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(Eds.)

GENDER AND SPORT

Changes and Challenges

WAXMANN

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Gertrud Pfister and Mari Kristin Sisjord

Introduction

This volume covers current issues, cutting edge debates and new knowledge on women and sport. The aim is to provide insight into central debates about gender and sport from a woman's perspective and to share new knowledge about important issues, in particular about gender (in)equalities. A special focus will be on the perspective of change, in which backgrounds, reasons and effects of gender arrangements will be analyzed.

From a gender perspective it is crucial to emphasize that sport developments have a different significance and relevance for women and men, and that the changing gender arrangements, in particular the increasing participation of women, has had and still has a decisive impact on the world of sport. For several decades, women and gender have been an important topic in human and social sport sciences as well as an issue for sport organizations' policies and practices.

This volume is outstanding, because it covers topics that have not been addressed together in a publication that highlights historical developments and current issues, and which provides new knowledge by covering the fundamental issues of gender and sport from multiple perspectives. Some of the authors have been and still are leading scholars and activists in the field of women and sport so their experiences and insights must be highly valued. Others are younger scholars with different perspectives who represent the new generation of gender researchers.

This book is a tribute to the 70th birthday of Kari Fasting, professor at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (NSSS). Kari Fasting is one of the most influential participants in the struggle for gender equality in sport; she has had a large impact as an athlete, leader, and scholar. For decades, her research and political activities have been, and still are, crucial contributions to the discussions, decisions and actions in this area. Fasting's research has addressed crucial questions and covered many important topics. In several projects, she has collaborated with colleagues in other countries, for example in the international study on "The Experience and Meaning of Sport in the Lives of Women" or in her research about sexual harassment. In her home country she has initiated and organized numerous projects, such as studies regarding gender and leadership in the Norwegian sports federations. Currently, she explores the reasons for the lack of female elite

coaches in Norway. Fasting has published her findings in numerous reports, books and journals. Some of her concerns are taken up, discussed and further elaborated on in this book.

Throughout her academic career, Fasting has been involved in significant administrative tasks. She has held several important leadership positions: She was the first rector of the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences from 1989 to 1994 and the first president of the Norwegian Society for Sport Research. In addition, Fasting has served twice as the president of the International Sport Sociology Association (ISSA), and is now an honorary member of this organization. She was one of the founders of WomenSport International and is its past president.

Although passing the Norwegian mandatory retirement age of 70 years, Kari Fasting shows no sign of slowing down. She continues to work on several research projects, such as: developing the research studies for The World Village of Women's Sport in Malmo, Sweden, where she is on the board of directors; leading the project that is assessing the international progress of the Brighton Declaration for the International Working Group on Women and Sports; working with the Norwegian military in developing programs that will make military service more desirable as a career for women; and, continuing her involvement with the International Olympic Committee in making sport safer for both youth and adult athletes. She travels the world presenting scientific papers at meetings and conferences – often as a key note speaker. Fasting is an energetic scholar and leader, worthy of a tribute in the form of this book!

The content of the book is divided into six sections. The first section provides personal reflections on the writing of women's and gender sport history. The author shares not only general issues and debates with her readers, but also her considerations about three publications that cover issues of sport and gender in various ways.

The next section is devoted to issues of power in sport organizations with a particular focus on leaders and coaches. In the last few decades, sport changed decisively in many areas and in various ways. One of the major transformations refers to the increasing participation of girls and women in sporting activities and the demand for gender equality on all levels and in all areas of sport. However, women still have not reached the same level of power in sport as men, as evidenced by few female coaches and few female members of high level sport committees. A topic that has been on the agenda for decades, and will be addressed in this volume as well, is the lack of women in sport related leadership positions. Although

the current political and public attention on gender equality may have a positive impact on the advancement of women to positions of power, current data still show a blatant gender hierarchy in sport organizations and institutions. The same is true for sport coaches. Among professional coaches, women are a very small minority. Whereas men coach both male and female athletes and teams, female coaches work mostly with girls and women on lower performance levels. The chapters on female leaders and coaches not only present new data about the current situation, they also include a discussion of potential reasons and backgrounds. The authors have been involved in the struggle for power in sport for decades, not only as researchers, but also as sport administrators or leaders.

The third section covers different topics related to women in "men's domains". The involvement of women in an increasing number of sports triggered controversial debates and caused resistance, in particular from male "stakeholders". Here the question arises, if and how women have changed formerly male domains as well as the images and practices in previously men's sports, as exemplified with the more "traditional" sport of football and a relatively new sport, snowboarding. Both contributions revealed gender differences, among other things with regard to public attention and visibility, and in both sports the gendered media coverage is often negatively prejudicial against women. However, the snowboarding text also reveals that women can make a difference, in particular when they are working together for a change. This section also includes a discourse analysis of the coverage of the dress codes in beach volleyball and boxing in Norwegian media. The findings of this analysis are embedded in the context of the current consumer culture. The authors of these chapters were and are in various ways involved with gender inequality in sport, during their research, their public discussions or through involvement in sport organizations.

Sport in many ways is interrelated with health. This is discussed in the fourth section. Sexual harassment and homophobia occur in various sport related settings and both are threatening women's (and men's) physical and psychological integrity. However, sport also provides numerous opportunities for healing and empowerment. The volume provides new approaches to this two-sided face of sport and offers insight into the research of younger women as well as into the knowledge of a scholar who fought for decades for the rights of women in sport.

The following section relates to physical education. Despite of the seemingly ubiquitous health discourses and enhancement ideologies, large parts of the population in Western countries adopt a physically inactive lifestyle

whereby the form and intensity of physical activities are closely interwoven with gender, social class and ethnicity. A sedentary lifestyle often starts in childhood and physical education plays an important role as it lays the groundwork for sport related preferences and skills that will be valuable as lifelong habits. The chapters in this section focus on feminist theories/feminism and physical education praxis. In two of the chapters physical education is discussed in relation to current discourses: academic discourses (where perceptions of the body, identities and differences are of major concern), and public discourses about gender equity in higher education in Norway. The third chapter highlights Norwegian-Pakistani girls' experiences of physical education with particular attention to attitudes towards mixed-gender versus gender segregated classes. Three women of different generations, all of them with an in-depth knowledge of physical education, provide insights into their current research and encourage the readers to reflect about their own practices in the field of physical education and beyond.

