

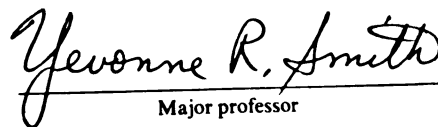
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**WOMEN IN ATHLETIC TRAINING:  
THEIR CAREER AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES**

**By**

**René R. Shingles**

**A DISSERTATION**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Department of Kinesiology**

**2001**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **WOMEN IN ATHLETIC TRAINING: THEIR CAREER AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES**

**By**

**René R. Shingles**

**The purpose of this study was to describe and critically analyze the experiences of diverse women certified athletic trainers (ATCs) regarding the following issues: a) differences and similarities of educational and career experiences in athletic training, b) opportunities provided by changing social structures caused by Title IX in women's sport, c) social processes and structures of discrimination and oppression in athletic training, d) women's experiences of empowerment in athletic training, e) intersections of race/ethnicity, sexuality and gender in the perceptions of women athletic trainers; and (f) giving voice to women athletic trainers.**

**Quantitative and qualitative research methods were used to complete the study. Multiracial feminism (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1994) was used to examine critically the perceived meanings and social realities of diverse women certified athletic trainers' career and educational experiences. A random sample of 419 diverse women ATCs (American Indian/Alaskan Native; Asian/Pacific Island; Black, non-Hispanic; Hispanic; White, non-Hispanic) were sent surveys to investigate their perceptions of their athletic training experiences. Twenty-five participants (five from each racial/ethnic group) were randomly selected and interviewed. These data were analyzed a) quantitatively using the one way Analysis of Variance and Multivariate Analysis of Variance tests; b) qualitatively and by c) triangulation of the data with the literature.**

Among the findings were that significant differences were observed between diverse women ATCs with regard to their perceptions of a) sexuality and use of the lesbian label in athletic training, b) interactions with colleagues and general educational experiences, and c) issues of structural power.

The following themes emerged from the qualitative data. Most women ATCs formed a “tight knit” group relationship with classmates and instructors. Culturally diverse settings created primarily “good or professional” relationships with coaches, except when the coaches disregarded or disrespected their decision making. African American/Black and some Hispanic women formed cultural connections with athletes of their racial/ethnic group. Women athletic trainers experienced sexual harassment but only perceived harassing incidents that involved physical abuse or that created a threatening environment. Sexuality and the lesbian label impacted women ATCs. Regardless of sexual orientation, their sexuality was questioned or they were assumed to be lesbian. Lastly, some women perceived that being a woman certified athletic trainer was no longer unique. Others expressed pride in being a woman certified athletic trainer. However, more recently certified women perceived themselves as athletic trainers, not as women certified athletic trainers.

This study demonstrated that women ATCs were both privileged and oppressed simultaneously by race/ethnicity, gender, and sexuality depending upon their social location. Recommendations for athletic training educators, the National Athletic Trainers’ Association and future research were outlined.

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## **DEDICATION**

**This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, my partner, Stan L. Shingles. Thanks for supporting and believing in me, and for always being there. I could not have done it without you. Your love has been a sustaining force.**

**René**



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The diverse women certified athletic trainers who completed the survey and who agreed to be interviewed for participating in this project, sharing your stories, experiences and feelings. Thank you for your time and willingness to be a part of this project. Your voice has been heard and chronicled.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### CHAPTER I

Introduction.....	1
Statement of the Problem .....	2
Background of the Study.....	5
Need for the Study.....	6
Purpose of the Study.....	10
Research Questions for Qualitative Aspects of the Dissertation.....	11
Research Hypotheses for Quantitative Aspects of the Dissertation.....	12
Definition of Terms.....	13
Assumptions.....	18
Delimitations.....	18
Limitations.....	20

### CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature.....	24
The Status of Women in Athletic Training.....	24
History of Women and the National Athletic Trainers' Association.....	25
Research on Women Athletic Trainers: Critical Issues of Gender and Ethnicity.....	36
Employment of Women Certified Athletic Trainers.....	47
The Status of Women in Sport.....	50
The Impact of Title IX.....	51
Women As Sport Leaders.....	53
Outsiders-Within and Insiders: Diverse Women's Perspectives.....	59
African American Women in Sport and Society .....	60
Latinas in Sport and Society.....	62
Asian Women in Sport and Society.....	63
White Women in Sport and Society.....	64
The Impact of Homophobia in Sport and Society.....	67
Women in Allied Health Professions.....	72
Theorizing Gender.....	74
Social Inequalities in Sport.....	75
Feminist Theory.....	80
Theorizing Gender at the Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Sexuality.....	83
Black Feminist Thought.....	86
Multiracial Feminism.....	89
The Influence of Symbolic Interaction Theory.....	91
Summary.....	93

### **CHAPTER III**

<b>Methods</b> .....	96
Study Design.....	96
Rationale for Quantitative and Qualitative Methods.....	98
Participants.....	99
Population.....	105
Human Subjects.....	105
Benefits versus Harm.....	105
Informed Consent.....	106
Anonymity versus Confidentiality.....	106
Instrumentation.....	106
Survey Questionnaire Instrument - General.....	108
Survey Questionnaire Instrument – Clarity, Content and Structure.....	110
Survey Questionnaire Instrument – Reliability.....	111
Survey Questionnaire Instrument – Construct Validity .....	112
Interview Instrument.....	113
Data Collection.....	114
Sampling Design.....	114
Selecting the Sample.....	115
Administering the Survey.....	118
Conducting the Interviews.....	119
Managing the Interview Data .....	120
Data Analysis.....	120
Quantitative Data Analysis.....	120
Qualitative Data Analysis.....	122
Triangulation.....	123
Summary.....	125

### **CHAPTER IV**

<b>Results</b> .....	126
Hypotheses Tested.....	126
Perceptions of Sexuality and the Lesbian Label in Athletic Training.....	128
Issues of Structural Power.....	129
Analysis of Individual Questions.....	130
Summary.....	133

### **CHAPTER V**

<b>Breaking the Silence: Qualitative Findings</b> .....	135
Nature of Relationships.....	136
Educational Experiences.....	136
Coaches' Relationships with Female Athletic Trainers.....	146
Female Athletic Trainers' Relationships with Athletes.....	152
Ethnic Looking Versus Non-Ethnic Looking: The Advantages of Culture, Race/Ethnicity.....	160
Sexual Harassment.....	171

Sexuality.....	182
What It Means to be a Woman Certified Athletic Trainer.....	187
Summary.....	194
<b>CHAPTER VI</b>	
Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations.....	198
Perceptions of Educational Experiences.....	198
Issues of Hierarchical Power for Women Athletic Trainers.....	201
Educational Preparation to Deal with Issues of Power.....	202
Educational Preparation to Deal with Sociocultural Issues.....	203
Racialized Interactions with Athletes.....	204
Gendered and Sexualized Interactions with Athletes.....	206
Women Athletic Trainers at the Intersection of Race/Ethnicity, Gender:	
Privileges, Advantages and Disadvantages.....	208
Sexuality and the Lesbian Label.....	218
Sexual Harassment.....	221
Critical Analysis of Women's Experiences in Athletic Training Using	
Multiracial Feminism.....	225
Suggested Recommendations by the Participants.....	228
Making It Better.....	228
Suggestions for Educators by Women Athletic Trainers.....	231
Suggestions for the NATA by Women Athletic Trainers.....	236
Summary of Research Questions.....	241
Recommendations.....	248
Conclusions.....	253
Future Research.....	255
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
A. NATA Membership and Renewal Form.....	257
B. Human Subjects Approval Letter.....	259
C. Introductory Letter and Informed Consent, Follow-up Post Card.....	260
D. Informed Consent for Interview.....	262
E. Informed Consent for Transcript and Email Directions.....	263
F. Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences	
Survey.....	265
G. Table 10: Factor Analysis: 1-23, 24-43, 1-43.....	270
H. Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences	
Interview Survey.....	277
I. Table 11: Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational	
Experiences Survey Results.....	285
J. Table 12: ANOVA Results for Questions That Did Not Load on a	
Factor.....	296
REFERENCES.....	297

## LIST OF TABLES

### TABLES

1	Survey Response Rates by Race/Ethnicity.....	101
2	Final Participants by Self-Identified Race/Ethnicity.....	101
3	Constructs Derived from Factor Analysis of Questions 1-43.....	112
4	ANOVA Results for Each Hypothesis Tested.....	128
5	Mean and Standard Deviation for the Construct Sexuality and the Lesbian Label.....	128
6	Mean and Standard Deviation for the Construct Power.....	129
7	Perceptions of Being the “Token” of Ones Racial/Ethnic Group.....	131
8	Perceptions of “Paving the Way” for Ones Racial/Ethnic Group.....	131
9	Perceptions of Being the “Spokesperson” of Ones Racial/Ethnic Group.....	132
10	Factor Analysis: : 1-23, 24-43, 1-43.....	270
11	Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences Survey Results.....	285
12	ANOVA Results for Questions That Did Not Load on a Factor.....	296



## LIST OF FIGURERS

### FIGURES

1. Quantitative Study Design.....	97
2. Qualitative Study Design.....	98
3. Qualitative Data Analysis.....	122
4. Triangulation.....	124
5. Outcomes Summary of Hypothesis Testing.....	133
6. Pseudonyms and Race Self-Identification.....	135

## CHAPTER I

### Introduction

The experiences and contributions of women in the athletic training profession have rarely been documented. Essentially, women's experiences have been unrecognized, since the founding of the National Athletic Trainers' Association (NATA) almost half century ago in 1950 (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997). This situation has endured despite the sustained growth of women in the profession during the last twenty-five years. Thus, this study was designed to ascertain the experiences of women certified athletic trainers and to document their stories.

This study builds on the work of Anderson (1991) and Grant-Ford (1997). Anderson (1991) studied pioneer White women certified athletic trainers' (ATC) ideological, structural and individual barriers. As with traditional feminist scholars, Anderson (1991) placed gender at the center of her analysis. She did not consider the intersection of race, class, or sexuality and how pioneer women's experiences may have been differentiated by their social locations.

Because Anderson's (1991) participants were White, Grant-Ford (1987) questioned whether ethnic minority women pioneer ATCs had similar experiences to Anderson's (1991) White women pioneers. Grant-Ford (1997) also examined ideological, structural and individual barriers, but she added race as a mediating factor. Grant-Ford (1997) wanted to determine whether gender and/or race affected the perception of barriers. Where Anderson (1991) surveyed participants about gender only, Grant-Ford (1997) modified the questions and added the race dimension. Grant-Ford (1997) did not ask about sexuality; her analysis was additive rather than intersected.

Race and gender were treated categorically (race added on to gender), rather than relationally (Hall, 1996; Smith, Y., 1992). Grant-Ford's (1997) analysis did not examine the social structures that mediate the gendered and racialized experiences of Women of Color certified athletic trainers. Neither Anderson (1991) or Grant-Ford (1997) analyzed how the pioneer women ATCs were both oppressed and empowered simultaneously based on multiple social locations at the intersection of race, class, gender, and sexuality.

Therefore, the intent of this study was to extend the work of Anderson (1991) and Grant-Ford (1997) by examining the experiences of diverse women ATCs (e.g., African American, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Island, Caucasian, and Latina women; pioneers and recently certified) qualitatively and quantitatively, critically analyzing educational and career experiences at the intersection of race/ethnicity, gender, and sexuality.

### Statement of the Problem

In A History of the National Athletic Trainers Association, by O'Shea (1980), which chronicles the association's official history from the early 1900's until the late 1970's, women were not mentioned at all, other than to say that after Title IX in 1973, there were concerns about women being accepted into undergraduate and graduate NATA approved curriculum programs. Likewise, there was no explicit mention of the racial or ethnic heritage of "pioneer" athletic trainers who were highlighted in the book. As such, the reader is left to assume that these men were from the dominant cultural group. A closer examination of the photographs revealed only men who appear to be primarily of European descent, but no women, nor diverse racial/ethnic cultural groups (O'Shea, 1980). As such, White women and athletic trainers of color have been rendered

silent and invisible historically in athletic training scholarly literature and in the profession; their contributions and histories (herstories) were not chronicled. Rather than continue imagining the diversity of experiences and contributions made by women through their professional and educational lives as athletic trainers, the present research will explore and chronicle those experiences.

When experiences of some women athletic trainers have been portrayed in more recent athletic training research (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997; Walk, 1994, 1995; and Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1997), the women were either all White (Anderson, 1991), all ethnic minority (Grant-Ford, 1997), or the ethnic heritage was not identified (Walk, 1994, 1995; Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1997). In the more recently published reports, the authors presumed a “universal” experience for all women certified athletic trainers (ATCs) (Anderson, 1992; Booth & Anderson, 1995; Rochman, 1998). The underlying assumption, by omission, has been that all women athletic trainers studied, by virtue of their gender, have the same or similar undifferentiated experiences.

Similarly, early feminist scholars and feminist sport scholars made the same assumptions, that all women (including female athletes) had the same experiences and were oppressed in the same manner. The traditional “...feminist view of universal sisterhood ignored and marginalized...” (Baca Zinn, Hondagneu-Sotelo, & Messner, 1997, p. 3) the views of diverse women in society and sport. For example, working class women and Women of Color did not find the movement of women into the workforce as liberating. They were already working outside of the home and were more concerned

with better pay and more equitable treatment (Baca Zinn, Hondagneu-Sotelo, & Messner, 1997; Birrell, 1990).

The universalization of women ATCs in athletic training scholarship has failed to recognize that the experiences of women ATCs may differ based on their social locations (e.g., race, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation). That is to say, women ATCs, because of intersecting forms of identity and social constructions, may experience *both* oppression *and* opportunity simultaneously (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997). They may be disempowered by gender, yet privileged and/or disempowered by race or class. Therefore, women's experiences in the athletic training profession may differ dramatically or be similar in some ways.

Thus, it is important to study, and critique the stories of women ATCs, because the stories, experiences, viewpoints, and social realities of ethnically and culturally diverse women certified athletic trainers have neither been chronicled, nor analyzed in any published report. The concerns and motivations of this study are to (a) increase the knowledge bases and understanding of diverse women's experiences (African American, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander, Caucasian, Latina) as well as multicultural, diversity, and gender issues (Martin & Buxton, 1997) in athletic training; (b) provide feedback from women respondents with suggestions and strategies related to gender and ethnicity issues for athletic training educators; and (c) give voice to culturally diverse women certified athletic trainers regarding educational and professional career experiences.

### Background of the Study

The purpose of the pilot study was to test and receive feedback on the survey and interview instrumentation, data collection, and analysis (interview only) procedures. It was also to determine reliability and validity of the survey instrument. The ATCs selected for the pilot study were those participants who were not randomly selected for the dissertation as the available pool. Therefore, the available pool consisted of 5,431 women (six American Indian/Alaskan Native; 16 Asian/Pacific Islander; nine Black, non Hispanic; eighteen Hispanic; and 5,382 White, non Hispanic). Five women ATCs were purposively sampled for the pilot study interview, in order to provide heterogeneity and diverse representation. The women selected represented each of the racial or ethnic groups used in the dissertation. The characteristics used to select the participants were race/ethnicity and geographic region. Because of inability to contact one of the selected participants (Asian American), two other Asian American women were selected. One of these women never returned telephone calls, and the other did not work in the field. Therefore, these attempts were also futile. Thus, only four women ATCs remained as pilot participants.

The ATCs who participated in the pilot study included one African American woman; one Potawatomi Indian woman; one Hispanic woman; and one Italian White woman. Geographically, the women represented the west coast, new England, east coast and mid-Atlantic. Likewise, internship, undergraduate and graduate curriculum routes to NATA certification were represented. Lastly, the year of NATA certification spanned three decades, including 1976, 1985 and 1996. These four women did not recommend



any changes to the survey. Two indicated that it took fifteen minutes to complete and two indicated that they took twenty minutes.

The stories detailing the experiences of women ATCs that emerged from the qualitative data of the pilot study represented seven themes. Those themes were categorized as perceptions of educational experiences; perceptions of career experiences; perceptions of race/ethnicity, gender privilege and discrimination; perceptions of harassment; femininity and sexual orientation; preparation to deal with sociocultural issues; and making it better.

Twenty eight women students in an undergraduate CAAHEP accredited athletic training education program at a mid-western university were selected to complete the survey only. One student was not present on the day of data collection and was therefore not included. The students were conveniently sampled and included two Asian/Pacific Islanders; one Black, non-Hispanic; twenty-two White, non-Hispanics; one other (Arab American); and two women who did not indicate their race/ethnicity. The data from these participants were used to determine validity and reliability of the survey instrument.

### Need for the Study

The results of a preliminary study by this author using cross tabulation of the 1997 NATA membership demographic data by ATCs gender and ethnicity revealed that there were 14,076 certified athletic trainers. Forty-three percent (6049) of these ATCs were women, and 56.8% (7996) were men; 0.2% (31) of the ATCs did not indicate their gender (Shingles, 1997). As indicated by further cross tabulation, of the 6049 women ATCs, 37 were Black non-Hispanic (0.6% of women and 0.3% of all ATCs). Seventy

women were Asian or Pacific Islander (1.2% of women and 0.5% of all ATCs), and 76 were Hispanic (1.3% of women and 0.5% of all ATCs). Only 28 of the women were American Indian/Alaskan Native (0.5% of women and 0.2% of all ATCs). As such, there were only 211 Women of Color who were identified as certified athletic trainers (3.6 % of women and 1.5% of all ATCs). White non-Hispanic women ATCs number 5385 (89% of women and 38.3% of all ATCs). Thirteen women ATCs indicated "other" as their ethnicity (0.2% of women and 0.1% of all ATCs), and 440 women did not identify their racial or ethnic identity (Shingles, 1997). To date, there has been no recorded documentation of the differentiated experiences of these women.

The present study is timely because it coincides with a period in the history of the profession when an unprecedented number of women are graduating from athletic training programs (i.e., NATA approved undergraduate, Commission on Accreditation of Allied Health Educational Programs [CAAHEP] accredited entry-level , and NATA accredited graduate programs). From 1993 to 1997, women comprised forty-six to fifty-five percent of the graduates from NATA approved undergraduate and CAAHEP accredited programs (Annual Placement Survey, 1998). Likewise, in the same five year time span, women comprised forty-one to fifty-seven percent of the graduates from NATA accredited graduate athletic training programs (Annual Placement Survey, 1998). These statistics show that women as a group are approaching one half of the ATC membership in the NATA. Unfortunately, the Annual Placement Survey (1998) data are not stratified by ethnicity in addition to gender; therefore, a determination cannot be made regarding the impact of this growth on the ethnic diversity of current enrollments.

Although women ATCs continue to increase, very little is known about their educational and career experiences. For example, why did they enter the profession? How did they become aware of new opportunities? What facilitated their entry into the profession? Did/do they feel welcome? Was/is there gender equity? To what extent did/do they feel discrimination in athletic training? Why did they stay in the profession? What barriers, challenges, and successes have they experienced? Did their experiences differ at the intersections of race/ethnicity, class and gender as they interfaced within educational, sport and athletic training social structures? If so, how? Some pioneer women did not have the opportunity during their athletic training education or early in their careers to work with male sports, particularly football and men's basketball, which were given more status than non revenue sports (Anderson, 1991). Likewise, Walk (1994) documented that some women student athletic trainers did not have the opportunity to work with the ice hockey team, and they experienced limited access to the football team. Did a lack of educational experiences with men's teams (which are represented in professional sports) contribute to the virtual absence of women in professional sport settings or preclude women from working with male athletes? Or, were there other structural barriers in collegiate as well as professional sports which served to limit opportunities for women? Is it that Title IX and the women's sport movement have been directly responsible for the increased need for women in athletic training? Do female athletic trainers have comparable salaries and benefits as male athletic trainers? Are they just as likely as women coaches and athletic directors to be marginalized in sport and allied health professions? These are issues and concerns for which data are lacking, and as such, compel further investigation.

What can be learned from the experiences of women ATCs that will help educate the next generation of women and men ATCs who are likely to serve as faculty, clinical supervisors and program directors? What can be learned that will help recruit and retain a more ethnically and culturally diverse, as well as culturally sensitive population of ATCs? One way to answer these questions is to ask the women themselves.

There is a need to understand diverse women's experiences in athletic training and their standpoint at the intersections of gender, race/ethnicity and social class. As no study appears to have examined all groups of culturally diverse women in athletic training, while critically analyzing and comparing perspectives, it is difficult to generalize findings to all women ATCs. As such, the benefits of the present study to the profession of athletic training may include providing a) a representative sample of voices of, and discourse on, culturally diverse women (African American, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Island, Caucasian, and Latina) certified athletic trainers; b) insight into the perceived meanings, experiences, viewpoints, social structures of sport and athletic training, and social realities of culturally diverse women certified athletic trainers relative to their career and educational experiences; c) increased awareness of the intersection of gender, race/ethnicity, sexuality, relative to career and educational experiences; and d) suggestions and effective strategies to facilitate an understanding of gender and race/ethnicity issues that mediate the experiences for athletic training educators.

There is also a need to go beyond an "approach that lists or catalogues differences, to an approach that takes up the challenges of exploring the relations of power that structure these differences" (Baca Zinn, Hondagneu-Sotelo, & Messner, 1997, p. 7). In other words, it is important to explore the relationships that women ATCs had

with each other, their male colleagues, and institutions in an integrative fashion, relative to who and/or what shaped the differences in the lives of women ATCs.

This study is comprehensive in its research focus because it is the first one of its kind to include both dominant race women and ethnically and culturally diverse women certified athletic trainers. It also examines the area of sexuality in sport and athletic training. As such, it will provide a comprehensive means for beginning to understand the gendered, racialized, and sexualized nature of the field of athletic training, as well as women's perspectives in athletic training, multicultural perspectives and diversity issues (Martin & Buxton, 1997) from women's vantage points that may impact the quality of educational and career experiences of athletic trainers. This research will serve to analyze the realities of diverse women ATCs, and also serve as a baseline for future research endeavors which can inform curriculum changes in athletic training education programs.

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe the experiences of diverse women athletic trainers regarding the following issues: a) differences and similarities of educational and career experiences in athletic training, b) opportunities provided by changing social structures caused by Title IX in women's sport, c) social processes and structures of discrimination and oppression in athletic training, d) women's experiences of empowerment in athletic training, and e) intersections of race/ethnicity, sexuality and gender in the perceptions of women athletic trainers.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were chosen for this study. Qualitative data enhance quantitative data by probing deeper to ascertain the meanings of the findings as ascribed by the participants. Likewise, triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data with theory provides a more comprehensive view of the participants and their interpretation. Specifically, this study will answer the following questions.

### Research Questions for Qualitative Aspects of the Dissertation

#### Gendered and Multiracial Educational Experiences

1. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their athletic training educational experiences? Are the experiences gendered, and/or do the perceptions differ across race/ethnicity?
2. Specifically, how do diverse women ATCs perceive gender, race/ethnicity, privilege and discrimination relative to their athletic training educational experiences? Are the experiences gendered and/or is the perception different across race/ethnicity?
3. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their educational preparation to deal with issues of power in athletic training (e.g., ATC/physician relationship, male coach/female ATC relationship)? Are the perceptions gendered and/or are the perceptions different across race/ethnicity?
4. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their educational preparation to deal with sociocultural issues in athletic training (e.g., racism, sexism, sexuality)? Are the experiences gendered and/or are the perceptions different across race/ethnicity?



### **Gendered and Multiracial Career Experiences**

1. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their athletic training career experiences (first 5 years)? Are the experiences gendered and/or do the perceptions differ across race/ethnicity?
2. Specifically, how do diverse women ATCs perceive gender, race/ethnicity, privilege and discrimination relative to their athletic training career experiences (first 5 years)? Are the experiences gendered and/or is the perception different across race/ethnicity?
3. To what extent do women ATCs perceive societal power issues and athletic training knowledge and skill issues affecting their success within athletic training?
4. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding dealing with sociocultural issues in athletic training (e.g., racism, sexism, sexuality) during the first 5 years of their career? Are the perceptions gendered and/or are the perceptions different across race/ethnicity?

### **Women's Status in Athletic Training**

1. How do diverse women ATCs perceive what it means to be a woman certified athletic trainer today?
2. What are the perceptions of career and educational experiences of women ATCs certified before Title IX versus those certified after Title IX?
3. What are diverse women ATCs perceptions regarding how the athletic training profession can be improved for women?

### **Research Hypotheses for Quantitative Aspects of the Dissertation**

The following hypotheses were tested.

### Perception of Sexuality and the Lesbian Label

H0 1 There will be no difference across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of sexuality issues and the lesbian label during their athletic training experiences.

### Interacting with Colleagues

H0 2 There will be no difference across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of their interaction with colleagues during their athletic training experiences.

### General Educational Experiences

H03 There will be no difference across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of their athletic training educational experiences.

### Issues of Structural Power

H04 There will be no differences across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of issues of structural power during their athletic training experiences.

Those questions that were not encompassed in a construct were explored independently.

### Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined for this study:

1. African American is an ethnic/cultural term used to refer to an individual who identifies as an American "...with origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa". (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3). African Americans are descendents of "...people who were brought here [United States of America] as slaves from the west coast of Africa" (Spector, 1996, p. 191).
2. American Indian or Alaskan Native refers to an individual who self-identified on the NATA membership application and renewal form (Appendix A) as "...having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who

maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition.” (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3). Alaskan Natives include Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians residing in Alaska. Those Indians residing in the other states were considered American Indians (Spector, 1996).

3. Asian American is an ethnic/cultural term used to refer to an individual who identifies as an American with “...origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, South East Asia, the Indian Subcontinent or the Pacific Islands.” (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3). Persons may identify as Americans of Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese decent.
4. Asian or Pacific Islander is an inclusive term used to refer to an individual who self-identified on the NATA membership application and renewal form (Appendix A) as “...having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, South East Asia, the Indian Subcontinent or the Pacific Islands.” (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3). Asian or Pacific Islanders includes those born in or immigrated to the United States.
5. Athletic Trainer / Certified Athletic Trainer (ATC) refers to an individual who is “...highly educated and skilled professional specializing in athletic health care” (National Athletic Trainers’ Association, n.d.), has “...fulfilled the requirements for certification established by the National Athletic Trainers’ Association Board of Certification, Inc.” (National Athletic Trainers’ Association, n.d., p. 2), and is able to practice in the following domains of

athletic training: prevention of injuries; recognition, evaluation and immediate care of injuries; rehabilitation and reconditioning; health care administration; and professional development. ATCs must hold a bachelors degree; however, over 80% hold a master's degree (NATA, 1999a).

6. Black, non-Hispanic a racial term used to refer to an individual who self-identified on the NATA membership application and renewal form (Appendix A) as "...having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa." (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3). It is an inclusive term for those born in the United States, and those who have immigrated (e.g., people from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, and the West Indian islands).
7. Black Feminist Thought is both a gendered and racial standpoint, and a conceptual framework which clarifies "a Black women's perspective on and for Black women" (Collins, 1991, p. 53).
8. Caucasian is a racial/cultural term used to refer to an individual who identifies as an American "...having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East." (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3). It is an inclusive term for those born in the United States, and those who have immigrated.
9. Culturally diverse refers to differential views and experiences based on sociocultural and historical traditions.
10. Ethnicity refers to the cultural heritage, background, social distinction (Coakley, 1994), and shared historical meanings of a particular group.

11. Feminism is ...the struggle to end sexist oppression. Its aim is not to benefit solely any specific group of women, any particular race or class of women. It does not privilege women over men..." (hooks, 1984, p. 26).
12. Gender refers to a socially constructed experience that is not based in biology (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Hall, 1990; Lorber & Farrell, 1991). It "... refers to the systematic structuring of relationships between women and men in social institutions" (Andersen & Collins, 1995, p. 67).
13. Gender equity refers to social justice between women and men.
14. Hispanic refers to an individual who self-identified on the NATA membership application and renewal form (Appendix A) as being "...Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish Culture or origin, regardless of race" (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3).
15. Latino/a is an ethnic/cultural term used to refer to an individual who identifies as being of Latino heritage regardless of ethnicity (Jamieson, 1995). Latinos may consist of individuals of "...Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish Culture or origin, regardless of race" (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3).
16. Multiracial feminism is a conceptual framework, a "Racially informed standpoint..." (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997, p. 27), that posits that race is important to understanding the social construction of gender.
17. National Athletic Trainers' Association (NATA) is an allied health care organization "...committed to the advancement, encouragement and

improvement of the athletic training profession” (National Athletic Trainers’ Association, n.d., b, p. 14; Arnheim & Prentice, 1997).

18. Native American refers to an individual who self-identified as “...having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition” (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3).
19. Outsider within refers to a framework that relates to one’s simultaneous relationship to the social world. It therefore provides a unique vantage point and recognizes personal and cultural experiences as a source of knowledge that can be used to critique the social world. That is to say one can have intimate knowledge of a discipline (inside), yet be marginalized because one’s views are not a part of or represented by the mainstream (outside) (Collins, 1991).
20. Power refers to “...possession of control, authority, or influence over others...” (Woolf, 1980).
21. Race is a socially constructed term or “... concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 55; Coakley, 1994).
22. Standpoint epistemology is a method of inquiry that shifts the grounds of knowing and knowledge to peoples’ lived (embodied) experiences at a particular social location (Smith, D., 1990).
23. Symbolic interaction is a sociological theory which posits that “human beings develop and use symbols to represent and understand the world....symbols are

created as people interact with each other and give meaning to what happens in their lives” (Coakley, 1994, p. 44).

24. Title IX refers to that section of the Educational Act of 1972, which was passed by Congress, that states, “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance” (Cahn, 1994, p. 250; Coakley, 1994, p. 210).

25. White, non-Hispanic is a racial term used to refer to an individual who self-identified on the NATA membership application and renewal as “...having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East” (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d., p. 3). It is an inclusive term for those born in the United States, and those who have immigrated.

#### Assumptions

It was assumed that the participants would be truthful when they self-identified their ethnic background and gender on the NATA membership application and renewal form (from which the NATA membership demographic raw data were compiled, and the population for this study was derived). It was further assumed that the participants would be honest (to the best of their ability) as they answered questions on the self-administered mail questionnaire, and during the interview.

#### Delimitations

The delimitation of this study included the formulation of the self-administered questionnaire and telephone interview questions. Furthermore, using the NATA 1999

membership demographic data relative to women was a delimiting factor. More specifically, women were delineated by ethnicity. Additionally, the survey questionnaire participants were randomly selected, within ethnicity, from an ethnically stratified list of NATA women ATCs. The women on the list self-identified as either American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic, or White. The interview participants were randomly sampled from the survey questionnaire participants. A disproportionate random sampling technique was used for the survey questionnaire, and random sampling for the interview, in order to ensure representation of underrepresented groups (i.e., Women of Color) ( Babbie, 1990).

The use of language to describe the culturally diverse women was a delimiting factor. When referring to the NATA membership demographic data, the terminology of that data was used. However, when referring to the data from the participants, their self-identified ethnicity, or pseudonyms were used. During the times when it became necessary to group the women according to similar ethnic experiences, the terms African American, Asian American, Latina, Native American (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997), or Caucasian were used. Periodically the phrase Women of Color was used as a collective voice for African American, Asian American, Latina, and Native American women. However, it was recognized that the phrase “Women of Color” can be problematic as it categorizes groups of women and may reflect less of the specific women’s actual experiences (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Collins, 1994; Weston, 1991). Likewise, the phrase may depict whiteness, more specifically White women, as the unmarked (Frankenberg, 1996; Weston, 1991), normative center (Collins, 1994).



Like Andersen and Collins (1995), the ethnic designator was capitalized to reflect that the text was addressing a properly named group. However, regardless of terminology, it is important to mention that it was not the intention of this study to homogenize or falsely universalize the unique experiences of these diverse women by grouping them in a category (Andersen & Collins, 1995). Categorization provided a means for discussing common experiences across different groups. Thus, experiences of individual women and collective groups could be discussed and critically analyzed.

### Limitations

This section discusses the limitations of this study, which included the sample size for the questionnaire and interviews (419 and 25 respectively); ethnic identification; the interviewer's bias (with regard to final interpretation and presentation of the data); the memory of retrospective events of the participants; and use of a mail, self-administered survey questionnaire.

In 1999 there were 241 Women of Color ATCs, and 5679 White women ATCs (NATA, 1999a). In order to insure adequate representation of Women of Color ATCs, eighty percent were randomly sampled and included as survey questionnaire subjects. Furthermore, in order to have a similar sample size of White women ATC's, 4.3% were randomly sampled and included as subjects. In follow up telephone interviews, twenty Women of Color ATCs (five from each ethnic group) and five White women ATCs were randomly selected as participants.

From 1993 to 1996 the NATA used the following ethnic categories: African American, Asian American, Caucasian, Hispanic, Native American, and other. Members had the option to self- identify. The use of these categories was problematic, however.

The most glaring problem was the misinterpretation of the ethnic category Native American. Some individuals who self-identified as Native American indicated that, because they were born in America, they considered themselves to be “Native” American. As such many of these individuals were White and did not belong to or affiliate with an Indian tribe or Nation. Therefore, the membership data on Native Americans during this time period may not be representative of people who have origins in North American original peoples. Because of a need to have accurate and representative data, in 1997 the ethnic categories were changed to reflect the 1990 federal government census. Those categories were American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black (not of Hispanic origin), Hispanic, White (not of Hispanic origin), and other. In an attempt to insure the accuracy of ethnicity, the list used to select questionnaire and interview participants was derived from 1999 data. Likewise, follow up interviews were used to ensure the accuracy of participants in different categories.

Interviewer bias must be acknowledged. As an African American woman, and a certified athletic trainer, I have a particular experiential base that was reflected in the questions chosen, how they were asked, and how the data were interpreted and presented. In many ways, I am an insider with all the participants of the study, because I too am a certified athletic trainer. There are benefits to insider status, such as gaining trust, entry and gathering data, which are often facilitated through such status (Baca Zinn, 1979). I am also a trained sociological scholar who uses a sociological lens to delve beneath the surface of issues studied and also step outside the issues discussed in order to critically analyze data. As such, care must be taken not to exploit the relationship between participant and researcher (Baca Zinn, 1979; Gorelick, 1991; Stacey, 1988) or give the

illusion that the participant has more power than she does (Stacey, 1988). In the end, the researcher is the one who makes the final decisions regarding what information to include or exclude. Therefore, this researcher asked the interview participants to review their transcript for data accuracy and validation (Baca Zinn, 1979; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) and gave them the opportunity to indicate if the data accurately reflected their meanings.

Finally, though gender and credentials are commonalities between the researcher and participants, this may not be enough to insure understanding because of possible shared experiences. Riessen (1991) thought it was important to use women interviewers to collect data from her women participants. In this way, she thought the data would be more valid. However, what she learned was that gender was not enough of a commonality between the researcher and participant. In her study, the interviewers were White, middle class women. This particular participant was Puerto Rican. The Puerto Rican woman related her story about her marriage very differently than the White participants. This caused problems for the interviewer. The interviewer tried to change the way the participant told the story. As such, this altered the meaning of the story. The interviewer did not recognize the cultural differences in storytelling. Sensitivity to the cultural perspectives of women ATCs was of utmost importance to this researcher.

On the other hand, Andersen (1993) did recognize the racial, cultural and class differences between her and her participants. She let them tell their story their own way, and did not interrupt. Andersen (1993) also recognized that had her Black participants talked to a Black researcher, the story may have been different, but no less true. Again, interviewer bias must be acknowledged, noting nonetheless, that this standpoint spurred

the interest and preliminary research into a heretofore ignored area of study. Thus interviewers must connect at times as well as detach from the participants and data.

When trying to recall certain events of the past, participants may give more reflective interpretations of the events than they might have when they originally occurred. Likewise, they may not remember all details of the events exactly as they actually happened. This cannot be controlled totally, but can be minimized by the specific ordering of the questions (Babbie, 1990; Broman, 1998; Foddy, 1995). In order to assist with recall, the questions should be asked in reverse chronological order (Broman, 1998; Foddy, 1995). However, the athletic training expert who reviewed the survey questionnaire suggested that chronological order was most appropriate. Therefore, the questionnaire and interview will begin with general questions pertaining to educational experiences, then move forward to career experiences.

Finally, the response rate for a mailed, self-administered survey is expectedly low, when compared to face-to-face interviews (Babbie, 1990; Broman, 1998; Dillman, 1983). Only in face to face interviews does the researcher know that the respondent is actually who (s)he says (s)he is (Broman, 1998). Moreover, the presence of an interviewer decreases the chances of misinterpretation or misreading of the questions (Dillman, 1983). Therefore, in order to minimize the effect of self-administration on misinterpretation, the survey instrument was reviewed for clarity, and validated by researchers who study women, women in athletic training, and/or women in sport. Survey data were followed up with selected in-depth interviews that helped in mediating the limitations of the study and enhancing interpretation and understanding of the survey data.

## CHAPTER II

### Review of the Literature

A study of the experiences of women in athletic training encompasses a discussion of multiple and related frameworks such as gendered sociological theories; the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality in sport and society; and women in sport and the health professions. The literature review is, therefore, presented in the following manner: first, a review of the status of women in athletic training. Second, both a distributive and relational examination of the status of women in sport, as sport leaders and as “outsiders-within” (Collins, 1991; Smith, Y. 1992), is discussed. Third, there is a brief presentation of the status of women in allied health professions. Fourth, an overview of the different ways that gender can be theorized, particularly at the intersections of race, ethnicity, class and gender, is presented. Last, the theoretical framework applied in this research study will be discussed.

#### The Status of Women in Athletic Training

There is a paucity of literature on women in athletic training. “Nothing is recorded about the involvement of women in the early history of the organization [NATA]” (Randall, 1995, p. 98). Neither is the early involvement of ethnic minorities recorded (Randall, 1995). In A History of the National Athletic Trainers Association, O’Shea (1980) briefly indicated that “A final note for 1973 concerns the female athletic trainer in the NATA” (p. 80). There were concerns about women being admitted to undergraduate and graduate NATA approved curriculum programs. O’Shea (1980) did not indicate what the concerns were. At that time a promotional film used for recruiting by the NATA encouraged only young men to consider athletic training as a career field

(O'Shea, 1980). Women were not addressed, let alone encouraged (Anderson, 1991).

The representation and voices of ethnically diverse female and male athletic trainers went unheard, as their involvement was also not recorded (Randall, 1995).

### History of Women and the National Athletic Trainers' Association

What is known of the history of women and the National Athletic Trainers' Association? As this researcher began to examine available documented literature, it became necessary to develop a chronological account of the events and milestones affecting women in athletic training. The historical review was undertaken in order to better understand the sociocultural and historical context influencing the participation of women in the area of athletic training. Critical social theory helps us to understand that there are multiple perspectives on issues and that sporting practices evolve from a historical, social, and cultural perspective (Coakley, 1998).

The National Athletic Trainers Association was founded in Kansas City in 1950. There were no recorded women members at that time. In 1956, Celeste Hayden became the first woman to work as an athletic trainer for the Olympic Games. However, there is no record of her being certified (Randall, 1995), nor any record of women joining the NATA until 1966, ten years later. In fact between 1966-72, eight women joined the NATA (Wilson, 1974 d). The first of those women to join the NATA was Dorothy "Dot" Cohen in January, 1966, and the second was Sherry (Kosek) Babagian in March, 1966 (Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1999). Between 1972 and 1974 approximately 100 women joined the NATA (Wilson, 1974 e). This growth may have been spurred by the passage of Title IX in 1972. Because there were more women participating in sport

and physical activity, their health care needs had to be met. This need created job opportunities for women athletic trainers.

In 1965 the NATA, across-the-board, certified all active members of the association without examination (O'Shea, 1980). This universal certification occurred one year prior to the first women joining the association. Later, in 1968, a NATA sub-committee on certification by examination was formed. This committee decided that by December 31, 1969, certification would be granted by examination only (O'Shea, 1980) and that all active members of the association, as of that date, "...would be eligible for automatic certification under the 'grandfather' clause" (O'Shea, 1980, p.64). What did this mean for women? It meant that five women became certified athletic trainers because of the "grandfather" clause. These women were Doris Wickel, the first White woman certified by the NATA on April 4 (Randall, 1995), Claudette Dalamater, Linda Hammett, Lois Wagner, and Holly (Wilson) Greene (Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1999). The author could not determine if Dorothy "Dot" Cohen ever became certified, since she joined the association in 1966. If she remained an active member through 1969, she would have been eligible for certification via the grandfather clause. Because Sherry (Kosek) Babagian joined in 1966 and was therefore eligible for automatic certification, it is unclear why she took the certification examination, becoming the first woman to pass it (Martin, 1976). Perhaps these women were unaware of the grandfather clause or perhaps they wanted to demonstrate their knowledge and competencies. In doing so, maybe they wanted to set a precedent that women were capable of passing the exam. In the case of Sherry Kosek, she indicated her athletic training knowledge was limited, and pursued a degree in physical therapy (Wilson, 1974 b). This may have

demonstrated a lack of confidence as well as a desire to enhance her therapeutic knowledge. Pursuing a physical therapy degree would not have made her ineligible for certification via the grandfather clause.

Due to Title IX and the impact of equality issues in sport, education, and society, the decade of the 1970's marked a time of change in the profession of athletic training. Because there were more sports programs and athletic teams for women, more female athletic trainers were needed. Women were joining the association, being accepted into athletic training curriculum programs (Booth & Anderson, 1995; O'Shea, 1980; Wilson, 1973 a), becoming certified, and emerging as a "concern" to the NATA (O'Shea, 1980). As there were so few women ATCs, a small number became the spokeswomen for all women in athletic training. This small group of women ATCs eventually served on committees, presented at workshops, and wrote articles about women's issues in athletic training. In 1972 (the year that Title IX passed), the NATA Board of Directors (NATABOD) approved a special column in *Athletic Training* titled Not for Men Only. The column was written primarily by pioneer Holly Wilson and ran from 1973 through 1975. She was an instructor and athletic trainer in the Women's Department of Physical Education at Indiana State University. The eleven columns addressed several issues including the need for women athletic trainers, injuries and care of women athletes, job and graduate assistantship opportunities, and educational opportunities for women interested in the field of athletic training. Further, the column featured book reviews, recommended readings, and dates for athletic and athletic training workshops for women, such as those sponsored by the Division of Girls and Women in Sports (DGWS) and Cramer Products (Wilson, 1974 e). These articles also served as one of the few



documented sources where the experiences of women athletic trainers were recorded.

The column was discontinued because it became increasingly difficult to find writers and support from women (Anderson, 1991). As one pioneer indicated,

I got tired of twisting people's arms and trying to get people to write. Everything that was given to me I had to go out and get, twist arms ....Nobody ever submitted anything....It was stopped [the column] because I got tired of writing it and not getting any support, and yet there were women out there. It was obvious. (Anderson, 1991, p. 139).

The last column was published in 1975, one year before Women of Color became certified athletic trainers and before a large number of women had become certified. Therefore, a vehicle for telling their stories was lost.

In January 1974, at the mid year meeting of the NATA Board of Directors (NATABOD), an Ad Hoc committee on women in athletic training was appointed (Koenigsberg & Arrighi, 1975; Wilson, 1974 a). What was the impetus for the formation of the committee? Anderson (1991) suggested that the influx of women into the NATA and a desire to determine their needs was a reason. Or was it the fact that in the previous year (1973), 15 of 23 NATA approved undergraduate athletic training programs and both graduate programs accepted women? Or was it because there were then at least eight certified women members of the association (Anderson, 1991) who were contesting current practices and calling for more gender equality in athletic training, as in current

education and sport programs? This points to an intersection of the Women's Movement and Title IX influence on the history of the NATA.

The following women agreed to serve as members of the committee: Marge Albohm, Kaye Cosby, Linda Hammett, Sherry Kosek, Linda Treadway, Sue Schnieder, and Gail Weldon. Holly Wilson was named Chair (Wilson, 1974 a). The purpose of the committee was to "...identify the needs of women trainers and make recommendations on how the N.A.T.A. can provide for the advancement of women in athletic training" (Wilson, 1974 a, p. 11). The committee was asked to submit a detailed report to the NATABOD by May 15, 1974, and a presentation defending the recommendations on June 8, 1974 (Wilson, 1974 a). With only a five month deadline, the committee sought input from women athletic trainers. This again demonstrates how the burden for egalitarian efforts are often shifted to those who have been oppressed by an exclusive system or structure. It further begins an era of more inclusion of women in the structure of the NATA. Further, the NATABOD suggested "...a permanent women's committee and/or the appointment of women to the existing committees" (Wilson, 1974 a, p.11).

On June 10, 1974, the Ad Hoc committee members and other interested women met for the first time in Kansas City. The purpose was to discuss objectives for women in athletic training. The objectives decided upon would focus on education and "...an understanding of the role of the athletic trainer" (Wilson, 1974 c, p.119). To meet the objectives, the committee recommended that the N.A.T.A. disseminate information on women as athletic trainers to colleges and universities, as well as information on athletic training as a viable career for women to junior and senior high school students (Wilson, 1974 c). Furthermore, the committee suggested that women trainers should be available

at all girls' and women's competitions, including international events (Wilson, 1974 c). Because women's sports participation was increasing, this policy would expand opportunities for women athletic trainers. Last, on June 11, 1974, the committee presented its recommendations to the NATABOD. The specific requests were that women representatives be appointed to all existing standing committees of the NATA, and liaisons were to be appointed "...to the Division of Girls and Womens [sic] Sports, the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women, and the National Federation of High School Athletics..." (Wilson, 1974 c, p.119). These were the organizations governing women's sports during this time period. The Ad Hoc committee also recommended they be able to continue their work for another year. All requests were approved except the liaison to the National Federation of High School Athletics, as one already existed (Wilson, 1974 c). Therefore, liaisons from the NATA to the National Association for Girls and Women in Sport (NAGWS) and the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) were appointed (Koenigsberg & Arrighi, 1975). Holly Wilson was named as liaison to the NAGWS and Marge Albohm was named to the AIAW (Wilson, 1974 d). Women were placed on existing NATA committees. However, according to pioneer women ATCs, their participation was marginalized (Anderson, 1991). The Ad Hoc committee eventually disbanded because its objectives had been met (Anderson, 1991).

Other milestones in 1974 included increased educational opportunities for women. Beginning that year, a total of 24 NATA approved undergraduate programs accepted women (Wilson, 1974 c). Likewise, because of the success of the first Cramer athletic training and DGWS workshops, six more were sponsored (Wilson, 1974 e).

Finally, Holly Wilson authored an athletic training book for women: Workbook: Fundamentals of Athletic Training for Women, which was the first book written by a female ATC. The purpose was to provide women with information on how to establish athletic training programs for female athletes.

There were approximately 16 women certified athletic trainers in 1974 (Koenigsberg & Arrighi, 1975; Wilson, 1974 d). Within two years that number nearly quadrupled to approximately 60 women certified athletic trainers in 1976 (Martin, 1976). During the same time period, the first African American woman, Marsha L. Grant; the first Native American woman, Kathy Courtney (both in 1975); and the first Asian American woman, Iris Kimura (in 1976) became certified (Grant-Ford, personal communication, 1998). Furthermore, at this time, the number of women members in the NATA increased to approximately 110 (Koenigsberg & Arrighi, 1975), and by 1976 there were approximately 318 females enrolled in 50 colleges with NATA approved programs (Martin, 1976). This demonstrated the power of a social movement's impact on the expanded opportunities for women athletic trainers. With this growth, there were those who were not satisfied and thought that women should break the collegiate barrier working with female and male athletes, but the leadership within athletic training was resistant. Former Executive Director Otho Davis felt this way, but was skeptical about women breaking the barrier to professional sports. He was quoted as saying,

...there will probably never be a woman trainer in professional football, baseball, or basketball. I doubt there will ever be a woman with any pro team, except pro track

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or tennis, which have women athletes on them. (Martin, 1976, p. 97)

This status quo position is perhaps one major reason that very little is documented on women in athletic training in the 1980's. It could also be due in part to the lack of participation of newly certified women athletic trainers in the promotion and maintenance of the NATA (Anderson, 1991). It could further be due to the discontinuation of the "Not for men only" column in the Athletic Training journal. Finally, it could be due to exclusionary practices of dominant, privileged males on the editorial boards, and mainly athletic training related journals preventing women from participating in the decision making process. As with Women of Color, when all women are excluded from editorial positions, the research agenda, and scholarship by and on women, becomes non existent or incomplete (Baca Zinn, Higginbotham & Dill, 1986). The NATA, similar to other sport structures, lacked data on women. These practices effectively continued to make women invisible in athletic training even though more and more women were joining the profession.

