The *Journal of Applied Sport Management* is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal that provides cutting-edge applied research in the field of sport management. The mission of the journal is to develop, advance, disseminate, promote, and preserve knowledge within the academic discipline of sport management by providing an outlet that is both grounded in academic theory and driven by the needs of practitioners and the environment of the sport industry. Areas of interest include, but are not limited to, the following sport management subdisciplines: organizational behavior/theory, marketing, law, economics, finance, facility/event management, communication and media relations, sponsorship and sales, and governance, and ethics. The journal is published in cooperation with the Applied Sport Management Association (ASMA).

The *Journal of Applied Sport Management* (print: ISSN 2327-0179, online: 2327-0187) is published and printed quarterly by Sagamore Publishing, 1807 N. Federal Drive, Urbana, IL, 61801. Inquiries should be emailed to journals@sagamorepub.com.

Subscription Rates:
Print ISSN: 2327-0179, Online ISSN: 2327-0187
Quarterly Publication, Print and Online Archives

	Online	Both
Ind.	$80.00	$100.00
Ind. (Int'l.)	$80.00	$120.00
Inst.	$300.00	$350.00
Inst. (Int'l.)	$300.00	$380.00

Send address correspondence concerning subscriptions and change of address to:
Membership/Subscription Department
Journal of Applied Sport Management
Sagamore Publishing, 1807 N. Federal Drive, Urbana, IL 61801
Make check or money order payable to: Sagamore Publishing

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Journal of Applied Sport Management,* Sagamore Publishing, 1807 N. Federal Drive, Urbana, IL, 61801. To order call 800-327-5557, go to www.sagamorejournals.com or e-mail journals@sagamorepub.com

Practitioners

Craig Angelos
Associate Director of Athletics/Compliance
University of South Florida

Nick Assenmacher
Client Services Representative
Ticketmaster, Inc.

J. W. Cannon
Senior Project Lead–Sponsorships and Events
United Parcel Service

Rob Fasoldt
Director of Ticket Sales and Services
St. Louis Cardinals

Jennifer Gibbs
Assistant Commissioner/SWA
Ohio Valley Conference

Scott Gines
Vice President of Intercollegiate Athletics and Campus Recreation
Texas A&M University–Kingsville

Greg Herring
Assistant Athletics Director/Marketing and Sales
East Carolina University

Chauntelle Johnson
Aquatics Director
Mercer Island Country Club

Jen Lohrman
Group Sales Executive
Peabody Opera House

Tim Lynde
Vice President/Television
IMG College

Mark Meadows
Executive Director
BBVA Compass Bowl

Chuck Mitrano
Commissioner
Empire 8 Athletic Conference

Michael Moleta
Senior Associate Athletic Director
Texas Southern University

Michael Montoro
Director of Football Communications
West Virginia University

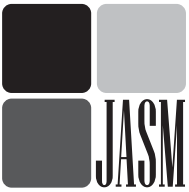
Don Oberhelman
Director of Athletics
California Polytechnic State University

Steve "Ole" Olson
SGFsoccer.com
SWsoccerAllStars.com

Tom Patterson
Sr. Director of Consumer Marketing and Ticketing
Talladega Superspeedway

Jim Schaus
Director of Athletics
Ohio University

Kenneth "Ziggy" Siegfried
Senior Associate Director of Athletics/Development
California State University, Bakersfield



Journal of Applied Sport Management

Volume 7 • Number 4 • Winter 2015

CONTENTS PAGE

The Glass Closet

Perceptions of Homosexuality in Intercollegiate Sport

Jordan Bass
Robin Hardin
Elizabeth A. Taylor

Abstract

A mixed-methods approach was used to examine the perceptions and prevalence of open homosexuality in intercollegiate sport in the United States. University-hosted biographies of NCAA Bowl Championship Series (BCS) head coaches were coded to determine the frequency of head coaches listing a wife, husband, and same-sex partner (Calhoun, LaVoi, & Johnson, 2011). These findings were paired with interviews of five college coaches exploring their feelings toward the culture surrounding homosexuality, by players, coaches, and administrators, at their university. Only one coach of more than 1,000 was identified as having a same-sex partner in university-sponsored coaching biographies. Interview findings revealed collegiate athletics is not as accepting to homosexuality even though societal acceptance is increasing.

Keywords: *gender, homosexuality, coaching biographies, institutional policy, coaching, college sport*

Jordan Bass is an assistant professor and the executive director of the Laboratory for the Study of Sport Management at the University of Kansas.

Robin Hardin is an associate professor in the Department of Kinesiology, Recreation, and Sport Studies at the University of Tennessee.

Elizabeth A. Taylor is a doctoral student in the Sport Management program in the Department of Kinesiology, Recreation, and Sport Studies at the University of Tennessee.

Please send correspondence to Jordan Bass, jrbass@ku.edu

"*Soon enough, she found herself living in a glass closet.*" (Fagan, 2013, para. 20)

ESPN writer Kate Fagan used these words to describe women's basketball player Brittney Griner during her time at Baylor University. After being selected in the WNBA draft, Griner revealed school officials had instructed her to not publicly discuss her sexuality even though she told head coach Kim Mulkey she was gay while she was being recruited (Fagan, 2013). To some, Griner's situation was unique because she attended and played at a private institution with a policy addressing homosexuality in the student handbook. In many ways, however, her identity battle is part of a larger phenomenon where university administrators are increasingly balancing free expression and a changing culture. Princeton Survey Research Associates reported in July 2013 that 55% of respondents believed same-sex couples should be allowed to legally marry. That number was 27% in 1996 (Page, 2013). The delicacy of this balance is heightened in a college sports landscape where administrators and coaches are consistently competing with other institutions and entertainment options for, among other things, athletes, fundraising dollars, and community support. Griner's situation also harkens back to what West and Zimmerman (1987) referred to as "doing" gender:

> …the "doing" of gender is undertaken by women and men whose competence as members of society is hostage to its production. Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures" (p. 126).

Griner was participating in an arena, sport, which Goffman (1977) identified as an "institutionalized framework" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 137) for the expression of manliness. Yet, Griner stated she felt compelled in middle school to "fit in, dressing like the other girls, dating boys, but she was a collage of mismatched pieces, built from images she thought others wanted to see" (Fagan, 2013, para. 6). By high school and college, Griner was a star basketball player who wore "men's sneakers, oversize jeans, and a baggy shirt, try(ing) the stud label on for size" (Fagan, 2013, para. 7). Even so, she "couldn't be all the way out" (Fagan, 2013, para. 5) at Baylor because of the fear of repercussions from fans and society at large.

Further, discrimination based on sexuality has garnered widespread attention in this decade. For example, in November of 2013 the University of Connecticut women's basketball team spoke out against discrimination of lesbian and bisexual athletes in women's sports (Associated Press, 2013). Their statement was part of a larger campaign created by two former college women's basketball players to draw attention to sexual orientation discrimination. Connecticut was the first team featured in a video supporting Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT); the University of North Carolina women's lacrosse team has also filmed a video for the "Br(ache the Silence" campaign.

Purpose of the Study

As the topic of homosexuality in college sport transitions into the national narrative, a mixed-methods framework was used to examine homosexuality in regard to collegiate coaches. First, the prevalence of homosexuality in collegiate coaches' official university biographies was investigated. Next, interviews were utilized to gauge coaches' viewpoints on the acceptance of homosexuality in collegiate sport. University-sponsored coaching biographies of head coaches of all varsity sports at Bowl Championship Series (BCS) schools were inspected to explore how coaches' families were identified and described. Among other aspects, this research examined the relationship status in the official university biography of collegiate coaches. Five coaches were then interviewed within collegiate athletics, three men and two women, to assess the degree to which they believed coaches and athletes could express their sexuality at the institution and within their community. The research questions guiding the study were (1) How was family structure presented in official university coaching biographies, and (2) What were coaches opinions concerning open homosexuality by coaches and student-athletes? The questions were addressed by analyzing official university coaching biographies posted to university websites and interviewing five collegiate coaches.

Theoretical Framework

College basketball coach Cindy Russo brought attention to the issue of homophobia in college athletics and in particular women's college basketball with her comments in November 2014 (Kaufman, 2014). Russo, who has coached at the NCAA level for approximately 40 years said great strides have been made in the acceptance of lesbians and gays in sports but homophobia is still present in college sports. There has only been one openly gay NCAA Division I women's basketball coach and that was Sherri Murrell who had a picture of her partner and twin daughters in the 2009 Portland State women's basketball media guide (Kaufman, 2014). Homophobia has been used against coaches in recruiting and at times has forced coaches to not be openly gay. This is turn leads to a cycle of coaches entering the profession to not be openly gay because the prevailing opinion has been to not discuss sexuality (Kaufman, 2014). This scenario provided the basis of the theoretical framework to guide the current study in regards to how coaches present their relationship status and the presence of sexual prejudice in college sports.

Framing

Framing theory provided the foundation for examining the coaching biographies. Framing can be defined as the process of selecting elements of reality and arranging them to highlight their connections, therefore shaping the media consumer's interpretations by presenting only a piece of the full representation of an event, issue, or idea (Entman, 2007; Riechert, 1996). Framing can also be viewed as placing information in context as such so certain elements of the issue

would get more attention from a person (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Framing can be applied to coaching biographies in that coaching achievements will be certainly be highlighted but marital and family status are also chosen to be presented in a particular way. Examining the coaching biographies provides partial insight into how coaches, athletic departments, and sport communication professionals are choosing to present the personal side of the coach.

The use of any sort of language or descriptors is not the only thing that influences opinion about a person or, in this case, a coach, but it can be one of the many factors involved (Auslander & Gold, 1999; Pate & Hardin, 2013). Personal experience, use of the media, external events, opinion leaders, and interpersonal communication all influence the effect of media on public opinion (Baran & Davis, 1995; Lowery & DeFleur, 1995; McQuail, 1994; McQuail & Windahl, 1993; Severin & Tankard, 1992). This examination will provide insight into the language used to describe something that is not considered a traditional relationship (i.e., husband and wife), or if the notion of nontraditional relationships are even mentioned.

Examining coaching biographies was especially timely, as college coaches and administrators have used their biographies as a space to first publicly declare their sexual orientation. Rutgers athletic director Julie Hermann used the university website to publicly confirm she is gay in 2013. The last sentence of her biography identifies her partner and son (McMurphy, 2013). Further, Portland State women's basketball coach Sherri Murrell became known as "the only publicly gay coach in Division I women's basketball" (Bachman, 2011, para. 3) when a family photo of her and her partner holding their twin children was uploaded to her coaching biography (Borde, 2010). Murrell's biography was unique, as open declarations of homosexuality are scarce in the intercollegiate sports empire. As we detail later, the family atmosphere is often sold during the recruiting of high school student-athletes, and the coaching biography is a place where recruits and their families can determine the marital and family status of coaches. Previously, Calhoun, LaVoi, and Johnson (2011) examined NCAA head coaching biographies and found "a near absence of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered coaches, suggesting that digital content (is)…plagued by homophobia is overt and subtle ways" (p. 300).

Sexual Prejudice

Sexual prejudice within the sport industry. Future sport and fitness professionals hold more negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians than for other minority groups (Gill, Morrow, Collins, Lucey, & Shultz, 2006). Although it is important to note that participants further along in their educational tenure held more positive attitudes and gave more positive evaluations than those students who were just beginning their tenure, many of the future sport and fitness professional held negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (Gill et. al., 2006). Gender may play a role in prejudice against sexual minorities. Cunningham, Sartore, and McCullough (2010) found that men rate sexual minorities as poorer candi-

dates for jobs than they did heterosexuals, while there was no significant difference when women rated applicants. This sexual prejudice can negatively affect opportunities for those individuals who identify as being LGBT. In addition, when these negative attitudes are openly expressed, individuals in the sexual minority can feel pressure to suppress their real sexual identities. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender athletes may feel pressure to downplay their sexual orientation or portray heterosexual characteristics (Anderson, 2002; Kauer & Krane, 2006). Athletes who identify as LGBT may also use their athletic ability in attempts to gain acceptance from their teammates and deemphasize their sexual orientation (Gough, 2007). This then leads to the notion of not revealing a sexual orientation that is not considered "acceptable."

Knowing that sport may be an unsupportive arena for gay, lesbian, or transgendered persons, Melton and Cunningham (2014a) sought to explore the experiences of sport industry employees who identify as being LGBT. They found that although all participants identified as being LGBT, it was not the most important aspect of their work or social life, and most of the participants expressed high levels of job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and overall life satisfaction (Melton & Cunningham, 2014a). Participants expressed a desire for coworkers to see them as a multidimensional person, and to not overemphasize their sexual orientation (Melton & Cunningham, 2014a). Scholars have taken a wide range of approaches to examine perceptions of homosexuality in sport (and intercollegiate sport). The focus of the current study is on intercollegiate sport and used a combination of secondary data and interviews to conduct further investigations of the perceptions of homosexuality.

Literature Review

Homophobia

A precise percentage is difficult to find because of varying definitions, differing data collection methods, and stigma attached with identifying as homosexual, bisexual, or transgender. Research has found that approximately 3.5% or 9 million residents of the United States population identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender in 2013 (LGBT; Gates, 2013). This percentage has nearly doubled during the past 20 years, possibly due to an increasing acceptance of the LGBT lifestyle (Gates, 2013).

Acceptance of the LGBT lifestyle may be on the rise, but there are, however, many individuals in the United States and around the world who are homophobic. Homophobia is defined as an intense hatred or fear of homosexuals or homosexuality (homophobia, n.d.). This hatred or fear leads to harassment and violence toward LGBT individuals, plus anxiety and isolation for this minority group and has been the source of great conflict throughout history (Demers, 2006; Lenskyj, 1991). Even though homophobia has been shown to exist in numerous facets of life for those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (e.g., the

workplace, religious organizations, social settings) there is one setting where these individuals may receive the highest amount of scrutiny: sport (Goffman, 1977). The global sport industry is worth billions of dollars, and professional athletes can be seen nearly 24 hours a day though television, websites, social media, traditional print media and radio (Pedersen, Miloch, & Laucella, 2007; Schultz, 2011). Sport is introduced at an early age in the United States as recreational and competitive opportunities begin through national organizations such as YMCA and American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO), and countless municipality park and recreation opportunities (Coakley, 2009). These opportunities continue throughout high school and into college either through competitive, recreational, or intramural activities. There is no escaping sport in American society either through participation, fandom, or consumption (Coakley, 2009).

Homophobia and Athletes. Male athletes learn from an early age that they are supposed to exhibit the highest levels of masculinity possible, and if they are unable to prove their heterosexual status, they are targets for ridicule (Messner, 1992). It is not uncommon for a man to be mocked with a homophobic slur such as "queer," regardless of his sexuality, if he is uninterested or performs poorly in sport, especially during his youth years (Gough, 2007). On the other hand, women who achieve large amounts of athletic success often have their heterosexuality called into question. Based on societal norms, women are supposed to exhibit characteristics that are traditionally thought of as feminine (e.g., emotional, empathetic, needy). Successful female athletes often exhibit characteristics that would be considered more masculine (e.g., strong, active, forceful), causing them to be classified as lesbian, regardless of their sexual orientation. It becomes even more oppressing for those athletes who actually are gay, secretively or openly. Openly gay athletes report such challenges as using sport as a distraction from sexuality, suppressing "inner" gay feelings during sport participation, and coming out to a team (Gough, 2007). Although these young gay athletes may have never been interested in sport, they felt peer and parental pressure to join teams, attend practices, and travel to games, all the while having to suppress their innermost feelings in order to be accepted by their teammates and coaches (Gough, 2007).

Many girls drop out sport or attempt to not show their athletic prowess because they do not want to receive this stigmatized label of being a lesbian (Demers, 2006). These female athletes may also opt to participate in "female appropriate sports," such as gymnastics or figure skating, even if they lack interest simply because they do not wish to be subjected to ridicule from family, friends, and fans. Female athletes often find themselves in a confusing and conflicting world when they participate in sport. Based on societal views, participating in sport means doing masculine ??, and therefore females who participate in sport are faced with a discrepancy between their gender, or femininity, and their love for sport (Dworkin, 2001; McGrath & Chananie-Hill, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Although the public often perceives female athletes to be gay, it isn't always easy for these athletes to be openly gay. However, research has shown that openly

lesbian female athletes experience greater acceptance from other female athletes (e.g., teammates) than do male athletes (Roper & Halloran, 2007). Anderson (2011) found that openly gay high school and university athletes did not fear coming out in the same to the same degree as athletes had in previous studies. In the past, athletes were fearful of physical hostility, marginalization, or social exclusion, but the athletes in Anderson's study did not fear this would happen on or off the court as a result from sharing their sexuality with teammates (Anderson, 2011). Shang, Liao, and Gill (2012) found that for Taiwanese female athletes, positive experiences with sexual minorities (e.g., gay or lesbian athletes) were associated with a more positive attitude toward gay and lesbian athletes. Even though heterosexual females may accept their homosexual team members, they often want to keep the homosexual status of these team members quiet in order to help protect the image and reputation of the team (Demers, 2006).

The announcement of a homosexual team member may increase the stereotype that all female athletes are lesbians, and may create animosity between teammates. Many teammates may react in an accepting manner when a lesbian comes out, though a few may respond in negative ways. Lesbians may appear more masculine than other female athletes, so there is concern that a masculine appearing female athlete may cause the entire team to be labeled as lesbian (Hekma, 1998). Some researchers report that team members may refuse to share a room with a lesbian teammate on a road trip while others feel uncomfortable changing in front of her in the locker room (Demers, 2006). As straight female athletes attempt to prove their femininity while simultaneously performing at high levels athletically, lesbian athletes often attempt to hide their sexuality so they can continue to participate in sport without criticism beyond the (perceived) normal speculation. These lesbian athletes use survival strategies such as "live with your secret" and "be as invisible as possible" to remain in the closet about their secret on the playing field (Demers, 2006). Female athletes of color report being generally accepted for certain identities, such as race and gender, while receiving blatant prejudice due to their sexual orientation (Melton & Cunningham, 2013). Although these female athletes received social support from their teammates, a change from previous research, participants still felt that they had to conceal their sexual identity around coaches (Melton & Cunningham, 2013).

Research on female homosexuality and sport examines how many female athletes break societal gender norms and exhibit masculinity instead of femininity, but research on homosexuality and male sport revolves around suspicions that are raised when a boy shows no interest in playing sports. It is considered normal, even desirable, for a boy to participate in several sports, especially those sports that exhibit the highest levels of masculinity in the United States. Men are often automatically considered heterosexual if they participate in athletics, and sport participation is associated with the development of male athlete's manliness (Demers, 2006). Male student-athletes were found to have more negative attitudes

toward gay men and lesbian athletes than did female student-athletes (Roper & Halloran, 2007). In addition to being an undesirable label in male athletics, many gay men do not come out to teammates because of the manner in which male athletes communicate in the locker room. Scholarly articles and popular press articles draw attention to the tremendously homophobic language used by male athletes and coaches behind the closed doors of the locker room and practice (Bryant, 2013; Demers, 2006; Kluwe, 2013; Mullen, 2013). Kevin Grayson, an openly gay collegiate and professional football player told media he kept his sexuality a secret because he did not want to be focused on in that way, and that if you are an athlete, you want to be an athlete, not a gay athlete (Sieczkowski, 2013). Grayson also reported witnessing homophobia in the football locker room at all levels throughout his career, and believes there are gay players in the National Football League (Sieczkowski, 2013). Other male athletes have recently began to come out as well, including National Football League prospect Michael Sam, the National Basketball League's Jason Collins, and former Middle Tennessee State kicker Alan Gendreau (Sieczkowski, 2013). Arizona State's Chip Sarafin openly admitted he was gay prior to the 2014 season becoming the first active NCAA player to be open about his or her homosexuality (Haller & Finnerty, 2014).

Homophobia and coaches. Homophobia in sport not only impacts athletes. Coaches and athletic administrators are also affected. However, studies about homosexuality in female sport, male sport, and coaching are very different. The words "female athlete" and "lesbian" are often used in the same sentence (Demers, 2006). This is because women who achieve high levels of success in the sports realm break societal norms of feminism and delicateness that are expected of all women (Kolnes, 1995). These female athletes exhibit such qualities as strength at levels deemed only acceptable for men and are therefore criticized for not being feminine enough. This criticism often leads to an automatic label of lesbian, which causes many straight female athletes to believe they have to prove they are not homosexual (Demers, 2006). Athletes have been found to overemphasize their femininity and mask their athletic identity in an effort to avoid discrimination, which often comes in the form of the lesbian label (Wellman & Blinde, 1997). Female athletes may try to show their femininity off the field or court through their physical appearance, wearing make-up and dressing in "feminine" clothing (e.g., dresses, skirts, floral prints; Knight & Giuliano, 2003). These females athletes who have their sexuality called into question may attempt to showcase their heterosexual status through the media. They may agree to pose in photo shoots portraying them performing traditional feminine jobs (e.g., cooking, cleaning, shopping) or with their heterosexual family, including children if they have any, instead of photo shoots that highlight their athletic ability, strength, or masculinity, even if that aids in their athletic success (Lenskyj, 2012).

Homophobia in the Sporting Narrative

The examination of the media portrayals of homosexual professional diver Greg Louganis, heterosexual professional basketball player Magic Johnson, and heterosexual professional boxer Tommy Morrison was a foundational research project in examining homophobia in the media. Although Louganis, Johnson, and Morrison are all athletes, they are looked at differently. Johnson, a stand-out professional basketball player, and Morrison, a professional boxer, participate in sports that portray their masculinity. In order to achieve the type of success experienced by Johnson, an athlete must demonstrate the highest levels of masculinity through strength, power, and athleticism. Similar to Johnson, Morrison participated in a sport characterized by power and domination of another athlete. Contrarily, Louganis participated in diving, a sport requiring grace and flexibility, characteristics often associated with "female appropriate" sports. Johnson's and Morrison's self-proclaimed heterosexual "promiscuous" behavior is often the norm under the hegemonic masculinity of male sport, in contrast to Louganis's openly gay sexuality.

Wachs and Dworkin (1997; 1998) examined the media coverage of the announcements in which they confirmed they were HIV positive. Johnson and Morrison were often framed as heroes for living with such a terrible illness, tragic figures and victims because they contracted HIV through their sexual encounters with women. It was the women with whom they had sexual encounters fault for giving them this virus. Louganis was portrayed as a carrier because of his sexuality. Nowhere in the articles about Johnson's or Morrison's announcement does it discuss the possibility they infected any of the many women they slept with, but almost all of the articles on Louganis express concern for the "community" over his blood in the water incident, despite the extremely slim change of spreading the disease that way (Wachs & Dworkin, 1997).

It is not just homophobia from teammates and coaches that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender athletes have to be bothered by however, they must also worry about the media and fans as well. This issue is well documented by looking at media coverage of homosexual athletes. Hughson and Free (2011) examined the homophobic language used in England's tabloid press in regards to the coverage of homosexual professional soccer players. There was a campaign to fight homophobia, but the language used by the tabloid press presented seemed to not take the campaign seriously. Homophobic language was also present in posts to football message boards by fans (Kian, Clavio, Vincent, & Shaw, 2011). Kian and Anderson's (2009) examination of professional basketball player John Amaechi's announcement he was gay found sport writers called for more acceptance of the gays within sport but there was some homophobic language used. Hardin, Keuhn, Jones, Genovese, and Balaji (2009) also found the print articles covering Amaechi to be more progressive and acceptance but there was still an underlying tone of homophobia. Knight and Giuliano (2009) found athletes who were clearly iden-

tified as heterosexual were perceived more favorably by media consumers than athletes with an ambiguous sexual orientation.

Homophobia in Collegiate Coaching

Some sport organizations (e.g., university athletic departments) try to avoid talking about LGBT athletes and coaches in their sport or sport organization because it could affect public relationships, sponsorships, recruitment, and the image of women in sport (Demers, 2006). Being openly homosexual can have extremely negative consequences on coaches (e.g., trouble landing and keeping a job, difficulties recruiting athletes) which leads these coaches to keep their sexuality a secret from other coaches and administrators as well as their players (Lenskyj, 1991). In addition, power influences employees' willingness to vocally support LGBT equality. Employees with low status positions within the athletic department are more hesitant to voice support for LGBT equality than those with high power positions (Melton & Cunningham, 2014b). Baylor University does not allow openly gay men and women from serving on the faculty, and in 2004 an openly gay male athlete was stripped of his athletic scholarship (Waldron, 2013). Collegiate football player Jamie Kuntz argues that he was removed from the team for kissing his boyfriend at an away game (MacPherson, 2012). The kiss was witnessed by another player who reportedly told the coaches. North Dakota State College of Sciences head coach Chuck Parson told Kuntz he was being removed from the team because he had lied to coaches about the kiss, not because of his sexuality, but Kuntz and his family remain skeptical (MacPherson, 2012).

to serve?

Similarly, Baylor head women's basketball coach Kim Mulkey has been accused of advising her athletes not to discuss their sexuality in public because it may hurt recruiting (Grasgreen, 2013). It is not just being an openly gay coach that is thought to harm recruiting of the best players, having gay players on the team is also thought to decrease the chances of securing top recruits. Baylor is not the only university where coaches stress the importance of keeping players' and coaches' personal lives quiet during recruiting visits along with showing that the team has positive morals and wholesome values. Iowa State women's basketball players claim their head coach, Bill Fennelly, continually reinforces the notion that keeping personal lives quiet and mentioning the "family-oriented" values of the team is critical during recruiting visits (Cyphers & Fagan, 2011). Fennelly claims he pushes the team's familial spirit because that is what he has to sell, not to silence any lesbian athletes or coaches (Cyphers & Fagan, 2011).

While some coaches attempt to hide the homosexuality of current players and coaches to preserve a wholesome, family image for recruits, Rene Portland, longtime Pennsylvania State University head women's basketball coach, has been accused of not allowing homosexual players on her team (Voepel, 2007). Portland, who coached at Penn State from 1980 to 2007, openly did not want lesbian players on her team, and this policy received national media attention in 1986 and again in 1991 (Voepel, 2007). "I will not have it in my program," Portland said in 1986

to the *Chicago Sun-Times* when discussing homosexuality on her basketball team (Buzinski, 2011). Penn State required Portland to attend sensitivity training about homosexuality and homophobia, but many do not think she changed, because a number of former players surfaced, claiming Portland discriminated against them, and even removed them from the team on the basis of their sexuality (Voepel, 2007). Her eventual resignation came on the heels of a lawsuit by former player Jen Harris who had the support of the National Center for Lesbian Rights (Buzinski, 2011). An internal review found Portland created an hostile environment based on Harris' perceived sexual orientation. The lawsuit was settled under confidential terms (Lieber, 2006; Penn State coach, ex-player reach settlement, 2007).

Kathy Marpe, who closeted her homosexuality while coaching at the University of San Diego for many years, was certain a number of recruits were steered away from her program by allegation and innuendo about her sexuality (Cyphers & Fagan, 2011). Marpe said coaches use phrases such as the school has an "unhealthy" or "not family-friendly" climate to describe programs where the coaches or players are thought to be lesbian (Cyphers & Fagan, 2011). Straight female and male coaches use these negative recruiting tactics to show parents that they will not "corrupt" their daughters (i.e., turn them into lesbians). Similar to how young girls may quit sport because they do not want to deal with the stigma of being labeled a lesbian, the previous literature lends one to believe that elite level openly lesbian and gay athletes may not pursue a coaching career because they do not want to deal with the intolerance.