The book ends with memories of friends and colleagues who tell about their collaboration with Fasting and share their feelings of love and respect with the readers. The first contribution provides reflections about a common research journey on a new and difficult ground. The aim of this journey was the exploration of sexual harassment in sport and the production of knowledge which could be used for prevention. The struggle for women's rights is the topic of the next chapter, which emphasizes the important contribution of Fasting to the research about women's opportunities in sport organizations (and beyond) in the Czech Republic. The last chapter is devoted to Fasting's role in the women and sport movement.

All of the authors have a personal and an academic relationship to Fasting, some are her former doctoral students, others have done research or written publications with her. Among the authors are renowned scholars in this field. Their willingness to write a chapter is due to the focus of the book and as a celebration of the life and work of Kari Fasting.

As editors, we are pleased to have so many excellent colleagues on the team and we are grateful for their collaboration. We would also like to thank three persons who have been of invaluable help in facilitating this book: Ingfrid Thorjussen, PhD student at NSSS and former research assistant of Fasting, has served as "secretary" and kept track of the communication with the authors; Trond Svela Sand, a researcher in several of Fasting's projects, has prepared and formatted all manuscripts. A specific thanks goes to Bob O'Connor, Fasting's husband, who had the difficult task of cor-

recting the language of the many authors who do not have English as their mother tongue. Thank you all very much; without you the book could not have been published.

Gertrud Pfister Mari Kristin Sisjord

Gender and Sport in a Historical Perspective

M. Ann Hall

Writing Women's and Gender Sport History: Personal Reflections

Author's note: Kari Fasting and I have known each other for more than twenty-five years, but I am not certain when we first met. Perhaps it was at a North American Society for the Sociology of Sport conference in the mid-1980s. Regardless, Kari was already making her presence felt in Canada and the United States. She was a fresh voice from Europe – strong, articulate, and clearly feminist. In the fall of 1986, Kari invited me and others to give presentations to a Sport, Sex and Gender Conference in Lillehammer, organized by the Norwegian Association for Sport Research. My topic was "How Should We Theorize Gender in the Context of Sport?" Here we are twenty-six years later, and I am still writing about the same subject from the perspective of more than four decades of experience. This essay is for you Kari on your special birthday. It is a tribute to your work and to your career as one of the leading sports feminists in the world today. Your influence is vast, and may it continue to be so.

What I provide here are some personal reflections on feminist historical research, more specifically the writing of women's and gender sport history. First, I examine the difference between women's and gender history, and what I think we have learned over the past several decades about the writing of both. Clearly, there is not *one* feminist history, just as there are many methodological and thematic pathways into women's history (Sangster, 2011). Is there a difference between women's history and gender history? Second, I discuss whether these same issues and debates concerning women's and gender history appear in feminist sport history. Are historians of sport, who write about women and gender, seemingly aware of these debates? Third, I offer three current examples of what I consider to be excellent gender sport history. As well, I examine some of the issues they bring to the fore about writing feminist sport history. Finally, I offer some observations and ideas as to where we might take the field of women's and gender sport history – more generally feminist sport history – in the future.

Defining Women's History and Gender History

It is not always easy to distinguish between women's history and gender history, and the on-going debates about the differences between the two are increasingly varied and complex.[1] The first point is that research on women and gender, historical and otherwise, has been intimately connected to movements for social change, most notably, the women's movement. This is what makes the research feminist. The field of women's history, now several decades in the making, evolved for a variety of reasons, all of which were directed at correcting omissions in history generally. More specifically, its purpose was to make women visible, to put women on the historical record, to correct distortions of the past, to enable and hear women's voices, and to illuminate women's points of view (Cott & Faust, 2005).

Quite simply, gender history is history that takes gender centrally into account. Joan Wallach Scott's ground breaking essay "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis", which first appeared in 1986, still tops the *American Historical Review*'s list for the most accessed and cited article.[2] In a more recent article, Scott argues that gender as a social category did important work for feminists in the 1970s and 80s. First, it provided a way of rethinking the determinants of the relationships between the sexes because at that time there was no generally accepted usage of the term. Second, and most importantly, the concept of gender opened up a whole set of challenging analytical questions. These were, for example: "how and under what conditions different roles and functions have been defined for each sex; how the very meanings of the categories 'man' and 'woman' varied according to time, context and place; how regulatory norms of sexual deportment were created and enforced; how issues of power and rights played into definitions of masculinity and femininity; how symbolic structures affected the lives and practices of ordinary people; how sexual identities were forged within and against social prescriptions" (Scott, 2010, p. 9).

Today, the situation regarding gender is more complicated. For some historians, women's history is encompassed and amplified by gender history, rather than being diminished or marginalized by it. In other words, gender history extends the original ambition of women's history to all of historical study. "Gender history not only recognizes women as historical agents," argue Cott and Faust (2005, p. 5), but it also "rejects the assumption that men's acknowledged historical agency can be understood apart from their gender – their masculinity and their sexuality." However, this should not mean that women's history has been displaced by gender histo-

ry. On the contrary, some historians use the term "women's history" with the understanding that it encompasses gender history. Canadian feminist historian Joan Sangster, for example, argues that rather than seeing some sort of hierarchy between gender and women's history, there is an overlap and interplay between the two. Importantly, she also asks the same question of both: "Does our writing effectively uncover and understand power relations in the past, and, if so, how and why does it do this?" (Sangster, 2011, p. 4). Thus both gender and women's history can be considered "feminist" history (or not) depending on their commitment to feminist politics and perspectives. The focus on gender also brought with it a constant reminder of other social categories of difference such as class, race, ethnicity, disability, and sexual orientation. Gender, therefore, cannot be understood separately from other relations of power.

Women's and Gender Sport History

Women's and gender sport history, although not having as long a pedigree as the broader fields, both have foremothers (and a few forefathers) who have been toiling for decades and are well known in the field.[3] In North America, I would include Roberta Park, Nancy Struna, Alan Guttmann, Catriona Parratt, Susan Cahn, Kathleen McCrone, Patricia Vertinsky, Nancy Bouchier, and Vicky Paraschak. My own intellectual history is frustratingly eclectic ranging from mathematics, sport history, empirical sociology, and cultural studies.[4] My master's thesis, completed almost 45 years ago, was a history of Canadian women's sport prior to the First World War. Just before I retired from the University of Alberta in 1997, I returned to sport history and have subsequently published three books on Canadian women's sporting heritage.[5] Looking to Europe, there is Jennifer Hargreaves and Gertrud Pfister, both of whom have contributed significantly over many years to the historical and sociological aspects of women's sport. Others include Leena Laine, Gerd von der Lippe, Else Trangbaek, Gigliola Gori, Thierry Terret, and J.A. Mangan. For a cursory look at women's sport history in other parts of the world, the most useful source is a review by Alan Guttmann (2005a).

