

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SPORT: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

by

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CHAPTER ONE

"God made woman inferior and put her under the sway of man out of 'kindness'. He did so to protect her from herself lest she should get into further trouble. God softens the blow further, by seeing to it that she liked her inferior position"

Chrysostom (in Keane, 1988: 7).

1. INTRODUCTION

In general, women are discriminated against in society. Women have traditionally been seen as family caretakers and throughout history their wishes have come second to those of men. Guided by these institutions and practices, discrimination against women and patriarchal forms of society have become, for the most, the norm. This discrimination is also evident when we look at the world of sport participation, coaching and sport management positions.

In the evolution of Western civilization, sport has been used to prepare men for battles and wars. Sport has generally been accepted as a passage into manhood that teaches competitiveness, self-discipline, sacrifice, teamwork and dedication. That is: values that facilitate access to power. This notion has contributed to the conventional view that these values are antithetical to the traditional roles of women.

When one studies and interprets any phenomenon, for example, the powerlessness of females and the domination of males in sport, it is necessary to realize that people are the products of a certain culture and social consciousness which are rooted in their present existence and in their past history (Volkogonov, 1986: 12). Cultural and social consciousness are part of social traditions, which means that females are concentrated in different occupations than males (Rytina & Bianchi, 1984: 11). Tradition has it that sport tends to exclude females, has a masculine image and appeals to comparatively fewer females than males (Birke & Vines, 1987: 337).

Knoppers (1992: 217) points out that it is difficult to focus on one social relation, for example, gender, and not bring it into relation with the other social relations with which it interacts, for example, tradition, education, custom, law, etiquette and the division of labour. According to her, the effect of gender and its connectedness to other social relations has to be kept in mind.

Choice and judgement, with regard to the selection and utilization of women in sport coaching and administration, are often due to unconscious acts on the part of men (Casey, 1992: 50) and are deeply rooted in the system of patriarchy and tradition (Jencks, 1989: 62). As a result of this

discrimination against women in sport, women managers and coaches are not utilized to their full potential and are underrepresented in executive sport positions.

There are definite stereotypical gender roles which come into play in sport. These roles determine the behaviour of those who fill them; for example, males are the managers and coaches and females are the assistant managers or chaperones. Women are not always aware that they fit into these stereotypical roles and in doing so, they are being discriminated against. This has a negative impact on them and society in general because they (women) are not utilised to their full potential in sport.

Sport plays a significant role in the lives of millions of people throughout the world, and as an important form of social activity, sport can and does affect the educational system, the economy and the social consciousness of people (Simon, 1985: 9). According to Volkogonov (1986: 13), the social consciousness and values of a nation are a combination of ideas, views and concepts that reflect social reality: for example, that females are viewed as subordinates and inferior to males in the context of sport. More specifically, and due to the fact that males look at females from this discriminatory and conservative viewpoint, it will be argued in this dissertation that these constraints have a negative influence on society (in

general) and sport (in particular) in that they limit the utilization of females in South African sport, particularly with reference to track and field positions.

Historically coaching has been an activity which was assumed to be part of the job of a physical education teacher, for which she received little or no pay. Fundamental changes are presently taking place in schools and teachers do not have clarity on whether sport is part of their responsibilities as teachers, or not.

In this study, the focus is on coaching and sport administration as full-time, paid occupations that have in the past been primarily dominated, and therefore defined, by men. Occupations within the field of sport usually form part of club structures, tertiary institutions and municipalities.

Discrimination in sport is evident in South Africa. If one compares the total number of active male and female coaches in South African athletics, it becomes self-evident that coaching is male-dominated. For example, the gender of the coaches and managers of provincial teams at the last four South African Junior and Senior Championships would illustrate this. Males have occupied a total of 136 positions as coaches and/or managers of provincial teams at the South African Junior Championships (track and field),

while only 35 females have been placed in equivalent or comparable positions. In South African senior athletics, the statistics are even more appalling. Only the former Transvaal province has appointed female coaches (ASA Junior and Senior Championships Programs, 1992 - 1995).

To understand why females play a limited role in decision-making and power-sharing positions, it is useful and necessary to study the phenomenon of male dominance in sport at universities and other athletics clubs in South Africa. Of the ten strongest athletics clubs in this country, only one club has a woman in charge of athletics. At Athletics South Africa, both the executive committee of the governing body and the track and field committee consist of males (ASA Official Handbook, 1994).

This results in a lack of role models for young females in sport and could possibly account for fewer females (half as many as males) participating at South African National Championships (1993, 1994 and 1995) (ASA Junior and Senior Championships Programs, 1991 - 1995). Likewise, the Track and Field squad for the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta consists of 16 athletes, 12 men and 4 women. The diminishing number of women participating at international level in South Africa is of great concern to the researcher (Rapport, 29 October, 1995: 25).

It could be said that Athletics South Africa may not be aware of the potential, inherent in women coaches and managers, that is being lost. For example, although female coaches have coached more national athletes and national recordholders in South Africa, they are not appointed national coaches or managers - men (regardless of their coaching results) are appointed in these posts. (Personal observation, 1980 - 1995).

According to Lemmer (1987: 213), the patriarchal authoritarian nature of South African society is linked to a rigid gender role differentiation. This is reflected by the fact that South African female coaches and administrators are involved in the administration and coaching of athletes, while males currently occupy the positions of power at schools, clubs, provincial and national level. Delano's research confirms (1988: 4, 5, 8, 9) that the same situation exists in American sport.

There is very little information available on the position of South African women in sport. One of the aims of this study is to explore the reasons for there being so few women in sport, and specifically with regard to track and field athletics. The lack of relevant information in itself is an indication of women being ignored in sport. Much of the literature relating to women (holding top-level positions in organizations) addressed their personal background and the

factors pertaining to "successful careering" (Barrax, 1985: 26). This literature mainly focused on women in business organizations while relatively little attention had been paid to women in sport. It is interesting to note that in **South African Women Today** (edited by Margaret Lessing and published in 1994) women's involvement within the new constitution, finance, education, health, the workplace, the home, science, art and religion is covered. Not a word of the involvement of women in sport is, however, mentioned.

The general aim of this study is to raise a series of important sociological and educational questions about the utilization of females in executive sport positions. It can therefore be said that this study is an exploratory one - that is, not only is this an initial attempt to look at these issues, but it also constitutes a continuation of data and potential sources of data - probably because of the lack of importance the issue of women in sport occupies on the agenda of Athletics South Africa.

There are also related factors which contribute to women not being involved to their full potential in sport coaching and administration. Fishwick (1988: 2), for example, suggests that with the increased pressure to win, fewer women want the responsibilities of being head coaches. Due to gender role differentiation, women tend to put home responsibilities before the increased job requirements of

coaching. Research done by Lirgg (1992: 169) on the work of Lenny provides interesting information regarding some females' lack of confidence to coach; they (female coaches) actually believe that males are better coaches than females. It is argued that a strategy to increase the number of women coaches and administrators must therefore include programmes on consciousness raising amongst women.

South African society is experiencing a formal phase of (and for some a traumatic) social, economic and political change. It may be argued that the structural changes that are taking place are more fundamental and thorough than in any previous era. They include a questioning of, and an attempt to reconstruct and reconstitute, the traditional gender roles of women in South Africa. Such fundamental changes are not easy. They entail, inter alia, the transformation of attitudes and traditions built up around the conventional role of females over many years (Van der Walt, 1986: 52, Prekel, 1994: 3 and Erwee, 1994: 35). Consequently, and in the light of the new constitutional dispensation in South Africa, issues such as the position of female coaches and administrators, together with the overall gender-bias ethos in sport are receiving increasing attention.

From the above discussion it is clear that society treats females in sport differently to males. The consequences of this is, for example, a generalized loss of potential in the

field of sport. The social importance of solving this problem is imperative for women in sport. They need to be made aware of the fact that they deserve the same opportunities, and must be able to exploit their talent as sportswomen to the same extent, as men.

1.2. PROBLEM FORMULATION

With the above in mind it becomes apparent that gender inequality in sport, its impact on gender relations and more specifically on female pupils and athletes in South Africa, needs to be urgently addressed.

The research problem may be subdivided into several contingent areas:

1.2.1. The origin of gender inequality. To answer this question, it is necessary to examine the position females hold in a patriarchal society.

1.2.2. Sport participation and administration illustrate the ways in which people have been "gendered" by societal practices and how females have been socially construed to be inferior. With this in mind, the reasons for women experiencing difficulty being successful in sporting careers will be researched.

1.2.3. The fact that female coaches and administrators are not part of the decision-making structures in, and processes of, Athletics South Africa will be investigated.

1.3. AIM OF THE RESEARCH

The aims of this research may be formulated as follows:

1.3.1. To provide a theoretical explanation of gender inequality in society and sport, that is a literature study of primary and secondary sources. This will be based on the theory of patriarchy as a foundation for the powerlessness of women in South African athletics.

1.3.2. To establish, via an analysis of the history of the involvement of women in international and South African sport, the reasons for sport being seen as "a man's world."

1.3.3. To examine the different variables which influence female coaches and administrators pursuing careers in sport. Specific attention shall be paid to the role that male dominance plays in sport.

1.3.4. To obtain top South African senior female coaches and administrators' views on the reasons for the lack of opportunities to coach and manage on a national level.

1.3.5. To suggest a strategy for improving the underrepresentation of females in South African sport. The incorporation of females into sport will make demands on the present sport system and the gender-ignorant viewpoint held by a patriarchal South African society. Some guidelines will be laid down for the improvement of opportunities for females in sport.

1.4. METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

Tracing the history of women in sport, worldwide and in South Africa, will assist one in understanding the present position of women in sport. Secondly, a qualitative research procedure was followed in an attempt to understand the experience of individuals. The findings are presented in everyday language (Lemmer, 1989: 128). This research method is not based on precise measurement and quantitative claims, but aims to understand phenomena in a way that do not require quantification.

A feminist perspective has been assumed throughout this study. The insights offered by liberal, social, and radical feminists shed light on basic questions such as the reasons for women finding themselves in a disadvantaged position in both society and sport.

1.5. CHAPTER DIVISION

In **chapter one** the research problem, as well as a general background to the study, is formulated. The aims and a brief overview of the methodology of the dissertation are presented.

Chapter two gives an overview of feminist explanations of male domination. The importance of the distinction between sex and gender and the term "patriarchy" are discussed.

The **third chapter** outlines gender in sport and provides a general history of the position of females in society and sport. The concepts "sports coach" and "administrator" are examined together with feminist explanations of factors which generally influence females' positions in sport.

In **chapters four and five** both the research methodology and the data obtained through a series of in-depth interviews are discussed. Conclusions are drawn in terms of the research findings and the theory provided in the initial chapters.

In **chapter six** a strategy is proposed whereby the position of women in Athletics South Africa could be addressed. This is regarded as being to the benefit of both women and sport, as it realizes the full potential of available talent and resources. In the **final chapter** concluding remarks regarding women in sport and this research are made.

CHAPTER TWO

"Women are irrational, that's all there is to that!
Their heads are full of cotton, hay and rags!
Why can't a woman be more like a man?
Men are honest, so thoroughly square;
Eternally noble, historically fair,
Who, when you win, will always give your back a pat?
Why can't a woman be like that?"

George Bernard Shaw
Song from **Pygmalion**: My Fair Lady
(Lovat, 1992: 77).

2. AN OVERVIEW OF FEMINIST EXPLANATIONS OF MALE DOMINATION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to provide a feminist perspective on sport. In doing so, it will incorporate theoretical debates on gender divisions and gender inequality. Via applying this view, or interpretation, of gender inequality to sport, it will be argued that women's subordination within sport is an extension of gender relations in society as a whole. Any attempt to understand the implications this holds for sport and women in society must therefore acknowledge the way sport is shaped by broader gender relations. The above understanding can only be achieved via an explicit feminist approach to interaction (Little, 1994: 3).

In sociology, concepts like paradigm, approach and perspective are used to indicate a specific way of viewing society. Similarly, one could argue that feminism as a perspective, share certain basic points of departure. Viljoen & Uys (1995: 105) suggest that these may include arguments concerning the importance of emphasizing women as people in their own right, rejecting cultural stereotypes of femininity and masculinity and defining women's liberation as the freedom of women as well as men to make choices which suit their personal circumstances and abilities.

Whether a person is born male or female is of major consequence to all aspects of his or her life, especially the expectations others have of the person and the manner in which others behave towards the person. Garrett (1987: 7) argues that this is true, no matter what society someone is born into. The consequences of heterosexual relationships and gender socialization will however, vary from society to society.

Before one can explore these theories, it is important to have a clear understanding of the concepts sex, gender and sexism.

2.2. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SEX, GENDER AND SEXISM

2.2.1. THE TERM "SEX"

The word "sex" is commonly used and generally refers to the physical differences between males and females. Likewise, for the purpose of this study, two sexes are recognized (male and female). This implies that the word "sex" refers to the biological differences between males and females (Ballaster et al., 1991: 28).

Giddens (1989: 198), refers to the usage of the word sex as in "the male sex," "the female sex," as well as the "sexual act." The terms "man" and "woman" are used by society to refer to the biological differences between humans.

Developments have taken place within social and cultural theory concerning the meaning of the category "woman". Stacey (1993: 64) suggests that "woman," as a category, is regarded as a "constantly shifting signifier of multiple meanings." If a woman wishes to embark on a career, she is faced with two major obstacles in her progress. Firstly, male managers discriminate against women applicants. This occurs partly because of the belief that 'women are not genuinely interested in a career, as they are likely to leave the work-force once they begin a family'. Secondly,

even today, women are often effectively forced to choose between a career and having children (Giddens, 1989: 234).

Some feminists, for example socialist and postmodern feminists, have found this explanation useful in their analysis of the social and cultural construction of what it means to be a woman in a patriarchal society. Within this, they do not assume "woman" to be a given category of feminist analysis.

It is important to note that although females have not been excluded from sport activities in the past, their participation, as athletes, administrators and coaches, has been limited. They have rather been encouraged to assume supportive roles as cheerleaders and chaperones (who act as "mothers" and in a supportive role to the male manager). Moreover the majority of women who have seriously pursued sport, have been labeled as "mannish" and "unfeminine" by society (Renzetti & Curran, 1989: 307). Sebastian Coe, himself a world-class athlete, refers to top women athletes as "superwomen" because of the physical changes they undergo in order to perform at an international level. He, however, never refers to top sportsmen as supermen (Coe, 1992: 63).

For the purpose of this study, the distinction between sex and gender in sport is fundamental. Differences between

males and females are not only regarded as biological in origin, but are also socially and culturally constructed.

2.2.2. THE TERM "GENDER"

In order to adequately understand the goals of feminist theory, one must firstly consider its central subject matter, namely gender. It will become clear that gender can no longer be treated as one of a number of variables that may affect performance (like age, height and weight), or as an issue concerned with sexual differences in performance capabilities, or even as a problem of the inequitable distribution of resources, opportunities, and experiences among females and males. Hall (in Messner & Sabo, 1990: 75) rather suggests that gender is a socially and historically constructed set of power relations. It is, however, becoming increasingly difficult to sort out precisely what this means.

The term "gender" was originally utilized by feminists who were concerned with the biological overtones of the word "sex." Gender is a concept that identifies the social difference between males and females as social beings, and the social meaning of what is important to being a male or female (Moser & Peake, 1987: 6; Showalter, 1989: 2; Finke, 1992: 193). This suggests that all social forms are

"gendered," with inescapable consequences for everyday life (Oakley & Callaway, 1992: 34).

The gender of a person is culturally and socially constructed. Wickham (1986: 2) and Crotty (1992: 74) argue that the social meaning of gender is intimately related to the issue of culture. This in turn reflects the values, norms, customs and roles of any society and, therefore, the everyday life of people. Bauman (1991: 157) states that gender is the culturally produced social differences between men and women. In other words, the differences between males and females which are learnt through socialization.

Gender guides how males and females think about themselves, how they interact with one another, what expectations they have of themselves and of the opposite gender, and the positions they occupy in society. Macionis (1992: 233) stresses that gender depicts how a society defines the humanity of its people and confers power on each of the sexes.

According to Eisenstein (1984: 7), gender is the cultural and social "cluster" of expectations, attributes and behaviours assigned by society to the category of human being (male or female) which the child is born into. Parents of infants treat their children differently according to their gender (Howarth, 1988: 87). Worchel

et al. (1990: 382) suggest that, by the age of three or four, children have already developed an idea of their gender. This is assumed as being due to parental and environmental expectations being imposed onto them. As a result, they describe gender as "the tendency for both females and males to ascribe differences in personality and function to a difference in sex."

Gender may, therefore, be regarded as a social concept which refers to the nature of the relationships between men and women, and the way these relationships are socially constructed (Moser & Peake, 1987: 6).

Little (1994: 21) describes the categories of "male and masculine" and "female and feminine" as different, but "essentially equal". Abercrombie et al. (1988: 103) suggest that the principal theoretical and political issue is whether gender as a socially constructed phenomenon is related to or determined by biology.

According to Witz and Savage (1992: 31) the gender paradigm is embedded in the power relations of bureaucracy. This is normally associated with male dominance, which suggests that power is embedded in gender relations in the form of male dominance and female subordination. For example, in the nineteenth century various medical theories suggested that

the female personality was determined by anatomy and the woman's reproductive functions.

Males and females play different roles in society, with gender differences being shaped by ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, cultural and economic factors (Moser & Peake, 1987: 7). These gender roles are a major source of social inequality (Van der Zanden, 1990: 213). They lead to the formation of gender schemata, a complex of beliefs and expectations concerning the behaviour of males and females (Worchel et al., 1990: 383; Howarth, 1988: 87).

Gender schemata are generally used as a model to evaluate people as successful or not (Worchel et al., 1990: 385) and to establish the framework within which males and females gain their identities and formulate their goals (Van der Zanden, 1990: 210). An example of this would be the labelling of females as assistants, and not as coaches and managers in charge of sport teams. This implies that females are viewed as not competitive or competent enough to be part of the decision-making process in sport. As a result of this patriarchal view of society, sport is dominated by males while females have to be prepared to fit into the male sport world according to rules set by males.

According to Brunette et al. (1991: 6), a woman's identity makes a political statement about gender conditioning,

patriarchy and oppression. Likewise, expectations set for coaches and administrators are the direct result of the models set by males. These models are inappropriate as they do not cater for the needs of females as females are evaluated by norms set by the decision-making males.

It may be concluded that gender is a human invention, which serves to organize human social life in culturally patterned ways. The understanding people have of gender organizes social relations in everyday life as well as within the major social structures, such as sport. The social reproduction of gender relations in individuals reproduces the gender societal structure; as individuals act out gender norms and expectations in face-to-face interaction, they construct gender systems of dominance and power (Libra, 1994: 6). Bullock et al. (1988: 348) suggest that gender is "an idiom for talking about the relationship between nature and culture," and has to be understood within a social context.