According to Mary Edgerly, administrative assistant for the National Athletic Trainer's [sic] Association (NATA), no data was [sic] available on the number of women who held NATA certification, or filled the role of athletic trainer in colleges, high schools or private clinics... (Cody, 1985, p. 9).

Finally, in 1980, Carmen Cellon became the first Hispanic woman certified by the NATA (Grant-Ford, personal communication, 1998). In 1984, Janice Daniels was the

first woman elected to the NATABOD (Ebel, 1999). She represented District 8, which includes California. Also that year, Cramer continued to sponsor workshops with 488 out of 1320 (37%) attendants being girls (Cody, 1985).

Two decades after the emergence of women in athletic training, women were still marginalized within the profession and “firsts” were still occurring. In 1991 the Women’s Caucus program, held at the NATA national convention, was discontinued (Anderson, 1992). After contacting the NATA national office and several women pioneers, this author was unable to ascertain when the program began and why it was discontinued. In 1992, Eve Becker Doyle, a White female was hired as the first woman NATA Executive Director (McMullan, 1996). She still holds this position today. Women of Color have only held the position of Chair of the Ethnic Diversity Advisory Council (formerly the Ethnic Minority Advisory Council).

Twenty-one years after the Ad Hoc committee on women in athletic training was appointed and disbanded, the NATABOD established the Women in Athletic Training Task Force “...to address the issues involving women in the organization” (McMullan, 1996, p. 4). As more women than men were graduated from athletic training curriculum programs (2,247 vs. 2,190 from 1991-1995) and as women approach fifty percent of the NATA membership, the NATABOD has become more sensitive to women’s concerns (McMullan, 1996). In fact, by 1996 women comprised 44% of the total NATA membership, but only 26% of Board, Committee, and Liaison positions within the NATA (McMullan, 1996). Similarly, in 1997 there were 6,049 (43%) women ATCs in the NATA, of which two hundred and eleven (3%) were Women of Color (NATA, 1997; Shingles, 1998). This is consistent with the low number of Women of Color in sport

leadership positions; Women of Color comprised 8.3% of interscholastic coaches and only 5% of all sports and education leaders (Smith, Y. 1992). In 1997 Black women comprised merely 2% of 1,523 assistant and associate athletic directors (Abney, 1999). The Women in Athletic Training Task Force became the Women in Athletic Training Committee in 1996 (Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1999), twenty-two years after it was recommended by the NATABOD that a permanent women's committee **and/or** women be added to existing committees proposal was made (Wilson, 1974 a).

Prior to women being included in a few powerful roles within the NATA, women's issues were not considered. It was due to changes in the social climate, demand for women's equality, and the influx of girls and women into sport (passage of Title IX in 1972) that the 1974 women's Ad Hoc Committee was formed. But, barriers, such as being relegated to the position of secretary, not feeling welcome in the association (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997), and apathy among some women certified post Title IX (Anderson, 1991) precluded women from having meaningful involvement and decision making in the NATA. However, by 1996, when women comprised 44% of the total membership, the association was again forced to respond to the needs and concerns of women.

In order to determine what the issues and concerns were, in 1997 the Women in Athletic Training Committee conducted a survey of 1000 women ATCs. The committee found that 78-97.9% of women surveyed had never served or held office on a NATA or athletic training committee at the state, district or national level. More women were involved at the state level than at any other level. The women surveyed also indicated that in comparison to men, women had fewer opportunities to pursue NATA leadership



roles and receive awards and recognition at the national level and equal opportunities at the district level. When asked if they had ever been a victim of sexual harassment in athletic training, 37% of women surveyed answered yes and 63% answered no (Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1997 a.). This does not mean that more women had not been sexually harassed, as women have been socialized and taught not to recognize harassing behaviors or to talk about it. In a similar study conducted with men athletic trainers, 41% of the men thought that women had been sexually harassed in athletic training, and 59% did not (Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1997 b.). Based on the result of these surveys, the first brochure on sexual harassment, titled “Sexual Harassment: What Every Athletic Trainer Should Know,” was published. The committee did not stratify by race or ethnicity. Therefore, it is unknown if the experiences of women ATCs were the same or different based on the intersection of gender and race.

Milestones for the decade of the 1990’s included a woman being named Executive Director of the NATA and women’s induction into the NATA Hall of Fame. Gail Weldon, posthumously, became the first in 1996, followed by Marjorie Albohm and Karen Toburen in 1999. As the new millenium arrived, Julie Max was elected as the first woman president of the NATA. Her credentials are impressive, as she was the second woman to serve on the NATA Board of Directors and the second woman representing District 8 (which includes California). While on the NATABOD, Julie Max became the first woman to serve as Vice President for the association, garnering support of the predominantly male board. She took office in June, 2000.

### **Research on Women Athletic Trainers: Critical Issues of Gender and Ethnicity**

Just as there was little recorded regarding the contributions of women to the athletic training profession, there is less recorded research and scholarship on women athletic trainers. Athletic training research and scholarship focus heavily on the domains of athletic training that involve prevention, recognition and evaluation, and rehabilitation. Education reform has also created research and scholarship on didactic and clinical practices. The social science aspect of athletic training only focuses on the role of psychology in the injury and rehabilitative processes. This section examines the only research found on women in athletic training. These studies were conducted with White women pioneers (Anderson, 1991, 1992), ethnic minority women pioneers (Grant-Ford, 1997), and women students (Walk, 1994, 1995).

In 1990, Anderson (1991, 1992) conducted a study of 13 White pioneer women athletic trainers. The women were certified between January 1, 1970 and December 31, 1974. The purpose of this research was three fold: to record the progress of women in athletic training; to document, from their perspective, the early athletic training experiences of these 13 pioneer women; and to discuss the current status and future of women athletic trainers. Anderson (1991) used a semi-structured format for interviews with these women and collected qualitative data on their athletic training experiences.

The pioneers indicated that their past experiences included dealing with barriers in athletic training. The barriers which emerged were grouped into three large categories: ideological, structural, and individual. Ideological barriers were focused on sexism, sex role stereotypes, heterosexism, and homophobia. For example, some of the pioneers experienced sexist comments and jokes directed toward them. One woman indicated that

during early NATA national conventions women had to contend with the sexual advancement of male athletic trainers, and the showing of slides of nude women during professional presentations.

Structural barriers were defined by Anderson (1991) as those based on sex discrimination. Eleven of the 13 pioneers indicated that these barriers included a lack of equal access to academic programs, lack of exposure to high risk sports such as football, and a lack of proper supervision of clinical experiences (Anderson, 1991). The lack of equal access to athletic training courses for some women was due to the separate men's and women's physical education programs and departments. For other women, the lack of access was due to the location of the class. The athletic training class was held in the training room, which was located in the men's locker room.

According to Anderson (1991), individual barriers included, but were not limited to, lack of qualifications and low self-esteem. The pioneers struggled with low self-esteem and frustration (Booth & Anderson, 1995). They felt that there was a lack of encouragement from male athletic trainers to get involved with the national organization, and they indicated that they worked long hours for little pay. All thirteen women pioneers were initially hired at a college or university as the only women's athletic trainer. Ten of the women worked where there was more than one male athletic trainer. In each case, the women were responsible for all of the women's teams, while the men divided the responsibilities for the men's teams. This meant that the women traveled more often, covered more practices and games, and dealt with more coaches, than their male counterparts (Anderson, 1991).

The pioneers indicated that today women are no longer seen as athletic trainers for women, rather as women athletic trainers solely. In fact, Anderson (1991, 1992) noted that there were far more women athletic trainers today (43% of the National Athletic Trainers' Association - NATA) than at any other time in history. This parallels advances that women have made in sport and again indicates the powerful influence that changes in society and women's sports have had on women athletic trainers. It also indicates the vision of pioneer women athletic trainers who attached themselves to the progress being made by women's sports organizations.

Further, there are more employment opportunities for women today than for the pioneers, who were initially hired in college and university settings. In 1999, 1,101 students graduated from entry-level athletic training programs; 584 (53%) were women and 517 (47%) were men (Joint Review Committee, 2000). Four hundred and eight of these graduates accepted athletic training employment. Most of these women and men (50%) were employed in clinics. The clinical setting is the current employment trend in athletic training, and usually only requires a bachelor's degree for an entry level position. The other 50% were dispersed among high school, college and professional sports.

In 1999, 137 students graduated from graduate athletic training education programs; 64 (47%) were women and 73 (53%) were men (Joint Review Committee, 2000). Twenty four of 53 (45%) women who accepted athletic training employment were employed in collegiate settings and 20 (37%) were employed in the clinic. The reverse was true for men. The majority were employed in the clinic (28 of 65, 43%), closely followed by the college setting (24 of 65, 36%) (Joint Review Committee, 2000).

The collegiate employment setting usually requires a master's degree, but tends to pay less than clinics (Arnold et al., 1996). The master's degree is necessary since many collegiate athletic trainers also have teaching responsibilities (Arnold et al., 1996). The pay differential may be due to the fact that clinics provide services for a fee and receive third party reimbursement (insurance payments). Therefore, clinical salaries are a reflection of and possibly dependent on revenue generation. Unlike clinics, collegiate athletic training rooms are not operated on a fee for services rendered policy. Athletic trainers in this setting cannot increase their fees in order to accommodate salaries. Salaries are dependent upon state appropriation, student revenue, and/or private donation.

Despite improvements for women athletic trainers, Anderson (1991, 1992) stated that discrimination still persists today. Women hold disproportionately fewer leadership positions within the NATA than their male counterparts. Less than 10 percent of all women in the NATA have held key leadership positions. Leadership roles involving women in the NATA over the past 25 years have been limited to two district directors, four district secretaries, two national committee chairs and one vice president. Anderson (1991) further asserted that the objective in the disbanding of the Women's Caucus, which was held at the national convention, was to fragment women and decrease the development of social networking systems thereby marginalizing the voices of women athletic trainers. Hence, the need for this study, which includes providing a voice for women.

In conclusion, Anderson (1992) suggested that athletic trainers do more to challenge inequalities, and to confront "... sexist comments, language, policies, procedures, and practices that place women in subordinate role..." (p. 44). She further

indicated that women athletic trainers need to communicate about the impact their silence has had on the athletic training profession and sport. She also stated ATCs need to make sure that education "...about sexism , racism, and homophobia in sport is a priority..." (Anderson, 1992, p.44) in order to elicit social change. In other words, athletic trainers need to be proactive. In this vain, the motivations of this research are to study women's experiences in order to provide strategies and suggestions to athletic training educators regarding gender and ethnicity issues. Likewise, it is the intent of this author to investigate related research questions and test hypotheses related to gender and ethnicity, thereby breaking the silence of women athletic trainers regarding their experiences in the profession.

Anderson (1991, 1992) used a radical feminist theoretical approach, placing women at the center of the analysis. She suggested the profession engage in educational practices that would elicit social change. Anderson's (1991) research was accurate in that it acknowledged the views of the first 13 certified women, who all happened to be White. However, the findings are not necessarily generalizable to all women athletic trainers across race and time periods. To do so assumes that there is a "universal" or stereotypic woman athletic trainer. As the title of this article, "Women in Athletic Training," implied, these women were purported to represent the norm in athletic training (Anderson, 1992). Whether intended or not, this article had the effect of treating the "race" (White) of the selected women studied as the unmarked category in a universalized notion of "women" in athletic training. One wonders, then, if perspectives of women athletic trainers across race/ethnicity would differ or if the socializing process of education through athletic training curriculum models, that lack a critical perspective, would tend to "normalize" all

women's vocalized perspectives. Hence, the reason this study examined Women of Color, White, pioneer as well as contemporary women ATCs was to determine if differences existed between women because of race/ethnicity.

Although Anderson (1992) concluded that a proactive stance was needed to alleviate racism, sexism and homophobia in athletic training, she primarily addressed sexism and only briefly discussed homophobia through her study. A multiracial feminism perspective would demonstrate that when women athletic trainers are disempowered by gender, but differently privileged by race, ethnicity, or sexuality, it leads to different experiences and opportunities.

Sixteen ethnic minority pioneer women athletic trainers were surveyed and interviewed by Grant-Ford in 1997. The women were certified between 1975 and 1985. Using Anderson's (1991) dissertation on pioneer women athletic trainers as a model, Grant-Ford (1997) wanted to determine whether the experiences and issues of ethnic minority pioneer women ATCs were the same as Anderson's (1991) White pioneer women ATCs.

As with the White women pioneers, the ethnic minority women pioneers felt that there were barriers and challenges to becoming involved in the NATA and the profession. The women gave examples where they were removed from assignments with male athletes, or not allowed to work with males. In addition, they experienced having their competence questioned by male ATCs and coaches. One wonders whether there has been substantive changes in women's experiences in athletic training over the last ten years.

However, the ethnic minority women pioneers had racialized as well as gendered experiences. For example, one African American woman pioneer commented that when 2 or 3 ethnic minority athletic trainers congregated at a NATA conference, members of the dominant culture ATCs became leery. One woman stated that, "...Just the looks that you get sometimes, like they are scared that you are going to riot or are conspiring about something. You see people looking over like hummm, what are they up to?" (Grant-Ford, 1997, p. 21). This is part and parcel of what African Americans experience in a "racist society," according to Burton (1995) that is the unmitigated assumption that a group of African Americans socializing or gathering together is threatening to White people (Burton, 1995). This suggests a differing awareness of race by Whites and Blacks in mainstream society. The awareness of race and power is interpreted differently by dominant and subordinate groups.

Relative to role models and mentors, the ethnic minority women felt that it was important to have people to help guide their careers. However, the 13 women were not aware of other ethnic minority athletic trainers during the early years of their careers. As such, if other athletic trainers were their role models and mentors, they had to look to dominant groups.

Similarly, as ethnic minority women pioneers were influenced by mentors and role models who were primarily White females, many were privileged and subordinated at the same time, as they worked to become certified athletic trainers and leaders themselves. Consequently, they felt isolated, often being the only woman of color. In fact, one woman remarked, "I felt like a token" (Grant-Ford, 1997, p. 28). Several others felt strongly that they were "...paving the way for all minorities" (Grant-Ford, 1997, p.



28), and one Asian American woman felt that she was the “official minority spokesperson” (Grant-Ford, 1997, p. 28).

Although the White pioneer women were often the only women ATCs on staff, they did not express a sense of isolation or tokenism, like ethnic minority women pioneers. Because there were others of their racial group (men and women) and other White women colleagues in the women’s physical education department or athletic department, the White women pioneers had potential allies and support. “The sense of being the ‘different/other’ in the surrounding social systems brings feelings of powerlessness and alienation that white-dominate group members have not...come to understand.” (Oglesby, 1993, p. 254). Yet for Black women and other Women of Color who find themselves as the lone representative in dominant groups,

There is no one with whom to share experiences and gain support, no one with whom to identify, no one on whom a Black woman can model herself. It takes a great deal of psychological strength ‘just to get through a day’, ...in which one is always ‘different’ (Carroll, 1982, p. 120).

Both the ethnic minority and White pioneer women athletic trainers and sports women have been impacted by the “lesbian label” (Griffin, 1996) and homophobia, though most of the women in athletic training denied femininity, sexuality or sexual orientation was an issue (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997). This suggests that athletic training programs focus most heavily on a structural functional perspective, with little attention to any social critical analysis. However, females in sport and athletic training internalized the homophobia as they tried to dress in a more feminine manner (Anderson,

1991; Grant-Ford, 1997; Griffin, 1996), wear longer hair, or hire feminine looking assistants (Anderson, 1991). Still others had to fight off sexual advances from male peers (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997) or male athletes (Walk, 1994), while risking the “lesbian label”(Griffin, 1996) if they did not date or sleep with the men (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997).

Grant-Ford’s (1997) study indicated that the experiences of ethnic minority women pioneer athletic trainers were similar to White women pioneer athletic trainers (Anderson, 1991). Each group of pioneer women experienced marginalization and oppression because of their gender. In other words, their athletic training experiences were gendered. However, those gendered experiences were intersected differently by race/ethnicity. For those ethnic minority women pioneers who were “ethnic looking,” they were oppressed by both gender and race. For White women pioneers, they were oppressed by gender and privileged by race. Thus, this researcher wanted to determine if the experiences of a broader spectrum of women athletic trainers differed, and if so, how, particularly relative to the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity.

Walk’s (1994) dissertation examined the process of becoming an athletic trainer, the experiences of women student athletic trainers (SATs), and the nature of SATs’ relationships with peers. The author used structured individual and group interviews to study nine women SATs. He found that their initial experiences were humiliating and included sexual harassment. It was further noted that the women had their competence questioned and had to control the nature of their relationships with male athletes. The women also indicated that they experienced the hostility of certain male coaches, the idea that female SATs were distracting to male athletes, and that there was a lack of access to

certain sports, such as football and ice hockey, which created barriers to their advancement. These same barriers were also present when the pioneers (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997) were students. Walk's (1994) critical analysis of gender issues affecting women student athletic trainers showed discrimination, hostility against women and an oppressive environment still exists. This suggests that athletic training is a profession controlled by male patriarchy with traditional practices that do not always advantage women.

Knoppers (1996) suggested that when women enter male dominated occupations, the job became restructured and sex segregated. The presence of women in athletic training restructured the role for women athletic trainers such that their role fit more traditional views of females. Walk (1994, 1995) described the role of female SATs as being motherly (nurturing, taking care of the athlete), sisterly (someone needing protection), or lady like (protection from the crudeness of male sport). For example, one woman SAT said, "You become motherly, you start taking care of them. And that's when they get to thinking you're a mom to them" (Walk, 1995, p. 21). However, the motherly role was generally not attributed to men SATs. As one man SAT said,

... Women are more motherly figures kind of thing.... And then a girl can talk to a guy, and they'll discuss relationships and stuff. Guys don't talk about that kind of thing. They [female athletic trainers] get a different perspective than I'd say a male trainer does. (Walk, 1995, p. 23).

The sisterly role replaced the motherly role when the relationship between the female SAT and her male athletes was more protective. In this case, the male athlete might defend the virtue of the female SAT, as a big brother would his sister. Likewise, the “lady” role was a protective role as well, except the female was protected from the crudeness of male athletes or vulgar language. For example, women SATs noted that “...football coaches would apologize for swearing in their presence by speaking of ‘offending the ladies’” (Walk, 1995, p. 25).

Walk (1995) concluded by asking if the experiences of these female SATs was woven into the larger context of exploitation (unpaid labor) and powerlessness. The students accumulated experiences and documented their time in order to meet the requirements for certification as athletic trainers. The long hours, athletic training skills, and responsibilities were acquired on top of their status as full time students. Neither the athletic training program, athletic department, nor university paid these SATs for their time, yet each controlled the destiny of the SATs in their quest for becoming an athletic trainer.

Walk (1994, 1995) provided a critical (feminist) analysis of athletic training. Through the use of vignettes, he gave voice to women and articulated that athletic training is gendered even though athletic trainers are not educated to see this. The vignettes also demonstrated a sense of powerlessness for women SATs in the athletic training programs. The women knew that there were barriers to their success, but could do nothing about it. As one woman said,

Well you know you’ll never get hockey. And you know  
you can never get an internship with a pro team. You know

that you'll never get like, men's basketball or whatever...

And you had to put up with those kinds of things. And you have to know over at football [the head coach] isn't going to like you very much. And you just have to put up with it.

(Walk, 1995, p. 14).

Because the author did not critically analyze racial or ethnic situations, we do not know whether these experiences were common for all the women or whether there was a different reality for some women based on the intersection of race and gender. For example, were oppression and hostility experienced similarly by different ethnic and racial groups? Would women's differentiated socialization from men and other women contribute to women's acceptance to being labeled as nurturers (mom, sister, or lady)? Likewise, might the label have been viewed as appropriate roles for women having limited power regardless of race? Other questions this researcher attempted to answer with this study, as a result of analyzing Walk's (1994) study included: What is the nature of gender and racial experiences and resistance in athletic training? How was the resistance by diverse women carried out? What are other examples of oppression of gender or race/ethnicity in athletic training? Is there a difference in the experiences of the women based on clinical assignments in different settings and with different sports?

#### Employment of Women Certified Athletic Trainers

This researcher examined the distributive literature that explored employment of athletic trainers. The purpose was to determine how women athletic trainers fared in employment relative to men and to each other. Findings indicated a paucity of literature on this topic. Arnold, VanLunen, Gansneder, Szczerba, Mattacola, and Perrin (1996)

surveyed 472 prospective employers listed on the 1994 NATA job vacancy notices. Two hundred and eighty two (60%) surveys were returned. The researchers wanted to determine the demographics of recently hired ATCs; the relationship between the demographic data, ATCs' credentials, and employment setting; and what factors best predicted salary. Gender and ethnicity were two of the categorical variables listed in the demographic data. The authors did not indicate who determined the gender and ethnicity of the newly hired ATCs. In other words, did the ATCs self-identify or were they labeled by others? As a consequence, it is impossible to know whether the ATCs self-identified their gender and ethnicity or whether the respondents (prospective employers) asked the ATCs or guessed. This certainly may affect the validity of the data.

Arnold et al. (1996) used Chi square analysis to determine the degree of association between characteristics and employment setting and used stepwise regression to determine which characteristic best predicted salary. They found an association between employment setting and highest degree attained. Sixty-four percent of ATCs working at the high school level held bachelor's degrees. Conversely, 80.9% of ATCs at the collegiate level held master's degrees. Clinical ATCs possessed either a bachelor's or a bachelor's and master's degrees (43.5% and 56.5% respectively). The doctoral degree was the best predictor of salary, followed by the master's degree. Those ATCs with doctoral degrees averaged \$8,000 more per year than those with master's degrees, who averaged more than \$2,000 more per year than those with a bachelor's degree. This finding was contrary to the conclusion asserted by Lawton, Johnson, Moore, and Horbeck (1994), that the master's degree would increase the ATCs knowledge but not their salaries.

Arnold et al. (1996) did not, however, find a statistical association between employment setting and gender or ethnicity. Nonetheless, an examination of the characteristics of the ATCs hired in 1994 from the NATA job vacancy notices (Arnold et al., 1996, Table 1) showed that 106 of 267 (39.7%) were women. Relative to ethnicity, 8 (3%) were Black, 6 (2.2%) were Hispanic, 4 (1.5%) were Asian/Pacific Islander, 3 (1.1%) were Native American, and 245 (92.1%) were White. The women were hired predominantly in college settings, followed by clinical settings. Blacks paralleled this trend with the majority hired in the college setting (4, 1.5%), followed by clinic (3, 1.1%), and then high school (1, 0.3%). In contrast, Hispanics were hired predominantly in high school settings (4, 1.5%) and college settings (2, 0.7%), but not in clinical settings. Asian/Pacific Islanders, like Blacks, were represented marginally in all settings: college (2, 0.7%), clinic (1, 0.3%), and high school (1, 0.3%). Native Americans, like Hispanics, were represented marginally in the high school (2, 0.7%); however, they were mostly invisible in the college setting with only one person represented. Whites were the dominant group represented in all settings. More were in the clinical (102, 38.2%) and college (92, 34.5%) settings, while substantially fewer were in the high school (51, 19.1%) setting. Typically, employment in high school settings was interpreted as presumptive evidence indicating lack of requirements for certified athletic trainers at that level. However, because gender was not further differentiated by ethnicity, it is not known if, how, or why ethnicity differentiated where women were employed. Further, it is not known why employers hired certain women or men, what jobs the women applied for and why, or if gender and ethnicity (and other factors) were differentiating factors in the employment decision-making process. Additionally, qualitative relational research is

necessary to determine these factors. Interviewing both the prospective employers and certified athletic trainers could have shed more light, answered meaningful power-related issues, and addressed the “why” questions.

### The Status of Women in Sport

The experiences of women in athletic training and society are related to the experiences of other sports women. When determining the status of women in athletic training, one must examine comparative data of women in sport and society. Both distributive literature and relational literature must be examined. The researcher must consider the impact of Title IX and the resultant distribution/proportionality of women sport leaders (administrators, athletic trainers, coaches, heads of association, and educators as professional preparation specialists), and those who are outsiders-within (Collins, 1991) the domain of sport. As discussed by Douglas (1998a, 1998b) and Smith, Y.(1992), distributive research accounts for the unequal distribution of resources, inequality in opportunity for mobility, and access. By quantitatively measuring resources, the number of positions held by women, and the proportion of women in schools and sport programs, barriers to equality may be identified. Although this type of analysis is needed, it is limited because it does not focus on the social structure and process for achieving equity. This approach assumes that the system is neutral; that is to say, equality within the social system is desired by dominant groups and is achievable. Relational research, on the other hand, examines the social, historical, and cultural connections between individuals and society relative to power relations. Therefore, sociological research may use distributive analysis, but must reach further to examine how dominant hegemony patterns are created and maintained (Smith, Y., 1992).



## The Impact of Title IX

Title IX of the Educational Act of 1972, an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, states, “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any educational programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance.” (Cahn, 1994, p. 250; Coakley, 1994, p. 210). This legislation meant that if schools received federal financial assistance, they could not deny girls and women the opportunity to participate in sport and physical activity. Although mandated in 1972, the regulations, policies and interpretations of the law did not require compliance until 1978 (Fox, 1992). During the interim, athletic and physical education departments, in anticipation of compliance policies, implemented their own changes. These changes included coeducational classes and the merger of women’s and men’s athletic and physical education departments (Fox, 1992).

The impact of Title IX on girls and women participating in sport and physical activity was dramatic, yet it was detrimental for women in coaching and sport administration. From 1972 to 1992 women athletes participating in intercollegiate sport increased from 16,000 to 160,000 (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994). During the same time period women lost coaching positions, as 90% of women coaching women became 47.3% of women coaching women (Acosta & Carpenter, 1992, 1994). Similarly, before 1972 over 90% of women’s programs were administered by women, but several years after Title IX was enacted, 85% of the administrators of women’s programs were men (Acosta & Carpenter, 1992). For women in athletic training, however, there was an increase after Title IX. This was more than likely due to the increase in women

intercollegiate athletes and the need to address their health care concerns (Dunnock, 1975; Wilson & Albohm, 1973). As Albohm states, “It is our responsibility to serve our women and to have proper care and protection provided to our women athletes by women athletic trainers” (Wilson, 1973 b, p. 116). In 1973, 15 of 23 schools with NATA approved undergraduate curriculums, and the two schools with graduate curriculums accepted women (O’Shea, 1980).

Although Title IX called for non-discriminatory practices in educational programs and activities, it did not specifically require that a school provide sports medicine services to its athletes. However, when available, the provision of medical service could be a factor in determining if an institution was providing equal opportunity to female and male athletes. For example, the 1979 Intercollegiate Athletics Policy Interpretation document indicated that compliance with Title IX would be determined by examination of the equivalency of the “...availability of medical personnel and assistance, the availability and qualifications of athletic trainers...” (Dunkle, 1994., p. 7) for men and women athletes.

While Title IX served as an impetus for an increase in women in the profession of athletic training, it neither mandated equal numbers of athletic trainers for men and women sport teams at a given institution, nor equated equal work environments for female and male athletic trainers. As some women athletic administrators provided job opportunities for pioneer women athletic trainers, others were skeptical of women athletic trainers in women’s programs (Wilson, 1973 a; Wilson & Albohm, 1973). Those administrators who did help their women athletic trainers were “...faced with limited facilities, funding, and staffing...long hours, excessive travel,...small budgets, little

assistance,... and salaries a fraction of their male counterpart.” (Anderson, 1992, p. 42).

The 13 pioneer women athletic trainers who were initially hired as athletic trainers for women athletes at the college or university level were the only women ATCs on their staffs. Eleven of the thirteen pioneer women had more than one male ATC colleague. These women ATCs provided services for all women athletes, whereas the services for male athletes was distributed amongst two or more male ATCs (Anderson, 1991).

The responsibilities for athletes has changed dramatically since women ATCs’ pioneering days. Women are no longer ATCs exclusively for women. They are women athletic trainers. Approximately 47% of women surveyed by the Women in Athletic Training Committee indicated that they were the head or assistant athletic trainer for both women’s and men’s teams, whereas 5% were responsible for women only, and 1.9% for men only (Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1997 a). Approximately 66% of men surveyed indicated that they were the head or assistant athletic trainer for both women’s and men’s teams, while 11% were responsible for men only and 1% for women only (Women in Athletic Training Committee, 1997 b). The researcher examined women ATCs responses with regard to whether they were certified pre or post Title IX. The purpose was to determine whether Title IX impacted the experiences of women ATCs.

#### Women as Sport Leaders

Acosta and Carpenter (1985a, 1985b, 1994) chronicled the distribution of women sport leaders for more than fifteen years since the passage of Title IX. Their analysis has demonstrated that the percentage of women coaches and administrators has decreased over the last ten years (1985a, 1985b, 1994). In 1972, 90% of women’s sports programs were administered by women (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994). By 1984, 90% of the National

Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I, 85.2% of Division II, and 83.8% of Division III women's programs were supervised by men (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985b). By 1992, only 17% of women's programs were administered by women (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994). Similarly in 1978 58% of coaches for women's sports were women. Conversely, by 1992 52% of the college women's sports were coached by men. To further compound the problem, as the number of coaching positions in women's athletics increased, the new opportunities were given to men (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994). DePauw, Bonace, and Karwas (1991) also documented a trend of underrepresentation of women in coaching and administration on national and international committees had occurred.

DePauw, Bonace, and Karwas (1991) found a decrease in women in leadership positions. Because it is not known whether the women were ethnically and culturally diverse, a "universal" (predominantly White, middle class) woman's experience was chronicled. Therefore, Smith, Y. (1992) and Smith, Y. and Ewing (1992) surveyed high school athletic directors in the state of Michigan to determine the distribution of coaches by gender and ethnicity. They found that women comprised only 35% of the coaches of girls' interscholastic sport. Of these women coaches, 89% were Anglo American, 6.0% African American, 1.2% Asian American, 1.3% Hispanic, and 0.5% Native American. Smith, Y. (1992) and Smith, Y. and Ewing's (1992) findings are consistent with Acosta and Carpenter (1985a, 1985b, 1994) in that significantly fewer women than men were coaching women's sports teams. As indicated above, an examination of the ethnic distribution demonstrates that Women of Color were even less represented than their Anglo or White female counterparts.

Anderson (1991, 1992) and McMullan (1996) addressed the status of women in athletic training and their findings are in direct contrast to Acosta and Carpenter's (1985a, 1985b, 1994). Their findings indicated that women in athletic training have actually increased by number and percentage since Title IX. From the first certified women in athletic training in 1970 (Anderson, 1991) to today, there has been an increase to approximately 44 % of the NATA membership (McMullan, 1996), and approximately 43% of all certified athletic trainers (NATA, 1997). Although there has been an increase in certified women athletic trainers, their proportion is similar to that of women coaches of collegiate sports (45-48%). This increase is in spite of the demise of the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in 1984, which further contributed to a decrease in the percentage of women administering and coaching college women's sports (Cahn, 1994).

Though the numbers and percentages of women have increased, as DePauw et al. (1991) demonstrated, women's participation in athletic training leadership as program directors and clinic administrators remains marginal. Despite women holding 26% of board, committee, and liaison positions with the NATA, since 1972 until 1976 only three women served on the Board of Directors (McMullan, 1996). Since 1976, three more women have joined the board. It should be noted that the role the women had with the committees was not reported; therefore, it is not known if they chaired committees or were a sole female representative. Both would affect the decision making power of women members and their ability to control the resources of the association. Additionally, one of the eligibility requirements for the office of president of the NATA is prior membership on the Board of Directors. Because of this socially structured policy

by the dominant gender on the Board, it has taken until 2000 to elect the first woman president. Only three other women are eligible for the presidency at this time. The two current women members of the Board will not be eligible until they complete their terms of office. Neither the president nor any of the women eligible for the presidency is a Woman of Color.

Coaches are considered sport leaders in the sports literature. Therefore, a discussion of coaching and the similarities with athletic training is presented. Coaching is, like athletic training traditionally has been, a male-dominated occupation. Some success has been made in increasing the number of women in coaching positions. However, with the current rate of departure from coaching by women, the occupation will continue to remain male-dominated. Knoppers (1996) reviewed the “individual, structural, and social relational approach used to explain sex segregation of waged work and the existence of the revolving door for women in these jobs” (p. 347). Her purpose was to argue that once the coaching of women became a paid activity, it became a part of the coaching profession and, thus, acceptable for men to pursue.

The individual approaches (socialization and human capital theory) supported the notion that the choices of women, and their abilities and interests, were what segregated them in the labor force. These approaches however, do not account for structural barriers which maintain segregation. In sport, for example, if athletic departments wanted to increase profit margins, it would make sense to hire more women to coach, because their current salary scales are appreciably lower than their male counterparts. However, in reality, this is not the case. Hiring practices for coaches continue to be disproportionate

for men, suggesting that decisions do not appear to be based on economic outcome (Knoppers, 1996).

Knoppers (1996) argued that the structural approaches used to explain sex segregation in the work force focused not on the individual choices one made, but on one's position in the structure. She indicated that perceived opportunity for mobility and power (access and resources) were key themes. She further suggested that the structural approach may not explain sex segregation in coaching because sport organizations are loosely structured and variable (e.g., part time versus full time coaches, lack of clearly defined job ladders), thereby rendering a structured approach inadequate.

As a consequence, Knoppers (1996) recommended a social relational approach to address sex segregation in coaching. Knoppers (1996), Dewar (1993), Hall (1996), and Smith, Y. (1992) suggested that gender relations do not occur in a vacuum and should not be privileged over social relations (race, class). As such, she indicated that gender was a social relation that intersects with race and class, and was marked by power imbalances (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Smith, Y., 1992). Knoppers (1996), Andersen and Collins (1995), and Smith, Y. (1992) acknowledged that the intersections are situated within an individual, and that one could be privileged by one's social relation (e.g., race - White), yet disempowered by another social relation (e.g., gender – woman, or race - Black).

Knoppers (1996) concluded by suggesting that the social relational approach neither assumed gender neutrality of structures, jobs, workers and work places nor situated the problem at the individual level. It challenged and reconstructed how coaching was defined relative to the intersections of social relations. Knoppers (1996) challenged male-dominance and sex segregation in coaching and posed new questions,

such as asking why sport leadership is predominantly White, male, heterosexual, and middle class (Dewar, 1993).

Knoppers' (1996) constructs about coaching were applied by this researcher to this study. Knoppers (1996) suggested that when women enter male dominated occupations, the job responsibilities and expectations are restructured and become sex segregated rather than integrated. This situation is clearly manifested in athletic training. As women entered the profession, they became the providers for women athletes, rather than a universal member of the staff who took care of any athlete (Anderson, 1991). Football and men's basketball became the premiere sports to work and having hands-on experience with these sports became the "gold standard" by which athletic training skills were measured (Walk, 1995). If athletic trainers did not have experience with these sports, they were considered unqualified or lesser qualified and, therefore, less able to obtain employment in the better paying jobs. Because many women would not have the opportunity to work with football or men's basketball (Anderson, 1991; Walk, 1995), they would not gain the "experience" necessary for the better paying jobs which usually included working with football (Lawton et al. , 1994) or men's basketball.

In conclusion, women have declined proportionately in sport leadership positions, from 90% to 44-48% in women's college sports (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985a, 1985b, 1994; Anderson, 1992; McMullan, 1996). It has been suggested that the decline was relative to the success of the "good old boys" network, limited numbers of qualified women (Acosta & Carpenter, 1985a, 1985b, 1994), limited role models (Corbett & Johnson, 1993), racism and sexism (Corbett & Johnson, 1993; Smith, Y., 1992, 1995), decreased opportunities for Black women at historically Black colleges (Houzer, 1974),



and homophobia (Griffin, 1996). Though the number of women ATCs has increased since Title IX, their overall leadership role in the NATA remains marginalized.

Likewise, women tended to remain in athletic training positions, such as staff ATC, that lack structural decision-making components (Shingles, 1998). For those ATCs who have obtained leadership positions, how did they do it? What were their pathways to success? Did some women ATCs have advantages that lead to their success, while those who were disadvantaged have not become leaders?

DePauw et al. (1991) recommended that advocacy is necessary to change attitudes towards women in leadership positions. They further suggested that networking, mentoring, goal setting and career planning are useful strategies for reversing the decline in women sport leaders. Similarly, Green (1993) suggested mentoring as well as behavior modification (for African American women). Corbett and Johnson (1993) and Smith, Y. (1992) suggested that power-based social structures of racism and sexism must be recognized and dealt with, while role models (Corbett & Johnson, 1993; Houzer, 1974; Jamieson, 1995) and financial support must be made available to increase the participation of African American women and other Women of Color (Corbett & Johnson, 1993). Finally, Smith, Y. (1995) found that internal motivation and self-sufficiency as well as certain education, family and professional support structures were also necessary for women's success in becoming sport leaders.

#### Outsiders-Within and Insiders: Diverse Women's Perspectives

Relational scholarship on gender should be relative to historical and cultural connections to society (Smith, Y., 1992). It should include an intersection of gender with other forms of inequality such as race, class, and sexuality (Andersen & Collins, 1994;

Dewar, 1993; Hall, 1996; Smith, Y., 1992; Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997). In doing so, relational scholarship provides a more inclusive analysis. Gendered analysis centers on the fact that people experience "...race, class, gender and sexuality differently depending on their social location in the structures of race, class, gender, and sexuality" (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997, p.26). As such Women of Color are not seen as a variation of White American womanhood (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997) and Whiteness is not seen as an undifferentiated norm (Frankenberg, 1996).

This section contains a review of literature that examines diverse women's perspectives. Some women have been discussed as outsiders-within. That is, some were within organizational structures and shared gender, as women, but were outside or marginalized within the gender discourse because of race or ethnicity (e.g., Women of Color) or sexuality (e.g., lesbian and bisexual women). Women of Color were within race but outside the race discourse because of gender and male patriarchy. African American women, for example, were marginalized from the discourse on African Americans in sport because they were women and the discourse has been traditionally controlled by men. Still, the epistemology of other women needs to be examined because they were both empowered and privileged by race and disempowered by other forms of inequality such as gender or class (e.g., White women) (Andersen & Collins, 1995).

African American Women in Sport and Society. When addressing Women of Color in general and African American women in particular, it was widely believed that these women were silenced and marginalized in both sport and society (Collins, 1990; Collins, 1991; Corbett, 1995; Corbett & Johnson, 1993; Smith, Y., 1992; Stratta, 1995). Y. Smith's (1992, 2000) critical analysis of social historical influences on women in sport

documents a historical oppression and silencing of African American women in society, sport, sport leadership and scholarship. She applied M. H. Washington's analysis of Gwendolyn Brooks' literary character Maude (in *The Darkened Eye Restored: Notes Toward a Literary History of Black Women*) to demonstrate comparisons between literary and historical silence and invisibility of Women of Color and those in sport and sport scholarship. The example revealed how African American women were misrepresented and not treated equally in scholarly research, literature and history. Smith, Y. (1992) used the excerpts from this work as a backdrop to question why references to persons of color in sport and history were always represented by a Black man and references about women in sport or gender studies were represented by a White woman. Birrell (1990) concurred with this perspective, which tends to underrepresent and silence the voices and participation of Women of Color.

To further increase the visibility of diverse women, other scholars such as Corbett and Johnson (1993) conducted an extensive literature review that focused on the African American woman and her story. The authors provided a brief sociological and psychological overview that compared and contrasted the treatment of African American women in sport to that of White women. The authors asserted that Black sportswomen have been marginalized in the literature and media, and have not been studied in context. African American women were depicted stereotypically as rough and tough. Therefore, sport was viewed as a natural activity for her, whereas this was not the case for White women. The authors reported that racial, gender and sexual structural barriers created a lack of financial and administrative support for women's sport programs, exclusion from opportunities with individual sports, and hiring discrimination.

The relational experiences of all women need to be documented to determine the extent to which opportunities are influenced by women's social locations. This researcher sought to examine women ATCs experiences from a relational perspective. Scholarship on African American women informs the analysis of the experiences of African American/Black and other Women of Color ATCs. Sport scholars such as Smith, Y. (1992, 2000), Dewar (1993), Hall (1996) and Birrell (1990) have challenged the status quo and called for change in this area. Further, Smith, Y. (1992) argued that the perspectives of different groups such as Latin, African American, Asian American and American Indian women should be researched.

Latinas in Sport and Society. There is little reported about the participation of Latinas in sport and physical activity as they are relatively invisible in sport scholarship and discourse. Therefore, Jamieson (1995), in the first feature on Women of Color in sport in a sport journal, suggested several challenges and strategies. They included addressing the distorted image of Latinas, the reliance on cultural models to explain participation, and the invisibility of Latinas in sport and leadership. Latinas, like other Women of Color, have been falsely generalized, as if there were one monolithic Latino/a way of life. The historical and cultural Latino meanings and values have been grossly misconceived and descriptions of Latino families have been universalized. The focus has been on Mexican families (which are varied) and a universal notion of Mexican family values. Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican and other Latino cultures have been ignored. There needs to be greater understanding that length of United States residence, place of residence, education, and social class all influence the families' cultural values. Jamieson (1995) cited Baca Zinn (1976) as demystifying the role of Mexican women in the family.

Disputing myths of Latina family life, Jamieson (1995) stated that "...Mexican heritage families may be patriarchal, but they are mother centered" (p.46). Latinas were not viewed as passive participants in the family and the Mexican American family did not value such passivity. It was recommended that sport and physical educators not rely on a monolithic cultural model to explain Latinas' participation in sport. The participation or lack of participation of a particular Latina may well be due to experiential differences within families as well as other social organizations, social class, geographic region, opportunity or other factors.

There are no "Latino-specific bag of tricks" (Jamieson, 1995, p. 47). However, ...in addition to recognizing the diversity of Latino experiences, learning the correct spelling and pronunciation of Latino names, realizing that strong women are not antithetical to Latino culture, and not assuming every Latino student has an interest in Latino issues will enhance leader-student interactions. (Jamieson, 1995, p.47)

Asian Women in Sport and Society. Similar sentiments were echoed earlier by Smith, Y. (1991) and Ligutom-Kimura (1995) when they suggested that it was important to understand and value cultural diversity and to learn to pronounce ethnic names correctly, as well as to accept oneself and others. Ligutom-Kimura (1995) argued that Asian American women were invisible and not a monolithic group in sport and society (Lai, 1995). Lim, Tsutakawa, and Donnelly, 1989, indicated

...there was no such thing as an 'Asian American woman'.

Within this homogenizing labeling of an exotica, I knew

there were entire racial/national/cultural/sexual-preferenced groups, many of whom find each other as alien as mainstream America apparently finds us....Asian American women exhibit a bewildering display of differences. We do not share a common history, a common original culture or language, not even a common physique or color....The homogenizing marker has worked to make us invisible not only to the western observer but to ourselves. (Ligutom-Kimura, 1995, p. 34)

Ligutom-Kimura (1995) gave diverse Asian women voice when she interviewed several Chinese, Filipino, Guam, Hawaiian, Indian, Japanese, and Korean females about their involvement in sport and career choice. She found that all became involved in sport programs at a young age. Most of the females stated that involvement in sport was important to the family. An exception was that two females participated against the wishes of one parent, yet they found support from the other parent and significant others. In terms of career choices, the females were encouraged to pursue careers that were high status or moneymakers and “physical therapy and [athletic] trainer positions were of greater acceptance because ‘they involved more brain work to achieve and had a higher status visual image’” (Ligutom-Kimura, 1995, p. 40). One wonders whether Asian women have a higher percentage of participation in athletic training than in other areas of sport.

White Women in Sport and Society. Unlike Women of Color, the voices of middle class White women have often been expressed in feminist scholarship (Dewar,

1993; Hall, 1990; Hall, 1996), but the voices of poorer and working class women have been ignored. Feminist scholarship has historically placed middle class women's gendered experiences at the center of the analysis without examining the multiple axis of race/ethnicity and social class oppression (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Collins, 1990). Therefore, White women have not been conceptualized traditionally as being simultaneously defined by race, class, sexuality, and other differences (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997). White scholars have taken their experiences to be the norm without critically examining the extent to which race and class actually mediate those experiences (Oglesby, 1993). They have seen race affecting others, but not themselves (Frankenberg, 1996; McIntosh, 1995; Pence, 1982). At the same time, the social construction of "Whiteness" as the norm or unmarked category (Frankenberg, 1996), or how it denoted privilege (McIntosh, 1995; Oglesby, 1993) was not analyzed in the sporting experiences of White women.

Therefore, multiracial feminist scholars deem it important to ask White women about their culture, race, ethnicity, social class and other axis of oppression, just as it is important to pursue these perspectives with Women of Color. The purpose, as Frankenberg (1996) suggests, is to raise consciousness in order to "...develop a clearer sense of where and who we are" (p. 67). Frankenberg (1996) interviewed 30 White women of different ages, sexual orientations, regions of origin, political orientations, and social classes, and asked them about their identities. She found that the women presented discourses on Whiteness as dualistic. They characterized and conceptualized Whiteness as a polar opposite to "Other" cultural forms. For example, one woman spoke of " '...the formlessness of being white'" (Frankenberg, 1996, p. 62), when she contrasted being

White to being a “New Yorker” or “mid western girl.” The woman goes on to say, “...if I had a regional identity that was something palpable, then I’d be a white New Yorker, no doubt, but I’d still be a New Yorker...” (Frankenberg, 1996, p.62). The White “Other,” that is “Whiteness” compared to White “New Yorker,” was marked by region. It could have been White “working class,” or “Italian American,” as marked by class or ethnicity. However, each was contrasted to the normative White.

Another example of a contrast to “Other” cultural forms was that of the non White “Other.” Here, people of color or their culture were the polar opposite. For example, two women spoke of “Mexican” music versus “regular” music, where regular music meant “White” music. Similarly, the Jamaican daughter-in-law of a participant was viewed as “coming with diversity.” People of color (or their culture) were viewed as the embodiment of difference, while “...whites stood for sameness” (Frankenberg, 1996, p. 63). In these examples, White was implied as the “unmarked” neutral, cultural category while other cultures were specifically marked “cultural.” As “unmarked” and “neutral,” Whiteness remained the normative standard by which “Others” were compared (Frankenberg, 1996).

The “unmarked” or normative status of Whiteness demonstrates the “...power of white culture...” (Frankenberg, 1996, p.63) and its privilege (Frankenberg, 1996; McIntosh, 1995; Oglesby, 1993). This point was well illustrated by Chris Patterson, “... ‘Well what *does* white mean?’ One thing is, it’s taken for granted....[To be white means to] have some sort of advantage or privilege...” (Frankenberg, 1996, p.63). The normative status is a privilege because it is institutionalized such that when one is a member of a normative (or dominant) group, one is taught not to see the privilege of



group membership (McIntosh, 1995); or has "...little awareness of group membership" (Oglesby, 1993, p.253). As such " 'White people don't have to see themselves as white, we have the luxury of seeing ourselves as individuals' ....(Katz, 1978, p. a.)" (Oglesby, 1993, p. 253).

