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Occupational Resegregation and Coaching Philosophy
in Women's Basketball: An Exploratory Study

by

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(ABSTRACT)

This thesis contributes to the study of occupational sex segregation, a major source of societal inequality. A dramatic shift toward desegregation of the coaching profession in women's basketball has occurred since the early 1970s. The major research question is whether or not the structural shift from female domination to male domination is associated with the adoption of a coaching philosophy that follows a "corporate" model, representative of traditional men's basketball, rather than a "relational" model, indicative of traditional women's basketball. Content analyses were undertaken of media articles which discussed male and female coaches of women's basketball teams. Four key dimensions of coaching philosophy were operationalized: technical values, hierarchical relations, democratic relations, and personal-social development ethos. Comparisons were made between the coaching philosophies of female and male coaches, as well as differences between NCAA Division I, II and III coaches. A socialist-feminist

theoretical framework which emphasizes structural and economic determinants as well as ideological factors related to gender was used to interpret findings.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Occupational sex segregation, the clustering of the majority of women workers into a limited number of jobs, is a major source of societal inequality. As a result, much of the literature on gender and occupations has focused on the causes and consequences of occupational segregation. This research contributes to the study of occupational sex segregation by looking at the changing gender structure of one particular occupation.

The critical question of this research is whether or not a shift in the gender composition of an occupation changes the job expectations in such a way as to perpetuate further gender segregation within the occupation. The first step in answering this question is to document whether or not a shift in gender composition results in changes in job philosophy and expectations. Previous research has either neglected this question or assumed such a shift occurred. Consequently, whether or not changes in gender composition result in changes in job characteristics is a crucial first question for our understanding of how occupational sex segregation, and thus gender inequality, is reproduced.

The theoretical perspective used in this analysis is

socialist feminism. Consistent with other radical theories of occupational segregation, socialist feminism critically examines the structure of society, overall systems of production and power differentials. Specifically, a socialist feminist perspective would focus on capitalism with its thrust toward profit accumulation on the one hand, and patriarchy, or institutionalized male dominance, on the other.

The specific occupation to be analyzed in this research is women's collegiate basketball coaching. The percentage of men in the coaching and administration of women's athletics has increased dramatically over the years. In 1972, over 90% of women's college athletic teams were coached by women (Acosta & Carpenter, 1988). In 1987, that figure was 58.2%, a 36% net change. In 1988, the percentage of female coaches was even lower, 48.3%, a 42.7%, a 47% change in the overall number of female coaches (Acosta and Carpenter, 1988). While new head coaching positions are opening up (52 new positions in 1987), women are not getting the jobs. The change comes from more than just men filling newly created positions, but also from women being displaced from other positions. The specific research question is whether or not the change from female domination to male domination has changed the philosophy and characteristics of

coaching women's basketball.

While the value of an approach focusing on the structure of society rather than individual attributes has been suggested (Knoppers, 1987), only one recent study has actually applied this perspective to the coaching changes in women's sports. Further, no studies have examined the ideological changes resulting from the gender shift by focusing on coaching philosophies (Knoppers, 1989). Research must go beyond the assumption that numerical domination is meaningful and address the questions of how and in what way.

To see the effects of male numerical domination on the coaching of women's basketball, indicators of coaching philosophy are examined. Content analysis of several leading newspapers and sports magazines covering the 1987-88 and 1988-89 seasons was done to determine coaching ideology of male and female coaches. The themes which were developed from the content analysis were contrasted with traditional coaching philosophies in women's basketball to determine if that philosophy has changed with the major influx of men into the occupation.

CHAPTER 2

OCCUPATIONAL SEX SEGREGATION: A THEORETICAL EXPLANATION

A variety of theories are used to explain occupational segregation.¹ Socialist feminist theory is chosen for this research because of its emphasis on the structural bases of occupational sex segregation. Not only does this perspective focus on the structure of society, but it also allows an examination of subjective aspects which show how the occupation itself has changed in terms of values and philosophies. In this manner, it will be possible to explore whether or not there have been philosophical changes that have accompanied the occupational gender shift.

Socialist feminist theory incorporates the insights of Marx's theory of capitalism with the feminist concept of patriarchy. From Marx, the underlying assumptions about capitalist society are incorporated, such as unequal distribution of power and wealth and the exploitation of workers. Also included is Marx's idea of using historical and dialectical methods in explaining women's position in society. From radical feminism, socialist feminism

¹ Examples include human capital theory, status attainment theory, sex-role socialization, dual labor market theory, and various versions of Marxism. For more complete reviews, see Burris and Wharton, 1982; Reskin and Hartmann, 1986; Sokoloff, 1988.

recognizes patriarchy as a concrete autonomous system of power relations that subordinates women. Patriarchy is not just an offshoot or manifestation of class society. The resulting perspective sees the sexual division of labor itself as problematic, given the influences of both patriarchy and capitalism (Sokoloff, 1981).

2.1 SOCIALIST FEMINISM

As described by Sokoloff (1988), socialist feminism is premised on four basic arguments. First, women's home activity is not only economically useful and essential to capitalism, but it is also economically useful to men. Men are materially advantaged by not having to do most of the unwaged labor of producing and reproducing the family in the home. As a result, men are available for more stable and higher-waged jobs than women. This tenet establishes the material importance of women's home labor to patriarchy. All men, regardless of class, have privileges over some women (Sokoloff, 1988).

Second, women's biological and social reproduction in the domestic area is the material base of their oppression in patriarchy.

"Not only do women cook, nurture, and so forth in the home for no pay; they are also paid to sew, clean, type, nurture, build egos, give affection, make coffee, protect bosses, provide sexual services, nurse, and teach in the market. In short,

all of women's work is materially essential to the maintenance of both patriarchy (male power and the ideology of male dominance) and capitalism" (Sokoloff, 1988:128).

Thus, all of women's work--production and reproduction--is the basis of their exploitation.

According to Sokoloff, the third argument of socialist feminists is that patriarchal relations in capitalist society have been expanded from a primarily family-centered, individual exploitation of women by men to include an industrial-centered, collective exploitation of women to benefit both working class and capitalist men. Patriarchy is central to the labor market as well as the home. Male workers benefit materially from women performing gender-assigned, low-wage tasks and not competing with them for powerful and high-paying jobs held by virtue of patriarchy. Also, women provide capitalists with free labor--unwaged domestic work necessary for the capitalist pursuit of profit--and cheap labor when they enter the market. Further, because women's wages are on the average lower than men's, it is more "economically reasonable" for women to do childcare and housework. Thus, patriarchy and capitalism work to reinforce and perpetuate women's disadvantaged position.

The last tenet of socialist feminism states that it is necessary to understand patriarchy, capitalism, and their

dialectical relationship in the understanding of women's oppression. Three levels of analysis can be distinguished--the relationships between patriarchy and capitalism, between the home and market, and between patriarchal-capitalist society and everyday home and market spheres. While the social relations of patriarchy and capitalism produce and reproduce the home, the market and the relations within and between each, people participate in and contribute to these very institutions, therefore making the relationships reinforcing. Additionally, the relationships between capitalism and patriarchy are contradictory. For example, one way of obtaining the capitalist goal of profit production is to utilize the cheapest labor. This is done by increasing female employment, as women are forced to work for lower wages than men. However, this results in a challenge to patriarchy, as wage-earning women tend to demand more decision-making power and rights in the home (Sokoloff, 1988).

Sokoloff's tenets summarize the socialist feminist perspective. Milkman (1983) uses a similar theoretical approach to explain the concentration of women workers in particular occupations by focusing on the industry as the unit of analysis. More specifically, she uses socialist feminist theory to explain the ideology of sex-typing in the

process of segregating occupations. By examining the historical development of sex segregation through case studies of auto and electrical manufacturing, she is able to untangle the surrounding political struggles and their consequences as well as illustrate the gender construction of occupations. Milkman suggests that we look at how "the development of an industry's pattern of employment by sex reflects the historically specific economic, political, and social constraints that are operative at the time when that industry's labor market initially takes shape" (1983:164). In addition, it is necessary to examine the available supplies of female and male labor and their relative costs.²

2.2 OCCUPATIONAL RESEGREGATION

Milkman (1983) asserts that once an industry's pattern of employment by sex is established, it is extremely difficult to change--even under the most extraordinary pressures--as the sexual division of labor becomes accepted as natural and is reproduced by ideology. However, restructuring of occupations does occur. Phipps (1986) has explored the determinants and consequences of women's increased representation in traditionally male occupations

² For additional discussion on the use of labor market segmentation theory from a socialist feminist view, see Burris and Wharton, 1982; Hartmann, 1976; and McIlwee, 1988.

through a case study of insurance adjusters, examiners and investigators. In trying to understand why women's representation has increased in particular jobs and not in others, she examined the roles of technological change, job deskilling, internal segregation, federal enforcement activity and resegregation. In Phipps' study, occupational resegregation occurred when technological changes resulted in traditionally male jobs becoming open to large numbers of women. With the feminization of the occupation, females were restricted to particular jobs at the bottom of male job ladders. Based on this, Phipps concluded that occupational sex desegregation may occur only when occupations are no longer desirable to men, and that it is followed by resegregation. Thus what appears to be occupational integration may actually be within-occupation segregation.

Within the literature on occupational sex resegregation, there exist numerous case studies of jobs which have experienced shifts in gender composition. Among others, this literature focuses on the occupations of bank teller, teacher, bookkeeper, clerical worker, librarian, and pharmacist.³ One example is the work of Reskin and Phipps

³ For a more complete look at forms and processes of occupational sex resegregation, see the following: Davies, 1974; Gutek, 1988; Reskin and Phipps, 1988; Reskin and Roos, 1989; Strober, 1984; Strober and Arnold, 1987; Stromberg, 1988.

