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Female intercollegiate athletic trainers' experiences with gender stereotypes

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FEMALE INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC TRAINERS' EXPERIENCES WITH
GENDER STEREOTYPES

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Kinesiology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Monica Ohkubo

August 2008

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ABSTRACT

FEMALE INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC TRAINERS' EXPERIENCES WITH GENDER STEREOTYPES

By Monica Ohkubo

There is limited research in the field of athletic training focusing exclusively on gender stereotypes and female intercollegiate certified athletic trainers (FI-ATCs). The purpose of this study was to qualitatively investigate FI-ATCs' perceptions of and experiences with gender stereotypes using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Three community college and 8 NCAA Division I FI-ATCs working in California volunteered to participate in the study. Qualitative interviews were recorded, transcribed, coded and analyzed inductively. Raw data themes were organized into higher order themes and subsequently grouped into general categories: (1) perpetuation of traditional gender roles, (2) consequences of gender stereotypes and (3) managing and overcoming gender stereotypes. The study concludes that gender stereotypes exist for FI-ATCs in intercollegiate athletics, and these stereotypes give rise to negative consequences for these women. FI-ATCs have learned coping mechanisms to help better manage gender stereotypes and their consequences. There is evidence that these gender stereotypes are being overcome.

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION

Sport in general and the profession of athletic training have had a history of patriarchal dominance (Anderson, 1991, Krane, 2001 & Schell & Rodrigues, 2000). Since the first woman joined the National Athletic Trainers' Association (NATA) in 1966 (*A Historical Timeline*, 2008), female membership has climbed to 48.9% as of 2007 (*Year-end Statistics*, 2008). Upon first entering the field of athletic training, women were often met with a great deal of resistance from male coaches and some male certified athletic trainers (ATCs) and were seen as invading the once exclusive male domain (Anderson, 1991). Expectedly, the addition of females to the profession of athletic training has resulted in the emergence of complex gender issues such as discrimination, sexual harassment and gender stereotyping (Anderson, 1992; Gillette, 2000; Shingles, 2001; Walk, 2000). However, despite the recognition of gender-related issues in the domain of athletic training, there has been limited research in the field that focuses exclusively on gender stereotypes and the experiences and responses of female intercollegiate certified athletic trainers (FI-ATCs). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to qualitatively investigate FI-ATCs' perceptions of and encounters with gender stereotypes.

This thesis is presented in three chapters, with intention to produce a journal article for submission to the *Journal of Athletic Training*. Chapter 2, the journal submission document, follows this introduction. The extended support material is contained in Chapter 3, including the introduction and literature review for the proposal and the methods section. The appendices include the semi-structured interview guide, the

Journal of Athletic Training author's guide and the Institutional Review Board approval letter.

Chapter 2 is the journal article which presents the results and discussion of the study. The study employed a qualitative semi-structured interview format. Participant recruitment began with a personal network of FI-ATCs and continued with the use of snowballing and a web-based search. Eleven participants from three California Community Colleges and eight California Division I programs volunteered to participate in the study. The participants had previously worked with both male and female athletes and had at least two years of experience as ATCs. Semi-structured in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted and digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, coded and analyzed inductively. Validity was established by triangulation of sources, analyst triangulation, establishing researcher credibility and reliance on the philosophical belief in qualitative inquiry.

Results are presented as raw data themes, higher order themes and general categories. Higher order themes include: evidence of stereotypes, women as objects, stereotype threat, barriers, coping mechanisms and evidence of progress. Higher order themes were grouped into general categories. The general categories include perpetuation of traditional gender roles, consequences of gender stereotypes and managing and overcoming stereotypes. This study illustrates the current existence of gender stereotypes of FI-ATCs, the barriers and problems associated with this existence and hope for the future by way of positive results regarding possible management and progress in the area of gender stereotypes.

Following departmental and university thesis guidelines for the manuscript option, Chapter 3 of the thesis consists of a Chapter 1, 2, and 3 which constitute the supporting material for the study. Chapter 1 of the supporting material is the project introduction and outlines the problem and the need for the study. Chapter 2 is comprised of a thorough review of literature which provides the academic foundation the current study was based upon. Moreover, the discussion section of the proposed journal manuscript leaned on the contents of the review of literature as a means of comparison to the current state of the research. Since the research in the area is very limited, the review of literature was developed to show broader rationale behind the investigation of the problem. Subject areas ranged from broad to refined and included: gender as an issue in society, healthcare, sport and athletic training respectively. Care was taken to insure that the small amount of research regarding gender and female ATCs and especially gender stereotypes and female ATCs was included. Chapter 3 of the supporting materials is the methods section which discusses participants, research design, instrumentation, procedures and data analysis.

Considering the lack of inquiry on this particular element of gender and intercollegiate athletic training, a further goal of this study was to begin research on an underdeveloped topic in this professional field that future research can use as a departure point. The possible effects of gender stereotypes and stereotype threat on burnout, abandoning the profession and disproportionately low numbers of female ATCs in the male professional sport sector (Stein, 2006) are certainly strong starting points to begin further investigation in the area of gender stereotypes. Continued qualitative research

will be beneficial to further illuminate the subject, but researchers should also consider the addition of quantitative study to gain a more dynamic overview.

Chapter 2

JOURNAL ARTICLE

Qualitative Analysis of Female Intercollegiate Certified Athletic Trainers' Experiences with Gender Stereotypes

Monica A. Ohkubo; Matthew A. Masucci; Ted M. Butryn; Leamor Kahanov

San Jose State University, San Jose, CA

Monica Ohkubo, ATC, EMT-B provided conception and design and collection, analysis and interpretation of data. Matthew A. Masucci, PhD, provided conception and design; and interpretation of data. Ted M. Butryn, PhD and Leamor Kahanov, EdD, ATC provided drafting, critical decisions and final approval.

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Objective: To discuss intercollegiate female certified athletic trainers' (FI-ATCs') experiences with gender stereotypes.

Design & Setting: A qualitative study was conducted to explore the perceptions and experiences of FI-ATCs in California with gender stereotypes.

Participants: Three community college and 8 Division I FI-ATCs working in California volunteered to participate in the study. Participants had previously worked with both intercollegiate male and female athletes and coaches and had at least 2 years of experience as certified athletic trainers (ATCs).

Data Collection and Analysis: Qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews were recorded, transcribed, coded and analyzed inductively. Validity was established by triangulation of sources, analyst triangulation, establishing researcher credibility and peer review.

Results: Raw data themes were organized into higher order themes: (1) evidence of stereotypes, (2) women as objects, (3) stereotype threat, (4) barriers, (5) coping mechanisms and (6) evidence of progress. Higher order themes were grouped into general categories: (1) perpetuation of traditional gender roles, (2) consequences of gender stereotypes and (3) managing and overcoming gender stereotypes.

Conclusions: Gender stereotypes exist for FI-ATCs in junior college and Division I athletics, and these stereotypes give rise to negative consequences for implicated women. FI-ATCs employ coping mechanisms to better manage gender stereotypes and their consequences. There is evidence that these gender stereotypes are being overcome by FI-ATCs.

Key Words: stereotype, qualitative research, hegemonic femininity

Athletic training began as an exclusively male profession in the early 1900s. Since that time, the number of female certified athletic trainers has grown to make up 48% of the National Athletic Trainers' Association.¹ Despite this increase in membership, previous research has suggested that historically, women were often not accepted by male

coaches and male certified athletic trainers (ATCs).²

Issues linked to gender such as discrimination, gender stereotyping, sexual harassment, lack of upward mobility and sexual objectification exist for women in society, sport, healthcare and athletic training.³⁻⁵

There is limited (and often dated) research exploring female intercollegiate certified athletic trainers' (FI-ATCs') experiences with gender-related issues within the intercollegiate athletic training setting and no research focusing exclusively on gender stereotypes and FI-ATCs. Therefore the aim of this study was to examine the perceptions and experiences of FI-ATCs with respect to gender stereotyping in the intercollegiate athletic training setting.

METHODS

A qualitative method was chosen for this study because it illuminates social experiences and perceptions, and as Maxwell⁶ suggests, the interpretative properties of qualitative research help to both illuminate the meaning of experiences for individuals and to develop underlying explanations for those phenomena. A call for qualitative research in athletic training⁷ is another reason for selecting qualitative methods. Moreover, qualitative research is appropriate for situations in which little is already known as it is non-limiting and identifies unforeseen phenomena and influences.⁶ Considering the current state of limited research in the area of gender stereotypes and FI-ATCs, the use of qualitative methods is further warranted.

Participants

Eleven FI-ATCs working in California participated in the study. Participants ranged in age from 26 to 60 years old. All of the participants worked in an intercollegiate setting, either full or part-time, for at least 2 years to ensure a

minimum level of professional experience. The participants' experience level, as characterized by years of athletic training certification, ranged from 3 to 34 years. Finally, only participants that had experience working with both male and female intercollegiate athletes and coaches were selected to participate in the study.

Participants were selected starting with a personal network of FI-ATCs and those who met the research criteria were asked to participate. Three participants from the primary investigator's personal network agreed to participate in the study. Snowball, or chain sampling, a form of purposeful sampling,⁸ was then used for selection of additional participants. The snowballing method is useful for small populations as was dictated by the research criteria.⁹ The snowballing method returned one more participant that met the study criteria and agreed to participate. When all personal network and snowballing tactics were exhausted, a random web-based search of intercollegiate athletic web sites was performed to acquire additional prospective participants. An email was sent to the FI-ATCs fitting the research criteria, and 7 more participants were recruited to take part in the study. Prospective participants were asked to volunteer about 1 hour of their time for a qualitative interview regarding their experiences as FI-ATCs.

Procedures

A proposal for this study was approved by the San Jose State University Institutional Review Board before proceeding with data collection. All participants signed an informed

consent form before participating in the study, and participant confidentiality was maintained at all times.

Pseudonyms were used in place of participant names, and identifying information, such as names of schools, coaches, players, etc., in both the transcripts and the final analysis were changed to insure confidentiality.

Instrumentation. A qualitative interview guide was used for this study (Appendix 1). The interview guide followed a semi-structured interview format. Central questions were asked regarding personal background, interactions with male and female coaches, athletes, officials, athletic directors and other members of the medical team (i.e. doctors, physical therapists, paramedics, etc.) and general experiences with gender stereotypes in the athletic training setting. Follow-up and probe questions were used by the primary researcher to elicit meaningful responses in order elaborate on the primary research question.

Procedures/Interview Strategy.

All interviews were conducted by the primary researcher. A bracketing interview took place in which the primary researcher was questioned with the interview guide by an experienced qualitative researcher to allow the primary researcher to reflect on any biases. The bracketing interview was followed by four pilot interviews which provided feedback for adjustments to the interview guide, and finally, in-depth semi-structured participant interviews took place. A reflexive journal was kept by the primary researcher throughout the interview process in which interview notes and general observations were recorded for use later in data analysis.

Peer review and peer debriefing took place on a consistent basis throughout the research process between the primary researcher and an experienced qualitative researcher. The peer review and debriefing process offered external input and assessment of the researcher's work.¹⁰

Interviews were conducted in settings that practically suited both the primary researcher and the participants. Interview length averaged approximately 1 hour for each participant. Interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed verbatim and returned to participants for member checking via email. Member checking works to promote validity and reduce researcher bias in the actual central and probe questions.⁶ Participants either returned their respective transcripts with changes or with approval and no changes.

The number of participants for this study was not predetermined, rather interviews continued until theoretical saturation had been reached. Theoretical saturation can be defined as the point in data collection when no new evidence, concepts or categories arise.⁸

Issues of Validity and

Trustworthiness. Rigorous methods were established to insure trustworthiness. Triangulation of sources was achieved by drawing on interview tapes, interview transcripts and the primary researcher's reflexive journal. Interview tapes and transcripts revealed "rich" data, derived directly from verbatim transcriptions of participant interviews⁶ thereby decreasing the chance of biased interpretation. Analyst triangulation was attained by the use of information acquired through the member checking

process, as well as through peer review and peer debriefing with an experienced qualitative researcher.

Data Analysis. Tape-recorded participant interviews were reviewed as a beginning to the process of data analysis. Transcription took place during the second examination of the interview tapes. Transcripts were numbered by interview order for organizational purposes later in the data analysis process. Notes were taken during both reviews of the interview tapes for data analysis functions. Blocks of data relevant to the subject matter of the study were labeled for later use in creating themes and categories.

A combination of Cote, Salmela, Baria and Russell's¹¹ data analysis method and an analytic hierarchy framework¹² was used as the overall structure for data analysis. Open coding was used to create tags or meaning units.¹¹ These chunks of labeled data were printed on individual index cards, labeled by interview number and transcript page number for ease in locating the data later in data analysis. Data was inductively synthesized, and tags with similar meanings were grouped, resulting in the raw data themes. Raw data themes were analyzed and grouped into higher order categories. These higher order categories were then sorted and their meanings refined to create general categories.

Throughout the analytical process, an analytic hierarchy framework¹² was used to allow the analytical process to remain fluid and iterative between the transcript data, the raw data themes, the higher order categories and the general categories. While themes and concepts were

generated and meaning was assigned to these themes and concepts, conversely, data was also assigned to themes and concepts to portray meaning. During this process, more abstract concepts were refined, and data was assigned to these refined concepts to portray meaning. This process helped to produce greater refinement and clarity in the final data analysis.