Methodology

Examination of Coaching Biographies

An examination of coaching biographies was performed to identify each coach's relationship status based on the biography posted on the official athletic website of each university. Five conferences participating in Division I – Football Bowl Subdivision were used in the data collection: 1) Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), 2) Big Ten, 3) Big Twelve, 4) Pac-12, and 5) Southeastern (SEC). These conferences were comprised of 62 member institutions. We chose the conferences because they compete at the highest level of intercollegiate athletics and are likely to sponsor the most number of sports based on their revenue and commitment to intercollegiate athletics. In all, coding was conducted for 1,052 coaches. This does not represent the total of number of teams because some coaches coached more than one team (i.e., combined men's and women's track and field teams and swimming and diving teams). There was also no coaching information available for some teams and this could have been due to transition of the coaching staff or a vacancy in the position. Coding was conducted for sport, gender of the sport, coach gender, marital status, and children (see Table 1). Marital status was coded into five categories: (1) married, (2) partner, (3) engaged, (4) widow, and (5) no mention.

do authors want to make any comment on 2015 law change?

There is debate as to what actually constitutes marriage in whether it has to be comprised of only a man and woman (Nastich, 2003). There are many arguments that marriage can consist of same-sex couples as well be comprised by more than two people (Jorgenson, 2013; Oppenheimer, Oliveira, & Blumenthal, 2014). The U.S. Census Bureau (2013) reported more than 640,000 same-sex couple households in 2010, which is approximately 1% of U.S. population. For the purposes of this study, marriage was defined as "between a man and women" which is the language used by 31 states and two territories as of July 2014 to define marriage for legal purposes (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014). The authors acknowledge this definition is not universally accepted as in fact 19 states allow for same-sex marriage of July 2014 (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2014). Biographies were coded for married when language such as husband, wife, and married was used. All the biographies coded for married consisted of a man and woman. This was determined based on traditional gender assigned names and pictures on webpages (Chen, Gallagher, & Girod, 2014). This was also used a coding method based on Rutgers athletic director Julie Herrmann official biography. She is openly a lesbian and lives in a state (New Jersey) where same-sex marriage is legal, but her biography identifies her partner not wife or spouse (Julie Hermann, n.d.). Biographies were coded as engaged or partner when those words were used and widow when a spouse's death was mentioned. Biographies were coded as no mention when there were there was information or description of any type of marital status.

In all, just more than 72% of the coaches were men. Similarly, 72% of the coaches listed they were married and 68% listed children in their profile. With regard to homosexuality, only one NCAA Division Football Bowl Subdivision coach listed a same-sex partner on her coaching biography, or less than 1%. The same number of coaches, one, listed their marital status as engaged or widowed (see Tables 2 and 3). One is actually less than the number found by Calhoun et al. (2011), as they found two coaches listed a same-sex partner.

There is a significant difference in coaches based on gender as 72.8% of coaches were men and 27.2% of coaches were women ($\chi^2 = 210.21$, $p \leq .000$). Marital status and children greatly differ based on gender. An overwhelming amount of male coaches, just under 82%, identified themselves as being married and only 47.4% of female coaches indicated they were married ($\chi^2 = 121.98$, $p \leq .000$). These results are in contrast to the national average for individuals between 35 and 59 years old where 66% of women and 70% of men are married (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). Similarly, more than three-fourths of male coaches, 77%, listed children on their biography and only 44.5% of female coaches listed children in their biography ($\chi^2 = 98.10$, $p \leq .000$). Having children was coded with no consideration to marital status.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of NCAA Division I BCS Head Coaching Biographies (Male and Female)

	ACC	Big 10	Big 12	Pac 12	SEC	Total
Coaches	247	249	136	212	206	1050
Team Gender						
Male	40.5	44.2	37.5	37.3	35	39.2
Female	46.6	47.8	51.5	52.4	52.9	39.9
Both	11.3	6.8	9.6	9	11.2	9.5
Co-Ed	1.6	1.2	1.5	1.4	1	1.3
Coach Gender						
Male	75.6	70.5	72.8	69.3	75.6	72.8
Female	24.4	29.5	27.2	30.7	24.4	27.2
Marital Status						
Married	70.1	72.4	76.5	66	78.7	72.5
No Mention	29.5	27.2	23.5	34	20.8	27.2
Partner	4	0	0	0	0	0.1
Engaged	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.1
Widow	0	0.4	0	0	0	0.1
Children						
Yes	69.7	66.9	72.8	62.2	70.8	68.3
No	30.3	33.1	27.2	37.8	39.2	31.7

Note. All numbers are in percentages except for Coaches which is the actual count. Coaches were coded as coaching both males and females if they were identified as the head coach or director, i.e., a coach identified as Director of Track & Field. Sports coded as Co-Ed were pistol, rifle, sailing, and skiing.

Coaches' Perceptions of Homosexuality in Women's Sports

An utter lack of same-sex partners in collegiate coaching biographies leads to many questions including why they are not listed and what are coaches' views about open homosexuality in college sports not only among coaches but student-athletes. While we can make many assumptions about the reasons behind the dearth of mentions of homosexuality in biographies, researchers have failed to examine the perceptions of collegiate coaches on sexuality in biographies. Thus, five coaches were interviewed to begin to preliminary explore the attitudes toward homosexuality in collegiate sport in general, and specifically in coaching biographies. Institutional Review Approval was gained, and a sample of three male and two female coaches were interviewed. The subjects were coaches from whom the researchers had a prior relationship due to the sensitive nature of the information gathered and the trust needed to respond freely.

Interviews are often used to research controversial and sensitive topics (i.e. binge drinking (Jayne, Holloway, & Valentine, 2006); the sex industry (Hubbard, Boydell, Crofts, Prior, & Searle, 2013); climate change (Demeritt, 2012). Same-sex relationships are controversial based on the differences in state laws and the emotions that can be triggered within people when the topic is discussed. It is difficult to research controversial and sensitive topics, and care must be given "to en-

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Male NCAA Division I BCS Head Coaching Biographies

	ACC	Big 10	Big 12	Pac 12	SEC	Total
Coaches	177	172	99	133	155	736
Team Gender						
Male	53.1	61	51.5	51.1	46.5	54
Female	30.5	29.1	35.4	35.3	38.1	33.3
Both	14.1	8.7	12.1	11.3	14.8	12.2
Co-Ed	2.3	1.2	1	2.3	0.6	1.5
Marital Status						
Married	78	84.2	82.8	80	84.9	81.9
No Mention	22	15.8	17.2	20	15.1	18.1
Partner	0	0	0	0	0	0
Engaged	0	0	0	0	0	0
Widow	0	0	0	0	0	0
Children						
Yes	77.4	78.2	80.8	73.8	76.3	77.2
No	22.6	21.8	19.2	26.2	23.7	22.8

Note. All numbers are in percentages except for Coaches, which is the actual count. Coaches were coded as coaching both males and females if they were identified as the head coach or director (i.e., a coach identified as Director of Track & Field). Sports coded as Co-Ed were pistol, rifle, sailing, and skiing.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics of Female NCAA Division I BCS Head Coaching Biographies

	ACC	Big 10	Big 12	Pac 12	SEC	Total
Coaches	57	72	37	59	50	275
Team Gender						
Male	0	1.4	0	0	0	0.4
Female	96.5	94.4	94.6	94.9	98	95.6
Both	3.5	2.8	5.1	5.1	0	2.9
Co-Ed	0	1.4	0	0	2	1.1
Marital Status						
Married	45.6	44.4	59.5	34.5	60	47.4
No Mention	52.6	54.2	40.5	65.5	38	51.5
Partner	1.8	0	0	0	0	0.4
Engaged	0	0	0	0	2	0.4
Widow	0	1.4	0	0	0	0.4
Children						
Yes	45.6	40.3	51.4	36.2	54	44.5
No	54.4	59.7	48.6	63.8	46	55.5

Note. All numbers are in percentages except for Coaches, which is the actual count. Coaches were coded as coaching both males and females if they were identified as the head coach or director (i.e., a coach identified as Director of Track & Field). Sports coded as Co-Ed were pistol, rifle, sailing, and skiing.

able interviewees to speak freely about their feelings and opinions without feeling threatened … by the research situation" (Naylor, Maye, Ilbery, Enticott, & Kirwan, 2014, p. 292). Interviewing requires not only respondents who are knowledgeable about the topic but are also willing to discuss it (Andrew, Pedersen, & McEvoy, 2011). Identifying subjects willing to discuss the issue of homosexuality in college athletics is challenging, which is why it was determined to only approach coaches with whom the researchers had a pre-existing relationship. This was the driving reason why only five respondents were used in the study. It has been shown having as few as five respondents does lead to valid and informative research. Sutherland et al. (2014) had six respondents in their examination of female athletes and emotional pain and self-compassion. Owton, Bond, and Todd (2014) had five subjects in their research examining the expectations of novice sport psychology consultants. Mosewich, Crocker, and Kowalski (2014) also only had five participants in their research in regard to managing injuries and setbacks in elite women athletes. The respondents in the current study had competency to discuss the issue and also willingness based on the pre-existing relationship with the researchers. The sample size was appropriate for the purpose of this study as insight into the issue of homosexuality could be gained as saturation was not the primary purpose of the study (Flick, 2011; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Morse, 1994; Romney, Batchelder, & Weller, 1986).

Description of Coaches

BCS Level: Two of the coaches in our sample were members of a NCAA Division I athletic department that competed in a BCS conference. Mary has been a head coach for more than 20 years at the same institution in the South. She is White, between 55 and 65 years old, and coaches softball. James is an assistant tennis coach for less than five years at the Division I level in the South. He has a head coach at more than one non-Division I university. He is White, between 30 and 40 years old, and coaches tennis.

Junior College Level: One male and one female coach in the sample were coaches at junior colleges in the Midwest. Sara was a head coach for less than five years in volleyball and played at the same school she is now coaching. This was her first head coaching position after serving as an assistant at another similar institution. She is White and between 25 and 35 years old. Mike was a head softball coach. This was also his first head-coaching job after serving in an athletic administration position. He is White and between 30 and 40 years old.

Division II Level: The fifth coach in the sample was a head coach at a NCAA Division II institution in North. For Shane, this was his first head coaching position after serving an assistant at another university. He is White, coaches tennis, and is between 25 and 35 years old.

Four of the five were head coaches, while one was the lead assistant coach. Coaches were granted confidentiality through pseudonyms and were only asked to identify demographic information and the level of sport they coached. Two

of coaches were members of NCAA Division I – Football Bowl Subdivision athletic departments, two were junior college coaches, and one was a NCAA Division II coach. The interviews were semi-structured and, in line with previously mentioned literature (i.e., Fagan, 2013; Lenskyj, 2012) and recent events in college athletics, explored three major topics: (1) public discussions of homosexuality, (2) recruiting openly gay athletes, and (3) homosexuality in coaching biographies. Gratton and Jones (2004) described semi-structured interviews as "…a standard set of questions, or schedule. However, the researcher adopts a flexible approach to data collection, and can alter the sequence of questions or probe for more information with subsidiary questions" (p. 141). Qualitative interviews are grounded in discussion, with importance placed on the researcher to ask questions and listen, and participants to respond (Kvale, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The open-ended format of the interview questions allowed for participants to put into words their perceptions, emotions, and feelings in an elaborate manner. Semi-structured interviews also allow for follow up questions based on the responses of the participants.

Data Collection

The interviews were conducted during the summer months to best accommodate the coaches' schedules. Author One spent between 15 to 25 minutes interviewing each coach individually. Author One transcribed the responses and the results are presented largely in the form of verbatims. Due to the limited sample size, generalizability was the not the goal of the analysis. Instead, open coding was utilized, as suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1990). Corbin and Strauss (1990) described open coding as such:

> event/action/interaction … are compared [and] conceptually labeled. … conceptually similar ones are group together to form categories and subcategories…[This] enables investigators to break through subjectivity and bias. Fracturing the data forces examination of preconceived notions and ideas by judging these against the data themselves. (p. 423)

After the interviews were transcribed, the coaches were emailed a copy of the transcript to ensure their responses were represented accurately and for member-checking. Member-checking is a technique used to allow respondents to review the interview transcripts to ensure the participants' responses were transcribed accurately (Andrew et al., 2011). This is one aspect of data validation process (Gratton & Jones, 2004). Dean and Whyte (1978) suggested interviews focusing on sensitive information should strive for validity through (1) stressing the confidentiality of the responses with the interviewees and (2) asking a wide range of questions that generally speak to one overarching topic to achieve within-interview triangulation. As previously noted, only coaches Author One had a prior relationship were interviewed to improve trust and confidentially. Additionally, questions were

asked to provide a fuller picture of the coaches' perceptions of homosexuality in women's sports. The questions asked included the following:

- If you have had homosexual players on your roster, did you give them direction or instruction on publicly discussing their sexual preference? Why or why not?
- Did the athletic or university administration ever discuss how sexuality of players should be handled or presented publicly?
- If an athlete you were recruiting told you he or she were openly gay, would you have any reservations about bringing the athlete into your program? Into the school/athletic department? Into the community?
- How do you believe your administration would receive a coach asking to have his or her partner listed on the coaching bio? How would the fan base react?
- What reasons could you see for the lack of partners listed on coaching bios?

The interviews were based on the framework of sexual prejudice. Sexual prejudice occurs when those individuals who do not possess characteristics similar to dominant group members (in sport: White, able-bodied, heterosexual men) have their perspectives marginalized and even silenced. In this context, identifying as being LGBT can be considered a sexual stigma, which is an unwelcomed characteristic, especially in the sport industry (Herek, 2009). This sexual stigma causes those individuals who identify as a sexual minority to be relegated to an inferior status compared to those individuals who identify as heterosexual. Sexual prejudice can appear at the institutional level (i.e., heterosexism) or individual level (i.e., sexual prejudice; Herek, 2009). Negative attitudes are expressed toward an individual based on their sexual orientation when the stigma manifests on an individual level (Herek, 2009).

Results

Three themes emerged from the interviews. The first theme was in regard to coaches not openly expressing homosexuality in coaching biographies and was labeled Fear of Consequences. The second theme was in regard to publicly discussing homosexuality with the student-athletes or recruits. Coaches simply did not discuss or appear to want to discuss; this theme was labeled Don't Ask, Don't Tell. The third theme that emerged was in regard to welcoming opening gay student-athletes. The universities and coaches would be welcoming but with some caution and was labeled Acceptance with Hesitation. Each of the three themes are described in detail with comments of the respondents.

Fear of Consequences

A topic explored through the interviews was the listing of same-sex partners in coaching biographies which was spurned by the results in the analysis of the

coaching biographies. Shane, a Division II head coach, believed a coach listing a same-sex partner would not be a problem at his institution or within the community. However, each of the other four coaches stated doing so would cause a stir in the athletic department, fund-raising base, and community. Mary surmised the administration would not "care outwardly," but that it would bother them at an individual level. James and Mike both simply stated they did not believe the administration would allow a coach to list a same sex partner on a coaching biography. Similarly, Sara believed the administration risked losing donors and revenue by allowing coaches to list their partners in their biography:

> If a coach were to prefer a same-sex partner I do not believe (he or she) would show it. With being a religious based university that relies on churches and (religious) alumni to provide the finances for our school to survive we could risk a financial loss. Losing those relationships and monies could force administration to get involved. I've seen it happen at other (religious) schools.

James echoed some of those same sentiments when asked why there is a lack of partners listed on coaching biographies. He believed coaches might not publicly announce their sexuality because they are "afraid to lose (their) job, afraid to lose fans, afraid to lose boosters and potentially a lot of money."

He also stated coaches fear being openly gay will hurt them in recruiting. He likened it to players who would not want to play for a woman coach except "you cannot hide the fact that you are a guy or girl but you can always try to hide your sexual orientation." Similarly, Mary noted she had seen cases where coaches had tried to use other coaches' sexuality against them in recruiting. Sara believed that the fear of recruiting implications was especially true at a religious-based school, because coaches were often competing against other religious-based programs for recruits. Finally, Mike stated that he could not see an openly gay coach being employed at his school because someone in his administration told him "the last thing you want to be known as is a gay team."

As noted in the verbatims, the coaches interviewed believed administration discomfort, fear of financial loss, and recruiting consequences were the main reasons coaches did not publicly acknowledge their same-sex partners in their biographies. Restated, the fear of retribution, whether it be financially or personally, was cited as the underlying issue or barrier preventing coaches from listing their same-sex partners on their coaching biography.

Don't Ask, Don't Tell

Each coach discussed at length the extent to which they gave instructions to their players on publicly discussing their sexual preference. Both Mike and Sara coached at private religious junior colleges. They both believed the setting in which their teams operated impacted the topics, especially homosexuality, that

could be discussed in the open. Mike surmised that during his coaching tenure he had only had one gay athlete he knew of but that "the actual number, in all likelihood, is higher, but I'm aware of just one." Sara stated she had seen players explore their sexuality when she was playing and that the religious beliefs of her school may limit the amount of players that publicly announce their homosexuality while they are enrolled:

> I do not have any [sport] players that I am aware of that are homosexual. I would say that [my sport] is one sport where it is a rarity among the other women sports. I would not give them any direction on publicly discussing their sexual preference because it is their life decision. If it is a part of their maturity process to help them improve their quality of life, I am all for it. Coming from a [religious] school I would say that from the past most players come out in a later stage in life than when they are 18 or 19 at a JUCO. Players are scared of being judged by their religious peers but have talked about it with coaches. When I was a player, I was aware of girls exploring their homosexuality and truly battled it in this type of atmosphere.

Mary stated she never needed to discuss open homosexuality with her teams because she never asked about player sexuality, and during her decades of coaching she only had one openly homosexual athlete. James and Shane professed similar sentiments. Shane stated he was not concerned with his players' sexuality, as it had nothing to do with their standing as a student-athlete. James said he did not want to intrude on the personal lives of his players, but he does give general directions about interacting in the public space that is college athletics:

> I do believe that in the past I have coached players who are homosexual. To be 100% honest, I have never approached the situation and always felt that they should come to me and I should not intrude in their personal life. As a coach, I will get involved or ask questions about a player's personal life if I feel it is distracting them from performing. I also felt that I was open enough that they would feel comfortable approaching me if there were issues. I have never given directions to any of my players when it comes to what to say to people about their relationships other than to let them know that when you are an athlete in the NCAA, many want to know what you do in your personal life. When you sign a letter of intent, you also unfortunately give up sometimes your personal space.

In all, the coaches interviewed had never been put in the position where they were forced to discuss open declarations of homosexuality with their players. Further, none of them had a concrete plan or general idea for what policies they would

enact if they coached a player who wanted to publicly declare she was gay. Finally, none of the coaches had discussed sexuality with their teams or given direction to individual players on disclosing their sexual preference to university, community, or public at large.

Acceptance with Hesitation

Griner told Baylor head coach Kim Mulkey she was openly gay when Mulkey was recruiting her in high school (Fagan, 2013). Since Mulkey has refused to comment on Griner's comments, it can be inferred that Mulkey felt comfortable bringing Griner into the Baylor (and Waco, Texas) community as long as she did not publicly reveal that she was homosexual. The five coaches in the sample were asked how comfortable they would be recruiting an openly gay woman to the team, athletic department, and community.

James, an assistant coach in a Southern state, posited he would be fine with bringing a gay athlete into his team but would be worried how the conservative-leaning university and community would treat the athlete. Mary and Shane both stated they would have no reservations about inviting a homosexual player to their teams and the university and community would not mistreat them. Sara believed the sport that she coached would cause her to be hesitant about recruiting an openly gay woman. She stated she had not had interaction or seen homosexual players in her sport, but was sure it had happened in past. She surmised that as long as clear boundaries were set, it would not be a problem within the team.

Mike, a head coach at a religious-based school, suggested that previous experiences had led him to have reservations about recruiting homosexual athletes. He stated that if the athlete was openly gay, it might cause issues within the institution and community:

> For me, the operative word here is 'openly.' In this case, I would have reservations in the recruiting process. The institution I work for is supportive of gay and lesbian students and faculty and staff in the 'individual' sense. By this I mean there are several gay faculty and staff members, and many students, of course, but the 'official' stance of the college is conservative leaning. What would happen if a gay faculty member I know would come out? I can't say for sure, but my guess is there would be outside constituent pressure to let that person go. An openly gay student could face scrutiny as well. They would not be asked to leave campus, but would be subject to added attention. I think a candid conversation about this would be needed before I'd add an openly gay athlete to the roster. In the past, I've been asked by our (university) president not to pursue an assistant coach, a very highly qualified one, who had expressed interest in helping with the program because she was in a relationship with another women. A few days later, however, I was told by my supervisor that he would 'never again shy away from hiring a gay applicant.' I can't say for sure, but I be-

> lieve he was told, again, by the big man, in the past to not hire someone who was gay.

As with publicly discussing homosexuality while playing for the university, the coaches indicated that setting was an important factor when establishing policies for recruiting openly gay women. For Sara, this means the sport that she coaches while Mike is concerned with the university, alumni, and community base in which his team sits.

Discussion

The examination only begins to explore perceptions of open homosexuality. The introductory secondary data analysis suggests that either coaches or administrators or both are not yet comfortable listing same-sex partners on university-sponsored coaching biographies, as evidenced by the fact that only one of more than 1,000 head coaches at the highest level of college coaching listed a partner on their coaching biography, as opposed to more than 70% of coaches who listed they were in a traditional marriage. In 2010, the U.S. Census Bureau reported more than 640,000 same-sex couple households, which is approximately 1% of U.S. households, but the percentage for the coaches in this study is less than one-tenth of 1% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). The one coach who listed a same-sex partner was Jennifer Averill of Wake Forest University. Averill has had a widely successful career leading Wake Forest to three consecutive national titles (2002–2004) and nine straight semifinal appearances (2000–2008) in field hockey. In the Calhoun et al. (2011) study, Averill and a male softball coach were the only two that listed a same-sex partner (as of the end of 2013, the softball coach is now an assistant at a different institution). Averill is a coach in a low-profile sport and has been highly successful. The lack of overall attention to the sport does not draw attention to Averill listing a same-sex partner in her biography. This would perhaps be different in a high-profile sport and more athletically prominent university.

Framing theory's foundation is the selective selection, emphasis, or exclusion of information (Gitlin, 1980). The interviews and coaching biography analysis reveal the notion of promoting a family atmosphere is important as coaching biographies identified coaches who were married and those who had children. Creating a family atmosphere is important in recruiting as coaches are being entrusted by parents to care for their children, and coaches often discuss being surrogate parents for student-athletes (Rowland, 2014; Shadid, 2014). An intriguing finding, though, in regard to framing is the exclusion of information, and in this case, coaches who were not in traditional husband-wife relationship. This invokes a don't ask, don't tell type of atmosphere. The interview responses also support this, as coaches admit they do not discuss sexual orientation and do not know the sexual orientation of their student-athletes. Four of the five coaches also said listing a same-sex relationship in a coaching biography would create some sort of

controversy with the athletic department, fans, and other stakeholders. Griner's situation falls directly into this situation. She was basically told not to reveal her sexual orientation while at Baylor. The idea of excluding information in regard to homosexuality is an attempt to conform to what is considered a traditional family (e.g., mother, father, children, as opposed to a mother, mother, children). Some parents or potential student-athletes may not be comfortable in being an environment that is unfamiliar to them. This may be particularly true for recruits with religious beliefs that are not supportive of same-sex couples. The transition to college is difficult for student-athletes, and adding another twist to the transition (a homosexual coach) may be something a student-athlete does not want to be part of the adjustment.

The interviews also highlighted that, in this sample, athletic department and university administrators have differing views of open homosexuality. These results preliminarily support previous work from scholars such as Demers (2006) and Kolnes (1995), as the coaches interviewed described numerous hesitancies they would have if an athlete or coach wished to be openly gay at their university. Although the percentage of coaches who reported having a same-sex partner in their coaching biographies was less than that of the general population, the data may not accurately reflect those coaches who made no mention of their marital status in their biographies. Even if more coaches wanted to be open about their sexuality, all but one of the coaches indicated that their athletic departments would have a problem listing a same sex partner in their coaching biography. Sexual prejudice does seem to be perceived by coaches as they are hesitant to openly admit if they are homosexual for fear of repercussions. Coaches referenced a possible loss of donations and revenue, in addition to creating controversy within the department, fund-raising base, and community as reasons why the athletic administration would be hesitant to allow coaches to be openly homosexual. Lenskyj (1991) discussed the difficulties openly gay and lesbian coaches face with regards to landing and keeping jobs as well as recruiting athletes, showing that athletic departments may not have come as far as the general population during the past 20 years.

All of the coaches interviewed for this study professed that they had either an open communication policy with their team (i.e., open discussion of issues that impacted the operations of the team, especially homosexuality), or had never inquired about a player's sexuality outright. Both coaches who spoke of having an open communication policy did state they had limited interaction with athletes who were openly gay, but believed the actual number of homosexual athletes that had passed through their team was probably higher than what they knew about it. James stated that he had never discussed sexuality with his players because he felt it has nothing to do with their standing as a student-athlete. Similarly, another indicated he did not want to intrude on their personal lives. Coaches at universities such as Baylor and Iowa State have been accused of advising athletes on discussing their sexuality with the public, namely recruits (Cyphers & Fagan, 2011;

Grasgreen, 2013). Furthermore, coaches like Rene Portland, from Pennsylvania State University, have been said to have a policy that does not allow homosexual players on her team.

Sport and the "Family Atmosphere"

The coaching biographies and interviews also add further evidence to discussions of the "work-family interface" (Dixon & Bruening, 2007, p. 377) in coaching circles. Dixon and Bruening (2007) found coaches who worked within the hegemonic model of the typical workplace were successful while "coaching mothers certainly felt the organizational/structural constraints of long hours, extensive travel, and 'face time'" (p. 399). Male coaches were married and had children at a higher rate than their peers in the general population in coaching biographies examined. On the contrary, female coaches were married and had children at a lower rate.

The rate of female coaches married and having children fits with the work-family conflict detailed by Bruening and Dixon (2007), who noted "some athletic directors did not welcome children in the office even in cases of emergencies" (2007, p. 471). Female coaches often feel forced to choose between being a mother or a coach (Dixon & Bruening, 2007), and male coaches are often expected to devote every waking minute to their profession while their wife raises the family (Pleck, 1977). In this way, coaching is still reflective of the "traditional division of labor between partners" (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991, p. 60). Similarly, coaches and administrators use code words to signify there are not homosexuals on their staff or team. Cyphers and Fagan (2011) observed women's basketball coaches using "family-oriented" and "wholesome values" to describe their programs to recruits. Those words were meant emphasize the program had a head coach in a traditional marriage and straight assistants. As Mike, the softball coach in our sample, stated, "the last thing you want to be known as is a 'gay team.'" Further, Cyphers and Fagan (2011) noted over 50% of the women's basketball players they surveyed stated sexual orientation was "an underlying topic of conversation with college recruiters" (para. 4).

Student-athletes are also forced to juggle competing roles when participating in intercollegiate athletics. As Griner detailed, she was expected to keep her personal life separate from her athletic pursuits at Baylor. In the same way that Adler and Adler (1991) found college athletes "learned that there were strains and pulls between the demands of their various roles and the time and leeway they had to act within them" (p. 120), Griner and other athletes who do not embody the values of the perceived "family" atmosphere of college sports are forced to hide their true identity when representing the university. As multiple coaches in our sample stated (namely Sara and James), they do not ask their players about their sexuality. In many ways, this "don't ask, don't tell" policy further enforces heteronormative beliefs as players are expected to act like the rest of their teammates and separate their personal lives from their athletic careers. In this way, the attributes and feel-

ings of the athlete are prioritized over the identity of the individual person. Even when athletes do come out to their teammates (such as Michael Sam at the University of Missouri), the revelation is kept secret as to not subject the individual and teammates to the scrutiny attached to an openly gay athlete (Branch, 2014).