In his monumental assessment of sport history, Douglas Booth (2005, pp. 19-20) offers some interesting observations about feminism and its impact upon what he calls "the field". Feminism, he argues, has made an "enormous contribution" to sport history in several areas. First, feminist

historians have helped write women's experiences into sport history. Although much of the early feminist-inspired historical scholarship addressed girls' and women's exclusion from sporting practices, seeing them as victims of male hegemony, there was soon a shift to viewing females as active agents empowering their own sporting lives. More recently, there has been a further shift to examining gender and identity in sport. Second, feminist sport historians have been at the forefront of introducing less traditional sources – letters, diaries, memoires, and ephemera of various kinds – into their research and thus introducing them into the field in general. Third, according to Booth, feminists have also been at the fore in legitimising the use of theory in sport history. Although this is correct to a certain extent, I am not certain that left-leaning sport historians, not all of who were or are feminist, would agree with this assessment. What is apparent is that an overall scepticism about theory continues to pervade the field of sport history.

Feminist history is now so well established that we are beginning to see retrospective essays by well-known and experienced historians of women and gender.[6] It is instructive to read these works not only because they provide histories of the field, but also because they contain valuable insights by those whose academic careers now extend over several decades. We need similar reflexivity by established feminist sport historians, especially those with long careers in the field. Patricia Vertinsky, whose outstanding research over the years has focused on the social construction of the body in relation to health and gender, has made a start at this sort of reflexivity in a very brief piece entitled "On Being a Feminist Sport Historian" (Vertinsky, 2010). Through her reflections, she is reminded that the notion of embodiment is crucial to the feminist enterprise, and that the active body (whether it is gendered, racial, or ethnic) is far too important a subject for historians and sociologists to leave to the natural sciences.

I turn now to a discussion of three books in the field of women's and gender sports history. There are probably many other articles, chapters, or books that could be considered as suitable exemplars, but I chose these particular works because quite simply they interested me and they were recently published. I also read them before I started working on this chapter, and they got me thinking about some of the themes, issues, and debates discussed here.

Three Exemplars in Gender Sport History

I have a longstanding interest in German history, particularly the role of sport, and was delighted to discover Erik Jensen's *Body by Weimar: Athletes, Gender and German Modernity*, which was published in English in 2010. Jensen is a history professor at Miami University in Ohio, and the book was based on his doctoral dissertation. The other two books are on topics much closer to my home in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. You don't have to go very far outside of Edmonton before encountering farms, ranches, and of course horses. As a sport, rodeo is hugely important in Alberta, as it is throughout Western Canada, which led me to *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada* by Mary-Ellen Kelm, published in 2011. Rodeo also has a strong Aboriginal presence and Kelm has written previous books on Aboriginal history from her base as a professor of history at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, British Columbia. Finally, Canadians are more successful internationally at winter sports rather than summer ones and our figure skaters usually do very well. During the winter when competitions are numerous, there is the usual commentary in the sports media about whether figure skating is truly a sport. I watch very little televised sport, but figure skating is one I enjoy, so I was interested to read *Artistic Impressions: Figure Skating, Masculinity, and the Limits of Sport* by Mary Louise Adams, which was published in 2011. Adams is a sport sociologist and historian at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. These exemplars illustrate three different ways of historically analyzing the relationship between sport and gender.

Example One: Erik N. Jensen, *Body by Weimar: Athletes, Gender, and German Modernity*

The Weimar Republic was the period in Germany that emerged in 1919 when a democratic constitution, drafted in the city of Weimar, was established. It lasted until the National Socialists came to power in 1933, marking the beginning of the Third Reich. Following Germany's stunning military defeat in 1918, there were demands for a complete overhaul of society, culture, government, and even of the body itself. Jensen charts the history of a shift away from the communal, nationalistic forms of exercise, such as hiking or *Turnen*, toward the highly competitive, individualistic, Anglo-American sporting disciplines that came to prominence in the 1920s. He shows that not only was competitive sport at the heart of debates about national health and rejuvenation following the war defeat, but that it

helped to create the new physical ideals for men and women alike – bodies that were "sleek, streamlined, and engineered for maximum performance" (Jensen, 2010, p. 5).

Jensen focusses on only three sports – tennis, boxing, and track and field – in order to develop his analysis. Each sport articulated a slightly different version of modernity and each occupied a different class position in German society, but more importantly, each challenged established gender roles. As Jensen points out, the growing body of scholarship on men and masculinity is a welcome addition to how societies construct gender, but it continues the practice of studying men and women separately. There is a need, especially in the field of sport history, to study the sexes together in order to get a sense of how gender relations operate in a society at any given time. Weimar Germany, argues Jensen, is an ideal case in which to investigate the intersection of sports, gender, and modernity because its citizens, cultural commentators, and popular media devoted so much attention to each. As such, *Body by Weimar*, is a wonderfully nuanced example of how to go about presenting a gendered sport history.[7]

German tennis before Weimar was mostly the preserve of the elite. Introduced by British expatriates in the second half of the nineteenth century, the game expanded through private clubs where those with noble surnames were guaranteed admission. Throughout the Weimar period, this genteel aura continued to surround the men's game. Male players cultivated a dandyish and openly sexual persona in contrast to prewar Prussian masculinity characterized by stoicism and self-control. Dressed immaculately in whites, they always looked cool and calm on the court and never took their game too seriously. Off the court, they cultivated an image of the bon vivant whose principal mission was to seek the good life. Characterized by a "soft" masculinity, men's tennis demanded scrupulous politeness and good sportsmanship.

While other sports in 1920s Germany conceived themselves as male pursuits first and foremost, tennis rapidly established itself as a hallmark of the emerging "New Woman". Tennis, argues Jensen, was an important vehicle for the postwar transformation of women, who increasingly projected an image of talent, strength, aggression, and self-sufficiency in contrast to long-standing expectations of sacrifice to the demands of marriage and family life. Highly visible and attractive female players like Suzanne Lenglen of France, the American Helen Wills, and Cilly Aussem of Germany, drew thousands of new female players to the sport. Tennis also provided a new concept of athletic femininity characterized by competitiveness, inde-

pendence, and a toned, muscular physicality. For men, it opened up an alternative masculinity in contrast to the discipline, aggression, and stoicism more characteristic of German manhood.