"Rather than feeling 'cultureless,' white women need to become conscious of the histories and specificities of our cultural positions, and of the political, economic, and creative fusions that form all cultures" (Frankenberg, 1996, p. 67). Oglesby (1993) suggested that White racial identity be examined and that Whites move toward higher levels of consciousness in order to participate in a diverse culture. She suggested that White women need to be part and parcel of the race discourse, as they too are racialized (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997) and affected by racism (Oglesby, 1993).

It is important to provide role models and encourage all young women to become involved in sport and physical activity. Participation of women in sport and society should not be reduced to one cultural perspective, whether that is the perspective of the dominant racial group, dominant social class or one sub-cultural group. Likewise, it is important to conduct critical analyses from multiple standpoints. Just as important is for the experiences and perspectives of all women in sport and athletic training to be known and validated, hence the purpose of this study.

#### The Impact of Homophobia in Sport and Society

Sport remains a place for defining and constructing maleness and masculinity in society (Whitson, 1990). Women's participation in sport threatens that definition (Cahn, 1994; Griffin, 1998). Rather than redefine maleness or masculinity relative to sport, sporting women are reconstructed as "mannish" (Cahn, 1993), "non-feminine," or must

prove their femininity and heterosexuality (Griffin, 1998). Thus, women who participate in sport often have their sexuality questioned (Griffin, 1996). This is true for athletes, coaches, and administrators alike. To ascertain if this was also true for women ATCs, the researcher asked them if their femininity or sexuality was questioned.

In order to maintain male hegemony in sport, the lesbian label is used. The power of the label as a means for maintaining male hegemony is also manifested in athletic training. Pioneer women athletic trainers experienced the affect of the label, but never had it articulated as such. As women with a career in sport, they “femmed up,” denied the existence of homophobia in athletic training, and were intimidated into silence by the lesbian label (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997). But, did the same hold true for women ATCs through time (i.e., for women ATCs who were not pioneers)? In this study, participants were asked if women SATs and ATCs had to dress or act feminine in order to not be labeled or perceived as lesbian.

Griffin (1996) focused on the issues of lesbians in sport from a radical feminist perspective. She analyzed the function of socially constructed gendered roles and sexual identities in the maintenance of male dominance in our society. Her argument was that homophobia was manifested in women’s sport via silence, denial, apology, promotion of heterosexy image, attacks on lesbians, and preference for male coaches.

Griffin (1996) first asserted that the lesbian label was used to intimidate female sport participants and maintain male dominance in sport. She also felt that silence manifested homophobia by becoming a strategy for the avoidance of talking about lesbianism. To the extent that lesbianism remained the “nasty secret” in women’s sport

(Griffin, 1996), silence provided a means for hiding the issue. Therefore, lesbians remain closeted in order to survive.

As with women's sport, the profession of athletic training and athletic trainers themselves have remained relatively silent on issues of homophobia, heterosexism and sexual orientation. These issues were not historically a part of the athletic training curriculum or the NATA's agenda, nor are they on the agenda for the NATA today. One woman pioneer described the situation accurately, when she said, "I think at the time everything was so hush, hush. People didn't really talk about that, that sort of thing" (Anderson, 1991, p. 164). Neither the past Ad Hoc committee on women in athletic training nor the current Women in Athletic Training Committee indicated that they would confront homophobia, or deal with lesbian issues in the association. When the Women in Athletic Training Committee released the questionnaire and results from its women in athletic training survey, there were no questions or responses related to sexual orientation, homophobia, or lesbianism. The assumption is that these issues were not addressed, thereby silencing lesbians and serving to maintain male dominance in athletic training.

Griffin (1996) also stated that denial occurs when the silence is broken and people in sport must answer the lesbian question. Consequently, such disclosure increased the curiosity about who is and who is not lesbian. An ethnic woman pioneer concurred,

I think that a big question for females in the profession  
there is considerable pressure to prove whether or not you  
are a homosexual. If you weren't a homosexual, then you  
were out there just to get guys....people who work with me

at some point want to question my sexuality or femininity

because I won't date them. (Grant-Ford, 1997. pp. 36-37)

The result is that the lesbian presence in sport is still denied.

Griffin (1996) proceeded to identify apology as the way that female athletes "femmed up" in order to appear more feminine and less lesbian. Thus, the athlete would present a more acceptable image. Women athletic trainers, specifically ethnic and White pioneers, also "femme up." "In graduate school, I remember that we would try to dress more feminine" (Grant-Ford, 1997, p. 37). A White pioneer indicated that she "intentionally chose not to wear her hair short so she would not look like a 'jock,' because she did not 'like some of the images that I saw'" (Anderson, 1991, p. 165).

These three reactions to the lesbian label (silence, denial and apology) were seen by Griffin (1996) as defensive and reflective of the power of the lesbian label to intimidate women. In athletic training, these reactions also allow the dominant group to define women's athletic training reality (Anderson, 1991) while maintaining male hegemony in the profession. One wonders if this is still occurring for women athletic trainers.

During the last ten years three new responses to the presence of lesbians in sport have emerged (Griffin, 1996). These are promotion of a heterosexy image, attacks on lesbians in sport, and preferences for male coaches. The promotion of a heterosexy image moved beyond just "femming up." The idea is to reassure the public that women in sport are normal and have heterosex appeal. The attack on lesbians participating in sport was verbal (name calling, taunting), procedural (dropping lesbians from teams, coaches claiming to have few or no lesbians on the team, having quotas on the "number"

of lesbians on the team), and harassing (phone calls, graffiti). Finally, the preference of male coaches served to unite homophobia and sexism. Males were seen as better coaches (gender stereotype), and safer (no lesbian threat), especially for adolescent female athletes.

Athletic trainers also engaged in the promotion of a “heterosexy” (Griffin, 1996) image. A White woman pioneer specifically hired female graduate assistants who did not fit the lesbian stereotype. She stated,

It’s difficult sometimes to fight that kind of a barrier. I’ll be the first to admit that I have tried to employ people that don’t fit that stereotype...I have tried real hard not to hire people that fit the stereotype look, so I have pretty young girls on my program staff. Most of them, some of them aren’t, but I haven’t had very many, if any, that have been homosexuals (Anderson, 1991, p. 168).

Griffin (1996) offered several beliefs she felt underlie the reason that women do not challenge homophobia. Many beliefs dealt with the lesbian label. For example, being a feminist equates with being a lesbian, or being called a lesbian or associating with a lesbian is bad for women’s sport. Two other beliefs relate to what women themselves should do, that is either keep their sexual identity private or remain invisible and not call attention to one’s lesbianism. It was Griffin’s (1996) contention that these beliefs only served to maintain male power in sport and society.

As with the tenets of feminist scholarship, Griffin (1996) provided strategies for confronting homophobia in women’s sport. She indicated that education, visibility,

solidarity between heterosexual and lesbian women, and pressure would help eliminate “...the insidious trio of sexism, heterosexism and homophobia in women’s sport” (Griffin, 1996, p. 406). Likewise, one purpose of this study is to educate athletic trainers on issues germane to women ATCs including issues of sexuality and homophobia. It is also to break the silence of women athletic trainers, giving voice to all women ATCs regardless of race, ethnicity and sexual orientation. As Griffin (1996) concluded, it “...will take a sustained commitment to social justice that will change much of what has been accepted as natural about gender and sexuality (pp. 406 -407).

### Women in Allied Health Professions

Athletic training is an area that connects with women in sport and women in allied health professions. Consequently, a discussion of women in allied health provides a context for the study of women in athletic training.

Women have historically been over represented in allied health professions such as nursing, occupational therapy, and physical therapy and still are, although they have not been over represented in athletic training. In 1994, 93.8% of registered nurses were women (Zambrana, 1996), and in 1998, 92.4% of the members of the American Occupational Therapy Association (AOTA) were women (American Occupational Therapy Association, 1998). In 1999, 69% of the American Physical Therapy Association (APTA) were women (American Physical Therapy Association, 1999). However, women athletic trainers only constituted approximately 46% of the total membership of the NATA (1999a).

Not all women, however, were equally represented. In 1994, Hispanic women comprised less than 0.09% of physical therapists and 2.2% of registered nurses

(Zambrana, 1996). Ethnic representation is also low in the APTA, AOTA and NATA. In the APTA (1999), Asian/Pacific Islander comprised 5.3%; Hispanic/Latino, 1.9%; African American/Black, 1.6% and American Indian/Alaskan Native, 0.6% of its membership. In the AOTA (1998), Asians represented 4.9% and Asian American or Pacific Islanders comprised 0.2%; Hispanic/Latino/Latina were 1.6%; African American/Black 2.0%; Native American/Alaskan Native 0.2%; and multiracial 0.1% of the membership. In both associations Whites comprised greater than 90% of the membership (AOTA, 1998; APTA, 1999). Of the 1999 NATA membership, Asian or Pacific Islanders and Hispanics each comprised 2.0%; American Indian/Alaskan Natives and Black, non-Hispanics each comprised 1.0%; White, non-Hispanics comprised 78% (NATA).

Similar to women athletic trainers and sport leaders, women physical therapists are underrepresented in leadership positions. In 1996 the APTA surveyed 5,000 randomly sampled physical therapists. A finding of this study was that “larger percentages of men were likely to own their own practices or to be in supervisory positions” (APTA, 1997, p. 1). Furthermore, men were more likely to earn more money, \$61,225.00 for full time salaried men versus \$53,043.00 for women, and \$123,577.00 for male full time self-employed versus \$73,205.00 for women full time self-employed (APTA, 1997). Women were more often staff physical therapists. However, in educational programs women were more likely to be the department chair than were men (38% vs. 24.2% respectively) (APTA, 1997). In the present study, the research was informed by gender patterns of women in both sport and allied health professions. In these professions, regardless of women’s numerical representation, they were

marginalized and denied decision making power by organizational structures that privileged males over females.

### Theorizing Gender

Theoretical sociological paradigms are needed to guide, examine, and explain the dynamics of social relationships, power relationships, and social structures in sport and health rather than individual behaviors. Theories provide the basis for which questions to ask, how to ask the questions, and how to integrate the responses to the questions. Theories also provide an understanding of the social world. This section presents several ways in which gender can be theorized. First, a discussion of difference in sport, particularly social inequality, is presented. Second, a discussion on feminist theory and theorizing gender at the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality is presented. Third, Black feminist thought and multiracial feminism are presented as particular ways of theorizing gender relationally. Finally, the influence of symbolic interaction theory on this study is presented.

The study of gender equity and other issues in sport, from a theoretical perspective, should not use reductionist methodology (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997; Hall, 1996; Smith, 1992). It should use a relational approach. To reduce race, ethnicity, class, gender, or sexuality to mere dichotomies, or to “either/or” thinking and analysis, does not take into account the simultaneity of oppressions. Sport sociologists cannot continue to add difference and stir (Baca Zinn, 1996), taking each oppression and adding it to the next as if they occurred independently. These types of analyses do not permit the scrutiny of macrostructural inequality as impacting on the lives of marginalized people, or they risk oversimplifying the reality of oppression. Sport



experiences are multifaceted and are part and parcel of one's social location. As such, sport experiences must be studied differently than is currently being done by most scholars. In order to better understand, challenge, and change the status quo in sport, the approaches in sport studies must be transformed. The transformation will provide a critical and more inclusive examination of the field.

How should the study of sport, and women in sport in particular, change? This section will briefly explore the social construction of difference in society and the relation to sport. An alternative approach to studying gender at the nexus or intersection of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality in sport sociology will be proposed.

### Social Inequalities in Sport

Class (Ehrenreich, 1995; Langston, 1995), like race (Omni & Winant, 1994), gender (Connell, 1992; Lorber, 1994), and sexuality (Jordan, 1995) is socially constructed. Class, race, gender and sexuality have evolved and changed throughout history, different social contexts, and religious and scientific movements. "The dominate categories are the hegemonic ideals, taken so for granted as the way things should be that white is not ordinarily thought of as a race, middle class as a class, or men as a gender" (Lorber, 1994, p. 33).

Modern racial formation in the United States occurred as Europeans left their shores and encountered people who did not look and act as they did. Europeans tried to justify the inequitable allocation of resources and treatment of people of color based on race (Omni & Winant, 1994). Omni and Winant (1994) suggested that the creation of racial categories is an ongoing and continuous transformation. That is to say, this society has progressively moved from "...dictatorship to democracy, from domination to

hegemony” (p. 67). Hegemony being defined as “...the achievement and consolidation of rule” (Omni & Winant, 1994, p. 67). Consequently, today, race is continually reconstructed to best suit the needs of the dominant culture. The reconstruction is subtle. For example, color evasive language or coded words such as affirmative action, quotas and teenage pregnancy are used (Baca Zinn, 1996; Omni & Winant, 1994) to connote race. As such, race continues to be a social marker of difference, serving to differentiate treatment based on perceived physical characteristics.

Color evasive language is connoted in sport. The use of physicality is also utilized to socially reconstruct race. Terms such as “Prop 48” athlete and non-qualifier, when used relative to big time football and basketball, connotes “Black.” Moreover, we have seen the social construction of race manifested by those who insist, despite evidence to the contrary, that African American athletes are “naturally” talented. The myth that African Americans are genetically destined for physical superiority in sport is still perpetuated (Edwards, 1973; Harris, 1993). To preserve this myth allows the continuation of the idea that if African Americans are physically superior, then they must be intellectually inferior (Edwards, 1973). Intellectual inferiority, therefore, justifies maintaining the status quo. In other words, African Americans can run faster and jump higher, but are not capable of being in decision making positions. This manifests itself on the court or field through stacking (Coakley, 1994; Edwards, 1973). Stacking is the practice of placing Black athletes in positions which are thought to require speed and quickness rather than intelligence. In football, the running back and wide receiver position rather than quarterback or center are seen as “Black” positions. Likewise, the pitcher and catcher in baseball, and the setter in volleyball are seen as thinking or

“White” positions. Hence, Blacks are not recruited or expected to play in these positions (Coakley, 1994).

Relative to coaching and sport leadership, racial ideology manifests itself via access and opportunity. African American coaches are often hired as assistants and are expected to recruit African American athletes (Brooks & Althouse, 1993). Being on the road recruiting decreases the opportunities for these coaches to gain on site coaching experiences. Also, it decreases the likelihood of developing a mentoring relationship with the head coach. Therefore, upward mobility may be affected (Brooks & Althouse, 1993) due to lack of experience or decreased opportunity to establish networks through the head coach. The continued marginalization of African American and other people of color, relative to decision making positions in sport, maintains hegemony. The hegemonic attitude which prevails in sport such that stacking (Coakley, 1994; Edwards, 1973), unequal access to coaching and sport leadership positions (Brooks & Althouse, 1993), and exploitation of athletes (Sellers, 1993) are still present today, must be challenged.

The movement to hegemony as outlined by Omni and Winant (1994) was echoed by Ehrenreich (1995) and Langston (1995). They contended that the lasting myth of the United States as a classless society allows for the ruling class to maintain the status quo. In sport, classism is manifested through access, opportunity, and socioeconomic conditions. Many families of color cannot afford to pay for expensive and/or private lessons in golf, figure skating, gymnastics, and tennis (Smith, Y., 1992). These families must participate in sports which are available in the public schools and community. Safe access to and from such activities is of major concern as well (Smith, Y., 1996). Even

this participation may be threatened if school districts impose an athletic fee. This fee may be unaffordable for poor families (Eitzen, 1996). As such, sport participation would remain for the wealthy, reproducing class privilege.

The more progressive discourses on sexuality have shifted from deviance to lifestyles to social construction (Baca Zinn, 1996). Jordan (1995) spoke of the macrostructural politics of sexuality when she argued that political power dictated and supported the social construction of sexuality. Griffin (1996) supported the idea of sexuality as a social construction. She contended that historically sport was seen as a masculine activity, and for women to participate would jeopardize social approval. As such, women were warned about being in all-female sporting environments. Griffin (1996) stated that privilege and normalcy were conferred on certain groups and that this must be challenged.

Through sport, the manifestations of sexuality are evident in women's response to the lesbian label (Griffin, 1996). Both heterosexual and lesbian women are touched by the lesbian label. Griffin (1996) argued that homophobia is manifested via silence, denial, apology, promotion of a heterosexy image, or attacks on lesbians in sport. She concluded by citing Messner and Sabo (1990) as stating that sport is the last bastion of masculinity. Women who engaged in sporting activity are thereby subject to the maintenance of male heterosexual hegemony.

Lorber (1994) stated that the social construction of gender evolved from biological theories (as with race), to gender as differentiated and hierarchical, to gender as a social institution. Gender is different from "biological" sex, in that gender refers to social practices, rituals, and learned behaviors. Such differences are ascribed as

masculine or feminine behaviors in Western society. However, there is a third gender in some societies (berdaches, hijras or xaniths). Berdaches, hijras or xaniths are biologically male, but dress, behave, and are treated as women. “Manly hearted women” (Lorber, 1994, p. 17) are biological females in some African and American Indian societies “...who work, marry and parent as men” (Lorber, 1994, p. 17). Their economic status, rather than behavior, allows them to be men. Transgendered (transsexual, transvestite) individuals are the closest Western society comes to having a third gender. “Biological” sex, on the other hand, refers to difference in genitalia and reproductive organs, ascribed as male or female (Lorber, 1994).

Finally, Lorber, (1994) purported that gender as a social institution is used to “...construct women as a group to be subordinate to men as a group” (p. 35). This construction of gender parallels that of race. Connell (1992) did not deny that male hegemony is evident and socially constructed. Nonetheless, he argued that there is a “gender order” within masculinities. That is to say that masculinities were expressed differently depending on one’s social location. Therefore, subordination is relative and relational.

Sport is gendered. Historically, biological theories purported that men are naturally superior to women. Hence, women should not engage in physical activity, because to do so would damage the uterus, endangering procreation (Coakley, 1994). Once this myth was dispelled, others surfaced. Based on the ideology that one must be masculine and heterosexual to play sports, women participants were seen as rejecting femininity or wanting to be men (Griffin, 1996). Hence, gender was reconstructed as

society redefined femininity and masculinity in sport, and ascribed certain behaviors to each gender.

The passage of Title IX was to legally prevent discrimination on the basis of sex in educational programs and activities (Coakley, 1994). Since Title IX, however, women have lost opportunities in sport. Acosta and Carpenter (1994) found that in 1972, 90% of the women's programs in intercollegiate sport were administered by women. Yet, by 1992, only 17% of these same programs were administered by women. Similarly, the coaching of women's teams by women declined during the same time period. In 1972, 58% of the collegiate women's teams were coached by women. By 1992, 52% were coached by men! To further confound the problem, as the number of coaching positions in women's athletics increased, the new opportunities were given to men (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994). Knoppers (1996) suggested that jobs were gendered, that certain jobs were defined as male and female. She asked several questions worth pondering. For example, "Why is the norm for coaching a white heterosexual man? ...How has the coaching of men come to be defined differently than the coaching of women so that men can do both and women can only coach women, if at all?" (p.359) These questions related to the reification of gender that is, treating social categories (i.e., gender) as if they were real categories of human experiences, rather than socially constructed (Baca Zinn, 1996). Further, these questions speak to unequal power relations, and the persistence of male hegemony still present in sport today.

### Feminist Theory

It is argued that women have a particular way of seeing the social world and that their view should be utilized to examine such phenomenon (Hardy, 1991; Smith, D.,

1990). When theorizing gender, one can use various levels of feminist theory (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997; Coakley, 1998; Collins, 1990; Hall, 1990, 1996; hooks, 1984). Feminism is defined as

...the struggle to end sexist oppression. Its aim is not to benefit solely any specific group of women, any particular race or class of women. It does not privilege women over men. It has the power to transform in a meaningful way all our lives. (hooks, 1984, p. 26)

Feminist theory may take several forms. Coakley (1998) defines feminist theory as placing women and their experiences and gender at the center of analysis. Feminist theory recognizes women's subordination in gender/power relationships. It defines gender as a social relationship between men and women, and treats gender as an intrinsic part of the social organization (Baca Zinn, 1997).

Coakley (1998) described three different perspectives within traditional feminist theory: liberal, Marxist, and radical. Liberal feminism argues for equal opportunity for women and that gender is the basis for inequality and discrimination of women in society (Coakley, 1998; Cole, 1993; Hall, 1990, 1996). Relative to sport, it argues that women should have the same opportunities as men (i.e., participation, salaries and resources). The liberal feminist argument was significant and instrumental in obtaining Title IX legislation. Marxist feminism argues that capitalism and production are the basis for inequality for women in society (Baca Zinn, 1997). It further argues that economic power and resources are needed for women. Neither liberal or Marxist feminist argument

addresses the reproduction or maintenance of male power in society or sport, whereas radical feminism does.

Radical feminism argues that men's control over women's biology, sexuality, and reproduction are the basis of inequality for women in society (Baca Zinn, 1997). It further argues that society is not neutral and that male power and privilege must be challenged. In sport, radical feminists challenge male hegemony of sports and propose an alternative sporting experience for women. Radical feminists want sports to be women centered (Coakley, 1998; Hall, 1990, 1996).

Scholars (Gilligan, 1982; Harding, 1991; Smith, D., 1990) have argued that there are feminist epistemologies, that is, "women's ways of knowing." These epistemologies include feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint thinking. Feminist empiricism deems traditional scientific method incomplete because "women's ways of knowing" are not considered (Harding, 1991). Feminist empiricism engages in work about women by using the empirical method.

Feminist standpoint thinking (Smith, D., 1990) supports epistemology that is generated from the lives of women, since women's lives are the place where feminist research should begin (Harding, 1991). It argues that objective knowledge is not independent of one's situation or social location (Smith, D. 1990) since every perspective is imbedded in social relations. It further argues that power relations are not equally observable to everyone (i.e., some see inequality better than others) (Baca Zinn, 1997). Birrell (1990) argued that feminist standpoint thinking (as postulated by Smith, D., 1990) has relevance to the study of sport and Women of Color in sport. This researcher agrees that feminist standpoint thinking has relevance for the study of women ATCs. It was



important in this study to start with the “athletic training” lives of these women. Feminist standpoint thinking influenced the questions that were asked and framed the qualitative analysis, since the data presented were “rich and thick” (Firestone, 1993), using the women’s voices to tell their stories.

### Theorizing Gender at the Intersections of Race, Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Sexuality

“If our knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors are framed by our gender, race and class, Women of Color have a lot to contribute to the collective wisdom of these socially constructed categories....Only by breaking the silence and beginning the discourse and critical analyses at the intersections of gender, race, and class can contradictions and misrepresentations be exposed” (Smith, 1992, pp. 246-247). We must rethink and challenge White, middle class, male, heterosexual hegemony in sport.

Many scholars (Andersen, 1997; Andersen & Collins, 1996; Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997; Dewar, 1993; Hall, 1996; Hardy, 1991; hooks, 1984; Smith, Y, 1992) have argued that gender can no longer be treated as a variable because social structures and institutions are gendered. That is to say, gender, as a social strata like race and class, should no longer be reduced to dichotomous categories, such as women versus men (Collins, 1991; Smith, Y., 1992), nor then observed, classified, counted and statistically analyzed. To do so would suggest that femininities and masculinities are not relational and on a continuum. In this way, individual characteristics may become ranked as masculine or feminine and inequalities quantified. Thus, when studied categorically, gender becomes a false dichotomy and assumes “either/ or” thinking (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Collins, 1991) that is, gender has to be “either” woman “or” man. When forced into a dichotomy, social locations (race, class, gender) become dependent on their

polar opposites. The assumption is that one side of the dichotomy is superior. This fails to recognize the "...interlocking dimensions of social inequality" (Baca Zinn, 1996). This ignores the social realities and experiences of women at different social locations of race, ethnicity, class and sexuality and is, therefore, false. For example social locations intersect such that women may have different realities based upon these social locations. They may be "both" privileged "and" disempowered simultaneously, rather than "either" privileged "or" disempowered. Poor White women and middle class White women may view sport, health and fitness differently, and have different types of meanings in sporting and career experiences. Middle class African American women may have similar or different experiences from Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, Chinese or Vietnamese American women. Gender, race, ethnicity, class and sexuality should be examined relationally in order to understand better the unique experiences within context. That is, gender needs to be juxtaposed with power relations, relative to the historical, cultural context and circumstances in sport and society (Smith, Y., 1992).

Scholars (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Collins, 1990, 1991; Hall, 1996; hooks, 1984; Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997) contend that feminism has a White, middle class slant because those who historically generated "feminist" scholarship were White, middle class women. These women were privileged by their race and class and did not experience the oppression of racism and classism, but predominantly experienced the oppression of sexism. Therefore, they tended to focus exclusively on gender without recognizing racism and classism (hooks, 1984). Dominant feminist research tends to focus on the experiences of White middle class women, marginalizing the experiences of Women of Color and poor women. The majority of research on race focuses on African American

men (Birrell, 1990; Smith, Y., 1992). Hall (1996) stated that the agenda is exclusive and that gender must be theorized relationally. This assertion supports what Black feminists had been saying for quite a while (Collins, 1990; Collins, 1991; hooks, 1984). Feminism, as presently conceived and studied, is inadequate. It omits contextual experiences of race and class of middle class White women, as well as misrepresents the realities of Black women and other Women of Color and some White women. Traditional feminist studies do not often take the privilege of race into account.

In an analysis of gender and race literature, Smith, Y. (1992) found that feminist scholarship often failed to include Women of Color and that when Women of Color were included they were analyzed in terms of race relations only. The unique intersecting axis of race, class, and gender was not perceived. Dewar (1993) similarly argued that feminist sport scholars must include race relations. Dewar (1993), Hall (1996), and Smith, Y. (1992) agree, however, that in order to understand women's experiences more fully, gender should not be fragmented from race and other social relations or locations, such as class. To do so would imply that one social location was more salient than another, when race, class, gender and sexuality impact social relations and experiences simultaneously (Andersen & Collins, 1995). Just as feminist sport scholars have traditionally placed gender at the center of analysis of women, so too have some athletic training scholars (e.g., Anderson, 1991; Walk, 1994) who study women in the profession. In order to be more inclusive, and recognize that all experiences are intersected by race, class, gender and sexuality, this study used relational analysis in examining women athletic trainers. The intent of the researcher was to provide a more comprehensive analysis of women athletic trainers' experiences.

### Black Feminist Thought

When theorizing gender relationally, Collins (1990, 1991) suggests that Black feminists have a unique perspective, just as traditional feminists do. This perspective also takes into account social, historical, and cultural structures, as well as social experiences and individual vantage points. Black feminist thought, coming out of this perspective, is a conceptual framework that clarifies “a Black women’s perspective on and for Black women” (Collins, 1991, p. 53). It is based in standpoint epistemology (Birrell, 1990; Collins, 1991; Smith, D. 1990) and it values “...the meaning of self-definition and self-valuation, the interactive nature of oppression, and the importance of redefining culture...” (Collins, 1991, p. 53). In other words, the experiences of Black women and other women, told through their voices and cultural contexts, are critical to the generation of knowledge (Smith, D., 1990) about Black women’s experiences.

Another perspective that Women of Color have in a White dominant culture is that of being an “outsider within” (Collins, 1990, 1991). The “outsider within” concept relates to one’s simultaneous relationship to the social world. That is to say, one can have intimate knowledge of the discipline (inside), be employed in dominant social organizations, yet be marginalized because one’s views are not a part of or represented by the mainstream (outside). Collins (1991) concludes by stating that the outsider within framework, however, provides a unique vantage point for Women of Color. It recognizes personal and cultural experiences as a source of knowledge that can be used to critique the social world. Therefore, the outsider-within perspective is often a more critical and complete perspective because it includes an understanding of mainstream views as well as other perspectives.

Using the outsider-within perspective, Collins (1990, 1991) states that Black women have a particular social location that facilitates an understanding of what it means to be a woman of a certain class status and a minority in a dominant or majority culture. She gives an example of Black women working as servants in White households. For example, Black women are within the house and, therefore, privy to the conversations and social mores of the White (dominant culture) family. Yet, the Black women are outsiders and not privileged with the same status and resources. They are not invited to sit at the dinner table and participate in the conversation, even though they may have labored to prepare the meal. These Black women had gained intimate knowledge of the White (dominant) culture, its rules, values, and privileges. However, the knowledge has not conferred privileges. Because these women are Black, they remain marginalized, outside the privilege and power structures of the dominant culture.

Collins (1990, 1991), in an attempt to help readers understand better the intersections of gender, race, and class, advocated placing Black women at the center of feminist analysis because it is more evident how they have been racialized, sexualized and classed. Thus, their perspective is often more comprehensive and will be different from other, more privileged women's perspectives. This is useful because Black women are often marginalized in race studies (because of their gender) and in gender studies (because of their race). Their unique view is, therefore, critical to both gender and race perspectives. Giving more visibility to the epistemology of Women of Color is critical if we are to understand better and recognize the oppression of racism, sexism, and classism as experienced simultaneously by women. The oppressions are neither ranked nor dichotomized; they are recognized for their simultaneous occurrence.

Messner (1992) also argued that Black feminist thought has utility for theorizing gender. Specifically, he stated that Afrocentrism, though addressing the needs of Black men, is masculine in its theoretical approach. As such, it fails to address the needs of Black women, and fails to recognize the multiplicity of the oppressive systems of race and gender as they intersect. Therefore, Black Feminist Thought provides a critical standpoint "...through which the complex mechanisms and interweaving of power and oppression can be more clearly deconstructed and possibly, resisted" (Messner, 1992, p.141).

Sport as a gendered institution needs to be examined from a woman's viewpoint (Hall, 1990, 1996). Messner (1992) argued that Black Feminist Thought is an appropriate theoretical model to address the intersection of race and gender oppression in general and in sport in particular. He stated that as a critical standpoint, Black feminist thought provides a de-centering of the norm such that the questions that are asked are different and that the misbehavior of White men is challenged. He agreed with Collins (1990, 1991) that Black feminist thought addressed the intersection of race and gender oppressions (and other oppressions) in general and in sport in particular, thereby providing a more complete examination of gendered relationships in sport. In his article "White men misbehaving...", Messner (1992) used gender equity to demonstrate how Black feminist thought is more comprehensive for examining the issue. He gave an example of Black male coaches being angry with the White women coaches and athletes for the reduction in the numbers of players in football. Similarly, the White women coaches were angry with the men for taking the majority of the resources. It is from the Black woman's perspective that Messner (1992) demonstrates how the Black men and

White women were focusing on each other and that both were victims being pitted against each other without an awareness of victimization. The Black woman's perspective recognizes both the gendered and racialized nature of the sporting situation. It is from the Black woman's perspective that one recognizes that the sport structure is to blame rather than the men or women, and that change needs to occur in the hegemonic nature of sport.

### Multiracial Feminism

A feminist perspective was used as the theoretical framework for this research. More specifically, the lives of women ATCs were examined through multiracial feminism (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997). This framework was used because relational research from the outsider-within perspective (Collins, 1990, 1991; Smith, Y. 1992) and critical analysis of women's experiences were needed in the study of women in sport and athletic training, and because this study focused on the perspectives, social realities, and identities of diverse racial and ethnic women.

The multiracial feminism construct was applied because it is a standpoint epistemological method of inquiry (Smith, D., 1990). That is, it starts in the lived experiences of the women studied, allowing their multiple voices to be heard. Standpoint epistemology shifts the center (Andersen & Collins, 1995) of the discourse and knowledge construction of and about marginalized people to marginalized people. Shifting the center embraces those who have historically been excluded and allows silenced groups to tell their own story. It uses their stories and experiences from their viewpoint to construct new knowledge.

In theorizing gender multiracially, Baca Zinn and Dill (1997) posited that race is important to understanding the social constructions of gender. Multiracial feminism as they define it has several themes. First, it "...asserts that gender is constructed by a range of interlocking inequalities, what Patricia Collins [1990] calls a 'matrix of domination'" (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997, p. 26). In other words, the social construction of gender is not done in isolation. It is embedded in and influenced by race, class, sexuality, and other forms of oppression simultaneously. Second, it emphasizes the intersecting nature of hierarchies and recognizes that "...intersecting forms of domination produce *both* oppression *and* opportunity" (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997, p. 26). That is to say that gender and race, as forms of domination, when intersecting are oppressing for Black Women and other Women of Color, but provide some opportunity and privilege for White women (McIntosh, 1995) because of their race, and oppression because of their gender. Third, multiracial feminism recognizes power relations between dominant and subordinate groups. Fourth, it explores the relationship between social structures and women's agency. Fifth, multiracial feminism is a "Racially informed standpoint..." (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997, p. 27) epistemology. Last, multiracial feminism draws on the inclusive experiences of a diverse group of women. Therefore, the use of multiracial feminist theory allows the researcher to examine experiences of all women ATCs without privileging or subordinating any of the women because of race. It allows an inclusive examination of women ATCs experiences at the intersection of race, gender, sexuality, and other axes of oppression.

The use of standpoint epistemology, and multiracial feminism in particular, is important in this study because, as Smith, Y. (1992) concluded, Women of Color, who



have been systematically silenced, must emerge and validate their experiences. They must “break the silence” and expose the contradictions and misrepresentations. They must “...give validity, meaning, and comprehensive understanding to what it means to be both a woman and a person of color in American society and sport” (Smith, Y., 1992, p. 247). Using these perspectives allows the voices of Women of Color ATCs to be heard. Through their own words, the experiences of Women of Color ATCs was chronicled.

### The Influence of Symbolic Interaction Theory

Symbolic interaction refers...to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings....[It] is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions... (Blumer, 1994, 263)

This behavioral, microstructural approach focuses on the individual. It is significant because it allows an examination of cultural and symbolic meaning that people attach to sport and lived experiences. It also examines people's relationships in sport and other social contexts (Coakley, 1998). Symbolic interaction theory influenced this study in two ways. It was used as a guide to frame research questions and questions on the interview survey. For example, women ATCs were asked, “What does it mean to be a women certified athletic trainer?” It was also used as a guide for understanding the meanings associated with the interactions women ATCs had with others. This study is not trying to prove symbolic interaction theory or substantiate any one school of thought.

Padavic (1991) contributed to “...an understanding of the role that culture, social organization, and power have on the reproduction and reification of gender stereotypes

and gender boundaries” (Herman & Reynolds, 1994, p. 399). For example, Padavic (1991) found that men working in a male dominated work place (blue-collar job) had a particular concept or meaning of masculinity and femininity. When women entered the male work environment, the environment did not change, nor did the meanings of masculinity and femininity change. Subsequently, the men typecast the women into their idea of what was feminine or unfeminine. That is, the men’s interactions with and expectations of the women were based on the typecast. Because of the expectations and interactions, the women reciprocated by acting according to typecast. Therefore, the typecasting served to maintain the men’s masculinity and meanings of femininity.

Padavic’s (1991) study had relevancy for this research. When framing questions, the researcher inquired about the nature of the relationship between female athletic trainers and athletes (male and female) and coaches (male and female) in order to determine whether or not gender was “typecast” in the athletic training work place. If so, how was it typecast and what were the women’s responses?

Murray (1991) also used symbolic interactionism to examine relationships. However, he wanted to determine if there were ethnic differences in the interpretation of everyday life, and if inequalities were reproduced based on the interpretation. He found that miscommunication occurred because of differing cultural conventions within a social interaction. He also found that misunderstanding reinforced ethnic based stereotypes.

This too was relevant for the present study. Not only was it important to determine the gendered nature of interactions but the cultural nature as well. Were there misunderstandings or miscommunications based on cultural differences between the

women athletic trainers and their instructors, supervisors, athletes and/or coaches? If so what happened and what were the results of the cultural misunderstanding?

The limitations of symbolic interaction were that it did not connect the social meanings that people have to social structures. It failed to consider social structures and structural inequalities, and therefore remained at the microstructural level. As such, symbolic interaction was used to frame some questions for this research, in order to ascertain the meanings and values certified women athletic trainers attach to their experiences. In order to analyze those meanings and connect the experiences to social structures and social constructions a multiracial feminist perspective was applied.

### Summary

The review of the literature suggested that women in sport, allied health, and athletic training have been marginalized in their professions, even when their numbers have approached, were equal to, or greater than the men. But, who are women certified athletic trainers? What are their career and educational experiences? How are their experiences similar and how are they different? What do those experiences mean to them? In particular what do their experiences mean relative to their social location at the intersection of race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality? The research on women athletic trainers examined 13 White pioneers (Anderson, 1991), 16 ethnic minority pioneers (Grant-Ford, 1997) and nine female student athletic trainers (Walk, 1994). Although the research was important, it was incomplete. It did not answer all of the aforementioned questions. Since women athletic trainers are differently located within the social structure, their experiences, meanings and values may be different, based on their social location.

Gender studies in sport and society traditionally have focused on White, middle class women and their professional history and struggles in comparison to men. Likewise, race studies in sport and society traditionally focused on the perspectives of African American men. This focus essentialized race and kept invisible the experiences of African American women and other women and men of color. At the same time, invisibility and essentialism were maintained when race and class were disregarded in the study of gender, sexism, or heterosexism in sport and society.

This study asked about the experiences of women athletic trainers to determine if those experiences were gendered, as suggested by traditional feminists. It also examined those experiences to determine if they differed based on an intersection of social locations as suggested by multiracial feminists, and the meanings that were associated with those experiences.

This study attempted to fill the research gaps by focusing on diverse women athletic trainers. Critical analysis from a multiracial feminist perspective provided a more comprehensive view of these women. Studying the intersection of racial ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality required a recognition that a universal sport or athletic training experience is nonexistent. Sport and athletic training experiences differ dependent upon one's social location. Rather than adding differences, or ranking oppressions, the simultaneity of oppressions as experienced in peoples' lives must be studied. Shifting the center (Andersen & Collins, 1995) of analysis changed the questions which were asked and the point of view (Messner, 1992). In this light, where dominant racialized structures have privileged some women ATCs over others, no one group of women certified athletic trainers was held as a monolithic, unnamed cultural

norm, defining what it meant to be a woman certified athletic trainer. Multiracial feminism, being a standpoint epistemological feminist perspective, provides a de-centering of the norm, allowing for voices of all women, Women of Color and White women, including those historically marginalized, to be heard.

## CHAPTER III

### Methods

The focus of this study was diverse women ATCs' educational and career experiences. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methods and procedures used in conducting this study. First the study design and rationale for quantitative and qualitative methods is presented. Then, a description of the participants, the instrumentation, data collection, and analyses are presented.

#### Study Design

The design of this study was both quantitative and qualitative. An analytical, group comparison design was chosen for the quantitative aspect of the study. The self-administered survey was used as a means for quantitatively gathering the descriptive and analytical characteristics of the population of women athletic trainers without intervening in the environment of the subjects (Broman, 1998). As the participants of this study were diverse women certified athletic trainers (American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic, and White), a group comparison was conducted in order to compare the groups relative to their perceptions of their educational and career experiences. Quantitative data collected from the pilot study were used to derive the constructs for the present study. Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were used in the study to make group comparisons of the dimensions studied based on race/ethnicity of the women, "...for the purpose of describing existing differences or similarities..." (Holman, 1995, p. 90). Lastly, as with this research, data for group comparison studies were collected at one period in time. Figure 1 highlights the quantitative design of the study.

<b>Method</b>	<b>Data Collection</b>	<b>Dimensions Studied</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
Quantitative (Group Comparison)	Self-Administered Survey Questionnaire	Demographics	Descriptive Statistics
		Differences in the perception of Sexuality and the Lesbian Label	Group Mean/ ANOVA
		Differences in the perception of Interactions with Colleagues	Group Mean/ ANOVA
		Differences in the perception of general educational experiences	Group Mean/ ANOVA
		Differences in perception of issues of structural power	Group Mean/ ANOVA
		Those questions that did not load on a factor, explored independently for differences across race/ethnicity	ANOVA
		Constructs which correlated	MANOVA

**Figure 1 Quantitative Study Design**

In-depth telephone interviews were used to qualitatively ascertain the meaning of the women's perceptions of their career and educational experiences. It was important to "hear the voices" of the women, allowing them to speak for themselves and to describe, in their own words, what their experiences were (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994), detailing how the experiences were similar or different. Interpretation and critical analysis of the qualitative data were from the vantage point of critical theory, multiracial feminism, and influenced by symbolic interaction theory. Finally, triangulation of the data occurred using the major quantitative data sources, perceptions emerging from qualitative data, and scholarly literature. Figure 2 highlights the qualitative design of the study and the process of triangulation.

<b>Methods</b>	<b>Data Collection</b>	<b>Dimensions Studied</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
<b>Qualitative</b>	<b>In Depth Telephone Interviews</b>	<b>Intersection of gender, race/ethnicity</b>  <b>Educational and career experiences of diverse women</b>	<b>Analyze and interpret women's stories and experiences by identifying the big ideas, dividing the data into units, categorizing the units, negotiating the categories and identifying the emergent themes.</b>  <b>Using quotes, telling the story.</b>  <b>Critically analyze using critical theory, Multiracial feminism, Symbolic interaction theory</b>
<b>Triangulation</b>	<b>Self-Administered Survey Questionnaire, Telephone Interview and Literature</b>	<b>Intersection of gender, race/ethnicity, sexuality, power in women's experiences</b>	<b>Triangulation of Data Major findings and perceptions emerging from quantitative and qualitative data and literature</b>

**Figure 2 Qualitative Study Design**

### **Rationale for Quantitative and Qualitative Methods**

A quantitative approach to studying the perceptions of women athletic trainers is similar to the qualitative approach in that both approaches are based on disciplined inquiry (Shulman, 1988). That is, both contain the following aspects of inquiry: conception, design, data collection, interpretation and communication, and are governed by ordered principles of investigation (Shulman, 1988). The differences lie in how each establishes the “rules” of inquiry. For example, when conceiving the study the researcher must decide who, what when, where, and how, relative to the project. This researcher has



examined women athletic trainers' experiences through quantitative and qualitative approaches. More specifically, the researcher wanted to know women athletic trainers perceptions of their educational and career experiences, and whether those perceptions differed because of categorical social locations of race/ethnicity and gendered perspectives.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods of research involve the writer making decisions about what evidence or data to include. In qualitative research, there is the additional responsibility of selecting and presenting the data rhetorically. Qualitative research requires a balance between particular data with more general data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992), while providing data that are "rich and thick" (Firestone, 1993). Finally, the qualitative researcher must decide the degree of self-presence (Krieger, 1991) in communicating the data. Krieger (1991) argues, that "it is important to be present in our studies and to create forms in which we can be known as specific authors" (p. 48). Finally, qualitative data enhances quantitative data by probing deeper to ascertain the meanings of the findings as ascribed by the participants. Likewise, triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data with theory provide a more comprehensive view of the participants and their interpretation.

### Participants

Four hundred and nineteen diverse women certified athletic trainers throughout the United States were selected as participants for this study. The participants represented 80% of Women of Color and 4.4% of White women ATCs. The participants' racial/ethnic composition was 24 (5.7%) American Indian/Alaskan Native; 63 (15.3%) Asian/Pacific Islander; 35 (8.3%) Black, non-Hispanic; 70 (16.7%) Hispanic and 227

(54.1%) White, non-Hispanic women. The racial/ethnic identification used to stratify participants was taken from the 1999 NATA regular certified membership data. Except for the race/ethnicity data, the other demographic data (i.e., year of certification, route to certification and education level) were reported in aggregate form rather than delineated by race/ethnicity. Because some of the Women of Color participant groups were so small, delineating this data might infer identity.

A response rate of 50 % is considered adequate, 60 % good, and 70 % very good (Babbie, 1990). Studies using the Total Design Method (TDM) in its entirety produced an average response rate of 77% and studies using partial TDM methods have produced an average percent response rate of 67% (Dillman, 1983). Of the surveys sent, 87 (20.7%) were not returned by the postal service or the participant. Forty-seven (11.2%) were returned by the postal service marked “return to sender” due to “addressee unknown,” “forwarding time expired,” “no forward address” or “refused/unclaimed.” The mailing guidelines of the TDM (explained later in the data collection section of this chapter) were used for this dissertation and produced a 66.1% response rate. The response rate by race/ethnicity (B = Black, AS = Asian, W = White, H = Hispanic, AI = American Indian) is presented in Table 1. It was expected that the response rate would be high because of the insider status of the researcher and the participants (being women certified athletic trainers), and because so little research has been conducted with women athletic trainers.

**Table 1 Survey Response Rate by Race/Ethnicity**

	Total	B	AS	W	H	AI
<b>Total Sample</b> (number of surveys distributed)	419	35	63	227	70	24
<b>Excluded</b> (surveys returned by postal service)	47	2	8	23	9	5
<b>Adjusted Total Sample</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Total Returned Surveys</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Excluded</b> (surveys returned by participant/no data)	18	0	5	9	2	2
(surveys returned by participant/missing data)	19	2	0	10	5	2
(participants were actually men)	2	1	1	0	0	0
<b>Total Usable Surveys (completed)</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Response Rate</b> (Total usable/adjusted total sample x 100)	<b>66.1%</b>	70	60	68	66	63

On the survey, the participants were asked to self-identify their racial/ethnic heritage. The results were different from the NATA identified racial/ethnic composition used to stratify and track participants. Table 2 highlights the changes in participants' racial/ethnic categories based on their self-identification. The participants' data were analyzed based on the self-identified racial/ethnic heritage.

**Table 2 Final Participants by Self-Identified Race/Ethnicity**

	B	AS	W	H	AI	Other	No Ethnicity	Total
<b>Total Usable Surveys</b>	23	33	138	40	12	0	0	246
<b>Net Change</b>	-4	-5	+13	-3	-6	+3	+2	
<b>Total</b>	19	28	151	37	6*	3*	2*	
<b>Net Total Analyzed</b>	19	28	151	37	0	0	0	235

\*Participant data not analyzed due to small number

The Women of Color groups lost participants, while the White group gained participants. Two new categories emerged, "Other"(3 women) and "no ethnicity given" (2 women). Specifically, there were originally 35 Black, non-Hispanic women, 23 of them returned usable surveys. One participant was a man and was therefore ineligible, two did not give their ethnicity, one self-identified as Other – Caribbean Black, and one self-identified as

White, leaving 19 Black, non-Hispanic women. For the Asian/Pacific Island women, their number was originally 62, of which 33 returned usable surveys. One participant in this group was also a man, and therefore ineligible. Four women in this group self-identified as White and one identified as Other – Filipino, leaving this group with 28 participants. None of the original White, non-Hispanic women (227) changed their race/ethnicity and 138 returned usable surveys. This group gained 13 women, increasing the number to 151. There were 70 original Hispanic women, 40 who returned usable surveys. Two women in this group self-identified as White and one identified as Other – European, leaving a total of 37 women. The American Indian/Alaskan Native women originally numbered 24, with 12 usable surveys. However, six of these women self-identified as White, leaving six women. The self-identified racial/ethnic heritage of the participants was used for the final analysis. The data from the American Indian/Alaskan Native women were not included in the final analysis because a cell size of six is too small to render statistically meaningful data. Therefore, the net total analyzed was 235 women ATCs (0 American Indian/Alaskan Native, 28[11.3%] Asian/Pacific Island, 19 [7.7%] Black, non-Hispanic, 37 [14.9%] Hispanic and 151 [60.9%] White, non-Hispanic).

Although the racial/ethnic identification differences may have been due to inaccurate identification/coding by the NATA, the self-identification was used for analysis. For at least one woman who participated in the follow-up interview, she self-identified as White, but was coded by the NATA as American Indian/Alaskan Native. When asked about the discrepancy, she indicated that the NATA must have coded her incorrectly. This may have been due to White women's confusion about the meaning of

Native American. Some felt that being born in America made them “Native American.” It also may have been due to clerical error, based on self-report.

### Certification and Educational Level of Participants

The women in this study were certified between 1975 and 1998, inclusive. The median year of certification was 1992 and the mode was 1991. The overwhelming majority of the women (165) were certified in the 1990s. Sixty-seven women were certified in the 1980s and fourteen in the 1970s. Therefore, these participants represent pioneers as well as recently certified athletic trainers.