The idea of sexual prejudice seems to be alive and well in college athletics. There is hesitation among coaches to openly admit if they are homosexual as evident by the interview responses and the information in the coaching biographies. Framing theory not only addresses what is included in information but also was in not included. The examination of more than 1,000 coaching biographies revealing only one openly gay coach is peculiar, as this is not representative of the national average. This information coupled with the interviews shows there is a don't ask, don't tell atmosphere in college athletics. This creates an unwelcoming environment for gay student-athletes and may deter someone from competing in college athletics. The same is true for coaches as they may choose not to pursue a career in coaching because of the sexual prejudice that is present.

Limitations and Future Research

The sample was a convenience sample due to the sensitive nature of the questions and the comfort level the participants would need to feel to answer the questions honestly and trust their anonymity would be protected. The quantitative descriptors were used as justification for the interviews and cannot stand alone as evidence of homophobia or fear of open sexuality. The culture against homosexuality, while changing, still restricts the amount and frequency of homosexual coaches who become openly gay. Thus, it is difficult to pinpoint which coaches did not list partners in their biographies because they are not in relationships and which did not list partners because of fear of retribution. This is an issue that warrants further research. There can only be a comparison to the numbers of population statistics, which have the same inherent flaws. It cannot be determined if it is the coaches or the administrators who are not comfortable with having a same-sex partner listed on an athletic coaching biography. Restated, it is unclear if it is an individual or institutional decision.

Further, as states continue to legalize same-sex marriages and unions, it will be worthwhile to examine if the lack of partners in coaching biographies continues. While the number of coaches listing same-sex partners actually decreased from the previous study of biographies (Calhoun et al., 2011), one may expect the number to increase if homosexuality continues to become more socially acceptable nationwide. In all, the avenues for future research are plentiful. Interviewing openly homosexual coaches and administrators would eliminate some of the ambiguity in the interview responses received. Future research should focus on interviewing homosexual coaches to examine their thoughts on including their relationship status in biographies and if their sexual orientation has been an issue in career progression, coaching, or recruiting. Similarly, in-depth interviews and observations of the reception that openly gay coaches and athletes receive in their

campus communities would add greater context to the homosexuality in college athletics literature. Future research should also focus on coaches of differing ethnicities as well as an examination of coaches from different regions of the country. There is still little known about perceptions of homosexuality in college athletics, but this research can serve as a foundation to understanding the issue more fully.

References

Anderson, E. (2002). Openly gay athletes: Contesting hegemonic masculinity in a homophobic environment. *Gender and Society*, *16*(6), 860–877.

Anderson, E. (2011). Updating the outcome: Gay athletes, straight teams, and coming out at the end of the decade. *Gender and Society*, *25*(2), 250–268.

Adler, P., & Adler, P. A. (1991). *Backboards and blackboards: College athletes and role engulfment.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Andrew, D., Pedersen, P., & McEvoy, C. (2011). *Research method and design in sport management.* Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Associated Press. (2013). UConn women speak out on sexual discrimination. Retrieved from http://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/ncaaw/2013/11/01/uconn-women-speak-out-on-sexual-discrimination/3359089/

Auslander, G., & Gold, N. (1999). Disability terminology in the media: A comparison of newspaper reports in Canada and Israel. *Social Sciences and Medicine*, *48*(10), 1395–1405.

Bachman, R. (2011, July 18). Sherri Murrell, after four winning seasons at Portland State, still only publicly gay coach in D-I basketball. *The Oregonian*. Retrieved from http://www.oregonlive.com/vikings/index.ssf/2011/07/sherri_murrell_after_four_winn.html

Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (1995). *Mass communication theory.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Borde, R. (2010). Portland State Women's Basketball 2010-11. Portland, OR: Portland State Athletics. Retrieved from http://www.goviks.com/documents/2010/11/12/2010-11_WBB_Media_Guide_Nov_12_2010.pdf?id=237

Branch, J. (2014, February). NFL Prospect Michael Sam Proudly Says What Teammates Knew: He's Gay. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/10/sports/michael-sam-college-football-star-says-he-is-gay-ahead-of-nfl-draft.html?_r=0.

Bruening, J., & Dixon, M. (2007). Work-family conflict in coaching II: Managing role conflict. *Journal of Sport Management*, 21, 471–496.

Bryant, H. (2013, June). More than words. *ESPN Magazine, 16*(1), 14.

Buzinski, J. (2011, August 21). Moment #47: Penn state fires women's basketball coach Rene Portland. Outsports. Retrieved from http://www.outsports.com/2011/8/21/4051700/moment-47-penn-state-fires-womens-basketball-coach-rene-portland

Calhoun, A. S., LaVoi, N. M., & Johnson, A. (2011). Framing with family: Examining online coaches' biographies for heteronormative and heterosexist narratives. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, 4, 300–316.

Chen, H., Gallagher, A. C., & Girod, B. (2014). The hidden side names–face modeling with first name attributes. *IEEE Transactions on Pattern Analysis and Machine Intelligence, 3*6(9), 1860–1973.

Coakley, J. (2009). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies* (10th ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.

Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, *13*(1), 3–21.

Cunningham, G. B., Sartore, M. B., & McCullough, B. P. (2010). Influences of applicant sexual orientation, applicant gender, and rater gender on ascribed attributions and hiring recommendations of personal trainers. *Journal of Sport Management, 24*, 400–415.

Cyphers, L. & Fagan, K. (2011, January 26). Unhealthy climate. *ESPN*. Retrieved from http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/news/story?page=Mag15unhealthyclimate

Dean, R., & Whyte, W. (1978). How do you know if the informant is telling the truth? In Bynner, J. & Stribley, K. (Eds), *Social research: Principles and procedures* (pp. 179–188). Harlow: Longman.

Demers, G. (2006). Homophobia in sport: Fact of life, taboo subject. *Canadian Journal for Women in Coaching*, *6*(2). Retrieved from http://www.coach.ca/files/CJWC_APRIL2006_EN.pdf

Demeritt, D. (2012). Climate change and society. *Geography, 97*, 167.

Dixon, M., & Bruening, J. (2005). Perspectives on work-family conflict: A review and integrative approach. *Sport Management Review*, 8, 227–254.

Dixon, M., & Bruening, J. (2007). Work-gamily conflict in Coaching I: A top-down perspective. *Journal of Sport Management*, 21, 377–406.

Duxbury, L., & Higgins, C. (1991). Gender differences in work-family conflict. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76(1), 60–74.

Dworkin, S. L. (2001). "Holding back": Negotiating a glass ceiling on women's muscular strength. *Sociological Perspectives, 44*(3), 333–350.

Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of Communications, 57*(1), 163–173.

Fagan, K. (2013, May 29). Owning the Middle. *ESPN*. Retrieved from http://espn.go.com/espn/feature/story/_/id/9316697/owning-middle

Flick, U. (2011). *Introducing research methodology: A beginners' guide to doing a research project*. London/Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gates, G. (2011, April). How many people are lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender? The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law publication.

Gates, G. (2013). Demographics an LGBT health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *54*(1), 72–74.

Gill, D. L, Morrow, R. G., Collins, K. E., Lucey, A. B., & Shultz, A. M. (2006). Attitudes and sexual prejudice in sport and physical activity. *Journal of Sport Management, 20*, 554–564.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goffman, E. (1977). The arrangement between sexes. *Theory and Society*, *4,* 301–331.

Gough, B. (2007). Coming out in the heterosexist world of sport: A qualitative analysis of web postings by gay athletes. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy*, *11*(1–2), 15–174.

Grasgreen, A. (2013, May 23). Gag orders on sexuality. *Inside Higher Ed*. Retrieved from http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/05/23/baylors-gag-order-athletes-sexuality- reveals-homophobia-still-prevalent-womens.

Gratton, C., & Jones, I. (2004). *Research methods for sport studies*. New York: Routledge.

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods, 18*, 59–82.

Haller, D., & Finnerty, M. (2014). ASU football player Chip Sarafin announces he is gay. Retrieved from http://www.azcentral.com/story/sports/college/asu/2014/08/13/asu-football-player-chip-sarafin-announces-he-is-gay/14024013/

Hardin, M., Keuhn, K. M., Jones, H., Genovese, J., & Balaji, M. (2009). "Have you got game?" Hegemonic masculinity and neo-homophobia in U.S. newspaper sports columns. *Communication, Culture, and Critique, 2*(2), 182–200.

Hekma, J. J. (1998). Detecting discrimination. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 12*(2), 101–116.

Herek, G. M. (2009). Sexual stigma and sexual prejudice in the United States: A conceptual framework. In D. A. Hope (Ed.), *Contemporary perspectives on lesbian, gay, and bisexual identities* (pp. 65–111). New York: Springer.

Hermann, J. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.scarletknights.com/staff/ad.asp

homophobia. (n.d.). *Collins English Dictionary Complete & Unabridged (*10th ed.). Retrieved from http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/homophobia

Hubbard, P., Boydell, S., Crofts, P., Prior, J., & Searle, G. (2013). Noxious neighbors? Interrogating the impacts of sex premises in residential areas. *Environment and Planning A, 45*, 126–141.

Hughson, J., & Free M. (2011). Football's "Coming Out": Soccer and homophobia in England's tabloid press. *Media International Australia, 140*, 117–125.

Jayne, M., Holloway, S. L., & Valentine, G. (2006). Drunk and disorderly: Alcohol, urban life, and public space. *Progress in Human Geography, 20*, 451–468.

Jorgenson, D. A. (2013). Media and polygamy: A critical analysis of *Sister Wives*. *Communication Studies, 65*(1), 24–38.

Kauer, K., & Krane, V. (2006). 'Scary dykes and feminine queens': Stereotypes and female athletes. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal, 15*(1), 43–56.

Kaufman, M. (2014). Prejudice against gays and lesbians hurts women's college basketball. Retrieved from http://www.miamiherald.com/sports/college/article4071422.html

Kian, E. M., & Anderson, E. (2009). John Amaechi: Changing the way sport reporters examine gay athletes. *Journal of Homosexuality, 56*(7), 799–818.

Kian, E. M., Clavio, G., Vincent, J., & Shaw, S. D. (2011). Homophobic and sexist yet uncontested: Examining football fan postings on internet message boards. *Journal of Homosexuality, 58*(5), 680–699.

Kluwe, C. (2013). I was an NFL player until I was fired by two cowards and a bigot. Retreived from http://deadspin.com/i-was-an-nfl-player-until-i-was-fired-by-two-cowards-an-1493208214

Knight, J., & Giuliano, T. (2003). Blood, sweat, and jeers: The impact of media's heterosexual portrayals on perceptions of male and female athletes. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, *26*(3), 272–284.

Kolnes, L. (1995). Heterosexuality as an organizing principle in women's sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 30*, 61–77.

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Lenskyj, H. (1991). Combating homophobia in sport and physical education. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *8*, 61–69.

Lenskyj, H. (2012). *Gender politics and the Olympic industry*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lieber, J. (2006). Harris stands tall in painful battle with Penn State coach. Retrieved from http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/sports/college/womensbasketball/2006-05-11-jennifer-harris_x.htm

Lowery, S. A., & DeFleur, M. L. (1995). *Milestones in mass communication research: Media effects* (3rd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

McQuail, D., & Windahl, S. (1993). *Communication models: For the study of mass communication* (2nd ed.). London: Longman.

MacPherson, J. (2012, September 11). Gay college football player says kiss got him booted. *USA Today*. Retrieved from http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/sports/ncaaf/story/2012/09/11/gay-college-football-player-says-kiss-got-him-booted/57751746/1.

McGrath, S. A., & Chananie-Hill, R. A. (2009). "Big freaky-looking women": Normalizing gender transgression through body building. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 26*, 235–254.

McMurphy, B. (2013, July 25). Julie Hermann reveals she's gay. *ESPN*. Retrieved from http://espn.go.com/new-york/college-sports/story/_/id/9509097/julie-hermann-ad-rutgers-scarlet-knights-acknowledges-gay.

Melton, E. N., & Cunningham, G. B. (2013). Exploring minority stress resilience among college athletes with multiple marginalized identities. *Journal for the Study of Sport and Athletes in Education, 6*(1), 45–66.

Melton, E. N., & Cunningham, G .B. (2014a). Examining the workplace experiences of sport employees who are LGBT: A social categorization theory perspective. *Journal of Sport Management*, 28, 21–33.

Melton, E. N., & Cunningham, G. B. (2014b). Who are the champions? Using a multilevel model to examine perceptions of employee support for LGBT inclusion in sport organizations. *Journal of Sport Management*, 28, 289–206.

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

Mosewich, A. D., Crocker, P. R. E., & Kowalski, K. C. (2014). Managing injury and other setbacks in sport: Experiences of (and resources for) high-performance women athletes. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 6*(2), 183–204.

Morse, J. (1994). Designing funded qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook for qualitative research* (pp. 220–235). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mullen, E. M. (2013). Scale development: Heterosexist attitudes in women's collegiate athletics. *Measurement in Physical Education and Exercise Science, 17*(1), 1–21.

Nastich, S. (2003). Questioning the marriage assumptions: The justification for "opposite-sex only" marriage as support for the abolition of marriage. *Law and Inequality, 21*(1), 114–166.

National Conference of State Legislatures. (2014). Defining marriage: State defense of marriage laws and same-sex marriage. Retrieved from http://www.ncsl.org/research/human-services/same-sex-marriage-overview.aspx

Naylor, R., Maye, D., Ilbery, Enticott, G., Kirwan, J. (2013). Researching controversial and sensitive issues: Using visual vignettes to explore farmers' attitudes towards the control of bovine tuberculosis in England. *Area, 46*(3), 285–194.

Oppenheimer, D. B., Oliveira, A., & Blumenthal, A. (2014). Religiosity and same-sex marriage in the United States and Europe. *Berkeley Journal of International Law, 32*(1), 195–238.

Owton, H., Bond, K., & Tod, D. (2014). "It's my dream to work with Olympic Athletes": Neophyte sport psychologists' expectations and initial experiences regarding service delivery. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 26*(3), 242–255.

Page, S. (2013, July 1). Poll: Support for gay marriage hits high after ruling. *USA Today*. Retrieved from http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2013/07/01/poll-supreme-court-gay-marriage-affirmative-action-voting-rights/2479541/

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication, 10*(1), 55–75.

Pate, J., & Hardin, R. (2013). Best practices for media coverage of athletes with disabilities: A person-first language approach. In P. Pedersen (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of sport communication* (pp. 359–368). New York: Routledge.

Pederson, P. M., Miloch, K. S., & Laucella, P. C. (2007). *Strategic sport communication*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Penn State coach, ex-player reach settlement. (2007). Retrieved from http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/news/story?id=2755039

Pleck, J. (1977). The work-family role system. *Social Problems*, 24, 417–428.

Riechert, B. (1996). *Advocacy group and news media framing of public policy issues: Frame mapping the wetlands debates* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Romney, A., Batchelder, W., & Weller, S. (1986). Culture as consensus: A theory of culture and informant accuracy. *American Anthropologist, 88*, 313–338.

Roper, E. A., & Halloran, E. (2007). Attitudes toward gay men and lesbians among heterosexual male and female student-athletes. *Sex Roles, 57*, 919–928.

Rowland, K. (2014). Family atmosphere wins overs recruits at Ohio State. Retrieved from http://www.elevenwarriors.com/ohio-state-football/2014/07/37139/family-atmosphere-wins-over-recruits-families-at-ohio-state

Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Schultz, B. (2011). Sport Communication. In M. Nagel & R. Southall (Eds.), *Introduction to sport management: Theory and practice* (pp. 217–246). Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt Publishing.

Severin, W., & Tankard, J. (1992). *Communication theories: Origins, methods, and uses in the mass media* (3rd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Shadid, T. (2014). OU football recruiting: Sooners' family atmosphere what lured Marcus Green to Norman. Retrieved from http://newsok.com/ou-football-recruiting-sooners-family-atmosphere-what-lured-marcus-green-to-norman/article/3930425

Shang, Y-T., Liao, C-M., & Gill, D. L. (2012). Sport gender ideology, past contact experiences and attitudes toward sexual minority athletes in Taiwan. *Asian Women, 28(3),* 31–52.

Sieczkowski, C. (2013, May 9). Kevin Grayson, college football star and NFL hopeful, comes out as gay. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/09/kevin-grayson-comes-out-gay-_n_3244967.html

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sutherland, L. M., Kowalski, K. C., Ferguson, L. J. Sabiston, C. M., Sedgwick, W. A., Crocker, P. R. E. (2014). Narratives of young women athletes' experiences of emotional pain and self-compassion. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise, and Health, 6*(4), 499–516.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2003, October). Marital Status: 2000. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/c2kbr-30.pdf.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2013, August). Same sex couples main. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/hhes/samesex/

Voepel, M. (2007, March 22). Resignation should spark time of healing for PSU. *ESPN.com*. Retrieved from http://sports.espn.go.com/ncw/columns/story?columnist=voepel_mechelle&id=2808469

Wachs, F. L., & Dworkin, S. L. (1997). "There's no such thing as a gay hero": Sexual identity and media framing of HIV-positive athletes. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *21*(4), 327–347.

Wachs, F. L., & Dworkin, S. L. (1998). *"Disciplining the body": HIV-positive male athletes, media surveillance, and the policing of sexuality.* City, State?: Publisher?

Waldron, T. (2013, April 18). Brittney Griner, an openly gay basketball player in Baylor's sea of homophobia. *Think Progress.* Retrieved from http://thinkprogress.org/alyssa/2013/04/18/1890841/brittney-griner-an-openly-gay-basketball-player-in-baylors-sea-of-homophobia/

Wellman, S., & Blinde, E. (1997). Homophobia in women's intercollegiate basketball: Views of women coaches regarding coaching careers and recruitment of athletes. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal*, *6*(2), 63–82.

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society, 1*(2), 125–151.

West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (2009). Accounting for Doing Gender. *Gender and Society*, *23*(1), 112–122.

Management Whitepaper

The Glass Closet

Perceptions of Homosexuality in Intercollegiate Sport

Jordan Bass, Robin Hardin, and Elizabeth A. Taylor

I. Research Problem

This research examines the perceptions and prevalence of open homosexuality among coaches in intercollegiate sport in the United States. Open homosexuality is becoming more prevalent with Baylor's Brittany Griner coming out as well as Missouri's Michael Sam. Rutgers athletic director Julie Hermann is also openly homosexual. It is important for sport administrators to understand the perceptions of coaches regarding this issue because they are the ones who are recruiting and ultimately selecting intercollegiate student-athletes. Other coaches and student-athletes would also be interested in this research to determine how accepting collegiate athletics may be of openly homosexual student-athletes.

II. Issues

"*Soon enough, she found herself living in a glass closet.*" *ESPN* writer Kate Fagan used these words to describe women's basketball player Brittney Griner during her time at Baylor University. Griner revealed school officials had instructed her to not publicly discuss her sexuality even though she told head coach Kim Mulkey she was gay while she was being recruited. Her identity battle is part of a larger phenomenon where university administrators are increasingly balancing free expression and a changing culture. The delicacy of this balance is heightened in a college sports landscape where administrators and coaches are consistently competing with other institutions and entertainment options for, among other things, athletes, fundraising dollars, and community support.

A precise percentage is difficult to find because of varying definitions, differing data collection methods, and stigma attached with identifying as homosexual, bisexual, or transgender but recent research has found that approximately 3.5% or 9 million residents of the United States population identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. This percentage has nearly doubled during the past 20 years, possibly due to an increasing acceptance of the LGBT lifestyle, but there are, however, many individuals in the United States who are homophobic.

Male athletes learn from an early age that they are supposed to exhibit the highest levels of masculinity possible, and if they are unable to prove their heterosexual status, they are targets for ridicule. It is not uncommon for a male to be mocked with a homophobic slur if he is uninterested or performs poorly in sport, especially during his youth years. On the other hand, females who achieve large amounts of athletic success often have their heterosexuality called into question. Based on societal norms, females are supposed to exhibit characteristics that are traditionally thought of as feminine (e.g., emotional, empathetic, needy). Successful female athletes often exhibit characteristics that would be considered more masculine (e.g., strong, active, forceful) causing them to be classified as lesbian, regardless of their sexual orientation.

Females who achieve high levels of success in the sports realm are often breaking societal norms of feminism and exhibit strength at levels deemed only acceptable for males, and are therefore criticized for not being feminine enough. This criticism often leads to an automatic label of lesbian which causes many straight female athletes to believe they have to prove they are not homosexual which leads to over emphasizing femininity. Many girls drop out of sport or attempt to not show their athletic prowess because they do not want to receive this stigmatized label of being a lesbian.

Research on female homosexuality and sport examines how many female athletes break societal gender norms and exhibit masculinity instead of femininity, but research on homosexuality and male sport revolves around suspicions that are raised when a boy shows no interest in playing sports. It is considered normal, even desirable, for a boy to participate in several sports, especially those sports that exhibit the highest levels of masculinity in the United States. Male are often automatically considered heterosexual if they participate in athletics, and sport participation is associated with the development of male athlete's manliness. Gay male athletes face the possibility of seeing their sporting career come to end if they out themselves to their teammates, coaches, and fans. Scholarly articles and popular press articles draw attention to the tremendously homophobic language used by male athletes and coaches behind the closed doors of the locker room and practice.

Some sport organizations try to avoid talking about lesbian athletes and coaches in their sport or sport organization because it could affect public relationships, sponsorships, recruitment, and the image of women in sport. Being openly homosexual can have extremely negative consequences on coaches (e.g., trouble landing and keeping a job, difficulties recruiting athletes) which leads these coaches to keep their sexuality a secret from other coaches and administrators as well as their players.

III. Summary

A quantitative examination of coaching biographies was performed to identify each coach's relationship status based on the biography posted on the official

athletic website of each university. Five conferences participating in NCAA Division I – Football Bowl Subdivision were used in the data collection: 1) Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), 2) Big Ten, 3) Big Twelve, 4) Pac-12, and 5) Southeastern (SEC). These conferences were comprised of 62 member institutions. Coding was conducted for sport, gender of the sport, coach gender, marital status, and children (see Table 1).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of NCAA Division I BCS Head Coaching Biographies (Male and Female)

	ACC	Big 10	Big 12	Pac 12	SEC	Total
Coaches	247	249	136	212	206	1050
Team Gender						
Male	40.5	44.2	37.5	37.3	35	39.2
Female	46.6	47.8	51.5	52.4	52.9	39.9
Both	11.3	6.8	9.6	9	11.2	9.5
Co-Ed	1.6	1.2	1.5	1.4	1	1.3
Coach Gender						
Male	75.6	70.5	72.8	69.3	75.6	72.8
Female	24.4	29.5	27.2	30.7	24.4	27.2
Marital Status						
Married	70.1	72.4	76.5	66	78.7	72.5
No Mention	29.5	27.2	23.5	34	20.8	27.2
Partner	4	0	0	0	0	0.1
Engaged	0	0	0	0	0.5	0.1
Widow	0	0.4	0	0	0	0.1
Children						
Yes	69.7	66.9	72.8	62.2	70.8	68.3
No	30.3	33.1	27.2	37.8	39.2	31.7

Note. All numbers are in percentages except for Coaches, which is the actual count. Coaches were coded as coaching both males and females if they were identified as the head coach or director (i.e., a coach identified as Director of Track & Field). Sports coded as Co-Ed were pistol, rifle, sailing, and skiing.

In all, just more than 72% of the coaches were male. Similarly, 72% of the coaches listed they were married, and 68% listed children in their profile. With regard to homosexuality, only one NCAA Division Football Bowl Subdivision coach listed a same-sex partner on the coaching biography, or less than 1%. The same number of coaches, one, listed marital status as engaged or widowed. An utter lack of same-sex partners in collegiate coaching biographies leads to an enormity of questions. In order to further investigate the attitudes toward homosexuality in collegiate sport, five coaches were interviewed. The interviews explored three major topics: (1) public discussions of homosexuality, (2) recruiting openly gay athletes, and (3) homosexuality in coaching biographies.

Each coach discussed at length the extent to which they gave instructions to their players on publicly discussing their sexual preference. Coaches at religious affiliated institutions believed the setting in which their teams operated impacted the topics, especially homosexuality, that could be discussed in the open. Coaches also believed questions and concerns about a student-athlete's sexuality was of no concern because it had nothing to do with standing as a student-athlete, and any questioning would be an intrusion into the student's personal life. Coaches were for the most part comfortable recruiting openly gay student-athletes with their concerns being how the university community and public would perceive and treat them. This would lead some of the respondents to not recruit openly gay student-athletes.

The final topic explored through the interviews was the listing of same-sex partners in coaching biographies. Four of the respondents said doing so would cause a stir in the athletic department, fund-raising base, and community. One respondent surmised the administration would not "care outwardly," but that it would bother them at an individual level. Two respondents believed the administration would allow a coach to list a same sex partner on their coaching biography. The coaches we interviewed believed administration discomfort, fear of financial loss, and recruiting consequences were the main reasons coaches did not publicly acknowledge their same-sex partners in their biographies. In many ways, the fear of retribution, whether it be financially or personally, was cited as the underlying phenomenon preventing coaches from listing their same-sex partners on their coaching biography.

IV. Analysis

This examination only begins to explore perceptions of open homosexuality. The introductory quantitative data analysis suggests that either coaches or administrators are not yet comfortable listing same-sex partners on university-sponsored coaching biographies; as evidenced by the fact that only one of more than 1,000 head coaches at the highest level of college coaching listed a partner on their coaching biography, as opposed to over 70% of coaches who listed they were in a traditional marriage. It is also worth noting the one coach who listed a same-sex partner was Jennifer Averill of Wake Forest University. Averill has had a widely successful career, leading Wake Forest to three consecutive national titles (2002–2004) and nine straight semifinal appearances (2000–2008) in field hockey.

The interviews also highlighted that athletic department and university administrators have differing views of open homosexuality. Even if more coaches wanted to be open about their sexuality, all but one of the coaches indicated that their athletic departments would have a problem listing a same-sex partner in their coaching biography. Coaches referenced a possible loss of donations and revenue, in addition to creating controversy within the department, fund-raising base, and community as reasons why the athletic administration would be hesitant to allow coaches to be openly homosexual. Openly gay and lesbian coaches are faced with

the issues of obtaining and keeping jobs as well as recruiting athletes, and these interviews show collegiate athletic departments may not have come as far as the general population during the past 20 years.

The coaching biographies and interviews also add further evidence to discussions of the "work-family interface" in coaching circles. Male coaches were married and had children at a higher rate than their peers in the general population. On the contrary, female coaches were married and had children at a lower rate. Female coaches often feel forced to choose between being a mother or a coach, and male coaches are often expected to devote every waking minute to their profession while their wife raises the family.

V. Discussion/Implications

The culture against homosexuality, while changing, still restricts the amount and frequency of homosexual coaches who become openly gay. Thus, it is difficult to pinpoint which coaches did not list partners in their biographies because they are not in relationships and who did not list partners because of fear of retribution. There can only be a comparison to the numbers of population statistics, which have the same inherent flaws. It cannot be determined if it is the coaches or the administrators who are not comfortable with having a same-sex partner listed on an athletic coaching biography. Restated, it is unclear if it is an individual or institutional decision. Further, as states continue to legalize same-sex marriages and unions, it will be worthwhile to examine if the lack of partners in coaching biographies continues. While the number of coaches listing a same-sex partner actually decreased from the previous study of biographies. There is still little known about perceptions of homosexuality in college athletics, but this research can serve as a foundation to understanding the issue more fully.

update language

The analysis of the coaching biographies and interviews does reveal there is some concern about being opening gay in collegiate athletics. Baylor's Brittany Griner and Missouri's Michael Sam both waited until their eligibility was completed before acknowledging they were homosexual. Sport administrators must be aware this environment exists, and there is some sort of fear of being openly gay for coaches and student-athletes. Collegiate athletic departments should be aware of this and ensure resources are in place to provide guidance for gay coaches and student-athletes. This can be in the form of counselors or information regarding campus-wide resources. Diversity training for staff members should also include issues related to the LGBT community so administrators are aware of the issues facing gay coaches and student-athletes. The transition into college and collegiate athletics is challenging enough, and this issue just adds more complexity to the transition of these student-athletes. The key concept that derives from this research in that collegiate athletics does not seem to be accepting of homosexual coaches and student-athletes. Awareness of this lack of acceptance is the most relevant take-away from this research.

incomplete sentence

The Impact of Psychological Contract Breach on Student-Athlete Perceived In-Role Performance and Organizational Citizenship Behaviors

Christopher Barnhill
Brian A. Turner

Abstract

Recent research has demonstrated that breached psychological contracts between student-athletes and their coaches can have negative consequences for team members (Barnhill, Czekanski, & Turner, 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2013, 2014). While these studies are informative, they have been focused on student-athlete attitudes. The purpose of this study was to explore how psychological contracts affect student-athletes' behaviors and performance. The results indicated that neither psychological contract breaches, nor psychological contract violation are significantly related to organizational citizenship behaviors or in-role performance of student-athletes. Implications and suggestions for future results are discussed.