Throughout and upon conclusion of the initial data analysis, peer review and peer debriefing took place.

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to explore the perceptions and experiences of FI-ATCs with gender stereotypes in the intercollegiate athletic training setting. Moreover, this study endeavored to investigate any perceived barriers the participants have faced and how they managed those barriers.

The raw data themes (Figure 1) which emerged from the analysis of data yielded six higher order themes: *evidence of stereotypes, women as objects, stereotype threat, barriers, coping mechanisms and evidence of progress*. These raw data themes were grouped into three general categories: *perpetuation of traditional gender roles, consequences of gender stereotypes and managing and overcoming gender stereotypes*.¹¹ The raw data themes in Figure 1 are also labeled with the number of participants who contributed to each respective theme.

This study presents the 3 general categories that emerged from the data: *perpetuation of traditional gender roles, consequences and effects of gender stereotypes and managing and*

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of Data Analysis

overcoming gender stereotypes. The categories outline the critical aspects of FI-ATCs' experiences with gender stereotypes. A close analysis and interpretation of the interview data, as expressed in the 3 general categories above suggests that traditional gender roles are being perpetuated for FI-ATCs in the junior college and Division I intercollegiate settings. Moreover, all of the participants (n=11) expressed that there are consequences associated with gender stereotypes, yet some FI-ATCs are able to manage their experiences with gender stereotypes, while other FI-ATCs are possibly overcoming the negative implications of these gender stereotypes.

Perpetuation of Traditional Gender Roles

Moms, sisters, ladies and children/subordinates were the raw data themes that led to the formation of the higher order theme; *evidence of stereotypes.* The raw data themes of: *sexual harassment, physical abuse and girls only want dates* created the higher order category; *women as objects.* These two higher order themes joined to create the general category; *perpetuation of traditional gender roles.*

A noteworthy finding of this study was the similarity in themes to Walk's⁵ research on gender stereotypes and female athletic training students; one of the few existing studies addressing gender stereotypes in the field of athletic training. While Walk's work served as a model for present study, the current study differs from Walk's in several important ways: 1) the gender of the researcher is female not male, 2)

participants were FI-ATCs as opposed to female athletic training students, 3) participants represented various institutions in California, not one single institution in the Midwest and 4) the focus of the present study is specific to participant experiences with gender stereotypes.

Similar to Walk's findings,⁵ the current study identified that the FI-ATCs were stereotyped by others or themselves as moms (n=5), sisters (n=2) and ladies (n=7). In addition to the aforementioned roles that the FI-ATCs in the study were found to assume, the current study also found that the role of children/subordinates emerged from an evaluation of the data.

The FI-ATCs reported experiencing sisterly roles as athletic training students and younger professionals. Katie, 33, felt her role as sister was very fulfilling:

And god I love these kids. They're all like my little sisters. You get the calls late at night because they're boyfriend just broke up with them, and they call you because they don't know who to call. You are like, "Why are they calling me? I can't help you." But they just need somebody to talk to. And so having that kind of relationship with the athletes has been great.

The role of sister, as presented by Walk⁵, characterized the female athletic training students as being protected by male athletes, as well as having a sisterly relationship with male athletes. The FI-ATCs in this study that acknowledged their role as "sister" did not suggest they were safeguarded by males or male athletes. However the FI-ATCs did use the term "sister" to describe the close

relationships they had with both male and female athletes.

Walk⁵ found that the female athletic training students in his study realized that close relationships with athletes may undermine the students' professional authority. However the students also believed that the trust they established by way of these close relationships with the athletes helped them obtain important medical information and allow improved prevention of injury. The current study also raises the issue of certain benefits that come along with forming close relationships with athletes. As a possible consequence of negotiating these dichotomous roles, some of the FI-ATCs in this study could be perceived as bordering on unprofessional in their actions or perceptions of their roles as FI-ATCs as they assume the traditionally accepted gender roles. However the FI-ATCs are simply assuming these roles in an attempt to walk the narrowly defined line of maintaining femininity in a masculine domain.¹³⁻¹⁴

The aforementioned stereotypes can often limit women to traditional gender roles, making it challenging to move beyond them. Society scrutinizes women who attempt cross-gendered behavior which is a violation of traditional gender roles.¹³⁻¹⁴ If women do attempt to show non-feminine personalities, they risk being viewed as a "bitch" or as "unsociable, unfriendly, and an outsider."^{5(p. 45)} Gender-role conflict theory proposes that women who are faced with divergent gender-role expectations suffer role conflict.¹⁴ Accordingly, FI-ATCs working in the patriarchal realm of junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletics are

expected to exhibit certain male traits to survive in a male domain, but must also assume their hegemonically feminine roles as well;¹⁴ creating gender-role conflict.

Five of the FI-ATCs acknowledged their position in the role of mother in relation to student-athletes. Gail, 33, said, "You know, you're like their mom. Ya know, they call you at three in the morning crying, about god knows what. Or they need something." Jessica, 54, similarly described her motherly role:

Perhaps it's the gray hair, but um, a lot of my kids will tell you that I'm their second mom...perhaps it's that I hold them accountable and make them responsible. But they also know that I will treat them with great compassion. It's not just, ya know, a walk with you and at the end of the day, you don't matter to me. It's not that at all. Every kid that I interact with matters to me, personally and professionally. Ya know I'm notorious for giving guys hugs as well as women hugs.

Male coaches and athletes tended to make some of the FI-ATCs feel as if they were treated more as a "lady" than an ATC. Seven FI-ATCs reported being placed in the role of "lady;" a role characterizing well-mannered, feminine, respectable women as having a low threshold for harassment and vulgarity.¹⁵ Jessica portrayed her experience:

I travel with a men's team. They feel they have to take care of me. They wanna carry my bags. They wanna help me out. It's like, 'Guys. I really can carry my own bags.' 'Oh no, no. You don't do that'."

Another recurring topic among the FI-ATCs was that of inappropriate

language or subject matter in their presence. Several FI-ATCs reported being asked to exit the locker room before profane language or vulgarities were used in pep talks. A few of the FI-ATCs gave accounts of male coaches and athletes apologizing for the use of profanity in front of the FI-ATCs. Gail said, "Conversations in the van would be going a certain way. And he (coach) would be like, 'I'm so sorry. I'm so sorry that we're talking about this. If you're ever offended please tell me.' Ya know that type of thing."

Analysis of the transcripts revealed that the participants also often felt as though they were relegated to the role of child or subordinate. Gail described an exchange with a football coach: "He says, 'Hey dear. Hey hun. Can you grab me this?' And that sort of rubs me the wrong way. Kind of bugs me. 'Well sure love. Let me grab that for you. Would you like me to make dinner as well?' (laughs)." When asked about her relationship with administrators, Andrea, 26, illustrated her experience with asking the athletic director for money to purchase something: "I never felt like I could say it in an authoritative voice. I was always like, you know, a little kid asking dad for something. I always felt like that."

The roles of mothers, sisters, ladies and children/subordinates are consistent with typical gender roles of women.^{16-17,13} Just as the FI-ATCs in this study are stereotyped into certain gender roles, women in the greater society are traditionally stereotyped as being emotional, passive, communal, maternal, compassionate, helpful, warm, kind, gentle and dependent and for historically being the caregivers in their

homes.^{16-17,13} Femininity is a socially constructed standard for women's appearance, demeanor, and values.¹⁸ Hegemonic femininity is a privileged form of femininity constructed within a White, heterosexual, and class-based structure.¹³ When women assume traditionally feminine roles, they are enabling the perpetuation of hegemonic femininity. By perpetuating hegemonic femininity, societal patriarchy is maintaining the oppression of women.¹⁹

The stereotypical gender roles of women have also been traditionally undervalued, leading to women's general lack of power in society.²⁰ This disempowerment of women is evidenced by the structure of power in society, as well as within sport.¹⁷ Schell and Rodrigues¹⁷ discuss the prominence of patriarchal dominance within sport and sport as a representation of male supremacy.

Placing women in stereotypical gender roles may be a way for males to cope with females existing in a male-dominated culture such as sport.^{5,13} The role of child/subordinate and the role of lady are supported by this notion that females are placed in hegemonically feminine roles that allow males to cope with female existence in a typically patriarchal structure. Although the FI-ATCs interviewed in this study possessed the skills to adequately perform the job of an ATC, in many cases, the practice of these skills were only acceptable when the FI-ATCs fit into the traditionally subordinate role of women.⁵ The role of mother also undermines the professional standing of the FI-ATCs because their professional practice of skills were not attributed to knowledge or ability, but to the

stereotypical nature of women to nurture.⁵ If the FI-ATCs are positioned in a role that yields to the power of males, the patriarchal hierarchy of society is perpetuated.

The participants also raised the issue of sexual objectification of women. Beckwith²¹ described the objectification of women as the reduction of women's bodies into objects or sexual objects. This objectification is the rationale for violence against women, such as sexual harassment and physical abuse.

In this study the FI-ATCs recounted their experiences with objectification through incidents of both sexual harassment and physical abuse. The FI-ATCs also told of having to fight against the stereotype that "girls only want dates."

Four of the FI-ATCs reported incidences of sexual harassment. Julie, 30, outlined her situation:

I've worked with a coach who stared at my chest every time I gave the injury report. Didn't matter what I was wearing. And I would say, just some of the comments from you know...head athletic trainer who I worked with in a previous job...one of those most politically incorrect people you could even- ya know? Just some of the statements were kind of sexist statements. Not necessarily to me, but I hear them. Ya know? So I think that subtle form of harassment. Not the sort of harassment where I was solicited for any sort of...favors or anything like that. Nothing to that extreme.

Sexual harassment of female ATCs is not a new occurrence. The Women in Athletic Training Committee's 1996 Women in Athletic Training Survey²² reported that 37% of women surveyed stated that they had been victims of

sexual harassment in the profession of athletic training. It was a common topic among the FI-ATCs in this study to refer to any experience with sexual harassment as "subtle." Current research supports this phenomenon of minimizing the seriousness of sexual harassment as a coping mechanism.²³

Two episodes of physical abuse from a number of years ago were reported by Samantha, 60, a veteran FI-ATC:

A long time ago there was a guy here that worked on the staff, and he, he was, very aggressive in his behavior, and one time he was talking to me and he takes his finger, and he starts saying, "You, and this." And I had to tell him to take his hands off of me. So I can't...I don't know if he did that to other people, including males. There was another instructor, when I was at _____ College...he didn't like something I told him one day, and he grabbed me and threw me against the wall, but he also did that to a man on our staff, and he also abused his wife.

Besides sexual harassment and physical abuse, several of the participants were also subjected to overt sexual objectification. In particular, they had to fight against stereotypes such as the idea that they were only in athletic training "to get a date" with male athletes. Katie gave her view of the FI-ATCs voicing this stigma as she reflected back on her time as a student:

I think you have to go in, and you know, I think there's always that little preconceived notion of, "Oh, well you're a student athletic trainer. You're just here to meet guys. You're just here to meet athletes. You're just here to get a date." You know. Trust me. If I'm looking for a date, I'm not looking to

date any of these guys...so I think there's a stigma to that, and I think you fight that a little bit.

The roles of sister and lady also sexualize the FI-ATCs thereby objectifying them.⁵ The experiences of the FI-ATCs with sexual harassment, physical abuse and the stereotype that "girls only want dates" are evidence of this objectification and the perpetuation of traditional gender roles within junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletics.

Consequences of Gender Stereotypes

The raw data themes of; *males are more respected, males have it easier, I have to prove myself and I have to be better* led to the formation of the higher order theme; *stereotype threat*. The raw data themes of; *barriers to the pros, lacking in leadership, salary inequity, discrimination, "good old boy" system, "old school" mentality and difficult to have a family* generated the higher order theme; *barriers*. The *stereotype threat* and *barriers* higher order themes created the general category; *consequences of gender stereotypes*.

Some FI-ATCs stated that in their view males were seen as more respected in the profession of athletic training. Gail described a specific example of this belief:

So it was one of those where he (athlete) came in, and they just assumed he (male ATC) was a better athletic trainer. In the sense of, pretty much everything because he was a boy...that was tough to fight for a little bit, because from my perspective...he wasn't nearly as hard of a worker, because he wasn't.

Some of the FI-ATCs also conveyed their belief that males in the profession of athletic training "have it easier." When asked if they would start their career from the beginning as a male ATC if they could, 2 FI-ATCs denied the desire to begin their careers again as male ATCs, but these FI-ATCs did acknowledge that they could have possibly gotten into the profession sooner, "it may have been easier" and there may not have been any sexual harassment if they were male. Katie also rejected the hypothetical offer, but did announce her thoughts on males having it easier in the profession:

I don't think I would've. I think...it would've been easier...I think there's some...instant credibility...I think you don't have to maybe prove yourself as much. You don't have to prove you're, your worth and knowledge. You're kind of like, "I belong here." Especially I think in this (Division I) setting... I definitely think there would be-it could make your life a little bit easier...maybe some different opportunities, uh that you, you didn't have...but uh, I wouldn't change it, but ... I think probably would be a little bit easier.