Educationally, 61% (149) of the women participants indicated that the master’s degree was the highest degree earned. Thirty-four percent (83) held the bachelor’s degree as the highest, 3% (8) earned a doctorate, 2% (5) indicated “other” degree and one woman did not indicate education level. Likewise, undergraduate internship (110, 45%), graduate internship (16, 7%), undergraduate curriculum (95, 39%), graduate curriculum (24, 10%) and grandfathered (1, 0.4%) routes to certification were all represented. However, the one woman who indicated she was grandfathered also indicated her certification date as 1988. Since certification by examination only was instituted by the NATA December 31, 1969 (O’Shea, 1980), this woman could not have been grandfathered, and must have misunderstood the term.

Geographically, all ten districts of the NATA were represented, including Hawaii and Alaska. All but seven states in the United States were represented. Those not represented were Kentucky, Mississippi, Nevada, North Dakota, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Twenty-five ethnically diverse women certified athletic trainers were interviewed for the qualitative portion of the study. The ethnic/racial heritage of the women was Black/African American, American Indian/Native American, Asian national/Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander, Caucasian/White, Hispanic. The ethnic origin of Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island women represented four different countries and the Native American/American Indian women belonged to three different Nations. However, for the Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island and Native American/American Indian women, their specific country of origin and Nation respectively were not included. Because there are so few women ATCs in the aforementioned ethnic groups, one might identify these individuals. Most women of Hispanic heritage and Caucasian/White women did not indicate their specific ethnicity beyond the general racial/ethnic group membership. Often racial categories are indicated rather than ethnicity. For example, one woman indicated, "Well, most of the time I put down that I am Black. But when a minority, um, officer on campus is hounding me, then I switch up and pull my mother's ethnicity and say I'm Puerto Rican, so leave me alone."

The twenty-five women interviewed were very representative of the survey participants. They were certified via the internship and curriculum routes. Certification dates spanned three decades, 1970s (4), 1980s (5) and 1990s (16). The group included pioneer women and newly certified ATCs. Districts one through six and eight through ten of the NATA were represented. All of the women except two indicated that they were either straight or heterosexual. The remaining two women indicated that they were gay or homosexual. Neither of these women used the term lesbian. However, they did

not indicate if they were out of the closet. Therefore information pertaining to sexual orientation will be reported without identifying these women.

### Population

The population of women ATCs consisted of 6,343 women athletic trainers, who held regular certified membership status within the National Athletic Trainers' Association in 1999 (NATA). Of the 6,343 women in the population, thirty were American Indian/Alaskan native; seventy-nine were Asian/Pacific Islander; forty-four were Black, non-Hispanic; eighty-eight were Hispanic; and 5,679 were White, non-Hispanic. Twenty-three women indicated their ethnicity as other, and four hundred did not identify ethnicity, therefore rendering them ineligible for the study. Because approximately ninety-two percent of all certified athletic trainers are members of the NATA (Ward, personal communication, 1999), this population is extremely representative of all women ATCs.

### Human Subjects

It is important to minimize harm to participating subjects (Babbie, 1990; Broman, 1998). As such, researchers must consider the following three things: (a) the benefits of the research versus the harm to the subjects, (b) informed consent, and (c) anonymity versus confidentiality (Babbie, 1990; Broman, 1998). Human subjects approval (Appendix B) was granted by Michigan State University, University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) on October 30, 2000.

Benefits versus harm. The participants received a letter that introduced the researcher and presented the purpose of the study. The letter also indicated the benefits of the study as outlined at the beginning of this study. Care was taken not to "...affect

the reliability of the responses...” (Babbie, 1990, p. 344), or bias the responses by being too specific about the purpose. Care was taken, also, to minimize harm. Sensitive questions were, therefore, filtered as deemed appropriate.

Informed consent. On three separate occasions, participants were informed of the consequences of participating in the research and given the opportunity to decline. First, the participants were sent a survey questionnaire with an introductory letter that included informed consent information (Appendix C). As indicated above, the letter included the purpose and benefits associated with the study. The researcher did not use coercive language in the introductory letter. Participants were made aware that their participation was voluntary.

Second, at the onset of the telephone interview, participants were reminded of the purposes of the study, asked to consent to the interview and to be tape recorded (Appendix D). They were reassured that they could discontinue the interview, or decline to answer a question, at any time. Third, participants were allowed to review the transcript of their interview and strike through any responses they felt would compromise their confidentiality. Participants were also instructed to determine if the words and meanings in the transcript accurately reflect their feelings, thoughts and the events that were discussed. If not, they were instructed to make any changes necessary to accurately reflect what was meant. An informed consent form was attached to the transcript. The transcript, informed consent, and electronic mail (email) directions (Appendix E) were sent to all interview participants except three. The three women who did not have access to email were sent the transcript, informed consent and self-addressed, stamped return envelop by regular mail.



Anonymity versus confidentiality. The researcher sent follow-up letters to those who did not initially respond in a timely manner; therefore, it was not possible to guarantee full anonymity. Confidentiality was defined and assured in the introductory letter, informed consent for the interview and informed consent for the transcript. The survey questionnaires for this study were numbered to ascertain who returned them (Dillman, 1983), and then follow-up to increase the response rate. Once questionnaires were received and verified, the participants' names were removed from the master mailing list. Participants who were interviewed were asked if the interview could be audio taped. Likewise, the audio tape of the interviews was destroyed after the data were transcribed, reviewed for accuracy and consented for use. The transcripts were viewed only by the researcher and transcriber. Chances of inferred identity were minimized since no names were used in the transcripts. Data from the survey questionnaire were treated in aggregate form. Real names of the participants were not used in the dissertation. All names were changed to pseudonyms in order to assure confidentiality.

#### Instrumentation

Both a survey questionnaire and interview survey were used for this study. Based on the outcome of the pilot study, the survey and interview instrument content and procedures were reviewed, validated, and modified for the dissertation. Audio recording instructions were documented (to insure consistency and replication of procedures) and transcription procedures were modified.

Complex, open ended, and long questions are better suited for face-to-face or telephone interviews (Broman, 1998). The questions used in the survey questionnaire were simple, direct, and short. Open-ended questions were reserved primarily for the

telephone interview. Both non-threatening and threatening questions were included in the mailed, self-administered survey questionnaire. Because the participants were asked about issues of race, gender and sexuality, which are often seen as threatening, the self-administered survey and telephone survey were regarded as appropriate as they offered distance (Browman, 1998; Weinberg, 1983).

#### Survey Questionnaire Instrument-General

The Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences Survey (Appendix F) was designed specifically for this study. The survey questionnaire consisted of 43 close-ended items, five demographic items, and two open-ended questions. A separate form soliciting follow-up interview participants was also included. The close-ended survey items in this questionnaire used a 5-point Likert Scale where 1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = neither agree nor disagree, 4 = disagree, and 5 = strongly disagree. The Likert scale was employed because it is widely used and accepted within the discipline. Participants were also more likely to be familiar with this format. The questions were close-ended with a neutral response located in the middle. Close-ended, forced choice questions have been found to increase response rate (Broman, 1998) and to make the questions easier to answer (Foddy, 1993). The neutral response was located in the middle because it allowed respondents to “opt out” if they really did not have an opinion or did not have certain experiences relevant to the question(s) (Foddy, 1993).

The order of the questions is important (Babbie, 1990; Broman, 1998; Foddy, 1995). To assist with recall, questions should be asked in reverse chronological order (Broman, 1998; Foddy, 1995). The questions were in reverse chronological order initially. However, the athletic training experts who reviewed the instrument, prior to the

pilot study, indicated that the questions should be asked longitudinally to assist with recall. Therefore, the final instrument sent to participants began with questions pertaining to educational experiences, then moved to career experiences. The more sensitive items on gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality were imbedded into the middle of the questionnaire to lessen the threat (Dillman, 1983). The next to the last section solicited demographic data, as these data are less interesting to the respondent, albeit crucial to the researcher (Dillman, 1983). Demographic items also may be perceived as threatening (Broman, 1998). In order to give voice (Smith, 1992) and not leave the respondents “with a bad taste in their mouths,” the last section was an open-ended section which gave them the opportunity to suggest changes or improvements for better preparation of women entering the profession of athletic training.

The survey was modeled on an earlier Grant-Ford (1997) study where she asked pioneer ethnic minority women ATCs questions pertaining to race, gender and athletic training. Specifically, survey items 1-6, 11-15, 19-23, 36-43 were modified from Grant-Ford (1997). Grant-Ford (1997) stated she established construct validity using literature from 1980-1996 in the disciplines of sociology, psychology, physical education, and athletics. She examined the literature for content themes that were used to generate the survey items. Her instrument was also evaluated by a panel of experts for “...construct and content validity error of omission, readability, face validity, bias, and item quality” (Grant-Ford, 1997, pp. 14-15). Grant-Ford’s (1997) survey was pilot tested and re-tested for reliability. She did not undertake a computer analysis of the pilot data, however: “...pilot participants responded the same on both administrations of the survey instrument” (Grant-Ford, 1997, p.15). However, this was not sufficient for this study.

Therefore this researcher sent the survey to a panel of experts. The suggestions from the panel were as follows.

#### Survey Questionnaire Instrument-Clarity, Content and Structure

Before the survey instrument was piloted, it was reviewed by a panel of experts representing the professions of athletic training, sport sociology, and survey research. The panel consisted of people with expertise on women in athletic training, women in sport, Women of Color, whiteness in sport, and survey methodology. The experts reviewed the survey instrument for clarity, content, and structure.

Recommendations regarding the structure of the instrument and questions included placing the questions in chronological order, rather than reverse chronological order. In addition, to avoid response bias, it was recommended that the direction of the responses be varied. For example, “I was comfortable interacting with male colleagues in the workplace setting.” “I was **un**comfortable interacting with female colleagues in the workplace setting.” Lastly, it was suggested that similarly structured questions be grouped together, as well as group together questions pertaining to the same type of experiences (e.g., clinical experiences versus classroom experiences) as not to confuse the reader by going back and forth. These suggestions were implemented.

There were several recommendations regarding content and clarity. Recommendations on content included being more specific with the open-ended questions, and focusing on the research questions, in order to avoid extremely varied responses on multiple topics which would be difficult to analyze. For example, two of the original open-ended questions were “How would you change things, or what would make things better for the next generation of women athletic trainers?” and “What

suggestions would you make to athletic training educators?” These questions were combined and changed to “Based on your responses to this survey, what suggestions would you make to athletic training educators to better prepare women students to enter the profession?” Several experts indicated that the statement, “I was adequately prepared in religious health care practices” was not clear. One athletic training expert wrote,

Does this mean that I was taught how to treat a sprained ankle on a Catholic athlete the same way I would treat it on a Methodist? Or do you want to say-I was adequately prepared to provide health care services to individuals from different cultures and religions?

Another wrote, “how about ‘health care practices associated with different religious beliefs’?” The final statement was revised into two: “I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different cultural beliefs.” And, “I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different religious beliefs.”

Most of the suggestions from the experts were implemented.

Recommendations that were not implemented usually involved items that were taken from Grant-Ford (1997), or related to the NATA classifications (e.g., ethnic demographic categories and route to certification categories).

#### Survey Questionnaire Instrument-Reliability

A test-retest was conducted using the data from the women student athletic trainers. Then a reliability analysis using SPSS 10.0 was performed on the retest. For questions 1-23, the correlation between forms was .7405 and a Guttman split-half of

.8378 was obtained. For questions 24-43, the correlation between forms was .6669 and a Guttman split-half of .7914 was obtained. These correlations are acceptable.

### Survey Questionnaire Instrument- Construct Validity

To establish construct validity, a factor analysis was performed during pilot testing. The full factor analysis data is located in Appendix G. When the factor analysis was computed using questions 1-43, the items loaded on 12 factors, however only four factors had items that loaded exclusively on them. Table 3 summarizes the constructs, the factor load and the questions (survey items) that loaded exclusively on the four factors for questions 1-43.

**Table 3 Constructs Derived from Factor Analysis of Questions 1-43**

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Construct</b>	<b>Survey Item/Factor Load</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Sexuality and the Lesbian Label</b>	11 (0.56), 16 (0.85), 17 (0.86), 18 (0.89), 34 (0.69), 35 (0.92)
<b>2</b>	<b>Interacting with Colleagues</b>	6 (-0.57), 25 (0.60), 27 (0.66), 28 (0.93), 29 (-0.91)
<b>3</b>	<b>General Educational Experiences</b>	1 (-0.76), 2 (0.76), 3 (0.79), 4 (-0.81)
<b>4</b>	<b>Issues of Structural Power</b>	15 (0.59), 30 (0.67), 43 (0.56)

The internal consistency coefficient for the constructs derived by factor analysis of questions 1-43 ranged from 0.6923 to 0.8197, using Cronbach's alpha coefficient. Specifically the results were: factor one  $\alpha = 0.7788$ , factor two  $\alpha = 0.8197$ , factor three  $\alpha = 0.7979$ , and factor seven  $\alpha = 0.6923$ . These Cronbach's alpha coefficients are all acceptable.

Initially the intent was to analyze the questions related to educational experiences (1-23) separately from the questions related to career experiences (24-43). Because the factor loading for questions 1-23 yielded similar results as questions 1-43 and the coefficient for questions 24-43 was so low, it was decided that the quantitative analysis

be conducted using the factors from questions 1-43. Those questions that did not load exclusively on a factor were analyzed individually.

### Interview Instrument

“An interview is a purposeful conversation...used to gather descriptive data in the subjects’ own words so that the researcher can develop insights on how subjects interpret some piece of the world” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 96). The research study design used in-depth interviews of a randomly selected sample of twenty-five diverse women ATCs. As with the quantitative survey, the interview questions were modeled after the earlier Grant-Ford (1997) study and was titled the Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences Interview Survey (Appendix H). The interview questions followed the themes of the Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences Survey (Appendix F), were ordered chronologically and arranged according to classroom, clinical, then career experiences.

Rather than being closed-ended like the survey, the interview questions were semi-structured and open-ended to allow the participants to tell their own stories and elaborate on contextual content. A semi-structured format allowed a gathering of comparable data across subjects (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) using predetermined topics and probes in a more open-ended questions format. The use of open-ended questions gave voice to the participants. With this semi-structured format the interviewer gained the freedom to digress or probe beyond the basic responses to the predetermined questions. Berg (1998) views the semi-structured interview as midway between the fully structured and unstructured interview.

## **Data Collection**

The following outlines how the data were collected.

### **Sampling Design**

Random sampling was used to ensure that every element in the population (women ATCs) had a “non zero chance” of being selected (Frankel, 1983). The entire population of women athletic trainers was divided into five strata (American Indian; Asian/Pacific Islander; Black, non-Hispanic; Hispanic; White, non-Hispanic), then disproportionate sampling was used to select the participants from each strata. Stratified sampling was used to ensure, “...a greater degree of representativeness and thus decreasing the probable sampling error” (Babbie, 1990, p. 85). Likewise, stratified sampling was used to ensure participants were drawn from a homogenous subset of the population.

Disproportionate sampling was used in order to obtain a sufficient number of Women of Color in each racial/ethnic strata during analysis (Babbie, 1990). As the total population of Women of Color was relatively small (241), eighty percent of each subgroup was sampled, whereas approximately four percent of the White women subgroup was sampled because their number were much larger in the population. Selecting approximately four percent of the White women (227) ensured a sample size that was comparable to the collective Women of Color group, while also recognizing that there is diversity (ethnicity, class and sexuality) within the White women subgroup. As the major focus of this study was to examine the experiences of diverse women certified athletic trainers across and between racial/ethnic groups, overrepresentation of Women of Color ATCs was necessary.



Last, eighty percent of each woman of color subset and 4.4 % of White women were selected via simple random sampling. Because the sampling frame was manageable, using a more sophisticated sampling technique to draw the sample was unnecessary. Therefore, a simple random sample of women ATC's within each ethnic category produced no sampling design effect (Frankel, 1983) and was appropriate.

### Selecting the Sample

It was important to obtain a current and complete listing of the population (Dillman, 1983) for the purpose of drawing the sample. The researcher used the complete NATA membership data base of regular certified women athletic trainers from the NATA national headquarters to obtain the sample. Because inclusion in the NATA membership directory is optional, the NATA data base is the most comprehensive. An additional reason for not using the membership directory was that gender and ethnicity were not included in the directory. It was, therefore, concluded that the NATA data base rather than the membership directory was most appropriate for development of a sampling frame. Obtaining the NATA membership list and corresponding demographic data from the national headquarters, which included gender and ethnicity, were deemed more appropriate for the study.

To minimize the risk of obtaining an incomplete list from the NATA national headquarters, the names and addresses of all female, regularly certified athletic trainers (stratified by race/ethnicity) were requested. According to S. K. Ward (personal communication, September 19, 2000), Director of Membership Services for the NATA, the membership has remained stable for the last five years, and has not varied more than 0.5%. Thus, these data were considered representative of the membership.

The list was stratified by race/ethnicity, alphabetized within each racial/ethnic group, and then numbered within each racial/ethnic group. In order to obtain a sample of 419 women ATCs, simple random sampling was used. The SPSS computer software was used to generate random numbers from 1 to N for each racial/ethnic group.

The Women of Color groups were so small that eighty percent of each woman of color subgroup was selected to ensure adequate representation of each group during the study. Twenty-four American Indian/Alaskan Native; sixty-three Asian/Pacific Islander; thirty-five Black, non-Hispanic; and seventy Hispanic women completed the sample. Two hundred and twenty-seven (4.4%) White women were selected. The smaller percentage for White women ATCs represented disproportionate sampling, and created a sample size similar in actual number to those of the Women of Color, but a disproportionate subgroup in comparison to any subgroup of Women of Color.

Participants for interviews were selected from the sampled population. Twenty-five women were randomly sampled from those participants who volunteered for interviewing. Five participants were sampled from within each racial/ethnic group. Twenty of the originally sampled women from survey questionnaire completion were contacted; they agreed to and were interviewed for the qualitative interview of this study. One of the initially selected Black women was out of town. Thus, another Black woman was randomly sampled, contacted, and ultimately was interviewed.

One of the initially selected Asian/Pacific Island women was in the process of leaving the county. She asked if the interview questions could be sent to her via electronic mail (email). This request was granted. However, this woman failed to respond to the email and did not complete the interview. Therefore, another

Asian/Pacific Island woman was randomly selected. However, the replacement Asian/Pacific Island woman could not be reached. Therefore a second replacement Asian/Pacific Island woman was randomly selected, contacted, and interviewed for this study.

Two of the originally selected White women did not participate in the interview. One woman was traveling across the country. The researcher left numerous messages for the other woman, but did not receive a response. However, one of the American Indian/Alaskan Native women self-identified as White during her interview. When told that the NATA classified her as American Indian/Alaskan Native, she indicated that the classification was incorrect. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, this woman was reclassified as White. A second White woman was randomly selected, agreed, and participated in this study.

Because one of the NATA identified American Indian/Alaskan Native women was actually White, it was necessary to select another American Indian/Alaskan Native woman for the interview. But, only five of the NATA identified American Indian/Alaskan Native women indicated on the survey that they were willing to participate in the interview. The researcher examined the returned surveys to determine who self-identified as American Indian/Alaskan Native. Of those women who self-identified, one was randomly selected to participate in the interview. Unfortunately, this woman could not be located because no one knew her at the telephone number that was listed with the NATA. Subsequently, a second American Indian/Alaskan Native woman was selected, contacted, and agreed to participate in the interview.

One of the originally selected Hispanic women could not be reached. Numerous messages were left for her, but they went unanswered. Thus, she was eliminated and another Hispanic woman was selected, agreed, and participated in the study. After the interview of the replacement Hispanic woman was conducted, the originally selected woman called. She indicated that she had been in a terrible car accident and was unable to return the telephone messages. She was thanked for her call, told that the interviews had been completed, and, unfortunately, she had been replaced by someone else. Thus, five women in each racial/ethnic group were identified and participated in the follow-up interviews.

#### Administering the Survey

When using a survey questionnaire, the survey actually serves as a type of interview. The respondent is the “interviewer” in a mailed self-administered survey questionnaire. Further, the respondent has control over the length of data collection and the extent of data submission. However, use of the TDM prompted the respondent and helped keep the data collection period under the researcher’s control. It is typically difficult, if not impossible, to edit data or to input missing values.

Because research on women ATCs and by women in athletic training is scarce, the researcher appealed to the respondents on this level. The importance of this research as a means for having a voice, breaking the silence (Smith, 1992), and making a difference for women in athletic training was relayed to the participants.

The questionnaire was administered using the mailing guidelines of the Total Design Method (Dillman, 1983). The TDM is a systematic way of designing, organizing and implementing the survey process. Studies using the complete TDM have had a 60%

or greater response rate (Dillman, 1993). As a 60% response rate is considered good (Babbie, 1990), and mail surveys have typically had 10 – 45% response rates (Broman, 1998), the TDM was considered the appropriate method for carrying out the dissertation study. The method consisted of sending an initial mailing on January 2, 2001. One week after the initial mailing, a follow-up post card was sent to all participants.

Approximately, three weeks after the initial mailing (January 25, 2001), a third mailing was sent to non-respondents that included a second complete questionnaire package.

Approximately seven weeks after the initial mailing (February 23, 2001), a fourth mailing (complete questionnaire package) was sent to non-respondents, via certified mail. The data were coded and entered into the computer. Incomplete surveys were not analyzed.

### Conducting the Interviews

It is much harder in qualitative research to replicate a researcher's data gathering processes (Thomas & Nelson, 1990). Nonetheless, these were the steps used by this researcher. After the deadline for the fourth mailing had passed and the last certified package that was returned to the researcher by the U. S. mail was received (April 8, 2001), the qualitative interview sample was randomly selected from the participants who returned the quantitative survey and indicated their willingness to be interviewed. A separate form was sent with each survey that was mailed, asking the women if they were willing to participate in the interview. This form is located in Appendix F. Those who indicated a willingness to be interviewed were stratified by race/ethnicity, then randomly sampled from within each racial/ethnic group.

An initial call was made to describe the study, obtain consent for participation and audio taping , and set up the interview date. The interviews were conducted from May 9,

2001, to May 24, 2001, at the participants' convenience. The interviews lasted an average of 49 minutes, ranging from 26 minutes at the shortest to 91 minutes at the longest. During the actual interview a voice activated telephone recorder was attached to the telephone after initial informed consent by the participant. The researcher also took notes and used a semi-structured format.

### **Managing the Interview Data**

To manage the data, the audio tapes were transcribed by the researcher and clerical staff, and entered into the computer. The transcript was typed double space, with each line numbered and each page numbered. A header indicating the participants' number and date of the interview was used to facilitate identification of the data. The transcripts were proofread and verified by the researcher for accuracy by comparison to audio tapes. Then each participant had the opportunity to review her own transcript for accuracy of words and meanings, and consent to its use. The transcripts were sent to the participants via email or U. S. mail. The entire process from the transcription of the interviews, to the researcher and participant reviews of the transcripts, to consent of the final transcript occurred from May 15, 2001 to July 12, 2001.

### **Data Analysis**

The data were analyzed quantitatively, qualitatively, and by triangulation.

### **Quantitative Analysis**

After the data were collected, they were entered into the computer using Microsoft Excel. The Excel file was loaded into SPSS version 10.0 and converted into an SPSS file. Questions 2, 3, 5, 25, 27, and 28 were re-coded in order to reverse the response.

For the primary analysis, a single mean score was derived for each construct as determined by factor analysis. Then a 2-tailed Pearson's correlation was performed to determine if there was any overlap between constructs. Those constructs which yielded correlations of 0.50 or higher at the  $p = 0.05$  level were analyzed using Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). The MANOVA was used because an analysis of two dependent variables (the two constructs) related to race/ethnicity was performed. Next, an ANOVA ( $p \leq 0.05$ ) was used on each construct that did not correlate, to determine whether statistically significant differences existed between the groups of women studied with regard to the construct. The one-way ANOVA was selected because it examines the distribution of variance between two or more groups (Babbie, 1990). Because this study is a group comparison that examined the perceptions of diverse (American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Black, Hispanic, White) women ATC's, the one-way ANOVA was appropriate.

The MANOVA and one-way ANOVA only determined whether there were any significant differences between the group means. They did not identify which group mean(s) differed significantly from the others. In order to make that determination, post hoc comparisons were performed (Norusis, 1995; Shavelson, 1988).

For the secondary analysis, all questions that did not load on a factor (i.e., 5, 7-10, 12-14, 19-24, 26, 31-33, 35-42) were analyzed independently for race/ethnicity differences using the one-way ANOVA at the  $p = 0.01$  level. The  $p = 0.01$  level was used during the secondary analysis in order to determine true significant difference that is not related to error.

Every tested hypothesis and every analysis that resulted in a significant difference, Scheffé's Test was performed. Scheffé's Test was used because it compared all possible pairs of means (Shavelson, 1988), was more conservative, and accounted for unequal N.

### Qualitative Analysis

"Data analysis is the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts...that you accumulate to increase your own understanding of them and to enable you to present what you have discovered to others" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 153). For this study, Vaughn, Schumm and Sinagub's (1996) method of data analysis was used as a guide (Figure 3).

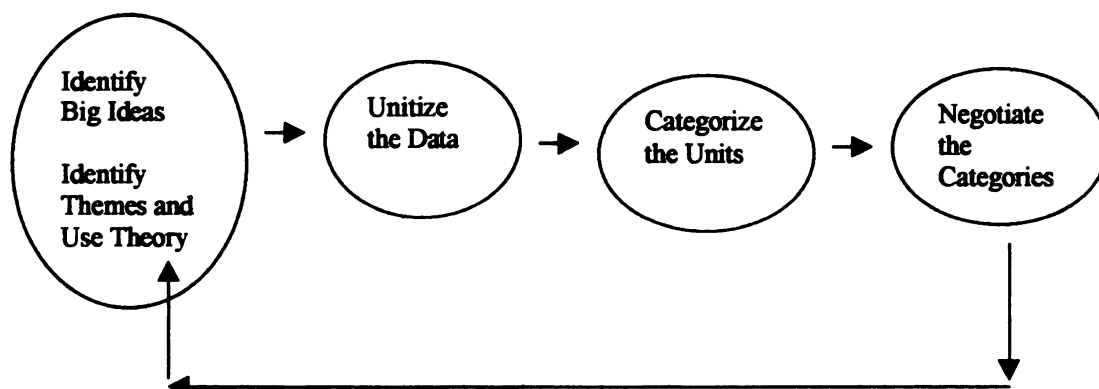


Figure 3 Qualitative Data Analysis

The first step was to identify the big ideas. These big ideas emerged during the interview and from critically reading the transcripts, and provided the initial framework for the subsequent selection of units of data. The second step involved unitizing the data. In this step, specific units of information were identified from the transcript. The units may vary in size from a single phrase to a paragraph. Likewise, units should be interpretable with only a broad understanding of the study. Step three was to categorize the units. Those units identified in step two were grouped into relevant categories. Step



four required negotiation of the categories. During this step, the researcher thoroughly reviewed the units and categories, and made appropriate changes where necessary. The final step was to identify themes and use theory. In this step, the big ideas from step one were re-framed, restated and refined as necessary and became themes. The emergent themes must be supported by the categories generated in steps two through four.

Last, theoretical underpinnings and the literature were used to interpret the findings. Critical theory, particularly feminist theory, was used to understand and analyze the gendered nature of the experiences of the women studied. Multiracial feminism was used to examine the racialized nature of the gendered experiences and determine the extent to which the women studied experienced the intersection of social locations (race/ethnicity and gender) in their career and education. Symbolic interaction theory was used to understand the perceived meaning and values attached to the experiences and relationships expressed by the participants.

### Triangulation

After both quantitative and qualitative analysis of data sets, the data were analyzed using triangulation. Triangulation involved using several types of methods and data (Janesick, 1994) (Figure 4). For example, the survey data were analyzed using analysis of variance to determine statistical significance. To further examine and conceptualize why a particular difference was significant or not significant and provide a more comprehensive interpretation and synthesis of the findings, the interview data, literature and theories were used.

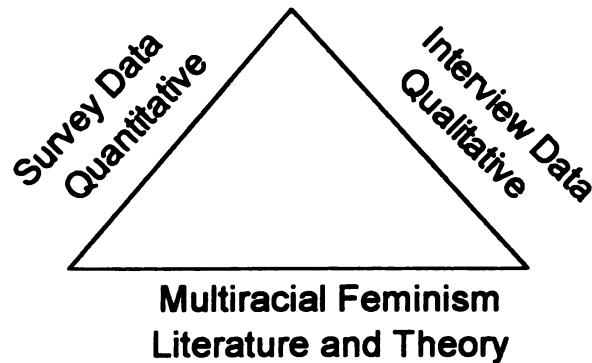


Figure 4 Triangulation of Data

The purpose of triangulation was to provide a means for validation, to enhance the weaknesses of and reduce the threats to validity of a single method (Berg, 1998). For example, quantitative data does not indicate why a particular phenomenon occurred, only if there was a significant difference in the occurrence and the probability of the phenomenon occurring by change. There are four types of triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation (Berg, 1998; Janesick, 1994). This researcher combined several triangulation methods including data triangulation, (survey and interview), theory triangulation (critical theory and feminist theory/multiracial feminism), and methodological triangulation (quantitative, qualitative, and literature) for this study because “The use of multiple research strategies and theories increases the depth of understanding an investigation can yield” (Berg, 1998, p. 6) as well as a comparison of research results.

Methodological triangulation involved studying a single problem with multiple methods, and data triangulation involved the use of multiple data sources (Berg, 1998; Janesick, 1994). As indicated above, for this study, both quantitative and qualitative design, methods (self-administered questionnaire and telephone interview respectively),

yielding different data and analyses were used. Similarly critical theory and multiracial feminism were used as the theoretical framing for this study. To some degree, theory triangulation was used since data interpretation resulted from multiple perspectives (Janesick, 1994).

### Summary

“The best research programs will reflect intelligent deployment of a diversity of research methods applied to their appropriate research questions” (Shulman, 1988, p. 16). This researcher used both quantitative and qualitative methods because they complemented each other relative to the inquiry being made and facilitated a triangulation of methods and literature with critical analysis. For this writer, these methods did not represent dichotomous extremes, “...positing two fundamentally divergent paradigms....” (Howe, 1988, p. 15). Through triangulation, they represented the opportunity to increase “the depth of understanding an investigation can yield” (Berg, 1998, p. 6).



## **CHAPTER IV**

### **Results**

Contained in this chapter are the quantitative results of the dissertation study. The results of hypotheses testing and independent analysis using the Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experience Survey (Appendix F) are presented here. The purpose was to examine the perceptions of diverse women certified athletic trainers' educational and early career experiences. A complete copy of the descriptive results including the frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations by race/ethnicity for each question is located in Appendix I.

#### **Hypotheses Tested**

In order to test the hypotheses, the responses to the questions of each construct (for which a hypothesis was stated) were reduced to a single mean, which represented the construct. The factor analysis constructs were 1) Perceptions of Sexuality and the Lesbian Label, (Sex) 2) Interactions with Colleagues, (Colleagues) 3) General Educational Experiences (Gen Ed), and 4) Issues of Structural Power (Power). Career experiences were subsumed within the above constructs (except general educational experiences) during the factor analysis.

The hypotheses tested were:

#### **Perceptions of Sexuality and the Lesbian Label**

H01 There will be no difference across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of sexuality issues and the lesbian label during their athletic training experiences.

### Interactions with Colleagues

**H02** There will be no difference across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of their interaction with colleagues during their athletic training experiences.

### General Educational Experiences

**H03** There will be no difference across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of their athletic training educational experiences.

### Issues of Structural Power

**H04** There will be no differences across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers' perception of issues of structural power during their athletic training experiences.

A two-tailed Pearson's correlation was performed to determine if there was any overlap or shared variance between constructs. The constructs that yielded a correlation of 0.50 or higher at the  $p \leq 0.05$  significance level were analyzed using the MANOVA test (Wilks' Lambda). The constructs Interactions with Colleagues (H02) and General Educational Experiences (H03) unexpectedly correlated at 0.52, indicating that there was some degree of shared variance. Thus, these two hypotheses were analyzed together.

There was a significant difference between women ATCs perceptions of their interaction with colleagues during their athletic training experiences and general educational experiences,  $F(6,460) = 2.48, p = 0.02$ . Scheffé post hoc test showed significance,  $p = 0.03$ , for Interaction with Colleagues, and not with General Education Experiences. White, non-Hispanic women ( $M = 1.86, SD = 0.56$ ) expressed stronger agreement than did Asian/Pacific Island women ( $M = 2.21, SD = 0.61$ ) about their perception of interactions with colleagues during their athletic training experiences.

The two remaining hypotheses that did not correlate were tested using the One-way ANOVA to determine the statistical difference between the means relative to race/ethnicity. The null hypotheses were tested at the 0.05 level of significance. The construct mean was the dependent variable and race/ethnicity was the independent variable. Table 4 highlights the ANOVA results, including sums of squares, degrees of freedom, F value and *p* value for each construct/ hypothesis tested.

Table 4 ANOVA Results for Each Hypothesis Tested

Hypothesis	Construct	N	Sum of Square	df	F	p
H01	Sexuality/ Lesbian Label	235	7.02	3, 231	3.67	0.01*
H04	Power	235	5.79	3, 231	3.04	0.03*

\*  $p < 0.05$

#### Perceptions of Sexuality and the Lesbian Label in Athletic Training

The questions that comprised this construct ascertained diverse women ATCs perceptions of sexuality and the use of the lesbian label within athletic training. The null hypothesis stated that there would be no difference between the means of ATCs' perceptions of sexuality and the lesbian label across race/ethnicity (Asian/Pacific Island; Black, non-Hispanic; Hispanic; White, non-Hispanic). Table 5 highlights the mean and standard deviation for the construct sexuality/lesbian label.

Table 5 Mean and Standard Deviation for the Construct Sexuality/Lesbian Label

Construct by Race/Ethnicity	N	✓ Mean	SD
<b>Sexuality/Lesbian Label</b>			
Asian/Pacific Island	28	3.12	0.96
Black, non-Hispanic	19	2.98*	0.58
Hispanic	37	3.63*	0.72
White, non-Hispanic	151	3.36	0.81
(Total)	235	3.34	0.81

Note. ✓ 1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly Disagree, \* $p < 0.05$

The null hypothesis was rejected because a significant difference [ $F(3, 231) = 3.67, p=0.01$ ] was found between the means for women ATCs. The Scheffé post hoc test was used to determine which means differed. A significant difference ( $p=0.04$ ) was found between Black, non-Hispanic and Hispanic women ATCs. This indicated that Black women had higher agreement than Hispanic women with regard to their perception of sexuality issues and the use of the lesbian label in their athletic training experiences.

#### Issues of Structural Power (Power)

The questions that comprised the construct “Power” related to the perception of structural power (i.e., external control, authority or influence) that the women ATCs felt they experienced during their athletic training experiences. For example, women ATCs were asked to respond to statements about their perception of barriers, and whether their decision making with regard to injury care was challenged. The null hypothesis for this construct stated there would be no differences across race/ethnicity in women certified athletic trainers’ perception of issues of structural power during their athletic training experiences.

The group means for this construct are represented in Table 6.

**Table 6 Mean and Standard Deviation for the Construct Power**

<b>Construct by Race/Ethnicity</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>✓ Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
<b>Power</b>			
Asian/Pacific Island	28	3.08	0.70
Black, non-Hispanic	19	2.96	0.74
Hispanic	37	3.23	0.86
White, non-Hispanic	151	3.42	0.80
(Total)	235	3.31	0.81

**Note.** ✓ 1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly Disagree,  $p < 0.05$

The null hypothesis was rejected,  $F(3,231) = 3.04$ ,  $p=0.03$  because of the significance at the group mean level of race/ethnicity for diverse women ATCs perception of structural power was significant. However, a determination could not be made concerning which women ATCs differed on their perception of structural power in athletic training, because Scheffé's post hoc test did not detect any significant difference between the groups.

#### Analysis of Individual Questions

Those survey questions that did not become a construct by loading on a factor (i.e., questions 5, 7-10, 12-14, 19-24, 26, 31-33, 35-42), were explored independently. The one-way ANOVA was used to explore for differences across race/ethnicity. A post hoc comparison using the Scheffé test was performed if a significant difference was found. Because of the number of tests performed, a more stringent level of significance was employed. Specifically,  $p$  values for ascertaining significant differences were set at 0.01 for both the one-way ANOVA and Scheffé tests. Appendix J highlights the ANOVA results for all questions that did not load on a factor.

Three questions (#21, 22 and 32) had a significant difference. Questions 21 (I often felt like the "token" person of my racial/ethnic group) and 22 (I often felt like I had to "pave the way" for people of my racial/ethnic group) relate to the women's athletic training educational experiences and question 32 (I often felt like the "official spokesperson" on racial/ethnic issues that pertain to my racial/ethnic group) relates to their career experiences. Each of these questions are discussed below.

There was a significant difference in the expression of agreement to which a woman ATC felt she was the "token" person of her racial/ethnic group,  $F(3,231) = 22.83$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . Table 7 highlights the results.



**Table 7 Perception of Being the “Token” of Ones Racial/Ethnic Group**

<b>Token Person Race/Ethnicity</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>✓ Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
Asian/Pacific Island	28	2.96 <sup>‡</sup>	1.40
Black, non Hispanic	19	2.68 <sup>*†</sup>	1.16
Hispanic	37	3.70 <sup>†</sup>	1.13
White, non Hispanic	151	4.23 <sup>*‡</sup>	0.88

**Note.** ✓ 1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly Disagree, <sup>‡</sup> $p < 0.01$ , <sup>\*</sup> $p < 0.01$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < 0.01$

Specifically, Black, non-Hispanic women ATCs expressed higher agreement with this statement than White, non-Hispanic women, who expressed disagreement with the statement. Black, non-Hispanic women ATCs also expressed higher agreement with this statement than Hispanic women. Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs expressed higher agreement with this statement than did White, non-Hispanic women. White, non-Hispanic women were the only ATCs surveyed who did not perceive that they were the “token” person of their racial/ethnic group.

There was a significant difference,  $F(3,213) = 31.61, p < 0.01$ , in the degree to which women ATCs felt like they had to “pave the way” for people of their racial/ethnic group. The group means for this question are highlighted in Table 8.

**Table 8 Perception of “Paving the Way” for Ones Racial/Ethnic Group**

<b>Pave the Way Race/Ethnicity</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>✓ Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
Asian/Pacific Island	28	3.29 <sup>*</sup>	1.33
Black, non Hispanic	19	2.11 <sup>*†‡</sup>	0.94
Hispanic	37	3.78 <sup>†</sup>	1.18
White, non Hispanic	151	4.25 <sup>‡</sup>	0.84

**Note.** ✓ 1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly Disagree, <sup>\*</sup> $p < 0.01$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < 0.01$ , <sup>‡</sup> $p < 0.01$

The Scheffé post hoc test,  $F(3,231) = 31.6, p = < 0.01$  revealed that the difference was between Black, non-Hispanic women and Asian/Pacific Island women; Black, non-

Hispanic women and Hispanic women; and Black, non-Hispanic women and White, non-Hispanic women. In each comparison, Black, non-Hispanic women expressed higher agreement that they “paved the way” for people in their racial/ethnic group as compared to other women ATCs. Likewise, Asian/Pacific Island women expressed higher agreement than White, non-Hispanic women ATCs, who were more likely to disagree with the statement. Black, non-Hispanic women were the only women ATCs surveyed who agreed with the statement and White, non-Hispanic women were the only group who disagreed with the statement.

Table 9 highlights the degree to which women ATCs felt like the “official spokesperson” for their racial/ethnic group.

Table 9 Perception of Being the “Official Spokesperson” for Ones Racial/Ethnic Group

<b>Official Spokesperson Race/Ethnicity</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>✓ Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
Asian/Pacific Island	28	3.46†	1.20
Black, non Hispanic	19	2.42*††	1.17
Hispanic	37	3.95†	1.03
White, non Hispanic	151	3.99*	0.86

Note. ✓ 1 = Strongly Agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Disagree, 5 = Strongly Disagree, † $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.01$ , † $p < 0.01$

Black, non-Hispanic women significantly differed,  $F(3,231) = 15.24, p = 0.00$ , from Asian/Pacific Island, Hispanic, and White, non-Hispanic women ATCs. No other group of women significantly differed from any other group. Black, non-Hispanic women were the only ATCs surveyed who expressed agreement, and Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women were approaching disagreement. Thus, Black, non-Hispanic women were the only women who perceived that they were the “Official Spokesperson” for their race/ethnicity.

## Summary

The quantitative results were presented in this chapter. Evidence was found to reject the two hypotheses tested independently (HO 1 and HO 4) and the two hypotheses tested together (HO 3 and HO 4) Figure 5 outlines the results.

Hypothesis	Construct	Outcome
HO1	Sexuality/Lesbian Label	Rejected
HO2*	Interactions with Colleagues	Rejected
HO3*	General (Athletic Training) Education Experiences	Rejected
HO4	Structural Power	Rejected

Figure 5 Outcome Summary of Hypothesis Testing

Note. \*These hypotheses were analyzed together due to shared variance.

From those questions that were analyzed independently, the following emerged; that Black, non-Hispanic women ATCs were more likely to agree with the statements analyzed, thus significantly differing from other women on the majority of variables tested. For example, Black, non-Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs differed significantly on two variables. Black, non Hispanic women agreed that they were “official spokespersons” and that they had to “pave the way” for their racial/ethnic group. On the other hand, Black, non-Hispanic and Asian/Pacific women ATCs both felt like they were the “token” of their racial/ethnic group. This shared sentiment was in contrast to White, non-Hispanic women ATCs who disagreed that they felt like the “token” for their racial/ethnic group.

Black, non-Hispanic women ATCs differed significantly from Hispanic women on four different variables. For example, Black, non-Hispanic women were more likely to perceive issues of sexuality and the lesbian label during their athletic training experience. They further perceived being the “token” and “spokesperson” for their racial/ethnic group more so than did Hispanic women. Lastly, Black, non-Hispanic

women ATCs perceive that they had to “pave the way” for their racial/ethnic group. By contrast Hispanic women ATCs did not differ significantly from White, non-Hispanic or Asian/Pacific Island women on any variable tested. Thus suggesting that the experiences of Hispanic women ATCs were similar to White, non-Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs.

Lastly, Black, non-Hispanic women ATCs perceived that they were the “token,” “spokesperson” or “paved the way” for their racial/ethnic group, more so than White, non-Hispanic women ATCs. The perception of Black, non-Hispanic women was often in direct contrast to that of White, non-Hispanic women on these statements.

## CHAPTER V

### Breaking the Silence: Qualitative Findings

One of the purposes of this portion of the study was to give voice to diverse women certified athletic trainers. It was also to de-center the norm (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Messner, 1992) of the discourse on women athletic trainers, and start with their lived experiences (Harding, 1991; Smith, D., 1990). In addition, as Smith, Y (1992) stated, Women of Color must “break the silence” and expose the contradictions and misrepresentations within this field. They must “...give validity, meaning, and comprehensive understanding to what it means to be both a woman and a person of color in American society and sport” (Smith, Y., 1992, p. 247). Therefore, in this chapter, women ATCs will “break the silence” (Smith, Y., 1992) and tell their story, through their eyes, from their vantage point and with their voices.

Twenty-five women ATCs participated in the interviews for this study. Figure 6 provides the pseudonyms and self-identified race/ethnic origin of these women. Their stories are told in this chapter.

Pseudonym	Race/Ethnicity	Pseudonym	Race/Ethnicity
Alicia	Hispanic	Koleta	African American /Caucasian
Ann	Caucasian	LaTasha	Black/ Puerto Rican
Barb	Caucasian	Mary Jo	White
Cheyenne	Native American	Megan	Caucasian
Consuelo	Hispanic	Ming Li	Asian
Crystal	Caucasian/Native American	Rosa	½ White, ½ Hispanic
Dawn	Native American	Sheila	Black
Destiny	Part Native American	Shiho	Asian – national
Edith	Black	Sue	Caucasian/White
Emily	Pacific Islander	Tomiko	Asian American
Gigi	Hispanic	Toni	African American
Irene	Hispanic	Wendy	American Indian
Jesslyna	Asian		

Figure 6 Pseudonyms and Race/Ethnic Self-Identification

### **Nature of Relationships**

Athletic trainers are often said to be the liaison between different groups of people including coaches and athletes (Prentice & Arnheim, 2000). The power relationships and social interactions that athletic trainers have with others are mediated simultaneously by race, class, gender, and sexuality perceptions, as well as social locations. The following section illustrates the nature of the relationships that women ATCs described with their instructors, classmates, coaches, and athletes/clients. Many of the women had similar educational and career experiences, but the experiences were different based on the women's social location and patriarchal power. Several categories and themes emerged such as educational experiences, coaches' relationships with female athletic trainers, female athletic trainers' relationships with athletes, women athletic trainers cultural connections and perceptions, sexual harassment, sexuality, and what it means to be a woman athletic trainer. Data will be discussed regarding these categories and the emerging themes within each category.

### **Educational Experiences**

The educational experiences that women athletic trainers had as students will be discussed in this section. The data reflect the relationships that women had with their classmates and instructors.

#### **A Tight Knit Group: Relationships with Classmates and Instructors**

When interviewed, participants were asked to describe their relationships with their classmates, many of the women stated that they had a "tight knit" or "very tight knit" group of classmates. Many were treated fairly. Ann, who is Caucasian, had a small class that was "fifty-fifty men to women." She stated,

We were a very tight group of friends. Um, we spent a lot of time together studying and socializing and, um, it was like us, you know, it was our group and we did everything together.

Irene, a Hispanic woman, felt the same way. She reported,

Oh, very well. Uh, our classmates were a pretty tight knit bunch of, characters, to say the least (chuckles). Uh, I don't think there was anything – we were just a family. That's more how we kind of viewed each other because we worked together; we took the same classes together; we were with each other the majority of our days and evenings. Uh, and we did – we all became more like a family than, you know, adversaries or, or classmates that, uh, we had for other classes.

Alicia, who identified as Hispanic (however, she admitted that she is half Hispanic) echoed these feelings, “We were a pretty tight-knit group. My experiences were very good. I felt like I was treated well and, uh, you know, really, we really just helped each other out.” Alicia’s classmates were mostly White, with more females than male. Koleta, who is African American/Caucasian, also was treated, “Um fair. I, I mean, I, we were all, especially the people who were in the program, we were all a close knit group of people. So we all worked together great.” Rosa agreed, “Um, I had a great relationship with my, uh, classmates. We were, uh, I think a pretty, um, close group and, um, and, um I would say that I was very well liked by my classmates.” Likewise, Dawn felt the same way, even though

she was the only female in her class out of three in the program. She indicated,

Well, there were only three of us, and we were you know, we were all friends, we were all student trainers at the same time. I don't think they treated me any differently. I mean I don't – I would say that, that each one of them didn't treat me differently than, than they treated the other two.

Sheila did not think she was mistreated by her classmates either; however, she did not develop the “tight knit” relationships that were described by other women ATCs. She indicated,

I was the only Black, and I think there may have been an Asian student, but I really – I don't remember, um I wasn't well acquainted with any other ethnically diverse, um, at the school I attended. Um, the school that I attended, that was the predominant make up. There weren't that many Black students to begin with, consequently, there were fewer on – in that particular, um in my classes. I didn't develop a lot of, um, friendships or anything like that with my classmates. Um, I think mostly because I had a different social group – um, a different group of people that I socialized with that weren't in my particular classes. Um, I don't, I don't believe I was ever mistreated by any of my classmates.