Keywords: *coach-athlete relationship, psychological contracts, student-athletes, perceived performance, organizational citizenship behaviors*

Christopher Barnhill is an assistant professor and graduate program coordinator of the Sport Management Program at Georgia Southern University.

Brian A. Turner is an associate professor and program coordinator for the Sport Management Program at The Ohio State University.

Please send correspondence to Christopher Barnhill, cbarnhill@georgiasouthern.edu

Introduction

Recently, sport management scholars have taken an interest in psychological contracts between coaches and athletes (Bravo, Shonk, & Won, 2012). Research has shown that athletes do form psychological contracts with their coaches (Antunes de Campos, 1994; Barnhill et al., 2013) and that each athlete's contract is unique (Owen-Pugh, 2007). Studies have also shown that many athletes feel that their coaches are failing to live up to the obligations that make up the psychological contract (Barnhill, Turner, & Czech, 2014). Multiple studies have shown that perceived breaches of the psychological contract can affect attitudinal outcomes of athletes (Barnhill et al., 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2013, 2014).

To date, the psychological contract studies of coaches and athletes have demonstrated the important link between communication, the coach-athlete relationship, and attitudes of athletes. However, behaviors and in-role performance have not been introduced into the scholarship. Since behavioral outcomes and in-role performance directly affect team outcomes, we felt it was important to examine how psychological contracts between coaches and athletes affected those variables. Using a sample of National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) student-athletes, the purpose of this study was to examine how breaches of the psychological contract affect athletes' perceived performance and behaviors towards their teammates. We also examined how the development of psychological contract violation may partially mediate the relationship between perceptions of contract breach and the outcome variables.

Psychological Contracts Between Coaches and Athletes

Psychological contracts are "individual beliefs, shaped by the organization, regarding the terms of an exchange agreement between individuals and their organization" (Rousseau, 1995, p. 9). As the complex relationship between an individual and an organization develops, the psychological contract accounts for areas of the relationship that a formal contract cannot (Rousseau, 1990, 1995). The psychological contract also allows individuals to know what is expected of them, as well as what to expect in return for their efforts (Rousseau, 1990).

Multiple studies have found that student-athletes form psychological contracts with their coaches (Antunes de Campos, 1994; Barnhill et al., 2013). Coaches, representing the management tiers of a team organization (Chelladurai, 2009), pass information to the student-athletes, who must then interpret if the information is part of the psychological contract (Rousseau, 1995). According to Rousseau, any form of communication, including nonverbal communication, can alter the psychological contract if the organizational member (i.e., the student-athlete) believes that there is a change to the exchange agreement. Thus, individuals often have a different interpretation of the psychological contract than their managers (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994).

Psychological contracts form when an organization begins recruiting an individual to become a member (De Vos, Buyens, & Schalk, 2003; De Vos, De Stobbeleir, & Meganck, 2009; Rousseau, 1990). The recruiting process in intercollegiate athletics creates a complicated scenario where coaches must play the role of salesperson, while creating accurate expectations about the intercollegiate athletic experience. For many student-athletes, the initial relationship built with the coaching staff is an important factor in their school selection (Gabert, Hale, & Montalvo, 1999; Goss, Jubenville, & Orejan, 2006; Huffman & Cooper, 2012; Klenosky, Templin, & Troutman, 2001; Pauline, 2010). Student-athletes complain that coaches are often unclear with their communication during the recruiting process (Barnhill et al., 2014; Hyatt, 2003). The lack of clarity continues during the student-athletes' career. A thematic analysis by Barnhill et al. (2014) found that many student-athletes felt that their coaches did not follow through with promises related to playing opportunities, scholarship funding, and athletic skills development.

Coaches often engage in what is commonly referred to as "coach-speak" (LeUnes, 2006), meaningless phrases meant to encourage or motivate an athlete. Spend time at a college practice and you are likely to hear a head or assistant coach tell one or more athletes, "Keep up the hard work and good things will happen," or some variation. Teammates may interpret the same vague phrase differently (Rousseau, 1995). An experienced, first-string athlete may interpret the saying as a message from the coaches to work harder during practice and the team will have a good chance at victory in their next contest. At the same time, another teammate might interpret the phrase as a promise, "If I continue to work hard, I will play in the upcoming contest." If the second athlete does not play in the upcoming game, the individual may construe the situation as a broken promise by the coach. Rousseau (1995) argued that individuals interpret communications from their organization in accordance with their career ambitions and often with a positive outlook. Based on Rousseau's argument, student-athletes are likely to interpret communications from their coaches in a manner that is positive to their athletic ambitions.

Psychological Contract Breach

Robinson and Rousseau (1994) stated, "Each party believes that both parties have made promises and that both parties have accepted the same contract terms. However, this does not necessarily mean that both parties share a common understanding of all contract terms. Each party only believes that they share the same interpretation of the contract" (p. 246). Often, one party falls short of the other party's expectations creating what is known as a psychological contracts breach. Morrison and Robinson (1997) stated, "perceived breach refers to the cognition that one's organization has failed to meet one or more obligations within one's psychological contract" (p. 230).

Based on the literature, it is quite possible for coaches to breach a psychological contract that they never knew existed. Perceived breaches of the psycho-

logical contract between coaches and student-athletes has been found to lower student-athletes trust in their coaches (Barnhill et al., 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2013), commitment to their teams (Barnhill et al., 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2014), and satisfaction with their role as an athlete at their university (Barnhill et al., 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2013). Perceived psychological contract breaches have also been found to increase student-athletes intentions to leave their university (Barnhill et al., 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2013). Unfortunately for coaches, the outcomes of a breach occur regardless of whether the breach was intentional or accidental (Morrison & Robinson, 1997).

Psychological Contract Violation

Even worse than a perceived breach is the development of psychological contract violation (Morrison & Robinson, 1997; Robinson & Morrison, 2000). Psychological contract violation is an emotional, effective state that sometimes follows an individual's perception of a psychological contract breach (Morrison & Robinson, 1997). Outcomes following the development of psychological contract violation are more intense (Rigotti, 2009). Pate (2006) found that relationships are often unsalvageable following feelings of violation. Barnhill and Turner (2013) is the only study to examine psychological contract violation in student-athletes. They examined student-athletes at four NCAA universities and found that psychological contract violation partially mediated the relationship between perceived psychological contract breaches and student-athletes trust, as well as the relationship between psychological contract breach and intentions to leave.

Extending the Theory

Previous studies examining psychological contracts between coaches and student-athletes are enlightening, but there is reason to believe that psychological contracts may also affect in-role performance and organizational citizenship behaviors of student-athletes. Outside of the team sports setting, psychological contract breach has been found to negatively affect in-role performance (Bal, Chiaburu, & Jansen, 2010; Conway & Coyle-Shapiro, 2006; Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Orvis, Dudley, & Cortina, 2008; Restubog, Bordia, & Tang, 2006; Restubog, Bordia, Tang, & Krebs, 2010; Sturges, Conway, Guest, & Liefooghe, 2005; Suazo, Turnley, & Mai-Dalton, 2005; Turnley, Bolino, Lester, & Bloodgood, 2003) and organizational citizenship behaviors (Coyle-Shapiro, 2002; Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Modaresi & Nourian, 2013; Restubog et al., 2006; Suazo et al., 2005; Turnley et al., 2003) of individuals. A meta-analysis by Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski, and Bravo (2007) found that psychological contract violation mediates the relationships between psychological contract breach and performance and behavioral outcomes.

Most research has indicated that student-athletes react to psychological contracts in the same nature as other organizational members (Antunes de Campos, 1994; Barnhill et al., 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2013, 2014). Therefore, it is reason-

able to assume that student-athletes' performance and behavioral outcomes will be affected by psychological contract breaches and violations. Studies examining communication and athlete outcomes also support these assumptions. Studies examining communication between coaches and athletes have found that athletes believe that coach communication affects their feelings toward their teammates (Turman, 2008) and affected their performance (Kassing & Infante, 1999; Kristiansen, Tomten, Hanstad, & Roberts, 2012). Because communication is a major factor in psychological contract development (De Vos et al., 2003; De Vos et al., 2009; Rousseau, 1990, 1995), it is possible that these studies were actually measuring outcomes related to psychological contracts.

Hypotheses

In-Role Performance

Williams and Anderson (1991) defined in-role performance as an individual's ability to complete tasks directly associated with their position within the organization. In practical terms, in-role performance describes a student-athlete's ability to performance tasks associated with their role on the team. If team members consistently perform their tasks in a successful manner, the team should be more likely to experience success. Based on the previously explored psychological contract literature, we proposed the following hypotheses.

H1: Psychological contract breach will negatively affect student-athletes' perceived in-role performance.
H2: Psychological contract violation will partially mediate the relationship between psychological contract breach and perceived in-role performance.

Organizational Citizenship Behavior

Organizational citizenship behavior is defined as "individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and in the aggregate promotes the efficient and effective functioning of the organization" (Organ, 1988). Organizational citizenship behavior has been directly linked to organizational performance (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). In terms of this study, organizational citizenship behavior examined student-athletes willingness to engage in behavior that is positive to the team without explicit instruction from their coaches. Based on the previously reviewed literature, we proposed the following hypotheses:

H3: Psychological contract breach will negatively affect student-athletes' organizational citizenship behaviors.
H4: Psychological contract violation will partially mediate the relationship between psychological contract breach and organizational citizenship behaviors.

Method

Procedures

Surveys were distributed to student-athletes at four NCAA universities during the spring semester. Three of the universities competed at the Division I level, while the other competed at the Division II level. We sought and obtained permission from the institutional review boards (IRBs) at each participating university. Per IRB instructions, all of the surveys were distributed with athletic department cooperation. To avoid bias, surveys were distributed and collected by athletic department employees at previously scheduled team meetings without coaches present. A total of 271 surveys were returned by the athletic department representatives, of which 248 were usable. Our athletic department representatives did not accurately track the number of surveys distributed nor did they report the number of student-athletes present at the meetings. Because of this limitation, we were unable to determine an accurate response rates. Potential issues related to this issue are discussed in the limitations section.

Respondents

The respondents were student-athletes participating at one of four universities. Of the 248 respondents, 196 (79.0%) competed at the Division I level. The remaining 52 (21.0%) respondents competed at the Division II level. In terms of demographics, 142 of the respondents (57.3%) were female, compared to 104 males (41.9%). Two respondents did not give their gender. A majority of respondents were first-year student-athletes (n = 87, 35.1%), followed by second-year student-athletes (n = 65, 26.2%), third-year student-athletes (n = 56, 22.3%), and fourth-year student-athletes (n = 30, 12.1%). Five respondents identified themselves as fifth-year student-athletes, and five other respondents did not provide their year in school. Most of the respondents indicated that they had a starting role on their team (n = 162, 65.3%), 58 (23.4%) identified themselves as reserves, and 21 (8.5%) indicated that they were redshirting. Seven respondents did not answer the question. The IRB at the Division II school prevented us from collecting sport information at that institution. Respondents at the Division I schools participated in 22 different sports. The sport that was most represented in the sample was track and field (n = 48), followed by women's soccer (n = 23), softball (n = 20), and men's soccer (n = 15). No football players participated in the study (the Division II school does not participate in football).

Instrumentation

In order to test the proposed models, an instrument was adapted to measure: 1) perceived psychological contract breach, 2) psychological contract violation, 3) organizational citizenship behavior, and 4) perceived in-role performance. Items from the instrument are listed in Table 1.

We defined psychological contract breach based on Morrison and Robinson's (1997) definition. In this study, psychological contract breach was defined as a perceived negative balance between what the student-athlete believes they were promised and what they actually received from their coaches. Psychological contract breach was measured using items adapted from Robinson and Morrison's (2000) global scale of psychological contract breach. To illustrate the nature of the adaptations, Robinson and Morrison's scale contains the item, "I have not received everything promised to me by my organization." To make the item relevant to the target population, it was adapted to, "I have not received everything promised to me by my coaches." Four items were adapted and measured using a Likert-type scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 6 = *Strongly Agree*).

Morrison and Robinson (1997) defined psychological contract violation as "the emotional and affective state that may, under certain conditions, follow from the belief that one's organization has failed to adequately maintain the psychological contract" (p. 230). To measure psychological contract violation, we adapted four items from Morrison and Robinson's (2000) emotional response to breach scale. To demonstrate the changes made, Morrison and Robinson's scale contains the item, "I feel betrayed by my organization." We adapted the item to, "I feel betrayed by my coaches." Responses were measured using a Likert-type scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 6 = *Strongly Agree*).

Organ (1988) stated that "organizational citizenship behavior represents individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system" (p. 4). Williams and Anderson (1991) further conceptualized the theory by acknowledging that organizational citizenship behaviors may be directed at benefiting individuals within the organization (organizational citizenship behaviors – individuals) or the organization as a whole (organizational citizenship behaviors – organizational). Willingness amongst teammates to help one another without prompts from coaches is an important dynamic within the sport team organization. As such, our operational definition of organizational citizenship behavior was aligned with Williams and Anderson's definition of organizational citizenship behaviors – individuals. We defined organizational citizenship behavior as a student-athlete's willingness to help their teammates. To measure organizational citizenship behavior, four items from Williams and Anderson's scale were adapted to the sample population. To illustrate the nature of the adaptations, Williams and Anderson's scale includes the item, "Goes out of the way to help new employees." On our scale the item read, "I go out of my way to help new members of the team." Responses were measured using a Likert-type scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 6 = *Strongly Agree*).

In-role performance examines behaviors necessary to one's position with the team or organization (Katz & Kahn, 1978). To provide uniformity across sports and to protect anonymity, participants were asked to provide their own perception of their performance. The use of self-evaluative creates potential for self-enhancement bias. However, Goffin and Gellatly (2001) found that self-evaluative

measures are highly correlated with objective performance measures. To measure perceived in-role performance, four items from Williams and Anderson's (1991) scale were adapted. To illustrate the adaptations, Williams and Anderson's scale includes the item "The employee performs tasks that are expected of him or her." The item was adapted to "I consistently perform the tasks expected of me." Responses were measured using a Likert-type scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 6 = Strongly Agree).

Reliability and Validity

To establish construct validity, a panel of five experts reviewed the instrument. The panel was comprised of organizational behavior researchers and sports management scholars. Suggestions made by the panel of experts were incorporated into the instrument, thus substantiating the construct validity of the instrument.

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to establish the reliability of the instrument. Any items with a factor loading (λ) below .70 were removed from analysis per recommendations by Hair, Anderson, Tatham, and Black (1998). One performance item failed to meet the .70 threshold and was removed from our analysis. The results of the confirmatory factor analysis are illustrated in Table 1. Internal consistency of the instrument was tested by determining the Cronbach's alpha (α) for each construct. A construct with an α of .70 or greater was considered acceptable (Hair et al., 1998). The α levels of all of the variables were

Table 1

is title of table 1 correct?

Descriptive Statistics

Items	Factor Loading (α)
Almost all of the promises made by my coaches during recruitment have been kept so far. (PCB, reversed)	.875
So far my coaches have done an excellent job of fulfilling their promises to me. (PCB, reversed)	.897
I have not received everything promised to me by my coaches. (PCB)	.772
My coaches have broken many of their promises to me even though I've upheld my end of the deal. (PCB)	.835
I feel a great deal of anger toward my coaches. (PCV)	.896
I feel betrayed by my coaches. (PCV)	.903
I feel extremely frustrated by how I have been treated by my coaches. (PCV)	.899
I feel that my coaches have violated the contract between us. (PCV)	.800
I take personal interest in the well being of my teammates. (OCB)	.750
I go out of my way to help new members of the team. (OCB)	.840
I take breaks when no one is watching. (OCB, reversed)	.861
I take the time to listen to the worries of my teammates. (OCB)	.812
I fulfill all of the responsibilities of my specified role on the team. (IRP)	.838
I consistently perform the tasks expected of me. (IRP)	.884
I sometimes fail to perform up to my abilities. (IRP, reversed)	*.513*
I consistently perform to the level that is expected of me.	.833

Factor loadings <.70 in italics

considered acceptable: psychological contract breach $\alpha = .87$; psychological contract violation $\alpha = .89$; organizational citizenship behavior $\alpha = .84$; and in-role performance $\alpha = .830$).

Results

Descriptive statistics for each of the variables can be found in Table 2. A correlation matrix was produced using IBM SPSS Statistics 21. The correlation matrix can be found in Table 3.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics

	M	*SD*
PCB	2.56	1.23
PCV	2.12	1.17
OCB	5.02	.82
IRP	4.89	.80

Table 3

Correlation Matrix

	PCB	PCV	OCB	IRP
PCB	1.000			
PCV	.764**	1.000		
OCB	-.150*	-.182**	1.000	
IRP	-.051	-.076	.264**	1.000

*Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level

To test our hypotheses, regression analysis was conducted using Lisrel 9.1. H1 predicted that psychological contract breach will negatively affect student-athletes' perceived in-role performance. H1 was not supported. In-role performance was not significantly related to psychological contract breach ($\beta = .01$, $t(248) = .17$, $p = .422$). H2 predicted that psychological contract violation will partially mediate the relationship between psychological contract breach and perceived in-role performance. H2 was tested using the mediation method prescribed by Baron and Kenny (1986). Partial mediation would be established if the independent variable maintained a significant relationship with both the mediating variable and the

dependent variable, while at the same time the mediating variable maintains a significant relationship with the dependent variable. H2 was not supported. Psychological contract breach was positively related to psychological contract violation (β = .73, $t(248) = 18.66$, $p < .001$). However, neither psychological contract violation (β = -.06, $t(248) = -.91$, $p = .366$), nor psychological contract breach (β = .01, $t(248) = .17$, $p = .422$) was significantly related to in-role performance (Figure 1).

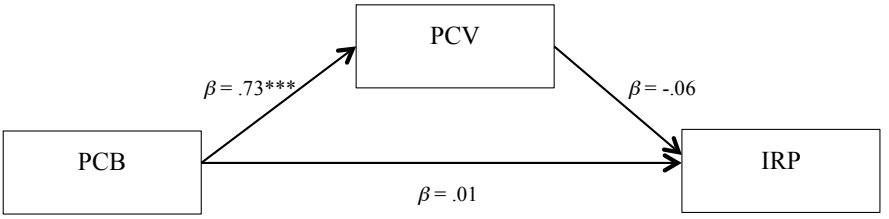


Figure 1. Partial Mediation Model PCB, PCV, IRP

H3 predicted that psychological contract breach will negatively affect student-athletes' organizational citizenship behaviors. H3 was not supported. Psychological contract breach was not significantly related organizational citizenship behaviors of student-athletes (β = -.02, $t(248) = -.27$, $p = .790$). H4 predicted that psychological contract violation will partially mediate the relationship between psychological contract breach and organizational citizenship behaviors. Once again we used Baron and Kenny's (1986) mediation method. H4 was not supported. Neither psychological contract breach (β = -.02, $t(248) = -.27$, $p = .790$) nor psychological contract violation (β = -.11, $t(248) = -1.69$, $p = .093$) were significantly related to organizational citizenship behavior (Figure 2).

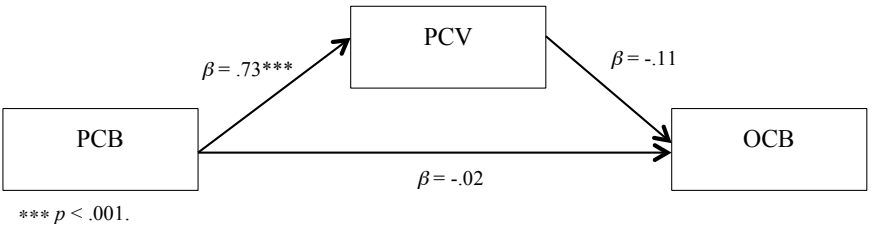


Figure 2. Partial Mediation Model PCB, PCV, OCB

A majority of the student-athletes in the study reported that they were starters on their teams. However, a substantial number of athletes identified as reserves. Owen-Pugh (2007) found that athletes develop unique psychological contracts with their coaches based on their team roles but none of the previous psychological contract literature explored the difference between athletes who identify as starters and students who identify as backups. Rousseau (1995) hypothesized that individuals interpret their psychological contracts differently based on their organizational role and their career ambitions. To control for potential differences within the sample population, we conducted an independent samples *t*-test to determine if playing status affected student-athletes perceptions of breach. This test was conducted to see if student-athletes who identified themselves as reserves were more likely to perceive a psychological contract breach than student-athletes who identified as starters. The mean response from starters regarding perceptions of psychological contract breach was 2.52 (SD = 1.22). For reserves, the mean response was 2.80 (SD = 1.31). The difference between the two groups was not significant $t(218) = -1.46$, $p = .145$.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine how perceived psychological contract breaches and psychological contract violations between coaches and student-athletes affect organizational citizenship behaviors and perceived in-role performance of student-athletes. Based on the previous literature, we hypothesized that psychological contract violation would partially mediate the relationship between psychological contract breach and the outcome variables. The results of the study did not support our hypotheses.

The results of this study are surprising. The literature indicates that psychological contract breaches and psychological contract violation are strongly linked to poorer performance (Bal et al., 2010; Conway & Coyle-Shapiro, 2006; Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Orvis et al., 2008; Restubog et al., 2006; Sturges et al., 2005; Suazo et al., 2005; Turnley et al., 2003) and poorer organizational citizenship behaviors (Coyle-Shapiro, 2002; Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2000; Modaresi & Nourian, 2013; Restubog et al., 2006; Suazo et al., 2005; Turnley et al., 2003) in other organizational settings. Our results indicated that psychological contract breaches might affect student-athletes differently than other types of organizational members.

There are some plausible explanations for the results. Intercollegiate athletics are hyper-competitive and performance measures publically available. A drop in performance has numerous negative consequences that may affect the student-athlete differently than others. If an athlete is performing at substandard levels, their team may lose a game or a championship. Student-athletes performance may be more a product of their relationships with their teammates, their drive to win games, their drive to play sport beyond college, or their need to avoid public em-

barrassment than a product of their relationship with their coaches. In an effort to avoid these outcomes, a student-athlete may continue to perform at a high level despite psychological contact breaches and psychological contract violations. The same dynamics may also explain why organizational citizenship behavior was unaffected by psychological contract breaches and psychological contract violations. Student-athletes may feel pressure from teammates or just desire to help teammates in an effort to win contests.

It is also possible that the outcome of our study was affected by self-enhancement bias from the survey participants. Although the findings of Goffin and Gellatly (2001) indicated that self-enhancement bias is unlikely, self-reported measures can leave open the possibility of its occurrence. The outcomes of self-enhancement bias may be twofold. If student-athletes are actually performing at lower levels than indicated in the study, the results could be the outcome of measurement error. On the other hand, if the participants are performing at levels lower than what they reported, it could indicate that they are failing to recognize their own breaches of the psychological contract. Psychological contracts require performance by both parties. It is possible that the actions of the coaches were actually reactions to worse performances than the student-athletes believed they were giving. Further studies would need to be conducted to explore both possibilities.

Finally, we examined whether student-athletes who identified as reserves would be more likely to perceive a psychological contract breach than those who identified as starters. Our results indicated that, although the mean perception of breach was higher for reserves, the difference was not statistically significant. Rousseau (1995) speculated that organizational members should interpret their psychological contracts based on their roles and ambitions. Owen-Pugh (2007) did find evidence that athletes do form different psychological contracts based on their team roles but did not address playing status. It is possible that reserves and starters are equally perceptive of breaches. However, it is also possible that our results were influenced by the demographics of our study. Barnhill and Turner (2013) found that student-athletes are more likely to perceive a psychological contract breach in their later years at the university. A majority of the student-athletes in our sample were in their first or second year. Student-athletes that are reserves in year one or two may not expect to have a starting role on their teams and therefore would not interpret the lack of playing time as a psychological contract breach. Student-athletes who are reserves in years three or four may interpret the psychological contract differently.

Directions for Future Research

There results of this study provide several directions for future study. This was the first psychological contract study of student-athletes that indicated a difference between student-athletes and other populations. Duplication of the study could help determine if this study was an anomaly or if the results are consistent.

In addition, future studies should include football playing student-athletes in the study. Football players are the most prominent student-athletes at the NCAA Division I level. Their experience may be quite different from student-athletes from other teams. Finally, duplications of this study should include scholarship amount as a control. We were prevented from measuring scholarship levels by multiple IRBs, but it is possible that student-athletes with a full scholarship have different perspectives on their relationship with their coaches than other student-athletes.

Outside of duplication, scholars should also explore the development of dimensional scales for psychological contract research on student-athletes. The psychological contract between coaches and student-athletes has been indicated to affect many outcomes (Barnhill et al., 2013; Barnhill & Turner, 2013, 2014), but scholars are unable to determine which perceived promises or expectations truly affect individual outcomes. A dimensional scale would allow scholars to determine which expectations affect different dependent variables (Rousseau & Tijoriwala, 1998). The development of a dimensional scale would allow researchers to determine if the psychological contract is truly unrelated to student-athlete performance and organizational citizenship, or if certain dimensions may affect in-role and extra-role performance. Finally, scholars should examine other behavioral outcomes associated with student-athletes. Student-athletes have multiple relationships with their university. The current study examined performance outcomes within the athletics realm. Future studies should examine measures related academics and other aspects of student-athletes' lives.

Limitations

The major limitation to this study was the use of self-evaluation measures for in-role performance. Although, Goffin and Gellatly (2001) supports the assumption that self-evaluation scales are highly correlated with objective measures, there is a possibility that self-enhancement may have biased the performance based measures. Another limitation was the survey distribution method, which protected student-athlete anonymity, but took survey administration out of the investigators control. Other limitations included the use of items adapted from other organizational settings and the lack of a question pertaining to scholarship amount.

References

Antunes de Campos, P. (1994). *The relationship between coaches and athletes: The strength of the psychological contract in sports.* (Unpublished Dissertation), Alliant International University, San Diego, CA.

Bal, P. M., Chiaburu, D. S., & Jansen, P. G. W. (2010). Psychological contract breach and work performance: Is social exchange a buffer or an intensifier? *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 25*(3), 252–273. doi: 10.1108/02683941011023730

Barnhill, C. R., Czekanski, W. A., & Turner, B. A. (2013). Psychological Contracts and Student-Athlete Retention. *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education, 7*(1), 20–40. doi: 10.1179/1935739713z.0000000002

Barnhill, C. R., & Turner, B. A. (2013). Broken promises: The effect of psychological contract violation on student-athlete trust and intentions to leave their team. *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport, 6*, 179–195.

Barnhill, C. R., & Turner, B. A. (2014). Psychological contract breach between coaches and student-athletes: The impact on team commitment. *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics, 7*, 245–262.

Barnhill, C. R., Turner, B. A., & Czech, D. R. (2014). *Terms of the student-athlete psychological contract: A thematic analysis*. Paper presented at the College Sports Research Institute Annual Meeting, Columbia, SC.

Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator–mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*(6), 1173–1182.

Bravo, G., Shonk, D., & Won, D. (2012). Psychological contract in the context of sport organizations. In L. Robinson, P. Chelladurai, G. Bodet & P. Downward (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of sport management* (pp. 193–213). London: Routledge.

Chelladurai, P. (2009). *Managing organizations for sport and physical activity* (3rd ed.). Scottsdale, AZ: Holcomb Hathaway.

Conway, N., & Coyle-Shapiro, J. A.-M. (2006). *Reciprocity and psychological contracts: Employee performance and contract fulfillment*. Paper presented at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA.

Coyle-Shapiro, J. A.-M. (2002). A psychological contract perspective on organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 23*(8), 927–946. doi: 10.1002/job.173

Coyle-Shapiro, J. A.-M., & Kessler, I. (2000). Consequences of the psychological contract for the employment relationship: A large scale survey. *Journal of Management Studies, 37*(7), 903–930.

De Vos, A., Buyens, D., & Schalk, R. (2003). Psychological contract development during organizational socialization: adaptation to reality and the role of reciprocity. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 24*(5), 537–559. doi: 10.1002/job.205

De Vos, A., De Stobbeleir, K., & Meganck, A. (2009). The relationship between career-related antecedents and graduates' anticipatory psychological contracts. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 24*(3), 289–298. doi: 10.1007/s10869-009-9107-3

Gabert, T. E., Hale, J. L., & Montalvo, G. P. (1999). Differences in college choice factors among freshmen student-athletes. *The Journal of College Admissions, 164*, 20–29.

Goffin, R. D., & Gellatly, I. R. (2001). Á multi-rater assessment of organizational commitment: are self-report measures biased? *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 22*, 437–451.

Goss, B. D., Jubenville, C. B., & Orejan, J. (2006). An examination of influences and factors on the institutional selection processes of freshmen student-athletes at small colleges and universities. *Journal of Marketing for Higher Education, 16*(2), 105–134. doi: 10.1300/J050v16n02_05

Hair, J. F., Anderson, R. E., Tatham, R. L., & Black, W. C. (1998). *Multivariate data analysis* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Huffman, L. T., & Cooper, C. G. (2012). I'm taking my talents to…An examination of hometown socioeconomic status on the college-choice factors of football student-athletes at a Southeastern university. *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics, 5*, 225–246.

Hyatt, R. (2003). Barriers to persistence among African American intercollegiate athletes: A literature review of non-cognitive variables. *College Student Journal, 37*, 260–275.

Kassing, J. W., & Infante, D. A. (1999). Aggressive communication in the coach-athlete relationship. *Communication Research Reports, 16*(2), 110–120.

Katz, D., & Kahn, R. (1978). *The social psychology of organizations* (2nd ed.). New York: Wiley.

Klenosky, D. B., Templin, T. J., & Troutman, J. A. (2001). Recruiting student athletes: A means-end investigation of school-choice decision making. *Journal of Sport Management, 15*, 95–106.

Kristiansen, E., Tomten, S. E., Hanstad, D. V., & Roberts, G. C. (2012). Coaching communication issues with elite female athletes: Two Norwegian case studies. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine and Science in Sports, 22*(6), 156–167. doi: 10.1111/j.1600-0838.2012.01521.x

LeUnes, A. (2006). Applying sport psychology philosophies, principles, and practices onto the gridiron: A commentary. *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching, 1*(4), 339–341.

Modaresi, S., & Nourian, K. (2013). Impact of fulfillment of psychological contract on organizational citizenship behavior and innovative behaviors. *Advances in Environmental Biology, 7*(8), 1861–1869.

Morrison, E. W., & Robinson, S. L. (1997). When employees feel betrayed: A model of how psychological contract violation develops. *Academy of Management Review, 22*(1), 226–256.

Organ, D. W. (1988). *Organizational citizenship behavior: The good soldier syndrome*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Orvis, K. A., Dudley, N. M., & Cortina, J. M. (2008). Conscientiousness and reactions to psychological contract breach: A longitudinal field study. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*(5), 1183–1193. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.93.5.1183

Owen-Pugh, V. (2007). The commercialising of British men's basketball: Psychological contracts between coaches and players in the post-Bosman game. *Journal of Contemporary European Research, 3*(3), 255–272.

Pate, J. (2006). The changing contours of the psychological contract: Unpacking context and circumstances of breach. *Journal of European Industrial Training, 30*(1), 32–47. doi: 10.1108/03090590610643860

Pauline, J. (2010). Factors influencing college selection by NCAA Division I, II, and III lacrosse players. *Journal of Research in Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance, 5*(2), 62–69.

Podsakoff, P. A., & MacKenzie, S. B. (1997). Impact of organizational citizenship behavior on organizational performance: A review and suggestions for future research. *Human Performance, 10*(2), 133–151.

Restubog, S. L. D., Bordia, P., & Tang, R. L. (2006). Effects of psychological contract breach on performance of IT employees: The mediating role of affective commitment. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 79*(2), 299–306. doi: 10.1348/096317905x53183

Restubog, S. L. D., Bordia, P., Tang, R. L., & Krebs, S. A. (2010). Investigating the moderating effects of leader-member exchange in the psychological contract breach-employee performance relationship: A test of two competing perspectives. *British Journal of Management, 21*, 422–437. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8551.2009.00673.x

Rigotti, T. (2009). Enough is enough? Threshold models for the relationship between psychological contract breach and job-related attitudes. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 18*(4), 442–463.

Robinson, S. L., & Morrison, E. W. (2000). The development of psychological contract breach and violation: a longitudinal study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 21*, 525–546.

Robinson, S. L., & Rousseau, D. M. (1994). Violating the psychological contract: Not the exception hut the norm. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 15*, 245–259.

Rousseau, D. M. (1990). New hire perceptions of their own and their employer's obligations: A study of psychological contracts. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 11*, 389–400.

Rousseau, D. M. (1995). *Psychological contracts in organizations: Understanding written and unwritten agreements*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rousseau, D. M., & Tijoriwala, S. A. (1998). Assesing psychological contracts: Issues, alternatives, and measures. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 19*, 679–695.

Sturges, J., Conway, N., Guest, D., & Liefooghe, A. (2005). Managing the career deal: the psychological contract as a framework for understanding career management, organizational commitment and work behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 26*(7), 821–838. doi: 10.1002/job.341

Suazo, M. M., Turnley, W. H., & Mai-Dalton, R. R. (2005). The role of perceived violation in determining employees' reactions to psychological contract breach. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies, 12*(1), 24–36.

Turman, P. D. (2008). Coaches' immediacy behaviors as predictors of athletes' perceptions of satisfaction and team cohesion. *Western Journal of Communication, 72*(2), 162–179. doi: 10.1080/10570310802038424

Turnley, W. H., Bolino, M. C., Lester, S. W., & Bloodgood, J. M. (2003). The impact of psychological contract fulfillment on the performance of in-role and organizational citizenship behaviors. *Journal of Management, 29*(2), 187–206.

Williams, L. J., & Anderson, S. E. (1991). Job satisfaction and organizational commitment as predictors of organizational citizenship and in-role behaviors. *Journal of Management, 17*(3), 601–617.

Zhao, H., Wayne, S. J., Glibkowski, B. C., & Bravo, J. (2007). The impact of psychological contract breach on work-related outcomes: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology, 60*, 647–680.

Management Whitepaper

The Impact of Psychological Contract Breach on Student-Athlete Perceived In-Role Performance and Organizational Citizenship Behaviors

Christopher Barnhill and Brian A. Turner

I. Research Problem

The purpose of this paper is to explore how student-athletes react to perceptions of unmet promises from their coaches. Recent research has indicated that student-athletes are influenced by perceived promises that they believe their coaches have made to them in exchange for their performance. When perceived promises are broken, student-athletes have been found to have less trust in their coaches, less commitment to their teams, and increased intentions to leave their university. Yet, no studies have examined how perceived promises may affect student-athlete behaviors. The information contained in this paper should be particularly relevant to intercollegiate athletic directors, coaches, and others concerned with student-athlete performance and well-being.

II. Issues

Psychological contracts are the implicit and explicit arrangements that govern relations between employees and management where written contracts cannot. Built on continuous communications between management and employees, psychological contracts constantly evolve. Misinterpretations of incomplete or unclear messages often lead one party to feel like the other has failed to live up to its obligations. When employees perceive a breach of their psychological contract with management, they often have lower levels of trust toward the organization, less commitment to the organization, and greater intentions to leave the organization. In addition, perceived psychological contract breaches can affect employee behaviors in the workplace. Following perceived breaches, employees often become less likely to help others within the organization and lower their production. These outcomes are often quite confusing for managers who might be unaware that a perceive promise existed at all in the mind of their employee.

Several recent studies have illustrated that student-athletes also form psychological contracts with their coaches. Like their employee counterparts, student-athletes who believe that their coaches have breached the psychological contract also have less commitment to their teams, less trust in their coaches, and more intentions to leave their university. These outcomes alone should be cause for concern among coaches and athletic department administrators.

Little is known about how psychological contracts might affect student-athlete performance. Multiple peer-reviewed studies have indicated that athletes believe that their performance can be negatively affected by communications from their coaches. These studies provide potential evidence that athlete performance may be affect by their psychological contracts. Poor communication is recognized as the most common cause of perceived breaches. In addition, studies of student-athletes indicate that relationships between coaches and student-athletes often sour over the course of the relationship. Student-athletes are significantly more likely to perceive a breach in the senior season than they are in their first year on the team. Based on previous research, this study was designed to examine if psychological contract breaches might influence student-athletes' performance and behaviors toward teammates.

III. Summary

We surveyed students at four NCAA universities regarding their perceptions of psychological contract breach, their personal evaluation of their performance, and their willingness to help teammates. The student-athletes represented a wide variety of sports, but the vast majority were from nonrevenue-producing teams. The results of the survey indicated that student-athletes' personal evaluations of their performance, and behaviors toward their teammates are unaffected by perceived breaches of their psychological contracts with their coaches.

IV. Analysis

The results of this study were surprising. Previous psychological contract studies have indicated that student-athletes react to psychological contract breaches similarly to employees. This study indicates that performance and behaviors toward teammates may be influenced by factors other than student-athletes' relationships with their coaches. Student-athletes, unlike most employees, operate in a hyper-competitive environment. Poor performance by a staff accountant or sales executive may only be apparent to a few customers or direct supervisors. Results of sporting contests are published in newspapers, highlights are available on television, and statistics are easily available to the public for viewing. If an athlete is performing at substandard levels, their team may lose a game or a championship. Their fans, classmates, and community may follow their performance very closely. Student-athletes performance may be more a product of their relationships with their teammates, their drive to win games, their drive to play sport beyond college, or their need to avoid public embarrassment than a product of their relationship

with their coaches. In an effort to avoid these outcomes, a student-athlete may continue to perform at a high level despite a breached psychological contact.

While the results of this study do not support the predicted outcomes, continued research into psychological contracts between student-athletes and their coaches is important. As noted, previous studies have found that student-athletes who perceived psychological contract breaches are less trusting, less committed, and more likely to leave the university. Coaches need to be aware of the clarity of their communication styles to avoid these damaging outcomes. In addition, little is known about how psychological contracts may affect student-athletes' performance in the classroom and in other areas of their relationship with the university.

V. Discussion/Implications

This article should be of particular interest to coaches and intercollegiate athletics administrators. The concept of the psychological contract is relatively new to the sport management and coaching literature. Previous studies have demonstrated that student-athletes do recognize psychological contracts with their coaches and that there are negative outcomes when it is breached. This article can be used as an educational tool for new and veteran coaches to introduce them to the psychological contract concept. As noted earlier, many managers are unaware of the promises that their employees believe to exist. Coaches who are aware of the psychological contract may be more conscious of their communication and the clarity of their messages to student-athletes. Athletic departments can develop evaluation tools to examine where miscommunication may be occurring with student-athletes and then provide career development opportunities based on the outcomes.

Framing the Industry

Front-Page Coverage of Intercollegiate Athletics in Five Major Newspapers

Erianne A. Weight
Coyte G. Cooper

Abstract

This study examined the prevalence, content, and tone of front page intercollegiate athletic coverage within daily sampling of five major newspapers during the 2011 calendar year through a theoretical lens of framing as a theory of media effects. Analysis reveals broad media presentation of an industry characterized by lavish spending and widespread corruption in football and men's basketball with roughly 98% of the college sport-coverage word count devoted to men's sport with 73.7% covering football and 23.8% covering men's basketball with dominant emergent themes including financial exorbitance, scandal, athlete compensation, conference realignment, conflict between athletics & the academy, athlete entitlement, athlete discipline problems, coach power, and hyper-competitiveness.

Keywords: *intercollegiate athletics, college sport, framing, media effects, reform, publicity, public discourse, newspaper coverage*

Erianne A. Weight is an assistant professor in the Department of Exercise and Sport Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Coyte G. Cooper is an assistant professor in the Department of Exercise and Sport Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Please send correspondence to Erianne A. Weight, eweight@unc.edu

Many current scholarly investigations in intercollegiate athletics have been driven by research questions citing headlines of scandal and calls for reform as dominant features in the popular press (Richardson & McGlynn, 2011; Smith, 2011; Splitt, 2011; Thelin, 2011). These articles, largely driven by observation-based statements, highlight the perceived focus of the media on areas of deficiency in the current operating model of intercollegiate athletics and provide support for a significant public perception problem.

Scholars have debated the role of the mass media with some arguing the media serves a watchdog purpose informing and directing political discourse; while others believe the media is a source of sensationalism leading to a skeptical and ultimately unresponsive and cynical public (Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Puglisi & Snyder, 2011). Regardless of its role and effect, the pervasive power and influence of the media cannot be disputed. As Kane notes, "the mass media have become one of the most powerful institutional forces for shaping values and attitudes in modern culture" (1988, pp. 88–89).

Media coverage has been a source of rich research within the field of sport management with related developed inquiry covering golf controversies (Daddario & Wigley, 2006), gender coverage, and portrayal (e.g., Bryant, 1980; Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Cunningham, 2003; Sagas, Cunningham, Wigley, & Ashley, 2000), and intercollegiate athletic sport coverage (e.g., Cooper, 2008; Pedersen, Whisenant, & Schneider, 2003) through a variety of media. To this point, however, there has not been a study exploring front-page intercollegiate athletics coverage, content that reaches a broad audience and serves as a foundation for intercollegiate athletics understanding for those who do not choose to read the sports section, watch ESPN, or demonstrate fan-like behavior.

Scandal and reform-based popular press articles, the associated public outcry, and related scholarly calls for reform contributed to the development of the research questions pursued within this study. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to examine the prevalence, content, and tone of front-page intercollegiate athletic coverage within five major newspapers sampled daily during an entire calendar year. This study was pursued in an effort to supplement existing literature and understanding about the dominant themes currently in circulation. This inquiry is significant because front-page coverage represents the information processed by those who may not read the sport section or follow sport. What is covered on the front page, then, may provide a foundational knowledge of the industry for these casual observers. An understanding of this content is critical for athletics administrators, particularly for the majority of athletics programs who rely on public subsidy. While this study builds on a solid body of literature exploring sport in the media, framing as a theory of media effects was utilized in an effort to provide a foundation for future research (Scheufele, 1999).

Literature Review

In past content analysis research within sport management literature, scholars have focused a great deal on the identification of trends that exist in sport-related messages that are disseminated by the media (Duncan, 1986; Rintala & Birrell, 1984; Whisenant & Pedersen, 2004). In particular, a large database of studies exist that focus on the specific gender inequalities that are present in messaging and their potential impact on readers (Blackwood, 1983; Bryant, 1980; Miller, 1975; Sage & Furst, 1994). While this study is not specific to gender coverage, many of the findings within this robust body of literature are relevant to the methods and findings within this inquiry as the messages and coverage have been tied to public perception and cultural norms. This relevant literature will be presented grouped by prevalence and content followed by a broad discussion of literature surrounding the intercollegiate athletics landscape at the time of this inquiry, setting the stage for the tone-related research questions. Combined, this literature provides a nice launching point from which the theoretical foundation and research questions for this study are supported.

Prevalence and Content of Sport Coverage in the Media

Foundational to the literature on the importance of mass media to public perception and dialogue, several pioneer content analysis studies conducted in the 1980s quantified the tremendous disparity in gender coverage in sport. These authors warned of the far-ranging consequences of this coverage as the mass media disseminates messages to a broad audience and has the potential to impact belief systems. (Bryant, 1980; Luebke, 1989; Theberge & Cronk, 1986; Wanta & Leggett, 1989). Moving into the 1990s, several studies examined sport coverage in national newspapers (Crossman, Hyslop, & Guthrie, 1994; Theberge, 1991). A study by Duncan, Messner, and Williams (1991) on four major newspapers (*USA Today*, *Boston Globe*, *Orange County Register*, and *Dallas Morning News*) demonstrated unique data trends that supported the notion that women's sports were being severely underrepresented in a variety of key areas. For example, the study found stories focusing on men's sports outnumbered stories addressing women's sports by a ratio 23 to 1. Similarly, men's teams also outnumbered women's teams by a ratio of 13 to 1 in photographic coverage.

These findings have been reinforced in several follow-up studies demonstrating tremendous disparity in sport-related gender coverage in widely distributed newspapers (Kinnick, 1998; Matheson & Flatten, 1996; Wann, Schrader, Allison, & McGeorge, 1998), institutionally affiliated publications (Huffman, Tuggle & Rosengard, 2004; Shifflet & Revelle, 1994; Wann et al., 1998), and to a lesser extent, the NCAA News (Cunningham, Sagas, Satore, Amsden & Schellhase; Shifflet & Revelle, 1994) and athletics department website content (Baroffio-Bota & Banet-Weiser, 2006; Cooper, 2008; Cooper, 2009; Cunningham & Sagas, 2002). These authors have documented the critical link between media coverage, sport

consumption, and public perception. This study can add to the research on gender coverage by examining a broader scope of intercollegiate athletics coverage. The issues central to gender coverage, perception, and consumption are relevant to a discussion of content and tone because of the powerful role the mass media front-page coverage can play, particularly on the casual or nonsport fan.

Critical to the foundation of this study is the content of sport-related coverage and the impact this content can have on societal beliefs. This type of research is also most well developed related to gender coverage in sport. As illustrated by Urquhart and Crossman (1999), women tend to receive coverage in "sex-appropriate" sports where messages reinforce traditional female societal roles, coverage reinforces gender-appropriate stereotypes (Jones, Murrell & Jackson, 1999), or the media actively constructs gender ideologies (Christopherson, Janning & McConnell, 2002).

By examining this well-developed line of scholarly literature on gender media coverage in intercollegiate athletics, it is interesting to note trends demonstrating broader inequity (or narrower coverage) by the mass media, and less inequity (and broader coverage) on institutional websites, with one study providing evidence of equitable coverage in the same "nonrevenue" sport. This builds support for a hypothesis that front-page coverage of intercollegiate athletics in the mass media will likely be narrow and inequitable in terms of prevalence. This study will add to the literature on the prevalence of intercollegiate athletics coverage by examining a unique sample of daily front page coverage in major newspaper sources.

In terms of a broad-based approach, there has been research dedicated to analyzing the themes or messages present in media coverage as it relates to sport, yet very little specific to media themes in intercollegiate athletics. Studies in this broad area of research have focused on specific meanings of messages presented primarily in media surrounding major sporting events including political messages relayed through Olympic hosts (Bianco, 2006; Chen, Colapinto, & Luo, 2012; MacAloon, 1991; Panagiotopoulou, 2009); messages about disability relayed through the Special Olympics (Carter & Williams, 2012); and messages about race through a variety of sport-related mediums (Ferrucci, Tandoc, Painter, & Leshner, 2013; Prim, DuBois, & Regoli, 2007). In the most relevant study in this line of research focusing on the College World Series (CWS) broadcast, Southall et al. demonstrated the content within the broadcast supported a commercial model emphasizing profit maximization. This study indicated a dearth in educational content present in the broadcasts, and as a result the product tended to emphasize the importance of athletic performance in NCAA athletics (2012). More literature related to the content and power of media messages will be presented in the theoretical framework section.

Theoretical Framework

While the previous research has been useful in advancing sport management literature and practice, there are clear limitations when it comes to content analysis research examining sport media messages in nonsport-specific publications that reach casual nonsport fan observers. In order to address this gap, measure the current climate of intercollegiate athletics coverage, and to provide a path for future research, this study relies on a theoretical foundation of framing as a theory of media effects.

The theory of media effects is based upon the concept that the media can construct a social reality and therefore have a strong impact "by framing images of reality…in a predictable and patterned way" (McQuail, 1994, p. 331). A media frame is simply a way of packaging an idea, issue or storyline to allow efficient relay to audiences (Gitlin, 1980). The frame, therefore, "provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p.143).

These media effects, however, are limited by the interaction between the media and the recipients (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; McLeod & Pan, 1989). Just as media discourse affects public opinion, so too does public opinion play a role in the journalistic process as writers "develop and crystalize meaning in public discourse" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 2), and promote "particular definitions and interpretations of political issues" (Shah, Watts, Domke, & Fan, 2002, p. 343). The construction of media frames and the motives of the sender are often unconscious…they are "attributes of the news itself" (Entman, 1991, p. 7); whereas, individual frames are "information-processing schemata" (Entman, 1991, p.7).

Framing as a theory of media effect has been applied broadly to discourse in the media in a variety of ways. Fundamental to many of these studies was the use of a media frame as a dependent variable at either the individual or media level. At the audience level, frames as dependent variables have generally been analyzed as a direct outcome of a specific media frame of an issue (Gamson, 1992; Iyengar, 1991; Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997). Within public opinion research, framing effects have occurred when (even relatively minute) changes in issue presentation have produced (potentially large) changes in public opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004).

At the media level, the framing of an issue may be influenced by a variety of individual, ideological, or organizational variables and thus can be examined as a dependent variable based on a number of independent variable inputs (Scheufele, 1999). In order to reach this level of analysis at the media or individual level, media frames must first be identified in relation to a specific event, political actor, or issue (Entman, 2004). Frames have been developed in a plethora of communication studies including support for war (Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, & Trammell, 2005), opinions about stem cell research (Nisbet, Brossard, & Kroepsch, 2003), responsibility for the obesity epidemic (Lawrence, 2004), and cynicism toward the government (Brewer & Sigelman, 2002) among many others.

Though conflict between the educational mission of the academy and the commercial pull of intercollegiate athletics has been a topic of public discourse since the inception of intercollegiate athletics within the American university (Chu, Segrave, & Becker, 1985; Rader, 1999), the number of issues and strength of the reformer voice seemed to be reaching a turning point in the early 2010s with dominant issues, including unprecedented spending (Knight Commission, 2009; 2010; Weight, Weight, & Schneider, 2013), a call for additional athlete compensation (Benford, 2007; Forde, 2011; *O'Bannon v. NCAA,* 2009; Sack & Staurowsky, 1998), and a win-at-all-costs mentality placing the commercial and competitive pressure to win ahead of the academic mission of the university (Enlinson, 2013; McCormick & McCormick, 2006; Sack & Staurowsky, 1998; Sperber, 2000; Zimbalist, 1999).

Within this study, the interplay between public discourse and the construction of the media frame is not addressed, but rather the media frames encompassing issues within intercollegiate athletics is addressed as this is a first step in the development of media frame research within the context of intercollegiate athletics. By examining the prevalence, content, and tone of an entire year of front-page output within five major newspapers, a foundation of understanding relative to the messages being broadly portrayed can be established. This understanding and the identification of media frames in intercollegiate athletics coverage can serve as a launch pad for future research utilizing this theory as an independent or dependent variable at the media and audience levels (Scheufele, 1999). Specific research questions addressed are as follows:

R1: What is the prevalence of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States?
R2: What is the content of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States related to the independent variables of sport type and gender?
R3: What is the tone of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States related to independent variables of "critical," "supportive," and "informational"?
R4: Are there statistical relationships between tone and content of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States?
R5: Based upon R1-R4, what media frames are evident within the front page discourse surrounding intercollegiate athletics?

Methodology

Qualitative and quantitative content analysis methods were utilized in order to address the specific research questions pursued within this study related to

prevalence, content, and tone of intercollegiate athletic coverage. Content analysis has been widely utilized in communication framing and sport management research, and is the most appropriate form of analysis for the research questions in this study.

Strict adherence to content analysis methodology was utilized in order to maximize reliability and validity measures. Reliability was addressed through operationalizing concepts in the study protocol through precise coding sheets, trained coders, and multiple rounds of independent coding (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). Inter-coder reliability measures were taken on two samples of data equating in total to approximately 20% of the content. In each measure, the coefficient related to corrections for chance agreement measured through Scotts Pi was greater than .90, providing strong evidence of reliability (Andrew, Pedersen, & McEvoy, 2011; Riffe et al., 2005). Support for face validity was gathered through a review of coding sheets by a panel of experts (Folger, Hewes, & Poole, 1984) including two researchers trained in content analysis methodology research, a qualitative research specialist from the *Odum Institute of Social Science Research*, and two practicing journalists. Validity was also addressed through the comprehensive sample of an entire year of coverage. Archived print versions of the newspapers were accessed utilizing the *Factiva electronic archive and Newspaper Source Plus* and downloaded into NVivo software to aid with data organization and analysis.

Quantitative units of analysis include prevalence indicators of intercollegiate athletics coverage in word count and article frequency and content-related demographic measures of gender and sport-type coverage. Articles analyzed within the study were included based on the specificity of the content within the article. College sport-related references within articles not devoted to the topic of collegiate athletics were not included in the study. There were several occasions in which an article covered multiple sports or multiple tones. In these circumstances, the article was tallied within each of the coding subcategories, which raised the total number of articles and/or word count slightly above the cumulative total.

Qualitative units of analysis include thematic coding categories covering elements of article tone with three general coding categories and nine emergent subcategories as listed in parentheses:

1. **Critical.** Questioning or bringing to light flaws related to the current intercollegiate athletic system or players within the system (e.g., scandal, reform, financial issues, student-athlete exploitation).
2. **Supportive.** Highlighting positive aspects of the current intercollegiate athletic system or players within the system (e.g., values, education, leadership outcomes of intercollegiate athletics).
3. **Informational.** Neutral tone: reporting facts with limited annotation or context related to the intercollegiate athletic system or players within the system (e.g., game or coach preview, review, or matchup; informational topic related to intercollegiate athletics)

In addition to drawing inferences based on coded thematic content, Chi Square analysis tests of independence were utilized in order to analyze the distribution of content coverage based on the independent variable of sport.

Results

Prevalence of Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

Analysis of front-page articles uncovered a very small percentage of overall intercollegiate athletic coverage with .35% ($N = 31$) of articles devoted to issues in intercollegiate athletics while 1.97% ($N = 174$) were devoted to coverage of sport-related topics. Seventeen percent of the front-page articles related to sport, therefore, were college-sport related. The *USA Today* had the highest overall percentage of both sport-related (6.82%) and college-sport related (1.64%) articles, while the *New York Times* had the least sport-related (.15%) and college-sport-related (.05%) articles. Table 1 provides a complete breakdown of intercollegiate athletics coverage within the five newspapers utilized within the study.

Table 1

Prevalence of Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage on the Front Page of Major Newspapers in the United States

	Front-Page Articles (#)	Sport-Related Articles (#)	Sport-Related Articles (%)	College-Sport Articles (#)	College-Sport Articles (%)
Wall Street Journal (M-Sat)	2,490	82	3.29%	5	0.20%
USA Today (M-F)	792	54	6.82%	13	1.64%
New York Times	2,009	3	0.15%	1	0.05%
Washington Post	2,307	7	0.30%	2	0.09%
New York Post	1,254	28	2.23%	10	0.80%
Total	8,852	174	1.97%	31	0.35%

*Organized by distribution (Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2011)

Content of Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

College sport coverage was dominated by men's sport with 97% of the articles and 98% of the words featuring almost entirely football and men's basketball. Football led coverage with exposure in 61.29% ($n = 19$) of the college-sport related articles and was the only sport to be covered by all five newspapers. Men's basketball was second with 38.71% ($n = 12$) of the articles. Of the thirty-one articles related to intercollegiate athletics, only two deviated from these two dominant sports with one article mentioning a men's Olympic sport (wrestling) and one story covering women's basketball.