(1988), who examined women in traditional male professional and managerial fields. They emphasized that the characteristics certain jobs have acquired, such as autonomy, have historically excluded women, while others factors, such as government intervention, have aided women's entry. They also suggested that structural changes have modified the nature of work in some occupations. For example, although technology has resulted in increased job openings for women, it has also led to decreased occupational status. While some jobs may require greater technological expertise, others may demand fewer skills. They conclude that if resegregation results in status decline and women's employment, "then women will simply be concentrated in new ghettos, with little to show for their efforts" (Reskin and Phipps, 1988:204).

The literature also shows that changing gender composition does not necessarily eliminate sexual inequalities. Women's status has not improved if the predominately male jobs change in content or prestige with the resegregation of women. Deskilling is one example of how occupational change led to both women's increased representation and the decline in occupational status. Examples of this can be seen in the fields of teachers and bank tellers, both of which used to be male-dominated,

fairly prestigious occupations.

In general, what this and similar studies show is that female dominated occupations have lower status than those of males. In discussing women's status in traditional professions, Reskin and Phipps (1988) note that they have been monopolized by economically privileged, white Protestant men. Even though governmental intervention, such as affirmative action programs, has been enacted to eliminate discriminatory employment practices, women are still disadvantaged.

It is possible that the same phenomenon, moving in the opposite direction, can be found in women's collegiate athletics. The gender composition of this previously female dominated area is in the process of shifting towards male domination. Title IX required college athletic programs to eliminate inequities in resources between women's and men's programs, including salaries. Reskin (1988) notes that this represents a case where men can use their power to monopolize the field. Men in authoritative positions use patriarchal hiring practices which increase the absolute number and power of men. Indeed, men have made significant inroads to the coaching and administration of women's sports in recent years, causing a desegregation in the previously female-dominated occupations (Acosta and Carpenter, 1988).

While there are many areas of resegregation within women's collegiate athletes, this research focuses specifically on the occupation of coaching women's basketball. Currently, the occupation is in the process of change. While it cannot be concluded that coaching has resegregated, it can be stated that the number of men in this occupation has increased substantially. Because women's athletics is still experiencing many changes, it is quite possible that trend in coaching will continue to the point of resegregation.

Previous research in the area of occupational sex segregation has well illustrated the consequences of the "feminization" of a job. The situation in women's athletics provides a good opportunity to look at the opposite phenomenon--the "masculinization" of an occupation. Although much has been written about the changing structure of women's intercollegiate athletics, the implications of these changes have been neglected (Blinde, 1989). Currently, no studies on changes in the coaching occupation have focused on coaching philosophy. The question to be addressed is as more men have become coaches of women's basketball has the philosophy surrounding the occupation changed? And if so, what are the consequences of such a shift?

To understand the various components and dynamics of occupational sex segregation, it is necessary to look at the context in which it is occurring. Specifically, it is essential to look at historical changes in women's athletics which bear upon the present situation. The following section will provide a brief historical sketch of women's collegiate athletics. Within this, the most recent structural changes will be highlighted as these relate to alterations in the gender composition of coaching. It will then be possible to explore the shift in gender composition and resulting changes.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY OF WOMEN'S ATHLETICS

3.1 EARLY PHILOSOPHY

As documented by Acosta and Carpenter (1985), the wealth and prosperity of the 1920s brought an increased interest in leisure activities. Believing that women should be protected from the corruption that was evidenced in men's competitive sports, physical educators formed a sharp demarcation between women's and men's athletics. Up until the formation of the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in 1971, no formal governing organization for women existed which was equal in power to the men's National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). However, there were organizations concerned with the policies and guidelines of women's athletics. Composed of women physical educators, the purpose of these groups was to protect female athletes from the "negative connotation of sports...especially competition" (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985:314). Establishments such as the Committee on Women's Athletics (CWA), The National Association for Physical Education for College Women (NAPECW) and The Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF) served as guiding forces for women's athletics from the

1920s to the 1960s. Made up of women physical educators, these organization possessed a unique philosophy of women's collegiate athletics (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985; Birrell, 1984,; Grant, 1984; Uhlir, 1984). With the purpose of protecting women from the "negative connotations of sports activities and of the participants themselves" (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985:314), these protective organizations suppressed rather than encouraged competition. Another distinguishing concept was the importance placed on the role of students. Students were involved in the establishment of guidelines and attended national conferences to help with the formulation of policies. Thus, in addition to the professional organizations such as the CWA, NAPECW, and NAAF, there were student organization on most university and college campuses (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985).

3.2 THE WAVE OF EXPANSION

While still enforcing the idea that highly competitive sports were to be avoided, women's athletics expanded. Acosta and Carpenter (1985) have documented this transition. The Division for Girls' and Women's Sports (DGWS), under the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation (AAHPER), became the most prominent governing body. In 1956, realizing that many women were working

toward Olympic competition, it requested and received representation on the United States Olympic Sport Committees. The DGWS then announced that there was a place for competition "by the highly-skilled female student athlete, but...the competitive experience should not supersede the instructional or recreative programs of the general student" (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985:315).

The researchers note that with the increasing participation of women in high level athletics, such as Olympic competition, it became necessary for a separate governing body to oversee intercollegiate competition (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985). The Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW) existed from 1966 to 1971 for the purpose of establishing, conducting, and promoting national championships. The CIAW was replaced by the AIAW, which allowed for funding from the AAHPER through institutional membership dues and led to the establishment of a strong financial base. The aim of the AIAW was to bring a more intense level of competition while avoiding certain aspects of men's college athletics. Strong restrictions were placed on recruiting and further steps were taken to avoid cheating on transcripts and recruiting, exploitation of students and too much emphasis on commercialism. The members of AIAW hoped for a "separate

but equal and purer existence than the governing body of male college athletics, the NCAA..." (Beezley and Hobbs, 1984:355).

Women's athletics gained greater recognition with the advent of the AIAW and its support for high-level competition for women. National competitions were being held and more were being planned. These changes were minimal, however, when compared to those which followed the introduction of Title IX legislation.

3.3 THE EFFECTS OF TITLE IX

The Title IX amendment brought women's education under the protection of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This legislation was to have a greater impact on women's athletics than any event in its history (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985). Title IX provides that,

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance...(U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1980, Section 1681-1686).

Ideally, this meant that women would be given the same opportunities to participate in sport as men. For example, in 1977, one year before the compliance date, the number of sports offered for women was 5.61 per school. In 1980, the number had grown to 6.48, in 1986 to 7.15 and in 1988 to

7.31 (Acosta and Carpenter, 1988). Title IX lead to growth in areas such as budget allocation, athletic scholarship availability, recruitment of athletes, participation rates, skill level, program offerings, scheduling, travel, post-season championships, spectatorship, and media coverage (Blinde, 1989).

The six year compliance period marked a time of great financial growth for the governance of women's sports (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985; Uhlir, 1984; Lopiano, 1984). The 1975 AIAW Division I Basketball and Gymnastics Championships represented the first major network television contract entered into by AIAW. Thirteen percent (over \$15,000) of the AIAW's 1975-76 operating budget was acquired through such contracts. By 1978, the figure had grown to almost \$110,000--21% of the budget (Lopiano, 1984). Similarly, there was a significant increase in participation opportunities for women. In 1973, an average of 2.5 sports per college campus were offered for women. Six years later the number had grown to 6.48 (Acosta and Carpenter, 1980).

The change resulting from Title IX which is of greatest interest to the present analysis, however, was the dramatic decline in women's representation in the coaching and administering of women's sports (Acosta and Carpenter, 1980). Title IX led to the merging of many men's and

women's athletic programs which resulted in the underrepresentation of females in administration (Uhlir, 1984). Where mergers took place, women lost authority over programs and were appointed to secondary positions, regardless of the fact that they often held higher ranks and degrees than the men (Uhlir, 1984). The number of women representatives to the AIAW assemblies began to decline as did all leadership positions held by women. Acosta and Carpenter (1980) state that of the 609 AIAW colleges and universities in their sample, 80.5% had placed women's programs under male administrators by 1979-80. Moreover, no female was involved in the administration of women's athletics in 30% of these programs. Additionally, Uhlir (1984) found that although the active membership of the AIAW increased by 92% between 1973-74 and 1980-81, the number of male athletic directors increased by 457% during that same period. These changes reduced both the opportunities and the authority of women in intercollegiate athletics. At the present time, women are a minority on all governance committees and hold less powerful, if any, positions in conferences that govern both men's and women's sports (Uhlir, 1984). Holeman and Parkhouse (1981), Lehr (1982) and Acosta and Carpenter (1980, 1981, 1988) all note the decrease in the number of women coaching women's teams.

Further, while numerous men coach women's (as well men's) teams, women who coach men's teams, at any level, are virtually nonexistent (Uhlir, 1984).

Acosta and Carpenter (1985) report that because the AIAW was unable to offer championships in women's athletics, the organization had no membership and thus ceased to exist. In addition to membership, the AIAW lost commercial sponsorship, television exposure and income. The 1980 NCAA Convention had established 10 women's championships in two competitive divisions and was able to offer greater financial assistance in travel and other expenses. In 1983, the AIAW succumbed to the pressures of the NCAA and folded.

3.4 COACHING PHILOSOPHY: IMAGES FROM THE LITERATURE

Among other things, the ideal or pure type of men's collegiate basketball is often characterized by intense recruiting (to the point of cheating on transcripts), exploitation of students, and over emphasis on commercialism (Beezley and Hobbs, 1984:855). Most male coaches have been trained in a justice-oriented, individualistic and autonomous style, which has progressed to the point of rigidity, extreme masculinity, and authoritarianism (Knoppers, 1989).