Tennis was primarily upper-class and gender-mixed, whereas boxing was blue-collar and male-oriented. Yet, the image of the boxer in the Weimar Republic gradually subverted long-standing gender roles and helped to shape new ones. In the aftermath of the humiliating military defeat, the male boxer with his raw, sustained, and public violence represented something essentially male – someone who could dish out a bruising and at the same time take one too. During the 1920s, male prizefighters increasingly enhanced their financial gain by appearing in films, photographs, and the ring itself as an object of male physical beauty, indeed a sex symbol.

At the beginning of the Weimar period women's boxing matches were rare. They usually took place at burlesque shows along with strongwomen feats, both of which were promoted for the viewing pleasure of male voyeurs. Boxing associations tried to ban women from entering the ring, prompting female pugilists to gradually shift their sport out of the tawdry realm of the burlesque and into fashionable boxing-inspired fitness programs aimed at middle-class women. By the late 1920s, images of attractive females in boxing gloves appeared on the cover of sports magazines encouraging women to partake in boxing drills for exercise and fitness. Self-defense courses catering to women also became popular. The female boxer, even if she didn't enter the ring, symbolized independence, but she also needed to know how to look after herself.

The remaking of male and female sporting bodies in Weimar Germany was most in evidence in track and field. The physical bodies of these athletes – streamlined, powerful, and for women, androgynous – were the result of training regimens supported by the nascent disciplines of sports medicine and sports science. They were also the result of the Taylorization and Americanization of attitudes towards sport including individualism, specialization, and cutthroat competition. These principles were in direct opposition to the philosophies of the popular German *Turnen* movement, which prompted well-rounded physical fitness and a sense of community. Yet despite the modernization and rationalization of track and field, traditional gender roles were still in evidence. For German men, the sport claimed a capacity to foster strength and discipline in the absence of military training, which the Versailles Treaty had substantially curtailed after the war. Although some commentators criticized what they saw as an unharmonious and ultimately dysfunctional male body, there was little debate

over men being prepared to fight. There was, however, considerable debate over the presumed dangers (and benefits) of competitive sport for women, especially running, jumping, and tossing heavy objects. On the one hand, there were concerns over reproductive damage and masculinization, whereas others claimed that the rigors of track and field prepared women's bodies for reproduction and motherhood. Regardless, track and field athletes – both male and female – struck a tenuous balance between modernity and tradition. Not only did they embody individual achievement, maximum output, and a physical convergence of the sexes, they also stood for tradition and a world in which men and women saved the nation in ostensibly "natural" and gender-specific ways. "The discourse surrounding these athletes not only shaped German thinking about sports and the human body," argues Jensen, "but also German attitudes toward social change as a whole during the Weimar Republic" (Jensen, 2010, p. 130).

Example Two: Mary-Ellen Kelm, *A Wilder West: Rodeo in Western Canada*

Rodeo is an important part of western Canadian culture, both in the past and still today, because it allows men and women to demonstrate their courage and skill with animals. Beginning in the spring and continuing well into the fall, the Canadian Professional Rodeo Association holds rodeos in towns and cities throughout Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia culminating in the Canadian Finals Rodeo held in Edmonton in November. Rodeo contests are usually divided into two categories: The roughstock events of bucking horse, steer, and bull riding scored by a judge, which test the agility and toughness of both rider and mount; and the timed events demonstrating the teamwork of horse and rider like barrel racing, steer wrestling, and roping contests. In this way, argues Kelm, rodeos play and replay the relationships between humans and animals inherent to ranching life (Kelm, 2011, p. 4). Parades, grandstand events, and historical re-enactments, which were an important part of rodeos in the past, taught spectators about the progression of the Canadian West into modernity.

Throughout the history of rodeo, Aboriginal peoples and settlers came together through the many parades and rodeo events that took place in the small towns, rural communities, and reserves in Western Canada.[8] One of Kelm's primary motivations in writing *A Wilder West* was to counter the longstanding notion that rodeos are just another form of white male dominance over Aboriginals, women, and animals. She wants to dispel these

simplistic views and dichotomies not only by challenging the differences and antipathies created by racialization and gender, but also by presenting a much more nuanced history of the place of rodeo in community life, especially in Western Canada. Rodeo was a place of encounter, or better still a "contact zone", between settlers and Aboriginals. The term was coined "to impart a sense of the unpredictable and the chaotic, that which slips beyond controlling impulses of organization and discourse, when peoples interacted with one another" (Kelm, 2011, p. 8). Viewing rodeo as a contact zone allows Kelm to explore meaningful relationships that crossed or reaffirmed racialized, gendered, and class lines.

In the early history of Western Canada, communities organized rodeos and stampedes in order to attract the attention needed to bring in investment and settlers. Visitors and residents took pride in the modernity of their settlements, while at the same time praising the past, often embodied by "cowboys and Indians" who were separated by race and gender in rodeo events. Pageants and parades featuring Aboriginal men and women in traditional regalia was another way of reminding visitors and spectators of their colourful past, even though the federal government opposed such forms of cultural expression as having no place in the new West.

An interesting aspect of Kelm's history is the role of rodeo in crafting identities, affinities, and relationships between rural and reserve communities, settlers, and Aboriginal people. In particular, she tracks masculinities and femininities associated with rodeo in the 1920s and 1930s when gender was undergoing profound, and for some, disquieting shifts. As experts debated the effects of modernity on masculinity, two dominant categories emerged – rough and respectable – although the dichotomy was overly simplistic and did not necessarily reflect male self-expression. There was no unified masculinity because it was always inflected with racialization and sexuality, the interests of class, and the contingencies of place (Kelm, 2011, p. 64). The rodeo cowboy materialized during this era, when both shifts in gender and the settling of the West were taking place. He represented a new kind of man, where rough and respectable masculinity overlapped. Cowboys demonstrated an extraordinary physical toughness on the rodeo circuit by riding even while injured; they also fought, drank to excess, and trashed hotel rooms. They often escaped domesticity through a life on the road, but as rodeo became a paying sport and family event, cowboys recognized the need to change their image of rough, individualistic masculinity to a more caring, family-oriented one in order to enhance the status and respectability of their sport. For Aboriginal cowboys, the transition to

reserves, the domineering influence of the Indian Agent, and the impact of residential schools all affected the bases of their masculinity. Instead of being able to roam the Plains, hunt and raid, they were now confined to plots of land, forced to raise cattle, and then to farm. Nonetheless, increasing numbers of Aboriginal cowboys joined the rodeo circuit and competed alongside settler cowboys.