The coverage of wrestling was housed within a story related to synthetic marijuana use within the Naval Academy on the football and wrestling teams and con-

tained only sixty six words directly related to the sport (DeVise, 2011). The story related to women's basketball was about the academic ban related to the NCAA's academic progress rate (APR). It listed three Division I women's basketball teams and 10 men's basketball schools in the NCAA tournament with a team APR below 925, which indicates less than half of the players are on track to graduate (Brady, 2011). There were no front-page articles related to female Olympic sports. There were two nonsubstantive mentions of female Olympic athletes (e.g., an article that discussed a woman who was a former NCAA track athlete); however, no college-sport related articles contained discussion of women's Olympic sport. Table 2 presents a comprehensive breakdown of sport and gender coverage by article and word count.

Table 2

Content of Front-Page Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

	Article Count (#)	Article Count (%)	Word Count (#)	Word Count (%)
Football	19	61.29%	15,507	73.68%
Men's Basketball	12	38.71%	5,013	23.82%
Women's Basketball	1	3.23%	459	2.18%
Men's Olympic Sports	1	3.23%	66	0.31%
Women's Olympic Sports	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Tone of Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

The vast majority of intercollegiate athletics coverage was classified as "critical" in nature, with 80.36% or 25 articles questioning or bringing to light flaws related to the current system or players within the system. Roughly 32.26% of the articles (noting several multi-toned articles), were classified as "informational" in nature (n = 10) comprising a neutral tone wherein facts were reported within the context of intercollegiate athletics with limited annotation related to the system or players within the system. The majority of these informational articles included game previews or reviews with a few other informational topics covered including fundraising fundamentals within the university. Many of the multi-classified articles included information about the system in the context of a critical commentary. No articles or references within the sample were deemed "supportive" in nature; thus, no positive aspects of the current intercollegiate athletic system or players within the system were highlighted on the front page of these news sources in the 2011 calendar year.

Table 3

Tone of Front-Page Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

	Article Count (#)	Article Count (%)	Word Count (#)	Word Count (%)
Critical	25	80.65%	19,233	77.10%
Informational	10	32.26%	5,714	22.91%
Supportive	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Within the "critical" themed articles, nine subcategories emerged through the analysis. Financial exorbitance within intercollegiate athletics dominated both the article and word reference count as discussed within 14 articles and 8,027 words, accounting for 31.11% of the article references and 41.74% of the word references. Following this category, a discrepancy between the article and word count makes it difficult to know what the most prevalent themes were. Relying on article references, the next two most heavily discussed critical themes include conflict between athletics and the academy (13.33%), and athlete discipline problems (13.33%) each with references in six articles. Closely following this category in article reference frequency included five references to athlete entitlement comprising 11.11% of the article reference count (see Table 4). Following the financial exorbitance category by word reference count, the most heavily discussed topics included scandal (18%), athlete compensation (12.03%), and conference realignment (10.25%).

Table 4

"Critical" Themes in Front-Page Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

	Article Reference Count (#)	Article Reference Count (%)	Word Reference Count (#)	Word Reference Count (%)
Financial Exorbitance	14	31.11%	8,027	41.74%
Scandal	3	6.67%	3,461	18.00%
Pay-For-Play	2	4.44%	2,314	12.03%
Conference Realignment	3	6.67%	1,971	10.25%
Conflict between Athletics and Academe	6	13.33%	1,034	5.38%
Athlete Entitlement	5	11.11%	795	4.13%
Athlete Discipline Problems	6	13.33%	665	3.46%
Coach Power	3	6.67%	508	2.64%
Hyper-competitive	3	6.67%	458	2.38%

Results of the chi-square analysis comparing critical and informational coverage by the dominant sports of football and basketball revealed significant predictability between the tone of coverage between the sports utilizing both article (χ^2 = 7.83, p <.01) and word count (χ^2 = 3,198.09, p < .001) measures. Football coverage was significantly more likely to be critical in nature than the coverage of men's basketball (see Table 5).

Table 5

Tone of Front-Page Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage by Sport

Tone	Article Reference Count			Word Reference Count		
	Sport		χ^2	Sport		χ^2
	Football	M Basketball		Football	M Basketball	
Critical	39	8	7.83*	16,615	2,898	3198.09**
	(2.8)	(-2.8)		(56.4)	(-56.4)	
Informational	3	5		980	1,623	
	(-2.8)	(2.8)		(-56.4)	(56.4)	

*p<.01

**p<.001

Note. Adjusted standardized residuals appear in parentheses below group frequencies.

Discussion and Implications

Several researchers have documented the powerful role the media plays in shaping the public perceptions related to issues, individuals, and organizations (Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Lippmann, 1922; Scheufele, 1999). As such, stakeholders of the college sport industry need to understand the dominant themes surfacing in the media for a variety of reasons. From a scholarly paradigm, an understanding of the quantified content within the press will help to shape research initiatives and potential reform efforts within intercollegiate athletics. From a managerial standpoint, it is important for industry stakeholders to understand the public perception in order to tackle issues of concern and influence messages being relayed to the public. From an ethical, legal, and societal perspective, the perception of intercollegiate athletics needs to be reconciled with the reality of the industry. A firm understanding of media coverage can begin this process of reconciliation.

Prevalence and Content of Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

Results indicate the intercollegiate athletics industry to be a relatively small area of emphasis in the front-page news media. While those entrenched in the sport industry often feel high visibility given the tremendous amount of television coverage and devotion to the industry given its own newspaper section and plethora of cable channels, the amount of front-page coverage was quite small. Comprising less than .4% of overall article coverage, it appears that most inter-

collegiate athletics-related articles are relegated to the sports section rather than holding a position as the subject of headline news on the front page. Given that college sport garnered 17% of all front-page sport-related coverage, this limited front-page coverage appears to be consistent with other sport sectors.

Based upon the content analysis, the coverage of intercollegiate athletics is completely male dominated, with nearly 98% of word count devoted to men's sport, with roughly 74% covering football, and 24% covering men's basketball. These findings support much of the literature that has cited male dominance in the popular press (Bryant, 1980; Cunningham et al., 2004; Duncan et al., 1991; Huffman et al., 2004; Kinnick, 1998; Luebke, 1989; Matheson & Flatten, 1996; Revelle, 1994; Shifflet,Theberge, & Cronk, 1986), but these figures are far more extreme than those seen within previous studies as front page coverage within a broad sample has not been the subject of inquiry to date. This minute amount of front-page coverage for those who generally do not read the sports section, then, becomes even more catalytic in shaping public perception (Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Lippman, 1922) as this may be the extent of information gathered about this industry. Based upon the media frames uncovered through analysis of the article tone within this research, the message being relayed to the public about intercollegiate athletics is cause for concern in practical, scholarly, and societal paradigms.

Tone of Intercollegiate Athletics Coverage

While roughly a quarter of word count content and a third of article content was devoted to informational pieces surrounding the industry, which is to be expected, an incredibly troubling finding of this inquiry was the complete lack of articles deemed "supportive" in nature; articles heralding positive aspects of the industry or players within the industry. Given a foundational view of intercollegiate athletics as an element of institutions of higher education (Frey, 1982; Rader, 1999; Shulman & Bowen, 2001), one might expect at least a single article or paragraph devoted to educational outcomes or positive effects of the system. Perhaps this can be related to the literature citing a sensationalistic slant in the news media, (Bennett & Serrin, 2005; Puglisi & Snyder, 2011), the established frames within the media or current public dialogue, or front-page news reserved for articles with an attention-grabbing (and potentially alarming) tone. Regardless of the rationale, the reality remains the dominant tone of articles related to intercollegiate athletics were those deemed critical in nature, founded on the intent of bringing to light flaws within the current operating system. Based upon this analysis, nine media frames were identified (see Table 4) and their corresponding themes will be explored in the following paragraphs.

As noted above, financial exorbitance was the frame that dominated discourse related to intercollegiate athletics on the front page throughout 2011. These articles presented data outlining the lavish expenditures and associated deficits surrounding the industry. Berkowitz and Upton (2011) presented the most thorough finan-

cial analysis outlining a $470 million increase in spending within Football Bowl Subdivision athletics programs despite the difficult economy and an $11.3 million median net deficit for the 98 schools that were not self-sufficient during this time frame. Other themes within this frame included the steady dramatic increases in coaching salaries (Upton, 2011), the push for sophisticated sales techniques as athletic departments "scramble for revenue" (Berkowitz, 2011, p. 01A); and the heavy financial reliance athletics programs have on student fees (Marklein, 2011). This frame is representative of a rich history and growing body of research into the arms race of expenditures (Knight Commission, 2009; 2010; Weight, Weight & Schneider, 2013), which university presidents have deemed a system that cannot be sustained (Knight Commission, 2009). In concert with these discussions of escalating revenues and expenditures were discussions of conference realignment (Weiberg & Berkowitz, 2011), and athlete compensation (Weiberg, 2011).

Pay-for-play has become a contentious staple in the intercollegiate athletics dialogue as the collective voice of critics combined with in-progress lawsuits have made their way into the headlines (Benford, 2007; Forde, 2011; *O'Bannon v. NCAA,* 2009; Sack & Staurowsky, 1998). Primary to this debate is the NCAA's foundational principle of amateurism, which defines participation in intercollegiate athletics as an "avocation" (NCAA Division I Manual, 2012, p.4). Weiberg (2011) captured the tenuous stance the NCAA has been passionately advocating through two separate quotations by NCAA president Mark Emmert in a *USA Today* article. The first statement includes Emmert championing the traditional NCAA stance by stating, "it's grossly unacceptable and inappropriate to pay players…converting them from students to employees" (2011, p. 01A). Shortly thereafter within the article, Weiberg marks a new approach that has provided fuel to the discussion that undoubtedly will continue throughout this decade. "Emmert acknowledges it's time for a serious discussion about whether and how to spread a little more of the largesse to those who are doing the playing and sweating… 'the sooner, the better'" (Emmert, qtd. in Weiberg, 2011, p. 01A). As the domino effect of Conference realignment coalesced during the time frame of this study, financial drivers and implications of the realignment decisions were discussed in concert with the athlete payment issue (Weiberg & Berkowitz, 2011).

The next most prevalent themes and associated frames are representative of the foundational issues, identity, and public perception problems currently faced by the industry of intercollegiate athletics (Nocera, 2012). Several articles addressed conflict between athletics and the academy (e.g., Weiberg & Berkowitz, 2011) with the context of these conflicts rooted in the hyper-competitive nature of the industry (e.g., Berkowitz, 2011; Vaccaro, 2011), coach power (e.g., Albergotti, 2011), and subsequent win-at-all-costs mentality often resulting in scandal, athlete entitlement (e.g., Albergotti, 2011; Bernstein, 2011), and athlete discipline problems (e.g., Bernstein, 2011; Livingstone, 2011). These themes and associated consequences often place the university, the athletics department, and the athletics boosters in conflicting positions, which have led to precarious justification for

unethical conduct. Andy Geiger, former athletics director at Ohio State University, described this precarious conundrum, between the commercial and academic priorities of the university with various competing stakeholders often wielding their power. "We've created I was going to say a blurry line, but I don't think there is any line anymore as to who's in charge" (qtd. in Weiberg & Berkowitz, 2011).

This inquiry was conducted throughout the year of the Penn State football scandal, and as such, three articles covered the Penn State situation, and several other articles referenced this and other NCAA investigations that occurred. A recurring theme surrounding the coverage of these cases was the coalescence between coach power, athlete discipline problems, and athlete entitlement. An article exploring the institutional power struggle between Coach Paterno and institutional administrators related to athlete discipline problems highlighted several of the themes supporting the media frames outlined within this study. The article outlined a system of entitlement wherein football players were "getting in trouble at a disproportionate rate from other students, often for serious acts" (Albergotti, 2011, p. 01A), yet being treated more favorably than nonfootball players. When the university standards and conduct officer or a member of her department initiated an investigation into a football player, there would be an onslaught of recourse as coaches, board members, and others would demand an adjusted judicial process. The general sentiment was that players should not be treated as other students because they would have to testify, making it difficult to play football together. In the case of Penn State, Coach Paterno felt it should be "his call if someone should practice and play in athletics" (Albergotti, 2011, p. 01A). These frames of athlete discipline problems and entitlement support scholarly research (Benedict & Yaeger, 1998) and were echoed in several articles referencing cases of sexual assault, assault, and drug use wherein "there exists a culture of entitlement for athletes or teams" (A. Kiss qtd. in Bernstein, 2011, p. A1) with "university cultures demand[ing] silence" (Albergotti, 2011, p. 01A).

As noted within the results section, analysis of independence through the use of chi-square provides additional context to the intercollegiate athletics frames presented through the newspaper coverage analyzed within the study. While much of men's basketball article coverage (38%) was related to game previews, particularly during March Madness, only 5% of football coverage was informational in nature, with the vast majority of football coverage (95% of word count) being critical in nature. Another interesting preliminary finding, limited by sample size relative to article tone by sport revealed differences in subthemes. "Critical" basketball articles primarily focused on exorbitant spending, pay-for-play issues, and academic issues. The football articles, on the other hand, were much more geared toward covering scandal, athlete discipline problems, and a culture of entitlement, with only a few game or coach previews. These observations lend toward the development of a potential sport-specific frame hypothesis that would be interesting to explore in future analyses.

Conclusions

The extreme results uncovered within this research demonstrating a complete disregard for men's Olympic and women's sport coverage in front-page coverage add unique support to a hypothesis that the media is presenting a very narrow view of intercollegiate athletics as a whole. The findings of this analysis outline a broad media presentation of an industry characterized by lavish spending and unpaid workers within men's basketball, and indulgence of entitled athletes and widespread corruption facilitating unpunished criminal activity in football. These broad themes support many of the initiatives instigated by long-standing and newly organized reform groups including the Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics, the National College Players Association, the Drake Group, the Coalition on Intercollegiate Athletics, and the National Coalition against Violent Athletes to name a few.

Several researchers have documented the powerful role the media plays in shaping the public perceptions related to issues, individuals, and organizations (e.g., Scheufele, 1999). With this knowledge, we must question whether the media is serving as a watchdog or source of sensationalism (Bennett & Serrin, 2005). The breadth of reform organizations listed above founded by those close to the heart of the industry provides support for the hypothesis that the media is playing a watchdog role, yet the initiatives pursued by these organizations are largely in response to issues related to a small fraction of participants in intercollegiate athletics (NCAA Division I-FBS men's basketball and football players).

Many of the uncovered frames and frame-themes are supported by strong bodies of literature and can be refined through further testing and empirical development. This is a worthy scholarly pursuit due to the tremendous practical, philosophical, ethical, legal, and societal implications. As such, stakeholders in the industry of college sport need to analyze and understand the dominant themes surfacing in the media for a variety of reasons in order to tackle issues of concern and proactively influence messages being relayed to the public. Of particular concern, perhaps, is the impression these messages relay to the casual nonsport fan observers who may form their frames of the industry through these limited front-page messages. The implications of continued critical messages is troubling, particularly to colleges and universities that are not money-making entities. If the general public develops a poor opinion of college sport, programs that are largely funded by tax dollars and student fees may be in perilous positions.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This article outlined nine media frames that surfaced within front-page coverage of intercollegiate athletics throughout the 2011 calendar year. This research was constrained by the limitation of a one-year time period and limited source of data drawing on just front-page coverage within five major newspapers within the

United States. While this provides a rich sample from which to begin media frame analysis within the context of intercollegiate athletics coverage in the news media, it would be interesting to compare the coverage, content, tone, and media frames explored within this study to those in other years and other media. A comparison of coverage between years or decades, for instance, would provide an indication of frame development, strengthening the utilization of this theoretical framework as "framing is best conceptualized as a process that evolves over time" (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Similarly, a comparison between content aimed to draw mass appeal in the front page compared to content within the sports section or an online medium could also provide additional depth to the journalistic frames and rationale behind these frames.

This study also provides a foundation upon which to build scholarly research investigating these frames as dependent variables from both the individual and media perspective. A critical next step for the development of this foundational research would be to analyze the attitudes and behaviors surfacing from media frame exposure by conducting pre- and post-tests of varying attitudes toward a number of these frames with exposure to an article as the scientific manipulation. Alternatively, an investigation into journalists and other media representatives' attitudes, experiences, and behaviors driving the packaging of their stories could provide additional depth into the creation and refinement of these frames.

Weiberg and Berkowitz (2011) provided a glimpse into a paradigm driving their journalistic frame in an article exploring conference realignment. They write, "Gene DeFilippo backpedaled quickly—an old quarterback executing one more scramble—after suggesting last month that one of the most stunning shifts in the recent wave of realignment in college sports had been scripted by ESPN" (p. 01A). This statement could connote the (often unintentional) biases that shape the creation of media frames (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). Research into these journalistic paradigms could add a tremendous amount of depth to the frames identified within this research. Finally, in order to gain a broader understanding of the interplay between media and public discourse, it would also be beneficial to research discourse related to stories presented in the media through researching online comments and/or conducting focus group research related to the frames outlined within this study (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; McLeod et al., 1987).

References

Albergotti, R. (2011, Nov 22). A discipline problem: Paterno fought Penn State official on punishment of players. *The Wall Street Journal,* p.A1

Andrew, D. P. S., Pederson, P. M., & McEvoy, C. D. (2011) *Research methods and design in sport management.* Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.

Audit Bureau of Circulations. (2012). 2011 US Newspaper Circulation. Retrieved from http://www.accessabc.com/.

Baroffio-Bota, D., & Banet-Weiser, S. (2006). Women, team sports, and the WNBA: Playing like a girl. In A.A. Raney & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Handbook of sports and media* (pp. 485–500). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Benedict, J., & Yaeger, D. (1998). *Pros and cons: The criminals who play in the NFL.* New York: Warner Books.

Bennett, W. L., & Serrin, W. (2005). "The Watchdog Role." In G. Overholser & K. H. Jamieson, *The press* (pp. 169–188). New York: Oxford University Press.

Berkowitz, S. (2011, Aug 8). In scramble for revenue, push for sales intensifies. *USA Today,* p. 01A).

Berkowitz, S., & Upton, J. (2011, Aug 5). Money flows to college sports. *USA Today,* p. 01A.

Benford, R. D. (2007). The college sports reform movement: Reframing the "edutainment" industry. *The Sociological Quarterly 48*(1): 1–28.

Bernstein, N. (2011, Nov 11). On campus, a law enforcement system to itself. *The New York Times,* p. A1.

Blackwood, R. E. (1983). The content of news photos: Roles portrayed by men and women. *Journalism Quarterly, 60*(4), 710–714.

Brady, E. (2011, March 17). Duncan: Bounce low-grade teams. *USA Today,* p. 01A.

Bryant, J. (1980). A two-year selective investigation of the female athlete in sport as reported in the paper media. *Arena Review, 4*, 32–44.

Brewer, P. R., & Sigelman, L. (2002). Political scientists as color commentators: framing and expert commentary in media campaign coverage. *Press/Politics*, *7,* 23–35.

Carragee, K., & Roefs, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of Communication, 54*(2): 214–233.

Chang, I. Y., & Crossman, J., Taylor, J., & Walker, D. (2011). One world, one dream: A qualitative comparison of the newspaper coverage of the 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games. *International Journal of Sport Communication, 4*(1), 26–49.

Chu, D., Segrave, J., & Becker, B. (1985). *Sport and higher education*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, Inc.

Chong, D., Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science, 10,*103–126.

Christopherson, N., Janning, N., & McConnell, E. D. (2002). Two kicks forward, one kick back: A content analysis of media discourses on the 1999 women's World Cup soccer championships. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 19*(2), 170–188.

Cooper, C. G. (2008). NCAA website coverage: An analysis of similar sport team gender coverage on athletic department's home Web pages. *Journal of Intercollegiate Sport, 1*(2), 227–241.

Cooper, C. G. (2009). Investigating athletic websites: Individual team inequalities on athletic departments' home Web pages. *Journal for the Study of Sports and Athletes in Education, 3*(3), 355–372.

Cooper, C. G., & Weight, E. (2011). Investigating NCAA administrator values of NCAA Division I athletic departments. *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics, 4*, 74–89.

Crossman, J., Hyslop, P., & Guthrie, B. (1994). A content analysis of the sports section of Canada's national newspaper with respect to gender and professional/amateur status. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 29*(2), 123–134.

Cuneen, J., & Sidwell, M.J. (1998). Gender portrayals in *Sports Illustrated* for kids advertisements: A content analysis of prominent and supporting models. *Journal of Sport Management, 12*(1), 39–50.

Cunningham, G. B. (2003). Media coverage of women's sport: A new look at an old problem. *Physical Educator, 60*(2), 43–50.

Cunningham, G. B., & Sagas, M. (2002). Utilizing a different perspective: Brand equity and media coverage of intercollegiate athletics. *International Sports Journal, 6*, 134–145.

Cunningham, G. B., Sagas, M., Satore, M. L., Amsden, M., & Schellhase, A. (2004). Gender representation in the NCAA News: Is the glass half full or half empty. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, 50*(11/12), 861–870.

Daddario, G., & Wigley, B.G. (2006). Prejudice, patriarchy, and the PGA: Defensive discourse surrounding the Shoal Creek and the Augusta National controversies. *Journal of Sport Management, 20*(4), 466–482.

DeVise, D. (2011, Feb. 28). Potlike drug said to be popular at Naval Academy. *The Washington Post,* p. A1.

Dimitrova, D. V., Kaid, L. L., Williams, A. P., & Trammell, K. D. (2005). War on the web: The immediate news framing of Gulf War II. *Press/Politics*, *10,* 22–44.

Duncan, M. C. (1986). A hermeneutic of spectator sport: The 1976 and 1984 Olympic Games, *Quest, 38*(1), 50–77.

Duncan, M. C., Messner, M., & Willams, L. (1991). Coverage of women's sports in four daily newspapers. Retrieved from http://www.aafla.org/9arr/ResearchReports/ResearchReport1.htm. Los Angeles: Amateur Athletic Foundation.

Elinson, Z. (2013, June 21). Lawsuit could alter college athletics. *The Wall Street Journal*: A6.

Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing U.S. coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran air incidents. *Journal of Communication*, *41*(4), 6–27.

Entman, R. M. (2004). *Projects of power: Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy.* Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

Folger, J. P., Hewes, D. E., & Poole, M. S. (1984). *Coding social interaction.* In B. Dervin & M. Voight (Eds.), *Progress in the communication sciences* (Vol. 4, pp. 115–161). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Forde, P. (2011, July 12). Time has come to talk about pay-for-play. *ESPN.com.* Retrieved from http://sports.espn.go.com/ncaa/columns/story?columnist=forde_pat&id=6746255.

Frey, J. (1982). *The governance of intercollegiate athletics.* West Point, NY: Leisure Press.

Gamson, W. A. (1992b). *Talking politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). *The changing culture of affirmative action.* In R. G. Braungart & M. M. Braungart (Eds.), Research in political sociology (Vol. 3, 137–177). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American Journal of Sociology.* 95, 1–37.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Huffman, S., Tuggle, C. A., & Rosengard, D. S. (2004). How campus media cover sports: The gender-equity issue, one year later. *Mass Communication and Society, 7*(4), 475–489.

Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jones, R., Murrell, A.J., & Jackson, J. (1999). Pretty versus powerful in the sports pages: Print media coverage of the U.S. Women's Olympic gold medal winning teams. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 23*(2), 183–192.

Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics. (2009). *Quantitative and qualitative research with football bowl subdivision university presidents on the costs and financing of intercollegiate athletics: Report of findings and implications*. Retrieved from: http://www.knightcommissionmedia.org/images/President_Survey_FINAL.pdf

Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics. (2010). *Restoring the balance: Dollars, values, and the future of college sport.* Retrieved from: http://www.knightcommission.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=503&Itemid=166

Kim, K., & Cheong, Y. (2011). Creative strategies of Super Bowl commercials 2001-2009: An analysis of message strategies. *International Journal of Sports Marketing and Sponsorship, 12*(1), 7–22.

Kinnick, K. (1998). Gender bias in newspaper profiles of the 1996 Olympic athletes: A content analysis of five major dailies. *Women Studies in Communication, 21,* 212–237.

Lawrence, R. G. (2004). Framing obesity: The evolution of news discourse on a public health issue. *Press/Politics, 9,* 56–75.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion.* New York: The Free Press (First Free Press Paperback Edition, 1965).

Livingstone, S. (2011, Sep 27). Will major league baseball toss tobacco? *USA Today,* p. 01A.

Luebke, B. F. (1989). Out of focus: Images of women and men in newspaper photographs. *Sex Roles, 20*(3/4), 121–133.

Marklein, M. B. (2011, July 27). College fees fill gaps in funding: Legislators seek transparency to track what students pay for. *USA Today,* p. 01A.

Matheson, H., & Flatten, K. (1996). Newspaper representation of women athletes in 1984 and 1984. *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal, 5*(2), 65.

McCormick, R. A., & McCormick, A. C. (2006). The myth of the student-athlete: The college athlete as employee. *Washington Law Review, 81*, 71–157.

McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McLeod, J. M., & Pan, Z. (1989). Getting levels across and crossing levels. *American Behavioral Scientist, 33*, 199–202.

Miller, S. H. (1975). The content of news photos: Women's and men's roles. *Journalism Quarterly, 52*(1), 70–75.

National Collegiate Athletic Association. (2011). *NCAA 2011-12 Division I Manual.* Retrieved from: http://www.ncaapublications.com.

Nisbet, M. C., Brossard, D., & Kroepsch, A. (2003). Framing science: the stem cell controversy in an age of press/politics. *Press/Politics, 8,* 36–70.

Nocera, J. (2012, March 23). Standing up to the NCAA. *The New York Times.* p. A19.

O'Bannon v. National Collegiate Athletic Association and Collegiate Licensing Company, Class Action Complaint, CV 09-3329 (N.D. Cal. July 21, 2009).

Pedersen, P. M., Whisenant, W. A., & Schneider, R. G. (2003). Using a content analysis to examine the gendering of sports newspaper personnel and their coverage. *Journal of Sport Management, 17*(4), 276–393.

Price, V., Tewksbury, D., & Powers, E. (1997). Switching trains of thought: The impact of news frames on readers' cognitive responses. *Communication Research, 24,* 481–506.

Puglisi, R., & J. M. Snyder, Jr. (2011). Newspaper coverage of political scandals. *Journal of Politics, 73*(3): 1–20.

Radar, B. (1999). *American sports: From the age of folk games to the age of televised sports* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Richardson, B. K., & McGlynn, J. (2011). Rabid fans, death threats, and dysfunctional stakeholders: The influence of organizational and industry contexts on whistle-blowing cases. *Management Communication Quarterly, 25*(1):121–150.

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (2005). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rintala, J., & Birrell, S. (1984). Fair treatment for the active female: A content analysis of *Young Athlete* magazine. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 1*(1), 231–250.

Sack, A. L., & Staurowsky, E. J. (1998). *College athletes for hire: The evolution and legacy of the NCAA's amateur myth.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Sagas, M., Cunningham, G. B., Wigley, B. J., & Ashley, F. B. (2000). Internet coverage of university softball and baseball websites: The inequity continues. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 17*, 198–205.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication, 49,* 103–22.

Shah, D. V., Watts, M. D., Domke, D., & Fan, D. P. (2002). News framing and cueing of issue regimes: Explaining Clinton's public approval in spite of scandal. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 66,* 339–370.

