceive someone as having sexist beliefs, and therefore, it may not affect their feelings of perceived discrimination. Research has indicated that hostile sexism is perceived to be more sexist than that of benevolent sexism (Glick et al., 2000); however, it may not be demonstrated in the work place, thus not having an affect on perceived discrimination. It may be better to determine if one perceives a supervisor (e.g., head coach, athletic director) as being sexist and what relationship that perception has on treatment and access discrimination. Gutek, Cohen, & Tsui (1996) found through previous research, perceived sexism can lead to lower organizational citizenship behavior, and will be more thoroughly examined later in this section.

This study found that women perceive treatment and access discrimination at higher levels than their male counterparts, and have higher intentions to leave the profession. This continues to add support of the overall research in treatment and access discrimination and challenges the assertions of Sagas et al. (2000) that suggested male coaches, not females, demonstrated higher levels of perceived treatment discrimination. In addition, the lack of a direct path from either form of discrimination to intentions to leave the profession further support the assertions of previous research (see Cunningham & Sagas, 2005) in that other items such as job satisfaction may be affected by perceived discrimination, and that lower job satisfaction will lead to higher intentions to leave the profession. Another moderator of this relationship may be organizational citizenship behavior posited by MacKenzie, Podsakoff, and Fetter (1993).

MacKenzie et al. (1993) defines organizational citizenship behavior as the informal, prosocial behavior that employees engage in to assist others in a working environment. Examples of such behavior are assisting a coworker in the completion of a project, providing helpful advice, and offering positive feedback on work related tasks (Organ & Ryan, 1995). Further, in a study of black females, Mays, Coleman and Jackson (1996) found that respondents perceptions of racial discrimination increased their stress levels, limited their advancement, and skill development. Organizational citizenship behavior seems to occur more frequently in an environment in which a person feels that they are being treated more fairly and in an environment that rewards such acts (Eshner et al., 2001). Additionally, one who possess low levels of organizational citizenship behavior will begin to display more withdrawal behaviors

such as filing grievances (Eshner et al., 2001), thus leading ultimately to intentions to leave the organization.

This can be further supported through inter-group theory, which posits, that two types of groups exist in organizations: identity groups and organizational groups (Thomas & Alderfer, 1989). One's identity group may include those that have similar demographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, age, etc.), whereas one's organizational group may include those that share similar tasks, hierarchal position within the organization or job function. Inter-group theory suggests that it is important to assess these dichotomous relationships when assessing the impact of perceived discrimination. This theory may have implications for the current research study.

If one were to identify more with their identity group than with their organizational group, then they may not perceive treatment and access discrimination. By identifying more with people that are similar to them (e.g., females associate with females) they may be sheltered from the sexist beliefs that occur in their organization. Alternatively, in a situation of male to male interaction one may feel more comfortable with their surroundings and more likely to make sexist remarks that they may not normally make in a male to female, or multiple person environment. Additionally, if one were to consider their position as a specific team coach, rather than coach at a university, this may lead to feelings of intention to leave the organization (low organizational commitment), rather than to leave the profession all together.

Organizational commitment can be defined as the psychological bond that one feels to an organization (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982). Commitment to an

organization has been found to be related to goal and value congruence, behavioral instruments in the organization, and likelihood to stay with the organization (Mowday et al., 1982). Dickerson (1998) suggests that one of the reasons for the recent departure of women and minorities from large corporations and the subsequent proliferation of minority and women owned businesses is the group's perceptions of organizational discrimination, and is further supported by the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995). Additionally, it has been found that minorities perceive on the job discrimination at higher levels and lead directly to lowered organizational commitment (Shellenbarger, 1993). Cunningham and Sagas (2004) found evidence to support that organizational turnover intentions were strongly correlated with job satisfaction among college coaches, which further suggests that perceived treatment and access discrimination may be moderated by other variables. The current study attempted to identify perceived access and treatment discrimination as antecedents of intentions to leave the profession; however, intentions to leave the organization may have been a better fit for the expected model.

Beyond the Questions

An interesting side note of this study came during data collection. I expected that some individuals would not feel comfortable with some of the questions being asked of them; however, the feedback by different coaches was encouraging and worrisome all the same. From a sample size of more than 2,000 head and assistant coaches there were 15 e-mail responses from head and assistant coaches. Of those, five of the messages praised the ideas behind this research study, were intrigued to get a copy of the results,

and one even suggested future research that could be conducted. Alternatively, the other ten messages were not as praiseworthy in their content. There was a feeling of concern of the questions, anger towards the expected motivations of the research, and reduction of motivation to complete the long survey.