Natalie, 28, did say she would have wanted to be a male ATC: "I would actually. Just because then there would be so many more opportunities available. Whether I take them or not, just the fact that I would have those opportunities."

An examination of patient preference and stereotypes of physicians, male patients that preferred male doctors perceived male doctors as more technically competent than female doctors;²⁴ evidence that males are privileged in the broader field of medicine as well as in athletic training.

Boldry, Wood and Kashy²⁰ researched the effects of gender stereotypes on evaluations of women in a military training institution. Both hypothetical typical and ideal male and female cadets were rated in areas of effective military performance, such as motivation and leadership. The results showed that the qualities necessary for effective military performance were believed to be possessed by men rather than women, and that women possessed high ratings in the area of femininity. The Women in Athletic Training Survey²² reported that all female respondents had the appropriate athletic training knowledge to be successful in athletic training, but the majority believed women to have fewer opportunities for advancement and less financial compensation in the traditional athletics settings. The majority of respondents also agreed or strongly agreed that males are given preference for head athletic trainer positions and professional sports team positions. Similar to Stein's²⁵ reporting in an article about female ATCs taking on head college and NFL positions, the FI-ATCs in this study expressed the common feeling of a need to prove themselves or that they felt they had to be better than their male counterparts.

Stereotype threat theory asserts that a negative stereotype about a group's ability may lead to extra pressure on that group. This pressure may hinder performance during evaluation due to the fear of evaluation based on the stereotype.²⁶ In this study stereotypes that males are more respected in the profession and males have it easier have possibly instilled a fear in the FI-ATCs of being evaluated- in this case evaluation of job

performance. Extrapolating stereotype threat theory to the data from this study might suggest that this evaluative threat creates extra pressure for the FI-ATCs, forcing them to feel as if they have to prove themselves or perform the job better than males, thus adding to job stress²⁷ and possibly impeding job performance. The FI-ATCs are then expending extra effort to prove themselves and compete with male ATC job performance. FI-ATC job performance and comfort level may also be affected due to this possible pressure resulting from stereotype threat.

Seven of the 11 FI-ATCs reported, some several times throughout the interviews, feeling the pressure to prove themselves as ATCs. Julie summarized these statements best:

I felt like I really had to prove myself and be super, super professional. Really tow the line firmly because I felt it was easier to be like, "Julie is a girl, and then a professional." And so I think that's one, one aspect. I would say I saw it less with my female athletes than with male coaches. I think that I felt like I had to really gain their respect, as a professional, rather than as a female, and I even still feel that. Not with peers, but with people maybe higher up. Ya know, team physicians even. And I feel like, ya know, even the other day, I introduced myself and I was saying that I was the head athletic trainer, and they were so surprised that I was a young female athletic trainer at a Division I University. And the surprise bothered me. It's not their fault. Maybe they're surprised because the numbers are low. But, so that, "Oh! Oh my gosh! You're, wow! That's fantastic! And you're married!" So I would say even with the higher staff, that's where you really- I felt like I had to prove myself.

Gail also shared her thoughts that FI-ATCs have to not only prove themselves, but ultimately be more competent ATCs than males:

I remember when I was in grad school, and we had a panel, and we had one of the assistant athletic trainers from the [NFL team]. One of my classmates asked if he [NFL assistant ATC] thought a female could be in the profession. And he said, "Well you just have to be twice as good as any of the male candidates, because ya know, it's a new thing."...I guess it is sort of spoken, but it is unspoken understanding that if a female wants to get into a largely male environment they have to be better.

Barriers (or perceived barriers) also exist for FI-ATCs as a possible consequence of gender stereotypes, as is the case in other medical professions.²⁴ As Gail previously mentioned, there are very low numbers of female ATCs in professional football. One hundred and seven of 108 ATCs in the Professional Football Athletic Trainers Society are male.²⁷ Natalie articulated her frustration with barriers for women to professional football:

When I came into the profession, my dream job was to work for the (NFL team). And then to find out that I can't even get an internship- an unpaid internship with them because I wasn't a male athletic trainer, ya know, it was kind of disappointing to know that that was the only reason, as competent as I may be, or may not be, that that was the sole reason I would not have any chance of getting any- and you know that's the way it is with a lot of other professional sports.

Michelle, 43, also described her feeling about the barrier to women in professional football:

It's definitely a difficult area or arena to break into- obviously the professional levels. It bothers me. It bothers me to see professional women's teams employing male athletic trainers when those doors are completely closed to women on the other side.

Although some female ATCs may have no desire to work at the male professional level,²⁵ the extremely low numbers of women working in professional football, and the common feeling among the FI-ATCs in this study of exclusion from this area of athletic training, may be explained by stereotype threat as well. In fact, the low or absent desire by women to join the male professional ranks may also be attributed to stereotype threat theory. Stereotype threat may lead to poor performance which perpetuates the stereotype, but may also cause withdrawal from the evaluative arena in which the negative stereotypes occur.²⁶ The fact that there is only one female ATC working in the National Football League²⁷ supports the gender stereotype that females cannot or should not work in that sector. Apart from the possibility that there have been overt strategies to discriminate against women in these highly competitive employment segments, female ATCs may not want to put forth the energy and the time to succeed in such a position where the stereotype threat pressure is great.

Salary inequity is another barrier the FI-ATCs faced. Two women, including Emily, 41, expressed concern regarding salary inequity. Emily was

very humble in discussing her experience: "I've had two increases in title without the associated increases in pay...but yeah I guess in terms of equity- and I don't know that there's been, probably, very many guys that would have gotten title increases without an associated pay increase." This finding alludes to the general concept that the majority of women will not negotiate pay with their employers.²⁸

According to Babcock and Laschever,²⁸ women conventionally earn less than men. Specifically within the profession of athletic training, female ATCs earn 17.2% less than their male counterparts annually, and 4.0% below the National Athletic Trainers' Association average annual salary.²⁹ Female ATCs also earn 60.1% less in bonuses per year when compared to male ATCs, and 57.5% below the National Athletic Trainers' Association average for annual bonuses.²⁹ Babcock and Laschever²⁸ report that women often do not believe that they deserve higher salaries, and that women are hesitant to negotiate pay. Women also may fear negative judgment by supervisors if they venture into traditional male gender roles, as opposed to keeping with the traditional stereotypes for women; another example of stereotype threat theory as it applies to the traditional gender roles of women.²⁶ Andrea's previous comment about never feeling as if she could ask for money from her boss "in an authoritative voice," and always feeling like "a little kid asking dad for something" is another example of women's fear of negotiating.²⁸

Another barrier communicated through the data was the perception of discrimination based on gender which

was a reality for 5 of the 11 participants. Two of the FI-ATCs over 50 years old reported incidents of gender discrimination from over 15 years ago. Samantha told a story of getting hired at a junior college and arriving in her new area. Her new athletic director picked her up from the airport:

He picked me up, and before we even got close to school, we were barely out of the airport, he said to me that he was not on the hiring committee. He was newly hired himself. And he said to me, "I just want you to know, I never would've hired a female for this job." And he treated me like that ever after.

Jessica divulged:

It was 2 football coaches ago, so it was certainly many years ago, but it seems recent...it is common for the football team to all be in one room prior to going out on the field and giving the last minute, "Rah, rah," and screaming their heads off, and that kind of stuff. And at that time there were a full-time female staff, and physician, who were in the room. And the head football coach saw them and said, "There are no fucking women in my locker room." And nothing else proceeded until they left.

These findings coincide with previous research regarding pioneer female athletic trainers which found that pioneer female athletic trainers often experienced harsh forms of discrimination, harassment and stereotyping.^{2,4} The older participants experienced more severe negative experiences with gender stereotyping and discrimination. The 2 FI-ATCs over 50 years old reported more escalated incidents, however, the younger participants, ranging in age from 26 to

43, also told stories of discrimination, sexual harassment and feelings of inequality. These results confirm the current reality of ongoing gender stereotypes (and resulting problematic consequences) for women within the profession of athletic training- despite the evidence that environments are slowly changing.

In agreement with the findings of the Women in Athletic Training Survey,²² this study acknowledges the survival and current existence of the barriers of the “Good Old Boy” network as well as the “old school” mentality.²⁵ These ideologies include the support of gender stereotypes and contribute to the barriers that the FI-ATCs faced based on gender stereotypes.

The “Good Old Boy” network is an effect of the stereotype that males are better ATCs and are more accepted and respected in junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletics. When asked the question of whether she would have preferred to be a male ATC at the start of her career or not, Claire, 41, answered:

I think it would've been easier, for sure. Easier because of the attitude that, as I said before, I don't feel we have as much here in California, of the Good Old Boy network, but across the country it's (the Good Old Boy network) very much more accepted, and they're (males) treated, I feel with more dignity and respect in those settings back East, is where I can attest to, because I've been there. But yeah, it's just easier for them.

Claire continued:

In terms of it being, you know, the Good Old Boy network, I still feel like that's still around in certain areas and

populations of, you know, like the NFL or professional sectors. I feel like that's definitely still the case. The NBA, any professional sector for the most part. I wouldn't consider the WNBA that, but all the other teams...having been back East working in those settings, I feel like that still has a little bit of the Good Old Boy network with that same attitude...where male- I don't know. I guess it's more that the males dominate the care and the higher level, or higher priority, high-risk sports, it seems back there. I wouldn't say that's the case much here. I mean I still sense a bit of it with, especially football.

In parallel with the “Good Old Boy” network is the use of the term “old school” by the FI-ATCs. Two FI-ATCs used the term, and Andrea told a story of her experience as a student with a coach:

My first head coach I had to deal with football, was horribly old school. He did not believe in girls being athletic trainers. He always told us that you should always do the laundry, like all the towels and all the players' uniforms. That we should only be carrying water. It was horribly frustrating because there were three other female athletic training students helping at that time. And he would just kind of say things under his breath as he was passing us, and we wanted to kill the guy.

Andrea also gave her definition of “old school”: “‘Old school’ is guys, like I said, who just didn't believe in women doing anything in sports at all. He (football coach) didn't believe in us being in an intimate setting with them (athletes), such as rehab.” Gail described her relationship with an athletic director: “He was also the head men's basketball coach. But we had a pretty good relationship. He was a little

old school in the sense of, ya know, minutely chauvinistic.”

Another possible consequence of gender stereotypes for the FI-ATCs was the difficulty in having a family while working in the junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletic training settings. Only 1 of the 11 FI-ATCs had children. Ten of the 11 participants, including the one FI-ATC with children, expressed that it would be or is difficult in some way as a FI-ATC to start a family in the junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletic training settings. This finding is in agreement with previous studies which also report female ATCs experiencing conflict between family and professional responsibility.³⁰⁻³¹

Samantha, a 60 year old FI-ATC that has never had children, stated: “And as far as me having kids, I don’t know. I don’t know that my profession- if I really wanted to have kids- I might have changed my profession or taken time off. I’m not sure what I would’ve done. Michelle, 43, the FI-ATC with children explained her challenges having a family:

It gets to be very difficult to balance having, giving them what they need, and working here...I’m not going to sacrifice the job for my family, but at the same time, there are times that I work...two or three weekends a month... There’s no way to say that it doesn’t affect it.

Jessica gave her view on having a family:

I think you’re gonna find that’s the biggest reason that more and more young people leave this profession, is that they cannot find the balance to have a personal life and to raise the kids and

see them graduate and be at home in the hours when the kid is awake, and you know his name.

Managing and Overcoming Gender Stereotypes

According to participant responses, it is clear that gender stereotypes and consequences of such stereotypes exist for FI-ATCs in the junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletic training settings. The FI-ATCs managed gender stereotyping in different ways; sometimes to their detriment. On a positive note some of the FI-ATCs were able to seemingly overcome gender stereotypes.

The third general category which resulted from the raw data is *managing and overcoming gender stereotypes*. Two higher order themes exist under this general category: *coping mechanisms* and *evidence of progress*. The raw data themes under *coping mechanisms* are: *individual personalities reduce conflict*, *“had to lay down the law”* and *de-feminization*. Those raw data themes under *evidence of progress* are: *not a female just an ATC*, *good relationship with sports medicine team*, *treated equally*, *“we’ve come a long way,”* *act the same with males and females*, *job is easier with age and experience*, *few problems as a female*, *no problems getting a job/being promoted*, *supportive environment for family* and *manageable existence in locker rooms*.

The coping mechanisms employed by the FI-ATCs were their individual personality types and “laying down the law.” When asked why other

FI-ATCs may have problems relating to gender while she has not, Katie replied:

I think sometimes just the personality of the person. Like I said I'm not very sensitive to a lot of things. I let things roll off my back. And if someone was really sensitive about that, I think that would really bother them. And it will get under their skin. And they will have a different experience than what I've had.