For the purpose of this study, gender refers to the culturally produced social differences between men and women. These differences are unequal in nature and serve as a basis for discrimination.

2.2.3. SEXISM

Sexism is an unconscious system of beliefs, attitudes and behaviour in which distinctions are made between people on the grounds of their biological sex and gender roles (Bullock et al., 1988: 774).

The sexist consciously or unconsciously regards women as being innately inferior in areas of significant importance in society, for example sport (Bullock et al., 1988: 775). In practice the term, although not the phenomenon, tends to be restricted to one-way attitudes only, that is, to male sexism. Aberdeen and Naisbitt (1988: 148) suggest that each time sexist language is used, male domination is made legitimate. The aggressive form of sexism known as "male chauvinism," is a paradigm which explicates an assumed innate male supremacy in all the most important areas (decided by men) of activity (with the possible exception of child-rearing), accompanied by a predisposition to treat women as inferior to men within a patriarchal society (Bullock, et al., 1988: 775).

The aim of the next section is to highlight the existence of patriarchy in all societies, and to understand why the concept of patriarchy is essential in theorizing about woman's oppression.

2.3. FEMINISM AND PATRIARCHY

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, that Thou hast not made me a woman"

Daily Prayer of Hebrew males

(in Miles, 1989: 81).

The term patriarchy describes the authority and control exercised by men over women. Patriarchy is a feminist concept generally used to refer to what is perceived to be a "fundamental and universal state of male dominance" (Bullock et al., 1988: 632). Similarly, Abercrombie et al. (1988: 181) argue that patriarchy refers to social, not natural relations. Patriarchy literally means "the rule of the fathers" (Macionis, 1992: 233).

Patriarchy, in one form or another, is universal. Giddens (1989: 169) suggests that the most likely explanation lies in the fact that women give birth to and nurse children. The helplessness of the human infant demands that initial care is intensive and prolonged, and because of this, women are primarily absorbed in domestic activities. Men are not dominant over women as a result of superior physical strength, or special intellectual powers, but because, especially prior to the development of birth control, women were at the mercy of their biological constitution which often made them dependent on the material sustenance that males provided.

Renzetti and Curran (1989: 3) describe patriarchy as a sex/gender system in which males dominate females and in which masculine is more highly valued than that which is considered feminine. They stress that patriarchy does not benefit all groups of men equally, just as some groups of women are more institutionally disadvantaged than others.

Patriarchy is both a state of affairs (that is, men control social institutions) and an ideology (beliefs and attitudes organized around central values embedded in languages). This view is deriving from the work of the French psychoanalyst and structuralist, Jacques Lacan, who argues that a society's culture is dominated by the symbol of the phallus (Bullock et al., 1988: 632).

Patriarchy is, secondly, based on the nature of the family (men are traditionally the providers), which highlights the understanding of the nature of male supremacy. Patriarchy focuses upon the place of women both in public (in the workplace) and in private (in the home).

In addition to the obvious costs to females, for example, the lack of the opportunity to held certain positions higher up in the hierarchy of sport, sexism and patriarchy burden society by stunting the talents and abilities of females (as sport coaches and administrators). Men are also at the

receiving end of sexism as it compels them to relentlessly seek control - not only over women, but of themselves and the world. It may be argued that these impossible goals cause men to suffer from stress, heart attacks and other diseases that result in a higher death rate among males of all ages (Macionis, 1992: 234). Cock (1991: 26) suggests that men, as well as women, are disadvantaged by the prescribed pattern of gender relations - masculinity is constructed and inscribed in structures of power and domination and society expects them (males) to adhere to it.

The subordination of women under patriarchy is a complex matter in society. Within sport there is no simple solution to the dominance of males. As Eisenstein (1984: 14) suggests, the rule of men evolved through the continued reproduction of an ideology that reinforced the separation of male and female roles.

Despite the general lack of recognition of gender issues in sport, by the late 1970's feminists (such as Dorothy Harris, Ann Hall, Susan Greendorfer, Mary Duquin, Susan Birrell and others) in academia began to develop a multifaceted analysis of women, gender, and sex inequality in sport (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 2).

It is relatively straightforward to understand why patriarchy should prevail in society. Waters (1989a: 195)

however questions if it should be as persistent in a context where women are both formally free and educated? The answer, lies in the fact that men practice an unspoken 'sexual politics' - they engage in 'power-structured relationships or arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another" (Waters, 1989a: 205). This argument may be regarded as liberating, in light of the fact that if patriarchy is seen to be a construction, it is possible for women to engage in a political struggle which aims at the reconstruction of gender arrangements.

2.4. FEMINISM AND SPORT

There appear to be three major themes emerging within the feminist paradigm. The first is the role of sport, physical activity, and physical education in the social reproduction of gender and gender relations. This includes the production of media images (usually negative) of women in sport; the social reproduction of gender in physical education programs; the relationship of sport and physical education to young women's subcultures and the ways in which sport is an important cultural sphere where meanings of masculinity and femininity are produced, reproduced, presented, and acted upon. The second theme focuses attention on the empowering of women through the empowerment of their bodies. This theme ranges over several topics

including power, physicality, and sexuality. It is not very extensive as yet, but is extremely important because of the very-long-standing hegemonic control men have had over women's bodies. Thirdly, sport becomes the paragon of body-subject. Patriarchal culture has defined woman as 'other' or object, more specifically body-object. What follows for women and sport is that a culture which defines sport as body-subject and woman as body-object forces an incompatibility between women and sport. As a result, women are excluded from the symbols, practices, and institutions of sport, or, if they do participate, the event is not considered to be true sport or they are not viewed as real women (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 235).

If the nature and function of sport as an institution is to be understood, the hegemonic nature of male domination and female subordination as reflected in economic status, ethnic concepts and gender formations, needs to be discussed. Patriarchal hegemony is reinforced by processes such as gender discrimination, the nature of the definition of gender roles by society, and the patterns of the distribution of power (Miner, 1993: 44). For example, according to Renzetti and Curran (1989: 6), power is the ability of one person to impose his/her will on others. Consequently, it may be argued that the most powerful members of society are usually those who control money, property and the means of physical force.

Society usually views sport as a male institution, not just in the numerical sense, but also on the field and in organizational hierarchies. Whitson (1990: 20) argues that, as a direct result of this male sport institution, society helps to confirm patterns of male privilege and female subordination, resulting in the absence of women at different levels of sport management. An interesting example of the confirmation of patterns of male dominance, is to be found in one of South Africa's leading bookshops, Central News Agency (CNA). It sells sport magazines and books under the heading "male interests". Under the section titled "female interests" the subjects are cooking, beauty, needlework, diets and interior decorating.

If one studies the participation of pupils in school sport, (to reflect why more boys than girls are supposed to be interested in sport), it reveals social relationships encouraged by teachers' attitudes that are unofficial and sometimes unintentional, yet have an effect on school learning (Crotty, 1992: 74). Skelton (1993: 333) refers to this as the "channeling of children into gender-stereotyped areas" in the form of a "hidden" curriculum. Schwart (1991: 45) suggests that because of this hidden curriculum, there is no value-free curriculum. This implies that the manner in which various sports are portrayed in schools, reveals the values and beliefs of males and has a lasting impact on the

way children view their roles in sport activities as adults. In the majority of South African schools the head of sport is usually male and an all male sport, for example, rugby, soccer and cricket, gets more publicity, support and financial assistance than female and mixed sports, for example, athletics.

The above phenomena leads to people having lower expectations of females in sport activities, which results in females learning to be "helpless" in sport. This in turn produces passivity, negative expectations and reduced aggression and competitiveness in females (Weiller & Higgs, 1989: 65). Due to these factors, males have more opportunity to dominate sport (Clabaugh, 1986: 128).

The preceding discussion covers issues that are of concern to this study. In the following discussion this chapter (see 2.6.) hopes to demonstrate that feminist theories have conflicting explanations for what they regard as women's oppression.

2.5. FEMINIST THEORIES - A BRIEF OVERVIEW

"As I sat watching Everyman at the Charterhouse
I said to myself, why not Everywoman?"

George Bernard Shaw

(in Miles, 1989: 219).

Human beings reflect the need to place value on things - on themselves as well as on the people, actions, or objects around themselves. Plato spoke of *thymos*, or "spiritedness". *Thymos* is similar to the innate human sense of justice. People believe that they have a certain worth, and when other people act as though they are worth less - when they do not recognize their worth at its correct value - it engenders anger (Fukuyama, 1992: 165). This anger may occur when an individual is a member of a class of people that perceive themselves as being treated unjustly, for example, a feminist on behalf of herself, or of all women.

According to Abercrombie et al. (1988: 96), feminism is a set of principles suggesting that women are systematically disadvantaged in modern society and advocating equal opportunities for men and women. Feminist sociologists (for example, Abercrombie, Outhwaite & Bottomore and Bullock et al.) have argued that sociologists have neglected the sociological significance of women in all areas of the subject.

When the feminist movement started in 1960, feminist objectives centered around the struggle for women's control over their own bodies, and their protection from violent men. Feminist history has not only provided new information about women, but with regard to the family, private and public issues (Bullock et al., 1988: 315). Though there have been different focal points throughout history, the twentieth century is largely concerned with feminist "separatism" and the relationship between feminism, socialist thought and politics.

The evolution of feminism has not been without difficulties. One of the reasons for this could be that women have raised a wide range of issues, across a broad spectrum of sexual, social, economic, and political fields (Eisenstein, 1984: 138). The term "feminism" has negative connotations to some, bringing to mind images of liberal 1960s demonstrations by women. To others, feminism is a belief that each individual is a valuable human being in his or her own right (Karsten, 1994: 4).

According to Garrett (1987: 1), the term "feminist" describes a person who argues that women should be recognized as individuals in their own right, and refuses to accept that the domination of men is natural. Feminists believe that women's lives have intrinsic worth. Feminist

sociology can therefore be seen as a reaction to the very nature of society as rooted in male domination.

The outcome of male domination has been that women's lives have usually been ignored by sociologists, unless the area of investigation is the family. Ritzer (1988: 402) suggests that feminists attempt to answer two central questions, namely: "What about the woman, and why then is all this as it is?" These two questions have produced a theory of "universal importance for sociology."

Tong (1992: 238), on the other hand, states that feminist thought has a beginning but no end, and it permits women to think their own thoughts to set them free. Stanley and Weis (1990: 20) define feminist research as a focus on women in research carried out by women (who are feminists) for other women. Feminism is a set of ideas linked to a social movement for change (Bullock et al., 1988: 313).

According to Cowly (1992: 335), the feminist aim is to produce a woman-centered understanding of the world. This understanding could highlight the falseness of male-centered theories' which claim universality and objectivity. Stanley and Weis (1983: 195) declare that when woman are the subject of feminist research, the indignation on one's own behalf extends to the class as a whole and engenders feelings of solidarity.

There are general concepts that mark all feminist forms. All feminist ideologies question, for example, the status quo regarding society and women's roles. Similarly, feminists do not support so-called masculine behaviours, such as dominance, at the expense of supposedly feminine behaviours, such as compassion. Feminism rejects cultural images of women as weak or incompetent, but affirms their ability to be strong and intelligent. Both sexes may be feminists; the term refers to a belief system, rather than to traits that have been labeled as feminine (Karsten, 1994: 4).

Eichler (1988: 3) suggests that there has never been a society where gender favouritism has not played a role, and moving towards a gender-free world is comparable to trying to comprehend a dimension that society has not yet experienced. It can be described in theoretical terms, but it is impossible to fully appreciate its nature until society is able to lift itself out of its current confining parameters. Then, and then only, will society become aware of gender-free research.

Bhavnani (1993: 45) suggests that because women have a variety of relationships with men, ranging from attempts at absolute separatism to working together with them, "feminism" has taken on the mantle of being universal and

specific. For Bhavnani, feminism is a political theory and practice that challenges sexualised, gendered, racialised and economic control over women through ideology and politics.

According to Messner & Sabo (1990: 3) the full impact that feminism is capable of making, is still to be felt by women in society. The marginalization of feminist theory is due both to the institutionalized sexism built into the larger disciplines and to the shortcomings of feminist theory itself.

A large part of the struggle lies in the need to come to grips with internal political differences within feminist theory itself. Donovan (1985: 25) identifies six distinct schools of feminist theory: liberal feminism, cultural feminism, socialist feminism, psychoanalytic feminism, existentialist feminism, and radical feminism. Tong (1992: 223) adds a seventh category: postmodern feminism. Though there are important points of overlap, there are often conflicting viewpoints between these various perspectives. In general the major conflict occurs between liberal feminism and variations of radical or socialist feminism. These have emerged serially and now present some difficult theoretical and practical choices.

2.5.1. LIBERAL FEMINISM (THEORY OF UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY)

Liberal feminism is a direct descendant of 'Enlightenment thought' wherein political philosophers argued that individuals possessed certain inherent rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Nineteenth-century women such as Sarah Grimke (1970) and Mary Wollstonecraft (1975), as well as men like John Mill (1970), argued that women have the same basic rights as men (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 3).

Liberal feminism does not assert itself with regard to fundamental gender differences and accepts masculine criteria of performance and success. Waters (1989b: 947) suggests that liberal feminism corresponds closely with construction and theories of closure.

Women's rights activists stressed the similarities between the sexes, included a fundamental individualism, and pushed for equal opportunity for women in education, government and the economy (Stacey in Richardson and Robinson, 1993: 52). In the late 1960s and into the 1970s, this liberal individual rights and equal opportunity agenda was taken up by the mainstream of the modern feminist movement (especially in the United States and Europe). In the 1980s, the language of individual rights continued to dominate most discussions of gender politics, from abortion to sport

participation (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 3). Their practical importance may be found in the removal of formal and informal barriers to participation.

2.5.2. RADICAL FEMINISM (THEORY OF DIFFERENCE)

Radical feminists criticize liberal feminists for their emphasis on individual equal rights, especially to the extent that liberals tend to uncritically assume that our social system is fairly harmless. To the contrary, radical feminists argue that equal opportunity for women within the present society is impossible, because the system itself is fundamentally patriarchal in structure (Ritzer, 1988: 424). Radical feminists regard the original oppression of women by men in the patriarchal family as a prototype of other forms of oppression that exist in sexual relationships, class and race relations, and political and economic institutions (Tong, 1992: 95).

Radical feminism suggests that there are fundamental structures of difference which are reflected in men and women's performances. Men are regarded as dominating woman because their subjectivities and performances are orientated towards power and materialism - assertions which will always succeed over emotionality (Water, 1989b: 949).

Theorists like Kate Millett (1970) and Mary Daly (1978) argue that women's domination is controlled both by force and through the socialization of both sexes to patriarchal ideologies (Jagger & Rothenberg, 1984: 297). Radical feminists advocate the destruction of patriarchal ideologies and the abandonment of hierarchal, patriarchal institutions and relationships - not "equal opportunity" for women within these oppressive structures (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 3).

2.5.3. SOCIALIST FEMINISM (THEORY OF UNEQUAL POWER)

Like radical feminists, socialist feminists are very critical of liberals' emphasis on individual equal rights and their generally uncritical stance toward the existing social structure (Karsten, 1994: 4).

This view opposes liberal feminism by arguing that it is impossible to take advantage of opportunities where one does not have the potential to do so, where patriarchy holds a vice-like grip on one's consciousness. Socialist feminism regards society as organized to prevent feminine equality due to masculine self-interest or because such an arrangement functions in the service of capitalism (Waters, 1989: 948).

In particular, socialist feminists believe equality for women cannot be achieved within a capitalist system (Miner,

1993: 44). Socialist feminists however, go beyond traditional Marxism by arguing (based on observations of the persistence of patriarchy in "socialist" societies such as Cuba and China), that the establishment of socialism is necessary (but not sufficient) for the establishment of freedom and equality for women (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 4). They draw from the radical feminist conception of patriarchy and ground it in a Marxian historical materialism (Tong, 1992: 175).

Socialist feminists argue that capitalism transformed patriarchy in fundamental ways, especially in the creation of a gendered public/domestic split. Understanding (and acting to overcome) women's oppression then means developing a "dual systems" theory that highlights the consistent, sometimes contradictory ways that capitalism and patriarchy interact (Eisenstein, 1984: 128). The only practical solution to female inequality is, therefore, a general social revolution.

2.6. INTEGRATION OF FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

Within feminist sport studies there has been an uneasy coexistence between theoretical forms of feminism. Liberal feminists, have argued for, and have partially achieved, greater opportunities for women in sport. Radical and socialist feminists have developed extensive historical and

theoretical critiques of the deeply gendered structure and values in the sports world. These feminists argue that because sport is an important institution in the construction of patriarchy (or capitalist patriarchy), women may be contributing to their own oppression by uncritically participating in this institution rather than attempting to transform it or to construct alternative feminist sports structures (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 4).

The move towards theories of difference places feminist theory in somewhat of a dilemma. To accept that there are fundamental gender differences provides continued legitimacy for patriarchal domination, where as to deny that these differences exist is to accept masculine cultural definitions. One may therefore say that feminist theory is extremely diverse, and there is little consensus on which, if any, theory is "best". The theoretical basis of the different feminist perspectives is, however, alive with more or less the same debate: to understand the determinants of women's oppression.

For the purposes of this dissertation at least two points need to be highlighted. Firstly, a combination of liberal feminist theory, as well as radical and/or socialist feminist perspectives, is used as foundation for this dissertation. Secondly, although the researcher does not wish to minimize the important differences that exist

between liberal feminism and its radical and socialist counterparts, it will be suggested that a pragmatic and useful approach on all three theories is possible. For example, radical and socialist feminist sport scholars have argued that the dominant forms that sport has taken, have served to exclude women from public life and has supported the construction of women's subordinate status in domestic life. Liberal feminists on the other hand, have been fairly successful at gaining increased funding, more programmes and therefore greater opportunities and social legitimacy for female athletes in a lot of countries. (South Africa cannot be included in the latter category - personal observation 1978 - 1995.)

If it is indeed true, as feminist scholars have argued, that sport participation prepares males for participation in public life (Karsten, 1994: 4), it could then be expected that increased female athleticism will result in a sense of empowerment and increased self-actualization for women in sport. This could mean that women in sport might become a means of women challenging the gendered public/domestic split that is an important basis of men's continued power and privilege over women.

Liberal feminists are bringing about actual changes that may serve as the basis for more fundamental, radical transformations. Social reform can be enhanced by radical

feminists' visions. The essential point is, that radical and liberal feminists in sport could benefit, as Garrett (1987: 1) suggests, from increased dialogue regarding social change.

It is important to note that the researcher does not wish to minimize the depth of the differences between these various feminists, but rather views them as "converging" within the sociology of sport. Many liberal feminists are not ignorant of the need for fundamental transformations in sport and other social institutions. Radical and socialist feminists are supportive of what are clearly liberal changes (Messier & Saab, 1990: 6). From the researcher's perspective, if changes want to be achieved within the sports world of South Africa, efforts must be underpinned by a broad eclectic and pragmatic feminist theory.