The most interesting part of these responses was that most of the negative e-mails were male coaches (8 out of 10) and the positive responses were all from female coaches. Though this is not very scientific in its method it interesting to see that male and female coaches obviously feel differently about being asked about their sexist beliefs. It would be wrong to assert that those who did not respond to the survey had high levels of sexist beliefs; however, it is intriguing to think of further studying those individuals which were angered by this study.

This contention could further be supported by the research conducted by Barak, Cherin and Berkman (1998). Barak et al. (1998) examined employees of a large electronics company and found significant differences in the perceptions of diversity and discrimination between whites and nonwhites, as well as males and females. White males in the study perceived the organization to be more fair and diverse than white females or nonwhites. Further research has indicated that white males feel less of a need for diversity training than that of nonwhites and females (Rossett & Bickham, 1994). These assertions support the ideas that even though the response part of the study was not scientific in nature, it could have some practical implications in future research.

Future Research

The first area of future research that should be conducted is an expansion of the data collection in this study. Given the low response rate of head coaches, the small number of complete dyadic relationships may have affected the results of this study. Additionally, perceived treatment and access discrimination may not come directly from the head coach. Therefore, it is suggested that the sample be expanded to athletic administrators, coworkers, and others within the organization to determine if the feelings of perceived access and treatment discrimination disseminate from other areas of the organization.

Secondly, the sample could be expanded to women coaches of men's teams. The environment created within men's sports may be much different than that of women's sports, and therefore, may be an environment that is considerably more sexist and less accepting of women coaches. There is however, another aspect that should be included in future research using this design that may prove to be more beneficial. Results from this study may be improved upon if the dyadic relationship was not only broken down by male and female, head and assistant coaches, but sexist levels of head coaches as well. The results of perceived treatment discrimination may be altered if the supervisor possessed high levels (benevolent or hostile) sexist beliefs and the assistant coach did not. Alternatively, this perception may be different in situations that the head and assistant coach possess similar levels of sexism, or one in which the assistant coach has a higher level of sexism. This would give researchers a stronger indication of the true effects of sexism.

This study could be improved upon through the inclusion of inter-group theory. Inter-group considerations would allow for the control of which group the individual associates more with and determine whether the affects of sexism are increased or decreased based on the group associations. Secondly, additional constructs should be included to determine if there is moderation between discrimination and intentions to leave the profession. Additionally, inter-group theory may assist in whether intentions to leave the profession are a better construct than that of organizational commitment. If one was to associate more with the organization, than their organizational turnover intentions may be affected more than intentions to leave the profession. Conversely, if one were to identify more with the inter-group (e.g., other coaches in similar sports), then they may have higher organizational turnover intentions than occupational turnover intent.

Another area of future research would be to determine the negative effects that sexist beliefs may have in intercollegiate athletics. Given that this study found that there was a presence of sexism, one may want to determine if sexist beliefs are indicative of one's perception of what makes a good coach. First, it would be important to define the attributes that are expected of a successful coach, and then assign them to either masculine or feminine traits. Once these traits had been defined, the respondents would indicate their sexist levels through ambivalent sexism inventory and which of the traits would be best suited for a head coach. This would determine if sexist levels effect which attributes (masculine or feminine) are considered to be better for coaches.

An alternative method that may add support that sexism leads to lower hiring recommendations of female coaches may be a resume analysis. The first step of a project

such as this would be to give athletic administrators a few resumes to decide which person that they would hire. Controlling for human and social capital would be a very important in this part of the study. Next you would want to collect demographic information and the ambivalent sexism inventory. By collecting the demographic information you would be able to control for variables, such as age and gender, which may affect the results of whether sexist belief would affect hiring intentions of persons with high levels of sexism. This study could be modeled after Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydagon (2002), in which they asked college students to determine whether a candidate would be a better manager of a large company.

Finally, a more comprehensive model may need to be tested. A future study could measure perceived sexism rather than a dyadic relationship, perceived treatment and access discrimination, organizational citizenship behavior, job satisfaction and organizational commitment rather than occupational commitment. Additionally, as a control the model should include inter-group theory for similar reasons that were previously discussed in this section. This analysis may prove to be more correlated in its interactions and abilities of one variable to predict the relationship between other variables.