Another way the FI-ATCs seemed to manage the existence of stereotypes and their effects was by way of "laying down the law." Examples of the FI-ATCs creating a strict outline for allowable behavior include Katie, who said, "So I think you gotta come in and say, 'This is why I'm here. This is what I'm here to do. And this is how I'm gonna do it.' And I think you just kinda set things up from the start." Michelle commented, "I think that as an athletic trainer, and especially as a female, you have to stand your ground, and once you set that line, they typically don't cross it." When asked about her past relationships with male coaches and athletes, Julie answered:

I think I had a good relationship because I think I'm mouthy. And I think I can lay down the law very quickly, with the confidence I had in myself. What was I there to do? What were my expectations of the team? And so, kind of not taking crap from anybody. I think I set the tone for the fact that it was gonna be a professional relationship... So I really worked hard at the very beginning to set that tone of, "I'm here as a professional, not necessarily here as a female or not a female. I am female, but I'm here as a professional. We're gonna set that tone professionally." So I pride myself in doing that right away, so there was no

doubt, no gray area. Especially the younger I was, I realized I had to do that. So I think by doing that, I didn't have any- I didn't really have any bad experiences.

The FI-ATCs that participated in this study reported that certain types of personalities help in coping with being a female in a culture that includes gender stereotypes. The women reported that "laid back" and non-sensitive qualities made it easier for them to avoid conflict. Julie Max, former National Athletic Trainers' Association (NATA) president, was quoted in the LA Times declaring a similar argument.²⁵ This information instills hope that some FI-ATCs may be able to deter escalated situations. However the FI-ATCs that do not possess these qualities may suffer, and the FI-ATCs that do employ such coping tactics may expend valuable energy and time.

Two FI-ATCs reported attempts to de-feminize themselves to cope with being a female in a male-dominated subculture. Gail said:

I think I've spent the majority of my career, ya know, you wear the boxy t-shirt, ya know, you try to de-feminize yourself to fit in, to not be looked at in a certain way. And so...when you're in a car, and they're talking about whatever they're talking about...the girl they slept with last night- I'm uncomfortable with that. But you don't want to necessarily say, "I'm uncomfortable with that," because you want to fit in. You don't want to be seen as the different one...or the one causing them to change their behavior.

Emily tried to rationalize why she has not had many issues with gender, possibly as a result of her attempt at androgynous behavior:

I haven't had a lot of issues come up. And I think part of it is the way that I respond to things as well. I try not to respond as a girl, or you know what I mean? I try to respond as an athletic trainer... So some things you kinda have to let blow off your shoulder.

De-feminization excludes the label of lady, therefore may be an attempt to reduce sexual harassment issues. Regardless, neutralizing one's own gender disempowers a FI-ATC, perpetuates hegemonic femininity and the oppression of women¹³ and expends FI-ATC energy and time.⁵

Energy exhaustion due to efforts at combating gender stereotypes can be categorized as a source of burnout. Causes of burnout include: difficult workloads caused by multiple job demands, long hours, limited staffing, limited budgets, emotional demands and professional conflicts.³² Added stresses of attempting to cope with and manage confrontation with gender stereotypes may be integrated into this list of leading reasons for burnout in athletic training and may also affect quality-of-life issues such as issues pertaining to gender equity.³³

The FI-ATCs in the study also communicated evidence that there is progress in the breakdown of gender stereotypes in both the junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletic training settings. Emily, for example, confronted a male coach before taking an assignment with a male team and asked what his thoughts were on a female doing the job. She reported his reply: "As long as the job gets done, I don't see that there's a problem with a male or a female." Emily followed up this story by saying, "I don't really see a

big difference between being a male and female athletic trainer." Jennifer supported this view on being an ATC, not a female ATC: "I've never really thought of myself as a woman in the profession. I'm just someone who's interested in athletic training... I don't think of myself as a female athletic trainer. I think of myself as an athletic trainer."

Eight of the 11 FI-ATCs also reported good relationships in general with the sports medicine team, including parents, team doctors, peer ATCs, coaches, administration and physical therapists. Jessica went as far as to say, "In terms of the support that I get as an athletic trainer from our other professional staff, I'm in an ideal world. This is Eden for me. And so, I wish everybody had it this good."

Five of the FI-ATCs discussed their perception of being treated equally as ATCs. Gail described her experience with football: "I wasn't treated any differently than any of the other assistant athletic trainers. Ya know? If my male co-worker walked out to the middle of the field to tell a coach that a player was out, he would get ignored as much as I would." When asked if she felt as if she was treated equally and taken seriously in comparison with her co-workers, Katie replied:

I think I do get treated fairly. I think, people take me seriously... No, I don't think I've ever been able to say I've been treated differently or unfairly or anything like that.

Another piece of evidence that junior college and Division I intercollegiate athletic training is perhaps moving toward overcoming

gender stereotypes is a phrase used by Jessica when asked her opinion on women in the profession:

I think it's very appropriate, the phrase, "We've come a long way, baby." Women have fought hard to create the opportunities for young female athletic trainers now. They have done all the dirty work in terms of integration, gaining the respect, demonstrating that they can handle the tough calls and the tough situations, and not back away from it.

Seven of the FI-ATCs reported that they do not find themselves acting differently with male and female athletes and coaches. Julie summarized that:

So I've really tried to say, "Who am I, and what kind of leader am I trying to be? And what kind of healthcare provider am I trying to be? And let's be that person across the board." Because I really have found that consistency makes people respect you the most because they know what they're getting.

Five of the FI-ATCs described that the job has gotten easier with age and experience. They said things such as, "Probably earlier in my career coaches would check me and check someone else as well. But I think that I'm past that point at this time," and "The older I've gotten, and the more confident I've gotten in my ability to do my job, it's made it easier for me to communicate with coaches." Julie described this phenomenon: "Respect comes with experience. If they know you have experience, they're not gonna be so withholding with their respect."

Another theme among some of the women was experiencing few problems as a FI-ATC. Jennifer told of her lack of gender issues with coaches:

"I never really had decisions that may have come into conflict with coaches that had to come in because I'm a female. I've never sensed that about something."

Some of the FI-ATCs also conveyed that they had never had problems getting a job or being promoted. Katie discussed overcoming the stereotype that women do not hold positions with large male programs:

You know, people say, "You'll probably never get a men's basketball job." Well you know, I've got a friend who works with men's basketball at a high level Division I university. It's out there. It's just a matter of ya know, would a lot of people have it? Maybe not. And people say, "Oh football." And I was a football assistant for a pretty big conference.

Despite the difficulty most FI-ATCs expressed about having a family while in the profession of athletic training, some participants expressed that their current work environment would be supportive. Gail stated:

I think, they, they're really open and supportive to have a baby around. Whether it would be hard to have the baby around, ya know, I can't speak to that, I think, without going through it...I think I'd be in a very good place...Ya know, I think that where I'm at, we have a very family-friendly environment.

Nine of the 11 participants discussed existence in the male locker room setting as a manageable situation. Most reported restrictions being a result of athletic training rooms constructed in the middle of men's locker rooms. Katie described the situation:

So it was more on us being respectful of their space. I was never told, "You can't come in here," or, "Don't come in here," or, "You need to wait outside."...But I had zero problems. I mean at halftime we're all in there. We're all in there making sure everybody's set to go. It was never an issue. Never an issue.

Jennifer described how co-ed existence in the locker room is possible and appropriate:

I've been in situations, say you're working football, and if the configuration is set up such that the guys are going to have to pass by the treatment area on the way to the shower or vice versa, then a task would be assigned to accommodate for that...it seems like that's reasonable to make the athletes more comfortable. I do the same thing with my student athletic trainers. There are some times that they cannot come in the locker room after a game because the females are changing and it's a male. I think it's appropriate.

Many of the FI-ATCs said that they were a "support structure", "role model," "counselor" and "someone to confide in." Katie told of her experience as a mentor for female athletes specifically:

I feel you can, you know, at the end of the day, it's all about their education here and their experience and their learning- not necessarily in the classroom, but just learning to be an adult and to operate in normal adult life. And so I think being able to help them along the path is the most important to me. Just kind of being you know, I guess you could say a mentor. I don't know if they would call me a mentor, but just kind of that sounding word for you know, anything and everything- all their sports medicine stuff, but it all comes down to all the other stuff at the

end of the day when they're comfortable with you as a person, and they feel they can trust you, and that, that they leave here having learned something- not just about American History, but how to be a good person.

A great deal of evidence from the current study indicates progress toward eradicating gender stereotypes. Despite reports of traditional gender role perpetuation and negative consequences of the existence of gender stereotypes, some participants still reported good relationships with medical teams, being treated equally overall, having few problems due to being a FI-ATC, a supportive work environment for a family, manageable existence in male locker rooms and holding a positive, self-identified fulfilling role as mentor to student-athletes. Walk wrote, "Although it may be possible for women to enter professional careers that place them at the center of a sport subculture historically exclusive to men, such entry has not necessarily cracked the edifice of the hegemonic masculinity on which it has been built."^{5(p. 46)} This study demonstrates that the edifice still exists, but that it may be cracking.

Limitations

Limitations of this study include: limited geographic distribution of the participants, the fullness of the responses of the participants, the honesty of the responses of the participants and the accuracy of the recollection in the responses of the participants.

In contrast to most quantitative studies the aspiration for this research was not to achieve great generalization, but to better understand information-rich

cases. Rather, transferability may only be applicable to some female ATCs working in California in junior college or Division I intercollegiate settings.

Implications

The findings of the current study include consequences of gender stereotypes such as stereotype threat and barriers. The FI-ATCs in this study also reported employing coping mechanisms to manage gender stereotypes. Stereotype threat, barriers and the utilization of coping mechanisms are evidence that gender stereotypes must be recognized and addressed. Attention to this subject is necessary to decrease ill-effects such as burnout, on the one hand, to overt and covert gender-based discrimination on the other, on future and current FI-ATCs. Moreover, since females presently represent 48% of NATA membership,¹ every effort should be made to secure and safeguard a more comfortable, non-threatening and equitable workplace environment.

FI-ATC professional success can be increased through mentoring.³⁴ The Women in Athletic Training Survey reported that 62.8% of respondents believe that women lack the female mentors or role models they need to become successful in athletic training.²² FI-ATC mentors for young FI-ATCs and female athletic training students may provide tools and preparation for fighting gender stereotypes. Little attention has concentrated on this topic in research as well as in professional presentations, therefore the topic of gender stereotypes should be addressed in seminars through local, regional and national avenues. All ATCs should

work to increase their own self-awareness of gender stereotypes in relation to specific settings to see if and how gender stereotypes affect their workplaces.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this study indicate a need for further research on this topic. The possible effect of stereotype threat on FI-ATC job performance is an area for future examination. It would be relevant to discover whether FI-ATCs leaving the profession are suffering from burnout due to gender stereotypes and stereotype threat. Gender stereotypes and stereotype threat should be investigated as possible contributors to the extreme under-representation of women in professional men's sports such as football. The fact that there is little research in the area of gender stereotypes in relation to the profession of athletic training is an unquestionable motive for a request for further exploration of the topic.

CONCLUSIONS

Stereotypes are a complex subject to investigate. The issue of perception is necessarily complicated by factors including, but not limited to: age, years of experience, environment of athletic training setting and individual personality. Despite the complexity of stereotypes and the need for future research, this study has described the reality of gender stereotypes for females in the junior college and Division I intercollegiate areas of athletic training. In many instances, gender stereotypes

produce negative consequences for these women. Some FI-ATCs who participated in this study have learned coping mechanisms to help better manage gender stereotypes and their consequences. There is promising evidence that these gender stereotypes are being overcome, and FI-ATCs are able to provide care despite these barriers.

Women in athletic training have historically struggled for acceptance, equality and respect.^{2,4} Although the current study presents some progress, the hard work and effort of pioneer female athletic trainers should not be forgotten. This hopeful social change does not come without sacrifice, and the plights of past and current women in the field must be recognized.

In summary, considering the lack of scholarship on the topic, a further aim of this study was to provide a platform upon which ongoing further examination and discussion of the issue of gender stereotypes and athletic training can develop. Finally, future researchers are encouraged to supplement this study with additional investigation, from both quantitative and qualitative methodological frameworks.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide

1. What attracted you to the athletic training profession?

Past Job Settings

2. What have been your past job settings (either as a student athletic trainer, or an ATC)?

Current Job Setting

3. Describe the athletic training setting in which you currently work.

What are the demographics of your patient population?

How long have you been at your current job?

How are the certified athletic trainers and student athletic trainers assigned to teams?

4. What is your view on women in the profession of athletic training?

5. Have you ever had any problems getting a job or being promoted? Explain.

6. Have you ever experienced harassment in the workplace?

Men's vs. Women's Teams

7. Have you worked with men's teams?

Describe your experience working with these teams.

How was your relationship with the coaches and athletes?

What was your favorite thing regarding working with these teams?

What was your least favorite thing regarding working with these teams?

8. Have you worked with women's teams?

Describe your experience working with these teams.

How was your relationship with the coaches and athletes?

What was your favorite thing regarding working with these teams?

What was your least favorite thing regarding working with these teams?

9. How do you handle treatments or evaluations of personal physical areas?

10. Have you ever been restricted from a team/practice/locker room? Explain.

11. Do you have a preference in working with men's or women's teams? Why?

12. How would you describe your ideal athlete? Coach?

13. Do you have to act differently working with men's or women's teams or male or female coaches?

Relationships

14. Describe your relationships with other healthcare professionals within the sports medicine team (physical therapists, other ATC's, doctors, chiropractors, EMTs, paramedics, massage therapists, etc.).