While opportunities for producing femininities were more constrained, both settler and Aboriginal women made spaces for themselves in small-town Western Canadian rodeo. Although women competed in rodeo events from the beginning, especially in the travelling Wild West shows, the rodeo fraternity was not particularly welcoming and by the 1930s, the managers of small-town rodeos had gradually eliminated women's roughstock events from their programs. Stampede queen contests became popular, although the winners were seen not only as physically attractive, but also capable in both the domestic and ranching spheres. Aboriginal women also took part in these queen contests, but increasingly the production of native handicrafts for display or sale moved their work from the private to the public sphere, encouraged commodification, and generated income.

Canadian rodeo became professionalized following the Second World War and the sport became further gendered and racialized. Women in particular fought back with the founding in 1957 of the Canadian Barrel Racing Association, which focused initially on the relatively new sport of barrel racing, but soon began to support women's participation in events like cow riding, goat tying, and calf roping. The association changed its name in 1962 to the Canadian Girls Rodeo Association, and it worked hard to ensure that women's events were included in rodeos throughout the Canadian West.

Professionalization also fragmented the contact zone between settlers and Aboriginals that was small-town rodeo in Western Canada. In order to attract professional cowboys to small-town events with guaranteed prize money, organizers charged higher entry fees and offered fewer events. The immediate effect was to eliminate many local competitors, which often included Aboriginal cowboys. These professional events became more associated with white cowboys and the amateur contests with local and Aboriginal men. Eventually, Aboriginal cowboys started their own organization and continued to stage rodeos on reserves.

Example Three: Mary Louise Adams, *Artistic Impressions: Figure Skating, Masculinity, and the Limits of Sport*

Mary Louise Adam's book is a socio-historical examination of figure skating, but one that prioritizes gender – masculinity in particular – in both idea and practice. Her aim in *Artistic Impressions* is twofold: First, it is "to understand how figure skating, once a manly pursuit, came to be overwritten by notions of effeminacy"; second, it is "to consider the practical and ideological implications of that conjunction and what it might tell us about the broader politics of gender and sexuality today" (Adams, 2011, p. 7). By analyzing the history of the feminization of figure skating, Adams wishes to historicize present-day discourses of masculinity, especially the prejudices about effeminacy that place figure skating outside the bounds of mainstream manliness. She also wants to go beyond standard feminist criticism of gendered sport categories by explaining the social processes through which the notion of "feminine-appropriate" and "male-appropriate" sports have been produced and reproduced over time (Adams, 2011, p. 7). Finally, she sees value in adding an historical dimension to studies of sport concerned with queer issues or drawing upon queer theories. In the case of figure skating, gayness is now routinely associated with men's figure skating whether or not male skaters are gay.

The relationship between effeminacy and more dominant versions of masculinity is also shaped by the discourses of sexuality, class, race, and nation. Adams uses an intersectional analysis in *Artistic Impressions* because three decades of social history, critical race theory, and feminist theory have made clear the impossibility of understanding gender separately from other social categories. She defines intersectionality as an "approach to scholarship that seeks out the interdependences and interconnections among the different social relations through which identities, institutions, and social practices are constituted and through which power is exercised" (Adams, 2011, p. 6).

There is much in *Artistic Impressions* about recent and present-day figure skating, but for this discussion, I will focus on the three historical chapters whose central purpose is to place the present in a context and to consider how it might have been different. In a narrative that covers almost 200 years of history, Adams shows how figure skating evolved from an almost exclusively male pastime to a so-called feminine sport. She begins in the 1860s when two major styles of skating emerged. The English style or "fancy skating" characterized by stiff turns and combination figures was introduced by royalty in England and Scotland, where it grew to be an

acceptable pastime and a way of expressing masculinity for men of wealth and social status. The so-called International or Continental style was brought to Europe, especially Vienna, by the American skater and dance master Jackson Haines. Artistic skating, what we now call free skating, was an attempt to interpret music through aesthetically pleasing movements, edges, and turns. Both men and women, especially those of the bourgeoisie, took up this form of skating for exercise and pleasure.

By the end of the nineteenth century, skating had been "sportified" in the sense that skaters were organized into clubs, national associations were formed, and competitions were held. Women skaters increased rapidly and they were integrated into clubs and associations. Even though figure skating had evolved into a competitive sport, it was unlike other sports of the time. With an emphasis on aesthetics, skating confounded definitions of sport as rational and easily measurable. The large numbers of women who took up skating defied the notion that sports were the makers of men. Skating was also beginning to lose its elegant upper-class image because increasingly more middle-class participants began to take up the sport, which eventually was an important aspect of its feminization.

From a relatively gender-balanced, though not completely equitable, sport at the turn of the century, figure skating was widely identified as a girls' sport by the end of the Second World War. How did this occur? As more and more girls and women took up the sport, they left the boys and men behind stylistically and technically. The highly successful Norwegian skater Sonja Henie, who dominated women's competition in the late 1920s and early 1930s, was a role model for many young aspiring female skaters. As more females were entering the sport, older boys and men were leaving for military service during the war, which created a growing gender imbalance. Once figure skating came to be seen as a feminine sport, and one dominated by girls and women, boys and men who skated risked being seen as effeminate, and their masculinity was questioned. As Adams (2011, p. 157) argues: "A boy's interest in feminine concerns such as skating could be seen as a dangerous sign of abnormal gender development or sexual deviance." She notes further that in an era when military drill was the standard curriculum for physical education, figure skating, like ballet, became an inappropriate and perhaps unpatriotic way for a male to use his body.

Historian Joan Scott (2010, p. 10) argues that "gender" is still a useful category of analysis if it forces us to think critically about how the meanings of sexed bodies are produced in relation to one another, and how these meanings are deployed and charged. The focus, says Scott, should not be

on the roles assigned to women and men, but on the construction of sexual difference itself. This is precisely what Mary Louise Adams does in *Artistic Impressions*, which is why her book is such an important contribution to the study of gender in the context of sport. Sport scholars need to develop more layered narratives of women's and men's experiences of sport. We also need a better understanding of sport's relationship to gender in earlier time periods (Adams, 2011, p. 142). This is especially true for sports like figure skating and equestrianism, and no doubt others, where men and women achieved the same level of competence, and where they tested their skills against each other.