Limitations

This research had many limitations, but none may be greater than the low response rate of head coaches. Out of 1600 head coaches selected for this study, only 364 responded to the study. And of the 364 that responded to the study, only 225 provided complete responses. This again could be attributed to the personal nature of the

questions and the responder fatigue created by the length of the research study. Fewer questions may improve the completion rate of respondents, and the timing of when the survey was distributed may improve non-response error. The low response rate created another limitation in the number of dyads available in this research study ($n = 73$). This may have hindered the results of the study and could be the reason that the expected relationships were not present. Further, the additional dyads could have allowed for any indication of any differences within a dyadic analysis of sexist beliefs, mentioned previously.

Another limitation of the study was the higher levels of sexism among assistant coaches than head coaches. This could have easily skewed the results of the study, in that the higher level of sexism possessed by the assistant coach may reduce the notion that they would perceive discrimination from their head coach. Additionally, perceived discrimination would tend to increase if the sexist beliefs were possessed by the supervisor rather than the lower level coach.

The low average of both hostile and benevolent sexism of head and assistant coaches is another limitation of this study. This could indicate that coaches of women's sports are more egalitarian in their views, and thus, not as sexist as others in the sporting industry. Furthermore, this could be conducted in countries that have higher levels of sexism and less egalitarian views. This analysis may be able to indicate whether the effects of sexism do include higher perceived discrimination and intentions to leave the organization. Similarly, the sexism scale could be used to determine whether sexism is

the reason for some countries to not sponsor women's sports teams, or lower support than that of men's sports.

Additional limitations occurred in this study within the design, data collection and methodology. First, given that the entire population consisted of intercollegiate coaches of women's teams, the use of only one division and only a few sports within that Division may affect the generalizability of the study. Additional research should be completed in order to determine any differences that may occur between Divisions. Second, this study only indicated one moment in time. With new diversity initiatives within higher learning institutions, changes may occur in the upcoming years, or may have occurred in the past few years. Third, the list of coaches obtained for this study may not have been the most current. Electronic messages sent to persons no longer employed may have been ignored, thus increasing the effects of non-response error. Last, self-report data are problematic because the results can be vulnerable to common method or social desirability bias (Howard, 1994). Further, the sample may be biased by those who feel discriminated against, and may be ignored by those that do feel discrimination is important in the realm of intercollegiate athletics. This may skew the results of the data, preventing any factual conclusions to be made.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1
Expected Model of the Dyadic Relationship between the Head and Assistant Coaches and the Five Constructs of the Study, Hostile and Benevolent Sexism, Perceived Discrimination and Intentions to Leave the Profession