Feelings of this nature were not uncommon as some ethnically diverse women students saw themselves on the margins and did not feel as positive as majority females. However, survival skills may be necessary and they may have chosen social groups that were supportive.. Thus, feelings such as the need for more social support, feelings of



isolation, oral language barriers existed even though women stated that they did not have negative experiences. “The African-American female is believed to be instilled with skills essential to her maintenance and conducive to her survival” (Corbett & Johnson, 1993, p 181). As a Black woman on a predominantly White campus, Sheila chose to socialize with people who were more culturally like her, who could possibly provide her support in an environment that may not be encouraging of her endeavors. She further stated,

My instructors were all White male... Um, I don't think they, um, went out of their way to help me, in any way, shape, or fashion. But I don't feel like they went out of their way to stop me either. I think they kind of just, you know, the proverbial sink or swim kind of thing. No one was throwing me any life ropes, no one was making an extra effort to, uh, help me succeed.

Like Dawn, the only female in her class, Ming Li and Toni were the only Asian and Black (respectively) women in their classes. However, this was not a problem for Ming Li, “Most were Caucasian, and I believe I'm the only Asian in there. And I think the majority were still men as to women.... And, uh, I did not feel like I was treated any differently.” Nor did it appear to be a problem for Shiho being an international Asian student in the classroom. She remembers,

Um, I, I wasn't, I didn't have any negative experiences. Aah, ah, people that I mentioned saw me as a kind of quieter person as freshman, but after that, um, people see me work, and sometime language can be a barrier,

but, you know, you see people work, or to work hard, or work ethic, and then just ah, just developing for, within the four years, ah, friendship wise. On the other hand, Toni felt as if she were treated differently. Toni explains, Um, well, I think it was pretty hard. I felt like I always had to prove myself or go above and beyond my other classmates.... Um, the first year I think I felt, like I said isolated, like if I didn't have class notes, I didn't really have the telephone number of anyone I could call. So, I think it just took longer for me to establish a friendship or a bond with the rest of the class.... I think I was just perceived differently.

When Toni was asked in what way she thought she had been perceived differently, she indicated, "Um, like in the way people were always watching me. And I think, like I said before, maybe not expecting me to finish, or expecting me to do bad." Toni's feelings of isolation are not atypical for African Americans in predominantly White institutions (Peterson, 1990).

However, when race is intersected by other social locations, the experience may be different. For example, Edith, who is also Black, did not experience racism in the classroom. She stated, "Well, I was a little older than everybody else, so pretty much besides being the new kid on the block, [I was] pretty much treated just like everybody else." When Edith began her athletic training education, she had already earned a degree in chemistry. Her age and experience advantaged her in the classroom with students and instructors.

**Women Treated Equitably and Professionally by Instructors If Perceived to  
“Know Your Stuff”**

When asked to describe the relationships that they had with their instructors, again, women ATCs expressed overwhelmingly that they were treated equally by their instructors. For example, Barb said,

Uh, we had a female instructor, which was – she was the head of the women’s staff.... it was professional – a teacher – normal professor/student relationship. She was easy to talk to, ask questions, get clarification.... Never any ridiculing or – not a bad experience at all.

Because Barb’s instructor was a female, this may have contributed to her establishing a good relationship with the instructor.

Sue also indicated that she had a good relationship with the instructor. However, developing a good relationship was the product of a small class size and “knowing one’s stuff”. Sue, a Caucasian woman stated,

We were a real small class. There were seven in my class. Um, and so with the curriculum that we were in, it was real individualized. And I would say everybody was pretty much treated equal according to their educational level.... Um, whether it be a freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, female, male, Black, White, Asian. It was all pretty equal as long as you knew your stuff.

Sue further indicated that there were four males and three females in her class; one person was Black and the remaining six were White. Because equal treatment was predicated on “knowing your stuff,” it would be interesting to

know who was perceived as “knowing your stuff” and why. Also, were perceptions based on stereotypes of intellectual superiority or inferiority associated with race/ethnicity or gender? For example, would the Black students be perceived as inferior, and the Asian students superior?

All of the Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs interviewed had positive experiences with their instructors. Jesslyna, like Ming Li, was the only “Oriental” in her class, which was comprised of White and Black students. She felt she was “treated fairly” by students and instructors alike. She stated, “Uh, I would say they [instructors] created an enjoyable learning experience.” Tomiko also had an enjoyable learning experience. Her instructors helped her decide on athletic training as a career. Tomiko recalled,

Um (pause), they were actually all very, um, energetic and very helpful with all our classes. Um, I think that’s what kept me taking classes and deciding to go into athletic training. Um, because of the interest in promoting physical education involved with students who decided on which program we wanted to go into. And, uh, so there were, um, we had a women’s athletic trainer which actually, you know, from experience in working with her, made it – helped me make the decision to go into athletic training. Overall, I think they were very helpful in guiding us along into what we wanted to go into and specialize in.

The Asian/Pacific Island women may not have had a problem with their instructors due to the stereotype of Asian Americans having high academic achievement and women as being submissive (Ligutom-Kimura, 1995), the “model minority” (Lai,

1995; Takaki, 1995; Tatum, 1997), or perceptions of being White (Andersen & Collins, 1995) and therefore were expected to be trouble-free. Tomiko was well aware of this perception of Asian Americans. When asked what advantages she had due to race/ethnicity and gender, she stated,

(pause) Probably stereotype that most Asians are, um, you know, hard working. You know, studious. That probably was an advantage because, um, they just, there was just something that I'm sure that general, um, stereotype of (particular Asian group) Americans were – they were never problem students. I never had any issues with any of my instructors.

#### Women's Uncomfortable Feelings with Instructors

Gigi did not feel comfortable with a particular male instructor, and was more likely to be ignored. She indicated,

Um, the instructor would just, kind of not, either not talk to you, not acknowledge you, whereas [with] other students, he would be very friendly. [He would] talk about things outside of athletic training as well. 'What did you do this weekend?' or 'Where did you go?' or just engage other students in conversation whereas some students were just ignored....[I was more] likely to be ignored.

When asked, "how'd that make you feel?" Gigi replied,

Um, uncomfortable. Because you couldn't feel that, you didn't feel that you could approach that person, as easily. It was always anguish over should I discuss questions or classroom situations. Um, it wasn't even anything personal. It was should you go over to that person with a

question when you should have been able to. You just kind of felt uncomfortable to even talk to that person.

Just like the experiences with her classmates, Toni felt that she had to prove herself with her instructors,

I don't feel like they expected me to finish the class... Yes, and as far as the program went, it worked like the first year. Um, you had to apply to get into the curriculum program, and I didn't get in.... At first I didn't get into the program. I got into it the second time around. So, I felt like I had a couple of strikes against me all the time. One that I was Black, and two, they didn't let me in the first time, and by the time they let me in, I just felt like I had a whole lot of things to do, and I had to go above and beyond what everyone else did.

Because African Americans are often stereotypically perceived as intellectually inferior, Toni's initial failure to be accepted into the athletic training program perpetuated the stereotype. Thus, once she was admitted into the program, she had to negotiate the perceptions of her instructors.

### Opportunities and Limitations for Women in Athletic Training

One pioneer woman ATC had a very unique educational experience. She recalled,

I would say my educational experience was probably pretty unique, compared to other female athletic trainers. I came from a program that, uh, one of the first 10 certified female athletic trainers came out of our program. Uh, and that was back in like 1972 or something. And so our

head athletic trainer was one who was just always open to women in the profession. He recognized that there was going to be barriers, there was going to be roadblocks for us, no we probably wouldn't be in professional baseball in his lifetime. No, we wouldn't be on the NFL field. Uh, but at the same time, you know, he envisioned the opportunities for athletic trainers – female athletic trainers – as he envisioned that there would be greater opportunity for female athletes. I mean, I remember him talking about someday there would be a woman's professional basketball league. He said that the level of competition that was opened up with Title IX. He said it was going to expand the need not just for the athletic trainers in general, but for female athletic trainers. So, yeah, we came from a very unusual background because, uh, our head athletic trainer, you know, he started out as one [of the] founding fathers of NATA. And I don't think that there was a lot of other men, that he sat in on that very first NATA meeting with that would have had the same, same acceptance of women. And I'm sure that comes back to his upbringing and how he viewed women, just within his own personal life. Um, so, yeah, I think it was just an experience that probably wasn't available to a lot of female athletic trainers in other programs.

Overall the educational experiences of most American Indian/Native American, White/Caucasian and Hispanic and all Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs with their classmates and instructors were consistently positive. But, social structures of gender, race, and even class size and professional sports

opportunities mediated those experiences. In many cases for African American/Black women and pioneer women, experiences were perceived both positively and negatively. When women had female instructors; were perceived as “White or the model minority”; were older; or had small class sizes, their experiences were positive. But for Black/African American women, their experiences were negatively affected by race/ethnicity as most were the “only one” in their classes with little ethnic diversity in classmates or instructors. These women were less comfortable, but also expressed positive experiences.

#### Coaches’ Relationships with Female Athletic Trainers

Athletic trainers who work in sporting environments interact with coaches on a daily basis. The athletic trainer is responsible for evaluating, treating and rehabilitating athletes’ injuries and informing the coach of the athlete’s participation status. At its best, the relationship between coach and athletic trainer is one of mutual respect and cooperation. When the relationship is bad, it is often a power struggle fraught with disrespect and antagonism.

#### Culturally Diverse Settings Create Good or Professional Relationships with Coaches

Overall, the women ATCs described the relationships that they had with coaches as good or professional. However, when they did have problems, it was often because coaches disregarded or disrespected their decision making or did not want to deal with women. The following stories illustrate this. Koleta’s story:

Good. I had, I had, I had a very good um relationship with all of them [coaches].

Had a good rapport with them. Um, I never uh, you know my coaches were



always, 'Hey if you need some more help, later on with anything, just let us know. You know, if you need a recommendation later, just let us know.'

Toni (as a student):

Um, my relationship with my coaches, um, was good, pretty much in every sport that I worked with. It was pretty funny because, again, I had [good] relationships, um, with my coaches. A couple of my coaches with whom I worked, their daughters were my very close friends.

Sheila, a Black woman, went to graduate school in the Deep South. She was placed at a Black, economically depressed high school to provide athletic training services. Her experience illustrated the intersection of race and gender (as well as class). Her race was an advantage in bridging the cultural gap, however she was initially simultaneously oppressed by the sexism that existed within Black high schools; similarly to that found at Historical Black Colleges and Universities (given that race is not an issue and patriarchy exists in the African American structures) (Corbett & Johnson, 1993). However, once she had "proven herself," as women often have to do, she was welcomed into the fold and the older coaches began to treat Sheila like a daughter. Another explanation may be that Sheila accommodated to the subordinated gender and power structures. As such, she would not have been viewed as a threat, and began to be seen as a "daughter." Feminist scholars such as Lorber (1994) would probably argue that Sheila's role as a daughter figure or someone needing to be protected (Walk, 1995) served to maintain patriarchy and male hegemony. However, Sheila did not appear to be dismayed by the relationship within the context of the Black

community. Because Sheila was a graduate student at a dominant culture university, she may have welcomed the “daughter” role as a place of comfort.

Sheila recalled,

Um, as a graduate student, um, my coaches that I dealt with specifically at the high school, I think some of them were resistant, simply because I was a female and not so much because I was Black. Because, again, dealing with predominantly Black coaches, or all Black coaches at the high school, I think some of them were, initially, um, not sure about my ability to, um, to help them – to assist them, but that didn’t last for very long.

Um, because as soon as they realized that I was able to get their athletes better, faster, and keep them on the field or on the floor, um, they were sending kids to me right and left for things, whether it was something that was significant or something that was insignificant. So the relationship with the coaches at the high school level, when I was a graduate, in general, um, were pretty good. I think most of the coaches were older and a lot of times I think, um, you know, they treated me like I was their daughter or something. They were very protective once they got to know me and were aware of, um, you know, my skills.

And they found out that she would not threaten male gender patriarchal power relations and structures.

Shiho went to graduate school in a culturally diverse area of the country. The coaches that she interacted with had previous experiences with Asian Americans.

Therefore, she was working in an environment that was culturally inclusive of her

ethnicity. Her story is similar to Sheila's in that Shiho perceived that her Asian ethnicity and national origin did not disadvantage her, but her gender did. It may also be that it is now more acceptable to relate gender conflicts than racial/ethnic conflicts. She tells this story:

Coaches, ah, it, it was very good. Um, again the first straw was being in a really cultural diverse area of the country. So, um, as far as that part, ah, you know, being (particular Asian ethnic group), different ways, I never really felt that, um, the differences. Ah, people are treating me nice, not just being nice to the foreigners, but, just including me as a, you know, just Asians. You know the area I live was, there's a lot of Japanese, ah Asian Americans, Chinese American, all different sorts, so. Even though you looks like you are Japanese many people are Japanese American. So, um, it's not the first time I, they meet me, they don't sometime notice that I'm from different country. So, that was different from, very different from small college town, as an undergrad. And that, coaches I thinks, anywhere you some coaches are old school, you know, like ah, football rule the world, kind of coaches too. Um, nice, not that football coaches are not nice, but, they just, at a smaller sport who will be, who will appreciate any kind of support from medical staff. So, ah, I did get to work with some people who's demanding, and never be happy no matter how much we give, to, some people who appreciate, um, a little support we give. So, ah, you know, overall it's good relationship, course there's always good work days, bad work days, but. Yeah.

## **Hierarchical Power Relationships with Coaches: Decisions Affecting Athletes**

### **Injuries and Participation-“Feeling Totally Disrespected”**

**Megan’s experience with the football coach:**

I would say the majority of ’em was good, but the ones that were bad, were very bad. I in the fact that I would make a decision on whether or not a athlete could play um, based on the fact that he had stitches in his hand and the coach would come in and say ‘it’s not a broken bone, it’s not anything that has to do with his neck or his back, I want him to playing at practice this afternoon’. And then, like totally disrespectful to me in front of my student athletic trainers and other athletes.

**Megan’s experience with the wrestling coach was similar to that of the football coach.**

However, because she “stood up for herself,” she gained the respect of the wrestling coach. She stated,

Mm, I had a long discussion with the wrestling coach, um, pretty much wanted the same thing, I had an athlete that, it was the end of football season, he was a football player and he needed to go get his hand x-rayed and he’s like, ‘well, I’m not going to play another sport anyway’, I said ‘well, you’re not going to play anything until I get a doctor’s note’ And then he wants to go out for wrestling and I told the wrestling coach, ‘He needs to go get an X-ray, there’s something going on with his hand, it’s still swollen three weeks later, blah, blah, blah.’ He goes, ‘Well, is there anyway he can just suit-out and like stand in?’ Cause I guess in wrestling they wanted like points, you know if they have somebody for a weight

class and the other team doesn't then they get points. He's like, 'well can he just stand-in?' and I go 'no, he cannot do anything, that has to do with sports, until I get a doctor's note.' And so there was, we had an understanding, he respects me and the fact that I was standing up for the, the kid. But, none-the-less, he was trying to, like, get me to sway and I wouldn't, so.

### Feelings of Gender Oppression Relating to Coaches

Ann had problems with the baseball coach, but not with any other coaches.

She stated,

Um, as far as, again, with the baseball, um, it was, uh, I could kind of feel a little bit, um, intimidated by him. Um, he was, uh, he was tough, and he was, um, you didn't really want to hear from uh, you know, a 21 year old girl, about what to do with this equipment. It may not have been just girls, but it kind of, that's how I felt. Um, and I had two, um, male juniors that were working with me. And, um, it seemed like, he'd kind of would lean towards them a little bit more than me, even though I was in charge. Um, but, uh, he was – I could see him, but other than that, all the other coaches I dealt with were fine towards me.

Cheyenne worked in her hometown. Therefore, she was in a Native American community, working with community athletes and coaches. Like others (Sheila and Shiho) working in communities that were inclusive of their race/ethnicity, race became advantageous rather than oppressive. However, race was not always enough, because gender was still an oppressor. She recalled,

The coaches that I work think a lot of me. I've never really - I've never really had any sexual discrimination. I've had - a couple of times where I felt one or two cases you know, just were passing me off, you know, what I said, because I was a girl. And that was just one coach in particular. He, he's pretty old school. But the rest of them have never given me a problem. I think that the need was so great for a certified athletic trainer, by the time I started going into - and too I was a hometown girl, and I was around there, I pretty much melted right in with the rest of them. They got very, very comfortable with me. One particular coach tells me a joke every time I go to the school. Sometimes it's not really for my ears.

(laughter)

The experiences of women ATCs with coaches were mediated by race and gender. In several instances, the ATCs race/ethnicity was an advantage based on cultural compatibility and understanding. At the same time, gender relations, more specifically sexism, created a barrier that the women had to overcome in order to successfully do their jobs. Traditional gendered roles constrained relationships with male coaches. Because of their gender, women's competence was questioned (Walk, 1994). Thus women ATCs had to prove themselves, because women, unlike men, do not have ascribed power, only achieved power. This means that they often have disadvantages in making decisions concerning athletic injuries and participation of the athletes.

#### Female Athletic Trainers' Relationships with Athletes

Athletic trainers share a unique relationship with athletes, different from coaches. As a health care provider who spends many hours with their "patient," the athletic trainer

often becomes a confidant, advisor or counselor. However, the relationship does not occur in a vacuum. Every interaction is mediated by the social structures of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and other social locations. In this section, those relationships as experienced by women athletic trainers will be discussed.

#### Treating Everyone the Same: Professional Relationships with Athletes/Clients

Non-African American/Black Women ATCs frequently described their relationships with athletes as “professional,” “respectful,” or “treating everyone the same.” The need to act “professional”, and not be viewed as a flirt or someone trying to distract the athletes particularly when dealing with male athletes, was echoed in the comments by Student Athletic Trainers (SATs) (Walk, 1994). As Wendy indicated, “Uh, I’ve always had great relationships with my athletes. Uh, very one-on-one, very, uh, respectful, both ways. Me to them, them to me. So, always been very good.” Irene said, “Uh, in my particular experience, I probably had more of a friendly, professional relationship with the majority of athletes. Uh, I don’t think that I really associated with any of the athletes outside of the athletic training program or curriculum.” Megan elaborated,

Um, they were professional, I didn’t, ah, spend time like outside of the sport with them, um, oh, I felt like I was close, I did a case study on one of the volleyball players at um, the college, or you know, that was on the college team and so she um, like, was able to provide information for me, but I, was like, very professional, as far as I didn’t um, like I said, spend time outside of the sport with them. But I felt that I had a good relationship with them, like I felt that, if they had problems or you know anything was bothering them they could come to me.

Mary Jo explained,

And the guys that I dealt with, you know, trusted me, and looked toward me. And, you know, you always have your own clientele that come to you and do things. And that's the relationship that developed. You develop your own professional relationships dependent upon your professionalism in your job. And that's what happened.

### Women Athletic Trainers' Cultural Connections and Perceptions

When asked if relationships with athletes differed when the athlete was a different race/ethnicity or the same race/ethnicity, the response by Non-African Americans/Blacks was often "no" or that athletes were not treated differently. For example, Emily said, "I think um to me the athlete didn't – it didn't – it wouldn't matter what the race was. To me they were just an athlete, regardless of the race. Mary Jo elaborated,

But, you know what? In my experience, in all the time that I've spent in athletic training, I don't think that we ever treated anyone differently.

When you're at (east coast) University, you're in the heart of north (east coast city). And our athletes that we had from the city schools and whatever, those boys, and everybody, they were treated all the same – the kids. They would come and they were just athletes to you.

And everybody - and I learned that from my boss. And that's the trickle down. Everybody was treated as if you're an athlete. Period. Girl, boy, Black, White, green, purple. Everybody was accepted. If you needed help, you came. And we helped. That was our job. That if you needed help, you just say, 'Help,' and you got whatever you needed. And that



was the philosophy of everything that I ever learned at (east coast university). Treat them the way you want to be treated. And you got reciprocated.

Treating Athletes Professionally by Responding to Cultural Priorities and Medicine Men within Native Communities

Irene, a Hispanic woman, worked in an Indian school with Native American students from numerous Nations. She did not treat the athletes any differently because of their Nation status. However, she did have to learn to work with the different Medicine Men. She recalled,

You know, I don't think, uh, working in that high school setting, it was ever an issue, uh, because they were all of a different race and ethnicity, and different culture. Uh, as far as the differences among the Tribes, it wasn't an issue in my aspect of being an athletic trainer. Uh, what was different wasn't so much dealing with the students themselves, but with having to take into consideration dealing with, uh, the different Tribes' Medicine Men. That was probably the biggest first learning experience I got those first six months, was that there were times that I needed to discuss what was going on with the medicine men because they felt differently based on their spiritual belief that maybe that wasn't the case. So, I spent quite a deal of time, uh, hanging out with the Medicine Men, if you will, just to gain acceptance and confidence from them because they did have the ability to determine for kids and their families if medical care was truly needed.

Although Irene stated that she treated everyone the same, by interacting with the medicine men and learning the different Nations' spiritual and medical beliefs. In fact, she would have to treat the athletes differently. She would have to treat the athletes based on the recommendations from the Medicine Men, which could differ from Nation to Nation. By spending time with the Medicine Men, Irene showed an interest in becoming more involved in the community, and thus was able to gain acceptance. When all athletes are treated the same and cultural, ethnic, or religious differences are not considered, then athletic trainers are not providing holistic or culturally competent care. The assumption then is that the differences are insignificant (Burton, 1995). Therefore, standard treatment protocols should be expanded in order to become culturally inclusive, thus better meeting the needs of all athletes.

#### Connecting Culturally with Athletes

Because African Americans, other people of color, and White women often are rejected by White males in corporate and other settings, they sometimes tend to gravitate to one another just as White women do. But it is not to shut other people out; rather, it is to create a safe, let-our-hair-down space for commiserating and relaxing (Burton, 1995, pp. 19-20).

For the four African American/Black women ATCs who worked with African American athletes, they felt a connection to the athletes and/or their athletes felt a connection to them. For example, although Edith felt she treated all athletes the same, the African American/Black athletes sought her out. She stated, "...there were no

differences based on ethnicity. Although, some of the athletes do it. They tend to gravitate towards me.” She further explained,

On a professional level, no. It didn’t make a difference to me. Uh, I think – I don’t know how to say this – I think they thought of me, because they felt like sometimes they were getting shafted by the other trainers, they’d come to me and I would understand. And to me they were all athletes, so it didn’t make much difference.

Koleta, on the other hand, shared a sense of connection with athletes in an oppressive environment. She commented,

Um (long pause) I think, I think just dealing with African American athletes has definitely been an advantage to me, um being a student and being staff as well. I think, um, there’s kind of that unsaid bond that’s already there. It’s kind of like, ‘Hey, you know what I’m dealing with on a daily basis. You know the frustrations of being African American.’ Um and like, just different unsaid things. Um I think (west coast state) is very different in the fact that some people are bigoted and won’t say anything to your face. They’ll talk behind your back or they’ll make – you can feel it a lot more than necessarily hear or know it. I think that’s kind of the feeling on the west coast. I mean, I’ve had friends that have just told me, ‘Oh! You know it’s easier like in the south’. Because it’s like, it’s in your face. It’s like, ‘Hey I don’t like you because of the color of your skin.’ But here, it’s, it’s not like that. In (west coast state) really, it’s kind of like an underlying tone. Um I think it’s a bit easier to relate to athletes that are

of color, because I am of color and they feel that they can talk to me about different issues that they couldn't talk to somebody else about.

Toni also felt connected to her African American/Black athletes, but it took longer to establish relationships with athletes who were of a different race/ethnicity than she. She indicated,

Um, it just took a little longer for them [athletes not of her race/ethnicity] to open up and respect you and realize that you, um, were there as a student trainer. And it just took a little longer for them to open up and tell you things, and come to you. So I don't think the relationship was any different, it just took longer to establish.

Um, I think it was, in a way, like to my advantage sometimes, and also to my disadvantage, um, that I was African American in my clinical setting. Um, the athletes – it was weird because those were the people I socialized outside of the classroom with were the people who were in the same area, or went to the same parties. Um, so in a way, it made it easier. They felt like I was, um, um, like a familiar face. [With African American athletes] I think that it helped a lot [being African American], along the same lines. They felt I was someone they could come to and talk to....[about] Um, everything – family, what was going on socially, how to adapt in the classroom. Almost everything.

Sheila felt connected in a different way. She felt that she was a positive role model for her Black high school athletes. She explained,

I feel like, um, I know that at the high school that I worked at, it was a predominantly Black school, like I said before, in a relatively economically depressed, um, neighborhood, um, the relationships were very, very positive. Um, I think that experience probably, um, really for me, solidified that that's what I wanted to do because that was my first real opportunity to feel like I was making a difference, um, in regards to, um, student athletes. And then, I guess, in regards to, um, relationships, I think there also, I was able to, um, serve as a mentor more to high school students. Just in regards to life, things in general but um, you know, being able to see another Black person, um, in that type of an environment, um, I think was good for the high school students. Um, many times, I'd have conversations with students, um, you know, about career choices and things like that. I think that was positive, something positive. Um and I'd also have conversations about, during the course of, you know, rehab sessions, I'd have conversations about other things that may be going on in their lives. And even whether or not they were interested in pursuing, you know, higher education after college or even, or after high school... So I think I was able to influence them, you know, along those lines.

Sheila also became a counselor to the Black high school and collegiate athletes with whom she worked. She stated,

...I think that, oh I think at the collegiate level also, I think that I really wanted, um, to be a resource, to help the student athletes matriculate, um, particularly the Black students in the high school. I don't think I ever saw

anybody or treated anybody that wasn't Black, but, um, I guess I can differentiate better at the collegiate level. At the collegiate level, um, I really felt that some of the Black athletes, um, were exploited for their athleticism. In the course of interacting with them, I do think that I went out of my way more to talk to them about the bigger implications of, of – I never once said, 'Hey, you're being exploited you need to take advantage of this,' but I think I did try to get them to see that, you know, 'You're a scholarship athlete. You should take advantage of the opportunity to get a free education.' Um, so I think there were some differences, I think as a graduate, working with the collegiate students.

African American/Black women ATCs felt a connection to their African American athletes. American Indian/Native American, Asian/Pacific Island and Hispanic women ATCs rarely worked with athletes of their racial/ethnic group. However, when they did, they expressed a similar connection. White/Caucasian women ATCs routinely worked with athletes in their racial group. Although their relationships were predominately positive, they did not overtly express having a "cultural" connection with their athletes.

#### Ethnic Looking Versus Non-Ethnic Looking: The Advantages of Culture, Race/Ethnicity

When asked whether being a female of a particular race/ethnicity advantaged them in the classroom, clinical setting and/or career setting, the women ATCs responded differently based on race/ethnicity or their non-ethnic appearance. The majority of African American/Black, Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island, and Hispanic women ATCs felt that race/ethnicity advantaged them in education, career and community settings consistent with their own cultural diversity. The primary advantage they felt they

had was the ability to relate to or help athletes and/or parents who were of the same race/ethnicity as them. Toni explained,

I think I related a lot more to the athletes, than other staff trainers, and, um, culturally if it was things the staff athletic trainers didn't understand, why these things were going on. I don't know, a lot of small things. But culturally, staff athletic trainers didn't understand things that were going on, and I could understand where the athlete was coming from. Like the close relationship African American men have with their mothers. Or, whether it be someone from Jamaica who said that their leg hurt – actually, it was their foot. I think there was a lot of examples that were really small and were based on culture.

Rosa, who is half Mexican, used her ethnic heritage to help athletes feel more comfortable in the athletic training room. She said,

I think there are times when, um, being, um, that I'm partially, uh, half of me I guess is of a minority, um, ethnicity, I definitely take advantage of that in my relationship with the athletes. Not in any other way, not in advancing me career-wise really. Um, but in, um, my relationships with the athletes because, um, I feel like, especially with the minority athletes, that, um, who at times may be intimidated if they were working with only White people in the training room. That, um, you know, I make it very obvious that I'm proud, and I tell them what my ethnicity is and, you know, I-I it's hard to explain, but I just feel like, um, in hoping to relax the

relationship, maybe, and just kind of letting them know that, you know, 'Hey, I'm like you,' and that sort of thing.

Sheila indicated how her being Black may have facilitated better communications with Black parents, given these encounters occurred in the rural south, in an economically depressed neighborhood:

Um, at the high school level, I think being a Black female allowed me to, um, at this particular high school, allowed me to communicate with the parents, um, much easier. Because, um – at the collegiate level, I didn't have to deal with parents that much. But at the high school level, I was dealing with parents, you know, on a daily basis, probably. And I think it was much easier for me, um, being Black in that predominantly Black environment, to, um, to be able to communicate and feel comfortable, even, in some instances where I had to go into the homes of, um, some of the students. It was probably much more comfortable for me to do it as a Black person than for me to have to do that as a White person.

Ming Li, Gigi, and Alicia were able to help athletes because they spoke other languages in addition to English. Gigi and Alicia were both fluent in Spanish. However, Alicia indicated, "I get White like everybody else, so, I wasn't very obviously Hispanic looking. So I don't think they really could tell. Until they found out and got to know me, and then they knew I could speak Spanish." Ming Li, who speaks Chinese, stated,

...there was a couple of boys who came – just came just came either from mainland China or who were, you know, there was one boy who also came from Taiwan. And, uh, so I have helped them out in terms of



language-wise. I helped them out with that. So, that was the one advantage that I, you know, could think of.

Emily, Shiho and Tomiko used their Asian/Pacific Island heritage to their advantage by allowing racial and gender stereotypes about Asian women as exotic, quiet, or unassuming to progress unchallenged (Hossfeld, 1997). Emily said,

I've got that 'exotic look' I guess. Um, a lot – I don't look like the typical athletic trainer if you want to stereotype an athletic trainer.... Yeah, and it's you know, one of the questions you had asked about um how it worked to my advantage, how it either worked or didn't work to my advantage, I went back to my, to my uh school, my undergrad school, and I saw that there was a student there who was also (from the same Pacific Island) and she was a female. And um, I pulled her aside, and I said, 'look, everybody going to remember you. Um, I used my look to my advantage because nobody forgets a face. And the fact that there aren't that many (specific Pacific Island) females in this field, I use it to my advantage because everybody going to remember you and they're not going to forget a face'. So I actually pulled her aside and told her that.

Shiho, who is Asian national, talked about how she was able to make athletes comply with rehabilitation,

Um, ah, maybe, just the way the typical Asian people have or something, and people had a hard time to talk me back, or, some people feel kind of guilty to talk back to somebody who is quiet, looks quiet, or will act, like, quiet. So, ah, I, I didn't really notice, but some people said, 'Oh, it's so

hard to say no to Shiho.’ That kind of comment I heard that before, versus other students say ‘Ok, you have to do this ten times, do that, da, da, da, da’. And they kind of moan and complain, versus when I said something like that, um, they won’t, they won’t say anything. Or even I show some upset feelings they’ll be really stunned, like ‘Oh, she’s upset’, like, she doesn’t really show being upset, but now she is, and kind of that affect better, like, in a good way, but, um, people listen or people saw my mood changes, ah, more than other students. So, I’d say, ah, to me that was advantage.

Dawn, the only Native American/American Indian woman who felt advantaged, indicated that being a minority female and being Native American helped her career:

Uh, I don’t know that it advantaged me in the classroom, but it advantaged me getting – progressing in my career, I think. Because there were very few females in athletic training when I started, and especially very few minority females in athletic training. And when I applied for graduate school, there were only two schools in the United States that would accept women at that time. And I was accepted at both...

Dawn, as well as Consuelo, Jesslyna, and LaTasha, also recognized that their status as ethnic minority women assisted their institutions in fulfilling Affirmative Action/diversity goals. Dawn elaborated,

Uh, at first, probably, I don’t think it [race/ethnicity] did [have an advantage]. But after I had been there for a few years, I think the fact that I was Native American was one of the reasons why they never cut my

position. Because, um, one of the huge issues for all institutions of higher education in (western state) who have national accreditation, is diversity. So you want to maintain as much diversity amongst your faculty and your student population as you can. And so I think that has always been an advantage for me. Um, you know, I would say, from about the time I had been at that school for about five years, and I was there for 12 years, I would say probably from that point on, you know, that was one of the reasons why I, I, my position was never cut. They needed to be able to put Native American down on some report that they turned in somewhere.

Consuelo concurred,

I think it has [been an advantage] for quantification of statistics for the department. It's been an advantage because there's no one else of my race in either athletic or in physical education where I teach. So, they're quick to put down that little check. (laughter) You know, for that race when it comes time to count.

Consuelo indicated, however, that the institution, not she, was advantaged by her race.

Although the majority of women ATCs felt that they were advantaged by race/ethnicity, none of the Caucasian/White, or non-ethnic looking Native American/American Indian or Hispanic women ATCs perceived that race/ethnicity advantaged them in their athletic training experiences. Caucasian/White women may not have perceived a racial/ethnic advantage because when one is a part of the cultural norm, the normative status is a

privilege. It is a privilege because it is institutionalized such that when one is a member of a normative (or dominant) group one is taught not to see the privilege of group membership (McIntosh, 1995). Ann stated,

(pause) I never felt that I had an advantage over anybody else. Um, I kind of felt like I was in the, um, majority. We weren't, um, I definitely wasn't the smartest one in my class, um, and I wasn't failing my classes. I was kind of in the middle with everybody else. Um, and I don't feel that I had an advantage, really.

Sue felt like it was who you knew that advantaged you. She stated,

No. Uh, at that point, once I graduated from undergrad and got through graduate school, it was who you knew. Not what you looked like, you know, what you sounded like, what you wore, anything. It was just a matter of how smart were you and did you know the right people to get you where you wanted to go.

Barb indicated,

With my race, gosh, I really don't think that I got any special treatment. I had, um, there was really no advantages whatsoever (chuckles). It was, um, yeah, I didn't feel any different treatment that I would have received because I was a female. Or because I was Caucasian.

Barb continued by comparing her experience with those of her classmates.

Um, there were some African American students, but they didn't – there was no different treatment between them that I could see, and myself. So I wouldn't have thought that I was receiving a better treatment. Or

anything like that. No, I don't think so either. I guess I never really felt the race thing was even, even a problem, at all. (softly) Granted, I always felt as a female, stuff was a little bit more difficult than the race thing....No. I didn't really feel any advantage or disadvantage. I just really felt like I belonged, more or less. So I didn't really feel – neither way.

After being asked about any advantages that being a female of a particular race/ethnicity might have in the work place (as compared to the classroom or clinical setting), Barb acknowledged,

I might be naïve to the whole thing (laughter). I don't quite know, but...No, I don't really feel – like I said, I'm very observant of race issues. My family – my children are bi-racial, so [I am] very observant of signs and cues and whatnot. And I haven't noticed anything.

It is possible that Barb was not necessarily naïve, or that “who you know” provides advantages, but that, “...whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege” (McIntosh, 1995, p. 76).

For the Native American/American Indian women ATCs, a possible reason they indicated that they were not advantaged was because they did not “look” Native American/American Indian. Crystal explained,

I don't recall ever feeling that I had an advantage over anyone because of my race or ethnicity. My, um, minority is, um, I'm American Indian, but I'm a very small percentage of American Indian, ...so I don't, I don't

think that anyone, so most people don't know. You can't tell that by my name or by my physical appearance.

Wendy concurred,

Mmm, I don't think it ever really advantaged me or disadvantaged me.

Um, from looking at me, no one would even know I was American Indian.

I mean, I don't think it was ever was a plus or minus for me either way.

Cheyenne also did not feel her Native American ancestry advantaged her because of her light skin. However, she did acknowledge that if the "right people" found out, it would have disadvantaged her. She stated,

Sometimes I'm not so sure if it did or not. Um, I never really felt like I got a lot of extra treatment because I was a female and a Native American.

I think I was the only Native American in my class. And I'm so light-skinned that people didn't automatically know that I was Native

American. I was never shut out of anything because of my ethnicity.

People were pretty much – although, I've pretty much been able to stay in either circle. So it wasn't something that people obviously saw, they

looked at me, you know. They didn't see dark skin and long black hair. I had long hair, but I'm very, very light skinned, so they – would overhear

me, you know, making a reference to my ethnicity, and then they would know about it. But everybody usually was pretty cool with it.

Fortunately, they weren't very harsh, but, you know, if the right people would have found out, I might have gotten flack because of it.

Destiny said that she had not been advantaged by race or ethnicity, because she did not indicate that she was Native American when she applied for jobs:

You're talking race or ethnicity. That never advantaged or disadvantaged me. Mostly because that is something I did not – when I applied for the job, when I applied for all the jobs I applied for, I did not want that to be a known entity. I did not want, uh, them to know that I was Native American because I, I, uh, I did not want to have this advantage. I wanted to get it. . . on just my, my being me. I did not want that to be something that was used.

However, Destiny's stance changed once the NCAA began to chronicle ethnic minorities in member institutions:

Uh, now (pause), after – when the NCAA started keeping record of minorities and the employment of athletic departments that was the first time that I actually spelled out, you know, that, that I was countable Native American. And it's easy enough to get away with, actually, gets a little bit harder. Or not get away with – it's, um, a little bit more evident now than it was then. I think, as years go on, it becomes much more evident – about my background.

Irene believed that hard work, not ethnicity or gender is what creates an advantage. She went to an ethnically diverse school and had Hispanic and Native American athletic training professors. However, she also indicated that she did not look like someone of Hispanic decent. She stated,

You know, I don't think it was me being female or my ethnic background that was an advantage. Uh, I think if there was any advantages I was given, it was that, uh, I was hard-working, very studious, made very good grades, and probably above all, I was reliable and dependable. Uh, I don't think there was anything – because the university that I went to is a very strong ethnic mix to begin with. And the – our assistant athletic trainer was of an ethnic minority background. Uh, our female athletic trainer was of an ethnic background. So we were starting out pretty much on a level platform as far as race. And like I said, I don't think there was anything in there that gave me preferential treatment, being a woman. Uh, I think it really came back to 'could you tow the line in the classroom and in the course work?' .... Um, I think there were times that some of my peers, and colleagues, and fellow classmates were surprised by my ethnicity. Uh, only because I don't have the same facial and skin characteristics that you associate with someone of Hispanic decent in this country.

For those women ATCs (primarily African American/Black, Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island, Hispanic) who indicated that their race/ethnicity advantaged them it was related to a sense of shared cultural understanding with athletes of their racial/ethnic group, using stereotypes positively about their racial/ethnic group to control the environment, or for institutions' Affirmative Action accountability. Caucasian/White and non-ethnic looking (primarily Native American/American Indian and Hispanic) women ATCs did not feel advantaged by their race/ethnicity. They were more likely to believe that hard work, or "who



you know” was the factor that created the advantage. Without stating it literally, many of these women were using skin color and White privilege to avoid negative treatment in their educational and career experiences (McIntosh, 1995)

### **Sexual Harassment**

Sexual harassment is defined by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature.” (Velasquez, 1998). In this section, the nature of sexual harassment in the athletic training environment will be discussed.

#### **Female Athletic Trainers and Gender Power Relations: When “Boys Will Be Boys”**

When asked if they had been sexually harassed either in the classroom, clinical rotation or job, women ATCs who said yes were able to recall a specific incident that they considered to be harassing. The harassing “incident” usually involved touching, or a “threatening environment.” However, if the “incident” only involved a verbal exchange, verbalization by the “offender,” or the woman did not feel “threatened” then the “incident” was most likely not considered harassment; it was considered part and parcel of working in a male dominated sporting environment. Sexual harassment was not defined for the participants, because the researcher wanted to know what the participants considered to be harassment. The following stories illustrate the divergent notions about sexual harassment.

Mary Jo talked about how male athletes sexually harassed her by touching her inappropriately when she stated, “So some of the athletes – there was sexual harassment and things like that....They grab you, or they touch you, or they rub you, or things like that.” When asked if particular athletes were more likely to engage in this behavior,

Mary Jo said, "Sure. Football. The whole football team. [It was] pretty normal for them, (pause) at the time."

Rosa, experienced sexual harassment by a baseball player. She told this story:

One time. And that was – and, you know, it might have been more, depending on your personality, but there was really only one time that I was offended....Okay. It's when I was working baseball, and, um, it was my first year, and I'd worked with them for one whole semester, and a month into the second semester or so – month or two. We were at a game, and I was sitting on the bench, and their bags were underneath us all, on the bench. And one of the players who tended to be one of the big jokesters on the team, one of the guys that would say things that the other guys would go, 'Shut up!' You know, and, um, I was sitting there, and kind of watching the game, and not really paying attention to him. He comes over and he kind of knelt down like he was going to get something from under the bench. But instead of going around me, what he did was put one hand on each of my knees and open my legs. Yeah. And then I just jumped up and I just said, you know, 'What the hell are you doing?' And he said with a really big smile, 'What? I'm just tryin' to get my bag. It's underneath you.' I said, 'No.' I said, excuse me, but I said, 'Bullshit!' I said, 'That's not what you were doing.' You know, and I said, 'Don't ever do that again!' And, man, the guys were just like kind of in shock when he did it, and just by my reaction, they were proud of me and my

reaction. And it never happened again. Not even anything close, but, yeah, that definitely, I would say, was a sexual harassment situation.

Emily and Jesslyna sued their respective institutions. Emily did not indicate the legal charges, but her story was consistent with sexual harassment via a "hostile environment." She told this story,

Um, let's see. I actually, I, I don't know if you would say this at a clinical rotation but, after graduate school, I, I did an internship with a Division I football team. And um, I actually ended up suing the school, ended up suing the school for sexual harassment. So I don't know if that would count as any clinical um, as far as what your question.....I was, I was the only female actually, again, working with the football team. And football usually, I don't know how it is in most colleges, but with, I guess with the, the Division I schools they have their own separate locker room or field house that they use. So um, the way the, the building was set up, the middle of the building was the training room. And off of the training room to the left is the defensive locker room and off to, to the training room on the right is the offensive. And um, in the back of the training room are the showers. So if um, there basically, everything is - works around the main room, which is the training room. And um, I was in there one day after practice. And everybody cuts off their tape and they pretty much walk from their locker room across the training room and then into the back room and take a shower. So most of them come with towels wrapped around their waist. And um, one of the football players went to

cut off his tape and uh, his towel fell. And so, I just kind of turned my head, so I wouldn't have to look at (pause) his body. And um, all the other football players signaled to him saying, 'There's a girl in here, you know. Watch out.' So he said, 'Well...' then he started saying some profane words. And um, he said, 'She's not supposed to be in here any way.' And then, he kind of took his towel and swung it over his shoulder and kind of walked around and pranced around me without any clothes on. Just kind of trying to get my attention. Um, just to make, make it a point of saying you know, 'you're really not supposed to be in here.' But, in, in reality I was supposed to be in there, regardless. So. And then, oh, after that, I um, I had spoken with the coaches about the situation. And um, this situation just kept getting worse. He just kept on doing it more and more. And the coaches really didn't do anything about it. And then I ended up resigning, and um suing the school.

Jesslyna sued for sexual assault and that incident is still pending. Jesslyna explained, "I was sexually assaulted by a coach....Criminally they [the charges] were dropped. Civilly, it's still pending." Unfortunately, Jesslyna was involved in more than one incident. She said, "Um, uh (pause, hesitation) I guess, in layman's terms, you could say I was sexually molested. Uh, coming back home from a road trip, um, with football. And I was asleep when it happened." When discussing these incidents, Jesslyna became quite distraught. Therefore, to help make her comfortable, Jesslyna was given the opportunity to discuss with the researcher how she felt, without being audio taped, or

including the discussion in the final transcript or study. The off-tape discussion appeared to build trust, and allay Jesslyna's concerns about disclosure of this sensitive information.

At times, the sexual harassment was not described as personal contact, rather as an uncomfortable environment. Cheyenne described it this way,

There was one particular time when I went to a cross country meet for the guys' trainer. And, um, there again, you're the only girl on the van with a whole bunch of guys. And I felt really awkward because they didn't really care that I was on there – they were talking however they wanted to talk. Doing whatever they wanted to do. So I just kind of had to sit there and act like it wasn't going on.

As an athletic training student, Megan also experienced an uncomfortable environment. In her case, the offender was her clinical supervisor. The incident left her torn because other than the particular incident, she liked and respected her supervisor. Megan recalled,

Um, my clinical instructor was very inappropriate. You know those large orange cones? Ok, he told me that I need to get some Vaseline and go sit on one of those. Yeah, so I complained to my, um, my department head or you know the head of the program. And um, you know, he, he, I guess he said things like that before. And um, you know it's well documented and everything but, this guy seriously has like no social skills....He is a great athletic trainer though, and that's like, I wanted to stay at that site, and continue with my clinical and everything. And ah, because I learned so much from him, he's very organized, very just on top, he's the best

athletic trainer I've ever known, except for his rude and unnecessary comments. Huh, so I was sort of torn um, do I want to stay or do I want to go.

How can an athletic trainer be perceived as a "great" clinical supervisor and be responsible for the kind of harassment Megan encountered? It may be that "many times [athletic training] professional staff members or students fail to draw the line of respectability when engaged in jokes, stories, or conversations that may contain inappropriate language" (Velasquez, 1998, p. 173). Therefore, the behavior is excused. On the other hand, the clinical supervising ATC is in a position of power (hierarchical and gender), and controls the learning experience of athletic training students. Because students need the experience in order to become credentialed, they may be willing to accept harassing behaviors. In doing so, it may be necessary to redefine "a great professional" in order to justify remaining under the ATCs tutelage.

The majority of incidents of a sexual nature that occurred were verbal; they typically included inappropriate emotional and psychological abuse conditioned by dominant gender power relations. However, except for four specific incidents, these abusive incidences and experiences were not considered harassing behavior by women ATCs because women have been taught that these are often expected behaviors of men and boys. Likewise, men in power do little or nothing to correct these abuses against women. As in these cases, women were taught and they learned socially to excuse abusive and harassing behaviors by

males. For example, five women indicated that inappropriate comments were just “boys being boys.” Alicia commented,

I think (pause) not anything that I would be totally offended by. I mean, you know, football players – guys will be guys, and they make comments and things like that.... I mean nothing out of the ordinary that really upset me or anything like that, that I would consider sexual harassment. No. I mean, I was asked out, was told I had, you know, pretty legs or whatever it was – comments like that. But nothing that I would consider sexual harassment or was offended by.

LaTasha indicated that because the behavior did not threaten her or put her in danger it was not harassing. She offered,

Well, if you consider what happened on that first day when we went into football harassment, I guess you could say that that happened, but I just considered it as, you know, boys will be boys, and they were having a good old time and, you know, it’s not a big deal. I mean, it didn’t feel threatening. It didn’t feel – I didn’t feel like I was in danger. Um, they were just having a good old time. You know.

Ann summarized that since it was a man’s world she was working in, then she had to accept what happened. This further suggested how women are disempowered and disrespected in the athletic training environment. Women ATCs are oppressed through male hegemonic sport practices and are expected to just deal with this normative sexualized environment or leave. Male coaches and athletic training supervisors allow and perpetuate a hostile “male heterosexist culture.” Women ATCs even rationalize

away this abusive climate, with no expectations for positive social change. Women ATC's continue to describe it benignly and feel that they are the only ones who must change and adapt. For example, Ann explained,

There was a different relationship between the female athletes and myself and the male athletes and myself. Um (pause), although, (pause) probably not really. I, I, you know, I mean, kind of, kind of the same boys will be boys. I mean that was the, you know, um, that's how I accepted, like when I was doing baseball, when I was with all those guys, um, you know, the comments that were made, stuff like that. It was kind of like, I felt like I was in a man's world, so I just, kind of, you know, just took it in stride. I didn't really take offense to, you know, stuff they would do and stuff.

Destiny concluded,

I figured, if you're going to play with the boys, you gotta be like the guys, and you've got to overlook some things. And not tread upon their turf and try to make changes within them. You have to adapt to them. Their environment, more so than asking them to adapt to you.