It is important to understand that a movement away from theories of patriarchy towards more inclusive theories that analyze the relationships between various forms of domination in sport, together with a movement away from an essentially static sex-role paradigm towards a more dynamic conceptualization of gender, is necessary in South African sport. It could be argued that a key element of these shifts in feminist theory involves the concrete critical examination of the role of men and women in sport. The researcher suggests that all efforts aimed towards athletic

reform within new athletics structures, should be based on a broad, critical feminist theory.

Sport must recognise the contribution it has made towards fostering historical patterns of male empowerment and female disadvantage. In turn, feminist analysis seeks to explain the role of sport in the reproduction and/or transformation of contemporary relations between and within the sexes. Such relational questions have more far-reaching significance, both theoretical and in practice. Feminists should also put pressure on the political sphere in order to motivate them to equally include women in sport.

2.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In light of the above it may be concluded that liberal, radical and socialist perspectives alone cannot adequately describe the situation of women in sport in South Africa. Explanations for the situation of women in sport must take into account the context of women and power in sport organizations. Officially, through the ideology of equal human rights and policy measures, South Africa promotes gender balance in development. This may create avenues through which important modifications to the positions of women in sport might occur.

From the very beginning the institution of sport was constituted as an exclusive arena of male experience in which male dominance was accepted by men and women as "natural." It could be said that the fact that women were essentially excluded from sport research, reflects that sport sociologists regarded sport as a male activity, and not as a female or human activity. This outlook on sport (concerning the fundamental relationship between sport and the social construction of gender) results in a very incomplete analysis of the historical and contemporary importance and meaning of sport.

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CHAPTER THREE

3. GENDER, PATRIARCHY AND WOMEN IN SPORT

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the discussion on the essential elements of different feminist theories and concepts provides a background to understanding the oppression that women experience in society, and more specifically in sport.

In particular, the aim of this chapter is to examine factors that have been, and still are, used to oppress women and women's access to positions of power within sport. More specifically, chapter three will examine a feminist perspective on the implications which gender socialization, gender stereotypes and gender subjectivity has on women in sport.

Knoppers (1992: 221) suggests that the norm used by people for coaching sport is that of white heterosexual men. To support this, it is interesting to examine the results of a detailed questionnaire that was sent to all International Amateur Athletics Federation member countries in 1989. One of the sections dealt with athletics coaching and administration for women. The results of this section may be summarised as follows:

TABLE 3.1. COACHING AND ADMINISTRATION FOR WOMEN IN
ATHLETICS (WITHIN IAAF COUNTRIES).

COUNTRIES THAT COMPLETED THE QUESTIONNAIRE	RESULTS
85%	No female coach at national level.
55%	Suggests that a female coach has a lower status than her male counterparts.
30%	Male and female coaches have equal status.
39%	No female coaches.
9%	Have three to six national female coaches.
6%	Have more than thirty national female coaches.

(Anders, 1989: 35, 36).

The fact that only 15% of all the member countries of the International Amateur Athletic Federation who completed the questionnaire, have any female coaches on a national level, reflects clearly that athletics (track and field) is male-dominated in both administration and coaching. Moreover, the female coaches in 55% of the mentioned countries have a lower status than their male counterparts.

In the United States of America a study by Acosta and Carpenter (1992: 36) has shown that at universities and high

schools the number of female coaches is lower than that of males and is on the decline every year. Table 2 reflects that the percentage of female coaches at educational institutions in the United States have declined from 52,3% in 1977/78 to 19,6% twelve years later.

TABLE 3.2. FEMALE COACHES AT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE US (TOTAL INCLUDES MALE AND FEMALE COACHES) .

YEAR	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE COACHES
1977/78	52,3%
1989/90	19,6%

In a similar study in Australia, Dyer (1988: 30) found that the utilization of females in sport coaching and administration is insufficient and that female coaches are not "seriously" incorporated into the structure of coaching and sport administration. The same situation faces female coaches and administrators in New Zealand (Simpson, 1988: 4). Likewise, according to Eglin (1990: 46), the female coaches and administrators in Britain are not given "a sporting chance."

The following information concerning females in coaching within the South African context has been obtained from the official handbooks of Athletics South Africa (1993 - 1994).

TABLE 3.3. COMPARISON OF MEN AND WOMEN ON THE ATHLETIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF DIFFERENT PROVINCES IN 1993 AND 1994.

YEAR PROVINCE	1993		1994	
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN
BORDER	5	36	4	35
GRIQUALAND WEST	6	44	6	45
NATAL	8	20	8	21
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL	3	23	3	23
EASTERN TRANSVAAL	1	23	1	22
ORANGE FREE STATE	6	20	5	21
TRANSVAAL	10	41	9	42
WESTERN PROVINCE	10	42	11	40
TOTAL	49	249	47	249

Women occupy the positions of secretaries or additional members on provincial executive bodies which control athletics. In some provinces, for example the former

Northern Transvaal, women only fulfil the position of secretaries on the executive. It is therefore, the exception, and not the rule, for women to hold the position of vice-chairpersons or selectors (Transvaal). Similarly, if the total number of management positions are compared, women are by far in the minority.

It is also interesting to note that there has never been a female manager in charge of a South African national track and field team. Females have been in charge of cross-country and roadrunning teams, but never of a national track and field team. In 1993 a national female coach was appointed for the first time in the history of South African athletics. The same woman was appointed again for the same position in 1994 (Personal observation, 1993 - 1994).

From the official programme of the national Junior Athletics Championships (1991 - 1994), it is interesting to note that only Kwazulu Natal appoints a female manager on a regular basis; the other provinces appoint males as chief managers and females as assistant managers. The athletics office of Kwazulu Natal was contacted to find out the reason for appointing a women as manager of their provincial teams. The answer was that "she was put in the position and did a good job - that is why she is still in the position." One may deduce that if women are allowed the opportunity to prove themselves in management positions, they may change

the stereotypical thinking regarding their abilities. This "change of attitude" may explain the fact that 28% of Kwazulu Natal's management positions in sport are filled by women (See table 3.3).

Gender, sport and the factors which influence the utilization of females to their full potential in sport, is a very contemporary problem. The history of women's participation in sport coaching and administration offers significant insights into the problems women face today.

3.2. HISTORY OF FEMALES IN SPORT

It is interesting to note that the social history of sport as we know it today, is not the natural, universal, and transhistorical physical activity forms they are commonly thought to be, played in roughly the same way by all peoples in all periods of human history.

Before the present gender order in sport can be understood, the historical background, which has resulted in women being labeled as "inferior" to men in sport, needs to be systematically analysed. Messner and Sabo (1990: 17) make the interesting and useful suggestion that sport must not be viewed as an area of gender relations on its own. They argue that economic structures, urbanization, race relations

and nationalism are important aspects of the structure and ideology of organized sport.

3.2.1. GENERAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By modern standards, what were called sport in the athletics of classical Greece were extremely violent. The combative events, the most popular contests, were conducted with little concern for fairness or safety. Although the Greeks had the technology to measure records in the running, jumping, and throwing events, they rarely did so: performance for itself - pursuing a personal best despite one's placing - was meaningless to them (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 34).

The ancient Olympic Games were also bound up with the prevailing system of power. To be sure, the Games stood above city-state rivalries, enabling all free Greeks to compete. The 'Olympic truce' was one of their most ingenious accomplishments (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 35). But practically and symbolically, athletics heavily reinforced gender and class domination. The classical Greek citizen's wealth and culture largely depended upon the exploitation of women and slaves. Even when athletic training became specialized and lost its direct connection to military skill, the Games celebrated the subjection of women and

slaves at the level of ideology by excluding them from eligibility and the glory of victory.

Armed with this insight about the social specificity of physical activity forms, one can look closer at the rising voice of feminism in sport. In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft proclaimed in her **Vindication of the Rights of Women**: "... I wish to persuade women to endeavor to acquire strength, both of mind and body. Let us then by being allowed to take the same exercise as boys ... arrive at perfection of the body, that we may know how far the natural superiority of man extends" (in Park & Hult, 1993: 35).

In 1873, as women were beginning to gain access to higher education and being allowed to enroll for certain university courses for example, courses in languages, Dr. Edward Clarke's **Fair Change for Girls** started an acrimonious debate. According to Clarke "both muscular and brain labor must be reduced at the onset of menstruation" as females were thought to be "periodically weakened" by menstruation. This notion has remarkable tenacity in the beliefs and attitudes of people. Historically, biology was used by males to reinforce this dogma: As the "red corpuscles in a millimeter of male blood ... were five million compared to four million five hundred thousand in a female." It was then concluded (by men in general) that a woman's capacity for intellectual and physical tasks was limited. In spite of

repeated examples of extraordinary physical and intellectual feats on the part of women, this unfounded assertion was repeatedly evoked (Park & Hult, 1993: 36).

In 1889 Henry W. Slocum for example argued in his book titled **Lawn Tennis as a Game for Women** that custom prevented women from enjoying the same range of sport as men. Clearly such notions prevented women from doing sport. **The American Gynecological and Obstetrical Journal** (1890) referred to women as "the hampered sex" due to their biology. The same opinion regarding the capabilities of females in sport has extended well into the twentieth century. In his textbook on **The Glands Regulating Personality** (hormones), Dr Louis Berman in 1892 sketched unflattering images of "adrenaltypes" women, who were beginning to command "responsible executive positions and high salaries" (Park & Hult, 1993: 35).

In 1897 Baron Pierre de Coubertin revived the concept of the ancient Olympics, preserving a 'males only' definition thereof. According to de Coubertin, females would destroy the decorum of sport meetings. He defined the Games as "... the solemn and periodic exaltation of male athleticism with internationalism as the base, loyalty as a means, art for its setting, and female applause as reward" (Biles, 1984: 64).

In 1900, women were allowed to compete in the Olympic Games. In 1928 the United States, together with a few other nations, sent a women's track and field team to the Olympics for the first time. Distorted reports about women collapsing at the finish of the 800m run caused this event to be banned till the 1960 Olympic Games, and gave enormous impetus to those who argued against the participation of women in track and field.

In 1932 the American women opposed participation in the 1936 Olympics and the powerful notion of "play for play's sake" for women in sport was initiated (Park & Hult, 1993: 39). This meant that women were better off playing sport for enjoyment than for competitive purposes. Society at large felt, in other words, that women were too weak to be expected to master the aggressiveness and endurance required of champions in sport.

One legacy of the above pattern of development is the well-known distributive problem - the significant inequalities that continue to plague females seeking sporting opportunities and careers (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 36). This results in the effect of sport being relational - sport perpetuate the patriarchy by powerfully reinforcing the division of labour. By giving males exciting opportunities (for example the World Cup for rugby, cricket and soccer), preaching that the qualities males learn from sports are

masculine, and preventing girls and women from learning in the same context, sport confirm the prejudice that males are a breed apart.

3.2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WOMEN IN SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Cock (1991: 29) suggests that in South African society "tradition" is often used as a means of justifying gender inequality. It is a pattern which is rooted deep in South Africa's history, indigenous as well as colonial. That is, the European communities from which the white settlers came, as well as the indigenous societies of Southern Africa, were male-dominated and patriarchal. In pre-colonial Africa the majority of women were subordinated to male authority.

During the 1920s and 1970s women persisted in their endeavour to participate in sport. Males continued to exclude women from their own games and contests, requiring women to play on a sex-segregated basis with inferior resources. Organizers have also tried to confine females to those sports believed to enhance middle- and upper-class concepts of femininity, such as swimming, tennis and gymnastics, and to devise 'girls' rules' to discourage the ambitious and aggressive play expected of boys and men (Cock, 1991: 350).

As has been suggested South African women are under-represented in sport. In 1921 a South African Universities Championships was initiated. It was only in 1947, however, that females were allowed to compete in these championships (Joubert, 1985: 21, 58).

South Africa participated in the Olympic Games prior to 1960. At the meeting of the International Olympic Committee held prior to the Rome Olympic Games held in 1960, South Africa was banned from international sport participation due to its policy of racial discrimination. They were reinstated as a member of both the International Olympic Committee and the International Amateur Athletics Federation in 1992 at the Barcelona Olympics (Coe, 1992: 124).

Track and field teams have always been, and still are, dominated by male members, male managers and male coaches. For example, whilst female athletes were included in the 1960 Olympics, a female "chaperone" was part of the team management (but no female manager or coach was appointed). During the years of South African isolation from the rest of the sport world, a women was only appointed once (1986) as a "Springbok" coach. (A national team, the Springboks, was selected yearly to participate against the rest of South Africa.) Women therefore, had to be satisfied with being appointed as chaperones as they were never appointed as

managers of the Springbok track and field team during this period (Personal observation from team photographs at Athletics South Africa's offices).

In 1994, following South Africa's re-entry into the international sports arena an official women's committee was formed by Athletics South Africa. The fact of the matter is that males appointed the five members comprising this women's committee. They were not elected democratically by the different provinces, or by women in the sport. On the other hand, this could be seen as a sign that Athletics South Africa is willing to re-consider the position of women in sport. In line with their traditional view on women, they however, retained the authority to decide who was selected onto the committee and did not allow women to vote democratically for their own representatives. (This is against the democratic spirit of the "new" South Africa.)

Two of the women on this committee have been involved in administration of athletics for a considerable time (16 and 18 years respectively). (Both were interviewed by the researcher - see chapter 5.) The other 3 comprise of inexperienced administrators. Not one of the five members is a coach. The main purpose of the women's committee is to amend the constitution of Athletics South Africa to allow women representation on the Board, Council, various commissions, committees and forums in order to give women

decision-making power. Thus far the committee has held one symposium (in Johannesburg on the 15th January 1995) to which provincial representatives were invited.

3.3. WHAT IS A COACH AND AN ATHLETICS ADMINISTRATOR?

For the purpose of this study it is important to have clarity on what is meant when reference is made to the term 'coach' and 'athletics administrator.'

According to the **Chambers Dictionary** (1975: 9) an administrator is "one who manages or directs." According to Leith (1983: 211), an athletics administrator must possess a multitude of individual skills and should be able to maneuver these skills into the right combination in order to produce the best possible product in a sporting environment. These individual skills include technical skills, human skills and conceptual skills.

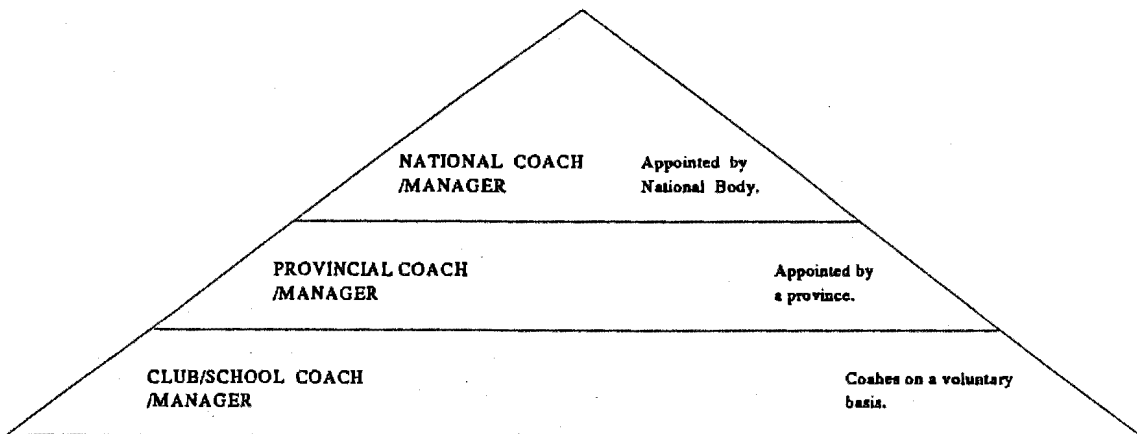
A coach, on the other hand, is a "trainer in athletics" (**Chambers Dictionary**, 1975: 12). Siegel and Newhof (1992: 60) consider the responsibilities of a coach to be complex, owing to the fact that individual athletes respond differently to different coaching methods. This results in

no one 'winning programme' that can be duplicated by all coaches.

Notwithstanding an extensive search, the researcher found no reference whatsoever to the gender of a coach as a prerequisite to coaching. It can, therefore, be concluded that to be male is not a necessary condition to enter the coaching profession.

Figure 1 provides a schematic representation of the South African coaching hierarchy.

FIGURE 1 COACHING HIERARCHY IN SOUTH AFRICA.



This hierarchy provides answers to the reasons behind why women make up the base of the pyramid within the coaching hierarchy in South Africa. Coaching is generally voluntary at this level in which coaches are not financially rewarded as they have no decision-making power. The male directors of coaching (usually from clubs and tertiary institutions) encourage women to coach on this level. This it is argued,

reinforces the general perception that women are inferior to men (especially in sport) and consequently reinforces gender socialization.

3.4. GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Gender socialization clarifies the relationship between gender and sport by explaining the reason(s) behind the existence of different expectations for boys and girls, and later men and women, in society. Kornblum (1991: 180), for example, suggests that gender socialization refers to the ways in which people learn their gender identity and develop according to culturally prescribed norms of "masculinity" and "femininity". The development of gender identity occurs during a child's socialization.

Gender socialization is the process whereby an infant gradually becomes a self-aware, knowledgeable person, skilled in the ways of the culture into which she or he is born (Giddens, 1989: 60). Gender socialization begins at birth. Even parents who believe they treat children equally tend to react differently to boys and girls. These differences are reinforced by many other cultural influences. Socialization in sport refers to how an individual becomes initially involved in a sport role, for

example, an athletics coach. Weiss and Glenn (1992: 140) suggest that socialization and the involvement in sport, refers to the values and behaviours that may be required by future sportsmen and -women as a result of participating in a sport context which primarily favours men.

Parents and teachers have been shown to teach girls to play in a feminine manner while encouraging boys to do sport from a young age. Displaying physical feats of strength is a traditionally patriarchal way of expressing masculinity and male dominance over women. Female participation in sport is already influenced by gender socialization at a pre-school and school level. Kornblum (1991: 181) suggests that society uses male development as a model of "normal" development.

Coackly and White (1992: 20) studied British adolescents in this regard. Gendered differences were reflected in the way which sport experiences were defined and interpreted by young male and female athletes. In general, young women were not encouraged to participate in sport by male coaches, parents and opposite-gender friends. This difference in encouragement could lead to society becoming gender subjective, with males benefiting even more due to the mere fact that they are born males (Nanda, 1991: 137).

For human beings, there is no essential maleness or femaleness, but once gender is ascribed, the social order constructs and holds individuals to strongly subjective gendered norms and expectations (Lorber, 1994: 25). Within society, it is argued, gender socialization creates the assumption that masculine characteristics are more desirable in sport. This assumption results in society being gender subjective.