Athletes, coaches, administration, parents.

15. How do you feel you are perceived by those you work with?

Healthcare professionals, administrators, athletes, coaches, parents.

16. Have you always felt as if you were treated equally and taken seriously when compared to your co-workers?

Family

17. Do you have a family? A partner or children?

How does this or has this affected your professional career?

How has this been received by your supervisors and co-workers?

OR: Do you have plans to have a family in the future?

How will this affect your professional career?

How do you think this will be received by your supervisors and co-workers?

General Questions

18. Would you be a male athletic trainer if you could have? Why?

19. Explain to me an ideal job setting and why this setting would be ideal for you.

20. Is there anything else you would like to share with me today?

Chapter 3

EXTENDED SUPPORT MATERIAL

INTRODUCTION

The field of healthcare for intercollegiate athletes was an area dominated by males until the late 1980s (Anderson, 1991). The National Athletic Trainers' Association (NATA) was founded in 1950 and had no recorded female members (*A Historical Timeline*, 2008) until 1966 when the first woman joined the association (*A Historical Timeline*, 2008). With the passage of Title IX in 1972 and the exponential increase in the number of female participants in athletics, there was an increased demand for female certified athletic trainers (ATCs) (Anderson, 1992). According to Anderson (1991), "The entrance of women into the profession was not always welcomed. Their presence was met with great resistance from male coaches and some male certified athletic trainers (ATCs) who viewed the women as intruders in the training room, and/or a potentially disruptive element during practices and game situations" (p. 2). Since the first woman was certified in 1969 (Herrick, 1992), female membership of the NATA has climbed to 48.9% at the end of 2007 (*Year-end Statistics*, 2008). As a consequence of the introduction of females into the heretofore exclusively male profession of athletic training, the incidents of gender-related inequalities, such as sex discrimination (lack of upward mobility and limited access to positions of power), gender stereotyping and sexual harassment have become more prevalent (Anderson, 1992; Gillette, 2000; Shingles, 2001; Walk, 2000).

There is limited research exploring female ATCs' experiences with issues of gender in the athletic training setting, and most of this research is dated. Further more, there is even less qualitative research focusing exclusively on gender stereotypes and

female intercollegiate certified athletic trainers (FI-ATCs). Therefore, this study will work to extend the research on women's experiences in athletic training by investigating to what degree FI-ATCs have encountered and negotiated perceived gender-related barriers in their professional practice.

Problem/Need for the Study

Gender inequity is an issue in society as a whole as well as within the sporting realm (Sage, 1998; Schell & Rodriguez, 2000). Females are traditionally stereotyped as, for example, being passive, nurturing and dependent, while males are often stereotyped as being aggressive and independent (Krane, 2001; Sage, 1998). Stereotypes can often limit women to traditional gender roles, making it difficult to move beyond them. Society scrutinizes women who attempt cross-gendered behavior which is a violation of traditional gender roles (Fallon & Jome, 2007; Krane 2001). If women do attempt to show non-feminine personalities, they risk being viewed as a "bitch" or as "unsociable, unfriendly, and an outsider" (Walk, 2000, p. 45). Gender-role conflict theory proposes that women who are faced with divergent gender-role expectations suffer role conflict (Fallon & Jome, 2007).

Moreover, gender inequalities exist in many facets of society. In the workplace, for example, women usually fill lower positions, while men generally occupy positions of higher pay and prestige, and the average wage of similarly employed women is lower than that of men (Babcock & Laschever, 2003; Sage, 1998). Women are also greatly underrepresented in all levels of government and positions of power in religious organizations (Sage, 1998). Gender inequities also exist in education; for example,

Lundberg (1997) found that teachers were often not effective in detecting gender inequities.

Lundberg (1997) studied teacher awareness of gender inequities, revealing teacher limitations in detecting gender inequities. Gender inequities were reported by women in leisure services in a study by Anderson and Shinenew (2003). Boldry, Wood and Kashy (2001) found that the effects of gender stereotypes exist in evaluations of women in the male-dominated environment of a military training institution. These studies all disclose the fact that gender inequalities are an issue in multiple facets of society.

Professions in health care similarly show evidence of gender inequities. Nursing is a highly gendered profession, with most nurses being female. Despite the large percentage of female nurses, some male nurses felt as if they have better relationships with physicians and administrators than do female nurses (Poliafico, 1998). Among female physical therapists, many reported that the field of physical therapy tends to favor men, and physicians often treat male physical therapists with more seriousness than their female counterparts (Raz, Jensen, Walter & Drake, 1991). Fennema (1990) studied patients' gender perceptions of physicians and found that a gender gap does exist within the field of medicine.

Sport often acts as a microcosm of society, possessing gender inequalities similar to those found in greater society. Sport represents a male hegemonic ideology, and is a platform for the breeding of hypermasculinity and the oppression of women (Schell & Rodriguez, 2000). Studies have uncovered athlete preference regarding gender of coaches (Fasting & Pfister, 1998; Martin, Dale & Jackson, 2001) consequently indicating

that gender has an impact on sport culture. Research also suggests that females are extremely under-represented in leadership positions of sport organizations as well (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007).

In addition to other allied health care professionals such as, doctors, physical therapists and nurses, athletic trainers also deal with the issues surrounding gender within their profession: sexual harassment (Shingles, 2001; Walk, 2000), gender stereotypes (Shingles, 2001; Walk, 2000) and discrimination (Gillette, 2000; Herrick, 1992). Similar to nurses and physical therapists, some female ATCs have stated that their presence in the field is not taken seriously, and that often, male coaches find it difficult to accept female ATCs (Herrick, 1992; Walk, 2000). Reflecting upon the history of athletic training education, at one time, women were also blatantly prohibited from entering many athletic training education programs (Anderson, 1991).

There is also history of a lack of upward mobility and limited opportunities to hold positions of power for women in athletic training (Anderson, 1992). According to the NATA's 1998-2002 statistics on placement of entry-level and masters degree graduates, 43% of entry-level graduates were male and 57% were female, 49% of masters level graduates were male and 51% were female (*JRC-AT reports*, 2003). However, while males and females were generally equally placed in high school, college and clinical settings, a disproportionate number of men are employed in the professional setting. Eighty (89% of total employed) male entry-level graduates and 18 (75%) male masters level graduates were employed at the professional level, compared with 10 (11%) female entry-level graduates and 6 (25%) female masters level graduates (*JRC-AT*

reports, 2003). In fact, there is currently only one female working as an ATC in the National Football League (Stein, 2006). Whether female ATCs wish to enter the male professional ranks or not, the inequality in this sector marks a need for investigation of gender equality.

The aforementioned argument is evidence that gender has an impact in society, sport, other professions, other healthcare professions and within the athletic training profession. Due to the limited research specifically in the field of athletic training, it is difficult to determine the extent and dynamics of this phenomenon. Very little research has been done to investigate FI-ATCs' experiences relative to gender stereotypes. This study will use a qualitative semi-structured interview format to uncover FI-ATCs' experiences, if any, with gender stereotypes within their profession.

A qualitative method was chosen for this study because it illuminates social experiences and perceptions, and as Maxwell (2005) suggests, the interpretative properties of qualitative research emphasize the meaning of experiences for individuals and development of underlying explanations. Moreover, qualitative research is appropriate for situations in which little is already known as it allows for non-limiting in-depth explanations (Maxwell, 2005). Considering the current state of limited research in the area of gender stereotypes and FI-ATCs, the use of qualitative methods is further warranted.

In addition, a call for qualitative research in athletic training was made by Pitney and Parker to increase awareness of the socioprofessional aspect of athletic training (2001). "Qualitative research methods can serve to answer many clinical and

professional questions that help athletic trainers navigate their socioprofessional contexts” (Pitney & Parker, 2001, p. 185). Qualitative research is needed to compliment current and future quantitative research and to add depth of understanding to certain research topics.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate intercollegiate FI-ATCs’ perceptions of and experiences with gender stereotypes within their profession.

Delimitations

The delimitations of this study include:

1. Eleven NATABOC FI-ATCs working in California.
2. The semi-structured qualitative interview guide.

Limitations

Limitations include:

1. The fullness of the responses of the participants.
2. The honesty of the responses of the participants.
3. The accuracy of the recollection in the responses of the participants.
4. Participants located in one geographic region.

Definitions/Descriptions of Terms

The following terms are defined for this study:

1. A certified athletic trainer is defined by the NATA as “a unique health care provider specializing in prevention, assessment, treatment and rehabilitation of injuries and

illnesses that occur to athletes and the physically active” (*What is an athletic trainer?*, 2005).

2. Femininity is a socially constructed standard for women’s appearance, demeanor and values (Bordo, 1993).

3. A gender stereotype is a set of beliefs about the attributes of gender as a social group (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981).

4. Hegemonic femininity is a privileged form of femininity constructed within a White, heterosexual, and class-based structure (Krane, Choi, Baird, Aimar & Kauer, 2004).

5. A social stereotype is defined as a set of beliefs about the attribute of a social group (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981).

Summary

Gender is an issue that needs to be attended to within society, the health care field, sport and the athletic training profession. The number of women in the field of athletic training has grown since the first female athletic trainer joined the NATA in 1966. Women are now equally represented by the number of ATCs in the field, but women in athletic training face many obstacles due to their gender, such as sex discrimination (lack of upward mobility and limited access to positions of power), gender stereotyping and sexual harassment (Anderson, 1992; Gillette, 2000; Shingles, 2001; Walk, 2000). The purpose of this study was to uncover FI-ATCs’ perceptions of and experiences with gender stereotypes within their profession.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

It is important to understand that gender is an issue in society. Sport, acting as a microcosm of society, also helps to perpetuate gender inequities (Sage, 1998). Moreover, health care professions such as nursing, physical therapy, and medicine display unequal treatment of genders as does as the athletic training profession. FI-ATCs' experiences with gender-related issues are important to examine because little research has been done in this area. This examination of literature will provide the theoretical and research-based foundation for this study by reviewing the literature from various subject areas including: gender as in issue in society, gender as an issue in sport, gender as an issue in other medical occupations, and gender as an issue in athletic training.

Gender as an Issue in Society

Gender inequality is a concern in American society; Dickman, Goodfriend and Goodwin (2004) claim that “despite widespread change in gender roles, women continue to have less power than men” (p 201). Schell and Rodriguez (2000) argue that gender is socially constructed and hegemonically perpetuated in our patriarchal culture. Typical male traits include aggressiveness, independence and an emphasis on individual achievement while typical female traits incorporate passive, nurturing and dependent behaviors (Krane, 2001; Sage, 1998). Sport remains a masculine sector of society (Krane, 2001) therefore any female involved in sport may be seen as engaging in cross-gender role behavior. Cross-gender behavior is generally not socially accepted, and the sexuality of individuals engaging in this behavior is sometimes questioned (Krane, 2001).

This gender difference has led to unequal wealth, power, prestige and worth for females (Babcock & Laschever, 2003 & Sage, 1998).

Dickman et al. (2004) examined gender hierarchies through the examination of male and female perceptions of changes in power. In general women are gaining more occupational, economic, political, relational and individual power and entering into more male-dominated roles that come along with structural power. Dickman et al. found that participants projected that women will have an increase in power while men will remain stable or suffer a decrease in power. Women were perceived as gaining in relational and individual power more drastically than gains in economic, political and occupational power. It was predicted that men will maintain high levels of power economically, politically and occupationally. According to Dickman et al., women will continue to gain power over time, but will not gain equal power to that of men before 2050. The work of Dickman et al. shows that women may encounter gender issues in the workplace due to a lack of power therefore women may face gender issues in the profession of athletic training.

Sage (1998) also reported gender inequalities in education, citing the example that boys receive more of the teachers' attention and praise than do girls. Lundeberg (1997) notes that teachers are limited in detecting gender inequities. Classroom interaction tends to be male-dominated, and males tend to receive more teacher attention, praise, and feedback. Lundeberg (1997) states that participants were found to be generally unaware of the existence of subtle gender bias that often occurs in the classroom.

Anderson and Shinenew (2003) studied perceptions of workplace equity in leisure services within the context of organizational justice. Results showed that participants perceived gender inequity to exist within the profession of leisure services, despite numerous positive comments about the advancement of women in the field.

Dissatisfaction with gender equity in terms of distributive, procedural and interactional justice was expressed. This study showed that gender inequities remain in existence within the field of leisure services despite minor advancements for women in the field.

Boldry, Wood and Kashy (2001) researched the effects of gender stereotypes on evaluations of women in a military training institution. The motivation and leadership qualities necessary for effective military performance were believed to be possessed by men rather than women. Women were believed to possess attributes that were more feminine; attributes that are not desired in a soldier. The typical male and typical female cadets were rated as were the ideal male and ideal female cadet. Female cadets were rated lower than their male classmates in the areas of motivation, leadership and masculinity, but higher in the area of femininity. Ratings of femininity were associated with lower rankings of motivation, leadership and masculinity. The findings of this study show that gender stereotypes exist in the military setting. Females are perceived as possessing more feminine qualities that are not desirable in a soldier. The military setting is yet another facet of society that retains gender inequities.