Eight women ATCs felt that the inappropriate comments were "just comments" that you had to let it "roll off your back." Although Rosa experienced first hand inappropriate sexual touching, which she characterized as sexual harassment, she did not think that comments were harassment. She indicated,

I just let that kind of stuff, you know, roll off my back. I'm sure I've had plenty of coaches flirt with me. Um, plenty of them say things like, 'Oh, now she's getting married. I can't talk to her anymore.' You know, but



those things to me aren't sexual harassment because I just let them roll off my back. It's no big deal. I just smile and say, 'Yeah, too bad for you.' You know, just kind of go along with the joke. Um, so, honestly, no, I don't think since I've been in this position, that there's anything that has, um, offended me because I do very well in fending for myself, and popping right back at them (chuckles).

Barb agreed,

Uh, there were a couple of instances of sexual comments – lots of sexual comments, obviously. But a lot of that stuff you just know is part of the job, and you just kind of go on about your business. You don't really let too much of it sink in.

Toni also agreed,

Um, the athletes, definitely, they made comments, but I never felt like I was personally harassed. Um, I think some comments got inappropriate [sic] at times. But none were ever directed directly to me, so I never felt I was harassed, but I did feel like I overheard some things that were inappropriate.

Flirting or being asked for a date was not typically viewed as sexual harassment, or it was taken lightly. As a student Cheyenne felt that she had experienced an uncomfortable environment with the cross country team, and she did not like being called, "baby" by the football team. However, as a certified athletic trainer, being asked for a date was not taken seriously. "...A couple of doctors hit on me. (laughter) Some of the coaches asked me out, but that's about it (laughter)." The difference in attitude may

have been related to Cheyenne being an adult, interacting with peers, rather than being a student. Or maybe that she and others have been fully socialized in a patriarchal society which ignores the misbehavior of men in sport and society. Some women may even consider this behavior flirting, joking around or an inconvenience.

Koleta also did not consider “being hit on” harassment either:

Um, I think one of the differences is just that, you know being a woman, working with men, sometimes the guys are like, ‘Oh, hey’. You know, ‘that’s a cute woman’. Or you know - and you know it’s not say harassment, but that as a student sometimes maybe hit on you. Or they’d hit on me. And that’s not to say that (pause), you know if I told them to stop they would. You know, but I’m kind of a smart aleck, kind of person. So there would kind of be jokes going back and forth at times. Um but nothing where I was ever offended. Um I think, you know it was just, you know casual fun.

Emily considered flirting an inconvenience that she used to her advantage:

So, when they first see me, they’re um, I know I’ve worked a lot of [men’s basketball] tournaments when I’m, when I first walk in, the first thing they do is, they turn and look. Simply because I’m female. And um, immediately they’ll start coming on to you. And then when they find out I’m the athletic trainer, then I’ll hear lines like, ‘oh, well I’m about to get hurt.’ Or you know, things like that. Or, ‘my groin hurts.’ You know, things like that. And I learned after a while you hear the same lines all the time and you learn how to, kind of laugh it off and things like that. But it

just, it's one of those things, like I said, it becomes an inconvenience....But in a way, I kind of use it to my advantage, because, I know that they, they know who I am. Because, already I, I've caught their eye. So, in a way, I use that to my advantage, the fact that um – I know I'm able to catch someone's attention, so I - Like I said, I use that to my advantage, so that they don't forget who I am. Kind of like a marketing gimmick I guess.

Women ATCs tended to view sexual harassment as occurring when there was unwanted physical contact or a threatening environment. But, jokes, "inappropriate" comments, being asked for a date, comments about ones' appearance, and innuendo's directed towards them were seldom characterized as sexual harassing behaviors, even though these behaviors can be classified as hostile environment harassment. Allowing male athletes and coaches to harass women ATCs in the name of "fun" or "just making comments," or refer to women certified athletic trainers as "cute" or "babe," or engage in sexual innuendo, to continue, perpetuates male hegemony in sport. The women ATCs became typecast and objectified, serving to maintain notions of masculinity in sport. It also served to oppress women by sexualizing them and controlling their behavior. Therefore, what should be done? As Cheyenne asked, "Do you show women favoritism? You know, do you cover up? [male athletes wearing clothes in the training room] Do you change things just because a woman's on the field?" Her questions were apropos as she asked about the structure of men's sport and its response to the presence of women ATCs. Cheyenne's conclusion was that "apparently nobody else cared that we were on the field."

## Sexuality

Sport remains a social structure where masculinities and femininities are constructed and contested. Women participating in sport have often had to prove their femininity and heterosexuality or have their sexuality questioned. Athletic training, as part and parcel of the sporting environment is no different. When women entered the male dominated profession of athletic training their presence was threatening and a cause for concern (O'Shea, 1980). As such, some women athletic trainers, like their female coaching and athlete counterparts, have had to contend with their sexuality being questioned.

### The Question of Femininity and Sexual Orientation

Pioneer women in athletic training “femmed up,” denied the existence of homophobia in athletic training, and were intimidated into silence by the lesbian label (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997). A few women ATCs in this study also “femmed up” or felt it necessary to prove their heterosexuality. However, the participants were more likely to have their sexuality questioned, or have to deal with the assumption that they were lesbian.

“Femming up” consists of dressing and/or acting more feminine in order to appear straight, regardless of sexuality. Toni explained why she “femmed up” and what she did to look feminine:

The staff/athletes – I think the first thing that they see when they see a female trainer, they try to determine whether they're homosexual or not. And they look and see if your hair's short or – I mean I think that they perceive that if you're working with sports all day, that you're a 'tom

boy,' or gay. It [sexuality] wasn't questioned, but I think I felt, um, that I had to go out of my way to – I think most of the time people see female athletic trainers, they automatically assume that they're, um, lesbians. And I think I felt, when I, when I first came I had short hair, and I had to grow out my hair, and I felt like I had to paint my nails, and I felt like I had to go out of my way to make sure that I looked feminine.

One woman did not “fem up.” She felt that her heterosexuality was obvious. Nonetheless, when changing schools or jobs, she did feel it necessary to “prove” her sexuality. She indicated,

Um, I don't think it has, um, been questioned at all. I think it's pretty obvious, even though I wear a collared shirt and some ugly khaki shorts I'd never wear in public (chuckles) and tennis shoes and socks to work, you know, and what you call a sports watch that I only wear to work, um, even then I think it's pretty obvious that I'm very feminine. And it's pretty obvious as to what my sexual orientation is. Um, and, uh, no, don't think I – I have never, you know, had a situation where someone's asked me if I'm one way or another, or have assumed or anything.... So I don't think it's ever, uh, been questioned that way. I do, I'd say, you know, that each time I came into a new area, like a new – went from undergrad ...to, uh, grad school where no one knows who you are and what you are, and then the (institution), too, and here, I think being a female athletic trainer, that I have felt always, not, I think, because of anybody else, but I've always really wanted to kind of prove right away what I am.

Why would anyone have to prove “what I am” if we did not live in a heterosexist culture where masculinity is intimately connected with sports and physicality, and femininity is always challenged or contested?

LaTasha recalled an early experience with issues surrounding sexuality. She stated,

When we drove up to my dorm as a freshman , a new freshman, and [I] got out of the car at (name of residence hall) Hall, hanging from the sixth floor, several windows, there was a sign, ‘Welcome to X University, where the men are men, and the women are, too.’

The signage expressed an assumption about women’s sexuality that was also echoed with regard to women who participated in sport, including athletic training. LaTasha was unaware that such assumptions existed until college. She explained,

When I went to college, that’s when I really became aware of the impact that, or the connotation that one’s sexual orientation, or one’s activities had on sexual orientation and vice versa. And I felt – people were always surprised to find out that I was a PE major. And (pause) I found out – as you get to know people a little bit, it wasn’t far into the conversation, but you would find out that, um, ‘Oh, you’re a PE major? Well, you don’t look like one?’ I said, ‘What does one look like?’ ‘Well, you have a bow in your hair, and, you know, and you have. . . You know, I didn’t wear a lot of makeup, but I had mascara on and that kind of stuff, and I was like ‘What?!’ So it was, it was a hurdle to get over, but it wasn’t major to me.

Because of marital status, Emily and Koleta likewise dealt with assumptions concerning their sexuality. Emily described her situation:

Um actually, I guess because of my age and the fact – in, in a my marital status, just the fact I'm almost thirty and I'm not getting married or I'm not dating, a lot of people tend to question that. Also, because um, uh, my in my work place, um all the women...were lesbians. So I think the fact that I was also single, tended to have other people question, just, just because of the fact, of the fact that everybody who was working there were lesbians. So in that fact, that would be the reason why they questioned.

Koleta, similarly, had the following to say,

Um, I think it's been questioned by athletes a lot. I think that, they think that because I'm a woman working in athletics and I wasn't married, I didn't have a boyfriend at any time, that they felt like, 'Oh yeah, she's a lesbian'. You know, just for the simple fact that I didn't have a boyfriend.... I think that was it. I don't think any of my staff, the staff that I had worked with ever questioned anything. But the athletes have kind of joked around and um, you know, you know – maybe some coaches that I knew were – And they thought, 'Oh well, you know, I think that coach is, and she gives her a hug, so she must be too'. Where women just can't be friends.

Sheila found out that her colleagues took bets on women's sexual orientation. She told this story:

After I had been hired and was working there for two or three years, um, I was in a conversation with someone that was, um, that was part of the, um, search for when they were hiring – myself and, at the time they hired four other women into the department, um, the other three of them were White. There were five of us that got hired that were women that particular year. And, uh, in the course of this conversation, you know, like I said, a few years after I was hired, um, it was with the male, it came out that, um, there were a number of people, both men and women, that actually were taking bets on how many of the five of us were lesbian, and how many weren't.

Crystal did not have her sexuality questioned; however, she was questioned about others women's status: "Um, I know there was discussion, um, with athletes asking, um, about people's sexual orientation. There was definitely discussion about, you know, about that, and questioning of me in regards to other people's sexual orientation."

Women ATCs, just like other women in sport, are still faced with the question of sexual orientation. However, only one woman indicated that she may have been discriminated against because of assumed sexual orientation. She stated,

...There was a female basketball player. Um, my sexual orientation, I'm definitely heterosexual, but there was – some questions were raised because there was a female basketball player that um, had gotten very close to me personally. Um, and I think when it was time for me to bring



those, um, the issues about getting a pay raise and, you know, things like that, if I was going to stay there, I think um some people tried to bring that in and tried to say that, that I was a lesbian or was gay or something. But that was so far off base that I've never really considered that to be, um, harassment based on sexual orientation, but I suppose it could be considered that way. Even though, I don't know.

Sexuality and the lesbian label impact the lives of women athletic trainers whether they are straight, lesbian, or bisexual and whether they admit or recognize the impact. That athletic trainers work in a heterosexist sporting environment and society means that without change, their sexuality will continue to be called into question.

### What It Means to Be a Woman Athletic Trainer

The meanings ascribed to being a woman athletic trainer are outlined in the stories below.

#### A Good Role Model

Many women ATCs interviewed in this study indicated that they were or wanted a) to be a good role model (Alicia, Ann, Cheyenne, Dawn, Gigi, Koleta, Mary Jo, Sheila, Shiho), b) to have a positive impact on the students with whom they worked (Barb, Crystal, Edith, Jesslyna, Ming Li), c) to be mentors (Consuelo, Irene, Sheila), or d) to give guidance to students (Tomiko, Wendy). These women ATCs thought it was important to give back to student athletic trainers, particularly women students.

Consuelo, Irene, Sheila, Women of Color, specifically wanted to mentor “minorities,” “Mexican women,” and “ethnically diverse women,” respectively.

Consuelo said,

Um, I think, especially in the last couple of years, that I’ve become more of a mentor to the student trainers than in the past. That they’re looking more to the profession and what’s needed in the understanding, the lack of minorities, and how to deal with any situations if they should have any racial situations.

Irene indicated,

I think the impact that I’ve had on the profession is that I’ve put myself out there as an independent, uh, female with a solid career, uh, that impresses other high school age female AND male one, to look at athletic training as a possible career choice. And, two, particularly in the environment I am now, which is working with a great deal of, uh, Mexicans – first-generation Americans here – that, yes, you, too, as a Hispanic woman can go to college, and you can get a career. You can be independent and self-sufficient.

Sheila stated,

Um, outside of that, I think my impact is – doesn’t affect, um, the profession globally, but it impacts the profession in that I think I’m a good role model and a good spokesperson for, um, athletic training, um to the populations that I’ve worked with. – I guess I did have a kind of an

impact. In talking with, um – serving as a mentor with ethnically diverse women.

### The Meaning of Being a “Woman” Certified Athletic Trainer

Being a woman certified athletic trainer is not unique or the same as for pioneer women, said a few women in this study. They felt that because women have become approximately fifty percent of the NATA membership, there is no distinction in being a woman certified athletic trainer.

Consuelo:

Well, unfortunately, honestly, it doesn't mean as much as it did, you know, 20 years ago, when there were pioneers in the field, and when, you know, there were the first women athletic trainers. Now, it seems to me that just in seeing the last five years of student athletic trainers coming through the different programs where I've been, the majority of them are female.

Rosa believed that not being unique was actually a sign of progress:

So I think we're – I mean, we're already starting to see the, um, numbers start to equal male and female in NATA. And I have a hard time believing that the females aren't going to overtake the males in athletic training pretty soon. So, you know, what does it mean? I don't think it means as much as it did before. I think all it means now is that it's been accepted, um, in society, in sport, in athletics, that, um, the females are here and they're here to stay. So I guess when I say it doesn't mean much, I probably shouldn't say that. I think the fact that you don't feel like you

stand out as a female is actually a good thing because it means that we're there. You know, we're there, in the profession. I think that, today, since the membership has gotten almost 50-50, it's not as, um, what's the word – unique, I guess, to be a female certified trainer than it used to be. But, um, I think it shows that, uh, it can be done by women as well as men. It's not just a men's profession.

Dawn agreed with Consuelo and Rosa, but for different reasons:

Uh, (pause) part of me wants to say it doesn't mean as much as it did 25 years ago, in that, you know, probably not a very nice thing to say, but uh, I think that when I became certified, I felt so special because there were so few of us. And, one of the things that I've always looked forward to was getting my 25 year pin. Because every convention I went to, um, as a young woman, you know, they would recognize people for 25 years of membership. And of course, it was always men, and they would read each man's name and he would walk up and get his pin. And I was waiting, and waiting, and waiting for that experience. And that was one of the things I thought, 'Oh, man, I'm never going to be able to be in this profession for 25 years.' And when I got my 25 year pin, I got a certificate in the mail, and my pin in the mail, and a letter saying congratulations (laughter). And nobody read my name and I didn't get to walk up in front of everybody and get my pin (laughter), because by the time I've been in there for 25 years, there were a lot of people that have been in there for 25 years, so it wasn't as special. It didn't seem as

special. Twenty-five years for me didn't seem as special as when I was a young woman and somebody was recognized for 25 years. So for a woman now, I think it's just not as special. I don't know. You know, it's not – you're not a pioneer, you know. You're in a profession that lots and lots of other women are in now. And that's great. You know. That's wonderful.

The pioneers indicated that today (1990) women are no longer seen as athletic trainers for women, rather as women athletic trainers (Anderson, 1992). Several women (Barb, Irene, Sheila, Sue, Tomiko) in this study expressed similarly, that being a woman certified athletic trainer was a privilege or something in which to be proud. Barb, "Um (pause), I'm proud that I'm a female ATC right now. Um, I guess I don't see it as, um – I don't know, I see it as an accepted profession." Sue believed that being a woman ATC was special because of women's skills as nurturers. She said,

Um, I'm proud of it. Um, I do feel like I have to work a little bit harder.

Um, I feel like just our ability as women to be a little bit more empathetic and sympathetic – read people better, maybe, overall. You know, as caregivers.

Irene exclaimed that being a female ATC provides her a foundation on which to grow.

But, um, as far as women in athletic training, I'm very proud to stand up and say, 'Hey! I'm a female athletic trainer.' Uh, I was a female athletic trainer before I was ever a physical therapist. That will be my core. That will be the education from which everything springs forth. Um, it has made me – it has given me a tremendous sense of self-reliance, uh, that I

probably wouldn't have gained in just any other profession, including physical therapy. Uh, because it sets forth a woman out there on her own with the ability to make decisions.

Sheila was the only woman to emphasize her race when discussing what it means to be a woman certified athletic trainer. For her, the meaning of being an athletic trainer was related to her social location at the intersection of race, gender, and sexuality:

Well, I think, um, you know, being a Black female athletic trainer today, um, really means that you are representing in a number of different ways. You're first of all representing as just an athletic trainer in that, even today, a lot of people – I wouldn't say on a daily basis, but on a very regular, probably weekly basis, um, I have to deal with someone who doesn't know what an athletic trainer is or what an athletic trainer does. And so you have to continually teach the public about that. Um, and then add to that, um, that you're a female, um, and less of than before, but what is still a predominantly male dominated arena, um, or having to be heterosexual in an environment in which a lot of the public think that women that are involved with athletics are, uh, lesbians or gay. Um, and then add being Black and American to all of that, um, it, I mean it sounds like a much more difficult position than what it really is. Um, but there are all those issues you have to deal with, um, kind of have to do them. So, to me, it means that I'm representing three completely different factions, and all those different social implications that means surrounding

those and trying to keep positive role models, taking all three of those things into considerations.

Two women, Ming Li and Ann, have moved toward a more utopian perception of women in athletic training. They believed that they are athletic trainers, not women athletic trainers. Ming Li explained,

Ah, um, I guess you'd say is same as any other job. Um, but I'm hoping that I can, (short pause), I, I believe I'm doing my job, not as a female, as a person, as a athletic trainer, and that being a female shouldn't matter. So, I'm hoping more and more people believe that way, not like, 'I'm female and I'm working in the male dominated athletic field and doing great job, I'm proud of myself'. Not that kind of percep, those kind of perceptions should not be here, like we should be just, you know, male, female, just happen to be male or female, but, we should be in our profession as a person, and, um, it may be not a realistic, but, really, gender or being female shouldn't be the factor what you do, or the way you do it.

Ann concurred,

I don't - that I so much look at myself so much as a woman athletic trainer. Obviously, I am, but, um, I've always thought of myself as just a certified athletic trainer....Um, and just being a certified athletic trainer itself, um, is very important, you know, for us, to provide care for the athletes, um, and to take the pressure off of coaches to have to make decisions like that.

Women ATCs attributed different meanings to being a “woman certified athletic trainer.” For some, it meant that women have arrived because they have approached equal percentage in the profession. For others it meant being proud. For one pioneer it meant that the special moment of accepting the twenty-five year pin in front of her peers would not happen. Lastly, for one Black woman, it meant that she had to recognize the social implications of what it meant to be an athletic trainer who is Black and female. That is to say that race, gender, and sexuality intersect and are part and parcel of this woman being an athletic trainer. She recognized that the axis situated her in the social structure of the profession of athletic training and society. For her it meant that she had a social obligation to be a role model who positively represented her particular social location.

### Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to tell the emerging stories of diverse women ATCs. In doing so, the intent was to give voice by providing numerous vignettes that illustrated the athletic training lives of these women. Their stories included both positive and negative events. They told about the barriers they experienced, their contradictions in resisting and maintaining male hegemony in sport and athletic training. Likewise, they spoke about their successes.

Although the experiences of diverse women ATCs were gendered, those experiences were imbedded in and influenced by race/ethnicity, sexuality, and age (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997). The women were both disempowered and advantaged simultaneously. For example, most African American/Black women ATCs perceived that they were advantaged by race/ethnicity when working with athletes and coaches of



their culture. Because of patriarchy in the African American community, these women were also oppressed by gender, although none of them recognized it. However, two African American/Black recognized the simultaneity of being disadvantaged by race/ethnicity in the classroom. These women expressed a sense of isolation from and felt unsupported by classmates and instructors. Yet, another African American/Black woman felt advantaged in the classroom because of her physicality and age.

Most Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs, like the African American/Black women, felt advantaged by race/ethnicity, but for different reasons. They were able to take advantage of the perceived stereotypes of Asian/Pacific Islander women. By not challenging the stereotypes, these women benefited in the classroom and the clinical environment. They were able to establish positive relationships with classmates, instructors and athletes. However, two Asian/Pacific Island women experienced gender oppression in the form of sexual abuse and harassment at the hands of male coaches and athletes. Their oppression may have been due to both gender and race/ethnicity as the men may have acted on the stereotype of Asian/Pacific Island women as being submissive and quiet (thus would remain silent about the harassment) and their hierarchical and physical power as men. However, this was not the case, as both women took legal actions against the perpetrators.

Most Caucasian/White women ATCs felt disadvantaged by gender, and neither advantaged nor disadvantaged by race/ethnicity. These women were oppressed by male coaches who disregarded their decision making, and by male athletes and supervising athletic trainers who sexually harassed them. Although not acknowledged or recognized, these women were simultaneously advantaged by race/ethnicity. Like other women

ATCs who worked with athletes of their own cultural group, some women developed positive relationships. Likewise, by receiving their athletic training education in dominant culture institutions with instructors of the same race/ethnicity, Caucasian/White women were able to establish “close knit groups” with classmates when others were not.

Two Hispanic women ATCs perceived advantages due to culture. They spoke fluent Spanish and were able to assist the few Spanish speaking athletes they encountered. However, many Hispanic women, like most Native American/American Indian women did not perceive they were advantaged by race/ethnicity because they did not “look ethnic.” Nonetheless, these women were advantaged by skin color privileges, as they were less likely to encounter negative racialized treatment in their educational and career experiences.

Women ATCs were similarly situated with regard to the questioning of their sexuality and the impact of the lesbian label. Regardless of race/ethnicity or sexual orientation several women ATCs were either questioned about their or someone else’s sexuality, or impacted by the lesbian label. In response, some women ATC’s felt the need to “fem up” or explicitly express their heterosexuality.

The meaning of being a woman certified athletic trainer was varied for the women in this study. All most all of the women wanted to be a “good role model,” a mentor or have a positive effect on students, regardless of race/ethnicity. However, three Women of Color specifically wanted to mentor other Women of Color.

By “breaking the silence” it was learned that the experiences of women ATCs were not universal; that there is not a monolithic “woman athletic trainer” or an essentialized woman’s experience in athletic training. Women athletic trainers are

**multifaceted and unique, whose experiences are mediated by the intersection of race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and other social locations.**

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations**

Contained in this chapter is a discussion of the results based on triangulation of the survey data, interview data, and the literature. The purpose of this chapter is to synthesize and discuss the quantitative results derived from hypothesis testing, the qualitative results, and the literature. In doing so, it was the intent of the researcher to answer the research questions by probing deeper to gain insight into the perceived meanings of the findings relative to the participants viewpoints and social realities. Conclusions were drawn based on triangulation and recommendations and suggestions were made for athletic training professional educators, for the National Athletic Trainers' Association, and for future research.

Finally, the research questions stated in Chapter I will be addressed using data from the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study and related literature.

#### **Perceptions of Educational Experiences**

Results showed that there was no significant difference in women ATCs' perception of their athletic training educational experiences. More specifically, 89% of Asian/Pacific Island and Hispanic women, 100 % of Black, non-Hispanic women and 91% of White, non-Hispanic women ATCs agreed or strongly agreed that their athletic training classroom experiences were comparable to the males in their classes. Further, 82% of Asian/Pacific Island women, 90 % of Black, non-Hispanic women, 84% of Hispanic women and 86% of White, non-Hispanic women ATCs agreed or strongly agreed that their athletic training classroom experiences were comparable to the other females in their classes.

Since the majority of women ATCs interviewed stated that they formed “close knit” relationships with their classmates, this supports the quantitative findings. Most of the women’s classroom experiences were viewed as positive, and they felt they were “treated the same” as everyone else in the class. This perspective may have been due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of women who participated in the study obtained their athletic training education after the implementation of Title IX. Therefore, athletic training education programs were integrated and program directors may have been supportive of the need for more women athletic trainers in the field. Furthermore, in 1983, the first Competencies in Athletic Training were published (Ebel, 1999) and curriculum programs had to adhere to the guidelines in order to maintain accreditation.

However, there were other mediating factors which contributed to a positive experience and some which had a negative impact for women ATCs. For example, all of the Asian/Pacific Island women ATC had positive experiences in the classroom or with instructors. Some indicated that the stereotype of Asians as studious may have been an advantage in the classroom. Their experiences of being stereotyped as the “model minority” is consistent with the literature (Takaki, 1995). However, when Asian women used the stereotypes to their advantage, the effect may only be short term (Hossfeld, 1997). Overall the effect may continue to render Asian women invisible, unable to gain long term equality (Hossfeld, 1997). Although it did not appear to occur with the participants in this study, if professors were less critical of their work or excused their mistakes, it would diminish the quality of their education (Tatum, 1997).

Although Black, non-Hispanic women agreed or strongly agreed that their classroom experiences were comparable to their male and female counterparts (100% and

90% respectively), two women of African heritage (one African American and one identifying only as a Black woman) who were interviewed did not support this finding. Toni was marginalized in the classroom. She repeatedly and emphatically stated that she felt that she had to prove herself to classmates and instructors alike. Sheila spoke about how she was alienated and did not socialize with her classmates (she was the only Black student in class). Likewise, she repeatedly mentioned how she was not supported by instructors. She felt isolated and thus sought comfort by socializing with other Black students. This is the experience of many African American students on majority campuses and it is not surprising that isolation was felt by students of color in athletic training.

The majority of professors in athletic training are White and male (NATA, 1997), and African American women are less likely to see other African American women in student roles and academic and administrative positions, particularly at predominately White universities (Carroll, 1982). Therefore, students look toward each other for support and role models (Carroll, 1982). Thus, African American/Black women found a “safe space” (Alfred, 2001) in which to survive by socializing with culturally similar students. Safe spaces serve “as a prime location for the Black woman to resist objectification as the Other (Ward, 1995, p. 153). For Black women, safe spaces can be “...places or people in the Black community where their objectification as the Other was minimized” (Alfred, 2001, p. 6).

So, what did it mean to be an athletic training student? To most it meant being a part of a “tight knit group”. I meant having classes with people that could be called friends and with whom to socialize. Statistically, the perceptions of diverse women

ATCs concerning their educational experiences did not differ. The women perceived they had a good educational experience which prepared them for a career. However, when probing deeper, it was learned that the social experiences in the classroom and clinical rotation were differentiated by race/ethnicity. All of the women may have become certified after completing their education, however, the pathways through the classroom and clinical rotations were different.

### Issues of Hierarchical Power for Women Athletic Trainers

Athletic trainers typically work under the supervision of physicians. The relationship is generally hierarchical, with the ATCs subordinate to the physician. On the other hand, some ATCs typically have peer relationships with coaches, neither reporting to the other in an organizational chart. However, some coaches act as if ATCs reported to them or worked for them.

Women ATCs differed significantly on their perception of structural power. However, a post hoc test did not detect which group of women ATCs differed from the other. Sixty percent or more of women ATCs in each racial/ethnic group agreed or strongly agreed that if their decisions regarding athlete/patient care were challenged, they were adequately prepared to handle it. When challenged, it was most likely due to men coaches' disregard or disrespect for women ATCs. Several women told stories about how their gender was a barrier to the relationship that they had with certain male coaches. Each woman worked with male coaches of the same or similar race/ethnicity; therefore they may have been privileged by race/ethnicity, but not by gender. Similarly, other women were challenged by male coaches because of their gender. Although the race/ethnicity of the coaches that they worked with was not indicated, if the men were

White (like the women), then they too would have been privileged by race/ethnicity and disempowered by gender.

Women ATCs may have been challenged by men coaches because, when women athletic trainers work with men coaches of male sports, they enter a masculinized arena. Like other women athletic trainers, the respect is not automatically granted as it is with the men (Rochman, 1998). As Nelson (1994) asserts, a women's mere presence challenges the male bonding process. Because the athletic trainer should have the authority to determine when an athlete can return to play, this presents a challenge and threat (Holman, 1995) to male authority. One of the reasons it is a problem is because "male coaches...often seemed unable [or unwilling] to recognize female authority in the male sport realm" (Staurowsky, 1990). Like a female reporter walking into a male locker room, the female athletic trainer has a voice which must be squelched (Nelson, 1994). In order to render her to an inferior role, she must become the "Other" (Nelson, 1994). In becoming the "Other," women ATCs, like women reporters, are often sexualized by male athletes (and coaches), "...asking for dates, showing her their penises, commenting on her physical attractiveness-all of which they do" (Nelson, 1994, p. 230). These situations point out the obvious gender and sexual oppression experienced by some women ATCs.

#### Educational Preparation to Deal with Issues of Power

Women ATCs indicated that they were prepared to deal with challenges to their decisions, but how were they prepared? To determine how women ATCs learned to negotiate these power relationships, they were asked, "To what extent did your education



prepare you to deal with the ATC/coach relationship and the ATC/physician relationship?”

Only one woman indicated that she learned how to handle ATC/coach relationships in a didactic environment. All of the other women ATCs interviewed indicated that they learned appropriate ATC/coach and ATC/physician relations experientially, or observationally. That is, they either learned directly from working with coaches and physicians. Or, they learned from watching their supervising ATC (or graduate assistant athletic trainer) interact with the coaches and physicians. Very few women ATCs as students had the opportunity to work directly with physicians. In the absence of a curriculum that teaches athletic training students and future ATCs how to deal with hierarchical power, it also becomes apparent that few women learned from coaches and males within athletic training.

#### **Educational Preparation to Deal with Sociocultural Issues**

Overall, women ATCs did not feel their athletic training education program adequately prepared them in sociocultural issues (e.g., race and sexuality). Greater than 53% of each ethnic group disagreed or strongly disagreed that they were adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different religious beliefs. Similarly, 52% of Black, non-Hispanic women and 61% of Hispanic women did not feel adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different cultural beliefs. Whereas, 49% of White, non-Hispanic women and 42% of Asian/Pacific Island women did not feel prepared. Furthermore, women ATCs were asked during the interview, “To what extent did your education prepare you to deal with (a) an athlete “coming out” to you, wanting to discuss issues of sexual orientation, (b) an athlete telling you they have been/are being

sexually or racially harassed?” The overwhelming majority of women said that their athletic training education did not prepare them for these situations, and as an example, Rosa felt minimally prepared. Only Jesslyna felt prepared in all situations, but did not indicate how she came to be prepared. LaTasha and Sheila indicated that their Resident Assistant training prepared them in sexual orientation and sexual harassment issues respectively. Sue learned about sexual orientation through psychology courses and sexual harassment through in-service training. Shiho attended a seminar/workshop on sexual harassment.

The fact that these women did not feel prepared to deal with sociocultural issues was not surprising. The role delineation for athletic trainers and the educational competencies that these women would have been educated by did not include social science issues other than some psychology. Therefore, when they encountered situations that involved sociocultural power issues, they had to rely on what they may have learned in other classes, their own experiences, or intuition.

#### Racialized Interactions with Athletes

The majority of women ATCs expressed agreement that they were adequately prepared to treat male (82% Asian/Pacific Island, 95 % Black, non-Hispanic, 92% Hispanic, and 93% White, non-Hispanic) and female (89% Asian/Pacific Island, 84 % Black, non-Hispanic, 95% Hispanic, and 90% White, non-Hispanic) athletes. However, the women ATCs differed on their perception and the importance of race/ethnicity when treating their athletes. When women ATCs were interviewed, the difference in perception was primarily between African American/Black women and all other women.

The African American/Black women ATCs who worked with African American athletes perceived race to be salient in the interactions that transpired between them and the athletes. To most African American/Black women, working with African American athletes meant working with someone whom they were culturally connected. For example, Koleta indicated that she bonded with African American athletes and that her athletes felt she understood their circumstance. Similarly, Toni felt a special connection to her African American athletes. She also stated that because she was African American, her non-African American athletes took longer to accept her. For Sheila, being a role model for her Black athletes was important. Because she was in a Black, economically depressed high school, Sheila thought it was very important to make a positive difference in the lives of her athletes.

Conversely, for the majority of Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island, American Indian/Native American, Hispanic and Caucasian/White women ATCs, race was not observed to be salient in the relationships that they developed with their athletes, or how they treated their athletes. To these women ATCs working with athletes meant that they “treated all athletes the same” regardless of race/ethnicity. This suggests that African American athletes and ATCs may have had the ability to see themselves “as part of the larger group from which to draw support” (Tatum, 1997, p. 70).

The difference in how African American/Black women ATCs interacted with African American athletes and how Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island, American Indian/Native American, Hispanic and Caucasian/White women ATCs interacted with athletes may be due in part to the necessity of African American athletes to find a safe space. Just as African American/Black women ATCs needed a safe space when they

were students, so too did African American student athletes. The safe space became a place where they could affirm one another (hooks, 1989), and "...escape from the forces of oppression" (Alfred, 2001, p. 7). It may also be a response to their perceived acceptance or lack of acceptance in dominant racial/ethnic groups, or their desire to be a part of other racial/ethnic groups.

Another reason for the difference may be due the notion of "color-blindness" which is being taught in athletic training and constructed in society as politically correct behavior. Athletic trainers are taught to treat "injuries and illness" without regard to whom is being treated. For example "an ankle injury is an ankle injury" regardless of whose body it is attached. But to assume that an ankle injury is disconnected from the person to whom it is attached, is to assume that the injury (and subsequent treatment) occurred within a vacuum and not within a sociocultural context, suggesting a fragmentation of mind and body. "The North American health-care provider has been socialized to believe that modern medicine as taught and practiced in Western Civilization is the answer to *all* of humankind's needs" (Spector, 1996, p. 5). Such an assumption denies the athlete's social reality and presupposes that race/ethnicity and cultural differences should be insignificant (Burton, 1995). Therefore, ATCs need to learn how to connect social meanings and identity with professional practices.

#### Gendered and Sexualized Interactions with Athletes

Although women ATCs perceived they were adequately prepared to treat male and female athletes' injuries, the interactions they had with the athletes, while treating them, was often gendered and sexualized when treating male athletes. For example, the women ATCs interviewed expressed that the relationships with women athletes were

more informal or comfortable. In this regard, “Women athletes wanted the ATCs to get to know them,” and were more likely to “divulge more things.” In fact Sue indicated that she “could gossip with the girls.” On the other hand, the interaction with male athletes was considered “professional” by some women. Emily indicated that she had to watch what she said around the guys, because it may be misinterpreted. The misinterpretation may be due to the “sexual tension” that is sometimes present between men and women. Likewise, misinterpretation may act to maintain an environment that allows men athletes to “come on to women ATCs,” such that women ATCs become the victims in their own work environments. In this vain, women ATCs are expected to negotiate the relationship between themselves and their male athletes. However, it is the heterosexist nature of sport and the athletic training environment that supports the idea that women athletic trainers work with men because they want to date them. Therefore, women are in the athletic training room as sexual objects rather than as professional women.

Given that there is required physical contact between ATCs and athletes, “...the potential for sexualized construals would be great” (Walk, 1994, p. 92). The problem however, was not with women athletes. Although women who participate or work in sport are often labeled as lesbians (Griffin, 1998; Nelson, 1994), there was no apparent concern for sexual overtones between the women ATCs and women athletes. This is unlike the homophobic societal and sport concern for women athletes being coached by women (who are perceived to be lesbian) (Griffin, 1996). It was with male athletes that women ATCs felt the need to restrict the relationships. As women are often oppressed and sexualized in society as an indication of patriarchal gender power, the need for restriction may be due to the oft times heterosexist nature of men’s sport and the

assumption and/or misperception that women athletic trainers are working with male athletes in order to flirt with them and date them (Walk, 1994). Thus, it became the burden of the oppressed so that the assumption was not “realized.” It became the burden of the woman athletic trainers to control their behavior and “...manage the substance and perception of such relationships” (Walk, 1994, p. 88).

#### Women Athletic Trainers at the Intersection of Race/Ethnicity and Gender: Privileges, Advantages and Disadvantages

Women athletic trainers in the present study were asked in the interview if they could provide an example where being a female of their particular race/ethnicity advantaged and disadvantaged them during their athletic training experiences. The purpose was to ascertain the degree to which women ATCs perceived how gender disempowered them and race/ethnicity privileged or disadvantaged them differently, thus providing opportunities and oppressions in their athletic training lives. In doing so, the intent was to provide a more inclusive examination of women ATCs experiences.

African American/Black women. Several African American/Black women ATCs perceived that their race/ethnicity advantaged them clinically when they were working with African American athletes, but disadvantaged them in a dominant culture classroom. They indicated that the athletes sought them out and felt connected to them. In particular, these relationships occurred when they were athletic training students, and meant a great deal to them. The relationships that they developed with their athletes within the context of sport served as a basis for social relationships that occurred outside of the athletic environment. Further, some African American/Black women ATCs recognized that in the athletic training classroom, they were disadvantaged by their race/ethnicity. In fact,

Black, non-Hispanic women (89%) were in strong agreement that they were the “token” person of their race/ethnicity. Likewise, they were the only women ATCs who agreed that they felt they had to “pave the way” for people of their racial/ethnic group (84%), as with African American women pioneer ATCs (Grant-Ford, 1997). For example, they described a sense of isolation, and expressed that their instructors did not care and were not supportive.

The racial grouping of African American/Black athletic training students and athletes may be an example of what Tatum (1997) refers to as “sitting together in the cafeteria.” “Sitting together in the cafeteria” allows African Americans in a racially mixed or dominant cultural setting to find solace, understanding and support in the face of racism. It is not that they are engaging in exclusive behaviors, rather it is a coping strategy when others are unprepared to respond in supportive ways (Tatum, 1997). For African American/Black athletic training students who experienced racial oppression in the classroom, developing peer relationships with African American athletes provided them a support group. The athletes would be able to understand the isolation of being the “only one” in a dominant cultural classroom and they would understand the stress associated with involvement in sport.

African American/Black women ATCs were advantaged and disadvantaged differently. Not all African American/Black women ATCs perceived that their race/ethnicity disadvantaged them. One woman perceived neither advantages or disadvantages because of race or gender but did perceive disadvantages because of sexuality. She felt empowered as a woman due to socialization in an all girl’s high school and her parents rearing her to believe that she could be and do whatever she

wanted in life. Also, her socialization through grade school, college and early career was in a predominantly White environment. But she perceived disempowerment in a working environment that was supportive of lesbians but not of heterosexuals. Because the sporting environment is heterosexist, lesbian coaches, administrators and athletic trainers are often closeted (Griffin, 1996; Nelson, 1994). As such an open lesbian environment where lesbians are empowered in an athletic department is not the norm.

Another African American/Black woman expressed a recognition of gender oppression and simultaneous empowerment because of physicality and age. This woman was an older student, and her physical stature was such that she towered over classmates, instructors and athletes. The physicality of African American/Black on the one hand has been heralded and admired in the African American/Black community (Gissendanner, 1994) and stereotyped as rough and tough on the other hand (Corbett & Johnson, 1993), thus, possibly providing a means for empowerment rather than disempowerment.

African American/Black women ATCs experienced race/ethnicity and gender differently from each other depending upon other social locations of age, physicality, sexuality and social structures (clinical rotation versus classroom). Because Black women were impacted by multiple axis of oppression (Andersen & Collins, 1995) such as race, gender and sexuality, they had a unique vantage point and experience, relative to society (hooks, 1984) and athletic training.

Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island women. Some Asian/Pacific Island women perceived that their race/ethnicity advantaged them because of stereotypes of people of Asian descent and because of the ability to communicate in an Asiatic language. For example, women ATCs were well aware of the stereotype



of women of Asian/Pacific Island descent as “exotic” or “cute and doll-like” (Lai, 1995). One woman used this stereotype to her advantage because she recognized that people would not forget her “exotic” face. However, the use of this stereotype has disadvantages as it may promote “a degrading view of women’s roles” (Lai, 1995, p. 187), potentially laying the foundation for Asian/Pacific Island women athletic trainers to be marginalized as someone not capable of decision making, only of being “cute.” Thus, just as the perception of the “exotic” appearances as an advantage, the social reality in a heterosexist sport environment is more likely that it is a disadvantage. For example, an Asian/Pacific island woman ATC experienced gender oppression as male athletes “hit on” her (made sexual advances) and one athlete sexually harassed her.

A different stereotype used to advantage this group of women ATCs was that of Asian/Pacific Island women as docile, quiet and unassuming (Lai, 1995, Ligutom-Kimura, 1995). The stereotype was used to make athletes perform their rehabilitation because it was difficult for them to say no. Because the athletes perceived Asian/Pacific Island women as quiet, if they demonstrated displeasure with them, they reacted positively and did what the athletic trainer wanted.

Although this tactic may have worked with athletes, it may have simultaneously served as a disadvantage, potentially limiting Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs’ opportunities to become Head Athletic Trainers or supervisors. “Businesses want docile, subservient workers who will not complain, file grievances, or organize unions....good qualities for subordinates, but certainly not for supervisors” (Lai, 1995, p. 187).

A third stereotype of people of Asian/Pacific Island descent, that they are hard working, value education (Lai, 1995), and are “model minorities” (Takaki, 1995, Tatum, 1997), advantaged some women in this group in the classroom. In fact, all of the Asian/Pacific Island women interviewed indicated that they had positive experiences in the classroom with fellow students and instructors. Although the women interviewed experienced the benefits of this stereotype, “...the uncritical acceptance of the stereotype has concealed the needs and problems of those Asians in America [and athletic training] who have not experienced such success” (Tatum, 1997, p. 160). Likewise, those students who are struggling, may not receive adequate instruction because of the stereotype (Tatum, 1997).

Asian/Pacific Island women were cognizant of their gender oppression. Some were not allowed to travel with male sport teams, while another, unfortunately, experienced being sexually assaulted and sexually molested.

Asian/Pacific Island women expressed stronger agreement with the statement “I often felt like the ‘token’ person of my racial/ethnic group” than did White, non-Hispanic women. Thus, using “positive” stereotypes to their advantage may have served as a means for minimizing the negative effects of “tokenism” or gender oppression. Or, as one Filipino worker in Silicon Valley said, “...countering the stereotype will not change their situation, so they might as well use the stereotype to their advantage” (Hossfeld, 1997, p. 398). Nonetheless, the individual gain in using the stereotypes, may serve to further oppress

Asian/Pacific Island women collectively, and pit them against other Women of Color (Lai, 1995; Tatum, 1997).

Caucasian/White women. Consistent with the literature (Frankenberg, 1996; McIntosh, 1995; Pence, 1982; Oglesby, 1993), none of the Caucasian/White women interviewed perceived that their race/ethnicity advantaged them in the classroom, clinical rotation or in their career. As members of the dominant cultural group, they were not necessarily taught to recognize the privileges associated with group membership (McIntosh, 1995). Thus, in the classroom, the statement, “I just feel like I belong,” said by one woman, is indicative of the advantage that she and others had in group membership. That is to say, “like many White people, this young woman had never really considered her own racial and ethnic group membership. For her Whiteness was simply the unexamined norm” (Tatum, 1997, p. 93).

To be a token in higher education administration means that the majority tends to regard the numerical minority as the authority on, the representative of and/or the spokesperson for their particular group rather than treated as individuals (Moses, 1989). Different from African American/Black women ATCs, there were no expressed feelings of isolation or tokenism by any of the Caucasian/White women. In fact, consistent with McIntosh (1995), who stated she never had to speak for all the people of her racial group, White, non-Hispanic women were the only ATCs surveyed who did not feel that they were the “token” person of their race/ethnicity (77% agreed) or that they had to “pave the way” for people of their racial/ethnic group (78% agreed). Although not perceived, not

carrying the burden of racial/ethnic tokenism was a privilege for Caucasian/White women ATCs. As McIntosh (1995) suggested, “a ‘white’ skin in the United States opens doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance has been conferred on us” (p. 86). Thus, for Caucasian/White women ATCs skin color may have provided a means for successfully negotiating the classroom environment.

Consistent with traditional feminist literature, that historically placed gender as the most salient oppression (Andersen & Collins, 1995; Collins, 1990, 1991; Hall, 1996; hooks, 1984; Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997), so too did Caucasian/White women ATCs. Many Caucasian/White women ATCs perceived that being female disadvantaged them rather than that race/ethnicity was a privilege that advantaged them in athletic training and society. Sixty-five percent felt like they had to “pave the way” for women, and eighty percent felt like they were the “token” woman. Their perception of gender as more salient to their athletic training experiences was consistent with the experiences of White pioneer women athletic trainers (1990). For example, White/Caucasian women in the present study were denied the opportunity to work with male athletes, disrespected and ignored by male coaches, and sexually harassed by male coaches and athletes. Similarly, White pioneer women ATCs experienced ideological barriers of sexism and structural barriers, including a lack of exposure to high risk sports such as football. However, unlike the pioneer women who were also privileged by race/ethnicity and disadvantaged by gender in the classroom, most

Caucasian/White women in the present study did not perceive that gender disadvantaged them in the classroom, only in their clinical rotations.

Like other women ATCs, the experiences of Caucasian/White women were mediated by race/ethnicity and gender. Though not perceived, they were both privileged by race/ethnicity and disadvantaged by gender and in one case, age (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997). They did not experience the oppression of racism, but predominately experienced the oppression of sexism. As such, it was a privilege that Caucasian women did not perceive the need to “pave the way” for others of their racial/ethnic group, or that they felt they were racial/ethnic “tokens” or “spokespersons,” thus, they could be an individual (Tatum, 1997).

Hispanic women. Sixty-two percent of Hispanic women surveyed felt like the “token” of their race/ethnicity, and sixty-seven percent felt like they had to “pave the way” for their race/ethnicity. However, race/ethnicity mediated the lives of Hispanic women ATCs differently, as most of the women in this group who were interviewed did not believe that that they were disadvantaged or advantaged by race/ethnicity or gender. Rather, some believed that hard work created the advantage.

Similar to Hispanic women pioneer ATCs who were non-ethnic looking (Grant-Ford, 1997), many Hispanic women in the present study perceived they may have not been disadvantaged by race/ethnicity because of their appearance. As one Hispanic woman ATC, who participated in the pilot study for this dissertation said,

Because I am a White looking person, um I don't think I have experienced the kind of biases or, or have, or haven't had to carry the kind of burden, um that say another, you know, darker skin looking Hispanic female would have to cope with.

Likewise, non-ethnic looking Hispanic women expressed similarly what a Chicana professional woman stated, "Maybe I haven't felt as much discrimination because I'm not...I'm kind of fair complected. So, a lot of people don't know, or don't even assume that I'm Mexican. They're real surprised when I say, 'Yeah, I'm Mexican'" (Segura, 1994, p. 45). For those Hispanic women who were non-ethnic looking, they were afforded skin privileges. They were not perceived as Hispanic by others during their athletic training education and career experiences, therefore, they were not treated as such. Thus, they were able to avoid the negative impact of racism.

American Indian/Native American women. For American Indian/Native American women ATCs physical appearance was salient in the perception of race/ethnicity advantages and disadvantages. Several women indicated that they were neither advantaged or disadvantaged by their race/ethnicity. Similar to non-ethnic looking Hispanic women pioneer ATCs (Grant-Ford, 1997) and ATCs in this study, the reasons given were because no one knew about their American Indian heritage, the family did not want others to know about their Indian heritage, or because one could not tell by the name and physical appearance that there was Native American heritage. In this way American Indian/Native American women could remain invisible with regard to their race/ethnicity. One

the one hand, invisibility from Indian heritage provided advantages which served to privilege these women in the classroom and in society by diminishing the effects of racism. As such these American Indian/Native American women benefited from light-skin privileges during their athletic training experiences, thus avoiding dominant cultural oppression. On the other hand, hiding one's Indian ethnicity, particularly "given the absence of contemporary images of American Indians in the popular culture" (Tatum, 1997, p. 150), may serve to further silence the American Indian voice. Likewise, invisibility may allow for the continuation of the portrayal of American Indians as "...people of the past, not of the present or the future" (Tatum, 1997, p. 150).