The Future of Feminist Sport History

Feminist sport history, whether it is focused on women, gender, or both, is certainly not in any danger of disappearing or diminishing. Though it has a healthy and exciting future, we should not take it too much for granted, and we especially need more feminist sport historians to produce studies, articles, and books. As mentioned previously, there is still an ever present "maleness" to sport history in the sense that the sports studied, the articles and books published, and the issues debated are still very much about men's interests. This is as true in the broader field of history as it is in the much smaller area of sport history. Yet, women historians, some feminist and some not, have made and continue to make a significant impact on the broader field through their research and most importantly, through their willingness to confront historiographical tradition.[9] As feminist sport historians we need to pay attention to these challenges, make certain we understand the debates and issues, and take them into account in our own work.

As an example, let us look more closely at the notion of intersectionality, which I mentioned earlier because it was defined and used by Mary Louise Adams in her book *Artistic Impressions*. Intersectionality is the notion that "subjectivity is constituted by mutually reinforcing vectors of race, gender, class, and sexuality" (Nash, 2008, p. 2). It has emerged as the primary theoretical and analytical tool used to combat feminist hierarchy, hegemony, and exclusivity. It has also become a scholarly buzzword, but unfortunately one that does not always acknowledge its origins in black feminist scholarship, which long ago criticized feminism's claims to speak for *all* women. As well, many feminist scholars, including feminist sport scholars, have destabilized the notion of a universal woman without ex-

plicitly mobilizing intersectionality. Jennifer Hargreaves, for instance, in her excellent book *Heroines of Sport: The Politics of Difference and Identity* makes no mention of intersectionality, yet she skillfully deconstructs the notion that sportswomen are a homogeneous group with a common culture. In this essay, I have discussed two examples of gender sport history, one of which deals primarily with the intersection of gender and race (Kelm, 2011) and the other with gender and class (Jensen, 2010). Neither of these authors invokes the notion of intersectionality, and yet in my opinion, their analyses are outstanding. I have just published an essay in which I illustrate how the history of Aboriginal women in Canadian sport cannot simply be grafted onto the traditional histories of Canadian women's sport because the experiences of these women are not necessary the same as those of white women (Hall, 2013). My point is that intersectionality is not something new and it is certainly not a new paradigm. The different ways in which intersectionality has been used by feminists is increasingly under critique and reconsideration.[10]

I recognize that we need to use more sophisticated analyses of how gender, race, class, and sexuality intersect and shape experiences, but there is more than one way in which this can be accomplished. Some feminist historians also argue that while intersectionality can offer insights into how social life is interconnected, it is important not to neglect the importance of structural inequalities. In sum, there is still much work to be done in women's and gender sport history.

Notes

1 While preparing to write this essay, I reviewed a number of articles and books that examine these on-going debates around women's history and gender history. Some of the more useful references are Corfield (1997), Cott & Faust (2005), Meyerowitz (2008), Rose (2010), Sangster (1995, 1996, 2011), and Scott (1986, 2008, 2010).

2 See Beck (2012, pp. 146-166) for an interesting and thorough examination of Scott's work and influence.

3 For reviews of women's and gender sport history, which in themselves are useful histories, see: Struna (1984), Parratt (1994, 1998), Vertinsky (1994a, 1994b), Guttmann (2005a), Terret (2006), and Bandy (2010).

4 See my chapter "From Pre- to Postfeminism: A Four-decade Journey" in Markula (2006, pp. 45-61).

5 See Hall (2002, 2008, 2011).

6 See, for example, Sangster (2011), and especially her chapter "Reflections on Thirty Years of Women's History."

7 I realize that I am on somewhat shaky ground by presenting a book about German history written in English without being able to thoroughly evaluate the many sources in German used in the book. However, *Body by Weimar* has received nothing but positive reviews in the English-language scholarly press. I do not know how the book has been received and reviewed in Germany.

8 In Canada, First Nations (Indian), Métis, and Inuit are known collectively as Aboriginal peoples, whereas the term "settler" applies to individuals and families who came to Western Canada and are of European or Asian heritage. There are legal reasons for the continued use of the term "Indian." Such terminology is recognized in the *Indian Act* and is used by the Government of Canada when making reference to this particular group of Aboriginal people. For example, an Indian Reserve is a tract of land, the legal title to which is held by the Crown, set apart for the use and benefit of an Indian band.

9 I should point out that it is not only feminist historians who challenge historiographical tradition and are criticized for doing so. For example, see Guttmann (2005b, 2008) for two review essays that severely criticize the work of Douglas Booth (2005) and also some of the essays in a volume edited by Murray Phillips (2006).

10 I do not have the space here to elaborate on these criticisms of intersectionality and especially its use in feminist history. For a useful critique, see Nash (2008), and also Sangster (2011, p. 15) as well as the references she cites.

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Gender, Sport and Power: Women as Leaders and Coaches

Jorid Hovden

Women as Agents of Change in Male Dominated Sports Cultures

Introduction

Looking back we can, in most post-industrial countries, easily discern a dramatic increase in women's possibilities to participate in sports and shape their sporting opportunities (e.g., Bruce, Hovden & Markula, 2010, Coakley & Pike 2009, Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003). Female athletes have, for example, changed their status in many sports from a small to a big minority (Bruce et al., 2010). One of the factors in this development is a result of female leaders' active and continuous fight for equal rights and equal opportunities (e.g., Bruce et al. 2010, Fasting & Sand 2009, Hovden, 2012a).

In the Scandinavian countries, which globally have the lowest gender gap in most societal fields (Hausmann et al., 2007), women count for about 40% of the memberships in the sport organizations[1] (Center for idrottsforskning, 2011; Fasting & Sand, 2009; Habermann et al., 2003). On the other hand these countries most often show quite similar patterns with other countries regarding the top leading positions in sport organizations. In the Scandinavian countries, female top leaders today account for only about 10–20 % of the top leadership positions (Centrum for idrottsforskning, 2011; Fasting & Sand 2009; Ottesen et al., 2010). This under-representation has not changed much during recent years and thus considered more shaped by status quo than change (e.g., Hovden 2010). Similar patterns are found in coaching (Centrum for idrottsforskning, 2011; Fasting & Sand, 2009). Women are thus far from achieving equity in the most influential and powerful organizational echelons. From this starting point, women's increasing participation and involvement in sport provides several success stories as well as negative stories of discrimination and resistance in their struggle for equal opportunities.