Harris, Steinberg and Scarville (1994) investigated why female officers in the army who were approved for promotion would decide to leave the Army and whether organizational issues existed that would unfavorably affect these officers. Respondents

stated that they had experienced gender discrimination and that sexual harassment reports were minimized and negatively handled. This study confirms that gender discrimination exists in the United States Army and is accepted in parts of Army culture.

Gender as an Issue in Healthcare

According to Sage (1998), women are normally seen as “mothers, nurses and teachers, and men as soldiers, physicians and politicians” (p. 60). Doctors face gender issues such as patient gender preferences and sexual harassment and discrimination by patients and employers (Birchard, 2000; Fennema, Meyer & Owen, 1990; Phillips & Schneider, 1993). Poliafico (1998) and Raz et al. (1991) also found that gender issues exist in nursing and physical therapy as well.

Fennema et al. (1990) examined patients’ preferences and stereotypes of physicians. Investigation of patient overall sex preference of physicians, previous experience of patients with female physicians, stereotypes of physician behavior by patients and priorities of physician attributes by patients was the purpose of this study. Female patients who preferred female physicians generally perceived female doctors as more human, and male patients that preferred male doctors perceived male doctors as more technically competent. All patients considered comprehensiveness and humaneness to be important attributes in a doctor, regardless of physician sex preference. This study is evidence that gender stereotypes exist in the medical profession which serves as support for possible gender stereotypes in the health care profession of athletic training.

Phillips and Schneider (1993) researched the sexual harassment of female doctors by patients. Phillips and Schneider argue that in a society in which men hold more power

than women, women are typically the targets of sexual harassment. The results indicate that sexual harassment by patients is a problem for female physicians. Phillips and Schneider (1993) argue that female physicians are still treated as women, despite the power they have expectedly gained by becoming physicians.

Sexual discrimination also occurs within the medical profession; Birchard (2000) documented the case of an Irish female obstetrician and gynecologist who won a sexual discrimination lawsuit. Noreen Gleeson applied for a position at a Dublin hospital which was awarded to a male applicant. Gleeson filed a lawsuit for sexual discrimination and won after the court ruled that the male candidate was less qualified and less experienced than Gleeson. The court also found the interview process used by the hospital to be sexually discriminatory.

In addition to incidents of sexual harassment and discrimination, women are also underrepresented in many areas of medicine. According to Spindler, Buddeberg-Fischer and Reed (2001), women have better or equal access to medical schools, yet still remain underrepresented in sectors of medicine such as hospital surgical positions and medical specialties (Spindler et al., 2001). Women are generally employed in the primary care or general specialties; positions of lower prestige and salaries. The fact that women hold these positions of lower status and men hold positions of higher esteem (hospital surgical positions and medical specialties) reflects the stereotype of women as nurturing and men as technically skillful. Spindler et al. also notes that there is a shortage of female leaders in medicine and a lack of upward mobility for women in medicine. Possible reasons for these inequalities are that women's careers are more influenced than men's by domestic

obligations, the current structure of medicine favors men and that typical male traits like toughness and decisiveness are linked with success, competence and leadership. Spindler et al. also argue that sex discrimination needs to be eliminated because there is a need to reflect the diversity of the patient community and a need to hire the most qualified physicians to avoid costly lawsuits.

According to the Association of Operating Room Nurses (2000), fewer women than men achieve senior ranks in academic medicine. Few women advance to associate professor from faculty member, and fewer women advance to full professor than men. This lack of upward mobility may be due to lower number of publications or external grants, fewer work hours or fewer resources provided by medical schools. This lack of upward mobility in medicine supports the possibility of a lack of upward mobility within athletic training.

Poliafico (1998) investigated the gender gap in the female-gendered profession of nursing. Men report hesitation in joining the ranks of the profession because they may be perceived as feminine or unmanly due to nursing's gender stereotypes. Despite the obstacles males must face in the profession of nursing, many male nurses believed that they are often treated as equals by male physicians. Many male nurses believed that they have better relationships with physicians and administrators than do female nurses. Poliafico argues that although males may occupy a lower ranking within nursing, they still carry more power than female nurses. In society males have more overall power, and this is reflected within the medical professions as well.

Physical therapy is also a profession dominated by females. In a study by Raz et al. (1991), perspectives on gender and professional issues among female physical therapists were examined. Men were viewed as favorites for leadership within the field of physical therapy, and physicians were seen to take male physical therapists more seriously than female physical therapists. According to patients, male physical therapists are often equated with physicians, and female physical therapists are comparable to lower-level female nursing assistants. The studies by Phillips and Schneider (1993) and Poliafico (1998) also illustrate that men carry more power in medical professions simply based on sex. It is a reality that women may face many of these same gender issues in athletic training.

Gender as an Issue in Sport

Sport is a reflection of the larger society; possessing similar social problems (Anderson, 1991; Brackenridge, 1997). According to Anderson (1991) and Stein (2006), sport reinforces the patriarchal nature of our society as a male domain in which males are encouraged to participate, and females are discouraged from entering. Women's participation in sports has increased since Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972 was passed however the institution of sport is still considered a masculine domain (Fredricks & Eccles, 2005), and socially constructed, gender-appropriate sport activities still exist (Schmalz & Kerstetter, 2006). Sage (1998) claims that "sport has been a powerful cultural arena for reinforcing the ideology and actuality of male superiority and dominance; its traditions, symbols, and values have tended to preserve patriarchy and women's subordinate position in society" (p. 64). According to Messner

and Sabo (1994) (as cited in Bruce, 2002), “Sport is widely regarded as a cultural institution that plays a key role in maintaining an ideology of male dominance and female subordination” (p 28).

Sexual abuse and harassment exist in sport (Brackenridge, 1997; Lenskyj, 1992; Volkwein, Schnell, Sherwood & Livezey, 1997). According to Brackenridge (1997), adult male coaches possess more power than young female athletes, setting the stage for the possibility of sexual abuse which occurs often in sport. Lenskyj (1992) studied sexual harassment in sport. Sport is a masculine domain, making it difficult for women to participate without feeling as if they need to prove their femininity (Knight & Guiliano, 2003; Lenskyj, 1992). According to Lenskyj (1992), women often do not want to reject heterosexual advances in fear that they will be called lesbians. This fear of homophobic harassment creates yet another obstacle for women to succeed in the sporting world. Women usually remain silent about harassment incidents for reasons such as embarrassment or fear, allowing sexual harassment to continue. Volkwein et al. (1997) examined female student athletes’ perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment. Volkwein et al. found that sexual harassment between female athletes and college coaches exists just as sexual harassment exists in society. The study also found that female student athletes can distinguish between what behaviors are acceptable and those which are inappropriate.

Sexual abuse and harassment are not the only gender issues existing in sport. According to Bernstein (2002), the media is a means in which gender difference and gender hierarchy are propagated through its power to hegemonically influence the public.

The media underreports and under-represents women in sport, sending a message that female athletes are not as significant as male athletes. Bernstein (2002) states that female athletes who do get represented in the media are often sexualized and marginalized. The focus is not on athletic prowess, but rather the physical attractiveness and youthfulness of the women. The media also covers female athletes ambivalently by using terms such as “athletic” or “skillful,” followed by demeaning terms such as “cute” or “vulnerable.” Female athletes are devalued and infantilized when sportscasters commonly refer to them by first name while male athletes are often referenced by last name. Bernstein (2002) states that women participating in stereotypically masculine sports like shot putting are further underrepresented. However, socially accepted individual sports such as women’s swimming, gymnastics or diving receive increased coverage compared to other sports. Society values femininity in women, so the media focuses on sports deemed feminine rather than those thought to be more masculine.

The predicament with women sports writers in the locker room is a good example of how hegemonic masculinity is still alive in sport culture. Bruce (2002) examined women sports writers’ experiences in the locker room. The data unfolded many locker room incidents evidencing sex discrimination including; unequal access, forced removal and physical contact, refusal to talk and verbal abuse. Teasing interactions, although infrequent, included incidents where women reporters were asked out or teased in a joking manner. Bruce (2002) concluded that not all of the interactions with women sports writers in the locker room were negative. The media seems to take a focus on the more hostile interactions, and little to no focus on those supportive, professional or

teasing interactions. The existence of the hostile behavior toward women reporters indicates that hegemonic masculinity is still a force working within male locker rooms and in sport culture.

Whisenant, Pederson and Obenour (2002) examined the success rate for advancement of athletic directors with a focus on gender. Whisenant et al. (2002) define hegemony as “the condition in which certain social groups within a society wield authority--through imposition, manipulation, and consent--over other groups” (p 487). Hegemony is a concept that was introduced by Antonio Gramsci in the early 1900s (Schell & Rodriguez, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity is defined as “the acceptance of masculinity as the defining characteristic of Western society that places women in a lower social position” (Whisenant et al., 2002, p 487). Women have historically been discouraged from participating in sport, as well as from holding positions of power within the sporting realm. According to Whisenant et al. (2002), there are seven main reasons for the underrepresentation of women in decision-making positions in sport; men have solid connections with other men in sport, men have better professional connections, subjective job requirements make men to appear more qualified than women, support systems and professional development opportunities are limited for women, corporate organizations of sport organizations hold different viewpoints than those that women may have regarding sport, sport is not open to adapting to demands of family responsibility and sexual harassment comes along with women entering positions in sport (McKay, 1999 as cited in Whisenant et al., 2002).

There was a significant difference found in the success ratios of men when compared to the number of women in positions at NCAA Division I institutions. Women were underrepresented in Division I, II, and III institutions, and most women athletic directors were found in Division II and III schools. Women had higher success ratios at Division II and III institutions. The results of this study show the evidence of hegemonic masculinity within sport and that this affects the ability of women to achieve high-ranking athletic director positions within the NCAA institutions (Whisenant, et al., 2002).

Sartore and Cunningham (2007) also addressed the under-representation of women in leadership positions of sport organizations. A symbolic interactionist approach was used and suggests that traditional gender role meanings and stereotypes may limit women in the domain of sport. Meanings established through both social and sport ideology may encourage women to believe that they cannot act in leadership roles which prevent them from pursuing such roles. One's self-concept may act as a protective mechanism against possible detrimental effects of this self-limiting cycle.

Coaching preferences of athletes serve as a strong verification that gender is an issue in sport. Some argue that female athletes prefer male coaches, while others believe that female athletes prefer female coaches (Fasting & Pfister, 1998; Masin, 1998). Martin, Dale and Jackson (2001) investigated the coaching preferences of male and female youths and their parents from summer youth sports leagues. The study reported that 50% of adolescent males stated that a male coach was preferred. Only 1.1% of adolescent females preferred a male coach. These coaching preferences are another example how the existence of gender issues in sport.

Gender as an Issue in Athletic Training

Since females entered into the profession of athletic training, being female has served as an obstacle to overcome. In a study on the emergence of female athletic trainers from 1969 to 1980 Herrick (1992) quotes a response to the survey used in the study; “Basically, the general attitude was that a female was a student trainer because she wanted to get a lot of dates. Also the attitude was that the female really will not stick with the career as a trainer, so she only does the minimum necessary to get by” (p. 19-20). Other accounts described blatant sex discrimination by coaches and administrators. Many female athletic trainers also reported the complete inability for them to work with men’s teams.

Anderson (1992) interviewed 13 of the pioneer female athletic trainers and described their experiences entering into the athletic training profession which was a male-dominated field. Anderson comments that although the number of women in athletic training has grown tremendously over the years. At the time of the study, less than .10 of 1% of the number of female active members of the NATA have held leadership positions in the organization (Anderson, 1992). The women discussed their early experiences, their perception of women in the profession and their feelings on the future of women in athletic training. The women felt they had limited access to academic athletic training programs, equipment, facilities, budgets, supervision and exposure to high risk sports such as football when compared with that of male athletic trainers. Barriers such as a misunderstanding of the role of female athletic trainers leading to a lack of encouragement, homophobia and the “old boys network” made it challenging for

women to succeed in the profession of athletic training. Many of the female athletic trainers found it difficult to balance the heavy time and energy demands of the profession and lead a normal life. Only three of the 13 women remained in the athletic training field due to this pressure. More job opportunities exist now for female athletic trainers who are judged more on their capabilities rather than their sex. Women also seem to have better and near equal access to jobs working with male-dominated sports, although women are still denied access to some football training rooms. Since football provides valuable experience for an athletic trainer, being denied access to the sport is a huge setback for the progress of women in the profession. The profession of athletic training remains affected by a hegemonic patriarchal force, limiting women in educational, job, networking and leadership opportunities. Anderson (1992) called for women to be more pro-active in creating a more equal status for women in athletic training.

Walk (2000) interviewed nine women student athletic trainers (SATs) from a large Midwestern University regarding relationships among and interactions with athletes and others involved in the intercollegiate athletic system. The participants were either college seniors or graduate students with at least 2 years of experience as interns. The participants also had experience with a range of intercollegiate athletic teams.