For one woman because of her Native American culture and being biracial, she felt she was able to relate to people. As with other biracial people, she understood what it meant to be a part of both worlds (Tatum, 1997). However, the experiences were mediated simultaneously by social location. Being a woman created gender oppression, and light skin both advantaged this woman in the dominant culture of athletic training yet disadvantaged her in Native culture. Having to negotiate Native culture and biracial status taught her to be more tolerant of others.

Only one American Indian/Native American woman felt advantaged by race/ethnicity and gender. She indicated that race/ethnicity and gender were part and parcel of her obtaining a graduate assistantship and securing and retaining employment. Receiving the graduate assistantship provided an opportunity to obtain an education, thus creating a means for upward social mobility. Given that only approximately 0.2% of all

ATCs are American Indian women, there is a need for universities to continue offering graduate assistantships as a way to recruit students of color who become ATCs.

### Sexuality and the Lesbian Label

The threat of being labeled a lesbian in sport or athletic training has far reaching consequences. Women coaches and athletic trainers alike have lost their jobs or been denied a job because of the threat (Anderson, 1991, Griffin, 1998). As one woman in this study indicated, the assumption that she might be a lesbian was used against her when she asked for a raise. Because of the heterosexist nature of sport and the athletic training environment, the presence of women challenges male hegemony such that women have to be controlled. One means of control is the pervasive threat of being labeled a lesbian. The threat, therefore, serves to silence and deny the existence of lesbians, as well as to maintain male dominance over women regardless of sexual orientation. Because of the threat, women respond in several ways.

Two of the ways that women respond to the lesbian label, denial and apology, were of interest to this researcher (Griffin, 1996). This researcher wanted to determine the extent to which women athletic trainers participated in denial or apology. Denial is defined as occurring when the silence is broken and people in sport answered the lesbian question. Consequently, such disclosure increased the curiosity about who is and who is not lesbian. The result was that the lesbian presence in sport is still denied. Apology is defined as occurring when female athletes (in this case athletic trainers) “femmed up” in order to appear more feminine and less lesbian (Griffin, 1996).

In order to address “denial”, women ATCs were asked to respond to statements on the survey such as “women student trainers were perceived as lesbians if they did not



act or dress feminine” and “ I felt I had to act or dress feminine in order to be perceived as “not lesbian.” These statements were part of the construct sexuality and the lesbian label, which were intended to address “apology.” The women who were interviewed were additionally asked “to what extent was your femininity or sexual orientation questioned?” and “were you discriminated against because of your sexual orientation?”

With regard to apology, the following was observed. On the construct sexuality and the lesbian label, women ATCs significantly differed on their perceptions. Specifically, Black, non-Hispanic women ( $M = 2.98$ ,  $SD = 0.58$ ) perceived sexuality and the use of the lesbian label more so than did Hispanic women ( $M = 3.63$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ). This finding demonstrated that apology occurred in athletic training, at least with Black, non-Hispanic women. But why? Collins (1990) suggested that Black women have historically been labeled the Other, and the threat of the lesbian label had a further chilling effect. B. Smith (1982) suggested that “Heterosexual privilege is usually the only privilege that Black women have. None of us have racial or sexual privilege, almost none of us have class privilege, maintaining ‘straightness’ is our last resort” (p. 171). Holloway (1995) agreed when she stated that “it is as if the ‘normative’ promise of heterosexuality’s masculinist authority promises to extend this norm and its authority to our communities whose ethnicity has historically devalued and challenged expressive power” (p. 55). Although Black, non-Hispanic women appeared to be apologetic, only one African American woman interviewed, Toni, expressed that she dressed more feminine in order to not be perceived as lesbian. None of the Hispanic women interviewed “femmed up.” Yet, Latinas historically have been labeled the Other. However, Espín (1995) suggested that “the honor of Latin families is strongly tied to the

sexual purity of women” (p. 423) and that within culturally appropriate sex-roles, “mothers train their daughters to remain virgins at all costs, to cater to men’s sexual needs and to play ‘little wives’ to their father and brothers from a very early age” (p. 427). Thus, due to early socialization, in order to honor their families, some Latinas may routinely dress more virtuous. On the other hand, if Latinas were not “ethnic looking” in appearance, as was the case with some of the women in this study, they might enjoy racial privileges due to skin color and facial features, thereby not finding it necessary to exert heterosexual privilege, or cater to cultural Latin cultural norms when in a dominant environment.

With regard to denial and whether sexuality was questioned, a few women interviewed indicated that their sexual orientation had been questioned, and one indicated that athletes asked her about others sexual orientation. Their stories demonstrated how for women athletic trainers, like women coaches, one may be assumed to be lesbian if single and not dating a man. But, different than coaches, for women ATCs in this study as it was found with pioneers, was that if they were not “lesbian” then they were perceived to be working with male athletes in order to date them (Anderson, 1991).

Just as pioneer women athletic trainers had to contend with the power of the lesbian label (Anderson, 1991; Grant-Ford, 1997), so too do today’s women ATCs, though maybe not as much. As the dominant culture of athletic training remains homophobic, such that lesbians and gay males in the profession must stay in the closet, then the threat of the lesbian label will retain its power. Lesbians will therefore have to continue in silence and straight women will feel the need to continue proving their

heterosexuality. Both of which only serve the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity in athletic training and sport.

### Sexual Harassment

The social structure of athletic training is such that the concern is predominantly for prevention and care of athletic injuries. The social environment of the athletic training room, and the interaction between ATC and athlete is usually not a priority. Thus, the opportunity for and the perpetuation of sexual harassing behaviors exists.

Sexual harassment is defined by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature” (Velasquez, 1998, p. 171). There are two subcategories, quid pro quo harassment and hostile environment. Quid pro quo involves the victim being promised a benefit in exchange for sexual favors, including requests for dates. Hostile environment sexual harassment occurs when the conduct of the harasser creates a “...hostile, offensive or intimidating environment.... Jokes, pictures, innuendo’s, comments about a person’s body or appearance...” (NATA, 1998 p. 1) may be considered hostile environment harassment behaviors. Sexual harassment interferes with the work of athletic trainers, not allowing them to concentrate performing tasks necessary for doing their job.

Women ATCs were asked about sexual harassment on the survey and during the interview. Sexual harassment was not defined for them because the researcher wanted to ascertain what the women thought constituted sexual harassing behaviors from their perspective. A greater percentage of all women ATCs agreed rather than disagreed that if sexually harassed by athletes, patients, coaches or colleagues they were adequately

prepared to handle it. But what did they think was harassing behavior and how did they handle it?

What does it mean to be sexually harassed in an athletic training environment? Women ATCs indicated it meant that inappropriate touching occurred and/or there was a sense of a “threatening” environment when describing what they perceived as sexually harassing behaviors. Their perceptions of these two things as sexual harassment could fit the description of sexual harassment as outlined by the EEOC. However, in some states like Michigan, touching the breasts or groin area is considered sexual assault rather than sexual harassment (S. Thompson, personal communication, September 5, 2001). The majority of women ATCs did not know if they were being harassed or how to address the harassment. They tended to rationalize away the abusive, “inappropriate” behavior that occurred in the athletic training room without challenging it. This suggests that women perceived they were the ones who had to change rather than the environment. It also suggests that athletic training curriculum does not adequately address sexual harassment issues and should. Both men and women athletic trainers, as well as coaches and athletes need to be educated with regards to sexual harassment. A few women responded to inappropriate touch by immediately confronting the offender, while others sued their respective institutions.

Most women did not indicate their response to harassing behaviors. It is assumed that women must be quiet and act professional. But, why remain silent and tolerate an uncomfortable environment? One explanation may be that women ATCs, like women sport reporters, wanted to be equally accepted into the male dominant sporting environment (Nelson, 1994), and did not want to miss an experience because of their

unwillingness to fit in. Thus, women were being oppressed and silenced for fear of being blamed or recriminated. The following story is an example:

We had a tournament in, um, Montgomery, Alabama, and then one in Hawaii. So it was a long trip that we were on. And, uh, he [tennis coach] would make references about the beach or what not. And it was just pretty – it was very uncomfortable. But I thought that if I, um, just kept quiet and just went along, you know, I thought maybe if I said anything, he'd send me home. And I was kind of excited about taking the team to Hawaii. So, I just tried to stay quiet and, actually, (softly) I never really told anybody about it.

When male coaches or athletes made “inappropriate comments” towards the women ATCs in this study, most women said it did not mean that they were being sexually harassed. Inappropriate comments were often characterized as “boys being boys,” “just comments,” or not meaning anything, as was found by Giuffre and Williams (1997), who reported similar findings with restaurant workers. Sometimes the women athletic trainers retorted back when comments were made. But more often than not, women's response was to ignore the behavior or let it “roll off your back.” Both responses were expressed by the women student athletic trainers that Walk (1994) interviewed. Clearly, inappropriate sexual comments and innuendo can be considered hostile environment sexual harassment, particularly if they are persistent. When men laugh and make light of sexually harassing behaviors it maintains the oppression of women. Likewise, when women do not address the harassing behaviors, male coaches

and ATCs may not either, thereby, continuing the oppression. So, why did some women ATCs not view inappropriate sexual comments as harassing?

There are several explanations why women ATCs may not consider inappropriate comments to be sexually harassing. One, as mentioned previously, women ATCs wanted equal acceptance in the male dominant sporting environment. Another reason may be that like male and female students who were not sure how to classify sexist comments (Adams, Kottke, & Padgitt, 1983), women ATCs were not socialized to recognize less severe forms sexual harassment. They certainly have not been taught in their athletic training courses, as sexual harassment was not routinely included in the curriculum. Likewise, "...women may not yet identify their experiences as sexual harassment because a substantial degree of awareness about its illegality has yet to be developed" (Giuffre & Williams, 1997, p. 372). Finally, women ATCs may tolerate sexist or inappropriate comments as a means of refuting the "lesbian label" by engaging in "compulsory heterosexuality." Because women who work and participate in athletics are often labeled lesbian (Griffin, 1996), accepting sexist comments legitimated and conferred dominant cultural norms of heterosexuality (Giuffre & Williams, 1997). In this way, "...heterosexuality is normalized and naturalized through its ritualistic public display" (Giuffre & Williams, 1997, p. 375), simultaneously denying the existence of lesbians in sport (Griffin, 1996).

Unfortunately, sexual harassment is not uncommon in athletic training. Women pioneers both Caucasian (Anderson, 1991) and ethnic minority (Grant-Ford, 1997) as well as student athletic trainers (Walk, 1994) have reported incidences of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment only serves to maintain male

dominance and women's subordination in sport, by "...humiliating women in order to undermine their power" (Nelson, 1994, p. 66). Also, not labeling "inappropriate comments" as sexual harassment maintains male hegemony in sport as well.

### A Critical Analysis of Women's Experiences in Athletic Training Using Multiracial Feminism

Multiracial feminism (Baca Zinn & Dill, 1997) was used as the theoretical framework for this study. Using the framework demonstrated that there is no "universal" woman's experience based on gender during athletic training educational experiences or career experiences in the first 5 years. As the framework suggests, gender is mediated by intersecting inequalities that produce both oppression and opportunity for diverse groups of women. For example, women were often advantaged by their race/ethnicity when working in culturally congruent athletic training environments, but disempowered by gender. The following story is an excellent illustration of the intersection of inequalities that diverse women ATCs faced.

As indicated in Chapter V, a Black woman ATC, was a graduate assistant assigned to work in an economically depressed, Black high school. The athletes, coaches, teachers, and administrators were Black, as was the surrounding community. She stated that the coaches were initially resistant to her because she was female. But after they realized she was skilled, they sent their athletes to her, and the older coaches became protective, treating her like a daughter. She later

indicated that she felt it was important to be a role model and mentor for the Black high school students with whom she worked.

The intersecting inequalities of race/ethnicity, class, gender, and age in the above example demonstrate how opportunities and oppression occur simultaneously in athletic training experiences. This story demonstrates when race is not a constraint, it can be an advantage. It was because of race/ethnicity that entrance into the community was gained. However, once admitted, the expectation of conformity to the patriarchal norms of the community and sport was apparent. She became an “outsider within” (Collins, 1990, 1991). As a Black woman she was “within” race and advantaged by her race/ethnicity, but “outside” gender and oppressed by it, thus she had to prove herself to the coaches. Being Black was not enough to eliminate gender oppression. As such, respect and trust were not automatically conferred, as it often is for men, they had to be earned.

Moreover, most of the coaches this woman worked with were older and treated her “like a daughter.” The reconstruction of the role of an athletic trainer to the role of a daughter, may have served to maintain generational hierarchy and patriarchy. However, subordinating oneself to the daughter-figure role, may have lessened the threat to the male ethos thus providing some limited power with regard to decision making about athlete care.

Furthermore, just as she was advantaged by race/ethnicity, she was simultaneously advantaged by class. Working in an economically depressed area, Sheila recognized that she was not in the same social location as her athletes. As



an educated Black woman, there would be the opportunity for upward social mobility, that her athletes may or may not have unless they too went to college. Therefore, she felt it necessary to become a role model and mentor to her students, in order to reflect what they could achieve.

Although most of the women experienced racial/ethnic advantages when in a culturally compatible environment, Women of Color tended to recognize and articulate that they were advantaged because of it. Because there are so few Women of Color ATCs, it is a rarity that they work in their own cultural environment. The norm is for Women of Color ATCs to work in a dominant cultural environment. Thus, when in a culturally compatible environment, the experience became noteworthy. On the other hand, for White women ATCs, working in a cultural compatible environment is normative. Therefore, they enjoyed the experience, as did other women, but did not recognize the advantages that race/ethnicity provided when in a culturally compatible environment.

Most women had positive experiences in the classroom. They perceived neither advantages or disadvantages due to race/ethnicity and gender. However, there was an intersection of race/ethnicity and gender with Asian women ATCs. They were the only women who articulated that they were provided opportunities because of stereotypes regarding their race/ethnicity, were simultaneously oppressed because of gender and expressed that they were the “token” person of their race/ethnicity. For example, they were stereotyped as hard working and valuing education (Lai, 1995). This stereotype lead to positive experiences in the classroom with instructors and classmates. Yet, because of their status in the

classroom as “Asian”, this may have simultaneously created a sense of being the “token” in the classroom. Thus, conforming to the stereotype may have provided a means for minimizing the negative effects of feeling like a “token”. The gender oppression of Asian women occurred during their clinical or career experiences. Some were denied the opportunity to work with male athletes and others who worked with male athletes and coaches, unfortunately experienced sexual assault and molestation.

As demonstrated throughout this study, the career and educational experiences of diverse women ATCs were mediated by race/ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality and age. Women ATCs are not monolithic, nor is there one universal women’s experience in athletic training. The social structures of racism, sexism and heterosexism in sport and athletic training served to create opportunity and oppression differently in the athletic training lives of the women studied.

### **Suggested Recommendations by the Participants**

In this section, suggested recommendations by the participants for how to improve the profession of athletic training for women are presented. Likewise suggestions for athletic training educators and the NATA are included.

#### **Making It Better**

Eight women indicated that in order to make it better, educating the public and other health care professionals about who and what athletic trainers are and what they do is a necessity. Barb said, “People had no clue to what an athletic trainer was, what skills they possessed, and what not.” Many of the women felt that the NATA needs to increase

its' role in educating the public. But these women were also willing to participate, like Crystal did:

I'm sure that I've educated other, um, professions, physical therapists and occupational therapists as to our expertise. I do know that there was a lot of shock and surprise with, um, my knowledge at times. Um, which is kind of sad. But I hope that I've made an impact on, um, educating other professionals as to our knowledge and expertise. Um, I've written a couple of articles, um, for local newspapers as to what an athletic trainer is. I'm hoping that I've impacted just, um, just the general public as to what exactly an athletic trainer is. Um, unfortunately, sometimes I've been called 'the taper.' I'm sure as all of us have. Um, I have, um, tried...

Along with education, these women said that athletic trainers needed more respect. Ming Li stated, "I think there has to be a little bit more respect for our profession." Koleta questioned

How...with more women in the profession,...do we as women, get the respect and still be women, who we are? And be comfortable with ourselves and, but still have respect in the training room. And have a male athlete or female athlete treat us just like the male athletic trainer that they normally see?

Seven women ATCs felt that there should be better salaries for athletic trainers. For example, Dawn indicated,

Well, I would say probably, if I had been paid a decent wage – would have been more satisfying (laughs). Um, I mean the pay was just such a pittance, it was - and when you really love what you're doing, you're more willing to compromise that I think. You know, because you're so glad you have a job doing something that you really love that, you know, you – you're not maybe as adamant about you know, I want this, and this, and this. But, I would say, probably, the finances would have been the thing that would have made it more satisfying.

Likewise, Ming Li explained,

I still think it's very laughable about, you know, with some of the colleges offering, us, you know, the amount of money that, you know, they're offering us and in terms of, you know, someone – like my sister who works for a college – you know, D1 college, and they offer her in mid twenties, and she has her masters. You know, and I think that's a little bit ridiculous. I think we need to be a little bit more respected in that sense. You know, it's just ridiculous. I mean, I read in the paper – Pennsylvania paper actually, they were offering athletic trainers the same amount of money they were offering custodians, you know, so that's really ridiculous.

Several women stated that they loved their jobs and that being an athletic trainer was very rewarding. Edith exclaimed, "I couldn't ask for a better profession for me. I mean, I love doing this. I love going to work everyday. You know, and I still love going to work every day...". Alicia agreed,

I just enjoy what I do so much that I think that the key to being an athletic trainer is you need to enjoy what you do. You need to enjoy the people.

You need to enjoy working with people. And, um, you know, not look for appreciation and gratification all the time because it's, obviously, it's not going to be there. But I just think if you want to be successful, if you want to be a good athletic trainer, you need to really love and have a passion for the profession and enjoy working with people, basically.

Lastly, one pioneer woman ATC said that although she was proud to be a certified athletic trainer, she wanted today's women athletic training students to understand that it is not always easy. She explained,

I think a lot of young, upcoming student athletic trainers now don't realize that many of us that are now been in the profession 15-20 years, um, being female – it wasn't always easy to be a female student athletic trainer or female athletic – certified athletic trainer in a lot of settings. And, uh, you know, some of the experiences that many of us had to go through for some of our female students to now be able to just slide right in, and not have any problems. You know, that, I think, uh, students really need to, you know, understand that part of the profession. And it's still a male dominant profession and it probably will be for a long time.

#### Suggestions for Educators by Women Athletic Trainers

Three broad categories emerged from women ATCs as the suggestions for educators. They were (a) changes in didactic education, (b) increase experiential learning, and (c) obtain teaching credential. Women also suggested that students learn

about realities of balancing work and family, and that it is important to recruit, retain and mentor students of color.

Changes in didactic education. The changes suggested included increasing the number of science courses, particularly adding gross anatomy. Sue believed that she was disadvantaged in graduate school because she did not take gross anatomy prior to arriving. Shiho suggested that rehabilitation psychology and negotiating skills should be included in the content of rehabilitation courses. Furthermore, Barb and Tomiko thought that business courses would be beneficial.

Numerous women indicated that they did not receive education on sociocultural issues in their athletic training programs. Thus, it was suggested that these issues be incorporated into the curriculum. For example Irene indicated,

I think some of the issues [sociocultural] that you have discussed, um – I’m also a physical therapist, and we spent quite a large part of our curriculum every semester on dealing with ethnic and race relations, and dealing with people of different backgrounds, particularly with physical therapy because we deal with, uh, people who come with, uh, handicaps – cerebral palsy or mental retardation, or head injury, or stroke, and how the public perceives someone as different from them. I think to go back and re-institute some of that in athletic training because, again, our roles as athletic trainers are expanding, uh, to include some of these other population groups.

Likewise, Gigi said,

I would provide more information, which I think has been incorporated, on sexual harassment, race issues in the um, setting, the college setting. That people are aware and maybe take a multicultural class or some type of class that talks about differences when working with people of various populations.

Lastly, Cheyenne thought that there should be sensitivity training for instructors.

Increase experiential learning. In 2004 the internship route to becoming a certified athletic trainer will cease to exist. Because the internship route required more clinical experience than the curriculum route, several women ATCs thought that there should be more “hands on” and “real life” educational experiences to compensate for the loss. Shiho explained,

I would somehow focus on, to teach, not only the academic part, but I would like to put in some kind of um work ethic, or working with other people, or balance of your life, that kind of ah, class. And, I think many younger student trainers comes out of grad, ah, school with really good, solid knowledge, sometime they knows more about anatomy, or modality. Just because their education is updated and they are fresh. But, all the young people who doesn't have experience, what we struggle with to work with, is they don't have this working ethic or this real experience, so, somehow I'd like to have curriculum program, have something more practical, not just the knowledge, but, work environment, exper-, like, some sort of listening to other people experience.

Sue also believed that “females should work with male sports and males should work with female sports.”

Obtain teaching credential. Several women agreed that athletic trainers should hold dual credentials, particularly in teaching. Mary Jo expressed this common sentiment, “I would advocate that the NATA drop its single-minded effort to make everybody a certified athletic trainer and only a certified athletic trainer. [Athletic] trainers need to be certified to teach. It limits their options.

Ann agreed.

... You’re getting your bachelor’s in athletic training, you’re going to be a full-time athletic trainer, and that’s all there is, you know, um. And even though your state doesn’t have it yet um , they will, and you’ll be, you know – that’s all you’ll do full-time and that’s just not real life. Um, I’ve gone- since, not in the first five years, but since then I’ve gone back and got my teaching certificate, um, and I now teach physical education and I’m an athletic trainer. I think that’s more realistic. So I think, um, in the educational setting, they need to push people, at least right now, to be more than just an athletic trainer, at least in this part of the country where we are, um, because it’s just not happening that they’re just athletic trainers. They’re either in the clinic and at the high school, or, um, they’re teachers/trainers, or, you know, physical therapists and trainers. Um, pure athletic trainers are just not in our part of the country right now. And there’s just not jobs for them. It’s not that they’re not here, there’s just not jobs for them to be full-time in a high school um or things like that.



Balancing work and family. Ann's story suggested that women students needed to be educated about how to balance having a family and being an athletic trainer.

I think that (pause) probably, they could do something about – the problems I'm facing right now are -my husband and I are going to start a family and, um, I'm thinking about actually giving it up. Because, um, I'm just not going to have the time. He's a coach and, you know, with me being a teacher and a trainer. I'm not going to have the time a) to put in the hours, to take care of the kids, and b) to do the CEUs. I'm just not going to have that, um, so maybe in the educational setting, um, -- I remember we talked about it, and everyone was like, 'Oh, we're just going to keep working when we have babies,' and we were so gung ho with that at that time. But, um, to kind of bring people in, maybe that are at a point like mine and talk to the high school or college kids and say, 'This is something you can think about for the future,' and 'This is how to deal with this.'

One way to balance family and work is to change athletic training settings, if the opportunity exists. The clinical setting and the industrial setting provide a work schedule more conducive to having a family, because the work week is typically forty hours with no weekend work.

Recruit/retain/mentor students. Sheila suggested that the institutions focus on the recruitment and retention of students of color when she stated,

Um, I'd somehow, um, mandate that institutions, um, had to, um, maintain, uh, a student body, um, that was equivalently diverse as the athletic body, I guess. Attempt to have an equal number of, although it would be smaller, in regards to percentages – you know, you've got 10 student trainers and 20 athletes. The percentages in regards to that needs to be the same. I think that way, um, uh, institutions would have to go out of their way to, um, recruit, um, retain and to graduate or matriculate, um, ethnically diverse students.

Sheila also believed that mentoring students of color was important as well.

#### Suggestions for the NATA by Women Athletic Trainers

The suggestions varied for the NATA. They included (a) educate the public, (b) promote nationwide licensure, (c) improve communication with the membership, and (d) leadership issues.

Educate the public. Sue expressed strongly what she thought the NATA should do, when she said,

We need to fight for more freakin' high school athletic trainers! (laughs)

And I don't know if maybe that is gender based because you go to high schools, and they kind of want a male to work their football team. And, you know, females to work basketball teams. So, maybe get the NATA to educate the public a little bit more about overall athletic trainers and what we can do.

Sue's sentiments as well as those of other women ATCs was that the NATA needed to do a better job through its' public relations efforts to educate the public about the profession of athletic training

Promote nationwide licensure. It was suggested that the NATA promote nationwide licensure of athletic trainers. In this vain, there would be a standard across all the states for the credentialing of athletic trainers.

Improve communication. Several women ATCs perceived a lack of communication from the leadership of the NATA, and suggested this needed to be improved. One woman told this story:

Um, I would say that we need to have improved communication. And it might just be because I've been an athletic trainer for so long that I know what it was like before we had thousands, and thousands, and thousands of members. And, um, I guess an example of this would be in one of the NATA News, maybe it was the February or the March issues – I don't remember which one – they announced that someone had been named as a liaison to the American Public Health Association. And when I went to my district meeting in March, I asked some of the, uh, representatives from NATA how was that person selected. And the answer that I was given was that, uh, they tell the district directors that they need someone to be a liaison for this organization, and they ask district directors to inform their membership that they were looking for a liaison, and then people who were interested were supposed to submit a vita and a cover letter. And that was, then, how they selected the person. So I asked my district

director how did they select this person to be the liaison to the American Public Health Association, and he said, 'Oh, (name) is responsible for getting liaisons. They just tell him who they need, and he just goes and finds someone.'

And I really, really have a problem with that because that is perpetuating the 'good old boys' network, you know, or the, 'you get ahead by who you know' type of thing. And if we want more athletic trainers to be involved in our professional association, then we have to give everybody a chance, the opportunity, to participate. And when you, um, limit that, I think that's really unfair and it's really unfortunate. And if you have a policy in place, then you should follow the policy. And so I really have a problem with that.

And the fact that I have a Ph.D. in health education, and I'm a member of the American Public Health Association doesn't mean that I felt I should have been the liaison (laughter), but I was curious to find out how they picked who they picked. You know, and I guess I wasn't really all that surprised to find out how they got that person. But it really irritates me when people are denied an opportunity to participate because of lack of communication.

Leadership Issues. Overall, women ATCs were pleased with the leadership of the NATA. They expressed delight that more women were breaking the glass ceiling and joining the leadership ranks. However, one ATC wanted to see a more women presenters

at conferences and one wanted a more ethnically diverse NATA leadership. She indicated,

Um, I think the years that I've been a part of the NATA, I've definitely could see more women, um, rise to leadership roles. Um, I'd like to see the NATA, um, develop more ethnically diverse leaders, um, particularly Black and Hispanics. You don't seem to see, um, people in major leadership positions, um, that are Black or Hispanic. You see Asians here and there. Um, that's what I'd like to see, more diversity at the top.

Continuing education issue. One woman ATC was concerned about the NATA's inactive status policy with regard to continuing education. She indicated that the NATA should review its policy, particularly with regard to women ATCs who have a family and work part time. She stated,

I think I would deal mostly with the CEU issue and the fact that, um, you can only go, um, inactive for one year. Um, I understand what their, I understand their situation. They don't want people to get out of the profession or be out of it for so long that they lose, you know, touch with the up-to-date kind of stuff, the CEUs. Um, but it's very difficult. I don't, I don't know how women do it. Um, how, 'cause right now I'm struggling to get CEUs. I don't have someone that's going to pay for my CEUs, so I have to pay out of my pocket. Um, 'cause I'm kind of like doing a side job, athletic training. There's no real- I don't really have a um, you know, like a clinic or something that's going to pay for my stuff. So, it's difficult for me to find – number one, to find the time for this, and

number two, um the money. And um, you know, with a family I'm not sure how I would do it. I don't know that I can do it. So, I think that they need to re-think, um, and come up with something that, 'cause I know, I know two women off the top of my head that have gotten out of the profession because of that reason. Um, and, um, I think that they, you know, need to think about that because I'm sure it's very difficult to – for people that do stay in it, um, to keep up with all that stuff. And um, I mean, you work-it's kind of like I'm trying not to give it up because I've worked so hard to get it. Um, and I can't imagine sitting for that test again. Um and you don't want to give it up so fast. But it's just going to be- come to a point where we're going to have to make a decision, um, of what to do with that. So I think that they really should examine that, um, either that inactive thing or if there's something that they can do for-, kind of like maternity leave or something. Give women a couple of years something like that to get their self together and then get back into it. I'm not sure if that's possible, but I think that would be a good thing.

## **Summary of Research Questions**

The research questions will be addressed in this section.

### **Gendered and Multiracial Educational Experiences**

1. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their athletic training educational experiences? Are the experiences gendered, and/or do the perceptions differ across race/ethnicity?

Quantitatively, there was no significant difference in diverse women's perception of their educational experiences. Women felt that their classroom experiences were comparable with males and with other females. Qualitatively, the data support this finding that the majority of women had positive experiences. But there was a difference across race/ethnicity. Caucasian/White women often expressed the relationships they developed in the classroom as a "tight knit group." Some African American/Black women expressed a sense of isolation and alienation in the classroom. Furthermore, Asian/Pacific Island women all indicated that their experiences in the classroom were positive, but that they used stereotypes to their advantage.

During clinical rotations, working with athletes, the interactions were often gendered and sexualized (particularly with males). Women ATCs had to contend with maintaining a "professional" relationship that did not become misconstrued as sexual in nature. However, African American/Black women ATCs specifically indicated that they felt culturally connected to their athletes. Only one other Woman of Color, a Hispanic woman, echoed this same sentiment.

2. Specifically, how do diverse women ATCs perceive gender, race/ethnicity, privilege and discrimination relative to their athletic training educational experiences? Are the experiences gendered and/or is the perception different across race/ethnicity?

Women ATCs perceived gender, race/ethnicity, privilege and discrimination differently across race/ethnicity. African American/Black women ATCs perceived that they were simultaneously advantaged and disadvantaged by race/ethnicity. They were advantaged when working with athletes and coaches of their same race/ethnicity. Yet, as mentioned above they felt disadvantaged in the classroom. Caucasian/White women ATCs on the other hand perceived neither an advantage nor disadvantage because of race/ethnicity during their educational experiences. They did however perceive gender oppression when they were disrespected by coaches. Non-ethnic looking Hispanic and American Indian/Native American women perceived that their appearance may have precluded them from being disadvantaged by race/ethnicity.

3. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their educational preparation to deal with issues of power in athletic training (e.g., ATC/physician relationship, male coach/female ATC relationship)? Are the perceptions gendered and/or are the perceptions different across race/ethnicity?

Although women ATCs perceived that they were prepared to deal with challenges to their decision making, only one woman stated that she learned how to handle ATC/coach and ATC/physician relationships in the classroom. All other women ATCs learned how to negotiate these power relationships by observing their supervising athletic trainers or from working with coaches and physicians. The



perceptions were not necessarily gendered, nor were they different across race/ethnicity.

4. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their educational preparation to deal with sociocultural issues in athletic training (e.g., racism, sexism, sexuality)? Are the experiences gendered and/or are the perceptions different across race/ethnicity?

The majority of women ATCs, regardless of race/ethnicity, did not feel their athletic training education program prepared them to deal with sociocultural issues. They did not feel adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different religious or cultural beliefs. Likewise, they did not feel prepared to handle and athlete “coming out” to them or wanting to discuss issues of sexual orientation. Those who did perceive that they were prepared learned their skills in other classes or workshops outside of the athletic training curriculum or personal experiences.

#### Gendered and Multiracial Career Experiences

1. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding their athletic training career experiences (first 5 years)? Are the experiences gendered and/or do the perceptions differ across race/ethnicity?

The overwhelming majority of women ATCs, regardless of race/ethnicity, felt comfortable interacting with male and female colleagues in the work place setting and socially. Overall the women described their relationships with coaches as “good” or “professional.”

2. Specifically, how do diverse women ATCs perceive gender, race/ethnicity, privilege and discrimination relative to their athletic training career experiences (first 5 years)?

Are the experiences gendered and/or is the perception different across race/ethnicity?

The experiences of women ATCs during their careers with athletes was gendered and mediated by race/ethnicity. For example non-African American/Black women ATCs often perceived that they did not treat their athletes differently because of the athletes race/ethnicity, they indicated that they treated all athletes the same. African American/Black women ATCs perceived a cultural connection with their same culture athletes. Likewise, one Hispanic woman who worked in an Indian school had to respond to the cultural needs of her athletes by visiting and consulting with the medicine men of the different Nations. Lastly, some Hispanic and Native American women did not perceive advantages due to race/ethnicity. However, their institutions recognized their race/ethnicity for purposes of reporting diversity.

3. To what extent do women ATCs perceive societal power issues and athletic training knowledge and skill issues affecting their success within athletic training?

Women ATCs significantly differed in their perception that there were issues of structural power in athletic training. Quantitatively, the post hoc test did not detect who differed from whom. Qualitatively, however, some Caucasian/White women expressed that they were disrespected by male coaches in front of their student athletes and athletes. Likewise, race/ethnicity may not have been an issue if the coaches were also White. An American Indian/Native American woman ATC who worked in a Native American community was aware of being advantaged by her race/ethnicity because of cultural compatibility with the coaches. She simultaneously perceived that she was

disadvantaged by gender. On several occasions, she perceived that the coaches disregarded her because she was a woman.

4. What are the perceptions of diverse women ATCs regarding dealing with sociocultural issues in athletic training (e.g., racism, sexism, sexuality) during the first 5 years of their career? Are the perceptions gendered and/or are the perceptions different across race/ethnicity?

With regard to sexuality, Black, non-Hispanic women were more likely to perceive sexuality and the use of the lesbian label in athletic training more so than did Hispanic women. There was no significant difference between other women ATCs. Since African American women are more often oppressed by gender and race/ethnicity, maintaining heterosexual privilege may be a way of achieving some degree of social power.

Women ATCs across race/ethnicity perceived that they were adequately prepared to handle sexual harassment. However, most “inappropriate comments” uttered by male athletes and coaches were not perceived as harassment. They were disregarded and dismissed as “boys being boys.” Women ATCs were not socialized during their athletic training education to recognize sexually harassing behaviors. Thus the perception of women ATCs regarding dealing with sociocultural issues, varied depending upon the issue.

#### Women’s Status in Athletic Training

1. How do diverse women ATCs perceive what it means to be a woman certified athletic trainer today?

To some women ATCs, being a woman certified athletic trainer meant that it was no longer unique because women are approaching fifty percent of the membership.

For other women, being a women certified athletic trainer meant being proud of what you were. For one African American/Black woman ATC it meant the embodiment of intersection of her race/ethnicity and sexuality. She could not separated those social locations from her being an athletic trainer. Finally, for two recently certified, they perceived themselves as being athletic trainers, period, not women athletic trainers.

2. What are the perceptions of career and educational experiences of women ATCs certified before Title IX versus those certified after Title IX?

Quantitatively, the data were not divided by certification date because the cell sizes were too small to render statistically meaningful data. Qualitatively there were little data to examine with regard to Title IX. Most women ATCs experiences were not related to their date of certification. Although no particular themes emerged with regard to Title IX., the most obvious experiences were related to educational experiences. Some women ATCs who were certified prior to Title IX had these educational experiences. One woman indicated that she was the only woman in her athletic training class. She stated that she was treated equally by the male classmate and the instructor. All of the women certified post Title IX were educated in integrated classrooms. Pre- Title IX women were also more likely to indicate that they were not allowed to work with male athletes, where as the majority of post Title IX women had the advantage of working with males and females.

3. What are diverse women ATCs perceptions regarding how the athletic training profession can be improved for women?

Women ATCs perceptions regarding making the profession better for women were varied, but not by race/ethnicity. Several women suggested that there needed to

be better salaries for athletic trainers. Others suggested that the curriculum change to include more sciences courses and information pertaining to sociocultural issues. Several women suggested that women needed to be dual credentialed in teaching, particularly if they wanted to work in the high school setting. One woman thought it was important for women students to be educated about balancing work as an athletic trainer and family. Lastly, women recommended to the NATA that the association educate the public about the profession, promote nationwide licensure and improve communication with the membership.

Educational Status. In the athletic training classroom, women primarily have positive experiences. They are educated concurrently with men and are likely to be approximately fifty percent of the students. Women form “tight knit” relationships with classmates and have professional relationships with instructors. The social structure of the classroom is likely to be a dominant cultural environment, since the overwhelming majority of accredited athletic training programs are located at predominantly White colleges and universities. Likewise, the professorate is predominantly White and male, and the students are predominantly White. Women students are likely to feel adequately prepared in the traditional domains of athletic training such as in evaluation and rehabilitation of athletic injuries. However, they are less likely to adequately prepared in health care practices associated with religious or cultural beliefs.

During their clinical rotations, women are more likely to work with both female and male athletes, including football, which rarely occurred for pioneer women ATCs. However, as with pioneer women ATCs, today’s women students are likely to experience

sexual harassment and not recognize the harassing behavior. Overall, the clinical experiences with male and female athletes, and coaches is likely to be positive.

Career Status. The career status of women in athletic training (in their first 5 years of experience) is similar to that of women in sport. Overall they have positive experiences with female and male colleagues and coaches. Women ATCs are more likely to work in a dominant cultural environment, that is heterosexist. Today's women ATCs will have the opportunity to work with both male and female athletes, but will remain less likely to work with men's professional sport teams.

Although numerically women ATCs are approaching fifty percent of the athletic training membership (NATA, 1999a), they are still systematically disempowered by gender, particularly when working with male coaches. Male hegemony in sport creates a culture such that male coaches operationally act in a supervisory role to women ATCs, telling them what to do. In this respect, women who enter the male domain can be disregarded and disrespected, including challenges to decision making regarding athletic injury care and sexual harassment. Women also perceived that they had equal access to promotional career advancement as compared to other women, but not necessarily when compared to men.

#### Implications and Recommendations

Based on the results of this study, the following implications are discussed and recommendations are made:

1. Athletic trainers are considered as the liaison between physicians, coaches, athletes, and parents. As such, they have to be able to negotiate the power dynamics that can occur when communicating with each group. Athletic

trainers need to understand how to communicate across culture, gender, and hierarchy. Thus, the professional preparation of athletic training students needs to include negotiating power relationships, including conflict resolution. The purpose is to properly socialize athletic training students and empower them in the relationships that they develop with athletes, coaches and physicians as students and once they become professionals.

2. Some athletic trainers develop close relationships with their athletes, such that the athletes share problems other than those related to injury. For example, athletes discuss their experiences with racism. Women ATCs did not feel adequately prepared to deal with a gay athlete who decided to “come out” to them. Nor did they feel prepared to deal with an athlete who was or had been sexually harassed. Therefore, the professional preparation of athletic training students needs to address sociocultural issues such as racism, sexism, and homophobia in the curriculum. For example, a topic might be the impact of racism on health care delivery systems and access to athletic training services. Another topic might be on how homophobia, and heterosexism force gay and lesbian athletes and athletic trainers into the closet, and the impact this has on the athletic training environment. A similar suggestion was also made by Anderson (1991).
3. Women athletic trainers experienced sexually harassing behavior, but, did not always recognize those behaviors as such. Therefore, the professional preparation of athletic training students needs to add the topic of sexual

harassment to the curriculum (including the definition and recognition of harassing behaviors, and the course of action one can take if harassed).

4. African American/Black women experienced feelings of isolation and tokenism during their athletic training experiences. As such, athletic training educators and clinical supervisors should talk to students of color, particularly African Americans to determine if they are experiencing isolation. If so, help them to locate “safe spaces” in the department, on campus and/or in the community and provide mentoring. Further, they should develop cultural sensitivity and multicultural perspectives that do not penalize the athletic training student for establishing relationships with other African American athletes and “sitting in the cafeteria,” as this too may be a “safe space.”
5. It is also recommended that athletic training educators refrain from stereotyping Asian/Asian American/Pacific Island students as the “model minority.” Stereotyping denies their cultural and social realities. Likewise, it, “...dismisses the real problems that many do face, while at the same time pitting Asians against other oppressed people of color” (Lai, 1995, p. 182).
6. Athletic training education programs need to recruit, retain and graduate students of color.
7. The author also suggests that the NATA provide workshops and presentations on sexual harassment, and sociocultural issues, such as dealing with race, gender and sexuality. In this way, ATCs will learn about these issues as they were likely not taught them when they were students. For example, workshops topics could include recognizing and debunking cultural and racial



**stereotypes, cross cultural/gender communication, health care practices associated with cultural, racial/ethnic and religious beliefs, and the impact of the lesbian label on women ATCs. These workshops should be integrated into the fabric of the national, district and state conventions, not just marginalized and placed opposite each other on “specialty day”, which is often the first of last day of the convention.**

- 8. It is recommended that the NATA increase its recruiting and retention efforts of Women of Color. One way to do this is to establish scholarships for students of color. Another way is to support and encourage colleges and universities with large enrollments of students of color establish accredited athletic training education programs.**
- 9. It is also recommended that the NATA actively facilitate the leadership development of women by providing leadership training and workshops. Likewise, the NATA should actively recruit and place diverse women on committees and task forces, and in leadership positions throughout the association as positions become available.**
- 10. Athletic training clinicians need to learn to develop culturally competent practices in order to treat athletes holistically, with regard to their sociocultural realities. For example, during the holy time of Ramadan, Muslims practice fasting. If a wrestler was a practicing Muslim, and Ramadan occurred during the wrestling season, there would be a concern because of the practices associated with “making weight” and fasting. The concern would be for heat related illness due to inadequate hydration brought**

on by the combination of “making weight” and fasting. By understanding the rudimentary tenets Islam, the athletic trainer would be better equipped to deal with the lengthy period of fasting associated with Ramadan, thus, could incorporate appropriate measures to decrease the chances of dehydration or heat related illness.

11. It is not enough to educate athletic trainers about sexual harassment. The environment in which they work must also be changed. Therefore, coaches (particularly of male athletes) and athletes need to be educated about sexual harassment and how harassing behaviors create a hostile environment for athletic trainers. Likewise, athletic trainers male and female need to stop sexual harassing behaviors when they occur in the athletic training environment. Remaining silent when harassing behaviors occur, suggests an acceptance of the behavior, thus maintaining male hegemony and a hostile environment.
12. Women students interested in athletic training should find a mentor or mentors who can help with athletic training skills, and assist with gender, race/ethnicity and sexuality concerns. Women should also take courses in sport sociology, gender and/or women’s studies, and race relations. Likewise, they should become educated about sexual harassment.
13. Lastly, women ATCs need to help themselves. It is recommended that women engage in the political process of the NATA by running for office, volunteering to serve on committees and task forces, and contacting the elected leadership with concerns that impact women. Women ATCs should

also educate themselves through workshops on leadership and empowerment, cross cultural communication, and sexual harassment. Lastly, established women ATCs should mentor newly certified ATCs and women students.

### Conclusions

Multiracial feminism is a more comprehensive theory than a feminist, oppression model (used by Anderson, 1991) for examining the experiences of diverse women certified athletic trainers. The feminist oppression model does not account for the interlocking inequalities that occurred in the lives of women ATCs. The assumption that all women ATCs are similarly oppressed or have the same experiences because of gender is erroneous. This study demonstrated that women ATCs were both privileged and oppressed simultaneously by race, gender, sexuality, and sometimes age and physicality, depending upon their social location.

For example, Black, non-Hispanic women ATCs were more likely to perceive racial/ethnic oppression than other women ATCs. They perceived that they were “tokens,” the “official spokesperson” for their race/ethnicity and that they “paved the way” for their race/ethnicity during their educational and career experiences. This was supported by qualitative data that suggested that African American/Black women ATCs were more likely to express feelings of isolation and alienation in the athletic training classroom environment. Simultaneously, however, African American/Black women ATCs were more likely to perceive that race/ethnicity advantaged them when they worked with same culture coaches and athletes. Even though there was gender oppression when same culture

coaches questioned the decision making of African American/Black women ATCs, they did not perceive it as such, because they were often treated by these same coaches as “daughters.”

White, non-Hispanic women ATCs were more likely to perceive gender oppression. They perceived that they were the “token” woman and had to “pave the way” for women. Simultaneously, as with non-ethnic looking Hispanic and American Indian/Native American women, White, non-Hispanic women did not perceive race/ethnicity oppression. In fact, these women were often privileged by race/ethnicity and skin color respectively. As such, they perceived equitable treatment in the athletic training classroom. However, the non-ethnic looking women perceived that their skin color may have been a factor in them not feeling advantaged by race/ethnicity, whereas Caucasian/White women did not express this perception.

Asian/Pacific Island women ATCs, like Black, non-Hispanic women, were more likely to perceive that they were the “token” of their race/ethnicity. However, possibly as a coping strategy for this perceived racial/ethnicity oppression, Asian/Pacific Island women were more likely to use stereotypes of them to their advantage in athletic training environments.

Most women ATCs were oppressed by gender, some with regard to the hierarchical relationships they had with coaches, others with regard to sexual harassment. However, the gender oppression was not always recognized or perceived. Women experienced inappropriate emotional and physical abuse of a sexual nature at the hands of male coaches, athletes and even athletic training

clinical supervisors. A few women ATCs resisted the harassment by speaking to the harasser directly, and two women of Asian descent sued their respective institutions. However, the majority of women ATCs tended to tolerate the harassing behavior. The data suggest that the behavior was tolerated because of the desire of women ATCs to be equally accepted into the male dominant sporting environment or as a means for refuting the “lesbian label.”

The sexuality of some women ATCs, regardless of sexual orientation, was questioned. Black, non-Hispanic women were more likely to respond by “apology,” that is “femming up,” in order to appear more feminine and less lesbian. However, only one African American/Black women interviewed expressed this response. Other women ATCs who responded to their sexuality being questioned were more likely to “prove” their heterosexuality. The mere fact that women ATCs, like other women involved in sport, still have to answer the lesbian question, suggests that sport as a structure remains heterosexist.

#### Future Research

Based on the outcome of the present study, several recommendations are made for future research.

1. A study of the nature and meaning of sexual harassment in athletic training and the effects on diverse women and men athletic trainers.
2. A study of sexuality issues in athletic training and how sexuality, homophobia, and heterosexism impact lesbian and straight diverse women athletic trainers.
3. A more comprehensive examination of the social meanings of race/ethnicity in the lives of women ATCs and the impact on athletic training experiences.

4. An examination of the new athletic training educational psychosocial competencies and their impact on the experiences of diverse women athletic trainers.
5. An examination of diverse women ATCs experiences with regard to those who were educated prior to and after Title IX and how Title IX impacted their athletic training experiences.
6. An examination of diverse women ATCs experiences with regard to job setting (i.e., high school, NCAA division I, II or III, clinic, industry) and impact on their athletic training experiences.
7. The repetition of this study with men athletic trainers in order to ascertain how race/ethnicity, gender and sexuality impacted their career and educational experiences.

The purpose of this study was achieved, which was to describe and understand the experiences of diverse women certified athletic trainers at the intersections of race/ethnicity, gender and sexuality. Likewise, it was to provide suggestions for athletic training educators regarding gender and ethnicity issues. Lastly, it was to provide diverse women certified athletic trainers a voice. This study continues the foundation, set forth by Anderson (1991), for documenting and chronicling the stories, experiences and viewpoints of women in the profession of athletic training.



**National Athletic Trainers' Association**  
**DUES INVOICE FOR MEMBERSHIP YEAR**

N A T A

MEMBER NUMBER	EXPIRATION DATE	DUE DATE

**YOU ARE CURRENTLY HOLDING MEMBERSHIP CATEGORY:**

I attest that I meet the requirements for this category: X \_\_\_\_\_

\*If Student: Anticipated Graduation Date \_\_\_\_\_

✓ \_\_\_\_\_ I DO NOT wish to be listed in the NATA Membership Directory.

♦The above address will be listed in the NATA Directory and used for all correspondence. Please make address changes on the lines provided below. Students are required to use their home address. All others are requested to use their work address.