Historically, women developed a sports philosophy

significantly different from men's athletics. Prior to the 1970s, women's athletics was characterized by primary concern for the students, protection from competition, and equality (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985; Beezley and Hobbs, 1984). Uhlir (1984) notes,

Women believed all sports to be of equal educational value, regardless of their popularity with participants or spectators. Women believed that individuals of all skill levels deserved the benefits of sports programs. Neither major and minor nor special consideration for "blue chip" athletes existed; rather, women believed that each student deserved high-quality coaching and teaching in order to develop her capabilities. They saw sports experiences as providing unique opportunities for self-development and for acquiring those skills essential for effective participation in a democratic society. School sports programs should provide, first and foremost, for the enhancement of each student's potential" (p. 375-376).

In contrast to men, many women tended to use a nurturing, relational style of coaching, with the goal of helping the athletes achieve their full potential, both as students and athletes (Knoppers, 1989).

Thus, from the literature, it is possible to document historically differences in male and female coaching styles. Because coaches had to be of the same sex as athletes (Fields, 1984), it is therefore theoretically possible to conclude that a "masculine" model and a "feminine" model of coaching philosophy existed prior to the integration of athletic programs. As indicated, the masculine model will

be referred to as the corporate model, as it most exposes the goals and values of corporations, stressing order, function, structure, hierarchy, and business. Because the feminine model includes more personal values, it will be termed as the relational model. Again, it should be stressed that these models are not dependent on the sex of the coach; rather they are gender adopted models defined by the occupation.

CHAPTER 4

FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Socialist feminist theories of occupational sex segregation can be applied to women's collegiate athletes. As socialist feminist theory asserts, the mutually reinforcing and contradictory relationships of capitalism and patriarchy must be considered. While both capitalism and patriarchy have autonomous effects, they are also intertwined. The greatest understanding of women's oppression can only be gained by realizing this complex relationship.

As discussed earlier, capitalism is a social arrangement by which those few who own or manage the means of production profit from the labor of many workers. Capitalism requires inequity and a differentiated labor market and wages to ensure a profit. Patriarchy refers to the power relationships, based on women's work and sexuality, that benefits men and enables them to control women (Sokoloff, 1988). Patriarchy orders gender relations so that women and their labor are devalued (Knoppers, et al., 1989).

While capitalism and patriarchy are autonomous systems and do have separate effects, their combination in our society makes it impossible to examine them separately,

especially when the focus is on the subjective effects of patriarchy. The values associated with patriarchy are dialectically related to those of capitalism. For example, the values most important to capitalism, such as profit, power, and aggression, are also embedded in our cultural notions of "masculinity". It is not coincidental that these traits are taken to be "men's" traits. In the present study, a key assumption is made: that within a capitalist patriarchy the presence of one, in terms of ideology, will strongly suggest the presence of the other. This is not to say that they develop simultaneously, evenly, or in a linear fashion. However, it is not merely capitalism that we have in society, but patriarchal capitalism. Insofar as the values inherent to both systems are found, it can be assumed that both exist.

In discussing the dialectical nature of patriarchal capitalism, Sokoloff (1988) states that the main relations between capitalism and patriarchy are mediated by the people who participate in the production and reproduction of these systems. She continues to explain that it is the patriarchal relations in the labor market and the dialectical impact of women's disadvantaged market position that have an influence on the social construction of women's place in the home and their position in the labor market.

Hartmann (1986) takes a similar stance in defining job segregation by sex as the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women. She also points to the interaction of capitalism and patriarchy, stating, "Patriarchy, far from being vanquished by capitalism, is still very virile; it shapes the form modern capitalism takes, just as the development of capitalism has transformed patriarchal institutions" (1986:139). Hartmann concludes that the systems of patriarchy and capitalism are so intertwined that it is necessary to eradicate the sexual division of labor itself in order to end male domination.

In this study, it is assumed that the systems of patriarchy and capitalism cannot be separated. It is also assumed (based on the literature) that the presence of both capitalism and patriarchy exist in women's athletics. For example, capitalism can be seen with the NCAA's takeover and drive for revenue production. Additionally, one illustration of patriarchy is illustrated with male dominance of administration after the merger of men's and women's athletics. Thus, both capitalism and patriarchy exist together. Therefore, indicators of one will suggest the presence of the other.

Much has been written on the role of capitalization in

sport. Perhaps the best insights have been provided using a Marxian perspective. Central to this argument are concepts of profits, capital accumulation, concentration of wealth, extraction of surplus value, externalization of costs, and exploitation, objectification and commodification of athletes, games, leagues and seasons of play. Young (1986) has suggested that the most significant structural change in modern sports has been its gradual and continuing commodification.

An example of the role of capital in sport has been demonstrated by Sperber (1989), who viewed the college coach (of men's athletics) as a capitalist entrepreneur. Not only do these coaches make large salaries, they receive substantial amounts of capital from shoe endorsements and advertisements, speeches and public appearances, television and radio talk shows, summer camps, books, videos, and "complimentary" tickets. Sperber concluded that, "Coaches who know how to win also know how to make money for themselves" (1989:224).

Examining the different levels and types of sports is another way to show the effects of capitalization. Differences in pay and prestige have been found by division, between which little mobility occurs (Smith, 1983). At present, Division I men's basketball is the most prestigious

of all collegiate sports in terms of status and profit production. Differences in pay have also been found by gender of the coach and gender of the team, with both female coaches and coaches of women's teams receiving the lowest salaries (Knoppers, et al., 1989).

The review of the history of women's collegiate athletics illustrated that it has become more capitalistic. In the 1980s, when women's sports increased in popularity, the NCAA took an active role in sponsoring championships and forced the AIAW out of existence. The NCAA's interest in capital led it to operate as a monopoly in control of intercollegiate sports until 1984, when governmental intervention allowed the existence of other organizations (Coakley, 1989).

Capitalism does have an autonomous effect and is a necessary component in the analysis of occupational segregation. However, the concept of patriarchy helps explain why women, and not men, suffer from the consequences of occupational segregation. Much has been written about sport as a patriarchal institution and women's status within it.⁴ As such, sport promotes male dominance and superiority, hierarchy and the devaluation of women (Bray, 1988). The structural changes in the history of women's

⁴ See, for example, Lenskyj, 1986, Messner, 1988; Sabo, 1985.

sports have resulted in women's athletics being subsumed under male athletic departments. This has led to patriarchal hiring and administrative structures. For example, the percentage of female head athletic directors has decreased 73.5% from the original number in 1972, with women representing only 16% of head athletic directors of women's programs in 1987 (Acosta and Carpenter, 1987). As explained earlier, socialist feminism states that once males acquire employee and employer advantage, they are more likely than females to get the higher paying and more prestigious jobs.

However, these factors, while extremely important, may not be the only factors to account for women not being hired, women not applying, and women leaving the occupation of collegiate basketball coaching. The idea of male dominance implies a subjective component, such as the adoption of male values and philosophy which has, as yet, not been examined. In terms of coaching, for example, it may be that the influx of men, representative of the encroachment of capitalist-patriarchy, has changed the expectations of how women should be coached. The occupation of coaching women's basketball may have changed to be more reflective of what is associated as "masculine" values, such as aggression, competition, winning and profit. This might

make women coaches look less qualified, and coaching itself less appealing to those who do not agree or fit in with the changes in coaching philosophy.

It is well documented that the philosophy surrounding women's athletics historically has varied from that surrounding men's athletics. As reviewed in the literature, differences in coaching style suggest that coaches of men's teams tended to use what is to be called a "corporate" model of coaching and coaches of women's teams used a more "relational" model (Hall, 1984; Birrell, 1984; Theberge, 1984; Acosta and Carpenter, 1985). While they do represent two distinct styles, it is important to note that coaching philosophy is not determined by the sex of the coach.⁵

If the coaching philosophy and expectations have changed to the corporate model, those who are most apt to disagree with this philosophy and those who have not been trained in it, most likely women, will be seen as less qualified for the job by the patriarchal hiring structure. And, to a lesser degree, those who do not agree with the corporate model of coaching, again most likely women, will not apply or will leave the field if they believe they have to coach

⁵ In this research, the term "sex" is used to refer to biological anatomy. In contrast, "gender" represents a learned behavior, such as femininity or masculinity, that is socially constructed and not predetermined by sex.

from that model. Thus, changes in the philosophy of the occupation into a more corporate model will further perpetuate the changes which have already begun in the gender composition of women's collegiate basketball coaching until the point that resegregation has occurred and is maintained.

4.1 HYPOTHESES

As has been shown, some important structural changes (such as the NCAA takeover and the increase in number of male coaches and administrator) have occurred in women's athletics. These changes are indicative of the encroachment of the systems of patriarchy and capitalism into the area. It is therefore hypothesized that the philosophy of coaching women's basketball has shifted away from traditional or "relational" values. Further, because Division I has experienced the greatest consequences of the influx of capitalism and patriarchy and is therefore more prestigious in terms of status and profit production, it is hypothesized that these teams will be more likely to exhibit "corporate" characteristics than Divisions II and III.

Finally, because gender is a social construction, the sex of the coach will not be the determinant of coaching philosophy, as both male and female coaches will use

relational and corporate. Coaching style, a gendered behavior, is a reflection of societal expectations of the content of the occupation.

CHAPTER 5

METHODS

5.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

The purpose of this research is to examine coaching philosophies to see the effects of the increase in the number of men as an indicator of patriarchal capitalism in the occupation. As this aspect has not previously been researched (Knoppers, 1989), qualitative methodology, specifically content analysis, was deemed most appropriate. Further, examining the subjective meaning of an occupation cannot be done without qualitative methodology. The method of qualitative content analysis is useful in generating hypotheses, a preliminary step in furthering the explanatory power of socialist feminism. For the purposes of this research, qualitative content analysis allows a more effective unstructured examination of coaches than other methodologies, which allows the research to understand the subjective meanings of the occupation

As discussed by Yin (1984), three conditions need to be examined when selecting appropriate methodology--the type of research question posed, the extent of control the researcher has over actual behavioral events, and the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events.