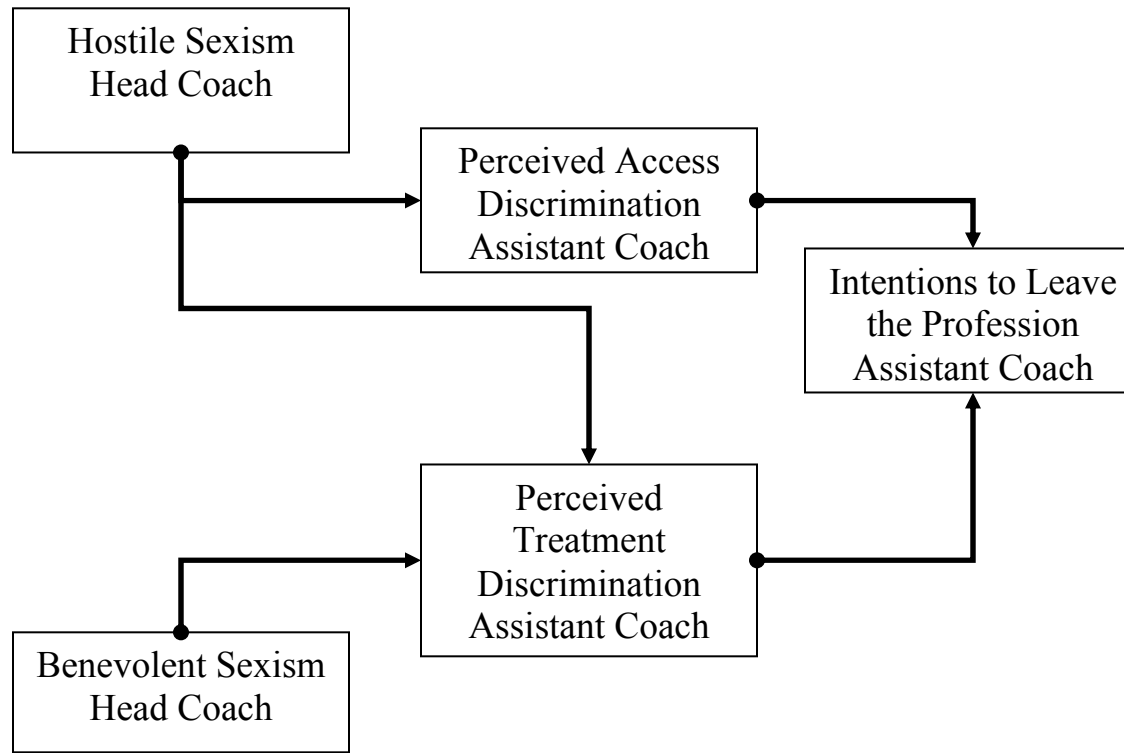


Figure 2
Supported Model of the Dyadic Relationship between the Head and Assistant Coaches and the Five Constructs of the Study, Hostile and Benevolent Sexism, Perceived Discrimination and Intentions to Leave the Profession

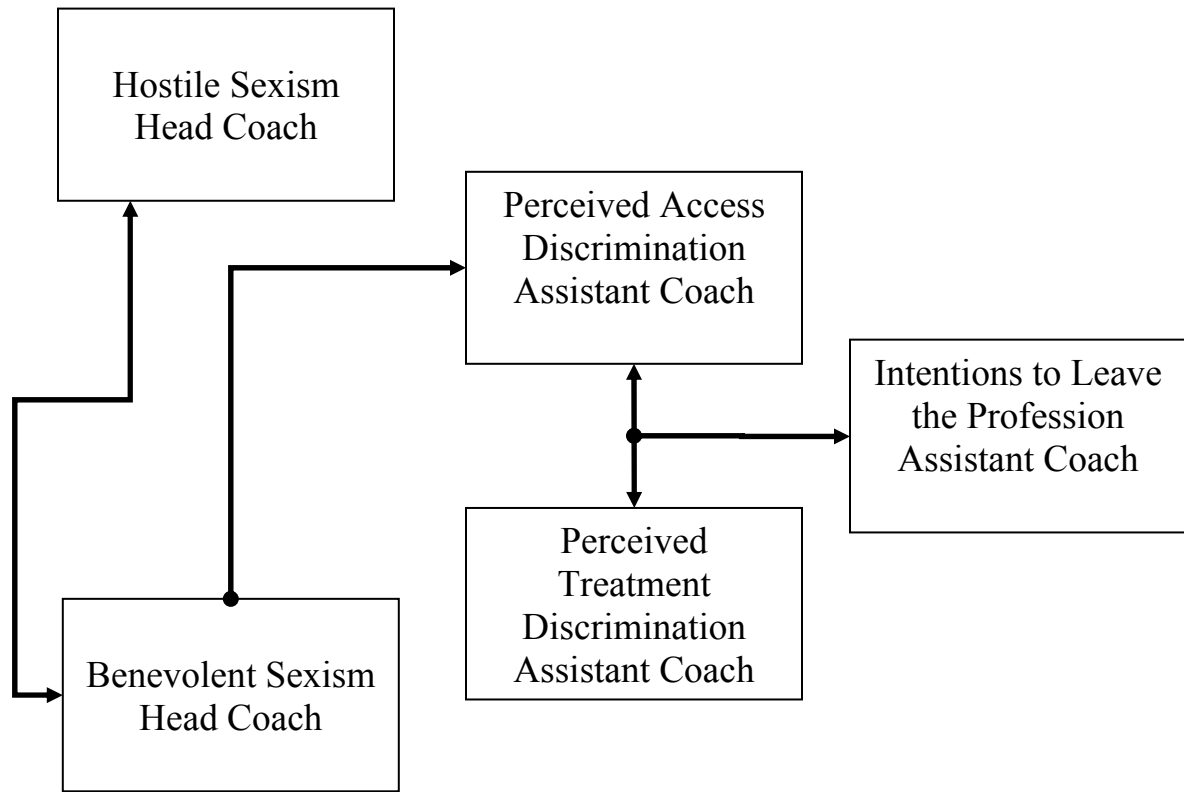


Table 1
Reliability Results

Variable Name	N of Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Hostile Sexism	5	0.741
Benevolent Sexism Treatment	5	0.768
Discrimination	4	0.719
Access Discrimination	4	0.586
Leaving the Profession	2	0.874