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To insure proper credit, return one copy of invoice with check or money order payable to:

**NATA, P.O. BOX 911721, DALLAS, TX 75391-1721**

Above address for payment of membership dues ONLY, no correspondence please.

Questions regarding your invoice? Call Membership Dept. @ (214) 637-6282.

NATA dues are not tax deductible as a charitable contribution, but may be deductible as a business expense. 3.32% of membership dues are allocated to lobbying. NATA Federal Tax ID #: 75-2575595

## NATA Membership and Renewal Form

**HAS YOUR MEMBERSHIP CATEGORY CHANGED? IF SO, REFER TO BACK SIDE FOR CATEGORY DESCRIPTIONS AND DUES STRUCTURE.**

- CERTIFIED \_\_\_\_\_ Regular \_\_\_\_\_
- ASSOCIATE \_\_\_\_\_
- STUDENT \_\_\_\_\_ Undergraduate \_\_\_\_\_  
Graduate/Non-Certified \_\_\_\_\_  
Certified \_\_\_\_\_
- INTERNATIONAL \_\_\_\_\_ Regular/Non-Certified \_\_\_\_\_  
Certified \_\_\_\_\_  
Credentialed \_\_\_\_\_

National Dues:	\$
District Dues:	\$
SUBTOTAL:	\$
Additional Charges:	\$
TOTAL AMOUNT DUE:	\$
Pursuing Our Vision	
Annual Fund Donation:	\$
 TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED	 \$
U.S. Funds <i>Please do not send cash.</i>	

**PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING: SS#:** \_\_\_\_\_

(For identification purposes only)

PHONE: WK. ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ HM: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

FAX: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ E-MAIL ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

**OPTIONAL: ETHNIC BACKGROUND\***

\* In accordance with the Federal Government's Guidelines.

— American Indian/Alaskan Native — Hispanic

— Asian or Pacific Islander — White (not of Hispanic Origin)

— Black (not of Hispanic Origin) Other \_\_\_\_\_

\*Highest Level of Education Completed (eg., BS, MS, Ph. D.) \_\_\_\_\_

\*Other Professional Designations (eg., P.T., L.A.T., P.A.) \_\_\_\_\_

**SETTING WHERE YOU ARE EMPLOYED:**

— CI - Clinic

— CS - College Student

— HS - High School

— HC - High School/Clinic

— HO - Hospital

— IN - Industrial

— JC - Junior College

— UC - University/College

— PX - Professional Baseball

— PB - Professional Basketball

— PF - Professional Football

— PG - Professional Golf

— PH - Professional Hockey

— PS - Professional Soccer

— PT - Professional Tennis

— OP - Other Professional

**PRIMARY JOB TITLE**

(Please Select One)

— Admin. Dir./Coordinator

— Asst./Assoc. Athletic Trainer

— Asst./Assoc. Athletic Director

— Athletic Director

— Assistant Professor

— Athletic Trainer/Teacher

— Associate Professor

— Professor

— AT Program Dir./Coord.

— Clinical Coordinator

— Clinical Director

— Athletic Trainer

— Dir./Coord. AT Services

— Dir./Coord. Sports Medicine

— Dir./Coord. Rehabilitation

— Head Athletic Trainer

— Head AT Men's Sports

— Head AT Women's Sports

— Asst. AT Men's Sports

— Asst. AT Women's Sports

— Medical Office Staff

— Outreach Coordinator

— Other \_\_\_\_\_



## APPENDIX B

### Human Subjects Approval Letter

#### **MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY**

November 1, 2000

TO: Yevonne SMITH  
134 IM Sports Circle  
MSU

RE: **IRB# 00-704 CATEGORY:1-C**  
**APPROVAL DATE: October 30, 2000**

**TITLE: WOMEN IN ATHLETIC TRAINING: THEIR CAREER AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES**

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete and I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project.

**RENEWALS:** UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Projects continuing beyond one year must be renewed with the green renewal form. A maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for a complete review.

**REVISIONS:** UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB# and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

**PROBLEMS/CHANGES:** Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, notify UCRIHS promptly: 1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or 2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.



**OFFICE OF  
RESEARCH  
AND  
GRADUATE  
STUDIES**

**University Committee on  
Research Involving  
Human Subjects**

Michigan State University  
246 Administration Building  
East Lansing, Michigan  
48824-1046

517/355-2180

FAX: 517/353-2976

Web: [www.msu.edu/user/ucrths](http://www.msu.edu/user/ucrths)

E-Mail: [ucrths@msu.edu](mailto:ucrths@msu.edu)

If we can be of further assistance, please contact us at 517 355-2180 or via email: [UCRIHS@msu.edu](mailto:UCRIHS@msu.edu). Please note that all UCRIHS forms are located on the web: <http://www.msu.edu/user/ucrths>

Sincerely,

Ashir Kumar, MD  
Interim Chair, UCRIHS

AK: bd

cc: Rene R Shingles  
1575 Scully Road-  
Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858

*The Michigan State University  
IDEA is Institutional Diversity:  
Commitment in Action*

## APPENDIX C

### Introductory Letter and Informed Consent, Follow-up Post Card

Dear xxx:

My name is René Revis Shingles. I am a certified athletic trainer and Ph.D. candidate at Michigan State University. For my dissertation, I am conducting a study on the status of women in athletic training because our experiences and contributions have not been chronicled historically. The purposes of this study are to (a) increase the knowledge bases and understanding of the career and educational experiences of diverse women in athletic training, (b) provide feedback from women participants with suggestions and strategies related to gender and diversity issues in athletic training and (c) give voice to all women certified athletic trainers. The results of my study will provide a comprehensive means for beginning to understand women's issues in athletic training, from women's perspectives, that impact the quality of educational and career experiences of athletic trainers. The study will be used to give feedback to educational institutions and NATA leadership regarding the quality of women's educational and career experiences in athletic training.

Participation in this study will require approximately 15-20 minutes of your time today. If you are randomly selected and agree to a follow up telephone interview, that interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes, at a later date. Participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all, not to answer certain questions, or discontinue participation without penalty. You indicate your voluntary agreement to participate by completing and returning this questionnaire by January 15, 2001.

**Confidentiality** will be protected. Your name will not appear on the questionnaire or be used in written or verbal presentation of the data. The questionnaire is numbered to ascertain who returned it. Once the questionnaire is received and verified, your name will be removed from the master mailing list and the telephone information will be separated from the questionnaire. To minimize the chance of inferred identity, characteristics or individual responses that would be identifiable in the dissertation will not be used. Data from the questionnaire will be presented in aggregate form in any presentation or publication. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. Thus, no individual name will ever be connected to this study.

Thank you for participating in this important research project. Your input and experiences are valued. You may contact me at 517 773-9037 if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact Dr. David E. Wright, Chairperson, University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects at 517 355-2180.

Sincerely,  
René Revis Shingles, MS, ATC  
Ph.D. Candidate

### **Follow-up Post Card**

**Recently you received the Women in Athletic Training Career and Educational Experiences Survey as a part of my dissertation research. Your input and experiences are valued, therefore, if you are willing to participate, please return the survey as soon as possible. If you are not willing to participate, return the survey anyway, so that another participant may be selected. If you have already completed and returned the survey, please accept my sincerest thanks.**

**Yours truly,**

**René Revis Shingles, MS, ATC  
Ph.D. Candidate  
Michigan State University**

## **APPENDIX D**

### **Informed Consent for Interview**

Hello, may I speak to \_\_\_\_\_?

My name is René Revis Shingles. I am a certified athletic trainer and Ph.D. candidate at Michigan State University. I am conducting follow up telephone interviews for my dissertation study on the status of women in athletic training. The purposes of this study are to (a) increase the knowledge bases and understanding of the career and educational experiences of diverse women in athletic training, (b) provide feedback from women participants with suggestions and strategies related to gender and ethnicity issues in athletic training and (c) give voice to women certified athletic trainers.

The telephone interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes. Participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all, not to answer certain questions, or discontinue participation without penalty.

Your confidentiality will be protected. To minimize the chance of inferred identity, characteristics or individual responses that would be identifiable in the transcript or dissertation will not be used. If you allow the interview to be taped, the audio tape will be destroyed after the data are transcribed. You have the right to review the transcript, make changes and consent to its use. The transcripts will be viewed only by me and appropriate dissertation committee members. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

I am conducting interviews this week. Do you consent to a telephone interview? Do you consent to be audio taped? If now is not a good time, when can I interview you (day, date, time)? At what number can I reach you?

Thank you for your time and participation.

Day:

Date:

Time:

Date of consent:

## APPENDIX E

### Informed Consent for Transcript and Email Directions

Dear xxx:

Thank you for allowing me to interview you for my dissertation. Your time and experiences are valued. Enclosed please find a copy of the transcript of our conversation. As noted on the survey letter and prior to the interview, your confidentiality will be protected. Your name will not appear in the transcript or be used in written or verbal presentation of the data. To minimize the chance of inferred identity, characteristics or individual responses that would be identifiable in the dissertation will not be used. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. Thus, no individual name will ever be connected to this study.

Please strike through any responses you feel will compromise your confidentiality, and I will not use them. Also, please check if the words and meanings in the transcript accurately reflect your feelings, thoughts and the events that we discussed. If not, make any changes necessary to accurately reflect what you meant.

Again, participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all, not to have certain responses used, or discontinue participation without penalty. If I do not receive the transcript by \_\_\_\_\_, I will assume that you voluntarily agree to participate, and that no changes need to be made.

It is with deep and sincere gratitude that I thank you for your continued participation in this important research project. You may contact me at 989 773-9037 if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in this study, you may contact Dr. David E. Wright of Michigan State University, Chairperson, University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects at 517 355-2180.

Sincerely,

René Revis Shingles, MS, ATC  
Ph.D. Candidate  
Michigan State University

## Email Directions

Thank you again for participating in this dissertation project. Here are a few instructions that will be helpful:

- ❖ Open the attachments in Microsoft word.
- ❖ Use **bold** when making corrections, so they are easily identifiable.
- ❖ Save the corrected transcript as a Microsoft word document
- ❖ Send the new transcript as an email attachment.
- ❖ **If there are no changes, just indicate that in the reply.**

My email address is [shing1rr@mail.cmich.edu](mailto:shing1rr@mail.cmich.edu)

That is...[shing\(one\)rr@mail.cmich.edu](mailto:shing(one)rr@mail.cmich.edu)

## APPENDIX F

### Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experience Survey

**Instructions:**

Please circle the number that most closely corresponds to your feeling about the statement. The available responses are **strongly agree (1), agree (2), neither agree nor disagree (3), disagree (4), strongly disagree (5)**. For purposes of this survey, the following definitions apply:

**Athletic training educational experiences** refers to the experiences that occurred during the period of time that you were involved in athletic training coursework and clinical hours, prior to certification.

**Athletic training career experiences** refers to the experiences that occurred during the first 5 years of your employment as a full or part time National Athletic Trainers' Association Board of Certification, Inc. certified athletic trainer.

<b>Athletic Training Educational Experiences</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
1. My athletic training classroom experiences were comparable to those of my male classmates.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My athletic training classroom experiences were not comparable to those of my other female classmates.	1	2	3	4	5
3. My athletic training clinical experiences were not comparable to those of my male classmates.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My athletic training clinical experiences were comparable to those of my other female classmates.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I was not adequately prepared to recondition and rehabilitate athletic injuries.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I was adequately prepared to provide health care administration.	1	2	3	4	5
7. If sexually harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.	1	2	3	4	5
8. If racially/ethnically harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.	1	2	3	4	5
9. If openly discriminated against, I was adequately prepared to handle it.	1	2	3	4	5
10. If my decision regarding athlete/patient care were challenged, I was adequately prepared to handle it.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I was not adequately prepared to treat male athletes.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I was adequately prepared to treat female athletes.	1	2	3	4	5

<b>Athletic Training Educational Experiences Continued</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
13. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different cultural beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different religious beliefs.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I was aware of barriers that negatively impacted on my athletic training educational experiences.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Women student athletic trainers were perceived as lesbians if they did not act or dress feminine.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Women student athletic trainers were perceived as lesbians if they did not openly date men.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I felt I had to act or dress feminine in order to be perceived as "not lesbian".	1	2	3	4	5
19. I often felt like the "token" woman.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I often felt like I had to "pave the way" for women.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I often felt like the "token" person of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I often felt like I had to "pave the way" for people of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
23. At times I felt overwhelmed by what was expected of me as a student athletic trainer.	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Athletic Training Career Experiences</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
24. I felt that my athletic training skills were equal to those with whom I worked.	1	2	3	4	5
25. During this period in my life, I was not aware that there were other female athletic trainers of my ethnic/racial group.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I was comfortable interacting with male colleagues in the workplace setting.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I was uncomfortable interacting with male colleagues in social settings.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I was uncomfortable interacting with female colleagues in the workplace setting.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I was comfortable interacting with female colleagues in social settings.	1	2	3	4	5
30. My credibility as a professional was negatively affected by my gender more so than level of experience.	1	2	3	4	5
31. My credibility as a professional was positively affected by my race/ethnicity more so than level of experience.	1	2	3	4	5



<b>Athletic Training Career Experiences Continued</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>SD</b>
32. I often felt like the “official spokesperson” on racial/ethnic issues that pertain to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
33. I often felt like the “official spokesperson” on gender or women’s issues.	1	2	3	4	5
34. I often felt like I had to dress feminine in order to be perceived as “not lesbian”.	1	2	3	4	5
35. I often felt like I had to act feminine in order to be perceived as “not lesbian”.	1	2	3	4	5
36. Once certified, I had the same access to job opportunities with professional sport teams as male athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5
37. Once certified, I had the same access to professional advancement/promotion as male athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5
38. Once certified, I had the same access to professional advancement/promotion as other female athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5
39. At times I felt overwhelmed by what was expected of me.	1	2	3	4	5
40. Once certified, I was paid the same salary as male athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5
41. Once certified, I was paid the same salary as other female athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5
42. My decisions regarding athlete/patient care were challenged by coaches more so than male colleagues.	1	2	3	4	5
43. My decisions regarding athlete/patient care were challenged by coaches more so than colleagues of a different race/ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5

To assist me in analyzing the responses to the above items, I need to know a few things about you.

In what year were you certified? 19\_\_

Which best describes your route to certification? (circle one)

1. Undergraduate approved/accredited curriculum program
2. Undergraduate internship
3. Graduate approved curriculum program
4. Graduate internship
5. Grandfathered

**Which best describes your highest level of education (circle one)**

1. Bachelor's degree (e.g. B.S./ B.A.)
2. Master's degree (e.g. M.S./M.A.)
3. Doctoral degree (e.g. Ph.D./Ed.D.)
4. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Which best describes your racial/ethnic heritage as defined on the NATA Membership and Renewal Form?**

1. American Indian/Alaskan Native
2. Asian/Pacific Islander
3. Black (not of Hispanic origin)
4. Hispanic
5. White (not of Hispanic origin)
6. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**If different from above, please tell me how you self-identify in terms of racial/ethnic heritage.** \_\_\_\_\_

**Based on your responses to this survey, what suggestions would you make to athletic training educators to better prepare women students to enter the profession?**

**Is there anything else you would like to share with me?**

**Thank you for your time and sincere responses to this survey.**

**YES! I would like to be considered for the follow up telephone interview if selected.**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Home Telephone number \_\_\_\_\_ Best time to call \_\_\_\_\_

Work Telephone number \_\_\_\_\_ Best time to call \_\_\_\_\_

Please circle your time zone (Pacific, Mountain, Central, Eastern)

# APPENDIX G

TABLE 10 FACTOR ANALYSIS: 1-23, 24-43, 1-43

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. My athletic training classroom experiences were comparable to those of my male classmates.		0.44	-0.76				
2. My athletic training classroom experiences were not comparable to those of my other female classmates.							
3. My athletic training clinical experiences were not comparable to those of my male classmates.			0.70				
4. My athletic training clinical experiences were comparable to those of my other female classmates.			0.70				
5. I was not adequately prepared to recondition and rehabilitate athletic injuries.			-0.78				
6. I was adequately prepared to provide health care administration.							-0.74
7. If sexually harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.							0.72
8. If racially/ethnically harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.		0.86					
9. If openly discriminated against, I was adequately prepared to handle it.		0.93					
10. If my decision regarding athlete/patient care were challenged, I was adequately prepared me to handle it.		0.87					
11. I was not adequately prepared to treat male athletes.		0.42		-0.43		0.66	

12. I was adequately prepared to treat female athletes.									0.82	
13. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different cultural beliefs.	-0.53									
14. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different religious beliefs.	-0.70									
15. I was aware of barriers that negatively impacted on my athletic training educational experiences.								0.67		
16. Women student athletic trainers were perceived as lesbians if they did not act or dress feminine.	0.87									
17. Women student athletic trainers were perceived as lesbians if they did not openly date men.	0.86									
18. I felt I had to act or dress feminine in order to be perceived as "not lesbian".	0.75									
19. I often felt like the "token" woman.							0.90			
20. I often felt like I had to "pave the way" for women.							0.74			
21. I often felt like the "token" person of my racial/ethnic group.							0.64	0.48		
22. I often felt like I had to "pave the way" for people of my racial/ethnic group.							0.43	0.76		
23. At times I felt overwhelmed by what was expected of me as a student athletic trainer.									0.86	

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. I felt that my athletic training skills were equal to those with whom I worked.			0.71				
25. During this period in my life, I was not aware that there were other female athletic trainers of my ethnic/racial group.	0.71				0.41		
26. I was comfortable interacting with male colleagues in the workplace setting.	-0.70						
27. I was uncomfortable interacting with male colleagues in social settings.	0.67	-0.49					
28. I was uncomfortable interacting with female colleagues in the workplace setting.	0.73						
29. I was comfortable interacting with female colleagues in social settings.	-0.66						
30. My credibility as a professional was negatively affected by my gender more so than level of experience.	0.58						
31. My credibility as a professional was positively affected by my race/ethnicity more so than level of experience.	0.41				0.68		
32. I often felt like the "official spokesperson" on racial/ethnic issues that pertain to my racial/ethnic group.	0.74						
33. I often felt like the "official spokesperson" on gender or women's issues.	0.42	0.69					
34. I often felt like I had to dress feminine in order to be perceived as "not lesbian".		0.72					
35. I often felt like I had to act feminine in order to be perceived as "not lesbian".		0.71	-0.49				
36. Once certified, I had the same access to job opportunities with professional sport teams as male athletic trainers.		-0.68	-0.52				

37. Once certified, I had the same access to professional advancement/promotion as male athletic trainers.	-0.78								
38. Once certified, I had the same access to professional advancement/promotion as other female athletic trainers.	0.68	0.43							
39. At times I felt overwhelmed by what was expected of me.		0.70	-0.45						
40. Once certified, I was paid the same salary as male athletic trainers.	-0.47	-0.40	0.52						
41. Once certified, I was paid the same salary as other female athletic trainers.		0.57	0.62						
42. My decisions regarding athlete/patient care were challenged by coaches more so than male colleagues.	0.45		0.62						
43. My decisions regarding athlete/patient care were challenged by coaches more so than colleagues of a different race/ethnicity.	0.70								

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. My athletic training classroom experiences were comparable to those of my male classmates.			-0.76									
2. My athletic training classroom experiences were not comparable to those of my other female classmates.			0.76									
3. My athletic training clinical experiences were not comparable to those of my male classmates.			0.79									
4. My athletic training clinical experiences were comparable to those of my other female classmates.			-0.81									
5. I was not adequately prepared to precondition and rehabilitate athletic injuries.												
6. I was adequately prepared to provide health care administration.		-0.57										0.87
7. If sexually harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.				0.81	-0.46							
8. If racially/ethnically harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.				0.95								
9. If openly discriminated against, I was adequately prepared to handle it.				0.86								
10. If my decision regarding athlete/patient care were challenged, I was adequately prepared me to handle it.					-0.56					0.57		
11. I was not adequately prepared to treat male athletes.	0.56											
12. I was adequately prepared to treat female athletes.												
13. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different cultural beliefs.									-0.52			
14. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different religious beliefs.										0.77		
	-0.51											0.51







## APPENDIX H

### Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences Interview Survey

Interview participant # \_\_\_\_\_ Time Start \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Time End \_\_\_\_\_

#### Athletic Training Classroom Experiences

During your athletic training education, describe your classroom experiences relative to the classmates, instructor, curriculum content (types of classes).

During your athletic training education, describe how you were treated by your classmates, instructors. Were you treated any differently than other athletic training students? Explain.

Can you give an example where being a (an) (race/ethnicity) female has advantaged you in the classroom? If so, please explain.

Can you give an example where being a (an) (race/ethnicity) female has disadvantaged you in the classroom? If so, please explain.

Did you ever experience sexual discrimination or sexual harassment in classroom? If so tell me about it.

Did you ever experience racial discrimination or racism in classroom? If so tell me about it.

Did you ever experience discrimination because of sexual orientation in classroom? If so tell me about it.

#### Athletic Training Clinical Experiences

What clinical assignments did you have?

**Describe your clinical experiences relative to relationships with athletes/patients, coaches, supervising ATC's. Were there any particular incidences?**

**Describe any variances in quantity or quality of the clinical experience relative to other student athletic trainers.**

**Were there any gender or ethnic based differences in the clinical assignments? If so, tell me about them.**

**As a student athletic trainer, did your interactions with athletes/patients differ when they were same/different gender?...same/different race/ethnicity? If so how?**

**Can you give an example where being a (an) (race/ethnicity) female has advantaged you in the clinical assignment? If so, please explain.**

**Can you give an example where being a (an) (race/ethnicity) female has disadvantaged you in the clinical assignment? If so, please explain.**

**Did you ever experience sexual discrimination or sexual harassment in clinical rotation? If so tell me about it.**

**Did you ever experience racial discrimination or racism in clinical rotation? If so tell me about it.**

**Did you ever experience discrimination because of sexual orientation in clinical rotation? If so tell me about it.**

**Athletic Training Career Experiences (first 5 years)**

**Tell me about your experiences as an ATC in the first 5 years of your career.**

**Employment setting**

**Relationship to peers (other ATC's/Coaches), superiors, clients**

**As an ATC, did your interactions with athletes/patients differ when they were same/different gender?... same/different race/ethnicity? If so how?**

**Can you give an example where being a (an) (race/ethnicity) female has advantaged you in the work place? If so, please explain.**

**Can you give an example where being a (an) (race/ethnicity) female has disadvantaged you in the work place? If so, please explain.**

**Did you ever experience sexual discrimination or sexual harassment in workplace? If so tell me about it.**

**Did you ever experience racial discrimination or racism in workplace? If so tell me about it.**

**To what extent was your femininity or sexual orientation questioned?**

**Did you ever experience discrimination because of sexual orientation in workplace? If so tell me about it.**

**To what extent did your education prepare you to deal with the following:  
The ATC/coach relationship? The ATC/physician relationship?**



**An athlete/client “coming out” to you, wanting to discuss issues of sexual orientation?**

**An athlete/client telling you they have been/are being sexually harassed?**

**An athlete/client telling you they have been/are being racially harassed?**

**Additional questions:**

**How could your career experiences (first 5 years) have been more satisfying?**

**How could your educational experiences have been more satisfying?**

**What impact have you had on the profession?**

**What impact have you had on women in the profession?**

**If you had the power to make changes in athletic training education, what would they be?**

If you had the power to make changes in the NATA, what would they be?

Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your educational or early career experiences?

What does it mean to be a woman certified athletic trainer today?

Demographics:

In what year were you certified?

What was your route to certification?

What was the setting of your first job?

How do you self-identify your racial/ethnic heritage?

The NATA identifies you as \_\_\_\_\_, tell me about this.

What is your sexual orientation?

What else would you like to add?

Thank you. I will send you a copy of the transcript, please make changes and return it to me. To what address/email can I send the transcript?

# APPENDIX I

Table 11: Women in Athletic Training: Career and Educational Experiences Survey Results

Athletic Training Educational Experiences	SA	A	N	D	SD	M	SD
1. My athletic training classroom experiences were comparable to those of my male classmates.	1	2	3	4	5		
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	15 (53.6)	10 (35.7)	2 (7.1)	1 (3.6)		1.61	0.79
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	10 (52.6)	9 (47.4)				1.47	0.51
Hispanic (n=37)	27 (73.0)	6 (16.2)	2 (5.4)	2 (5.4)		1.43	0.83
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	88 (58.3)	50 (33.1)	9 (6.0)	4 (2.6)		1.53	0.73
2. My athletic training classroom experiences were not comparable to those of my other female classmates.	1	2	3	4	5		
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	12 (42.9)	11 (39.3)	2 (7.1)	1 (3.6)	2 (7.1)	1.93	1.15
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	10 (52.6)	7 (36.8)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)		1.63	0.83
Hispanic (n=37)	23 (62.2)	8 (21.6)	3 (8.1)	3 (8.1)		1.62	0.95
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	77 (51.0)	53 (35.1)	13 (8.6)	6 (4.0)		1.70	0.89
3. My athletic training clinical experiences were not comparable to those of my male classmates.	1	2	3	4	5		
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	9 (32.1)	7 (25.0)	3 (10.7)	6 (21.4)	3 (10.7)	2.54	1.43
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	7 (36.8)	5 (26.3)	2 (10.5)	3 (15.8)	2 (10.5)	2.37	1.42
Hispanic (n=37)	20 (54.1)	8 (21.6)	3 (8.1)	5 (13.5)	1 (2.7)	1.89	1.20
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	63 (41.7)	46 (30.5)	10 (6.6)	20 (13.2)	12 (7.9)	2.15	1.31
4. My athletic training clinical experiences were comparable to those of my other female classmates.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	9 (32.1)	14 (50.0)	4 (14.3)	1 (3.6)		1.89	0.79
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	8 (42.1)	8 (42.1)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	1.47	1.10
Hispanic (n=37)	21 (56.8)	13 (35.1)	3 (8.1)			1.51	0.65
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	66 (43.7)	65 (43.0)	11 (7.3)	8 (5.3)	12 (7.9)	1.76	0.85

5. I was not adequately prepared to recondition and rehabilitate athletic injuries.					
	1	2	3	4	5
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	14 (50.0)	4 (14.3)	5 (17.9)	2 (7.1)
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	6 (31.6)	7 (36.8)	2 (10.5)	2 (10.5)	2 (10.5)
Hispanic (n=37)	17 (45.9)	10 (27.0)	1 (2.7)	8 (21.6)	1 (2.7)
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	58 (38.4)	62 (41.1)	11 (7.3)	18 (11.9)	2 (1.3)
6. I was adequately prepared to provide health care administration.					
	1	2	3	4	5
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	12 (42.9)	6 (21.4)	7 (25.0)	
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	3 (15.8)	8 (42.1)	2 (10.5)	4 (21.1)	2 (10.5)
Hispanic (n=37)	8 (21.6)	17 (45.9)	7 (18.9)	5 (13.5)	
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	32 (21.2)	66 (43.7)	26 (17.2)	24 (15.9)	3 (2.0)
7. If sexually harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.					
	1	2	3	4	5
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	9 (32.1)	4 (14.3)	5 (17.9)	6 (21.4)
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	5 (26.3)	5 (26.3)	3 (15.8)	5 (26.3)	1 (5.3)
Hispanic (n=37)	9 (24.3)	8 (21.6)	7 (18.9)	11 (29.7)	2 (5.4)
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	24 (15.9)	59 (39.1)	21 (13.9)	34 (22.5)	13 (8.6)
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8. If racially/ethnically harassed by athletes, patients, coaches, or colleagues I was adequately prepared to handle it.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	6 (21.4)	9 (32.1)	4 (14.3)	6 (21.4)	3 (10.7)	2.68	1.33
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	3 (15.8)	8 (42.1)	1 (5.3)	6 (31.6)	1 (5.3)	2.68	1.25
Hispanic (n=37)	8 (21.6)	9 (24.3)	11 (29.7)	8 (21.6)	1 (2.7)	2.59	1.14
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	24 (15.9)	56 (37.1)	37 (24.5)	28 (18.5)	6 (4.0)	2.58	1.09
9. If openly discriminated against, I was adequately prepared to handle it	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	6 (21.4)	7 (25.0)	4 (14.3)	7 (25.0)	4 (14.3)	2.86	1.41
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	4 (21.1)	7 (36.8)	1 (5.3)	4 (21.1)	3 (15.8)	2.74	1.45
Hispanic (n=37)	7 (18.9)	9 (24.3)	9 (24.3)	10 (27.0)	2 (5.4)	2.76	1.21
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	16 (10.6)	57 (37.7)	28 (18.8)	39 (25.8)	11 (7.3)	2.81	1.15
10. If my decision regarding athlete/patient care were challenged, I was adequately prepared to handle it.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	14 (50.0)	34 (10.7)	5 (17.9)	2 (7.1)	2.54	1.17
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	15 (78.9)	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)	2.37	0.83
Hispanic (n=37)	6 (16.2)	16 (43.2)	9 (24.3)	5 (13.5)	1 (2.7)	2.43	1.01
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	28 (18.5)	79 (52.3)	19 (12.6)	22 (14.6)	3 (2.0)	2.29	1.00
11. I was not adequately prepared to treat male athletes.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	12 (42.9)	11 (39.3)	3 (10.7)	2 (7.1)		1.82	0.90
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	8 (42.1)	10 (52.6)			1 (5.3)	1.74	0.93
Hispanic (n=37)	17 (45.9)	17 (45.9)	1 (2.7)	2 (5.4)		1.68	0.78
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	68 (45.0)	73 (48.3)	3 (2.0)	6 (4.0)	1 (0.7)	1.69	0.76

12. I was adequately prepared to treat female athletes. Asian/Pacific Island (n=28) Black, non-Hispanic (n=19) Hispanic (n=37) White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
	10 (35.7)	15 (53.6)	1 (3.6)	2 (7.1)		1.82	0.82
	8 (42.1)	8 (42.1)		2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	1.95	1.18
	18 (48.6)	17 (45.9)	1 (2.7)	1 (2.7)		1.59	0.69
	67 (44.4)	69 (45.7)	3 (2.0)	9 (6.0)	3 (2.0)	1.75	0.91
13. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different cultural beliefs. Asian/Pacific Island (n=28) Black, non-Hispanic (n=19) Hispanic (n=37) White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
	4 (14.3)	6 (21.4)	6 (21.4)	7 (25.0)	5 (17.9)	3.11	1.34
	1 (5.3)	4 (21.1)	4 (21.1)	6 (10.5)	4 (21.1)	3.42	1.22
		6 (16.2)	8 (21.6)	15 (40.5)	8 (21.6)	3.68	1.00
	3 (2.0)	37 (24.5)	36 (23.8)	61 (40.4)	14 (9.3)	3.30	1.01
14. I was adequately prepared in health care practices associated with different religious beliefs. Asian/Pacific Island (n=28) Black, non-Hispanic (n=19) Hispanic (n=37) White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
	3 (10.7)	5 (17.9)	5 (17.9)	10 (35.7)	5 (17.9)	3.32	1.28
		3 (15.8)	5 (26.3)	7 (36.8)	4 (21.1)	3.63	1.01
		4 (10.8)	9 (24.3)	16 (43.2)	8 (21.6)	3.76	0.93
	3 (2.0)	29 (19.2)	38 (25.2)	62 (41.1)	19 (12.6)	3.43	1.00
15. I was aware of barriers that negatively impacted on my athletic training educational experiences. Asian/Pacific Island (n=28) Black, non-Hispanic (n=19) Hispanic (n=37) White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
	2 (7.1)	13 (46.4)	8 (28.6)	3 (10.7)	2 (7.1)	2.64	1.03
	1 (5.3)	9 (47.4)	1 (5.3)	7 (36.8)	1 (5.3)	2.89	1.15
	1 (2.7)	14 (37.8)	7 (18.9)	11 (29.7)	4 (10.8)	3.08	1.12
	12 (7.9)	43 (28.5)	42 (27.8)	42 (27.8)	12 (9)	2.99	1.10

16. Women student athletic trainers were perceived as lesbians if they did not act or dress feminine.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	7 (25.0)	5 (17.9)	7 (25.0)	5 (17.9)	3.07	1.36
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	2 (10.5)	3 (15.8)	8 (42.1)	4 (21.1)	2 (10.5)	3.05	1.13
Hispanic (n=37)	1 (2.7)	6 (16.2)	2 (5.4)	14 (37.8)	14 (37.8)	3.92	1.16
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	9 (6.0)	30 (19.9)	23 (15.2)	44 (29.1)	45 (29.8)	3.57	1.27
17. Women student athletic trainers were perceived as lesbians if they did not openly date men.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	6 (21.4)	4 (14.3)	8 (28.6)	6 (21.4)	3.21	1.40
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	5 (26.3)	9 (47.4)	4 (21.1)		2.84	0.83
Hispanic (n=37)		6 (16.2)	3 (8.1)	15 (40.5)	13 (35.1)	3.95	1.05
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	9 (6.0)	23 (15.2)	24 (15.9)	55 (36.4)	40 (26.5)	3.62	1.20
18. I felt I had to act or dress feminine in order to be perceived as "not lesbian".	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	2 (7.1)	4 (14.3)	9 (32.1)	10 (35.7)	3.75	1.32
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	2 (10.5)	2 (10.9)	9 (47.4)	5 (26.3)	3.79	1.13
Hispanic (n=37)	1 (2.7)	2 (5.4)	2 (5.4)	12 (32.4)	20 (54.1)	4.30	1.00
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	4 (2.6)	19 (12.6)	16 (10.6)	54 (35.8)	58 (38.4)	3.95	1.11
19. I often felt like the "token" woman.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	4 (14.3)	5 (17.9)	6 (21.4)	10 (35.7)	3.57	1.40
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)		13 (68.4)	4 (21.1)	3.95	0.97
Hispanic (n=37)		4 (10.8)	6 (16.2)	12 (32.4)	15 (40.5)	4.03	1.01
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	8 (5.3)	7 (4.6)	16 (10.6)	60 (39.7)	60 (39.7)	4.04	1.08

20. I often felt like I had to "pave the way" for women.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	5 (17.9)	4 (14.3)	5 (17.9)	6 (21.4)	8 (28.6)	3.29	1.49
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	4 (21.1)	2 (10.5)	11 (57.9)	1 (5.3)	3.37	1.07
Hispanic (n=37)	2 (5.4)	3 (8.1)	4 (10.8)	17 (45.9)	11 (29.7)	3.86	1.11
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	9 (6.0)	26 (17.2)	17 (11.3)	57 (37.7)	42 (27.8)	3.64	1.22
21. I often felt like the "token" person of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	5 (17.9)	7 (25.0)	5 (17.9)	6 (21.4)	5 (17.9)	2.96	1.40
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	3 (15.8)	7 (36.8)	2 (10.5)	7 (36.8)		2.68	1.16
Hispanic (n=37)	2 (5.4)	3 (8.1)	9 (24.3)	13 (35.1)	10 (27.0)	3.70	1.13
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)		5 (3.3)	29 (19.2)	43 (28.5)	74 (49.0)	4.23	0.88
22. I often felt like I had to "pave the way" for people of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	4 (14.3)	5 (17.9)	10 (35.7)	5 (17.9)	3.29	1.33
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	4 (21.1)	12 (63.2)		3 (15.8)		2.11	0.94
Hispanic (n=37)	2 (5.4)	4 (10.8)	6 (16.2)	13 (35.1)	12 (32.4)	3.78	1.18
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)		3 (2.0)	30 (19.9)	45 (29.8)	73 (48.3)	4.25	0.84
23. At times I felt overwhelmed by what was expected of me as a student athletic trainer.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	6 (21.4)	10 (35.7)	2 (7.1)	7 (25.0)	3 (10.7)	2.68	1.36
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	9 (47.4)	3 (15.8)	4 (26.3)	1 (5.3)	2.79	1.08
Hispanic (n=37)	3 (8.1)	14 (37.8)	3 (8.1)	9 (24.3)	8 (21.6)	3.14	1.36
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	17 (11.3)	34 (22.5)	23 (15.2)	48 (31.8)	29 (19.2)	3.25	1.31



# Athletic Training Career Experiences

	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
24. I felt that my athletic training skills were equal to those with whom I worked.							
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	5 (17.9)	15 (53.6)	1 (3.6)	7 (25.0)		2.36	1.06
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	4 (21.1)	13 (68.4)		2 (10.5)		2.00	0.82
Hispanic (n=37)	12 (32.4)	23 (62.2)		2 (5.4)		1.78	0.71
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	51 (33.8)	74 (49.0)	6 (4.0)	18 (11.9)	2 (1.3)	1.98	0.99
25. During this period in my life, I was not aware that there were other female athletic trainers of my ethnic/racial group.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	2 (7.1)	9 (32.1)	3 (10.7)	10 (35.7)	4 (14.3)	3.18	1.25
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)		12 (63.2)	1 (5.3)	4 (21.1)	2 (10.5)	2.79	1.13
Hispanic (n=37)	13 (35.1)	9 (24.3)	4 (10.8)	9 (24.3)	2 (5.4)	2.41	1.34
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	67 (44.4)	60 (39.7)	21 (13.9)	3 (2.0)		1.74	0.77
26. I was comfortable interacting with male colleagues in the workplace setting.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	12 (42.9)	14 (50.0)	1 (3.6)	1 (3.6)		1.68	0.72
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	6 (31.6)	12 (63.2)		1 (5.3)		1.79	0.71
Hispanic (n=37)	19 (51.4)	17 (45.9)	1 (2.7)			1.51	0.56
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	81 (53.6)	66 (43.7)	1 (0.7)	3 (2.0)		1.51	0.62
27. I was uncomfortable interacting with male colleagues in social settings.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	12 (42.9)	11 (39.3)	2 (7.1)	3 (10.7)		1.86	0.97
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	8 (42.1)	9 (47.4)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)		1.74	0.81
Hispanic (n=37)	22 (59.5)	13 (35.1)	1 (2.7)		1 (2.7)	1.51	0.80
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	72 (47.7)	61 (40.4)	10 (6.6)	6 (4.0)	2 (1.3)	1.71	0.86

	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
28. I was uncomfortable interacting with female colleagues in the workplace setting.							
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	13 (46.4)	12 (42.9)	1 (3.6)	1 (3.6)	1 (3.6)	1.75	0.97
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	7 (36.8)	11 (57.9)	1 (5.3)			1.68	0.58
Hispanic (n=37)	22 (59.5)	14 (37.8)			1 (2.7)	1.49	0.77
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	74 (49.0)	62 (41.1)	5 (3.3)	9 (6.0)	1 (0.7)	1.68	0.85
29. I was comfortable interacting with female colleagues in social settings.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	15 (53.6)	10 (35.7)	1 (3.6)	1 (3.6)	1 (3.6)	1.68	0.98
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	6 (31.6)	11 (57.9)	1 (5.3)	1 (5.3)		1.84	0.76
Hispanic (n=37)	17 (45.9)	15 (40.5)		4 (10.8)	1 (2.7)	1.84	1.07
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	64 (42.4)	63 (41.7)	8 (5.3)	12 (7.9)	4 (2.6)	1.87	1.01
30. My credibility as a professional was negatively affected by my gender more so than level of experience.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	7 (25.0)	3 (10.7)	7 (25.0)	8 (28.6)	3.36	1.42
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	3 (15.8)	3 (15.8)	4 (21.1)	6 (31.6)	3 (15.8)	3.16	1.34
Hispanic (n=37)	1 (2.7)	11 (29.7)	4 (10.8)	11 (29.7)	10 (27.0)	3.49	1.26
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	8 (5.3)	28 (18.5)	18 (11.9)	52 (34.4)	45 (29.8)	3.65	1.23
31. My credibility as a professional was positively affected by my race/ethnicity more so than level of experience.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	2 (7.1)		8 (28.6)	11 (39.3)	7 (25.0)	3.75	1.08
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	2 (10.5)	3 (15.8)	9 (47.4)	4 (21.1)	3.68	1.11
Hispanic (n=37)		5 (13.5)	11 (29.7)	11 (29.7)	10 (27.0)	3.70	1.02
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	1 (0.7)	5 (3.3)	46 (30.5)	63 (41.7)	36 (23.8)	3.85	0.85
32. I often felt like the "official spokesperson" on racial/ethnic issues that pertain to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	2 (7.1)	4 (14.3)	7 (25.0)	9 (32.1)	6 (21.4)	3.46	
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	5 (26.3)	6 (31.6)	3 (15.8)	5 (26.3)		2.42	1.20
Hispanic (n=37)		4 (10.8)	8 (21.6)	11 (29.7)	14 (37.8)	3.95	1.17
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)		5 (3.3)	41 (27.2)	55 (36.4)	50 (33.1)	3.99	0.86

33. I often felt like the "official spokesperson" on gender or women's issues.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	1 (3.6)	5 (17.9)	8 (28.6)	8 (28.6)	6 (21.4)	3.46	1.14
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)		6 (31.6)	2 (10.5)	11 (57.9)		3.26	0.93
Hispanic (n=37)		8 (21.6)	9 (24.3)	10 (27.0)	10 (27.0)	3.59	1.12
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	8 (5.3)	23 (15.2)	36 (23.8)	53 (35.1)	31 (20.5)	3.50	1.14
34. I often felt like I had to dress feminine in order to be perceived as "not lesbian".	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	3 (10.7)	2 (7.1)	10 (35.7)	10 (35.7)	3.75	1.35
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	4 (21.1)	10 (52.6)	2 (10.5)	3.47	1.12
Hispanic (n=37)	1 (2.7)	3 (8.1)	1 (2.7)	10 (27.0)	22 (59.5)	4.32	1.06
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	4 (2.6)	18 (11.9)	14 (9.3)	56 (37.1)	59 (39.1)	3.98	1.10
35. I often felt like I had to act feminine in order to be perceived as "not lesbian".	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	4 (14.3)	2 (7.1)	9 (32.1)	10 (35.7)	3.68	1.39
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	4 (21.1)	10 (52.6)	2 (10.5)	3.47	1.12
Hispanic (n=37)	1 (2.7)	3 (8.1)	1 (2.7)	10 (27.0)	22 (59.5)	4.32	1.06
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	7 (4.6)	10 (6.1)	20 (13.2)	56 (37.1)	58 (38.4)	3.98	1.10

36. Once certified, I had the same access to job opportunities with professional sport teams as male athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)		1 (3.6)	7 (25.0)	10 (35.7)	10 (35.7)	4.04	0.88
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)			4 (21.1)	5 (26.3)	10 (52.6)	4.32	0.82
Hispanic (n=37)	1 (2.7)	2 (5.4)	8 (21.6)	8 (21.6)	18 (48.6)	4.08	1.09
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	4 (2.6)	7 (4.6)	22 (14.6)	37 (24.5)	81 (53.6)	4.22	1.03
37. Once certified, I had the same access to professional advancement/promotion as male athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	2 (7.1)	2 (7.1)	4 (14.3)	11 (39.3)	9 (32.1)	3.82	1.19
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)		3 (15.8)	3 (15.8)	5 (26.3)	8 (42.1)	3.95	1.13
Hispanic (n=37)	3 (8.1)	9 (24.3)	8 (21.6)	4 (10.8)	13 (35.1)	3.41	1.40
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	14 (9.3)	42 (27.8)	17 (11.3)	33 (21.9)	45 (29.8)	3.35	1.40
38. Once certified, I had the same access to professional advancement/promotion as other female athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	5 (17.9)	16 (57.1)	6 (21.4)		1 (3.6)	2.41	0.85
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	14 (73.7)	2 (10.5)	2 (10.5)		2.26	0.73
Hispanic (n=37)	9 (24.3)	17 (45.9)	9 (24.3)	2 (5.4)		2.11	0.84
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	48 (31.8)	87 (57.6)	10 (6.6)	6 (4.0)		1.83	0.72
39. At times I felt overwhelmed by what was expected of me.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	11 (39.3)	3 (10.7)	7 (25.0)	3 (10.7)	2.79	1.29
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	1 (5.3)	9 (47.4)	3 (15.8)	5 (26.3)	1 (5.3)	2.79	1.08
Hispanic (n=37)	4 (10.8)	10 (27.0)	4 (10.8)	14 (37.8)	13 (35.1)	3.16	1.28
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	17 (11.3)	50 (33.1)	23 (15.2)	41 (27.2)	20 (13.2)	2.98	1.35
40. Once certified, I was paid the same salary as male athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	7 (25.0)	3 (10.7)	11 (39.3)	4 (14.3)	3.21	1.29
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	3 (15.8)	2 (10.5)	5 (26.3)	3 (15.8)	6 (31.6)	3.37	1.46
Hispanic (n=37)	5 (13.5)	12 (32.4)	8 (21.6)	7 (18.9)	5 (13.5)	2.86	1.27
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	14 (9.3)	54 (35.8)	33 (21.9)	25 (16.6)	25 (16.6)	2.95	1.25

41. Once certified, I was paid the same salary as other female athletic trainers.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	19 (67.9)	4 (14.3)	1 (3.6)		2.07	0.66
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	4 (21.5)	6 (31.6)	6 (31.6)	2 (10.5)	1 (5.3)	2.47	1.12
Hispanic (n=37)	7 (18.9)	18 (48.6)	11 (29.7)		1 (2.7)	2.19	0.84
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	25 (16.6)	80 (53.0)	39 (25.8)	7 (4.6)		2.19	0.76
42. My decisions regarding athlete/patient care were challenged by coaches more so than male colleagues.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	4 (14.3)	6 (21.4)	7 (25.0)	8 (28.6)	3 (10.7)	3.00	1.25
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	4 (21.5)	4 (21.5)	5 (26.3)	6 (31.6)		2.68	1.16
Hispanic (n=37)	3 (8.1)	17 (45.9)	7 (18.9)	5 (13.5)	5 (13.5)	2.78	1.20
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	21 (13.9)	35 (23.2)	21 (13.9)	55 (36.4)	19 (12.6)	3.11	1.29
43. My decisions regarding athlete/patient care were challenged by coaches more so than colleagues of a different race/ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5	M	SD
Asian/Pacific Island (n=28)	3 (10.7)	3 (10.7)	8 (28.6)	12 (42.9)	2 (7.1)	3.25	1.11
Black, non-Hispanic (n=19)	3 (15.8)	4 (21.5)	6 (31.6)	5 (26.3)	1 (5.3)	2.84	1.17
Hispanic (n=37)	3 (8.1)	7 (18.9)	14 (37.8)	14 (37.8)	5 (13.5)	3.14	1.13
White, non-Hispanic (n=151)	11 (7.3)	12 (7.9)	34 (22.5)	34 (22.5)	34 (22.5)	3.62	1.14

## APPENDIX J

**Table 12: ANOVA Results For Questions That Did Not Load on a Factor**

Quest. No.	Sum of Square	df	F	<i>p</i>
5	10.75	3, 231	2.91	0.04
7	2.73	3, 231	0.64	0.64
8	0.40	3, 231	0.10	0.96
9	0.26	3, 231	0.60	0.98
10	1.74	3, 231	0.57	0.64
12	1.78	3, 231	0.74	0.53
14	4.34	3, 231	1.37	0.25
19	5.31	3, 231	1.45	0.23
20	6.61	3, 231	1.46	0.23
21	70.48	3, 231	22.83	0.001*
22	90.19	3, 231	31.61	0.001*
23	10.14	3, 231	1.98	0.12
24	5.36	3, 231	1.99	0.12
26	1.84	3, 231	1.54	0.21
31	1.02	3, 231	0.40	0.76
32	45.72	3, 231	16.57	0.001*
33	1.43	3, 231	0.38	0.77
35	11.68	3, 231	3.04	0.03
36	1.52	3, 231	0.50	0.69
37	10.07	3, 231	1.83	0.14
38	6.08	3, 231	3.54	0.04
39	2.96	3, 231	0.63	0.60
40	4.86	3, 231	1.00	0.40
41	1.92	3, 231	1.00	0.39

Note. \*  $p = 0.01$

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