3.5. GENDER SUBJECTIVITY

"Gender subjectivity" is the self-conscious awareness of gender subjects. Abercrombie et al. (1988: 246) suggest that gender subjectivity is a part of human nature and is socially constructed in different forms in different societies. Gender subjectivity is described by feminists as the unwillingness of males to change the male system (Wickham, 1986: 117).

Gender subjectivity is defined as a set of attitudes towards females which are adopted by a particular society and which shape the way in which females' roles are interpreted (Lemmer, 1989: 31). This interpretation of society, which is to a greater or lesser extent patriarchal, influences the utilization of females in sport. Gender subjectivity

constructs the world as "real" or "true" to individuals (Bullock et al., 1988: 825).

Gender subjectivity can manifest itself in institutionalised attitudes or beliefs which can deny, or attribute, certain capacities to the members of one of the sexes, thereby justifying gender inequalities (Giddens, 1989: 749). An example of this is the fact that women are able to fill the position of national sport coach and manager as competently as males (proved by the few who had the opportunity). The internalised attitudes and beliefs of males in charge of appointing national managers and coaches are, however, to the contrary.

Within the last forty years female gender roles have become less rigid in some societies. More liberated attitudes regarding the roles of males and females, have, in fact, been adopted by some western societies. For example, women are sometimes the breadwinner in the family. Quinn (1990: 332) supports this understanding of females' changing roles in society, but points out that society (and in particular males) are slow to accept all these changes. Males are generally not comfortable to appoint females to be in control of sport teams. In other words, institutionalised gender subjectivity influences the role women play in sport.

Despite 20th century socialism Rai (1992: 37) discovered that the problems females face in both China and Cuba are problems of a patriarchal society. They did not change in line with the changes in the political system. Although legislation prevents society overlooking women's talent in, for example, sport coaching and administration, males generally remained in positions of power in socialist societies.

Lemmer (1989: 31) suggests that the patriarchal nature of South African society is intensified by the presence of strong authoritarian norms. This means that women remain the consumers of attitudes regarding their roles in society and are subjected to gender subjectivity. In January 1993 the South African government signed the convention of international women's rights in Washington (Beeld, Monday 1 February, 1993: 4). The effect this action will have on the patriarchal South African society, and on the future utilization of females in sport, remains to be seen. On paper the legislation will prevent gender subjectivity. If women are granted the opportunity to be effective as coaches and administrators in sport, the perception of society regarding women in sport will eventually be changed.

Birrel (1984: 23) suggests that the oppression of minority groups by a patriarchal society may lead to the reinforcement of practices like gender subjectivity. Gender

subjectivity in sport will remain as long as females remain dependent on the approval of males in charge. If sport is continually defined through masculinity, then sport coaches and administrators will "naturally" have to be male, resulting in sport remaining a male preserve.

3.6. SPORT AS A MALE PRESERVE

On the basis of both the increase in the number of sport programmes for women (for example the introduction of women to cricket and soccer in South Africa) and the renewed interest of feminists in sport, it would be logical to conclude that the number of coaching and administrative positions for females would also increase. This has not happened yet. Despite a decade of "progress," males still have access to more than twice the number of opportunities and public resources available for sport all over the world. The Olympic Games still hold more than twice as many events, catering for men than for women (Kidd, 1990: 36). According to Parkhouse and Williams (1986: 53), their empirical studies demonstrate that coaching and administrative positions available for women in athletics in America are diminishing. This seems to imply that one should not rely on a constitution or bill of rights to correct past wrongs.

Birke and Vines (1987: 337) suggest that sport appeals to fewer females than males, not always because of their own

lack of interest but primarily due to lack of exposure to sport in the past. Although it may be a minority interest, it merits the attention of those who are involved in coaching and administration. Sport has a masculine image prescribed to it by society, and this image has greatly limited the involvement of women (Garrett, 1987: 85). Although women do participate on a small scale in sport coaching and administration, sport remains masculine through sheer domination of numbers. For example, nearly all the members of the International-, United States-, South African-, Canadian-, Great Britain-, Australian- and European Olympic Committees are males (Simson & Jennings, 1992: 264).

People in positions of power are not inclined to change when such adjustments would imply the loss of some of their power. Since males already dominate a system that presents them with material rewards and the position of power, they are more than willing to ignore any issues of change in their sporting preserve (Wickhan, 1986: 118). The result of such a system is that females showing potential as coaches and sport managers never become the "experts" and are, therefore, never accepted into the network of coaches and administrators in charge of athletics. Males tend to glorify the role of the "expert" (male coaches and administrators with experience), a process which many

feminists would argue is a symptom of a patriarchal system (Ussher & Nicolson, 1992: 46).

The ideology of male superiority in sport is largely institutionalised. Knoppers (1992: 221) suggests that the norm of male heterosexuality is very strong in athletics. She gives examples of relationships between male coaches and female athletes which are usually based on sexual relationships. On the other hand, the assertive, strong-willed female coach is often the subject of negative connotations regarding her relationship with her female or male athletes.

The fact that sportswomen are sometimes labeled "lesbians," leads to increased homophobia. The latter may be regarded as a strong weapon used by males to keep sport a "man's world." According to Griffen and Genasci (1990: 211), homophobia refers to the irrational fear or intolerance that people have of gay males or lesbians.

Griffen (1992: 252) states that feminists view homophobia as a powerful political weapon which may render strength to the men who want to keep sport a male preserve. Griffen (1992: 254) argues that homophobia is reinforced by the media, because the media ensures the public that females in sport are "normal," despite their interest in athletics. It is unfortunate that women in sport must deal with the double

burden of maintaining high-profile heterosexual images in order to prevent being called lesbians.

Griffen (1992: 259) suggests that claiming to be a feminist is far too political for many women in sport. In order to understand sport as a male preserve, it is necessary for females to understand that within a patriarchal culture homophobia is used as a political issue against them. Part of some females' reluctance to accept the feminist label, is that feminists have been called lesbians in the same way that female sport coaches have been. The reason is clear: within sport men wish to intimidate women and prevent them from challenging male dominance in sport. Men therefore, utilize aspects such as the negative attributes of homophobia to achieve this. As a solution to the above problem, Becthold (1988: 14) suggests a partnership between males and females as a basis for the development of female coaches and administrators. Negative beliefs held about women, which are not based on their performances as individuals, are also part of this problem.

3.7. STEREOTYPES AND THE EFFECT ON FEMALE COACHES AND ADMINISTRATORS

"Men are not the center of the world, but men and woman are"
(Miles, 1989: 287).

Baron et al. (1989: 126) define stereotypes as "beliefs and expectations (generally negative) about the members of specific social groups - that are seen as negative schemata relating to such groups." According to Browne (1992: 441) and Bullock et al. (1988: 813) stereotypes are generalized, "over-simplified" views of a social group that allow for few individual differences between members of the group. Marger (1994: 75) describes stereotypes as "pictures in our heads" that are not acquired through personal experience. Stereotypes are usually accompanied by prejudice towards the members of the category in question.

Stereotypes have a significant influence on everyday life and in the case of gender role stereotypes, they arise in response to the gender division of labour. Stereotypes, especially gender role stereotypes, determine social behaviour to such an extent that they (stereotypes) describe qualities believed to be desirable for males and females (Sekaran & Leon, 1992: 9). The effect of stereotyping is clear: all females are judged to have the same characteristics instead of being regarded as individuals (Still, 1990: 27). Any uniqueness, for example, being a capable coach or manager, is overlooked as it does not fit into the stereotypical view of female coaches or managers.

Stereotypes constitute the cognitive component of prejudice. The cognitive aspect refers to the acquisition of knowledge

or the formation of beliefs (Bullock et al., 1988: 137). Stereotypes are beliefs, which infers that their formation is a cognitive process. Due to lack of factual justification, however, they fail to qualify as knowledge. For example, people generally believe that women are not good coaches as a result of stereotypes and not because of empirical facts. This means that stereotypes are generally, but not necessarily, accompanied by prejudice.

Giddens (1989: 247) suggests that prejudice operates mainly through the use of stereotypical thinking. He also suggests that all thought involves categories by means of which people classify their experience. Some of these categories are ill-informed and rigid. A person may have a view of women in sport, for example, that is based upon a few firmly held ideas in terms of which information about, or encounters with them are interpreted. Charon (1992: 178) states that all people categorize other people, but not all people stereotype. According to him, stereotyping means to "see no exceptions and to be emotionally committed for or against the category whose qualities are seen to be all good or all bad."

3.8. EFFECT OF STEREOTYPES ON FEMALES IN SPORT

It is a natural phenomenon to be influenced by the dominant gender in sport, whether the influenced person be male or

female (George, 1989: 6). This factor can influence females to give up their aspirations in sport, sport coaching and administration jobs because the prejudice and operation of negative stereotypes reinforces them to believe that they are not "good enough." Women may therefore, develop a negative self-concept regarding their abilities as coaches and administrators in sport. This then, finds expression in discrimination.

The effect of negative stereotyping results in women being handicapped with positions in sport management before the race even begins. This applies not only to the South African context, but also to the United States of America, Australia, Britain and Europe (Delano, 1988: 27; Anderson, 1992: 44 and Acosta & Carpenter, 1992: 37).

Likewise, discrimination and negative stereotyping result in very few female coaches and administrators forming part of national and international teams which causes a lack of role models for prospective female coaches and administrators.

3.9. THE ABSENCE OF FEMALE ROLE MODELS IN SPORT

According to Browne (1992: 441), a role model is the patterns of behaviour (for example, being successful in sport coaching) which others copy and model their own

behaviour on. Traditional female roles are incompatible with being successful in sport.

According to Kane (1990: 53) a successful female coach as role model, makes a difference to the attitudes of young female athletes concerning sport. A female coach's success may result in young females becoming more confident and independent, in comparison to the young females who may develop a more "helpless" attitude, being coached by males.

Meaningful role models can not only provide motivation for young females, but also for fellow coaches and administrators. Female role models are thus required in sport, especially in leadership roles, to ensure career options for young females (Hulstrand, 1990: 19; Weiss & Sisley, 1984: 346).

It is difficult to understand that female coaches and administrators, with performance records and coaching philosophies equal to those of their male counterparts, may be considered less able to motivate and less likely to achieve future success in athletics. Having a female coach could result in male and female athletes not viewing males as the only "good" coaches, but seeing female coaches as dedicated and as good as any male.

In a study to determine whether athletes prefer male or female coaches, Parkhouse (1990: 75) found that some athletes coached by females developed a pro-female bias. There are, unfortunately, very few females that can serve as role models for young coaches and administrators in sport in order to encourage them to strive for similar positions.

American female athletes completed a questionnaire regarding role models during the 1989/90 athletics season in the United States of America. The results showed that due to lack of female role models during the 1980s, the athletes identified more with female non-athletes (mothers, sisters and friends) than with any other role model. The situation regarding role models in the media has improved since the last two Olympic Games and some young female athletes can now identify themselves with current female Olympians (Weiss & Glenn, 1992: 141).

The lack of role models may be reinforced by the media. For example, in a country such as South Africa, where rugby, soccer and cricket are the main sports, played mainly by men, the large majority of media reports concern those of the mentioned sports and their heroes. The media is largely responsible for the perception of females - positive or negative - in sport. Comparisons (males versus females) are often made by male writers who document information regarding females in sport. This information is often

harnessed in order to show how much stronger and faster men are in comparison to women (Dyer, 1988: 32).

During the Olympic Games of 1992, British television commentators were saying that one of the finalists in the backstroke (males) was coached by a female, and that this was an extraordinary occurrence. The fact that the swimmer made the final made him one of the best swimmers in the world. It should be argued, that in this respect the gender of his coach is irrelevant to his sporting achievement. Marger (1994: 81) suggests that the electronic media are important transmitters of both positive and negative stereotypes and attitudes in that they effect the reinforcement of ideas already acquired before exposure.

The above example makes it clear that in society, sport, vigorous play and risk-taking are still considered appropriate for males and are still negatively coded for females. This is reinforced by the media, and more by television. The public's perception of sport is that of an activity which is a "gender signature of masculinity" (Murray, 1991: 45).

Parkhouse (1990: 75) suggests that society creates barriers in sport which are difficult, if not impossible, for women to overcome. It is generally accepted that the media have an ethical responsibility to report fairly (Murray, 1991:

46). During the opening of the Olympic Games in Calgary, a commentator (Al Trautevig) stated: "At some point these women were all normal little girls; somewhere along the line they got sidetracked" (Murray, 1991: 46). This comment implies that "normal little girls" do not do sport with such aggression and at such a competitive level.

Research on the content and quality of media coverage on sport, has been carried out by Weiss and Glenn (1992: 141). According to their findings, the media have primarily served to show the lack of women role models in sport and to reinforce the stereotyping of women in sport, rather than to promote women in sport. In fact, the two most common descriptors used by sociological researchers concerning television coverage of females in sport, have been "underrepresentation" and "trivialization." In the above-mentioned research project by Weiss and Glenn (1992: 141), it was found that in the United States of America, male sport comprised 92% of television news time, female sport 5% of the time and gender-neutral topics 3%. In South Africa, a large majority of all the sport time is dedicated to male sports such as rugby, cricket, boxing and soccer. Athletics, being both a male and female sport, is covered by television. However, in events such as discus, the men's competitions are always covered in preference to the females. On an investigation of this matter, the answer given by the sports editor was that men "suit the event

better" and that their standard is better than that of females (Personal communications, 10 February 1993).

As a continuation of this outline of the problems women encounter in a career in sport (specifically athletics) the following section will analyse the reasons why women's contribution to and involvement in sport management remains limited.

3.10. GENDER, PATRIARCHY AND THE PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR SPORT PRODUCTIVITY

"If you think about it, there is a contradiction between feminism and sport. But if you think about it, there's a contradiction between feminism and life, but you keep doing it"

(Birrel & Richter, 1984: 408).

Although there are many variations in the respective roles which men and women play in different cultures, there is no known instance of a society in which women are in principle more powerful than men. In general women are internationally primarily concerned with child-rearing and the maintenance of the home, while political and military activities tend to be resoundingly male. Nowhere in the world are men, as a rule, mainly responsible for the rearing of children. In industrial societies, the division of

labour between the sexes has become less clear-cut, but men still outnumber women in all spheres of power and influence. Patriarchy, in one form or another, is therefore universal (Giddens, 1989: 169).

3.10.1. WOMEN AND THE WORKPLACE: GENERAL PERCEPTIONS

The fact that prejudice operates through the use of stereotypical thinking has been discussed within this study (refer to 3.4.2.) - the practical implications of stereotypes on the life of women will now be investigated. All thought involves categories (or "labels") by means of which people classify their experience (Giddens, 1989: 247). Sometimes, however, these categories are both ill-informed and rigid. To understand the general perceptions of female managers, it is important to recognize that each society creates its own perceptions regarding masculinity and femininity, and that no two cultures would, therefore, absolutely agree on what constitutes masculinity and femininity (Lovat, 1992: 76). (See 3.4.2.)

If stereotyping, as part of gender socialization, is examined in order to understand how patriarchy affects productivity, general perceptions concerning female managers, that are not held only by some males, but are also shared by some females, come to mind. According to Still (1990: 41) and Theberge (1984: 19), the following general

perceptions of, and attitudes towards, female managers exist in the United states of America, Australia and hypothetically also in South Africa. These studies suggested that:

1. Males are likely to attribute females' success to their romantic or sexual influence over their male bosses - rather than to attribute success to females' competencies;
2. males tend to view their career fields as less powerful if females are employed within the same field;
3. males expect to mix business and pleasure at the workplace;
4. males will often emphasize a female's physical and personality traits above her intellectual capacity or business sense;
5. males will often punish other males who recognize females as equals, or who team up with females in order to succeed in business or sport;
6. males exhibit hostility towards females in positions of power or females seeking power positions;

7. males will delay hiring females until forced to by their superiors;
8. males often say that they prefer working with other males because females are more difficult to "understand" ;
9. males resist female participation as they believe that they are superior to females;
10. males believe that females lack interest in advancement - they abandon their career to get married and raise a family;
11. and females are "known" to be dependent and "emotional" and therefore not suitable for management.

Sekaran and Leong (1992: 1) state that because of the general perceptions regarding female managers (as mentioned above) and the stereotypes that are created by society, a "glass ceiling" stands between females and positions of power and responsibility. This glass ceiling refers to a very subtle barrier that is transparent, but strong enough to prevent females from moving up the management hierarchy.

Apart from the negative perceptions which influence the careers of females, they find themselves in a difficult position due to the presence of both family responsibilities

and the desire to progress as professional sport coaches, administrators and managers. In other words, role conflict may develop because of their double workload (professional and domestic) and could result in having a negative influence on productivity.

3.10.2. ROLE CONFLICT AND DOUBLE WORKLOAD

Kornblum (1991:81) describes role conflict as the stress, which results as the anxiety people experience as they attempt to balance the conflicting demands of various roles within modern societies. Role conflict occurs when, in order to perform one role well, a person is forced to violate another important role, experiences conflicting demands in an existing role, or cannot meet the demands of a new one.

Role conflict may manifest itself in gender-role conformity, which could act as a powerful barrier for women who have chosen a career path which combines sport, motherhood and paid work. Frysing (1990: 48) suggests that for women who marry and/or have children, the domestic role is supposed to predominate. Through this process of socialization, women feel guilty if they respond to their own needs rather than to the needs of others (example children and husband).

The balancing of work and family life has always been a problem for the working female (Sekaran & Leong, 1992: 60). This becomes an even greater problem for the South African female athletics coach and/or administrator as the majority of coaches have a full-time job and coach or carry out athletics administrative tasks on a part-time basis. Felder and Wisnietsky (1990: 11) report that married coaches' role conflict is even greater than that of the unmarried coach. The conflict of the married coach is not only between job responsibilities and coaching, but also incorporates family responsibilities. If the female coach or manager is appointed to an international athletics team, she is expected to travel abroad for three to four weeks at a time. This will inevitably lead to role conflict and unless she has the full cooperation of her husband, the help of a childminder and/or has the opportunity to take her child/children along, her progress as a coach or manager on international level may be hampered. Role conflict is usually the result of the dual workload of female coaches and administrators and may lead to stress and "burn-out."

Role conflict is the type of conflict that results when demands are inherently incompatible (Sisley et al., 1987: 71). The professional worker/coach/mother occupies unique and complex roles which may vary greatly from the expectations of other mothers or professional workers at the workplace. This unique situation may foster inter-role

conflict from the non-coaching faculty, for example, as a result of being absent from work due to sporting responsibilities at a national or international level. Hart et al. (1986: 68), consider role conflict, while trying to be a coach, wife, mother and employee to be one of the biggest problems leading to female athletics coaches and administrators to "disappear" from athletics.