Shifflet , B., & Revelle, R. (1994). Equity Revisited. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *18*(4), 379–383.

Shulman, J. L., & Bowen, W. G. (2001). *The game of life: College sports and educational values.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Smith, R. (2011). *Pay for play: A history of big-time college athletic reform.* Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Sniderman, P. M., & Theriault, S. M. (2004). The structure of political argument and the logic of issue framing. In W. E. Saris & P. M. Sniderman, *Studies in public opinion* (pp. 133–165). Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Sperber, M. (2000). *Beer and circus: How big-time college sports is crippling undergraduate education*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Co.

Splitt, F. G. (2011, March 8). "Academically adrift" in a sea of sports, *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* Retrieved from http://chronicle.com/article/Academically-Adrift-in-a-Sea/126643/.

Southall, R., Hancock, K., Cooper, C. G., & Nagel, M. (2012). Content analysis of commercial and educational messages in College World Series television broadcasts. *Journal of Sport Media,* 7(2), 41–60.

Theberge, N. (1991). A content analysis of print media coverage of gender, women, and physical activity. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology, 3*(1), 36–48.

Theberge, N., & Cronk, A. (1986). Work routines in newspaper sports departments and the coverage of women's sports. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 3*, 195–203.

Thelin, J. (2011).College sports since world war II. *History of Education Quarterly, 51*(3): 389–396.

Upton, J. (2011, March 31). NCAA tourney coaches cash in. *USA Today,* p. 01A.

Urquhart, J., & Crossman, J. (1999). The *Globe and Mail* coverage of the Winter Olympic Games: A cold place for women athletes. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 23*(2), 193–202.

Vaccaro, M. (2011, 25 Nov). BCS only fans of No. 1 Tigers. *The New York Post,* p. A1.

Wann, D. L., Schrader, M. P., Allison, J. A., & McGeorge, K. K. (1998). The inequitable newspaper coverage of men's and women's athletics at small, medium, and large universities. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 22*(1), 79–87.

Wanta, W., & Leggett, D. (1989). Gender stereotypes in wire service sports photos. *Newspaper Research Journal, 10*(3), 105–114.

Weiberg, S. (2011a, Mar 29). NCAA president: Time to discuss players getting sliver of revenue pie. *USA Today,* p. 01A.

Weiberg, S. (2011b, Mar 30). This shot was worth $1.4 million to Arizona. *USA Today.* p. 01A.

Weiberg, S., & Berkowitz, S. (2011, Oct 31). Is ESPN the main force behind realignment in college sports? *USA Today,* p. 01A.

Weight, E. A., Weight, M. A., & Schneider, R. G. (2013). Confronting the arms race: Conference commissioner perspectives on spending within intercollegiate athletics. *The International Journal of Sport Management, 14,* 1–21.

Whisenant, W. A., & Pedersen, P. M. (2004). Analyzing attitudes regarding quantity and quality of sports page coverage: Athletic director perceptions of newspaper coverage given to interscholastic sports. *International Sports Journal, 8*(1), 54–64.

Zimbalist, A. (1999). *Unpaid professionals: Commercialism and conflict in big-time college sports*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Pre

Management Whitepaper

Framing the Industry

Front-Page Coverage of Intercollegiate Athletics in Five Major Newspapers

Erianne A. Weight and Coyte G. Cooper

I. Research Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine the prevalence, content, and tone of front-page intercollegiate athletic coverage within five major newspapers sampled daily during an entire calendar year. This study was pursued in an effort to supplement existing literature and understanding about the dominant themes currently in circulation. This inquiry is significant because front-page coverage represents the information processed by those who may not read the sport section or follow sport. What is covered on the front page, then, may provide a foundational knowledge of the industry for these casual observers. An understanding of this content is critical for athletics administrators, particularly for the majority of athletics programs who rely on public subsidy.

II. Issues

Many current scholarly investigations in intercollegiate athletics have been driven by research questions citing headlines of scandal and calls for reform as dominant features in the popular press. These articles, largely driven by observation-based statements, highlight the perceived focus of the media on areas of deficiency in the current operating model of intercollegiate athletics and provide support for a significant public perception problem.

Scholars have debated the role of the mass media with some arguing the media serves a watchdog purpose informing and directing political discourse; while others believe the media is a source of sensationalism leading to a skeptical and ultimately unresponsive and cynical public. Regardless of its role and effect, the pervasive power and influence of the media cannot be disputed. As Kane notes,

"the mass media have become one of the most powerful institutional forces for shaping values and attitudes in modern culture" (1988, pp. 88–89).

Media coverage has been a source of rich research within the field of sport management with related developed inquiry covering golf controversies, gender coverage and portrayal, and intercollegiate athletic sport coverage through a variety of media. To this point, however, there has not been a study exploring front-page intercollegiate athletics coverage, content that reaches a broad audience and serves as a foundation for intercollegiate athletics understanding for those who do not choose to read the sports section, watch ESPN, or demonstrate fan-like behavior.

Scandal and reform-based popular press articles, the associated public outcry, and related scholarly calls for reform contributed to the development of the research questions pursued within this study:

> R1: What is the prevalence of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States?
> R2: What is the content of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States related to the independent variables of sport type and gender?
> R3: What is the tone of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States related to independent variables of "critical", "supportive", and "informational"?
> R4: Are there statistical relationships between tone and content of intercollegiate athletics coverage on the front pages of major newspapers in the United States?
> R5: Based upon R1-R4, what media frames are evident within the front page discourse surrounding intercollegiate athletics?

In order to answer these questions, the daily front-page content was analyzed from an entire calendar year five of the top 10 most widely circulated newspapers in the United States in 2011: *The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, New York Times, Washington Post*, and *New York Post.*

III. Summary and Analysis

Results indicate the intercollegiate athletics industry to be a relatively small area of emphasis in the front page news media. While those entrenched in the sport industry often feel high visibility given the tremendous amount of television coverage and devotion to the industry given its own newspaper section and plethora of cable channels, the amount of front-page coverage was quite small. Comprising .35% of overall article coverage, it appears that most intercollegiate athletics-related articles are relegated to the sports section rather than holding a position as the subject of headline news on the front page, though this seems to be

author please break this section down into 2 sections, i.e., III. Summary and IV. Analysis

common among sport sectors as intercollegiate athletics was the primary topic in 17% of all sport-related front page articles.

This coverage is completely male dominated, with nearly 97% of the articles and 98% of the word count devoted to men's sport, with 61% of the articles covering football, and 38% covering men's basketball. While roughly a quarter of word count content and a third of article content was devoted to informational pieces surrounding the industry, which is to be expected; an incredibly troubling finding of this inquiry was the complete lack of articles deemed "supportive" in nature, articles heralding positive aspects of the industry or players within the industry. Given a foundational view of intercollegiate athletics as an element of institutions of higher education, one might expect at least a single article or paragraph devoted to educational outcomes or positive effects of the system. Perhaps this can be related to the literature citing a sensationalistic slant in the news media, the established frames within the media or current public dialogue, or front-page news reserved for articles with an attention-grabbing (and potentially alarming) tone. Regardless of the rationale, the reality remains the dominant tone of articles related to intercollegiate athletics were those deemed critical in nature, founded on the intent of bringing to light flaws within the current operating system. Based upon this analysis, nine media frames were identified: financial exorbitance, scandal, athlete compensation, conference realignment, conflict between athletics and the academy, athlete entitlement, athlete discipline problems, coach power, and hyper-competitiveness.

do you mean academe here?

Financial exorbitance was the frame that dominated discourse related to intercollegiate athletics on the front page throughout 2011. These articles presented data outlining the lavish expenditures and associated deficits surrounding the industry. This frame is representative of a rich history and growing body of research into the arms race of expenditures, which university presidents have deemed a system that cannot be sustained. In concert with these discussions of escalating revenues and expenditures were discussions of conference realignment, and athlete compensation.

Pay-for-play has become a contentious staple in the intercollegiate athletics dialogue as the collective voice of critics combined with in-progress lawsuits have made their way into the headlines. Primary to this debate is the NCAA's foundational principle of amateurism, which defines participation in intercollegiate athletics as an "avocation" (*NCAA Division I Manual*, 2012, p. 4). Weiberg (2011) captured the tenuous stance the NCAA has been passionately advocating through two separate quotations by NCAA president Mark Emmert in a *USA Today* article. The first statement includes Emmert championing the traditional NCAA stance by stating, "it's grossly unacceptable and inappropriate to pay players…converting them from students to employees" (2011, p. 01A). Shortly thereafter within the article, Weiberg marks a new approach which has provided fuel to the discussion that undoubtedly will continue throughout this decade. "Emmert acknowledges

it's time for a serious discussion about whether and how to spread a little more of the largesse to those who are doing the playing and sweating… 'the sooner, the better'" (Emmert, qtd. in Weiberg, 2011, p. 01A). As the domino effect of Conference realignment coalesced during the time frame of this study, financial drivers and implications of the realignment decisions were discussed in concert with the athlete payment issue.

The next most prevalent themes are representative of the identity and public perception problems currently faced by the industry of intercollegiate athletics. Several articles addressed conflict between athletics and the academy with the context of these conflicts rooted in the hyper-competitive nature of the industry, coach power, and subsequent win-at-all-costs mentality often resulting in scandal, athlete entitlement, and athlete discipline problems. These themes and associated consequences often place the university, the athletics department, and the athletics boosters in conflicting positions, which have led to precarious justification for unethical conduct.

Analysis of independence provides additional context to the intercollegiate athletics frames presented through the newspaper coverage analyzed within the study. While much of men's basketball article coverage (38%) was related to game previews, particularly during March Madness, only 5% of football coverage was informational in nature, with the vast majority of football coverage (95% of word count) being critical in nature. Another interesting preliminary finding, limited by sample size relative to article tone by sport revealed differences in subthemes. "Critical" basketball articles primarily focused on exorbitant spending, pay-for-play issues, and academic issues. The football articles, on the other hand, were much more geared toward covering scandal, athlete discipline problems, and a culture of entitlement, with only a few game or coach previews. These observations lend toward the development of a potential sport-specific frame hypothesis that would be interesting to explore in future analyses.

IV. Analysis

V. Discussion/Implications

The extreme results uncovered within this research demonstrating a complete disregard for men's Olympic and women's sport coverage in front-page coverage add unique support to a hypothesis that the media is presenting a very narrow view of intercollegiate athletics as a whole. The findings of this analysis outline a broad media presentation of an industry characterized by lavish spending and unpaid workers within men's basketball, and indulgence of entitled athletes and widespread corruption facilitating unpunished criminal activity in football. These broad themes support many of the initiatives instigated by long-standing and newly organized reform groups including the Knight Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics, the National College Players Association, the Drake Group, the Coalition on Intercollegiate Athletics, and the National Coalition against Violent Athletes to name a few.

Several researchers have documented the powerful role the media plays in shaping the public perceptions related to issues, individuals, and organizations. With this knowledge, we must question whether the media is serving as a watchdog or source of sensationalism. The breadth of reform organizations listed above founded by those close to the heart of the industry provides support for the hypothesis that the media is playing a watchdog role, yet the initiatives pursued by these organizations are largely in response to issues related to a small fraction of participants in intercollegiate athletics (NCAA Division I-FBS men's basketball and football players).

Many of the uncovered frames and frame themes are supported by strong bodies of literature and can be refined through further testing and empirical development. This is a worthy scholarly pursuit due to the tremendous practical, philosophical, ethical, legal, and societal implications. As such, stakeholders in the industry of college sport need to analyze and understand the dominant themes surfacing in the media for a variety of reasons in order to tackle issues of concern and proactively influence messages being relayed to the public. Of particular concern, perhaps, is the impression these messages relay to the casual nonsport fan observers who may form their frames of the industry through these limited front-page messages. The implications of continued critical messages is troubling, particularly to colleges and universities that are not money-making entities. If the general public develops a poor opinion of college sport, programs that are largely funded by tax dollars and student fees may be in perilous positions.

Building Community Via Sport for Adolescents

Stacy Warner
Stephen Leierer

Abstract

Sport is frequently claimed to foster a greater sense of community for participants. However, a dearth of quantifiable and empirical evidence supports this claim and even less is known about how sport impacts adolescents' sense of community. The aim of this research was to assess the effectiveness of a sport program for adolescents. A pre/post research design was used to determine if any changes in sense of community were experienced for adolescents who took part in a three-week sport program. Sense of community was measured using the Sense of Community Index-2. A total of 28 participants completed pre- and postsurveys. These data were analyzed and the findings indicated that significant increases in adolescents' sense of community were observed. An analysis of the survey subscales revealed that the adolescent program participants in the study experienced significant increases related to Reinforcement of Needs, Membership, Influence, and Shared Emotional Connections. This study helps lay the foundation for better understanding of how sport can help build a sense of community for adolescents.

Keywords: *Community building, sense of community, adolescents, participatory sport, community*

Stacy Warner is an assistant professor in the Department of Kinesiology at East Carolina University.

Stephen Leierer is an associate professor in the Department of Addictions and Rehabilitation Studies at East Carolina University.

Please send correspondence to Stacy Warner, stacymwarner@gmail.com

Sport is often considered a means to enhance or build community. In fact, "community development" is frequently considered one of the major justifications of sport (Chalip, 2006a). Historically, sport management literature has focused on community development in terms of its economic impact; however, a growing number of scholars have begun to consider community development in noneconomic terms. For example, scholars have explored sporting events and programming as a means of creating social capital (Misener & Mason, 2006; Ziakas & Costa, 2010), liminality and communitas (Chalip, 2006b), civic pride (Wood, 2006), social change (Green, 2008; Sparvero & Chalip, 2007), and a sense of community (Clopton, 2008; Warner & Dixon, 2011; Warner, Dixon, & Leierer, in press).

Of these potential social impacts of sport, the most pertinent to adolescents is likely its perceived ability to foster a sense of community (e.g., Mayberry, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009; Pretty, 2002; Pretty, Andrews, & Collett, 1994; Pretty et al., 1996). Sense of community is defined as a community characteristic that leads to its members feeling a sense of belonging and a sense that support is available at the group level (Sarason, 1974). The adolescent development literature clearly supports that adolescents benefit in a multitude of ways from experiencing a sense of community and being involved in community activities (e.g., Catalano, Loeber, & McKinney, 1999; Evans, 2007; Maton, 1990; Pretty, 2002). This literature highlights how active participation (Shaw, 1976) and nonparental supportive adults (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997) play a key role in fostering a greater sense of community and thereby the development of adolescents.

Considering these benefits, it is not surprising that many sport-related schemes for adolescents (e.g., events, programs, clinics, etc.), have been positioned as being beneficial to the community through fostering a greater sense of community (cf. Chalip, 2006a; Green, 2008; Schimmel, 2003). Numerous sport-related schemes have been and continue to be developed all over the world to address issues related to crime, delinquency, and substance abuse (e.g., Crabbe, 2000; Hartmann, 2001, 2003; Smith & Waddington, 2004). In most cases, sport is used as a diversionary tactic or hook to educate and build relationships with adolescents (Green, 2008; Hartmann & Depro, 2006). While both long-term programs and more short-term events are well intentioned in their efforts to address various social issues, a lack of evidence exists regarding the effectiveness of these programs, thus limiting our perspective on the value of sport (cf. Chalip, 2006a; Green, 2008; Long & Sanderson, 2001; Mulvey, Arthur, & Reppucci, 1993; Smith & Waddington, 2004).

Further, some scholars have even suggested that such sport programs and events can have unintended negative consequences if these activities are not managed properly (e.g., Deery & Jago, 2010; Green, 2008; Hartmann & Depro, 2006; Kleiber & Roberts, 1981). For example, Kleiber and Roberts (1981) asserted that rather than promoting prosocial behaviors, sport actually delays such behaviors among adolescents. Scholars have also reported a link between sport participation and increased delinquency rates (e.g., Begg et al., 1996; Kreager, 2007; Snyder,

1994) and increased alcohol consumption (e.g., Lorente et al., 2004; Rainey et al., 1996; Wichstrom & Wichstrom, 2009). Sport may indeed be a promising way to positively impact adolescents, but it is not always effective, and in some cases can even be counterproductive. The literature points, though, to more positive outcomes being achieved if sport programs foster a sense of community.

Consequently, in order to overcome these negative outcomes and better understand the role that sport can have on individuals and communities, it is necessary to first assess if sport can actually foster community and how this process occurs. Although recent scholars have advanced our understanding of the social benefits of sport for adults (e.g., Berg, Warner, & Das, 2014; Kellett & Warner, 2011; Swyers, 2010), a notable gap in the literature still exists regarding changes in reported sense of community levels as a result of community-based sport. Despite the growth of short-term sport programs (cf., Bowers, Chalip, & Green, 2011), this gap is even more pronounced as it relates to the social impact of short-term sport programs on adolescents and the advantages and disadvantages of such programs. Further, approximately 90% of the research conducted regarding community excludes participants under the age of 18 (Pretty, 2002). Thus, the aim of this research is to help address this gap by assessing sense of community levels of adolescents before and after a short-term sport program.

Sense of Community

Originating from the community psychology field, sense of community is considered an essential and malleable component to fostering individual and group well-being (Bess et al., 2002; Hill, 1996; Sarason, 1974). Chavis and colleagues (1986) defined sense of community as "a feeling that members have of belonging and being important to each other, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met by their commitment to be together" (p. 11). While the community psychology literature has highlighted the importance of developing a sense of community in geographical neighborhoods, more contemporary work in this field has been focused on creating a sense of community in educational settings and/or communities of interest (Warner, 2012). For example, studies on sense of community have been conducted on college campuses (DeNeui, 2003; Lounsbury & DeNeui, 1996), within virtual communities (Obst, Zinkiewicz, & Smith, 2002a, 2002b), and in work settings (Burroughs & Eby, 1998).

A majority of the research on sense of community is grounded in McMillan and Chavis' (1986) Sense of Community Theory, which is frequently cited as the most widely used and accepted theory within the community psychology field (Chipuer & Pretty, 1999; Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002; Hill, 1996). This theory put forth that sense of community is comprised of four factors: membership, influence, sharing of values with an integration and fulfillment of needs (i.e., reinforcement of needs), and shared emotional connections. Membership involves the creation of boundaries through use of language, dress, or ritual to indicate who belongs and who does not, the fostering of emotional safety or security, and sense

of belonging and identification. Influence is a bidirectional component in that members must feel that they have the ability to exert some influence on the group, yet the group must also exert influence on its members in order for cohesion to exist. In his later work, McMillan (1996) emphasized that trust is also an essential element of influence. Sharing of values focuses on the reinforcement of values received as a result of belonging to a community. In other words, members are attracted to groups that benefit them in some way or fulfill a need. Shared emotional connections are grounded in the idea that members identify with a shared history of the community or common experience. In summary, McMillan and Chavis' (1986) work demonstrated that sense of community is multifaceted, and various sites (i.e., groups, programs) could be used to foster a sense of community.

Adolescents' benefits of experiencing a sense of community. While sense of community research has a long and well-established history that demonstrates its link to numerous life quality-enhancing benefits for adults (e.g., Bachrach & Zautra, 1985; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Davidson & Cotter, 1991), more recent research has established sense of community to be an important factor in adolescents' lives, as well. Studies among adolescents have found that a greater sense of community is associated with decreased levels of loneliness (Pretty, Andrews, & Collett, 1994), reduced substance abuse (Battistich & Hom, 1997; Mayberry, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009), reduced delinquency (Battistich & Hom, 1997), improved well being (i.e., greater happiness and less worry) (Albanesi, Cicognani, & Zani, 2007; Pretty et al., 1996), and increased prosocial civic engagement (e.g., charity events) (Albanesi, Cicognani, & Zani, 2007). In sum, it is clear that a strong sense of community is a vital component to the overall life quality of adolescents. Consequently, finding ways to enhance the sense of community experienced by adolescents should be a high priority for those concerned with improving a neighborhood or community.

Sport as a tool to foster a sense of community. While an abundance of literature focused on sport and social cohesion exists (e.g., Carron, Colman, Wheeler, & Stevens, 2002; Warner, Bowers, & Dixon, 2012), a nascent line of research has posited that sport can be utilized as a tool to foster a sense of community among adults through the four dimensions outlined by McMillan and Chavis (1986). While social cohesion and sense of community are conceptually related, social cohesion tends to focus more on the individual and dyad levels, whereas sense of community focuses more on community characteristics and the environmental level. That is, sense of community tends to focus on the environment and its atmosphere rather than individual relationships. Warner and Dixon's (2011, 2013) qualitative research concluded that being a part of a sports team could enhance a sense of community for participants. Thus, preliminary evidence suggests that active sport participation can foster increases in a sense of community (Warner & Dixon, 2011, 2013; Warner, Dixon, & Chalip, 2012). This evidence though is limited to adults who had long durations of exposure to the sporting environment,

which fostered the sense of community. In other words, the participants were a part of team or regularly engaged in a sport activity over long periods of time (i.e., one or more years).

Clopton (2008, 2009), Fairley and Tyler (2012), and Swyers (2010) all concluded that the more passive sport spectatorship could also create a sense of community among adult fans. In these studies, a sense of community was fostered when a specific university or professional team served as a point of identification or membership, the team events provided an environment where individuals had influence, individuals' needs were met during these events, and shared emotional connections were experienced. Interestingly, Warner and colleagues (2011) found that sport spectatorship did not foster a greater sense of community over one football season. Presumably, one season was not enough to reinforce needs and create an environment where fans felt they had influence or could create strong enough emotional and social connections. The authors concluded that greater exposure to and more active engagement with the community were needed to foster an increased sense of community for fans. Thus, although sustained participation in sport seems suitable for fostering a sense of community, the efficacy of short-term experiences for such an end remains unclear. In an effort to better understand how sport can influence a sense of community, the aim of this study is to empirically evaluate the impact of a short-term participatory sport program on adolescents' sense of community. Adolescents were specifically targeted because they make up a large portion of the sport sector, and yet are an understudied population in sport (Coakley, 2009). The guiding research question for this inquiry is: Can a short-term sport program increase levels of sense of community for adolescents? And if so, what mechanisms (i.e., reinforcement of needs, membership, influence, and shared emotional connections) contribute the most to this change?

Methodology

Research setting. This research study took place in a large city in central Texas and was focused around a no-cost sport program for adolescents. The participatory event was sponsored by a nonprofit organization whose mission is to use sport to positively impact the community. The sport organization has only been in existence since 2009; however, it is affiliated with a larger citywide nonprofit network. This larger network or community anchor provides much of the structural support for the sport organization. In the summer of 2011, the sport organization offered a free sports program for adolescents in the community. The program was held in the evenings for three hours, Mondays through Thursdays for three weeks, and offered volleyball, football, soccer, and basketball. A total of 52 participants (28 males; 24 females) with an average age of 15.7 completed the program.

Procedure. After University IRB approval was received, prior to beginning the sport program, parent-child consent forms to participate in the research were distributed and collected from parents. The pre- and postsurveys consisted of de-

mographic questions and the 24-item Sense of Community Index-2 (SCI-2). After parental consent was obtained, the respective adolscents were asked to voluntarily participate in the study and were made aware that volunteering to be in the study would not influence their participation in the program in any way. In order to assess the community impact of a three-week sport program on adolescents, a pre/post survey design was used. The presurveys were administered to the adolscent participants immediately prior to the start of the three-week program. The postsurveys were then administered at the conclusion of the program. The surveys were administered in a way that provided anonymity for the participants.

Participants. Of the 52 active participants that completed the program, 28 adolescents returned completed and usable pre- and postsurveys ($n = 56$ observations). Although, the intent was to survey all of the participants transportation, time constraints, obtaining parental-child consent, and time of the year (i.e., summer, family vacation) prohibited some participants from fully completing both the pre- and posttest. The sample did, however, represented about 53.8% of the total participants that completed the program. Assuming a medium effect size .35, an exploratory alpha level of $p < .10$ (Rinne & Mazzoco, 2013), a G* power analysis for repeated measures ANOVA determined that approximately 27 participants were needed to obtain power of .80 (G*Power, 2014; Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). We were able to evaluate 28 participants.

The sample consisted of 14 males and 14 females; the average age of the participants in the sample was 15.3 years old. The sample was reflective of the age and gender make-up of entire group of adolescents that took part in the three-week program.

Instrument. McMillan and Chavis' (1986) theory was operationalized into the Sense of Community Index (Chavis et al., 1986). Chipuer and Pretty (1999) reported the broad use of the Sense of Community Index across a variety of disciples and further promoted its use, predominantly due to its strong theoretical basis (i.e., McMillan and Chavis' Theory). This original Sense of Community Index consisted of 12 true/false items. Although it was recognized as a valid measurement instrument, it was revised into the Sense of Community Index-2 (SCI-2) to better capture McMillan and Chavis' theory through the use of more reliable subscales (Chavis, Lee, & Acosta, 2008). The resulting SCI-2 is a 24-item (6 items per subscale) survey that utilizes a Likert-type scale. Previous research with an adult population (see Chavis, Lee, & Acosta, 2008) has demonstrated that the SCI-2 is a very reliable instrument (coefficient alpha=.94) to quantitatively measure sense of community. Consequently, its four subscales consisting of six items each related to Reinforcement of Needs (e.g., "Being a member of this community makes me feel good."), Membership (e.g., "Most community members know me."), Influence (e.g., "Fitting into this community is important to me."), and Shared Emotional Connections (e.g., "Members of this community care about each other.") also have been found to be reliable with coefficient alphas ranging between .79

to .86 (Chavis, Lee, & Acosta, 2008). Each subscale score is calculated by adding the six items together. The overall SCI-2 is then calculated by adding all 24 items together. Since previous sense of community work typically only involves adult population (see Pretty, 2002), reliability Cronbach's alphas were calculated for the SCI-2 and its subscales. The total SCI-2 had a reliability of .97 for pretest and .98 for the posttest. The subscales were also found to be highly reliable with coefficient alphas ranging between .88 to .93 for both the pretest and posttest subscales. In addition, the pre- and postsurveys consisted of basic demographic questions and then the 24-item SCI-2.

Results

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare the adolescents' sense of community levels before and after the three-week participatory sport program. First, the total SCI-2 scores for the pretest and posttest were summed and compared. The posttest score (M = 82.46, SD 15.62) was eight points higher than the pretest score (M = 74.64, SD = 17.38). This improvement in overall sense of community was significant [F (1,27) = 5.07, p = .033, partial η^2= .16]. Thus, the results suggest that the short-term (three-week) sport program for adolescents had a significant influence on their sense of community.

Because a significant difference was found on the total Sense of Community scale, follow-up one-way repeated measures ANOVA were conducted on the four SCI-2 subscales. Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics on the pre- and postsurvey. From pretest to the posttest three weeks later, increases in scores on all four subscales occurred. With alpha of $< .10$, the increase of each scale scores was significant. That is, significant differences were found from pretest to posttest on

Table 1

Pre- and Postsurvey Descriptives

	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Reinforcement of Needs	18.57	4.41	20.39	4.25
Membership	18.64	4.73	20.71	4.07
Influence	18.54	4.73	20.64	3.92
Shared Emotional Connections	18.89	4.96	20.71	3.94
Total Sense of Community (SCI-2)	74.64	17.38	82.46	15.64

Reinforcement of Needs [F (1, 27) = 4.45, p = .04, partial η^2= .14], Membership [F (1, 27) = 4.45, p = .04, partial η^2 = .14], Influence [F (1, 27) = 5.34, p = .03, partial η^2 = .16], and Shared Emotions [F (1, 27) = 3.17, p = .09, partial η^2= .10]. The SCI-2 detected significant changes related to adolescent sport participants' overall sense of community and more specifically, feelings related to Reinforcement of Needs, Membership, Influence, and Shared Emotional Connections.