Table 2
Correlations and Means of the Five Variables

	<i>Mean (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
Dyad Relationships (<i>n</i> = 71)						
1. Head Coach Hostile Sexism	2.026 (1.011)	--	0.322**	0.050	0.011	0.063
2. Head Coach Benevolent Sexism	1.763 (.992)		--	0.230	0.296*	0.128
3. Perceived Treatment Discrimination	.479 (.765)			--	0.398**	0.144
4. Perceived Access Discrimination	1.09 (1.558)				--	0.013
5. Intentions to Leave the Profession	2.260 (1.540)					--

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3
Gender Difference in Benevolent and Hostile Sexism

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	Hostile Sexism	1.000	0.032	0.858
	Benevolent Sexism	1.000	40.551	0.000
Error	Hostile Sexism	355.000		
	Benevolent Sexism	355.000		

Table 4
Position Difference in Hostile and Benevolent Sexism

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Current Position	Hostile Sexism	1.000	0.707	0.401
	Benevolent Sexism	1.000	3.302	0.070
Error	Hostile Sexism	355.000		
	Benevolent Sexism	355.000		

Table 5
Gender Differences in the Treatment and Access Discrimination, and Intentions to Leave the Profession

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Gender	Treatment Discrimination	1	7.353	0.007
	Intentions to Leave the Profession	1	13.146	0.000
	Access Discrimination	1	38.050	0.000
Error	Treatment Discrimination	384		
	Intentions to Leave the Profession	384		
	Access Discrimination	384		
a	R Squared = .019 (Adjusted R Squared = .016)			
b	R Squared = .033 (Adjusted R Squared = .031)			
c	R Squared = .090 (Adjusted R Squared = .088)			

Table 6
Differences between High Levels of Sexism and Levels of Perceived
Discrimination

Source	Dependent Variable	df	F	Sig.
Number of years with Head Coach	Treatment Discrimination	1	1.165	0.285
	Access Discrimination	1	0.000	0.985
Hostile Sexism (High/Low)	Treatment Discrimination	1	0.004	0.950
	Access Discrimination	1	0.836	0.364
Benevolent Sexism (High/Low)	Treatment Discrimination	1	1.387	0.243
	Access Discrimination	1	4.149	0.046
Hostile Sexism (High/Low) * Benevolent Sexism (High/Low)	Treatment Discrimination	1	0.523	0.472
	Access Discrimination	1	0.552	0.460
Error	Treatment Discrimination	62		
	Access Discrimination	62		

a. R Squared = .046 (Adjusted R Squared = -.016)

b. R Squared = .074 (Adjusted R Squared = .015)

Table 7
Regression Analysis of Perceived Treatment and Access Discrimination Predicting
Intentions to Leave the Profession

Variables	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Assistant Coach Hostile Sexism	0.404	0.232	0.279
Assistant Coach Benevolent Sexism	-0.347	0.215	-0.257
Number of years with Head Coach	0.042	0.058	0.112
Age	-0.110	0.330	-0.050
Head Coach Hostile Sexism	0.042	0.204	0.028
Head Coach Benevolent Sexism	0.308	0.201	0.213
Gender Make-up of the DYAD	0.035	0.389	0.012
Step 2			
Assistant Coach Hostile Sexism	0.448	0.235	0.309
Assistant Coach Benevolent Sexism	-0.495	0.226	-0.366
Number of years with Head Coach	0.062	0.058	0.163
Age	-0.134	0.325	-0.061
Head Coach Hostile Sexism	0.011	0.203	0.007
Head Coach Benevolent Sexism	0.250	0.207	0.173
Gender Make-up of the DYAD	-0.183	0.404	-0.064
Perceived Access Discrimination	-0.019	0.148	-0.020
Perceived Treatment Discrimination	0.523	0.296	0.285

Note. $R^2 = .106$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .406$ for Step 2 ($ps < .10$).

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