Walk (2000) constructed two main themes with the interview data: the SATs as moms, sisters and ladies and the SATs' experiences with sexualization and sexual harassment. The SATs noted that they often ended up taking on motherly roles with the athletes, both male and female. The SATs accepted this role and found that it allowed the athletes to build a sense of trust with them. This positive rapport is essential in providing

the best health care for an athlete. Walk suggests that this motherly role fits with the gender stereotype of women being nurturing and empathetic and reconfirms the gender hierarchy of women as subordinate to men. The second role the SATs tended to take on was that of a sister. The male athletes would protect the female SATs just as they would their own sisters. The SATs were stereotyped in the “lady” role in instances such as when football coaches would apologize for the vulgarity or swearing on the football field.

The SATs were also sexualized and sexually harassed. Football coaches would make comments about women being on the field or the female SATs being a distraction at practice. The SATs found themselves having to choose between being professional and being perceived as rude, or being friendly and being perceived as sociable. Since the SATs were forbidden to socialize with the athletes because according to superiors this was “unprofessional” and “girly,” the SATs had a difficult time trying to pick a role. Male SATs were not restricted as severely in regards to the no-socializing rule, establishing a gender double standard by the supervising ATCs. The female SATs were also sexually harassed verbally and physically. Athletes would do things like discuss sex in front of the female SATs purposely, to make the female SATs uncomfortable, make sexual advances or physically try to touch them. The SATs also stated that there was no sexual harassment policy within the athletic training program. Each inappropriate incident was treated on a case-by-case basis.

Walk (2000) summarized that the female SATs had to spend a great deal of energy on how they were perceived based on their gender. In addition to being forbidden from fraternizing with the athletes, particularly the males, the female SATs were also

coincidentally not assigned to the more popular sports by the supervising ATCs.

Therefore the SATs had to deal with issues of gender with the athletes, the coaches and their own supervisors. Walk's work was an influence for the present study however the present study extends Walk's research because the gender of the researcher is female not male, participants were FI-ATCs as opposed to FSATs, participants represented various institutions in California, not one single institution in the Midwest and the present study is specific to gender stereotypes.

A considerable amount of research has been done on stereotype threat; "the threat that others' judgments of their own actions will negatively stereotype them in their domain" (Steele, 1997, p. 613). Chalabaev, et al. (2008) adds that a negative stereotype about a group's ability may lead to fear of performance. This fear of evaluation may add extra pressure that can hinder performance. Chalabaev et al. (2008) examined stereotype threat effect regarding the stereotypes of poor athletic ability and poor technical soccer ability of women on soccer performance. The females' soccer performance was indeed affected by stereotype threat. Beilock and McConnell (2004) extrapolated that stereotype threat theory can be applied to sport as well as academic performance. Upon existence of gender stereotypes of women in the field of athletic training, stereotype threat theory must also be considered.

As with other medical professions, the athletic training profession is not free from sexual harassment or discrimination (Gilette, 2000; Shingles, 2001). Shingles (2001) critically analyzed the experiences of diverse female ATCs and found that female ATCs reported problems with sexual harassment, as well as with having their sexuality

questioned. Gillette (2000) examined perceptions of discrimination in athletic training education programs and reported high rates of perceived discrimination among both male and female ATCs at various levels.

In 1996 the Women in Athletic Training Committee (WATC) published two surveys; “Women in Athletic Training Survey” and “Men in Athletic Training Survey.” Female ATCs reported major concerns in the workplace to be: family/personal life, lack of opportunities, specific gender issues, the “good old boys network,” credibility and salary (*Women in Athletic Training Survey*, 1996). The men who took the survey stated very different concerns: quotas/affirmative action, family/personal life, salary and long hours/burnout (*Men in Athletic Training Survey*, 2006). The majority of women (63%) perceived exclusion from male networks and preferential treatment of male candidates for professional athletic team positions (*Women in Athletic Training Survey*, 1996). Only 44% of men stated that they sense women are excluded from male networks, and only 11% of men saw preferential placement of females in head athletic trainer positions, while just 2% saw this preference given to women in professional athletic team positions. The majority of men (84%) reported holding positions that manage personnel decisions (*Men in Athletic Training Survey*, 1996). The results of these two surveys indicate a gender divide in the profession of athletic training.

Perez (2006) examined gender equity in athletic training. Challenges for women in male-dominated professions, gender equity in athletic training and life balance for female ATCs were discussed. Perez argues that male coaches and ATCs commonly use inappropriate language and belittling terms around female ATCs to create an

exclusionary environment. Such behavior is often ignored by female ATCs as they have been effectively silenced by the majority group and made to feel subordinate. Perez (2006) recommended mentors for young female ATCs and female students, in-service trainings to address discriminatory practices in the athletic training setting and gender-related workplace issues and leadership training for female ATCs wishing to advance in the profession to improve workplace conditions for females within the profession.

Summary

Gender is an issue in athletic training, which is evidenced by gender issues existing in society, other healthcare professions, and sport. Gender inequities exist in education (Lundeberg, 1997; Sage, 1998), professions such as leisure services (Anderson & Shinenew, 2003) and in the military (Boldry et al., 2001; Harris et al., 1994). In healthcare professions such as nursing, physical therapy and medicine, gender issues such as sexual harassment (Phillips & Schneider, 1993), sexual discrimination (Birchard, 2000), gender stereotyping (Fennema, et al., 1990) and limited power of women (Poliafico, 1998; Raz, et al., 1991) exist. Gender preferences of coaches (Fasting & Pfister, 1998; Martin, et al., 2001; Masin, 1998), sexual harassment and sexual abuse in sport (Brackenridge, 1997; Lenskyj, 1992), marginalization and sexualization of women in the sport media (Bernstein, 2002), sexual harassment and discrimination of women sportswriters (Bruce, 2002) and lack of advancement for female athletic directors (Whisenant et al., 2002) all confirm that sport, as a male domain (Knight & Guiliano, 2003; Lenskyj, 1992), harbors gender issues as well. Being that gender is a factor in society, other healthcare professions and sport, it makes sense that similar problems such

as sexual discrimination, sexual harassment, lack of upward mobility and gender stereotyping are found within the athletic training profession (Anderson, 1992; Gillette, 2000; Herrick, 1992; Perez, 2006; Shingles, 2002; Walk, 2000). Gender stereotypes in athletic training may lead to stereotype threat. Due to the limited research on gender stereotypes in athletic training, further investigation is warranted.

METHODS

Introduction

This chapter outlines the demographics of the participants, procedure for selecting participants, and rationale for selecting participants. The research design, instrumentation and procedures will then be delineated. Finally, contention for the establishment of validity and an explanation of data analysis for the study will conclude this chapter. The purpose of this study was to uncover FI-ATCs' experiences, if any, with gender stereotypes within their profession.

Participants

National Athletic Trainers' Association Board of Certification (NATABOC) certified FI-ATCs working in California participated in the study. The FI-ATCs worked in an intercollegiate setting, either full or part-time, for at least two years to ensure a minimum level of experience. The ATCs had experience working with both male and female athletes and coaches. An increasing number of ATCs are migrating toward more non-traditional settings such as hospitals and clinics (*JRC-AT*, 2003). Intercollegiate athletic trainers were selected to ensure that employment was held within comparable athletic training/athletic settings.

Participants were selected starting with the researcher's personal network of ATCs. The researcher began by asking ATCs who fit the research criteria and who may be information-rich interviewees, to participate. These initial candidates were the most practical in location to create cost-effectiveness for the researcher. Three participants were yielded from the researcher's personal network. Snowball, or chain sampling, a

form of purposeful sampling (Wengraf, 2001) was then used for selection of added participants. Snowballing “identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich” (Wengraf, 2001, p 102) and is useful for small populations such as the research criteria dictated (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). Regardless of willingness to participate, the researcher asked the possible candidates if they recommended any other possible candidates in the area who fit the research criteria and may be information-rich cases. The snowballing method returned one more willing participant. When all personal network and snowballing tactics were exhausted, the researcher performed a random web-based search of intercollegiate athletic web sites for additional prospective participants. A mass email was sent to these ATCs fitting the research criteria. Seven more participants were produced from this method. The method of proposal for participation was either via phone or email. Prospective participants were asked to donate approximately one hour of their time for a qualitative interview regarding their experience as a FI-ATC.

The aforementioned participant recruiting process was a result of continuing interviews until theoretical saturation had been reached. Theoretical saturation can be defined as the point in data collection when no new evidence, concepts or categories arise (Wengraf, 2001). Glesne (1999) describes theoretical saturation as occurring when “successive examination of sources yields redundancy and that the data you have seem complete and integrated” (p. 135). Ritchie et al. (2003) explain theoretical saturation and rationalize small qualitative sample size:

First, if the data are properly analysed [sic], there will come a point where very little new evidence is obtained from each additional fieldwork unit....There is therefore a point of diminishing return where increasing the sample size no longer contributes new evidence.

Second, statements about incidence or prevalence are not the concern of qualitative research. There is therefore no requirement to ensure that the sample is of sufficient scale to provide estimates, or to determine statistically significant discriminatory variables. This is in sharp contrast to survey samples which need to have adequately sized cells to draw statistical inference with the required precision.

Third, the type of information that qualitative studies yield is rich in detail. There will therefore be many hundreds of ‘bites’ of information from each unit of data collection. In order to do justice to these, sample sizes need to be kept reasonably small scale. Finally, and related to this, qualitative research is highly intensive in terms of the research resources it requires. It would therefore simply be unmanageable to conduct and analyse [sic] hundreds of interviews, observations or groups unless the researcher intends to spend several years doing so (p. 83).

Participant recruiting was slightly limited by issues that were personally prohibitive such as time, money for travel and other limited resources.

A proposal for this study was presented to the San Jose State Institutional Review Board and approval was received before proceeding with the study. All participants

signed an informed consent form before participation in the study, and participant confidentiality was maintained at all times. The researcher conducted and transcribed all interviews. Pseudonyms were used in place of participant names, and all other names (schools, coaches, players, etc.) in both transcriptions and the final write-up. Only pseudonyms tagged the top of each transcript for identification. The only list of participants with respective matching pseudonyms were kept in a locked drawer at the home office of the researcher. After completion of the research project, this list and all interview audiotapes will be destroyed.

Research Design

The qualitative research method was chosen for this study due to its “inductive approach, its focus on specific situations or people, and its emphasis on words rather than numbers” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 22). Perceptions cannot be observed (Pitney & Parker, 2001) therefore interviewing is a valuable way of gaining a description (Maxwell, 2005). According to Maxwell, qualitative research is predominantly appropriate for five particular research purposes: understanding meaning for participants of situations and of their personal accounts of their experiences, understanding the context of participant accounts as well as the influence of this context on participant actions, identifying unforeseen phenomena and influences, and “generating new grounded theories about the latter” (p. 19), understanding the process behind actions and developing causal explanations. Qualitative research is also appropriate for situations in which little is already known. As previously stated, there have been limited qualitative research studies on experiences of FI-ATCs with gender stereotypes.

In addition to the invaluable power of qualitative research to the social perspective on athletic training, another reason for using qualitative methodology was a call for qualitative research in athletic training (Pitney & Parker, 2001). According to Pitney and Parker, “although athletic training is largely a scientific field of study, we must recognize the potential promise qualitative research offers to help us further understand our professional roles in a social context...Qualitative research can facilitate a better understanding of phenomena and allow athletic trainers to better navigate their socioprofessional environments” (p. 188). This study not only adds to the research on gender stereotypes and athletic training, but also adds to the small amount of qualitative research done in the field of athletic training.

In-depth interviews, averaging one hour in length, were used to gather the information for this study. Lewis (2003) states that in-depth interviews are invaluable due to their ability to extract in-depth information from individuals to create detailed subject coverage. “They are the only way to collect data where it is important to set the perspectives heard within the context of personal history or experience; where delicate or complex issues need to be explored at a detailed level, or where it is important to relate different issues to individual personal circumstances” (Lewis, 2003, p 58). In-depth interviews were also chosen because they are ideal for those researchers and participants who may have impacted schedules or mobility concerns (Lewis, 2003).

Instrumentation

A qualitative interview guide was used for this study (see Appendix A). The interview guide followed the semi-structured interview format. Central questions were

asked regarding personal background, interactions with male and female coaches, athletes, officials, athletic directors and other members of the medical team (doctors, physical therapists, paramedics, etc.) and general experiences with gender stereotypes in the athletic training setting. Follow-up probe questions were used to extract further information if the participant did not bring up any issues themselves.

Procedures

This study began with a bracketing interview in which the researcher was questioned with the interview guide by an experienced qualitative researcher. The bracketing interview was followed by four pilot interviews, and finally, in-depth semi-structured participant interviews. The researcher kept a reflexive journal throughout the interview process. Peer review and peer debriefing took place after the participant interviews. All participant interviews were tape-recorded for later analysis and transcription. The tape-recordings ensured collection of “rich data” (Maxwell, 2005).

A peer review was performed on the interview guide itself to promote validity and reduce researcher bias in the actual semi-structured interview questions (Maxwell, 2005). The researcher was then interviewed in a bracketing interview by an experienced qualitative researcher with the researcher’s own interview guide to reveal any researcher bias that needed to be addressed. A pilot study was performed by interviewing three participants as similar as possible to those involved in the actual study. Pilot study participants were informed that the study was for refinement and testing purposes and that they would be asked for feedback after the interviews. The researcher utilized the pilot study to adjust interview questions and strategy and to ensure the interview guide

attracted the information for which the researcher was seeking (Glesne, 1999; Maxwell, 2005).