Discussion

The results demonstrated that adolescents in a small community-based sport program reported increases in their level of sense of community over the course of a three-week program. Consequently, this study contributes to the sport management and community literature in three important ways. First, sport has been consistently used to address various social issues and promote prosocial behaviors, yet there is paucity of data that support its effectiveness (c.f., Green, 2008; Hartmann, 2003; Mulvey, Arthur, & Reppucci 1993; Smith & Waddington, 2004). This study empirically demonstrated an important contribution and benefit of sport—to foster a greater sense of community. Considering the various social impacts associated with a greater sense of community for adolescents (e.g., lower drug abuse, less delinquency, and increases in civic engagement), this study demonstrated the potential value of sport participation in a quantifiable and measurable way (cf. Long & Sanderson, 2001). While it is evident that how the sport is managed is fundamental to achieving the desired outcomes (cf. Chalip, 2006a, 2006b; Chalip, Thomas, & Voyle, 1996; Green, 2008; Warner & Dixon, 2011), it is clear that the three-week program was managed in a way that reinforced adolescents' needs and provided them with a place they felt that they belonged, had influence, and shared emotions connections. Thus, this study provides empirical evidence that a three-week sport program can enhance a sense of community for adolescents through reinforcement of needs, membership, influence, and shared emotional connection.

The second major contribution of this study is that it focused on an understudied population in relation to sport and community development. Despite the growing attention that has been placed on the potential social impacts of sport (e.g., Girginov & Hills, 2008; Sparvero & Chalip, 2010; Warner et al., 2011), the vast majority of current research primarily has involved adult populations. It should be noted that this is also typical of community studies; Pretty (2002) estimates that 90% of the research conducted on communities exclude participants under the age of 18. Therefore, this study contributes to the literature by advancing our understanding of how adolescents can benefit from sport and community development. What is too often overlooked is that adolescents have influence within families and on family decisions, especially as they relate to leisure activities and events (Darley & Lim, 1986; Turley, 2001). Thus, adolescents are important stakeholders to consider when evaluating the social impacts of sport. This research,

therefore, highlights adolescents as important stakeholders in the community and demonstrates one way that they can be influenced via sport. If we can enhance the sense of community of our adolescents, carryover effects that benefit the wider community would also likely be achieved. After all, a strong sense of community among adolescents has been shown to result in less crime and delinquency, and their increased involvement in civic affairs—all of which benefit the wider community.

The third contribution of this study is that it provides direction for sport managers and marketers concerned with demonstrating the benefits of sport. Although this research focused on a small-scale, community-based participatory sport program, there are practical implications and considerations for all those involved with sport. As sport in general begins facing increased scrutiny for its cost (Crompton, 2008; Sparvero & Chalip, 2007), ecological footprint (see Trendafilova, 2011; Trendafilova & Waller, 2011), and tendency to exacerbate social problems (e.g., Green, 2008; Hartmann, 2001, 2003; Hartmann & Depro, 2006; Kleiber & Roberts, 1981), the need to demonstrate the value and significance of sport is becoming a greater priority (cf. Chalip, 2006). Continuing to measure and assess the psychological and social outcomes, such as sense of community, is one step toward that goal. Short-term, small-scale community-based efforts, such as the one highlighted in this study, can appropriately serve adolescents in a way that is beneficial to the community as a whole. Thus, this exploratory research helps address a noted gap in the literature by empirically demonstrating a social benefit and psychological outcome of sport participation (cf. Chalip, 2006a; Green, 2008; Long & Sanderson, 2001; Smith & Waddington, 2004).

Because this research was field based, there are a few important limitations to acknowledge. First, the participants were adolescents specific to a single sport program, and therefore the sample size was small. This experimental design was advantageous in that the sport program was consistent for the sample, and pre- and postsurveys were collected from over 50% of the participants who completed the program. However, this design also indicates that caution should be exercised when generalizing the results to all sport programs for adolescents. While this exploratory field research is quite promising, future research should continue to the explore sense of community within sport settings with larger and more diverse samples (i.e., adult populations, nonurban, etc.) and consider other research designs. That is, the results were based on an urban sport program for youth and cannot be generalized to other populations. Additionally, a qualitative approach may yield more specific insight regarding why the short-term program was successful. In general due to living proximity, adolescents from urban area are more likely than those from rural areas to recognize or even be familiar with one another. While this hopefully would have been captured and accounted for in the pre-post design, it could have been a cofounding variable that impacted the results.

The development and use of a more sport-specific sense of community survey may also prove to be beneficial to the management and marketing of sport. While the SCI-2 targeted the adolescents' feelings toward the broad community, a sport-specific instrument might better pinpoint the idiosyncratic sport programmatic features that are and are not working with a program (cf. Warner, Kerwin, & Walker, 2013). Overall, though, the SCI-2 was able to empirically demonstrate the role and impact a sport program could be playing in the larger community for adolescents.

Conclusion

This research demonstrated the effectiveness of a short-term sport program for adolescents. Perhaps the problem in being able to demonstrate the social benefits of sport (see Long & Sanderson, 2001) in other sport-related intervention and community development programs might be that we are expecting too much of sport in and of itself, and not expecting enough of the individuals and community involved. Assessing levels of sense of community helps narrow that gap. In other words, instead of focusing solely on sport and the sport programming, this research and assessing sense of community specifically, helps shift the focus to assessing the environment that sport helped create. Thereby, this research gives a more accurate picture of the social benefits and psychological outcomes sport participants can obtain. The solution for sport managers and marketers, consequently, might be to focus more on sport and the sporting environments' ability to foster community for all stakeholders. In the words of Hill (1996):

> If we can learn what aspects of communities foster a strong psychological sense of community and can learn to increase those aspects, perhaps we will not have to concern ourselves with specific problems and the interventions to deal with them. We could concentrate on forming healthy communities, and rely on the communities to form the healthy individuals. (p. 435)

As demonstrated in this study, short-term sport programs can be a part of the solution to forming healthier communities for adolescents through enhanced levels of sense of community. While this is not a serendipitous outcome of all sport programs, sport managers and marketers can and should design their events and programs with this focus in mind (cf. Warner & Dixon, 2011, 2013). This can be achieved by planning and managing sport in ways that consider how to reinforce needs, create opportunities for individuals to identifiy with other community members, provide an atmosphere where indivduals have influence, and offer the opportunity for creating shared emotional connections (see Warner & Dixon, 2011, 2013 for an in-depth discussion on how this is achieved in a sport setting). Although this research was limited to a small community-based sport program

and the results are not generalizable beyond the scope of the setting, this research suggests that sport can play a role in positively impacting adolescents through fostering a greater sense of community. And more importantly, that a broader focus on sport and its potential social impacts for adolescents would likely lead to important carryover effects that would result in a healthier community.

References

Albanesi, C., Cicognani, E. & Zani, B. (2007). Civic involvement, sense of community and social well being in adolescence. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 17*, 387–406.

Bachrach, K. M., & Zautra, A. J. (1985). Coping with a community stressor: The threat of a hazardous waste facility. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 26,* 127–141.

Battistich, V., & Hom, A. (1997). The relationship between students' sense of their school as a community and their involvement in problem behaviors. *American Journal of Public Health, 87*, 1997–2001.

Begg, D. J., Langley, J. D., Moffitt, T., & Marshall, S. W. (1996). Sport and delinquency: An examination of the deterrence hypothesis in a longitudinal study. *British Journal of Sports Medicine, 30*, 335–341.

Berg, B., Warner, S., & Das, B. (2014). What about sport? A public health perspective. *Sport Management Review.* DOI:10.1016/j.smr.2014.09.005

Bess, K. D., Fisher, A. T., Sonn, C. C. & Bishop, B. J. (2002). Psychological sense of community: Theory, research, and application. In A. T. Fisher, C. C. Sonn, & B. J. Bishop (Eds.), Psychological sense of community: Research, applications, and implications (pp. 3–22). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Bowers, M. T., Chalip, L., & Green, B. C. (2011). Beyond the façade: Youth sport development in the United States and the illusion of synergy. In B. Houlihan and M. Green (Eds.), Routledge handbook of sports development (pp. 173–183). Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge.

Burroughs, S. M., & Eby, L. T. (1998). Psychological sense of community at work: A measurement system and explanatory framework. *Journal of Community Psychology, 26*, 509–532.

Carron, A. V., Colman, M. M., Wheeler, J., & Stevens, D. (2002). Cohesion and performance in sport: A meta analysis. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 24*, 168–188.

Catalano, R. F., Loeber, R., & McKinney, K. (1999). School and community interventions to prevent serious and violent offending. *Juvenile Justice Bulletin.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Chalip, L. (2006a). Toward a distinctive sport management discipline. *Journal of Sport Management, 20*, 1–21.

Chalip, L. (2006b). Toward social leverage of sport events. *Journal of Sport Tourism, 11*, 109–127.

Chalip, L., Thomas, D. R., & Voyle, J. (1996). Enhancing wellbeing through sport and recreation. In D. R. Thomas & A. Veno, A. (Eds.), Community psychology and social change (pp. 126–156). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Chavis, D. M., & Wandersman, A. (1990). Sense of community in the urban environment: A catalyst for participation and community development. American *Journal of Community Psychology, 18*, 55–81.

Chavis, D. M., Hogge, J. H., McMillan, D. W. & Wandersman, A. (1986). Sense of community through Brunswick's lens: A first look. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 14*, 24–40.

Chavis, D. M., Lee, K. S. & Acosta J. D. (2008). *The Sense of Community (SCI) Revised: The Reliability and Validity of the SCI-2.* Paper presented at the 2nd International Community Psychology Conference, Lisboa, Portugal.

Chipuer, H., & Pretty, G. (1999). A review of the Sense of Community Index: Current uses, factor structures, reliability, and further development. *Journal of Community Psychology, 27*, 643–658.

Clopton, A. (2009). Students as spectators: Their academic and social integration. *New Directions for Higher Education, 148*, 83–89.

Clopton, A. W. (2008). College sports on campus: Uncovering the link between fan identification and sense of community. *International Journal of Sport Management, 9*, 343–362.

Coakley, J. (2009). *Sports in society: Issues and controversies.* Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Crabbe, T. (2000). A sporting chance? Using sport to tackle drug use and crime. *Drugs: Education, Prevention and Policy, 7*, 381–391.

Crompton, J. L. (2008). Evolution and implications of a paradigm shift in the marketing of leisure services in the USA. *Leisure Studies, 27*, 181–206.

Darley, W. K., & Lim, J. S. (1986). Family decision making in leisure-time activities: An exploratory investigation of the impact of locus of control, child age influence factor and parental type of perceived child influence. In R. J. Lutz (Ed.), *Advances in consumer research* (pp. 370–374). Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research.

Davidson, W., & Cotter, P. R. (1991). The relationship between sense of community and subjective well-being: A first look. *Journal of Community Psychology, 19*, 246–253.

Deery, M., & Jago, L. (2010). Social impacts of events and the role of anti-social behavior. *International Journal of Event and Festival Management, 1*, 8–28.

DeNeui, D. L. (2003). An investigation of first-year college student's psychological sense of community on campus. *College Student Journal, 37*(2), 224.

Evans, S. D. (2007). Youth sense of community: Voice and power in community contexts. *Journal of Community Psychology, 35*, 693–709.

Fairley, S., & Tyler, B. (2012). Bringing baseball to the big screen: Building sense of community outside of the ballpark. *Journal of Sport Management, 26*, 258–270.

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A. G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods, 39*, 175–191. DOI: 10.3758/BF03193146

Fisher, A. T., Sonn, C. C., & Bishop, B. J. (2002). *Psychological sense of community: Research, applications, and implications.* New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Girginov, V., & Hills, L. (2008). A sustainable sports legacy: Creating a link between the London Olympics and sports participation. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 25*, 2091–2116.

Green, B. C. (2008). Sport as an agent for social and personal change. In V. Girginov (Ed.), *Management of sports development* (pp. 129–147). Oxford: Butterworth-Heineman.

Hartmann, D. (2001). Notes on midnight basketball and the cultural politics of recreation, race and at-risk urban youth. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 25,* 339–371.

Hartmann, D. (2003). Theorizing sport as social intervention: A view from the grassroots. *Quest, 55*, 118–140.

Hartmann, D., & Depro, B. (2006). Rethinking sports-based community crime prevention: A preliminary analysis of the relationship between midnight basketball and urban crime rates. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues, 30*, 180–196.

Hill, J. (1996). Psychological sense of community: Suggestions for future research. *Journal of Community Psychology, 24*, 431–438.

Kellett, P., & Warner, S. (2011). Creating communities that lead to retention: The social worlds and communities of umpires. *European Sport Management Quarterly, 11*, 475–498.

Kleiber, D. A., & Roberts, G. A. (1981). The effects of sport experience in the development of social character: An exploratory investigation. *Journal of Sport Psychology, 2,* 114–122.

Kreager, D. A. (2007). Unnecessary roughness? School sports, peer networks, and male adolescent violence. *American Sociological Review, 72*, 705–724.

Long, J., & Sanderson, I. (2001). The social benefits of sport: where's the proof? In C. Gratton & I. Henry (Eds.), Sport in the city (pp. 187–203). London: Routledge.

Lorente F. O., Souville M., Griffet J., & Grelot, L. (2004). Participation in sports and alcohol consumption among French adolescents. *Addictive Behaviours, 29*, 941–946.

Lounsbury, J. W., & DeNeui, D. (1996). Collegiate psychological sense of community in relation to size of college/university and extroversion. *Journal of Community Psychology, 24*, 381–394.

Maton, K. I. (1990). Meaningful involvement in instrumental activity and well-being: Studies of older adolescents and at risk urban teenagers. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 18*, 297–320.

Mayberry, M. L., Espelage, D. L., & Koenig, B. (2009). Multilevel modeling of direct effects and interaction of peers, parents, school, and community influences on adolescent substance use. *Journal of Youth Adolescence, 38*, 1038–1049.

McMillan, D. (1996). Sense of community. *Journal of Community Psychology, 24,* 315–325.

McMillan, D., & Chavis, D. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology, 14*, 6–23.

Misener, L., & Mason, D. S. (2006). Creating community networks: Can sporting events offer meaningful sources of social capital? *Managing Leisure, 11,* 39–56.

Mulvey, E. P., Arthur, M. W., & Reppucci, N. D. (1993). The prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency: A review of the research. *Clinical Psychology Review, 13*, 133–167.

Obst, P., Zinkiewicz, L., & Smith, S. (2002a). Sense of community in science fiction fandom, Part 1: Understanding sense of community in an international community of interest. *Journal of Community Psychology, 30*, 87–103.

Obst, P., Zinkiewicz, L., & Smith, S. (2002b). Sense of community in science fiction fandom, Part 2: Comparing neighborhood and interest group sense of community. *Journal of Community Psychology, 30*, 105–117.

Pretty, G. M. H. (2002). Young people's development of the community-minded self: Considering community identity, community attachment and sense of community. In A. T. Fisher, C. C. Sonn, & B. J. Bishop (Eds.), Psychological sense of community: Research, applications, and implications (pp. 183–203). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Pretty, G. M. H., Conroy, C., Dugay, J., Fowler, K., & Williams, D. (1996). Sense of community and its relevance to adolescents of all ages. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 24*, 365–379.

Pretty, G., Andrewes, L., & Collett, C. (1994). Exploring adolescents' sense of community and its relationship to loneliness. *Journal of Community Psychology, 22*, 346–358.

Rainey C. J., McKeown R. E., Sargent R. G., & Valois R. F. (1996). Patterns of tobacco and alcohol use among sedentary, exercising, nonathletic, and athletic youth. *Journal of School Health, 66*, 27–32.

Rinne, L. F., & Mazzocco, M.M.M. (2013). Inferring uncertainty from interval estimates: Effects of alpha level and numeracy. *Judgment and Decision Making, 8*(3), 330–344.

Sampson, R. J., Raudenbush, S. W., & Earls, S. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science, 277*, 918–924.

Sarason, S. B. (1974). *The psychological sense of community: Prospects for a community psychology*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schimmel, K. S. (2003). Sport. In K. Christensen & D. Levinson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of community: From village to virtual world* (pp. 1334–1336). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Shaw, M. E. (1976). *Group dynamics* (2nd ed.). New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill.

Smith, A., & Waddington, I. (2004). Using 'sport in the community schemes' to tackle crime and drug use among young people: Some policy issues and problems. *European Physical Education Review, 10*, 279–298.

Snyder, E. (1994). Interpretations and explanations of deviance among college athletes: A case study. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 11*, 231–248.

Sparvero, E. S., & Chalip, L. (2007). Professional teams as leverageable assets: Strategic creation of community value. *Sport Management Review, 10,* 1–30.

Swyers, H. (2010). *Wrigley regulars: Finding community in the bleachers?* Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Trendafilova, S. (2011). Sport subcultures and their potential for addressing environmental problems: The illustrative case of disc golf. *Cyber Journal of Applied Leisure and Recreation Research, 13*, 1–14.

Trendafilova, S., & Waller, S. (2011). Assessing the ecological impact due to disc golf. *International Journal of Sport Management, Recreation & Tourism, 3.*

Turley, S. K. (2001). Children and the demand for recreational experiences: The case of zoos. *Leisure Studies, 20,* 1–18.

Warner, S. (2012). Sport and community. In G. B. Cunningham & J. N. Singer (Eds.), *Sociology of sport and physical activity* (2nd ed., pp. 237–254). College Station, TX: Center for Sport Management Research and Education.

Warner, S., Bowers, M., & Dixon, M. A. (2012). Team dynamics: A social networking perspective. *Journal of Sport Management, 26*, 53–66.

Warner, S., & Dixon, M. A. (2011). Understanding sense of community from an athlete's perspective. *Journal of Sport Management, 25*, 258–272.

Warner, S., & Dixon, M. A. (2013). Sport and community on campus: Constructing a sport experience that matters. *Journal of College Student Development, 54*, 283–298. DOI: 10.1353/csd.2013.0044

Warner, S., Dixon, M. A., & Chalip, L. C. (2012). The impact of formal versus informal sport: Mapping the differences in sense of community. *Journal of Community Psychology, 40*, 983–1003. DOI: 10.1002/jcop.21506

Warner, S., Dixon, M., & Leierer, S. (in press). Using youth sport to enhance parents' sense of community. *Journal of Applied Sport Management.*

Warner, S., Kerwin, S., & Walker, M. (2013). Examining sense of community in sport: Developing the multidimensional 'SCS' Scale. *Journal of Sport Management, 27*, 349–362.

Warner, S., Shapiro, S., Dixon, M. A., Ridinger, L. L. & Harrison, S. (2011). The football factor: Shaping community on campus. *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics, 4,* 236–256.

Wichstrom T., & Wichstrom L. Does sports participation during adolescence prevent later alcohol, tobacco and cannabis use? *Addiction, 104*, 138–149.

Wood, E. H. (2006). Measuring the social impact of local authority events: a pilot study for a civic pride scale. *International Journal Nonprofit Voluntary Sector Marketing, 11*, 165–179.

Ziakas, V., & Costa, C. A. (2010). Between theatre and sport in a rural event: Evolving unity and community development from the inside-out. *Journal of Sport and Tourism, 15*, 7–26.

Management Whitepaper

Building Community Via Sport for Adolescents

Stacy Warner
Stephen Leierer

I. Research Problem

Administrators often anecdotally claim that sports foster a sense of community, yet little empirical data exists to support that claim. The purpose of this research addresses that concern by measuring the changes in adolescents' sense of community after participating in a short-term sport program. The program was held in the evenings for three hours, Mondays through Thursdays for three weeks, and offered volleyball, football, soccer, and basketball. A total of 52 participants (28 males; 24 females) with an average age of 15.7 completed the program. This research revealed that adolescents' sense of community did significantly increase after participating in the three-week sports camp. This finding is important because it provides evidence to support the commonly accepted claim that sport can contribute to community development. This work is highly essential for sport administrators and managers, especially those that are considering hosting a sport camp or clinic or may be seeking resources to fund such programs.

II. Issues

While increasing rapidly across the United States, sport programs, well intentioned in their efforts to address various social issues and problems for adolescents, lack evidence to justify or support their effectiveness. Some even denounced these sport programs and events because of the unintended the negative consequences that can occur if not managed properly. Conversely, sport may be a promising way to positively influence adolescents and previous research points to more positive outcomes being achieved if sport programs are fostering of a sense of community.

Developmentally, a strong sense of community is essential to adolescents' quality of life and to their connection to the overall community. Increased levels of sense of community for adolescents is associated with decreased levels of loneliness, reduced substance abuse, reduced delinquency, improved well-being (i.e., greater happiness, less anxiety), and increased prosocial civic engagement (e.g., participation in charity events). From a community development standpoint, using best practices in sport programming to enhance the sense of community experienced for adolescents should be a high priority for those concerned with improving a neighborhood or community.

Sport and sport programs that enhance participants' sense of community are vital to creating and developing healthy community. Programs are more likely to increase sense of community when designed in a manner that fosters a point of identification or membership, provides an environment where individuals have influence, meet important needs, and allow participants to share emotional connections with others.

III. Summary

In this study, a positive change in adolescents' felt sense of community was observed after their participation in a sport program. Thus, this research demonstrates that even sport programs as short as three weeks can have an important influence on adolescents by increasing their sense of community. This overall improvement in the adolescents' sense of community was confirmed by the adolescents' positive changes related to Reinforcement of Needs, Membership, Influence, and Shared Emotional Connections. In other words, after taking part in a three-week sport program, participants felt more needs were reinforced, they identified more with other community members, felt that they had greater influence, and experienced more shared emotional connections. These increases suggest that improvements in the adolescents' overall sense of community were made as a result of their participation in a three-week sport program. In addition, this alludes to the overall community also reaping numerous benefits from the implementation of sport programs for adolescents. Typically when adolescents' sense of community increases, they engage in fewer negative community behaviors (less crime and delinquency) and more positive community behaviors (e.g., participation in charity events).

IV. Analysis

Because community and city developers and planners are faced with difficult budgetary decisions, there is an increasing competition for funding. Therefore, sport managers must justify and promote the benefits and positive outcomes of their programs. One way to accomplish this is through sport and sport programs that enhance members' sense of community as this will create and develop healthy community. Programs will increase sense of community if they are designed to

foster a point of identification or membership, provide an environment where individuals have influence, important needs are met, and share emotional connections with others.

V. Discussion/Implications

This research provides empirical support for individuals who wish to justify or promote the importance of sport and sport programming. Specifically, adolescents can benefit greatly from taking part in a three-week sport program through increased levels of a sense of community. While these positive outcomes cannot be guaranteed, sport managers and marketers can and should design their sport events and programs to increase the participants' sense of community. Enhanced sense of community for sport participants can be achieved by planning and managing sport in ways that consider how to reinforce needs, create opportunities for individuals to identifiy with other community members, provide an atmosphere where indivduals have influence, and offer the opportunity for creating shared emotional connections.

Journal of Applied Sport Management
RESEARCH THAT MATTERS!

Editorial Guidelines for Authors

Only manuscripts that make a strong contribution to sport management practice, based on the practical, conceptual, philosophical, and empirical grounding of the piece, will be considered for publication. Manuscripts may address a wide range of issues concerning sport management practice including (but not limited to): marketing (e.g., sponsorship, branding, pricing, and advertising), management (e.g., business strategy, policy, human resource management, organizational behavior, and organizational theory), images and narratives, sport ethics and governance, stakeholder management, social and environmental responsibility, globalization and internationalization, and sport media and technology. Authors are required to submit both a Scholarly Manuscript and a corresponding Management Whitepaper.

Scholarly Manuscript Guidelines

Scholarly manuscripts should be kept to less than 30 pages, including reference pages, tables, figures, and artwork/illustrations. Each submitted manuscript must follow the publication guidelines included in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association: Sixth Edition*. **Manuscripts submitted in a different style, or deviations from this style, shall not be reviewed.**

Scholarly manuscripts should be typed (12-point Times New Roman font) with double spacing on 8 1/2 × 11 inch paper with margins set for 1 inch (2.54 cm) at the top, bottom, right and left of every page, should not exceed 30 pages (including tables, figures, and references), and have ONE space after each period in the text. Set the page numbering at the top right of the page with the running header. The order of the manuscript should be: (1) blind title page [do NOT include information that might identify the author(s)], (2) abstract with manuscript title located above, (3) manuscript text, (4) references, (5) tables, and (6) figures.

The abstract must not exceed 200 words and should consist of two elements: (1) the abstract itself, which concisely summarizes the paper, giving a clear indication of the research method, and conclusions and (2) three to five keywords.

References, tables, and figures must follow the *APA 6th Edition* format. Tables and figures must be presented on separate sheets at the end of the manuscript. Their position within the text should be clearly indicated. Each table and

figure must be numbered in the order of presentation and clearly labeled. The use of footnotes/endnotes within the text is discouraged.

References/Works Cited Pages

References/works cited pages should adhere to the guidelines included in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association: 6th Edition*. Authors are responsible for precise execution of this requirement. Please note that periods after authors' initials require ONE space before the next initial, and that ONE space is to be used after each period (EX: Smith, J. M. (2012). The study of…).

Management Whitepaper Guidelines

Each submitted manuscript must be accompanied by a document that summarizes the article's findings in a way that will be palatable for practicing professionals. As a part of the *JASM* review process, this document will be reviewed by a practitioner and will be made available as part of the journals outreach efforts to practitioners, media, and the public. Accordingly, the language used should be less technical and oriented toward a nonacademic audience.

Management whitepapers should be typed (12-point Times New Roman font) with double spacing on 8 1/2 × 11 inch paper with margins set for 1 inch (2.54 cm) at the top, bottom, right and left of every page, should not exceed 8 pages (including any tables, charts, graphs, and/or other illustrations that are effective visual means of communication), and have ONE space after each period in the text.

The format of the management whitepapers is as follows:

I. Research problem(s) addressed (maximum length: 6 sentences)

a. Very clearly state the purpose of the paper and what it examines

EXAMPLE:
The purpose of this paper is to examine the attitudes of NCAA Division I men's intercollegiate basketball season ticket holders regarding seat assessment fees.

b. Very clearly state the importance of the issue(s) contained in the paper and why they are worthy of the practitioner's time and attention

EXAMPLE:
This research contains timely information that reveals that a significant number of season ticket holders surveyed were unhappy with the additional assessment fees that came with new arena construction and/or retrofitting/redevelopment, but the research also revealed that a significant number of them were willing to

pay such fees if guaranteed the first rights of refusal to purchase tickets, regardless of their levels of understanding of and/or agreement with the purpose fees.

c. Very clearly state an intended audience/stakeholder group(s)

EXAMPLE:
This article would likely be useful to intercollegiate athletics department personnel and other major stakeholders of intercollegiate athletics, particularly those involved with or considering capital campaigns that include new facility development, facility retrofitting, reseating, or ticket price adjustments. Other sport managers at other levels of sport who are involved with revenue generation through seating may also find this article useful.

II. Issue(s) (maximum length: 2 pages)

This should be a detailed version of item I.b above that clearly explains the important facets and background of the issue at hand in the manuscript; basically, it should resemble an extremely shortened version of the literature review sans the references, except to any that are so relevant to the article that they cannot be ignored (for instance, if the paper involves a case study built around a particular theoretical framework, then obviously that framework and its authors would merit specific discussion and explanation) and what motivated the authors to undertake the research.

III. Summary (maximum length: 2 pages)

In very simplistic, user-friendly language, explain everything that the study found (or did not find, as the case may be). Bring as little statistical jargon into this section as possible (with the possible exception of discussion of "significant" and "non-significant" findings). Instead, explain the results/major logical points of the study in everyday terms.

IV. Analysis (maximum length: 2 pages)

Quite simply, tell why the findings/conclusions of this study matter, state how things should or should not be done differently as a result of the study, and underscore the importance of the research to practitioners. Simply answer the question, "So what?"

V. Discussions/Implications (maximum length: 2 pages)

Tell who can use this article and the constructive things they can do with it and/or learn from it.