Consistent with this framework, content analyses was selected as most suitable to the present study because the research question revolves around exploring the changes in women's basketball and is dealing with historical events over which the researcher has no control.

The method used in this research draws from Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory approach, in which theoretical propositions and constructs are formulated from the data. In turn, these propositions are modified and compared with subsequent data and used to account for the relationships between constructs. While the present research does not use data to generate theory per se, the data are used to formulate categories and ideas to which theory is applied. Thus, the present research attempted to uncover propositions in the data, modify them into themes (or emergent categories), and compare the themes with other findings.

Because there is a lack of relevant information on coaching philosophy, initial research faces the problems of deciding which questions to ask and how to categorize responses. While it may be possible to find objective indicators such as win/loss records, player and game statistics, and so on, these are of little value unless researchers first understand their significance.

Qualitative content analysis, which is not made up of predetermined responses, allows an initial understanding of coaching philosophies to be formulated. Ideas and themes can emerge in their own form without being forced to fit into previously defined categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The use of such techniques allows for an investigation of the research problem as a whole, while simultaneously examining the meaning of the statements.

By examining the content of articles, it is hoped that a clear understanding of current coaching philosophy will be obtained. The emergent types of philosophy can then be compared to the themes identified in the literature, making it possible to see whether or not the model of coaching women's basketball has changed to be more representative of men's athletics with the influx of male coaches. Thus, it will be possible to explore the autonomous and interacting effects of capitalism and patriarchy in the process of changing gender compositions.

5.2 SAMPLE

The original intention of this research was to follow the top twenty teams in Division I for the past season, examining box scores, pre- and post-game write-ups and any

relevant comments by or about the coaches that appeared in the leading newspapers. However, this analysis strategy was not possible as coverage of women's teams is sparse. The major newspapers, including The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, USA Today, Los Angeles Times and The Washington Post, reported very little substantial information. Unlike the coverage of men's basketball, the majority of newspaper accounts were simply reports of a few final scores from the preceding weeks.⁶ When articles were found, they were either brief and technical, in the case of final scores, or "human interest" stories, such as the first female dunker, the nun who coached, or how one female coach kept her closest in order. These reports did not cover the majority of the top twenty teams and gave little, if any, indication of coaching philosophy. The original research design was thus abandoned for lack of information on the desired teams, possibly an indication of a lack of media coverage for women's athletics.

After consulting local college basketball coaching

⁶ The amount of press coverage of women's basketball is only a small fraction compared to that of men's. Not only did the above listed sources carry regional reports of men's games, but they usually also covered national games. Articles on men's basketball focused on many different areas, including games, players, coaches. Although not systematically measured, it appeared that coverage of men's basketball was far more extensive and complete than coverage of women's basketball.

assistants, it was decided that the most valuable source of information was a magazine titled Coaching Women's Basketball, put out bi-monthly since 1987 by the Women's Basketball Coaches Association. Not only does this source include write-ups on technical aspects of the game, such as skills, methods, strategy and new products, but each issue had a lengthy (2 - 4 pages) interview with a prominent coach. Additional articles related to coaching women's basketball from the past two seasons, 1987-88 and 1988-89, in the above mentioned newspapers, as well as Sports Illustrated and Women's Sports and Fitness, were obtained using a periodical search. Again, because of the scarcity of coverage, it was necessary to go back two seasons to find substantial information about coaching philosophies. In total, nine sources and 83 articles were used. Table 1 shows the sources used, the dates of the articles, and the amount of material each contained.

Table 1 about here

Table 1: Sources Used

<u>Chicago Tribune</u> , 2/16/87 - 3/19/89	3
<u>Coaching Women's Basketball</u> , 9/87 - 8/89	24
<u>Los Angeles</u> , 1/14/87 - 11/24/89	13
<u>New York Times</u> , 2/5/87 - 5/8/89	13
<u>Southern Living</u> , 3/88	1
<u>Sports Illustrated</u> , 2/2/87 - 11/20/89	10
<u>USA Today</u> , 1/6/87 - 3/27/89	9
<u>Washington Post</u> , 1/19/87 - 3/38/88	9
<u>Women's Sports and Fitness</u> , 2/87	1

Total sources = 9

Total articles = 83

Women's NCAA basketball is divided into three separate divisions based on school size and competition level. For structural comparisons, the present analysis attempted to use all three levels. In the 1988/89 season, women's basketball has 280 Division I teams, 188 Division II teams, and 293 Division III teams. Due to the lack of coverage, only a small percentage of teams in each division were represented, with the majority being from Division I. As shown in Table 2, a total of 30 coaches were included in the sample. Twenty-three teams were from Division I, four from Division II, and three from Division III. It is obvious that the sample is biased, a limitation which will be discussed in a later section.

Table 2 about here

Relevant articles were considered those which contained comments made by or about coaches which reflected coaching philosophy. Articles which were not considered relevant and were therefore dropped focused on final scores, individual players, team status and other areas which did not directly involve coaching philosophy. Among other things, articles

not used centered around injuries, improvement of playing skills, and high school coaches. Table 2 also lists the coaches used in the analysis along with sex, division and type(s) of statements. Of the thirty coaches examined, twenty-two were female and eight were male.⁷

Table 2 about here

⁷ It should be noted that these numbers do not accurately convey the increase in the number of men in the occupation. However, the sample is biased in that the coaches most likely to be found in media were not necessarily representative of the entire population of coaches.

Table 2: Coaches and Philosophy

COACH	TEAM	GENDER	DIVISION	TYPE(S)
BARMORE	LA TECH	M	I	HIERARCHICAL/TECHNICAL
BECK	U OF NEBRASKA	F	I	TECHNICAL
BLAIR	STEPH.F.AUSTIN	M	I	TECHNICAL/HIERARCHICAL
BONVICINI	LONG BEACH ST.	F	I	DEMOCRATIC
CAMPANELL	BETHANY COL.	F	III	PER-SOCIAL/DEMOCRATIC
CHANCELLOR	MISSISSIPPI	M	I	TECHNICAL
CIAMPI	AUBURN	M	I	HIERARCHICAL/TECHNICAL
CONRADT	TEXAS	F	I	PER-SOCIAL/DEMOCRATIC
GOLDEN	ILLINOIS	F	I	PER-SOCIAL/DEMOCRATIC
GRENTZ	RUTHERS	F	I	DEMOCRATIC/HIER/TECH
HATCHELL	U OF N.C.	F	I	PER-SOCIAL
LEONARD	DUKE	F	I	TECHNICAL
MAY	CAL STATE/POM.	F	II	TECH/PER-SOCIAL
MCHUGH	OKLAHOMA	F	I	HIERARCHICAL/TECHNICAL
MOORE	UCLA	F	I	HIERARCHICAL/TECHNICAL
MOSSMAN	KANSAS STATE	F	I	PER-SOCIAL
PARES	MARQUETTE	F	I	HIERARCHICAL/TECHNICAL
ROBINSON	U. OF D.C.	M	II	HIERARCHICAL/TECHNICAL
RULEY	N. DAKOTA ST.	F	II	PER-SOCIAL
RYAN	U. OF VA	F	I	HIERARCHICAL/TECHNICAL
SHARP	TEXAS TECH U.	F	I	TECH/HIER
SHEA	SALEM STATE	M	III	DEMOCRATIC
SILVERSON	CONCORDIA	M	III	DEMOCRATIC/PER-SOCIAL
SPENCER	FRESNO STATE	M	II	DEMOCRATIC/PER-SOCIAL
STRINGER	U OF IOWA	F	I	DEMOCRATIC/PER-SOCIAL
SUMMITT	TENNESSEE	F	I	PER-SOCIAL/DEMOCRATIC
VANDERVEER	STANFORD	F	I	PER-SOCIAL/DEMOCRATIC
WELLER	MARYLAND	F	I	PER-SOCIAL/DEMOCRATIC
WETTIG	IOWA STATE U.	F	I	PER-SOCIAL
YOW	NC STATE	F	I	PER-SOCIAL/DEMOCRATIC

N = 30

Total female = 22

male = 8

Div. I = 23

female = 19

male = 4

Div. II = 4

female = 2

male = 2

Div. III = 3

female = 1

male = 2

5.3 IDENTIFYING THEMES

Coding, the initial phase of the analytic method, involves categorizing and sorting the data, which in turn serves to label, separate, compile and organize the findings. Codes are developed out of collected material and may be treated as conceptual categories (Charmatz, 1983). For this research, Comments were categorized by sex of coach (male/female), division of team, and type of statement. Statements were grouped by category based on similarities. Four themes, or categories, emerged from the statements (technical values, hierarchical relations, democratic relations and personal-social development ethos) which were then compared to traditional types of men's and women's athletics, known as corporate and relational models, found in the review of literature.

Any comment which had to do with coaching philosophy made by or about a coach was recorded, as was all relevant information presented in the articles. While the comments alone were usually enough to indicate a certain style, it was important to examine them in the context of the article to obtain a true sense of the overall theme of coaching philosophy. For example, a quote such as, "You have to be the authority figure" would suggest valuing control of players and lack of concern about personal issues. When

placed in the context of the article, which was about Jodi Conradt, coach at University of Texas, it was possible to see that her real concern was with the personal development of athletes as individuals. She stated,

"It's particularly hard with this age group, because they're struggling with their identities and going through so many changes. You have to be the authority figure. There's no question~~ing~~ about that. But you also have to be approachable (emphasis, mine). You almost have to be two different people...You have to be available, and the players almost have to make the initiation of that" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(1):19).

She went on to say that it's important for players to realize coaches love them and she makes a point of telling this to her players. The original comment, when taken alone, can therefore suggest a misleading value. In this and similar instances, it was necessary to note the entire context of the article.