Several historical analyses have clarified many aspects of the roles that powerful women had played in the development of women's sport and women's sporting conditions. There are, however, fewer sociological analyses on how female pioneers and powerful women within sport organizations experience and develop their work and institutional roles to stimulate gender equity and to give women a more equal share of the organizational

resources. For example, how do women in leadership positions on different organizational levels frame and negotiate their conditions and positions as women and as a minority. What are the mandates, strategies and measures that direct their practices and how do they succeed in producing varying degree of change towards greater gender parity. The aim of this chapter is to visualize and discuss such practices.

The analysis will explore and discuss how women who have acquired powerful positions in male-dominated sport cultures interpret, negotiate and practice their mandates and their situations as powerful women and as a minority – in other words an exploration of their leadership practices as change agents. The empirical basis will consist of interview data from several of my studies over the last decade, which elaborates the gendering of sport policy and sport leadership in Norwegian and Swedish sport organizations (Hovden, 2005, 2006, 2010, 2012b).

The chapter will in the further consist of the following parts: a short description of the empirical material and the methodologies on which my studies is based, a sketch of theoretical and analytic lenses, analyses of powerful women's mandates and practices as agents of change and discussion and conclusions.

Empirical Basis: Material and Methodologies

The empirical material presented in this chapter is mainly based on 3 different studies exploring the gendering of power in sport politics and coaching (Hovden, 2005, 2006, 2010, 2012b). I will further elucidate in more detail about the studies and the methodologies on which they derive.

The first study (Hovden, 2005) is based on a life history interview with a female pioneer in local sports. The pioneer, Olga Olaussen, was the first woman in the lead of the biggest sport club in my hometown Alta (Norway). The interview data I will present here are concerned with her involvement as a top leader; as the president of the club, and her experiences, efforts and contributions as a powerful woman among male colleagues. The life history interview was conducted in two phases: the first phase was a 3-4 hours interview, which after transcription, was sent back to Olga for supplemental comments and corrections. The follow-up interviews were conducted about two months later. In these interviews I elaborated more extensively on some of the former topics, in addition to discussing more in-depth how she has fulfilled her mandate and negotiated the intersect-

ed meanings of being a female and a cultural minority. The interview took place in 2005, when Olga was 74 years old and no longer held elected posts in the local sports bodies, but was still very much engaged in local sport issues and active in developing local policy.

The second study (Hovden, 2006, 2010) from which I will present data, is based on in-depth interviews with male and female board members of the national executive boards of eight Norwegian sports federations within the umbrella organization the Norwegian Confederation of Sport (the NIF). Executive board members of the sports federations in Norway are elected at the general assemblies of the federations and represent the highest decision-makers of the organization. From this viewpoint the executive board members can be seen as very influential sport leaders. I interviewed eight male and eight female board members from different sports federations, none of them were presidents or vice-presidents of their boards. The strategic selection also ensured board members of different age groups. All of the selected boards were headed by middle-aged male presidents, because this represents the most typical pattern in Norwegian sports federations. The focus of this article requires that only female voices of the data material are included.

The third study represented is a recent study (Hovden, 2012b) of the gendering of top level coaching in five Swedish sport federations. The aim of the study was to gain more knowledge about why there are so few women in the field of elite coaching both as elite coaches and as top managers. I completed in-depth interviews with six men and four women; two from each federation. The female interviewees had all held the positions as national head coaches as well as top managerial positions in their federations. The interviews were conducted in 2011.

Theoretical and Analytical Framework: Processes of Gendering and "Minoritizing"

Gender is a central organizing principle of social life. Understanding how our gender perspectives influence how we understand ourselves and others is essential. In most societies in which men have been privileged in terms of legal status, formal and informal authority and political and economic power, the understanding of gender is based on a two-sex model. This is a binary classification model, where dominant meanings of gender are rooted in interpretations of biologically sexed bodies (Moi, 1998). This social con-

struction produces, according to Hanne Haavind (1994), a gendered system of differentiation and meanings, which follows a cultural code, built into language. This code contains two specific symbolic and cultural regulations.

First, gender is constructed as a split and secondly as a power relationship. The split indicates that masculinity is defined and constructed as the opposite of femininity, and thus femininity and masculinity are constructed as two mutually exclusive categories. In addition, masculinity and connotations of the masculine in most cases are ranked in a *relatively superior* position in relation to femininity and connotations of the feminine.[2] Masculinity thus represents positions, abilities and behaviors that most often, but not always, are seen as the standard and as more important than those associated with femininity and the feminine. The latter is most often categorized as the specific and the gendered. Masculinity as a relative power relationship is in that way given a double meaning; it represents both the "not feminine" and the general standard that is gender neutral. Masculinity characterized as a relative power relation indicates, however, that gender is not something stable and given, but something changeable and contextual constructed through social relationships and practices (Haavind, 1994).

The gendering of male dominated organizations reflects most often this coding of gender, (e.g., Acker, 1992; Hovden, 2000, 2006; Johannessen, 1994; Staunes & Søndergaard, 2006). This coding includes a relationship between masculinity and femininity as most often shaped by a hierarchical power relationship. It is therefore important to explore in which organizational contexts this coding of gender is operating according to its regulations, and when these are challenged and in subsequent change. Because gender is an integral part of all organizational processes and practices, the understanding of gender in these processes, can only be identified and properly understood through organizational analyses of gender (Acker, 1992). Jeff Hearn (2008) shows for example in his analysis how management and leadership practices in organizations are constituted and structured by and through gender. In my further analysis I will explore how the cultural gender code operates in leadership practices in sport organizations and how processes of gendering shape powerful women's practices and efforts to achieve more gender equal sporting opportunities.