The female coach and/or manager is confronted with yet another dilemma. On the one hand, she must respond to and compete with the expectations of a male-dominated sports system and exhibit characteristics (for example, aggression) which are required by that system. On the other hand, she must fulfil the expectations of a female role in society. This contradiction in the roles of females in society, and females in sport, also creates role conflict for the female in sport coaching and administration (Anthrop & Allison, 1987: 105).

Anderson (1992: 42) refers to a love/hate relationship which exists for many female athletics coaches. She interviewed females who were initially hired as head coaches in intercollegiate settings. Although they enjoyed working with the athletes, and were successful in what they were doing, many could not continue working the long hours for a meager salary, develop a social or family life, or maintain

the high energy flow needed to deal with the daily aspects of their personal lives.

The traditional view concerning family roles (held by men and women), namely that women are responsible for the housework and for looking after their children, creates as has been suggested, role conflict. In a survey carried out in England by Bocock and Thompson (1992: 31), it is very interesting to note both wives' and husbands' views on housework and children. When both the husband and the wife were employed full-time, 41% of the wives interviewed felt that they did most of the housework while 46% of the husbands felt that the wives did most of the housework. Only 2% of the husbands and 2% of the wives felt that the husband did most of the housework. The contradiction within this study is that 74% of the wives felt comfortable with their husbands doing a limited amount of housework, while 76% of the husbands also felt that they did enough at home. This study, therefore, suggests that although there are many individual cases where the domestic division of labour is equal, housework and childcare are still regarded as "women's work."

Henderson et al. (1990: 42) suggests that:

- (1) if family duties are shared;
- (2) if females receive a more appropriate image in the media;
- (3) and if females are paid a more comparable salary,

role conflict will play a less important role in the utilization of females in sport coaching and administration. Family co-operation is usually better if the female coach or administrator gets a higher salary and receives more recognition in the media, as her family feels her work is worth her time spent away from them.

Role overload can be a major source of conflict once role demands exceed the individual's available time and effort (Sisley et al. 1987: 71). Research has confirmed the relationship between role overload and burnout (Cherniss, 1980: 46). For example, if one looks at the competitive season, with all the meetings and external pressures, and adds to that the extra time spent on the track to prepare the athletes for peak performances, then the teacher/coach/mother must experience an overload of time and effort that could lead to coach's burn-out (Pastore & Judd, 1992: 74).

The contemporary decline in the number of female sport coaches is closely linked to the term "burn-out". Fredenberger (1980: 13) defines burnout as "a state of fatigue or frustration brought about by devotion to a cause, way of life, or relationship that failed to produce the expected reward." In sport females can quite easily become victims of burnout. They are usually devoted coaches and/or administrators who, because of a double workload and the

frustration of not being utilized to their full potential, are left demotivated.

According to Quinn (1990: 332), it is nothing new to see married females working outside the home and experiencing stress. Although they have careers society expects their primary responsibility to be their home and children. Trying to combine high-powered careers, the coaching of international athletes, and spending quality time with their family, causes stress which may be referred to as "superwoman's disease."

Due to the fact that athletics coaching and administration involve an immense amount of pressure, females may become so physically and emotionally exhausted that they experience burnout (Pastore & Judd, 1992: 74). Females may drop out of athletics coaching and administration due to the fact that these demands exceed the female's "endurance and ability to cope" (Pastore & Judd, 1992: 74).

In a study by Dale and Weinberg (1989: 9), significant facts on coaches and burnout were discovered. The coaches tested for burnout were older males and younger females. The age difference is due to the fact that males last longer in coaching than females. Male coaches scored higher on the personal accomplishment subscale (which indicate less burnout) than female coaches. Female coaches, on the other

hand, scored higher on the emotional exhaustion subscale. This may be attributed to the role conflict which the females experienced.

The role conflict which exists for the female athletics coach is imposed upon her by outside forces (society) over which she has no control. The role conflict experienced by the coach/mother/professional is therefore seldom resolved as the individual holds three incompatible positions at the same time (Sisley et al., 1987: 74).

If females had support systems to assist them when problems occur, fewer female coaches would leave the sport.

3.10.3. NETWORKING

Networking exists in various cultures and may be described as a process of developing and nurturing contacts with others who provide social support, career advice, and feedback. Historically, the "old boys" network has helped men find jobs and make career progress. Both sport and school connections seem to have created a bond between men. Sports participation is not the only way students develop camaraderie and learn lessons applicable to business, but is an important means through which they learn to cooperate to achieve a common goal. People are able to reap the benefits of networking via, for example, social support and

empowerment, once the obstacles of prejudice are overcome (Karsten, 1994: 125).

The lack of networking equal to that of the "old boys" network) amongst females is regarded as a very important factor that influences the utilization of females in sport. According to Nanda (1991: 296), a social network refers to a "set of both direct and indirect links between an individual, who is at the center of a network, and other people." A social network, for example, the "old boys" network, is a framework for understanding social relationships imposed on the outsider - in this case female sport coaches and administrators. Brylinsky (1991: 55) states that effective networking is more than belonging to an informal group with shared interests. Effective networking develops through time and mutual respect.

Feminists, for example, Bialeschki (1990: 47), state that females are left out of formal networks because a female's place in sport does not differ much from her place in school, the workplace, the home, or the political system. All these institutions play a part in "shaping" sport with patriarchy at its foundation. Females who are successful sport coaches and administrators, therefore, have to challenge the myth of male supremacy and gain the respect of male management. If a female exercises physical

independence, she poses a challenge to male domination in that she does not organize her life around male protection and admiration.

Morgand (1992: 150) argues that female's networks, especially feminists, must not be analysed in isolation, but should be placed in a wider social context. The reason for this is that such networks provide the intellectual and moral climate which stimulates the interest in and commitment to, issues such as females in sport coaching and administration in a male-orientated sport world. He (Morgand) suggests that networks are a result of the patriarchal society.

In a study by Waite (1985: 24) he highlights one of the reasons for females not having an "old girls network" as due to the fact that male behaviour, knowledge, values and interests (patriarchy) are accepted as the desirable standards or "norms" in sport. It could be argued that female coaches and administrators must improve (to the level of males) in order to bring equality to sport coaching and administration. Females have achieved this, to the extent that they have excelled beyond some male coaches' standard, yet they are still not part of the male network.

Male networking includes using people (other males) to manipulate the careers of men and women to such an extent

that getting a job is based on personal connections. According to feminists, this leads to double standards within the leadership positions in sport.

3.10.4. EVIDENCE OF DOUBLE STANDARDS IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN SPORT

"... in order for a woman to achieve equality with a man she must be twice as good"

Theberge, 1984: 185.

Female coaches and administrators are at a disadvantage when being considered for leadership positions in sport. Male superiority in sport forms part of the explanation for the current double standards in athletics (track and field) whereby males occupy the positions of coaches and managers of national athletic teams and other management positions in sport. Fischwick (1988: 8) suggests that it is natural to assume that males are able to coach females, but sometimes unthinkable that a female would attempt to coach or manage males.

Acosta and Carpenter (1992: 37) suggest that the reason behind males getting appointed as coaches and managers of athletics teams is that the selectors responsible for making

personnel decisions are usually men. Females with potential and talent as coaches and managers are overlooked because the male selectors do not consider them above a male for the position. Feminists ask that coaches and managers must be selected on merit, without gender playing a role in the selection process.

According to a survey by Parkhouse (1990: 75), male athletics administrators give a lack of qualified female coaches and administrators as the reason for females being overlooked for positions of national coaches and managers of national athletics teams. When Parkhouse provided the male administrators with a list of well-qualified female coaches and administrators, it was clear that there was a lack of awareness concerning the success of female coaches and administrators. This lack of awareness could be interpreted as a lack of interest in the achievements of females in sport.

The limited utilization of females in sport is largely due to the fact that, as a group, males allow the management of sport to be conservative, elitist and alienating. They (as males) are determined to keep the dominant male values represented in sport, especially athletics (Birrel & Richter, 1984: 389).

In an organizational setting (for example, sport) where males dominate, Theberge poses the question of how much better females have to be than males to achieve the same status. Theberge (1984: 193) answers this question by giving definite evidence of double standards present within the selection procedures of coaches and managers of athletics. Females must present more impressive credentials than males to obtain a coaching position and have to conform to stricter standards of behaviour than males when in the positions of national coaches or managers.

Sisley and Capel (1986: 43) carried out a study in Oregon on the dominance of males in interscholastic coaching positions. They concluded that although more females had a degree in physical education and coaching as a major subject, males who had completed coaching as a minor or had been athletes at university, hold down the coaching positions.

If all the above information is considered, it is clear that double standards are evident within the leadership positions in sport. This tendency has a negative influence on sport production as males are chosen above females, purely because they are males even if the females involved are better qualified.

3.11. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter it was argued that gender is a crucial variable when attempting to analyse the power relations in sport. History has shown that sport coaching and sport management have been, and still are, male-dominated occupations. Moreover, the problem of declining numbers of females in sport coaching and administration has become too severe to assume that gender neutrality of structures, jobs, workers or workplaces will solve the problem. This chapter has attempted to concretize some of the theoretical aspects raised in chapter two with reference to the analysis of power in sport.

Hall et al. (1989: 40) suggest that women should not have to become "honorary men" in order to be considered good coaches or to be admitted into the elite coaching ranks. Once females move into jobs that have been traditionally associated with hegemonic masculinity, (for example, coaching) new meanings will have to be given to the definition of what makes men different, or superior, to women. In this manner, gender socialization and stereotyping will not be as effective as it is at present in handicapping females in sport.

Knoppers (1992: 223) points out that a few token women are easily assimilated and, as the novelty of their presence

wears off, their work situation may become somewhat more comfortable. In 1993 one of the two coaches who were part of the South African national athletics team that participated at the World Athletics Championships in Stuttgart, was a female. Despite the fact that she had two athletes in the team, and had, for several years, been coaching top athletes who rate high on the world ranking list, several male coaches complained that a female had been appointed. They (male coaches) felt that they were losing out on management positions due to affirmative action (appointing a female coach), and not because the female coach was well qualified to do the job. The reports that came in following the games all praised this coach's high standard of work (Personal communication during interviews).

The inclusion of female coaches in national teams and in management positions as a token, is not acceptable to females. There is no gender symmetry in tokenism - individual men may support and encourage token women, but collectively men often close ranks in a hostile manner when more women appear on the scene (Karsten, 1994: 194).

Research by Prekel (in Lessing (ed.), 1994: 22) has shown that women tend to have a collaborative, co-operative, and consulting approach to solving problems and conflicts of interest. Men often tend to be more authoritarian, competitive, and confrontational. This could imply that

South African sportswomen could play a special role in seeking solutions that could accommodate the needs and aspirations of coaches and administrators within the complex South African sport community.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4. METHODOLOGY OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The literature study which was conducted in Chapters 2 and 3 serves as a background to explain the discrimination present against women in society and sport. This is primarily regarded as due to the essentially patriarchal nature of society. Women are not utilized to their full potential in athletics in South Africa and this underutilization has a negative effect on women and sport.

The aims of this research (see paragraph 1.3.) are as follows:

- * To provide a theoretical explanation of gender inequality in society and sport, based on patriarchy (chapters 2 and 3).
- * To establish by means of analyzing the history of women's involvement in sport, the reason for sport being regarded as a "man's world" (chapter 2).
- * To examine the different variables which result in female coaches and administrators being in a subordinate position (chapter 3).
- * To obtain the perspectives of top female coaches and administrators on their under-utilization in athletics.

Certain questions came to mind during the literature study:

- * What are the perceptions of women in athletics in South Africa regarding their positions of power?
- * What can be done to change the position of women to the benefit of sport and society?

The aim is to answer these questions in the following chapters.

In this chapter a description will be given of:

- * The qualitative methodology used during the interviews.
- * The respondents.
- * The categories which will be used as the basis for the interviews.
- * The data analysis.

Qualitative research is an important instrument in the exploration of "new" fields, such as that examined in this study. New information and data from qualitative studies create change due to the light that is shed on a certain phenomenon. The data will reflect the relationship which exists between the existing information, and the newly gathered information (Bogden & Biklen, 1982: 29). It could, therefore, be suggested that this is an exploratory study, as new information (not previously researched) is deduced from the data.

This chapter will begin with a brief explanation of the theoretical basis of qualitative methodology. It will be

followed by the type of qualitative research used, information on the selection of respondents and the data analysis.

4.2. THEORY OF QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

This method of research is used on a regular basis in social studies in general and more specifically in sociology (Burgess, 1985: 40.

Leedy (1989: 140) defines qualitative research as a "creative, scientific process that necessitates a great deal of time and critical thinking ... which can explain phenomena in the most thorough way possible." He (Leedy) suggests that the task of the qualitative researcher is analysis and synthesis. In accordance with this, Corbin (1990: 21) suggests that when qualitative research is done, the data must be presented in such a manner that "the informants speak for themselves." The aim, then, is to give an honest account of both the respondents' interviews and the observations made by the researcher.

The primary aim of qualitative research is to attempt to understand the reasons behind certain phenomena and then to present these in language (Borg & Gall, 1989: 23). According to, for example, Lemmer (1992: 293), qualitative research has as its aim "the understanding of the life-world

of individuals or groups studied from their own frame of reference".

Robson (in Robson & Foster, 1989: 24) proposes that the best definition of qualitative research is that it answers the question "why?", although it is not always asked. Qualitative research is, according to Robson, flexible and provides, through its detailed and direct approach, an explanation and an understanding of an individual person's perspective on a specific issue. According to McCracken (1988: 17), qualitative research "does not survey the terrain, it mines it." Bryman (1984: 84) suggests that qualitative research discovers rather than verifies, so that the research can stimulate new leads and avenues of research.

Data-analyzing is typical of qualitative research, that is, by quoting respondents in their own words, rather than using scientific language or statistics. The aim of this is understanding rather than statistical analysis.

Qualitative research can manifest itself in different methods of data collection, for example historical research, observation of people and situations, and conducting interviews with people. The interview, as a method of data collection, enables the researcher to become familiar with the way the respondents "feel and think." In fact,

qualitative research was chosen as the most appropriate method for this study, because social behaviour (women in sport) is observed without counting instances of particular behaviour (Abercrombie, 1988: 200).

According to Whyte (1991: 20), qualitative research is a collective method in which researchers serve as professional experts, designing the project, gathering the data, interpreting the findings and recommending action and/or a strategy to guide future actions. This is typical in qualitative traditions in that a single individual researcher designs the research project, carries out the data collection, develops the analysis and publishes the findings (McCracken, 1988: 58).

In qualitative research stress must be placed on the *process* whereby certain behaviour is realized, and not merely on the *outcome* of behaviour (Lemmer, 1992: 293). The voluntary cooperation of female coaches and administrators enabled information to be gathered on the lack of utilization of women in sport coaching and administration in South African athletics.

4.3. THE RESEARCHER AS AN INSIDER IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

McCracken (1988: 18) suggests that the investigator cannot reach qualitative research objectives without using a broad

range of her/his own experience. In this research the researcher (and/or investigator) is a female athletics coach in South Africa who has been involved in athletics administration for eighteen years. McCracken (1988: 19) states that the researcher should use her own experience in her research (the role of females in sport in this case) to relate the data to the theoretical background.

When those being interviewed know that the researcher is a member of 'the in-group,' the researcher is referred to as an "insider" (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1989: 57). For the investigator to be regarded as an insider in research, general similarities in the way the social phenomena are experienced by the insider and those designated as interviewees, are experienced. In this study, the researcher is also a female athletics coach and administrator. These parallels result in the researcher being referred to as an insider.

Being designated an insider has several advantages. The researcher is acquainted with the South African athletics structure and the respondents. She, therefore, understands the problems and frustrations of women in coaching and administration better than an outsider could, because she experiences them herself. Previous experiences and discussions with other coaches and administrators (men and women) give a valuable background to the research. Previous

discussions with the respondents played an important role in presenting the data.

There are also various disadvantages to being an insider in qualitative research. The researcher knows the respondents well making it impossible not to give more credibility to some coach's and administrator's responses than to others. The researcher can, therefore, lose objectivity in presenting the data. To prevent this problem, the data was transcribed and a symbol (rather than a name) ascribed to it. This prevented information being directly linked to a specific respondent.

It is important, especially as an insider, to prevent empathy and knowledge of the problem clouding judgment of what the respondent is really saying. Objectivity must be strived for at all times. The researcher is under an ethical obligation not to distort facts in order to ensure the validity and credibility of the research (Groenewald, 1986: 96).

As an insider, the researcher influences the collection of data more than for example an outsider would. Burgess (1985: 5) suggests that "the major research instrument is the researcher himself, for it is the researcher who both collects and analyses the data."

The researcher's personal experience is an important resource in the research. However, the researcher did not want her personal views to influence respondents in such a way that they answer questions differently to what they really feel. In other words, the researcher acknowledges her subjectivity, as well as the subjectivity of the individual respondents. In doing so, the validity and credibility of the research is enhanced.

4.4. IDENTIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS

The identification of respondents is of great importance in qualitative research. The reason for this is that each individual respondent has access to unique information due to her personal experience (Coetz & Le Compte, 1984: 215).

In qualitative research there are usually only a few respondents. The validity of qualitative research does not, however, depend on how many respondents are questioned, but rather on their degree of reliability and subject knowledge. Carey (1984: 75) suggests that eight to ten respondents are usually adequate to supply the necessary data for research.

The choice of respondents is a very important step within qualitative research, as the respondents need to be selected according to certain criteria. Carey (1984: 870) suggests

that respondents are usually prepared to supply more information to a researcher regarded an insider than to an unknown researcher. In qualitative research the word "informant" is sometimes used instead of respondent or interviewee as personal information is supplied to the researcher. Within this research the words respondents and/or interviewees are used.

Women coaches and administrators with more than ten years of experience in sport (track and field) were selected. After at least ten years of coaching and administration of athletics, women understand the South African athletics structure and have enough experience to be able to develop an enlightened view about it. These women are all well known in athletics circles, either due to their coaching expertise and the results achieved by their athletes, or as administrators in sport who have, over years, contributed tremendously to the development of sport within coaching, the subjects have coached athletes who hold both African and national records.

TABLE 4.1. - YEARS OF EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN INTERVIEWEES.

Number of years in the field	10 - 15 years	16 - 20 years	21 - 35 years
Women coaches and administrators interviewed	2	6	4

It is interesting to note that half of the women have been coaching for more than sixteen years. This can be traced back to the fact that when South Africa was isolated from world athletics in 1976 (due to the "apartheid" policy) the athletics administrators started coaching development programmes. As a result, talented women started coaching and they continued their coaching and involvement in athletics during the years of sport isolation.