Several characteristics could be seen in the comments provided by the data. Included among them are authoritarianism, capitalism, paternalism, hierarchical relations, democratic relations, humanist values, personal-social development ethos, technical values and concern for academics. These characteristics were grouped into sub-categories, or themes, representing coaching philosophy. Table 3 gives examples of comments represented by each theme. The themes that emerged from the data are defined in

the following sections.

Table 3 about here

Table 3: Coaching Philosophy: Examples of Themes

Hierarchical Relations:

Defined as authoritative, paternalistic, domineering and capitalistic. Coaches demonstrate excessive control over players with emphasis on competition and winning.

Leon Barmore, Louisiana Tech, made many paternalistic comments, such as referring to "his" players as "kids" who "want to be told things point blank...so that's what I do." Barmore's comments throughout the interview centered around getting players to fit into "his" system and play "his" game, stressing the necessity of players learning to "accept their roles" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(1):15-16).

Joe Ciampi, Auburn University, expressed capitalistic concerns and felt that players need to be aggressive. He stated, "don't be afraid to compete...you can't be afraid of failure...In practice, once we learn drills, we have winners and losers in each drill--because society has winners and losers. It's set up that way." (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(6):11).

Technical Values:

Includes the rudimentary aspects of the game, such as play execution and skill improvement, with the primary goal of winning.

Leon Barmore, Louisiana Tech, (taken from comments made about him by other coaches) illustrated technical values. He was called the "Finest tactician in women's basketball" and "A solid X's and O's man..." (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(5):8). No reference was made to the players. Instead of emphasizing the development of players, these comments stress basketball skill and game strategy.

Debbie Leonard, Duke University, stated, "Before the season started, the coaching staff decided that at this point if we could be .500 we would be really successful" (New York Times, Dec. 20, 1988, p. B13). Leonard, along with her staff, set the definition of success in terms of win/loss records and without input from the players.

Table 3: Coaching Philosophy: Examples of Themes (con't)

Personal-Social Ethos:

Primary concern for the overall development of students, as people rather than athletes, Emphasis on all aspects of development--adjustment to college, preparation for future, intellectual progress and life preparation--not just basketball skills.

Vivian Stringer, University of Iowa, treats players in a non-exploitative manner and shows concern for their personal well-being. She states, "I want players who will feel the same hurt when we lose and the same joy when we win...warm individuals...who will become friends and who you can sit down with over a cup of coffee" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(4):10).

Bob Spencer, Fresno State University, believes in helping students reach their full potential--not just in basketball, but in life. In a comment about him, an ex-player stated, "He doesn't just teach basketball, he teaches life. What he teaches goes beyond college. Whatever you choose to do, he teaches you to survive life successfully." (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(5):21).

Democratic Relations:

The sharing of responsibilities and representation of all involved. Athletes have voice and power, demonstrated by player input, suggestions and opinions. Coaches listen and communicate.

Tara VanDerveer, Stanford University exemplified this in the following statement, "the thing that has really helped me in coaching is listening to my players. I feel that I work for my players...I ask for weekly feedback from my players regarding classes, health, highlights of their week, and so on. I work hard to maintain strong communication with all the players, not just the starting five. I feel a teams' rapport, its chemistry, is more important than what's in its playbook. I want our players and coaches to respect each other, and I try to foster that respect through my coaching style. I want us to strive for mutual goals with an unselfish attitude. I don't look for individual recognition--I don't try to exploit my players and they don't try to use me. The whole thing is dictated by mutual trust" (Coaching Women's Basketball 2(6):13).

Table 3: Coaching Philosophy: Examples of Themes (con't)

Jodi Conradt, University of Texas, gives her players the responsibility of setting team standards and goals and reaching them. Instead of dictating orders to players, she allows them to have input in team decisions. She stated, "I've tried to divert a lot of responsibility to the team itself. There are certain standards and goals the team sets. Then based on their goals, I have the players make team rules. They do their own rule making, and it's worked out a lot better for me. What I found when I went in and handed them a set of rules was that was my standard and not theirs, and there was not real commitment" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(1):19).

Duane Silverson, Concordia College, on commenting on the changes from coaching men to women, stated, "the biggest change has been learning to give up so much control over the players. The women were so much more mature than the men while being so much more willing to listen to what I was teaching that I found the excessive control I tried to exercise was counterproductive. I had used it before to insure that players would follow my plan. Once I realized I was dealing with a lot of pretty intelligent people who took seriously what I was saying, I was able to listen to their thoughts and suggestion and I learned to take a less domineering approach (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(2):25).

Note: The importance of these statements lie in the totality of the coach's comments. For example, it is true that all coaches will express an interest in the technical or skill aspect of the game. However, coaches stressing technical values did not show characteristics of the personal-social development ethos. That is, coaches whose primary concern centered around the technical aspects of the game, which often emphasized winning, did not speak to issues about development of players as individuals. While this does not necessarily imply that these coaches did not care for their players, neither personal-social development or democratic values were of primary importance. However, the presence of hierarchical relations and technical values was stronger.

5.3.1 Hierarchical Relations. A hierarchy suggests a ranked series with a single leader at the top. Hierarchies are often authoritative in nature, paternalistic, domineering and capitalistic. Coaches involved in this type of relation dictate from the top and do not use input from the bottom, in this case the players. Such coaches rarely mentioned areas related to the personal growth of individual players. They were more concerned with getting players to fit into "their" system and play "their" game.

5.3.2 Technical Values. Technical values describe concern with the more rudimentary aspects of the game, such as how to execute certain plays or how to improve skill levels on the court. Coaches expressing this value were more interested in the playing of the game, usually with the goal of winning, rather than the growth of individual players. While they did believe in increasing a player's skill level, this was only in relationship to the game. Similar to the hierarchical theme, the overall development of players as human beings, while not necessarily unimportant, had a lower priority than technical development.

5.3.3 Personal-Social Development Ethos. Personal-social development values can be described as a primary concern for

the student as a human being rather than athlete, with emphasis on all aspects of development, not just basketball skills. Coaches ascribing to this value would be concerned with the intellectual progress of athletes and preparing them for life after college. Additionally, this theme includes humanist values, such as not exploiting the players and showing respect for the opposing teams.

5.3.4 Democratic Relations. In contrast to hierarchical relations, democratic relations emphasize representation of all involved. Thus, this value suggests that athletes have power. While the coach has the final say, all player and staff members have a voice on the team. Coaches are concerned with player input, suggestions and opinions. Often players are responsible for developing their own programs, making their own decisions on the court and setting their own schedules. While the coaches may guide decisions and outcomes, they do not dictate to the players.

5.3.4 Summary.

Given the four categories, it is possible to see that hierarchical relations and technical values are similar to the corporate model of coaching philosophy as found in the literature. Additionally, personal-social development ethos

and democratic relations are similar to the relational model, as found in the literature. Thus, the credibility of the emergent categories is strengthened. The next step is to see which coaches employed these models.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In summary, to see the effects of the changing gender composition in the coaching of women's basketball, subjective indicators of coaching philosophy were examined. Through qualitative content analysis of various news, popular and coaching media over the past two years, themes reflecting current coaching ideology emerged. These themes were contrasted with traditional coaching philosophies to answer the following question: Has the influx of men changed the occupation of coaching women's basketball? These findings will then be used to strengthen and broaden the theory of occupational sex segregation as implied by socialist feminism.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

As expected, male coaches of Division I were found to hold technical values and stressed hierarchical relations, known as corporate-modeled philosophy. Some female coaches also held these same values, but the majority could be characterized by a personal-social development ethos and democratic relations, described as the relational model philosophy. In contrast, men and women coaches of Division III basketball teams did not adopt gender differentiated coaching styles. That is, both male and female coaches of Division II and III schools exemplified a relational model philosophy. Division II appeared to be a transitional level. Both male and female coaches showed characteristics of both the corporate and relational models. Table 3 showed the distribution of comments by gender and division. The philosophies exemplified by individual coaches, gender and division are discussed below.

6.1 PERSONAL-SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT ETHOS

The first theme to emerge was the personal-social development ethos. This has been defined as a primary concern for overall well-being of students. Coaches

adhering to this theme often stressed academics, adjustment to college life, and preparation for the future. The personal-social development ethos was seen in 16 female coaches in Divisions I, II and III, and in three male coaches in Divisions II and III.

No representation of the personal-social development ethos was evidenced by male coaches of Division I. An example of the personal-social development ethos of a Division I female coach can be found in the comments by Pam Wetting of Iowa State University. In a debate about whether or not pre-season work-out time should be shortened she felt that

"yes...it should be shortened. The NCAA needs to make allowance for (individual) player development by allowing for informal time during the developmental periods...Spending informal time with athletes during these developmental periods would enhance the younger athletes' adjustment to college life...By no means should the time spent with athletes distract from their academic responsibilities and demands" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(2):3).

This is an example where the coach is more concerned with the total development of the athlete, especially first year students. Rather than emphasizing improvement of basketball skill, she stresses adaptation to college and academic skills.

Vivian Stringer, coach of the Division I team at the University of Iowa, exemplifies the personal-social aspect

by focusing on the feelings of players. She states,

"I want players who will feel the same hurt when we lose and the same joy when we win...warm individuals...who will become friends and who you can sit down with over a cup of coffee" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(4):10).

As opposed to viewing athletes in an exploitative manner, Stringer treats them as social beings ("warm individuals") and shows concern for their personal well-being in efforts to promote lifetime friendships.

As stated, no male coaches in Division I displayed the personal-social development ethos. In Division III, however, both of the coaches represented held this value. Bob Spencer, at Fresno State University, believes in helping students reach their full potential--not just in basketball, but in life. In a comment about him, an ex-player stated

"He doesn't just teach basketball, he teaches life. What he teaches goes beyond college. Whatever you choose to do, he teaches you to survive life successfully." (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(5):21).