Interviews were conducted in settings that practically suited both the researcher and the participants. Interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed and returned to participants for review via email. This member check was performed to make sure the participants' views and the participants themselves were justly portrayed (Glesne, 1999). Maxwell (1996) argues that member checking works to promote validity and reduce researcher bias in the actual central and probe questions. The member checking process is the "single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpretation of the meaning of what they say and the perspective they have on what is going on" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 94).

Throughout the interview process, a reflexive journal was recorded by the researcher. Maxwell (2005) states that, "Memos are one of the most important techniques you have for developing your own ideas. You should therefore think of memos as a way to help you *understand* your topic, setting, or study, not just as a way of recording and presenting an understanding you've already reached" (p. 12). The researcher took memos regarding participant body language, researcher reactions and general thoughts that came about during the interviews.

Validity

The validity or trustworthiness of a qualitative study can often be quite controversial within the research community (Patton, 2002). Quantitative and qualitative designs manage threats to validity in different ways. Quantitative researchers generally

establish a set of controls that will ideally rule out the chance for validity threats.

Qualitative researchers, not having the luxury to virtually control for most validity threats previous to beginning the research process, must typically establish academic rigor during and after data is collected (Maxwell, 2005). For the purpose of this study, any risks to validity that could be controlled before the onset of the study were managed accordingly. Other factors that may have posed a hazard to the validity of the study were controlled throughout and after data collection, as necessary.

Patton (2002) outlines three main ways to establish validity in a qualitative study. The first is rigorous methods, which include enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis by “searching for rival explanations, explaining negative cases, triangulation and keeping data in context” (Patton, 2002, p. 566). The second, credibility of the researcher, incorporates the ideas of researcher training, experience, track record, status and presentation of self. Patton (2002) lists the third way of establishing qualitative validity as ascertaining the philosophical belief in the value of qualitative inquiry. This idea includes a fundamental appreciation of naturalistic inquiry, qualitative methods, inductive analysis, purposeful sampling and holistic thinking.

The researcher established rigorous methods for the study, beginning with the assessment of rival conclusions. The researcher may have entered into the research with certain biases or predispositions. To combat this possible effect on research credibility, the researcher discussed possible preconceptions after the bracketing interview and in the reflexive journal.

Patton (2002) describes four types of triangulation to establish rigorous qualitative methods: methods triangulation, triangulation of sources, analyst triangulation and theory/perspective triangulation. For the purposes of this study, triangulation of sources and analyst triangulation were used. Triangulation of sources was achieved by drawing on interview tapes, interview transcripts and the researcher's reflexive journal. Interview tapes and transcripts revealed "rich" data, derived from verbatim transcriptions of participant interviews (Maxwell, 2005) therefore decreasing the chance of these sources being biased. Analyst triangulation was attained by using information acquired through the member checking process as well as through peer review and peer debriefing.

The final way rigorous methods were established was through keeping the data collected in context. Since the data collected in this study was by way of purposeful sampling, the goal is to collect data that is in depth. In contrast to most quantitative studies the aspiration for this research was not to achieve great generalization, but to better understand information-rich cases. Rather, transferability is only applicable to some FI-ATCs working in California for at least two years. Ritchie, et al. (2003) also note that, "Although 'purposive' selection involves quite deliberate choices, this should not suggest any bias in the nature of choices made. The process of purposive sampling requires clear objectivity so that the sample stands up to independent scrutiny" (p. 80).

The credibility of the researcher is dependent on training, experience, track record, status and presentation of self (Patton, 2002). The researcher attained as much education about qualitative study as was feasible before the study began. The researcher was aware that there would be a certain level of reactivity within the researcher-

participant relationship. Challenges to the objectivity was also addressed by using the bracketing and pilot interviews, the reflexive journal, member checking, peer review and peer debriefing.

The last aspect of validity that was addressed was the philosophical belief in the value of qualitative inquiry. The validity of qualitative methods has been in question in past years, yet this debate has seemed to have come to a lull (Patton, 2002). Patton (2002) claims that qualitative methods are less often being criticized for the lack of parallels to quantitative research. Qualitative methodology has increased acceptance in terms of validity so long as qualitative researchers “appropriately match methods to purposes, questions and issues and not to universally advocate any single methodological approach for all inquiry situations” (Patton, 2002, p 585).

Data Analysis

The researcher first listened to all tape-recorded interviews to begin the process of data analysis. Transcription took place during the second examination of the interview tapes. Transcripts were numbered by interview order for organizational purposes later in data analysis. The researcher took notes during both reviews of the interview tapes for data analysis functions and also to free the researcher’s mind for new thoughts and perspectives (Glesne, 1999). Glesne (1999) and Maxwell (2005) both argue the importance of these early stages of data analysis. “You should regularly write memos while you are doing data analysis; memos not only capture your analytic thinking about your data, but also *facilitate* such thinking, stimulating analytic insights” (Maxwell, 2005, p 96). Blocks of relevant data to the subject matter of the study were labeled for later use

in creating themes and categories. This early stage of data analysis; listening to interview tapes and writing memos, enabled the researcher to note patterns that could formed into categories (Thomas & Nelson, 2001).

A combination of Cote, Salmela, Baria and Russell's (1993) data analysis methods and Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor's (2003) analytic hierarchy was used as the overall structure for data analysis. Open coding was used to create tags or meaning units. These chunks of labeled data were printed on individual index cards, labeled by interview number and transcript page number for ease in locating the data later in data analysis. Data was inductively synthesized, and tags with similar meanings were grouped, resulting in the raw data themes. Raw data themes were analyzed and grouped into higher order categories. These higher order categories were also sorted and their meanings refined to create general categories (Cote et al, 1993).

Throughout the analytical process, Spencer et al.'s (2003) analytic hierarchy was used to allow the analytical process to remain fluid and iterative between the transcript data, the raw data themes, the higher order categories and the general categories. Spencer et al. (2003) emphasize the importance of the iterative process throughout analysis. While themes and concepts were generated and meaning was assigned to these themes and concepts, data was also assigned to themes and concepts to portray meaning. During this process, more abstract concepts were refined, and data was assigned to these refined concepts to portray meaning. Throughout the execution of these tasks, the researcher traveled backwards and forwards between steps to "produce greater refinement in the analytic account developed" (Spencer et al., 2003, p 213). Spencer et al. (2003) highlight

the importance of movement between data and themes or concepts: “The ability to move up and down the analytical hierarchy, thinking conceptually, linking and nesting concepts in terms of their generality, lies at the heart of good qualitative analysis” (p 213).

Throughout and upon conclusion of the researcher’s own data analysis, peer review and peer debriefing of the researcher’s work took place. The peer review and debriefing process offered external input and criticism of the researcher’s work (Glesne, 1999).

Summary

Eleven FI-ATCs were interviewed for this qualitative study examining gender stereotypes. Participants were selected beginning with the researcher’s personal network and continued with snowball sampling, a form of purposeful sampling. Selection of participants concluded with a random web-based search for qualified participants. Interviews continued until theoretical saturation had been reached. Qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews were chosen due to their ability to gather detailed information to better understand information-rich cases. The researcher kept a reflexive journal throughout the entirety of the research process.

A peer-reviewed qualitative interview guide was used for this study, and the researcher participated in a bracketing interview before a pilot study commenced to assist in refining and reshaping the interview guide. Semi-structured participant interviews were recorded and transcribed and returned to participants who performed a member check. Validity for this study was established using Patton’s validity outline, which

includes instituting rigorous methods, addressing the credibility of the researcher and determining the credibility of qualitative research as a whole (2002).

Data analysis began with listening to and transcribing interviews while the researcher took notes. A combination of Cote et al.'s (1993) data analysis methods and Spencer et al.'s (2003) analytic hierarchy was used as the overall structure for data analysis. Open coding took place and data was inductively analyzed. Raw data themes, higher order themes and general categories emerged from the data. Throughout the analytical process, Spencer et al.'s (2003) analytic hierarchy was used to maintain the iterative process between the transcript data, raw data themes, higher order categories and general categories. Data analysis concluded with peer review and peer debriefing of the researcher's work.

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APPENDIX A

Semi-structured Interview Guide

Interview Guide

1. What attracted you to the athletic training profession?

Past Job Settings

2. What have been your past job settings (either as a student athletic trainer, or an ATC)?

Current Job Setting

3. Describe the athletic training setting in which you currently work.
 - What are the demographics of your patient population?
 - How long have you been at your current job?
 - How are the certified athletic trainers and student athletic trainers assigned to teams?
4. What is your view on women in the profession of athletic training?
5. Have you ever had any problems getting a job or being promoted? Explain.
6. Have you ever experienced harassment in the workplace?

Men's vs. Women's Teams

7. Have you worked with men's teams?
 - Describe your experience working with these teams.
 - How was your relationship with the coaches and athletes?
 - What was your favorite thing regarding working with these teams?
 - What was your least favorite thing regarding working with these teams?
8. Have you worked with women's teams?
 - Describe your experience working with these teams.
 - How was your relationship with the coaches and athletes?
 - What was your favorite thing regarding working with these teams?
 - What was your least favorite thing regarding working with these teams?
9. How do you handle treatments or evaluations of personal physical areas?
10. Have you ever been restricted from a team/practice/locker room? Explain.
11. Do you have a preference in working with men's or women's teams? Why?
12. How would you describe your ideal athlete? Coach?
13. Do you have to act differently working with men's or women's teams or male or female coaches?

Relationships

14. Describe your relationships with other healthcare professionals within the sports medicine team (physical therapists, other ATC's, doctors, chiropractors, EMTs, paramedics, massage therapists, etc.).
 - Athletes, coaches, administration, parents.
15. How do you feel you are perceived by those you work with?
 - Healthcare professionals, administrators, athletes, coaches, parents.
16. Have you always felt as if you were treated equally and taken seriously when compared to your co-workers?

Family

17. Do you have a family? A partner or children?

How does this or has this affected your professional career?

How has this been received by your supervisors and co-workers?

OR: Do you have plans to have a family in the future?

How will this affect your professional career?

How do you think this will be received by your supervisors and co-workers?

General Questions

18. Would you be a male athletic trainer if you could have? Why?

19. Explain to me an ideal job setting and why this setting would be ideal for you.

20. Is there anything else you would like to share with me today?

APPENDIX B

Author's Guide

Authors' Guide

(Revised January 2006)

The mission of the *Journal of Athletic Training* is to advance the science and clinical practice of athletic training.

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STYLE POLICIES

8. Each page must be formatted for 8½-by-11-inch paper, double spaced, with 1-inch margins in a font no smaller than 10 points. Include line counts on each page to facilitate the review process. Do not right justify pages.
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 - a. Abstract and Key Words (first numbered page)
 - b. Text (body of manuscript)
 - c. References
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The title page and acknowledgments should be submitted online as supplemental materials. Tables should be submitted in a separate file, as should figures; neither should be included in the manuscript.
10. Begin numbering the pages of your manuscript with the abstract page as #1; then, consecutively number all successive pages.
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Authors' Guide

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 - d. The body of an **Evidence-Based Practice** article provides a short review of current scientific literature and applies the findings to clinical athletic training practice. All articles submitted for this section should be concise reviews of published systematic reviews or meta-analyses on topics relevant to the 7 domains of athletic training (Prevention, Assessment/Evaluation, First Aid/Treatment, Rehabilitation, Organization/Administration, Counseling, and Education). Reviews of individual, large, controlled clinical trials will also be considered. The review must begin with the complete article title and reference and a statement of the clinical question the review addresses. The rest of the review consists of a summary of the article and must include the following sections: data sources and search terms used; study selection (inclusion and exclusion) criteria; the methods used to extract and review data, including a list of the primary outcome measures; results of the search strategy; and primary outcome measures and conclusions. A separate commentary section should address the application of the information to the clinical athletic training setting. Authors may use supplementary scientific literature (up to a maximum of 5 references) to support the commentary.
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- Books:**
1. Magee DJ. *Orthopedic Physical Assessment*. Philadelphia, PA: WB Saunders Co; 2002:45–56.
 2. Robertson G, Caldwell G, Hamill J, Kamen G, Whittlesey S. *Research Methods in Biomechanics*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics; 2004:128–136.
- Presentations:**
1. Layton JA, Thigpen CA, Padua DA, Karas SG. Reliability of scapula protraction strength measures. Presented at: 55th Annual Meeting and Clinical Symposia of the National Athletic Trainers' Association; June 17, 2004; Baltimore, MD.
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1. *Spine Injury Management* [videotape]. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics; 2001.
- Software:**
1. *SPSS Base for Windows* [computer program]. Version 13.0. Chicago, IL: SPSS Inc; 2005.
- Internet Sources:**
1. National Athletic Trainers' Association position statement: management of sport-related concussion. Available at: <http://www.nata.org/publicinformation/files/concussion.pdf>. Accessed January 3, 2005.
 2. ACSM guidelines for healthy aerobic activity. Available at: <http://www.acsm.org/pdf/Guidelines.pdf>. Accessed January 3, 2005.
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