In South African athletics there is a tremendous number of women coaches who are only involved for a year or two. This tendency may be traced to the fact that it is expected of them to coach as part of their jobs as teachers in a patriarchal sport system. In South Africa the majority of female coaches are/were teachers, who initially coached as part of their extra-mural activities at school. The majority of these female coaches stop coaching at the first opportunity possible, as they lack the motivation to continue coaching. That is, they regard coaching as either "unpaid work" or work in which men are always in charge.

Potential subjects were first contacted by telephone, or personally informed of the study, and then requested to partake in a personal interview which would be recorded on a tape recorder. Twelve women in South African athletics were identified as having the desired experience and expertise (included in Table 4.1).

Two of the selected women were not interested or unavailable. One was on her way abroad for a year and could not fit in the time for the interview. The other felt uncomfortable with the fact that the interview would be recorded, and did not wish to see "her own words" in a script which others could read. The remaining ten were cooperative and motivated to give input regarding the position of females in South African athletics. It can therefore be argued that the majority of women seriously involved in athletics administration and coaching in South Africa, is represented in this study.

Comments made by provincial chairpersons at the annual general meeting of the South African Coaching Committee on the 4th and 5th of November 1994 are included. These comments are included as personal observations by the researcher.

4.5. INTERVIEWS

The interview is a method of collecting data within qualitative research. The interviews in this research were taped. The fact that each interview was intensive and done on an individual basis, lends itself to the collection of accurate and comprehensive data (Burgess, 1982: 108).

The interview can broadly be defined as a conversation where the interviewee, rather than the interviewer, determines the structure of the interview (Powney & Watts, 1987: 1). Questionnaires were, therefore, not used in this research.

McCracken (1988:37) suggests that whatever is said in the opening few minutes of the interview must demonstrate the "accepting, curious (but not inquisitive) nature of the researcher as an individual, who is prepared and eager to listen virtually to any testimony with interest." Understandably, respondents are not keen to reveal very much about themselves if there is any risk of an unsympathetic response.

Despite variations, each interview began with easy questions (of an informational nature) concerning the respondent's sport background and professional status. In this manner the respondent was assured that the questions were not in the form of an academic or personal test, and at the onset made to feel safe with no need to set her defenses. After general information about the coach or the administrator had been obtained, specific questions were asked about what happened when they first decided to become involved in coaching or administrative experiences, their initial aspirations, the dynamics of staying involved, and how they perceived their involvement patterns in the future.

Questions were also asked about the utilization of female coaches, the favouring of males for positions of power in sport, support for females in sport, the influence of the media, homophobia and stereotyping. The goal of the interviews were to gain an insight into the problems women coaches and administrators with experience (more than 10 years) face in sport. Care was taken to ensure that data was collected in respect of all the categories and relationships, which have been identified as important. In addition to these categories and relationships, the respondents were encouraged to identify and discuss problems that have not been identified by the researcher.

During the interviews "why" questions were avoided when respondents were questioned about their careers in sport. Coackly and White (1992: 23) suggest that such questions usually encourage answers in the form of clichés as people often find it difficult to articulate their motives. When they try, they often construct answers to justify their behaviour in ways they think the interviewer will accept as legitimate. As an alternative, instead, questions centering around coaches' and administrators' perceptions of their own situation, were focused on.

The interview schedule was based on the literature study (chapters two and three). This schedule ensured that all important areas were covered. It is important that the

researcher strives to obtain the required information, even though the interview takes place in a relaxed and open atmosphere.

The following categories were used as a basic schedule for the interviews. Respondents were, however, encouraged to discuss any other aspects considered important.

1. Sports background.
Participation in sport.
Qualifications in sport.
2. Gender socialization.
The "natural" aggressiveness of males in sport.
The aggressiveness of females in sport.
Gender subjectivity.
3. Female roles in society.
To be a sportswoman and be feminine.
Sportswomen and masculinity.
4. Stereotypes in society.
The experience of women coaches and administrators regarding stereotypes.
The effect these have on women in sport.
5. Role models for women in sport.
The influence of role models on women in sport.
6. Homophobia.
The influence of homophobia on women in sport and their continuation in sport careers.
Being labeled a lesbian.
7. Equal opportunities for males and females in sport.
The effect of the media on sportswomen.
Women and power-sharing in sport.
Coaching and/or managing positions in sport.
Executive positions in Athletics South Africa.
Double standards in leadership positions in sport.
8. The utilization of women's talents for the benefit of sport in South Africa.
9. General perceptions about women in the workplace and in

sport.

Perceptions that correlate and differ in the workplace and sport.

10. Role conflicts.
Type of role conflict.
11. Networking of males and females in sport.
Support systems for females in sport.
"Old boys" network.
12. Future of women in sport.

The investigator took great care to listen to all the comments made by the respondents. The first objective was to listen for key terms, for example, "man's world", "underutilized". When these terms appeared in the testimony of the respondent, they were patiently and sensitively pursued. The researcher listened for companion terms and the interrelationships between the terms. By using alternative questions at her disposal, the investigator prompted interviewees when forthcoming answers were vague.

On McCracken's (1988: 39) advice, the interviewer also listened for "topic avoidance, deliberate distortion, minor misunderstanding, and outright incomprehension." When the respondents were deliberately avoiding a topic (which was, for example, the case with some of the respondents regarding homophobia), an alternative question was used to obtain information from the respondents.

The interviewer gave the respondents plenty of room to discuss their perceptions and experiences of women in sport coaching and administration. The objective was to generate enough testimony around the key terms to provide sufficient data for later analysis.

The time required for each interview varied. It could be suggested that the respondent's knowledge of the internal politics and gender issues within Athletics South Africa, determined the length of the interview.

Due to the fact that the researcher is a member of the group of female coaches and administrators, information obtained from discussions held prior to and following the interviews, was also used. Interviews and discussions between the researcher and the respondents were used to confirm and clarify experiences shared by the interviewer and the respondent(s). Two of the interviewees phoned the researcher, in order to alter their initial answers on a certain question. Both suggested that the interview had made them aware of their under-utilized position in sport coaching and administration in a patriarchal male society.

The researcher took care not to challenge or demand explanations for the interviewees answers to the questions. Descriptions of their experiences as coaches or managers in

a sport world that is regarded by society as a man's world, were particularly focused on.

4.6. DATA ANALYSIS

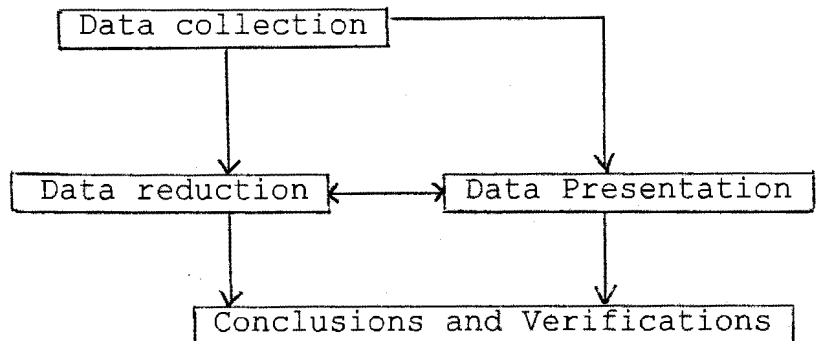
The aim of data selection is to order and give meaning to the collected data. The fundamental part of data analysis in qualitative research is the discovery of meaningful categories within the research topic (Robson & Foster, 1989: 87).

Data analysis was initiated by the drawing up of an interview schedule arising from the literature study. The selection of respondents and the choice of a qualitative research method, played a major role in the analysis of the data.

Following the above stages, qualitative data analysis consists of three interwoven actions. Firstly, data reduction, followed by data presentation and concluded by the drawing of conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 12). Data reduction is the process which succeeds the selection, focus, simplification and transformation of the data on the tapes.

Miles & Huberman (1994: 12) represent the different components of data analysis diagrammatically as follows:

TABLE 4.2: THE COMPONENTS OF DATA ANALYSIS



Once the data from the interviews is analysed, a holistic picture of the interviews can be formed. The researcher reached certain conclusions during the interviews and data analysis.

McCracken (1988: 52) suggests that the researcher listen to the taped interviews over and over again. By doing so, the researcher acquires a holistic picture of each individual interview. This total picture is important when conclusions are drawn as it ensures that information is placed in the context of each respondent. This will play a significant role in the validity and reliability of the research.

4.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of data selection is to order and give meaning to the collected data. The essence of data analysis in qualitative research, is the discovery of meaningful categories within the research topic (Robson & Foster, 1989: 87).

In this chapter the theory and methodology of qualitative research was discussed. This led to an explanation of both the interview as a method of collecting data and the selection of respondents. The identification of respondents played an important role in the research due to their perceptions of power positions of women in sport.

The manner in which the data was analysed, together with the influence the researcher (as an insider) has on the validity and credibility of the research, were discussed.

The general perceptions of the respondents will be discussed in the next chapter. The main categories laid out in the planned schedule will be utilized in the presentation of the data.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5. PERCEPTIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter expanded upon the methodology of qualitative research. Within this chapter an analysis of the perceptions of the respondents, previous discussions between them and the researcher's personal observations will be delineated.

The respondents are not identified (as explained in 4.4) and are referred to as "respondent" or "interviewee." All the interviewees gave permission to be quoted in this study.

5.2. DATA ATTAINED WITHIN THE VARIOUS CATEGORIES

5.2.1. SPORTS BACKGROUND

The interview data indicated that all the respondents had taken part in athletics either at a school, and/or at university level. They related their interest in coaching and/or sport administration to their individual and/or initial participation in sport.

One of the requirements of selection for the interview was that the woman had to be a qualified senior coach. The respondents had, apart from a senior coaching certificate, several further qualifications in athletics coaching or administration. Five of the respondents had obtained qualifications and/or experience at European athletics clubs or universities. Six of the respondents had university degrees and post-graduate qualifications in various academic fields.

For the purpose of this study the respondents' qualifications **not** related to coaching (for example academic qualifications) were not discussed. These qualifications are regarded as irrelevant to their measure of coaching or administrative ability. Similarly, the researcher did not want those respondents without a university qualification to feel belittled via a comparison that has little to do with their careers in sport. The ethical issues related to the potential utilization of the research findings is of major significance to the researcher. The researcher does not wish respondents to find the results offensive, either because they are portrayed in a light they find unappealing, or because attitudes and modes of behaviour they would have preferred to be kept private, were made public.

5.2.2. GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Gender socialization is the early stages of the induction of an infant or child into a culture's gender values, rules and ways of operating. This may be described as the process whereby children learn underlying rules and properties of the gender culture. The cognitive factor in human behaviour is regarded as the basis of gender socialization (Bullock et al., 1988: 786).

It is clear from the interviews that although women coaches are as competent as men regarding coaching theory and practice, the respondents still needed to convince female athletes and junior coaches that "participating in sport is acceptable for women." The view that participation in sport, and especially in coaching and management, is for men only, has become institutionalised in society.

These barriers are very difficult to break down. This suggests that patriarchy is the foundation of positions of power in sport. Although the interviewees all agreed that the sport society is patriarchal, the degree and character of inequalities experienced by them, differ. According to the researcher, this may be due to the different expectations and involvement in sport politics by the respondents. The women involved in struggles for positions

of power in sport, experienced more unequal treatment than those with lower expectations. Women with high expectations regarding, for example, national coaching positions, appeared more self-confident than women with lower expectations. For example one of the respondents applied for, and was appointed in, a specific coaching position above two male coaches. When she was appointed, the comments from the two men, who did not get the job, were negative. They refused to admit that she was the best person for the specific position. In other words, some men resent the fact that women can be successful in something that they are unsuccessful at.

Women are socialized to believe that men are naturally more ambitious and competitive. All the respondents, however, agreed that they are "just as ambitious" as any male coach or manager, and that men are not naturally more aggressive in sport careers. Through gender socialization, society, and especially men, "would like to believe they are better at careers in sport, but we (women) are proving them wrong." Over and above the fact that they are equally aggressive, women had, in fact, according to one coach, an advantage over men in sport. "If there's a woman who's qualified, I think she'd be preferable to an equally qualified man ... women are more caring." This could be an advantage especially in coaching, due to the fact that the creation of a caring environment could assist in the development of a

better working environment for athletes. This, in turn, may lend itself to improved performance(s).

Women are also socialized to believe that men are by nature the managers or leader and women the supporters. In sport administration, tradition has it that the chairperson of sport associations is male, and his secretary female. To change this practice, will, according to a female administrator, "take time, patience and a sense of humour."

5.2.3. STEREOTYPES AND THE EFFECT ON FEMALE COACHES AND ADMINISTRATORS

It is clear from the literature that gender socialization results in stereotypical thinking on the side of both men and women. The fact that women are viewed as less capable than men with regard to coaching and administration has a negative impact on the standing and achievements of women in sport coaching and administration. These stereotypes of women in our society reinforce the notion that women are inferior to men in sport.

Some people in positions of power within sport have perceptions of women coaches and administrators which are based upon a few firmly held ideas in terms of which information about, or encounters with, them are interpreted (Giddens, 1989: 247). Stereotypes in these circumstances

are infused with attitudes of hostility towards women coaches and administrators. They (men) utilize their beliefs to justify attitudes of hostility towards women.

These attitudes are regarded as damaging to women in sport. Although some of these stereotypes should be "outdated," (because of the success of women coaches and administrators in track and field athletics) the respondents were convinced that they still exist. Women are still seen as "too emotional, not capable, can't handle men, do not know enough about sport to be an athletics manager, are inherently weak and men are better because it is a man's job."

There are several reasons for men regarding women as less capable within the context of sport coaching and administration. Theberge (1984: 193) suggests that due to the patriarchal nature of sport, females have to present more impressive credentials than males to be considered for any position of power in sport. One of the administrators suggested that men do not perceive women as capable because "a lot of times they (men) do not think women are strong enough to be able to handle problems that might arise, not only with co-workers, but problems with athletes."

One of the administrators who had had a negative experience with male directors in a recruitment process, suggested that stereotypes reinforced certain traditional

"masculine" and "feminine" characteristics. She said that while men might appear to be "stubborn," women are "bitchy," or when a man is perceived as "ambitious," the same behaviour by a woman is labelled as "aggressive or pushy." Females are, therefore, seen as not "good enough" to occupy powerful positions in sport. Due to this patriarchal view of sport, sport is male-dominated and women are not supposed to overstep the boundaries into male territory (Howarth, 1988: 87).

Examples of the negative effects of stereotypes on female coaches' self-esteem and achievement abound. For example, one of the respondents had passed a difficult and highly regarded coaching examination at a European university. One of the male coaches in her group failed the examination. His reaction to her passing had been "that if he had slept with the director of coaching, he, too, would have passed." She reported, however, that apart from the falseness of the accusation, the director in question had not done the marking! Some of the respondents suggested that "it is just an attitude problem," because the woman in this case was better than the man, who found it unacceptable. Some men tend to attribute to others feelings of hostility when they, themselves experience considerable frustration (not passing the examination).

A further problem experienced by women in sport coaching and administration is the resentment men nurture towards competent women coaches. During 1993 one of the respondents had been appointed as a coach for the World Athletic Championships and again in 1994 for the Commonwealth Games. She experienced "hostile male coaches" who resented the fact that she had been selected above them for the position of international coach. This prejudice exists mainly through the use of stereotypical thinking by a number of male coaches and administrators.

Similarly, the respondents experienced the problem that a woman must be better than any man before she would be considered for a position. According to one of the respondents, "a woman would not be considered for a position unless she has a solid educational background as well as experience in administration". Women have to be able to "walk on water" to be successful, and "mistakes are not allowed," was another's perception. Richter (1984: 389) argues that as a group, males manage sport in such a way that it is conservative, elitist and alienating, and they (males) are determined to keep the dominant male values in sport because they set the agenda.

One of the interviewees applied for a "traditional male" sports job at an athletics club. She did not get the job, because she was perceived by the male interviewers as

"aggressive." She felt that this was an unfair label, as she had worked harder and achieved more success, was better qualified and had more experience than the majority of the men who applied for the job.

In a study in Iowa, United States of America, Delano (1988: 107) interviewed subjects who not only agreed on the above stereotypes, but were outspoken about the problem that women, according to men, "do not aspire". The respondents suggested that the reason for this could be that the system prevented women from seeing any career opportunities. This differs from simply saying "women do not aspire," which can be interpreted as meaning that women lack the motivation to be athletics administrators.

At the annual general meeting of the South African Coaching Committee which was held on 4 and 5 November 1994, the issue of women coaches was discussed. One of the male chairpersons became very hostile towards the "women coaches who must, for a change, work to go through the same trouble as men to become involved in coaching and the decision-making processes in sport." When one of the women present suggested to him that some women did work as hard, if not harder than men and required an opportunity to become involved, he with the support of his male colleagues became even more hostile.

Yet another problem faced by women in sport is tokenism. Tokenism usually portrays men as the dominant group and women as mere tokens. Karsten (1994: 148) for example suggests that when 85% or more of one sex control and practice power in an institution, and 15% are of the other sex, tokenism can become a problem. A black woman mentioned in a personal conversation that in the present, changing athletic system, they (black women) are used as tokens to satisfy society that "there is a black person and a women" on the management of athletics. According to her, women, but not men, experience the negative effects of tokenism, namely social isolation, visibility, and the encapsulation into stereotypical gender roles.

When tokens are female, the term "helper" may be synonymous with the term "mother" (Karsten, 1994: 151). This may suggest that female coaches are rewarded mainly for service (years of coaching or administration), and if these women are critical of the male management, they stand the chance of not being integrated into the dominant class of males in a way which does not threaten the latter. In other words, female coaches are forced out of the system once they stray from the "good mother" image and resulting in the dominant group of men retaining control.

5.2.4. HOMOPHOBIA

When the respondents discussed homophobia, the majority perceived it as a problem for women in sport, especially to coaching. Several of the respondents perceived homophobia as a labelling process which prevented women from entering certain positions in sport. One of the respondents said: "If women are not married - they are immediately the target of a lesbian label."

A number of the subjects seemed to be especially sensitive to the issue of homophobia. They shared concerns about, for example, the problems surrounding the future of field athletes and coaches (sometimes as ex-athletes) as these athletes (and sometimes coaches) need to be very powerful and tend to be physically bigger than, for example, track athletes. These athletes and their coaches easily become targets of labelling. The married coaches felt they had an advantage over unmarried coaches in respect of being labelled "lesbians" as they were married. If a female coached or managed only female athletes, "she is a lesbian and a threat (according to society) to sport, but males can coach males and will not necessarily be called gay," such as is the case with the national rugby, soccer and cricket teams and their respective male coaches.

These concerns are derived from the social world in which they live, namely that women need to be small, "helpless" and feminine, not physically strong and big. The subjects recognized that gender bias and homophobia negatively affected everyone by creating additional pressures in an already pressurized environment. "It is an individual's right to be judged on professional performance, rather than on subjective values of lifestyle," suggested one of the interviewees. "I have to coach better than any male to be recognized, and now I have to live like a saint to be able to continue coaching. What kind of a life is that?" questioned another.