This statement was similar to others by and about Division III coaches, both male and female. In each case, the coach was concerned about the overall development of students in academics and preparation for life.

6.2 DEMOCRATIC RELATIONS

The second theme which makes up the female model of

coaching philosophy was the presence of democratic relations. This is defined as the sharing of responsibilities and representation of all team members. Democratic values were demonstrated seven female coaches in Division I, one female in Division III, and three males in Divisions II and III. Comments by Tara VanDerveer, Stanford University (Division I) head coach show what differentiates the female and male models for this value. Her philosophy of coaching is

"to provide the best opportunities for the young women who are playing...I feel that...my job is to help them become the best they can be. I try to accomplish this through positive reinforcement. I work with my players to set specific goals..."
(Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(6):12).

When taken alone, this comment could represent various aspects of either the male or female model. It is possible to interpret the above statement as hierarchical, with the coach trying to get the most out of her players. It is unclear as to whether the coach is referring to player development on or off the court. But when read in its entirety, it is possible to see that VanDerveer also talks about personal feedback in such goal setting, a more democratic stance. VanDerveer states

"the thing that has really helped me in coaching is listening to my players. I feel that I work for my players...I ask for weekly feedback from my players regarding classes, health, highlights of their week, and so on. I work hard to maintain strong communication with all the players, not just the

starting five. I feel a teams' rapport, its chemistry, is more important than what's in its playbook. I want our players and coaches to respect each other, and I try to foster that respect through my coaching style. I want us to strive for mutual goals with an unselfish attitude. I don't look for individual recognition--I don't try to exploit my players and they don't try to use me. The whole thing is dictated by mutual trust" (Coaching Women's Basketball 2(6):13).

The second part of this statement clearly shows the importance of democratic relations to this coach. Comments such as listening and communicating with all players, not exploiting the athletes, and the importance of mutual trust exemplifies the democratic theme.

One of the best instances of the theme of democratic relations was found in the philosophy of Jodi Conradt, a female coach of Division I team University of Texas. She stated

"I've tried to divert a lot of responsibility to the team itself. There are certain standards and goals the team sets. Then based on their goals, I have the players make team rules. They do their own rule making, and it's worked out a lot better for me. What I found when I went in and handed them a set of rules was that was my standard and not theirs, and there was not real commitment" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(1):19).

Conradt gives her players the responsibility of setting team standards and goals and reaching them. Instead of dictating orders to players, she allows them to have input in team decisions.

Just as with the theme of personal-social development,

no male coaches of Division I presented comments to suggest democratic relations. Examples could be found from Division II and III coaches, however, where the comments indicated the presence of democratic relations. One example is Duane Silverson, coach at Concordia College of Moorehead, who received the Division III coach of the year award. When commenting on the change from coaching men to women, he stated

"the biggest change has been learning to give up so much control over the players. The women were so much more mature than the men while being so much more willing to listen to what I was teaching that I found the excessive control I tried to exercise was counterproductive. I had used it before to insure that players would follow my plan. Once I realized I was dealing with a lot of pretty intelligent people who took seriously what I was saying, I was able to listen to their thoughts and suggestion and I learned to take a less domineering approach (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(2):25).

The primacy of comments such as listening to the players and not using excessive control are representative of democratic values. As will be shown, this is a contrast to the hierarchical relations which were expressed by many Division I coaches.

Taken together, the themes of personal-social development and democratic relations make up the relational model of coaching philosophy. This model is similar to historical accounts of the philosophy of women's athletics. Next, the corporate-modeled philosophy will be discussed.

This model, also similar to the historical account of men's athletics, is represented by the presence of hierarchical relations and technical values.

6.3 HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS

In brief, the presence of hierarchical relations are indicated by comments which include excessive control over players and capitalist motives, such as competition and winning. Aspects of authoritarianism, which suggests concentration of power in a leader who is not responsible to the people, and paternalism, a situation where the authority figure regulates conduct and control of individuals, were evident. This theme was present among all four of the Division I male coaches. An illustration comes from comments made by Leon Barmore, head coach at Louisiana Tech (Division I). In one article, he was quoted making many paternalistic comments, such as referring to "his" players as "kids" who "want to be told things point blank...so that's what I do" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(1):16). Barmore's comments throughout the interview centered around getting players to fit into "his" system and play "his" game, stressing the necessity of players learning to "accept their roles". Needless to say, Barmore considered himself to be at the top of this hierarchy.

Another male, Joe Ciampi at Auburn University (Division I), also expressed capitalistic concerns that are a part of the theme of hierarchical relations. He felt that players need to be aggressive and stated

"don't be afraid to compete...you can't be afraid of failure...In practice, once we learn drills, we have winners and losers in each drill--because society has winners and losers. It's set up that way."
(Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(6):11).

By stressing competition, Ciampi is promoting capitalism in women's basketball. Emphasis is placed on winning and losing, with the goal of "success" being to win. This is also a good example of how sport is a microcosm of society. The capitalistic nature of society is reflected in traditionally male-defined athletics. As hypothesized, this statement suggests that it is now also present in women's athletics.

Interestingly, the theme of hierarchical relations was also present among six of the female coaches in Division I. Upon employment, Maria Pares, coach of the Division I team at Marquette, implemented a "strenuous workout regime...longer practices...barked orders" for her players. Instead of the traditional pre-game cheer of "Go Team", Pares requested one of more competitive nature, such as "Beat Bears". One of her players commented

"She's kind of cocky...In the past it wasn't great to lose, but it was acceptable. This year it's important to win" (Sports Illustrated, 66(5):54).

This quote shows the stress placed on competition, a capitalistic value which is part of the overall theme of hierarchical relations.

Another comment by a female Division I coach suggested control over players. Marsha Sharp, at the University of Texas, showed a very strong belief in paternalistic control in a debate on the length of pre-season practice time. She stated "Coaches have the right to choose the amount of time we spend day to day developing the individual skills and team concepts for our program" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(2):3). Not only does this comment suggest hierarchical control of players, but it is void of indication of player input. The totality of the article showed that the primary concern for this coach was with basketball skill development, a value indicative of the technical theme which will be discussed next.

6.4 TECHNICAL VALUES

The second part of the corporate model, an emphasis on technical values, was found along side hierarchical relations. That is, articles on coaches which illustrated hierarchical values also suggested the primacy of technical values. Eight women and four men in Division I, as well as one woman and one man in Division II stressed technical

values. An example of this is found in comments about Barmore (Louisiana Tech) by other coaches. He was called the "Finest tactician in women's basketball" and..."A solid X's and O's man..." (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(5):8). Instead of emphasizing the development of players, these comments stress basketball skill and game strategy. Another example is Debbie Leonard at Duke University (Division I) who stated, "Before the season started, the coaching staff decided that at this point if we could be .500 we would be really successful" (New York Times, Dec. 20, 1988, p. B13). In contrast to coaches displaying female-modeled values, this coach (along with her staff) was setting the definition of success in terms of win/loss record and without input from the players. Besides suggesting the presence of hierarchical relations, Leonard showed the primacy of technical values over personal-social development.

The importance of these and similar statements lie in the totality of the coach's comments. It is true that all coaches will express an interest in the technical or skill aspect of the game. However, coaches stressing technical values did not show characteristics of the personal-social development ethos. That is, coaches whose primary concern centered around the technical aspects of the game, which often emphasized winning, did not speak to issues about

development of players as individuals. While this does not necessarily imply that these coaches did not care for their players, neither personal-social development or democratic values were of primary importance. However, the presence of hierarchical relations and technical values was stronger.

6.5 RELATIONAL MODEL

Any coach who expressed democratic and/or personal social values was categorized as using a relational model of coaching philosophy. A total of 14 women used this model 11 from Division I, two from Division II, and one from Division I. The relational model was evidenced among three men, 1 from Division II and two from Division III. There was no male coach from Division I that employed aspects of the relational model. The significance of these findings will be discussed in the next section.

6.6 CORPORATE MODEL

Coaches who were categorized as using corporate model philosophy were those that displayed technical and/or hierarchical characteristics. This model include nine women, seven from Division I and two from Division II, and five men, four from Division I and one from Division II. The corporate model was not evidenced at Division III among

either male or female coaches. One of the females from Division II used mixed philosophy--aspects of both relational and corporate models. For analyses, she has been included under both the corporate model and the relational model. The significance of this will be discussed in later sections.

6.7 LIMITATIONS

It can be argued that the study is limited for several reasons. The most serious problem was the lack of information on more coaches of women's basketball. As previously evidenced, relatively few coaches were used, making the sample biased. Only a small number of comments and coaches were used because that was all that was available; the supply of articles on women's basketball was exhausted. This reflects a social reality--a relative lack of attention to women's collegiate basketball--which is significant in and of itself. By the same token, one cannot examine what is not there.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) address the question of sample size using the concept of theoretical saturation as the criterion for when to stop sampling. Saturation is reached when no additional data are being found which contribute to the development of the properties of the category. A

related idea suggested by the same researchers is obtaining "slices of data", or different views from which to understand a category and to develop its properties. While it was not possible to reach the overall saturation level (due to the general lack of information), the present research did attempt to collect many slices of data. It can be said that the categories themselves were saturated. This was done through the use of a variety of data sources. Glaser and Strauss do point out that the depth of theoretical sampling is constrained by structural conditions. In this case, availability of information proved to be one such constraint.