The reluctance of women in sport to talk about lesbians in sport, should be placed against the background of a conservative, patriarchal society. One female administrator said: "I do not want to talk about certain things in sport which are better left unsaid." Lemmer (1989: 31) suggests that in South Africa, the patriarchal nature of society and the presence of strong authoritarian norms contribute towards the fact that women do not want to defend their views in public.

In her research on **Homophobia and Sexism**, Griffen (1992: 258) came to the conclusion that women attempt to distance themselves from the "lesbian" image and to embrace traditional standards of femininity. This can devastate

friendships among female teammates, poison coach-athlete relationships, and introduce questions concerning the identity of a female athlete and coach. Some women would, according to Griffen, restrict close friendships with other women to avoid the possibility that someone may regard them as a lesbian. Similarly, other women may consciously cultivate a high-profile heterosexual image by talking about their relationships with men and being seen with men as often as possible. Even if they recognize the falseness of a male-centered sport world, the status quo of female roles is not always questioned by females themselves.

The above can also be linked to the fact that not all women in sport want to be associated with the "label" of feminism. The term holds negative connotations for some women. This inevitably results in women becoming less and less involved in sport coaching and administration. This could result in a lack of role models for aspiring young women in sport. Half of the respondents were positive concerning the role feminists could play to make males aware of the talents inherent in females in sport. The other half did not support or actively disagreed with, feminist perspectives. This contradiction can be linked to the fact that sport is seen as a male preserve.

The findings on gender socialization which emerged from the interviews, corresponded with those of Coackly and White

(1992: 33) concerning the dynamics of how young people made decisions about their sport participation and careers in sport in Britain. They came to the conclusion that "if a family member or close friend known to the family was involved in sport, then it was considered appropriate and safe for a young woman to participate in a programme or activity. If this was not the case, young women, even if they wanted to participate, would not be likely to receive the necessary support and encouragement from others who generally sanctioned their activities."

5.2.5. THE ABSENCE OF FEMALE ROLE MODELS IN SPORT

The lack of female role models in sport plays an important part in the role that women play in sport. Kane (1990: 53) suggests that a female coach can contribute towards female athletes becoming confident and independent, in comparison to female athletes coached by male coaches who need to portray a more "helpless" attitude. The role model of the female coach cannot be established unless greater opportunities are made available for females to secure coaching positions. Of the ten subjects, 50% had a female role model. One of the women who had a female role model in coaching said that she had only survived a long time in coaching because "my mentor was always there to assist with coaching problems, technical problems and general

information on how to handle coaching from a woman's point of view."

Eight out of the ten interviewees were motivated by someone (male or female) to persist in a sport career. These women suggested that a special interest in them personally helped them survive and remain motivated in sport for a long time. As one coach said, " she (role model) made me realize that women can be just as good, if not better, than men in sport." The women with female role models agreed that their role models were "outstanding women" who were leaders in a specific field. Interestingly, not all the female role models were involved in sport. As one woman explained, "few women were in sport positions who could function as professional mentors or role models." No difference was found between the respondents with a female role model and those with a male role model with regard to how women in sport encounter and solve problems.

The interviewees verbalized that the influence of the role model of the female coach or administrator could not be established unless greater opportunities were made available for females to secure coaching positions. Respondents were of the opinion that administrators had to address this issue and take positive steps towards opening up meaningful opportunities for females in positions of power in sport. It was suggested that females who possessed the necessary

background for coaching, needed to be actively recruited to fill vacant positions.

The lack of role models was regarded as being reinforced by the media, as women in sport were either not mentioned, or were presented to society in a distorted way.

5.2.6. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

It was the perception of eight of the ten subjects that the media is biased in favour of males in sport. If the media could establish a more proactive stance, regarding their representation of females in sport, and eliminate gender role stereotyping in reporting, more females might enter sport and pursue very viable and positive careers in sport leadership. One of the female coaches stated that: "the South African media are definitely biased towards males in sport. If comments need to be made on the performance of sport teams, male coaches are always quoted, never a female." "Photographs of male sport heroes cover the back pages of papers," said another coach.

Eight of the interviewees suggested that the self-esteem of females in sport coaching and administration could be enhanced through more accurate and appropriate media coverage. The other two stated that they did not need media coverage to enhance their self-esteem. While the media

representation of girls and women in sport is just one of the many socio-cultural and institutional barriers excluding women from sport leadership, it is an aspect which needs to be addressed by concerned professionals. One female coach was referred to as "superwoman" in the papers. She reported that it embarrassed her because an equivalent male coach was referred to as "... one of the best coaches in the world." It is interesting to note that her athlete was ranked higher in the world in her event than the athlete coached by the male coach.

At the opening of the Winter Olympics at Calgary, the games commentator, Al Trautevig (for American television), referred to women participants as "being normal" when they were younger, implying that they are not "normal" now (Murray, 1991: 46). At the annual general meeting of the South African Coaching Committee on 4 and 5 November 1994 the speaker on women's problems in coaching was assured by one of the male chairpersons during her speech that "she was good to look at." The important problems she presented and wished to discuss were not commented on.

One of the country's top sports magazines, **S A Sports Illustrated**, covers, according to its editor, "sport in South Africa." Apart from two advertisements and an average of two to three pages (out of a possible one hundred and fifty) on sportswomen, the magazine is primarily dedicated

to "our" male cricket, rugby, boxing and soccer heroes. (This refers to the May, June, July, August, September and October 1994 issues.) All respondents agreed that it was an "unhealthy" situation to promote sport in such a way in this country. In a letter (by the researcher) to the editor, the matter of the magazine's prejudice towards males was raised together with a request to place the letter in the column "readers' comments." He neither responded to nor placed the letter in any of the later issues.

In a very interesting study by Aburdene and Naisbitt (1993: 116), the British media were found to be extremely gender-biased in favour of men. Men's sport received 92% of airtime and women's sport 5% (3% went towards gender-neutral topics), men's sport stories in print outnumbered women's sports by twenty-three to one, women athletes were often called "girls" on television, while men were never called "boys", and 92.3% of sport photographs pictured men.

This study reflects remarkable similarities to the South African media. All the games played during the rugby World Cup (during May 1995) were televised live in South Africa. The netball World Cup (played during July 1995) was mentioned on several occasion during sport broadcasts, but only the final was broadcast live (personal observation).

At an international athletics meeting held during May 1995 in Greenpoint, Cape Town, the television commentator referred to the "ladies or girls" in the women's events. The men competing at the meeting were never referred to as "gentlemen or boys." When the researcher questioned the commentator (following the meeting) regarding his use of the terms "ladies and/or girls," he became very aggressive towards "feminists who are always looking for trouble."

These negative media images are a clear indication of the stereotypes which abound in the world of sport.

5.2.7. SPORT AS A MALE PRESERVE - EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

When the respondents discussed the problems they faced in athletics, many of them began talking about the "tradition" within athletics. Athletics has traditionally been a "man's world" and not a place where women are readily accepted. All the subjects made the observation that sport belonged to males and their value system and that it stressed power, strength and financial rewards. Its traditions celebrated maleness and "real men," reinforcing a large, well organized body of male sport culture.

This male orientated body of tradition was perceived, by all the interviewees, as the reason behind the belief that they had to be better, and work harder than their male

counterparts to be considered and appointed in a coaching or management job. One of the women coaches interviewed said: "I work hard, I coach hard, my athletes excel in what they do, I do not break any rules, what more must I do better than a male coach to have the power to make decisions in athletics?"

Many of the interviewees perceived sport as a man's world, where men set the rules. The general perception amongst women in sport is that it is easier for a man to get into power positions in sport, and then to use this position to the advantage of men. The following reasons were given: **Firstly**, "perceived less opportunity than males to coach and manage at national and international level" and **secondly**, "perceived less opportunity than males to become involved at a decision-making level." Six out of the ten interviewed women suggested that it comes naturally for the men who do the hiring to choose a man for the job in sport, . "Men do not even consider women for a career in sport, because women do not do *those kind of jobs*." One of the interviewed coaches stated that: "... athletes deserve the best coach available, man or woman." Or, as another said: "... athletes are used to seeing men as coaches, so they expect it."

As a result of perceiving sport as a man's world, the respondents felt that it was difficult for women to break

through the gender-subjective views that were so central to athletics. Sport administrators wanted to have people with the "right image" in athletics jobs, and since sport was viewed as male-orientated, it was impossible for a woman to fit this image. Related to this, Fishwick (1988: 8) suggests that it is "natural" to assume that males can coach and manage females, but not visa-versa.

The dominance of males in all power-related positions in Athletics South Africa was confirmed by all the subjects. They perceived Athletics South Africa as favouring males in positions of power, management and coaching. A long standing female administrator suggested that "one just needs to look at the management of Athletics South Africa to realize that sport in this country is still seen as a man's world. There were no women on Athletics South Africa's executive or track and field."

This is, unfortunately, still true for Athletics South Africa at present. According to the **1994 Official handbook of Athletics South Africa**, the executive committee consists of thirteen members - all men. At present, Athletics South Africa's Track and Field executive consists of eight members - all men. From this one may deduce that women have no say or no vote concerning decisions made regarding the future of athletics in this country. Nine out of the ten subjects suggested that women were not taken seriously in sport. One

subject suggested that "the system makes women less qualified than they are." The above describes patriarchy, namely that sport in South Africa is a system of male dominance in which masculine is valued more highly than that which is considered feminine.

According to some of the respondents, the attitude of most men was that they do not want women to be in charge. "Men do not like women in power," or "men do not like independent women who can do everything for themselves," and "men do not want to give up any power." This attitude results in men still viewing the women's place as in the home and, at the very most, in some secondary role to men. One of the female coaches, who has travelled widely to various countries visiting sport departments at universities, suggested that patriarchy is found "across the working world and I think that it is difficult for men to deal with women in supervisory roles - in South Africa the patriarchal nature of society, and men in general, makes the situation even worse." An important ingredient of patriarchy, namely sexism, comes out strongly in these comments. Sexism falsely attributes positions of power and superiority to men in sport, while at the same time denying women any position of power in sport.

This was in accordance with the subject's suggestion that women were not utilized to their full potential by Athletics

South Africa, mainly because the committees who appointed coaches and managers, consisted only of males. Eight out of the ten interviewees suggested that Athletics South Africa favoured males above females in sport, while all ten suggested that women's talents in sport management and coaching were not utilized to their full potential by Athletics South Africa. A top female sport administrator stated that: "You need an exceptionally strong woman to challenge the males in charge, to make them aware of the talents of female managers and the important role they can play in the development of females in sport."

When women were appointed to positions of assistant managers or coaches, the reasons given for their appointment were not related to their coaching or management abilities, but played down with comments such as "mother figure" or more recently, "affirmative action." According to one of the female coaches, "males are threatened by the expertise of the females in sport, therefore they get left out of power positions of sport which means that the male ego is kept intact," or according to another coach, "females in sport will always have to work harder to be seen, heard or ignored." All ten of the interviewees suggested that, according to the present philosophy of patriarchy within Athletics South Africa, it is easier for a man than for a woman to become a manager of a national athletics side, or

to have decision-making power concerning the future of the sport.

Nearly all the interviewees said that they thought athletics was the "last bastion" to be conquered by women. The respondents agreed that women face problems in other workplaces and professions, but stated that the situation in sport was even worse. Women were very easily labelled as "too pushy" and as a "take-over" in sport. Men tended to see sport as their terrain, one in which men are still in charge. Women could enter this terrain on a secondary level as an assistant coach or manager but men were still in charge.

It was felt that this situation had not changed significantly since South Africa's re-entry into the international sporting world. The fact that one woman had been appointed as a coach of a national side for the last two years (1993 and 1994) in South African athletics, did not make the other competent female managers, (who had never had an opportunity to manage a national side), feel satisfied with the situation. Many of the respondents regarded this as tokenism - a female has never been appointed as the manager of a national team.

It was the perception of the subjects that women were not in key leadership roles in sport because women were not

encouraged or supported in their efforts to attain such positions. More women were actively involved at grass-roots level in coaching than men. Contributions to the decision-making process at a national level, however, continued to be much more difficult for women than men. "Women coaches are encouraged to coach juniors and young children, but the *big league* is for men."

The men who developed and promoted athletics in South Africa were careful to ensure that only men were accepted into the structures of power. This maintained athletics as male preserves by actively keeping women out of positions of power.

5.2.8. EVIDENCE OF DOUBLE STANDARDS IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN SPORT

South African men regard the most successful sport as taking place in the big stadiums that are built for the exclusive use of male sports, for example, the Wanderers and Ellis Park in Johannesburg, which are primarily used for rugby (all male), cricket (all male) and soccer (all male). In all the major cities there are enormous "monuments," in the form of male sport stadiums, for rugby, cricket and soccer. None of the respondents could even seriously consider the possibility of a woman coaching the South African Rugby team. If a mixed sport like athletics (track and field),

has never appointed a female as manager of an international male and female team, how could a women ever be appointed as the manager or coach of an all-male team? This, according to the respondents, is an example of the "double standards in sport."

Double standards were also evident in the fact that once women move into coaching jobs, more barriers are set up for them by either subdividing the job, or by creating new positions which have a higher status. For example, a female coach was appointed for the track and field team to the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Canada. She explained that she was obliged to report to the chief coach and the manager, who were both male.

The respondents perceived the hiring process of Athletics South Africa to be laced with double standards. Women were "either not qualified to do the job," or "too emotional to be an international coach," or "perceived as wanting to take over wherever she goes." What is so contradictory about this, is that the athletes perceived the problems which cropped up as primarily due to the male managers who "were not available" or "were not available to attend to the problem," or "promised to solve the problem and never did." The above is an example of the patriarchal nature of South African athletics where men dominate and stand a better chance of being promoted than women. From a feminist

viewpoint it could be argued that the selection of managers and coaches on merit, implies that gender must not play a role in the selection process.

5.2.9. NETWORKING

The "old boys" network, an informal network of men, was perceived by some of the women as one way for men to stay in control of athletics. The respondents discussed how men "take care of" one another, while women in athletics have to battle on their own. In some cases, if a man did not live up to the expectations set for him, they (men) let him get away with it because "boys will be boys". Karsten (1994: 125) suggests that networking is a process of developing and nurturing contacts with others who provide social support, career advice and feedback.

The effective networking of men in sport also contributes to the fact that men are "seen" and "control" the sport, resulting in the exclusion of women. One of the female coaches suggested that "if financial gain and power are at stake, men's networking is at its best." Another coach verbalized the opinion that "men do not really want women to be part of Athletics South Africa, so they have their *hidden agenda* worked out to keep it all to themselves." All the subjects had experienced men's effective networking in sport. A respondent referred to the "old boys system" and

the hiring process of coaches and managers, especially with relation to international teams. According to her, "men hire men". In other words, men reaped the benefits of networking, especially empowerment in sport. Women were not part of the network in athletics in South Africa - so they could not share any benefits. Traditionally, women did not network and were not allowed into the existing networks of men. Women are, however, starting to form their own networks in sport and in some cases are accepted by men in theirs.

The view was expressed that women involved in sport were usually in the minority at meetings, so when the "boys get together afterwards in the bar to lobby and support each other, women are absent either because they feel out being only one of a kind, or they have to rush home to an impatient husband and children."

Nine of the subjects suggested that women could, and should, network more effectively in order to support each other. Women are, according to most respondents, at a disadvantage to males because they do not have the same support from their fellow females in sport. Women in sport in South Africa tend to accept male behaviour, knowledge and patriarchal interest as the standards or "norms" in sport. This is understood by the reality that a network, for example, the men's network in athletics, has become the norm

and the framework for understanding social relations in sport. Some women accept these frameworks while others "fight the system", the latter, inevitably, leads to conflict.

5.2.10. CONFLICT

Women set on having a career in sport, for example, coaching, are in conflict with both themselves and society. On the one hand it is expected of females to be feminine. According to society's beliefs, however, being involved in sport requires one to be aggressive. The role conflict that especially younger female coaches experience is imposed upon them by outside forces, for example, expectations from society, over which they have no control. One of the coaches expressed her dismay in fact that "people are not prepared to defend a woman who is involved in sport."

Conflict was also experienced by female coaches when they worked as hard, and in as dedicated a manner, as their male counterparts, yet received little reward and recognition for their behaviour. In some cases they perceived themselves as having worked even harder. "Why do we (women) have to work as hard as any male in sport, and they get the promotion?" This type of conflict may cause women to lose interest in sport to such an extent that they stop coaching. One of the

respondents had, since the interview, decided to quit coaching. She was one of the country's top coaches and one of her athletes had won a bronze medal at the Commonwealth Games in 1994. When she was asked if she would have continued coaching if she had received more recognition as a coach, her answer was that "to be a national coach only once, would have made me continue coaching. I needed recognition to keep on sacrificing for athletics."

Role conflict within the home environment was one of the biggest problems experienced by the married coaches and administrators. Out of the ten interviewees, five coaches were married and two of them still had small children to care for. One of the coaches with small children increasingly found herself in a position where she had to turn down certain coaching positions due to the conflict she experienced at home when she had to accompany teams and work long hours.

Women coaches who do not conform to gender role expectations (for example, to go away on an athletics trip to the World Championships for three weeks instead of looking after her children) experience a moral conflict together with a feeling of selfishness. "Is it worth all the worries?" asked one of the married coaches. "My husband is prepared to help with the children when I have to go away with sport teams and work extra long hours," said another. The

perception amongst the respondents was that men do not generally encounter this type of stress because they have fewer responsibilities related to children and housekeeping. As one coach stated, " I have never seen X (colleague) having to confirm with his wife before he goes away - it takes me three weeks of organization regarding my house, husband and the children if I want to go away for one week with athletes."

Unmarried respondents were primarily experiencing role conflict at work, depending on the attitude of their bosses. It is important to note that coaching in South Africa is usually carried out on a part-time basis. Not one of them experienced conflict at home. As one unmarried female administrator said, "I lock my door and leave, I do not ask a husband's permission to go anywhere, nor do I have children to consider. I pity the married female coaches - how they handle all the conflict, is a miracle."

All respondents agreed that role demands could be a tremendous source of conflict when the professional worker and coach's limited free time was put under strain by external factors over which she had no control, for example when her child gets sick or if her husband does not wish to cooperate. The respondents suggested that because they had to work so much harder to prove to the world that they were good coaches or administrators, burn-out could easily be the

result of "giving too much". The interviewees also agreed that this could occur more easily during the season when, as a coach said, "the pressure is on for my athletes to perform well, all the extra meetings take more of my free time and I am tired."

The stress of life-style, and trying to hold down a full time job while coaching part-time, led to anxiety as a result of the interviewees attempting to balance the conflicting demands of the various roles. According to Kornblum (1991: 81), this phenomenon may be labelled interrole conflict. In order to coach well, women coaches violated their roles as mother and wife, and to some extent even subordinated their jobs to the demands of coaching. If all the demands became too much to handle, women coaches and administrators imagined that they would decide to give up their sporting careers.

5.2.11. FUTURE EXPECTATIONS

All the subjects were very positive about a more favourable future for women in sport in a democratic South Africa. This optimism is primarily due to the gender-positive attitude of the Government. All respondents believed that the attitude of males in charge would not change immediately, but were hopeful that it would change with time.

Lessing (1994: 31) suggests that the transitional constitution should be of concern to women. She makes it very clear, though, that a transitional constitution may herald new hope and good intentions, but legal change may contribute very little to the struggle towards justice for women. The emphasis should be, according to her, not to "blame the system" but to "change the system." Lessing states that female advancement in society can be ensured by a combination of personal and organizational action plans, implemented during this crucial phase in South Africa's development.

The unequal status of women in sport is complex and rooted deeply in patriarchal tradition, custom and prejudice. Beyond the basic physiological differences between men and women lies a whole range of differences covering all aspects of human ability (Delpont, 1994: 7). The variations of character and ability within each sex especially regarding coaching and management of sport, might be greater and more significant than the differences between sexes.

Presently, Athletics South Africa's emphasis is on the elimination of racial discrimination. This could result in gender discrimination slipping from being a low priority to practically becoming a non-issue. Women in sport need to be freed from all the burdens and disabilities imposed upon them by a patriarchal practice. They will, however, have to

ensure that the issues of equal status and equal representation receives priority attention.

5.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Qualitative participatory action research gave the researcher an agile instrument with which to capture how female coaches and administrators experienced the athletics world in South Africa. The research was carried out in such a way that neither the investigator nor the respondents needed to make extraordinary sacrifices with regard to privacy.

This method was designed to capture the "richness" of qualitative data. That is, a method which reflects the unique relationship between investigator and respondents in which each party honours the others' input.

The aim of this project was to isolate and define categories which influence female coaches and administrators in South African athletics. From the data these categories were defined, discussed and used as a basis to draw conclusions. The conclusions underlined in the academic literature (chapter three) are similar to the findings of the data. Certain suggestions given by the respondents were a mere repetition of the findings presented in other, related fields.

From all this, a question comes to mind. Can men be convinced that, by virtue of their "privileged standpoint" in relation to the world of organized sport, they should redefine and restructure sport in such a way that its benefits can be extended to women as well as to men?

The results of the analysis can be summarised in the form of the following hypotheses which should be investigated in future research:

(1) The fewer role models for women in sport, the fewer coaches and administrators there will be.

(2) The more the media reports unfairly about the role of women in sport, the less women will be operational as coaches and sport administrators.

(3) The fewer opportunities for women in sport executive positions, the more sport will be seen as a male preserve.

(4) The more conflict, especially role conflict, women experience in sport coaching and administration, the more women will stop coaching.

(5) The more positive legislation will be towards the preventing of discrimination, the more women will pursue careers in sport management.

In the next chapter a strategy, to address the problems revealed by the research findings, will be discussed.

CHAPTER SIX

6. GENDER, SPORT AND PLANNING

6.1. INTRODUCTION

In chapter six the conclusions and implications of the research will be discussed. The question of whether the aims (set out in paragraph 1.3.) of the research have been reached, shall be addressed.

It is important to note that the study took place in a time of major societal and political change in South Africa. The democratic reform that has, and still is, taking place, has an immense influence on women. Chapter 3 of the interim Constitution guarantees fundamental rights to every citizen. This is commonly referred to as the 'Bill of Rights' (Legal Resources Center, 1995: 5). Within this Constitution legally protected fundamental rights are introduced into South Africa for the first time. Fundamental rights refer to the basic rights that people are entitled to as human beings.

In the light of the above, this research has been successful as it has sought to provide a feminist interpretation of women's subordinate position in sport via a theoretical background to their powerless position. Due to the lack of

information on the issue, it was necessary to give an overview of women's views and perceptions within the framework of patriarchal gender relations and the influence on planning for the future.

The qualitative research that has been utilized, may be described as both explorative and descriptive. The data will be used to understand the life-world of women in sport.

The above will provide a possible and multi-leveled strategy aimed at addressing the need for change in South African sport.

6.2. ACCESSIBILITY AND CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING AMONGST WOMEN IN SPORT

One of the central issues emerging from this research is that of access. That is, the limited access to power in athletics and the injustice experienced by women due to their inability to change this. The lack of power both reflect and create gender identities and roles, exerting a major influence over the expectations of men and women in sport. These inequalities are so entrenched that we (especially women) sometimes fail to recognize their existence or question their role in determining the availability of opportunities (Little, 1994: 127).

Both the literature study and the views of the respondents verify that the relationship between women and the roles they have to fulfil in their families, cannot be divorced from the power relations within which they are set. The subordinate position usually held by women in the home and family reinforces a set of wider patriarchal gender relations.

The political changes that have occurred in the country will play a definite role in shaping the future for women in sport. Women's lives, however, will continue to be influenced by the division of roles and the necessity of balancing the role of worker/wife/mother and sport coach/administrator. In other words, women are disadvantaged in their involvement in sport as they are primarily associated with the domestic sphere and consequently alienated from power positions in sport (Little, 1995: 138).

From the above it may be argued that time and thought needs to go into specific areas of planning, as well as certain topics and issues, to ensure that particular attention is paid to the problems of women. This, however, means that those concerned with other areas of planning (for example, the future of athletics in South Africa) must consciously create and maintain an awareness of gender equality, and a

commitment to addressing its manifestation, in the present context.

6.3. THE REDEVELOPMENT OF ATHLETICS SOUTH AFRICA - THE INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN

The debate of whether or not women's needs, and the response to them by those in power (in this case, Athletics South Africa) should be seen as separate from, or integral to other social issues, is a complex and long-standing political question that has always vexed feminists and has been the source of division between feminist groups. Theoretical divisions have been reflected in political activism, with often fierce battles between those who advocate the total separation of women in terms of political organization, and those who believe women's interests are best served "from within" existing groups. Numerous groups of feminists remain somewhere between these two positions - recognizing the importance of women organizing separately from men, but also acknowledging the limitations implicit in an approach that totally separates them from existing power bases within society (Little, 1994: 188).

Within Athletics South Africa, there are differences of opinion concerning the extent to which "women's issues" should be dealt with separately or incorporated more broadly into the existing structures. It was suggested by Athletics

South Africa's Coaching Committee (at a general meeting held on the 4th and 5th of November 1994) that women's issues should be compartmentalised from the day-to-day planning of Athletics South Africa via electing a separate women's committee to handle women's affairs. In this manner women's needs would be seen as the responsibility of one representative on the executive of Athletics South Africa. The Coaching Committee responded strongly in favour of the view that women's issues should not be compartmentalised and therefore, regarded as one person's (or committee's) responsibility. Alternatively, all the provincial coaching committees should be aware of women's needs and should ensure that they are considered as part of the mainstream planning process of athletics.

The struggle to have gender inequalities recognized and reconstituted within Athletics South Africa is not going to be easy. From the adoption of a women's committee to the inclusion of individual female coaches and managers in national teams, women have fought, often in very small numbers, to challenge the attitudes of the males in control in order to promote change. In relation to this, one of the provincial chairmen stated at the coaching conference (4 and 5 November 1994) that "women must get their act together and compete with men" (Personal experience).

A lack of initiatives for women, together with the persistence of priorities which result in the creation of hostile feelings and inaccessible positions in athletics committees, have encouraged women to try to influence the men in charge of Athletics South Africa from the outside by way of individual discussions and requests.

Athletics South Africa must be persuaded to launch a campaign which specifically focuses on women and the development of female athletes, coaches and managers. Although Athletics South Africa selected women for their women's committee, no attempt was made to consult women in the selection process. The men in charge made the selection as they felt appropriate (Personal experience, 1988 - 1995).

The latter is significant as the action fundamentally undermines the human rights of women, and in the face of the spirit underlying the Constitution - undermines their right to equality and freedom from discrimination. Women feel isolated from the planning process of athletics and fear that if this process continues without consulting the women involved, it will result in an athletics empire rejected by the majority of women involved in sport (Personal experience, 1988 - 1995).

A new body to be created by the Constitution and forming part of the Human Rights Commission is the Gender Equality

Commission. The task of the Gender Equality Commission is to act as a watchdog to protect the fundamental right which states that the law must treat men and women equally. Due to the fact that the Commission may receive complaints regarding gender discrimination, the lack of women in power positions in sport could be brought to their attention.

There are various elements which should be addressed and used in a strategy to increase the involvement of women in sport coaching and administration. The first is the Constitution and the Bill of Rights in South Africa. In other words, the law must treat and protect everyone equally. No person should be discriminated against because of his/her 'race, gender, sex, ethnic or social origin, ...' (Legal Resources Center, 1995: 7). The extent to which the Bill of Rights, or the equality clause in the Constitution, can be interpreted as successful in promoting human rights, will, of course, only be realized in the future.

One's understanding as to whether or not there has been a move towards greater equality in sport, is dependent on factors such as one's interpretation of the term, 'equal opportunity.'

On paper it would appear that the Constitution will facilitate the prevention of the discrimination against

women in sport. It is important to note, however, that legislation cannot be evaluated in isolation. Its impact, especially in areas like equal opportunities (which are wide open to differences in interpretation) is and will continue to be closely linked to broader patriarchal relations. The link between the Constitution and the improved position of women in sport, may not be immediately obvious, yet it provides the basis from which any successful reconstitution will follow.

The inclusion of women in the formal planning processes of Athletics South Africa would certainly facilitate the development of a framework in which equality and gender issues are addressed and prioritized. Initiatives for women could via such arrangements be "added into" existing policies. Little (1994: 195) suggests that the commitment to meet women's needs requires the objective examination of the role of planning in the creation and maintenance of inequalities.

6.4. RECOMMENDED STRATEGY TO IMPROVE INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN COACHING AND ADMINISTRATION IN ATHLETICS SOUTH AFRICA.

The following suggestions are made with a view to developing a strategy to involve more women in coaching and management positions in athletics in South Africa. (Love (1990: 50 - 52) has constructed a similar model for Louisiana in the

United States of America, and some of her suggestions have been adapted to suit the specific conditions of South African athletics.)

6.4.1. **Decide upon a title for the project.** Athletics South Africa should decide on a title, for example, The South African Network for Women in Sport (SANWIS). The organization (or sponsor) providing the initial funding, may then associate itself with the empowerment of women in sport. Given the Government's attitude towards equal opportunities, it may prove profitable to connect the name of a company to legislating equality.

6.4.2. **Decide upon the purposes of the project.** The possible purposes of SANWIS could be:

* To **form a network** to promote the benefits of sport for women, including participation in management.

* To **address the need** for competent women coaches, administrators and officials in South Africa. This must include issues such as the lack of appropriate role models for young women in sport and making the media aware of their contribution in discriminating against women in sport.

* To **encourage women** to seek and maintain sport leadership positions within South African sport. In other words, women should be conscientised as to their current position in sport. SANWIS could encourage them, in co-operation with a possible sponsor and Athletics South Africa, via supplying provisional training, information and advice.

6.4.3. **Develop goals arising from the purpose.** Several goals could be developed from the SANWIS purpose:

* To locate, train and support talented women with coaching, officiating and sport leadership potential;

* To promote, through support and training, competent female coaches, and sport administrators;

* To encourage sport organizations to assertively seek women for sport leadership training;

* To promote the benefits of sport and sport leadership to students, educators, parents and the community (Sisley & Delaney, 1990: 65).

6.4.4. **Elect members to act as a steering committee.**

National legislation affecting women should be reviewed, in particular the legislation concerning equal opportunities and sex discrimination. Athletics South Africa must recognize the Constitutional empowerment of women.

6.4.5. **Access the needs of women in sport and athletics in South Africa.** The discussions held between the researcher and the interviewees, quite clearly illustrate their needs. Brylinsky (1991: 55) suggests the need for a network which generates information and resources that support change in areas important to its members. Network members need to know the source of the information and how to seek the advice of others.

6.4.6. **Devise an initial event which gives visibility to the project.** Athletics South Africa could host a reception around the project. The guests should include the media, prospective sponsors, senior coaches and administrators - all of whom can serve as mentors in SANWIS.

6.4.7. **Develop projects and deadlines to accomplish them.**

To accomplish the purpose and goals of the network, a number of projects should be undertaken:

* A newsletter, published at least twice a year, should be circulated to inform specially targeted individuals throughout the Republic.

* A scholarship fund for the development of coaches and administrators at overseas venues should be established. (It could be named after a noted female sport leadership figure within the Republic of South Africa.)

* A series of conferences, sponsored annually, covering topics which promote female coaches and administrators should be organized (Pastore, 1991: 26).

6.4.8. **Assess the results of each project annually and at the end each five-year period.** Regular assessment, by the Director of Athletics and the steering committee, is necessary in order to find out if the goals set were achieved.

6.4.9. **Continue a long-range plan.** All women in sport are aware of the need to increase the number of females in sport

coaching and administration. A sport philosophy, which demonstrates a basic understanding of the fact that women can be equal in all aspects of sport, should be followed and enforced by Athletics South Africa. It would lay the foundation of a long-range plan.

Given the foregoing, it is concluded that the participation of women in sport has created more opportunities for women in management positions in sport. If a strategy, for example the one in this chapter, can be followed, awareness of women and their position in sport can only improve.

This comment leads us finally to the realization that men control athletics in South Africa and that women will have to change their current powerless position.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

7. CONCLUSION

Sine the 1970s social scientists have been concerned with the position of women in relation to men in society and sport. Researchers have specifically compared the social status of women to that of men (Mufune, 1995: 46). Within the South African context, consideration has been given to the general status of women in society, while little interest has been channeled towards the position of women in sport. There has been even less interest in the situation of women coaches and managers in South African athletics (Personal observation 1977 - 1996). With the present social change in this country, however, female involvement in sport is on the increase.

The exploratory nature of this study precludes drawing definite conclusions concerning women coaches and administrators or the men with whom they interact in the sport establishment. The findings do, however, nurture a critical attitude towards gender issues within South African sport.

The enforced domination of men in sport has been damaging to men, women and sport alike. An idealized system believed to promote the values of honesty, fair play, positive

relationship building, and loyalty has produced more than its fair share of corruption, violent behavior, and disregard for the rights of others.

The findings of this exploratory study need to be integrated in order to fully comprehend modern sport and its origins. The social meanings of the body, sexuality, and physicality in sport need to be blended with theories of social change and integrated with descriptions of gender and patriarchy (Messner & Sabo, 1990: 54). This kind of perspective on sport will aid in gaining a more complete understanding of contemporary sport issues such as the exclusion of women from sport; the corresponding threat felt by the male establishment from women's athletic successes; the phenomenon of cheerleaders; the heterosexual attractiveness associated with athletic men and the corresponding projection of lesbianism onto female athletes.

There is no instant solution to the present situation of women in sport. It is deeply rooted in long-established patterns of child rearing and human interaction, and it is perpetuated by powerful economic and political interests. One cannot dismiss or abolish sport in South Africa, nor should one wish to. Potentially sport can assist all South Africans to "build a nation," as was demonstrated by the World Rugby and African Soccer Championships. Such events

are of particular importance to this country as they present the opportunity to unify different people.

Even though sport claims to be democratic, sports organizations contradict this claim. In the Olympic Games, for example, the universal aspirations of the ruling International Olympic Committee have paved the way for athletes from the poorest and smallest countries to compete, even when they have little chance of winning medals. In turn, the overwhelming presence of Third World nations (there are now 169 national Olympic Committees) has pressured the elitist Europe-dominated countries to support the international struggle against discrimination and to begin a programme of technical assistance to "have-not" countries (Simson & Jennings, 1992: 119).

The liberation of sport from the patriarchal structures of domination will be a long and complex process which will have to be undertaken in conjunction with similar efforts in other areas of everyday life. The outcome - how people will pursue sport in a less oppressive way - will largely depend on the nature of those struggles as forms of physical activity, including sport, are historically grounded.

One should actively support the feminists struggling to combat sexism and inequality in sport. It is necessary to assure males, who resist integration on the basis of

ability, that they are strong enough to survive the incorporation of female coaches and administrators. While the implementation of affirmative action programme will bring about cuts in existing male opportunities, one should strive to find additional resources and to make more efficient use of the existing ones (Messner & Sabo, 1992: 170). If such steps are not taken, the lessons which could be learned from the emergence of females coaches and administrators in all-male sport domains may be lost.

Female coaches, by their presence and work with the traditional future heirs to leadership positions in sport (that is adolescent males), have the opportunity to change perceptions about women in sport. Within this context, sport has the potential to become a place where the limitations posed by a dichotomous worldview based on gender can be explored and understood. In this regard women coaches and administrators can make profound contributions by serving as agents of change within the sport system.

Women who coach, actively challenge the stereotype of coach as father figure, male protector, and male authority figure. Consequently, there is an emerging feminine counterpart in the form of the coach as mother figure, female protector, and female authority figure. The issue here, however, is not to establish coaching counterparts, but to work with men

in sport towards a conceptualization of coaching and sport as a human enterprise.

The conclusion of this research is both optimistic and pessimistic. In documenting the extent and nature of women's inequality in sport, one cannot help but feel disheartened. Similarly, an understanding of the underlying causes of women's subordination together with an appreciation of the limited power of women in sport, leaves one with a sense of helplessness.

Currently women, being an historically disadvantaged group, may call upon the constitutionally sanctioned practice of equal rights to assist them in achieving equal opportunities in South Africa (Delpont, 1994: 7).

Athletics South Africa is currently in a state of change and uncertainty. It is involved in the reorganization of positions of power to include people (all men) from disadvantaged communities who have not previously formed part of the structure (Personal observation). Little (1994: 196) suggests that times of change have, traditionally, seen a movement away from less conventional, towards more radical, initiatives. The progress which has been made (for example) to place gender equality on the agenda, must be protected on the level of planning for women in sport.

The interest and enthusiasm reflected by the interviewees in this investigation, and by some of the men in positions of power in athletics, indicate the presence of support for the idea of utilizing planning in athletics to achieve a more gender-equal context. It can only be hoped that such support and enthusiasm will be effective in winning over the opposition for women's initiatives in sport. To keep gender equality on the agenda is in step with the spirit of the Government's Reconstruction and Development Program (Delport, 1994: 7). Likewise, if Athletics South Africa wishes to be in line with future legislation in this regard, gender equality in athletics needs to receive urgent attention.

While this study may contribute little to a reassessment of the balance of power in athletics in South Africa, it may lend itself to an increased awareness of men and women in sport, resulting in an improved quality of life for some individuals. It also underlines the need for further research which ventures beyond conventional gender consciousness and sport practices.

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