Another major concern with the study is credibility. The quantitative procedures for assessing validity and reliability cannot be directly carried over to qualitative research (Emerson, 1983). Thus, it is necessary to address external validity and credibility. Drawing from Denzin (1970), Emerson (1983) states that external validity requires the demonstration that cases studies are representative of the whole. While it can be said that the data represent the media's portrayal of coaching philosophy, the small sample size suggests using caution before extending the findings to women's basketball in general. However, it should be noted that many of the coaches studied

were among the top teams of each division and were among the most popular. Also, the emergent categories were similar in nature to those previously found in the literature, a fact which gives strength to the philosophy indicators. Finally, the results only included coaches who had at least one entire write-up. Enough information had to be acquired to allow the categorization of coaching philosophy. Thus, it is believed that the statements analyzed were representative of each coach's philosophy.

The issue of credibility has been addressed by Becker (1970). In discussing fieldwork, he argued that qualitative conclusions are highly credible because the researcher spends long periods of time studying the phenomenon and collects a variety of observations. In the present study, the analogous situation would exist in examining a variety of "data slices". As already mentioned, the resources on women's basketball were limited and there was a constraint on the variety of observations collected. However, those which existed were exhausted. Becker also purports that qualitative research is credible because data emerges naturally rather than being forced to fit predetermined categories. For this reason, the researcher looked for the emergence of current coaching models. Finally, Becker feels credibility is strengthened by analyzing the data as a whole

rather than in separate pieces. For the current study, many comments were obtained from a variety of articles. Further, the meaning of statements was extracted on the basis of the context in which they appeared. Thus, while the data were limited, it is believed that the coach's philosophy was accurately depicted.

Nonetheless, the validity of this study cannot be definitely assessed. Because this study is one of the first attempts to examine subjective consequences of changing gender composition in occupations, there is little research with which to compare the findings. Therefore, before any credibility can be placed on the patterns that emerged, additional research needs to be undertaken.

6.8 SUMMARY

Bearing the limitations in mind, it can be suggested that coaches in Division I and II used both corporate- and relational-modeled philosophy. All of the coaches in Division III, however, followed the relational model. It was also found that both male and female coaches of Division I held technical values and operated in terms of hierarchical relations. While there was evidence of the relational model among female coaches in Division I, no male coaches in this division displayed these values. The

section that follows will discuss the meaning of these findings in relation to the guiding question of this study.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

The results of this study partially supported the hypothesis that coaching philosophy surrounding women's Division I basketball is changing from the relational model to one more characteristic of the corporate model. There were women as well as men in Divisions I and II who adhered to the corporate model of coaching philosophy. The philosophy of the corporate model is filtering to female coaches. Before the increase in number of men, women coaches generally followed the relational model of philosophy (Acosta and Carpenter, 1985; Uhlir, 1984). As men moved into the occupation at Division I, they brought with them corporate-modeled coaching philosophy. The use of this model has spread to include some female coaches in Divisions I and II. The fact that the philosophy of coaching is changing with the increase in male coaches suggests a change in the meaning of the occupation itself.

The findings also showed that coaching models vary across divisions. It was found that Division I coaches were more likely to exhibit characteristics of the corporate-modeled philosophy than teams in Division II and III, regardless of the sex of the coach. It is important to note

that there were no coaches in Division III following the corporate model. The comments of both male and female coaches in this division indicated the continued use of a relational model philosophy. In this case, men came into the occupation at the lower levels and adopted the present (relational) coaching philosophy.

The presence of male coaches in Division III following the relational model, as well as female coaches in Division I following the corporate model, indicates that coaching style cannot be explained by sex of the coach, which was suggested in the third hypothesis. As previously discussed, sex is a biological construct. Gender, on the other hand, is a social construct. In this case, it was found that women were not expected to coach according to the relational model, nor were men necessarily expected to follow the corporate model. Biological sex was not a predictor of coaching style. Rather, it appears that coaching style is associated with the level of penetration of patriarchal-capitalism.

Currently, the corporate model is present in Divisions I and II. Thus the increasing influence of patriarchal-capitalism in the occupation appears to have led to a shift in coaching philosophy. Division I teams, because they participate in higher levels of competition and have greater

revenue producing ability, are more likely to exhibit characteristics of the corporate model. Division II appears to be a "buffer" between Divisions I and II, with a mixture of findings. Men and women in this Division followed both models. Division III teams were more likely to follow the relational model.

However, it is important to note that both coaching philosophies were found within Divisions I and II. Perhaps the best contrast is seen by comparing Pat Head Summitt and Leon Barmore, coaches of the number one and two ranked Division I teams for 1988-89. In 1989, Summitt and Barmore were also named "Co-Coaches of the Decade by the Women's Basketball Coaches Association". Summitt, working from a relational model, was more concerned with personal-social development of student athletes and allowed them to contribute to and build their own programs and schedules. In an article on the women's basketball team at Tennessee, the importance of all players feeling that they had contributed to "their" program was stressed. As she feels that each player fills an unique role, Summitt insists that they participate interactively in establishing both team and individual goals (Coaching Women's Basketball, 1(1):23).

An opposing view was illustrated by Barmore, coach at Louisiana Tech, who epitomized the corporate model. When

recruiting players, Barmore said that he "looks for ones that will fit into my system" (Coaching Women's Basketball, 2(1):16). Control was a key aspect for Barmore. The article repeatedly emphasized his need to "control the game and make any necessary adjustments". In the same article, Barmore stated that his primary goal was "to get the most out of myself and my players". Instead of running the team democratically, he emphasized execution of orders. While this is not to imply that Barmore did not care about the players, the personal-social development ethos did not appear to be a primary value.

By examining these findings, it is possible to see how the social construction of gender has been guided by systems of patriarchy and capitalism. In Division I, both the corporate and relational models were evident. To be successful, coaches in Division I need to win games and produce profit. However, it also appears preferable for this to occur using a corporate model. This is based on the observation that while both genders used the corporate model, only women followed the relational model. It should be noted that both sexes and gender models were "successful" in terms of win/loss records. The 1988/89 Division I Final Four consisted of two teams coached by women using the relational model of philosophy, and two by men following the

corporate model. If these models are equally successful, hence equally profitable, the fact that only women use the relational model is indicative of patriarchy.

These findings also provide a good illustration of the dialectical relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. In Division I, both patriarchy and capitalism can be seen with the infiltration of traits which are associated with profit making and which, not coincidentally, are taken to be "men's" traits. Thus, there exists a coaching philosophy consistent with values of patriarchal-capitalism, stressing competition, hierarchy, authoritarianism, winning, and production. At the same time, patriarchy and capitalism can come into conflict with one another. Coaches that win can use either method they prefer, as evidenced by the presence of the relational model, from the standpoint of profit production. This conflicts with the interests of patriarchy, in that it is possible to win using a relational model.

In Division III, both men and women use the relational model. This is the level which most resembles traditional women's athletics. As patriarchal-capitalist relations have not filtered down to this level, Division III teams are not expected to be profit producing.

Women's athletics is by no means static--the changes

instituted over the past two decades are still in progress. This research suggests as women's athletics becomes more capitalized, Division II will incorporate the corporate model next, followed by Division III. Eventually, if women's athletics continues to follow the corporate path of men's athletics, it is quite possible that all coaches of women's basketball will be expected to adhere to the corporate model of coaching.

The results of this study can be applied to other areas of occupational sex segregation and studies of the workplace. Whereas most research has focused on women desegregating and resegregating an occupation, this study has examined this process in the opposite direction. As discussed, one of the consequences of women entering an occupation is the resulting decrease in value, status and prestige of the job. Changes in the actual activities of the job or in the traits that are seen as necessary for the job often accompany the process, known as feminization. In research on the changes in clerical work, Glenn and Feldberg (1989) found that the fundamental meaning and status of the clerical work changed with its feminization. The women who entered this work force found themselves in dead-end occupations that were declining in status and wages.

This study looked at the reverse process, what can occur

with the masculinization of an occupation. While definite conclusions cannot be drawn at this point, it appears that some of the same mechanisms, including changes in job status, power, prestige, and salary, are at work in both the masculinization and feminization of occupations. However, much still need to be addressed. Research in the future could focus on the possible status and salary changes in coaching. The most evident hypothesis could be that job salary and prestige could increase with the shift toward male domination.

Nursing is one of the few female-dominated occupations that has experienced a significant increase in the number of men. Within nursing, men have positions of higher status, such as anesthetist. There higher status is also evidence by the location of male nurses. They are overrepresented in hospitals (where the pay, prestige and autonomy are relatively high) and underrepresented in nursing homes, schools and physicians' and dentists' offices (Stromberg, 1988). Similarly, within teaching and librarianship, as many other female dominated fields, men are more likely to move into supervisory, administrative, or specialized positions. These gender-based discrepancies are the result of the occupations being organized hierarchically and largely controlled by men in key positions (Stromberg,

1988). Given the changes evidenced in women's basketball it is quite possible that women's status in coaching will ultimately be severely damaged.

Parallels can be found between the occupation of coaching and other occupations which have experienced sex segregation and resegregation. What this research shows is that the forces of patriarchy and capitalism also work in the process of masculinization, and how this might occur. Not only are women moved into jobs with decreased status, but they are also moved out of jobs with increased status. Occupational segregation can take various forms, any of which result in the subordination of the minority group by the group in power. In this case, as Reskin (1988) suggests, men integrated into female occupations rise to the top and monopolize the field. While previous studies have explored various processes of occupational resegregation, little has been done to examine changes in the subjective meaning of occupations. This study adds to both socialist feminism and occupational research by hypothesizing that one mechanism in the process of resegregation is the redefinition of the meaning of the occupation.

It is therefore concluded that there has been an influx of patriarchal capitalism in the occupation of coaching women's basketball. This has led to a redefining of the

occupation towards male values. Socialist feminist theory would predict that the number of men will continue to increase, given the influence of these systems and resultant ideological changes. The control of sport by men will spur the continued decline of women coaches. Because they are in administrative positions of power, men can continue to write rules and set policies which enable them to continue to write rules and set policies (Reskin, 1988). The coaching of females by males tends to reinforce patriarchal relations by stressing male dominance and superiority (Knoppers, 1987). Briefly, examples of this include the adoption of male values and hiring practices, the acceptance of these values as normative, and the absence of female role models. The resulting devaluation of females is reproduced by ideology. This may well explain why the corporate model of coaching is being accepted by women in Division I, while the relational model is not adopted by men.

Thus, this research suggests the corporate model of coaching philosophy will gain greater acceptance. This will cause gender to become more important, as patriarchal relations will dictate that the relational model will be less accepted. It will be expected that coaches of women's basketball will follow the corporate model as the occupation is redefined in a way that supports patriarchal capitalism.

The resulting imbalance could be damaging to women, not only in the form of occupational discrimination, but also by the replacement of the relational model of women's athletics. The dialectical nature of society would result in women contributing to and supporting the patriarchal status quo and capitalist system that serves to oppress them, thus making the imbalance self-perpetuating. This could result in the domination of the corporate model of coaching philosophy in women's basketball. As asserted by Milkman (1983), once established, beliefs concerning the nature of occupations are difficult to change by those with less power.

Socialist feminist theory asserts that sport reflects the same patriarchal capitalist relations as society. It was shown that the philosophy surrounding the occupation of coaching women's basketball has shifted with the penetration of patriarchal capitalism in women's athletics. The shift has also served to reinforce patriarchy, as it encourages male power.

Thus it appears that in women's collegiate athletics, the occupation of coaching is being redefined. Changes in gender composition are resulting in changes in job characteristics. Further, this philosophical change may lead to further gender segregation within the occupation.

Redefining the occupation, which is also increasing in status and prestige, is perpetuating sex segregation. Altering what it means to coach may make it appear that women are inept, thus providing a reason for sex discrimination. This may also lead to the voluntary resignation of many competent female coaches who do not wish to adhere to the patriarchal-capitalist values inherent in the corporate model. The encroachment of patriarchy and capitalism in women's athletics may result in the continued devaluation of women, an occurrence not unlike those of the workplace and society in general.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the dynamics of shifting gender composition to see if an occupation changes in a way that perpetuates domination by sex. By examining the coaching of women's basketball, it was documented that a shift in gender composition was accompanied by changing job philosophy, replacing traditional feminine values with male values. Male philosophical domination could ultimately serve to set up barriers to women. This provides a valuable theoretical insight, as previous research has often ignored the subjective aspects of changing occupational gender composition, such as the actual job meaning.

The theoretical perspective used was socialist feminism, which allowed for the critical examination of the structure of society, focusing on the overall systems of production and gender-based power differentials. To see the effects of the increase in number of men in the occupation of coaching of women's basketball, indicators of coaching philosophy were examined. Content analysis of various printed media over the past two seasons was done to determine current coaching philosophy of male and female coaches. The themes

which developed--hierarchical relations, democratic relations, technical values and personal-social development ethos--were contrasted with models of traditional men's and women's athletics to determine if the philosophy surrounding women's basketball had changed in a way that redefined the meaning of the occupation.

While the research was hampered by the lack of available data, especially at the lower divisions, the results supported the hypothesis that coaching philosophy is changing from the values associated with traditional women's athletics to one more characteristic of traditional men's athletics. It was determined that two models of coaching exist--relational and corporate--reflective of traditional women's and men's basketball, respectively. It also appears that division level, representative of different degrees of patriarchal capitalism, is a mediating factor, with Division I being more likely to use the corporate model and Division III, the relational model, regardless of the sex of the coach. A significant aspect of this was the influence of capitalism among Division I teams. Because they were expected to be profitable and productive, the coaches had to be successful. As it is more associated with the goals of capitalism and patriarchy, the corporate model moved into Division I. However, some women were still using the

relational model and because these coaches were successful, they were acceptable. In other words, the goals of capitalism were being met.

However, the presence of capitalism does not sufficiently explain the coaching situation; capitalism would predict that any model would be used if it were equally successful. But in Division I, only women use both models. Capitalism cannot explain this. Thus, the fact that this is a patriarchal form of capitalism is crucial. Patriarchy explains the shift in women's athletics away from its traditional values and toward society's androcentric norms. The effects of the ideological components of patriarchy will become more evident as the structure takes firmer hold through the institution of male-dominated hiring systems and so forth.

Teams at the Division III level more closely resembled traditional women's athletics. Because capitalism and patriarchy have not filtered to this level as much, the continued use of the relational model was seen, regardless of the sex of the coach. The gendered construction of the occupation at this level is such that the relational model is accepted and even desired. It is expected that coaches will adhere to this model which is most reflective of women's basketball at the Division III level. The findings

from Division II were mixed, with evidence of both models. Because women's athletics is in the process of change, it was suggested that this level is a buffer between Division I and III.

It can be concluded that the occupation of coaching women's basketball is changing. The shift in gender composition is altering the job expectations in such a way as to perpetuate further gender segregation within the occupation. Male domination, both subjective and objective, contributes to and reinforces patriarchy, which, by its nature, discriminates against women. In women's collegiate basketball, the relational model of coaching has declined in value and is being replaced by the corporate model, a symbol of male dominance.

These findings are similar in nature to other studies on occupational resegregation. Whether it be the masculinization or feminization of a field, the interacting effects of patriarchy and capitalism result in decreased power and prestige for women and feminine values.

8.1 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As previously indicated, the most severe limitation of this study was the small amount of available information. The extent to which the subject of investigation was absent

from was unknown until the research was underway. This void, however, is representative of the status of women's sports in general, which get very little national attention. Perhaps a better research design would have been case studies of the top four coaches from the past season, which happened to be two males and two females. Doing so would have enabled the researcher to gain more information through detailed case studies. This could be done by following the teams throughout the season in a local or college newspapers, examining pre- and post-game write-ups, interviewing, and observing behavior at games and practices. By using various methods, the researcher could gather more observations, become more of an "insider", and thus better understand subjective meanings.

A speculative explanation of differences in coaching philosophies might be found by examining years on the job. Although not systematically studied, it was noted that coaches who have been coaching women's teams for long periods of time (five years or longer) were more likely to use a relational model philosophy. In contrast, those just entering the occupation were more likely to use a corporate model of philosophy, regardless of division level or sex of the coach. For example, it is possible that the women and men in Division I who used the corporate modeled philosophy

had only recently acquired the position. The men and women who used the relational model, regardless of division level, appeared to be fairly established in the occupation. If correct, this speculation may suggest possible generational differences in coaching philosophy. This would give support to one of the initial arguments of this research, that the corporate model is becoming more evident in women's basketball. Coaching style is evidence of what is being taught and is also indicative of the change. This may be due in part to coaches learning to use the corporate model of coaching philosophy and also to the patriarchal hiring practices in women's athletics.

Since this research has outlined several categories which might be useful in evaluating coaching philosophies, it would now be beneficial to gather a larger amount of data. For example, questionnaires could be sent to a representative sample of coaches from each division, providing a larger data base. Because the preliminary groundwork has been laid out by qualitative analysis, it is now possible to examine the phenomenon from a quantitative approach. Researchers will now have a better understanding of what areas need to be explored in examining occupational gender changes.

Another related area to be explored includes the

position of assistant coach. Drawing from patriarchy, it is expected that men will occupy positions in the top of the hierarchy. Assistant coaches, therefore, work under the direction of the head coach. Because most assistant coaches aspire to eventually move up to a head position, it would be interesting to examine the coaching philosophy and occupational mobility of females and males in these positions.

Future research needs to further explore the process of this shift. Currently, the occupation of coaching women's basketball is in the initial stages of resegregation. As it is predicted that complete resegregation will result, observing this phenomenon provides an excellent example of the dynamics of the changing gender composition of an occupation. At the same time, if this prediction is wrong, observing the process will give insight as to ways in which the resegregation of occupations can be impeded. Understanding what encourages or obstructs occupational segregation is vital if we propose to work toward a just society.

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Thesis: Occupational Resegregation and Coaching
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TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Instructor, Wilson College, 1989-1990. As a full-time
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Behavior, Women In Society, and Theory.

Teaching Assistant, VPI & SU, 1987-present. Aided in
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TEACHING INTERESTS:

Introduction to Sociology
Social Problems
Sociology of Work
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RESEARCH INTERESTS:

Women and Work
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PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS:

- Anderson, Cindy. "Occupational Resegregation and Coaching Philosophy in Women's Basketball: An Exploratory Study." Presented at the joint meeting of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport and The Philosophic Society for the Study of Sport, Washington DC, November 9-12, 1989.
- Anderson, Cindy. "Inequality in American Society: Underemployment and Class Structure." Presented at the 14th Annual Meeting of the Association for Humanist Sociology, Washington DC, November 2-5, 1989.
- Anderson, Cindy. "Occupational Restructuring in NCAA Athletics." Presented at the Southern Sociological Society meetings, Norfolk, VA, March 1988.
- Kernodle, Wayne and Cindy Anderson. "Gender Differences in Sport Socialization" Presented the Southern Sociological Society meetings, Nashville, TN, March 1987.

SOCIOLOGY COURSES TAKEN AT GRADUATE LEVEL:

History of Sociological Thought
Contemporary Sociological Theory
Feminist Theory
Data Analysis
Research Methods
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Marriage and Divorce
Social Gerontology
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Social Stratification
Organization of the Workplace
Work and Occupations in Comparative Perspective

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS AND COMMITTEE SERVICE:

Committee for Black and Women's Histories Months,
Wilson College, 1990.

Committee on Rape Awareness, Wilson College, 1989.

Graduate Committee, Sociology Dept., VPI & SU,
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Sociology Graduate Student Association, VPI & SU,
Secretary 1987-1988.

North American Society for the Sociology of Sport,
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