As indicated in my introduction, women in most sport organizations are underrepresented in organizational top positions and are implicitly seen and treated as a minority. In correspondence with processes of gendering are minorities produced by processes of "doing minorities" (Brah, 1996, 2003). "Doing minorities" or "minoritising" characterizes processes

where individuals or groups are viewed as "the other" and "marked", while the majority group remains unmarked (Brah, 1996, 2003; Staunes, 2004). This includes that the latter represents the normal, general and neutral. Marianne Gullestad (2002) states that the privilege and power of the majority lay in the possibility of defining and naming social groups and placing them in a marked and subordinate position. This understanding contributes to constructing minorities as stable entities; as groups/categories with certain essential characteristics (Kanter, 1977). Powerful women in sport organizations represent both a relative subordinated gender category as well as a minority, and thus are faced with processes of both gendering and "minoritizing" or more precisely, the intersection of these processes (Staunes 2004). In my further analysis I will identify or be sensitive to how the intersection of gendering and "minoritizing" processes may influence powerful women's leadership practices and their efforts to become agents of change.

Powerful Women as Agents of Change

In this part I will give voice to powerful women's mandate and practices to make a difference to male dominating sport cultures. My focus will be on the aims of their work, how they cope with and handle their situation and initiate strategies for change. The analyses will comprise both (1) top leader practices at the local level and (2) leadership practices at the national level; female executives in national boards and females in the top echelons in coaching.

A Female Pioneer in Local Sports: Mandate and Practices

My empirical material is, as indicated earlier, based on life history interviews with Olga Olaussen. She was elected as president of the Alta Sport Club (Alta IF) in 1974 and was the leader of the club for three election periods (6 years). No other leader/president has been in the lead of the club longer than her. During her periods Alta Sports Club was among the biggest clubs in the country with about 1200 memberships.

When asking about her mandate; on how local sport can contribute to local development, Olga answered in this way:

> I have always seen sport as a significant social force in the development of local communities. Sports clubs have unique potentials to bring people together, stimulate cooperation and to create enthusiasm and unity in defiance of social and political differences.

She elucidated further how sports for her had a double value; as simultaneously an arena for fun and friendship as well as an arena to build democracy, solidarity and peace. She has experienced both herself and among others, how a shared passion for their sports, often induced a common responsibility for each other and their local communities.

One of her goals, when she was elected president of the club, was to develop a common attitude both among the board members and in general to take on a collective responsibility to promote "sport for all". This included, among other things, stimulating active participation of all the six different sports groups in the club to show openness, respect and responsibility for each other's needs, interests and differences. In her opinion, a democratic leadership presupposed active participation from all members, and she insisted that a collective club spirit with an emphasis on democracy and solidarity would create a much wider involvement than just taking responsibility for athletic development. A central drive in her work was to create equal opportunities for all member groups as well as to support initiatives from new sports groups to be included. It therefore seemed less than a coincidence that the club embraced two new sports groups during her presidential periods: volleyball and sports for disabled. She commented on this expansion as follows:

> I am very proud that we were able to establish a group for the disabled, so that wheelchair users in Alta would also be allowed to practice sport. The volleyball group represented another widening in the way that we recruited new groups of young people to the club.

In spite of quite strong resistance from the biggest sports groups in the club such as football and handball, Olga practiced a solidarity principle in the distribution of resources. This was a thinking based on the principle that strong and large sports groups should support smaller sports and sports groups with less accessibility to economic and other resources. She argued for this principle like this: "For me this thinking has been the most natural thing, so to say, that voluntary work should be shaped by solidarity, equity and care." Olga underlined that in her role as athlete as well as in different elected posts; she had worked to promote women's interests and

taken several initiatives to improve women's situations in the club. She said that she has been very concerned about adult women's situation in the club regarding the lack of an organized training program for this membership group. She suggested that the club should take responsibility to organize non-competitive programs adjusted to women's wishes, needs and everyday life. The board supported her proposal, but there were no willing or competent instructors available. In this situation Olga decided to take on the responsibility herself so she attended courses in gymnastics and other fitness activities to gain sufficient competence. The programs became an overwhelming success.

On being asked about her experiences of being the only woman in male-dominated sport organizations, she noted that male dominance had never scared her, but emphasized that:

> Among men I am always very focused on what I want to do; more than who I want to be. And I have seldom "met the wall", so to say. In most occasions I have felt respected.
>
> I have tried to be clear on my political values and in general had few difficulties to cooperate from case to case with male colleagues, most of them with quite different political views than mine.

Even though she talked about male dominance as a normal part of the given conditions, she also admitted that it was stressful, challenging and somewhat lonesome to be the only woman. She mentioned that as the only powerful woman, she always felt the weight of several mandates on her shoulders and experienced that her contributions were a lot more contested than those of her male counterparts. On the other hand she also expressed that she often felt more qualified than most of her male colleagues:

> I was often not very impressed by the achievements of the male colleagues around me. Many times they were not well prepared. I have always been very determined to be well prepared, my attitude being to show them that things are possible.

On my question on whether she had practiced a different style of leadership in comparison with her male colleagues, she hesitated and responded that she had not considered this issue very much. "Concerning leadership style I look at myself as an action-oriented leader, in the sense that I always focus on the tasks, which have to be conducted. For me first and foremost something must be done."

Analysing Olga's mandate, experiences and strategies we can draw a picture of a local trailblazer (Cameron, 1996). She was a woman, who did not see women as passive recipients of male culture and impossibly constrained by male dominated circumstances. Olga believed in powerful women's transforming potentials and their capacity to make a difference. A crucial question is whether her story is unique among women possessing top positions in sport organizations – or do we find similar practices among powerful women at the national level?

Powerful Women at the National Level: Mandates and Practices

This part contains the voices of powerful women at the national level; female executive board members in Norwegian sport federations and female top leaders in coaching in Swedish sport federations. These two categories are among other factors different in their possibilities to represent agents of change, because they represent a big and a small minority (Dahlerup, 1988). This difference is mostly grounded on the gender quota regulation comprising the gender representation of all elected boards and committees in the Norwegian Confederation of Sport[3]; the umbrella organization for all organized sports in Norway. The quota regulation, passed in 1990, has in addition to other societal factors, allowed a continuous female representation in the executive boards of Norwegian sport federations, and today about 37% of the executive board members are women (Fasting & Sand, 2009). The executive boards in this study had a representation of women of about 35%, which indicates that women represent a large minority and a "critical mass" (Borchorst & Dahlerup, 2003, Dahlerup, 1988). Being a large minority and a critical mass means that women as a group have potentials to bring about cultural changes. The female national head coaches and female top-managers interviewed in Swedish sport federations represent, on the other hand, mostly "miraculous exceptions", rather than a big minority. I will in the following give voice to the women in these two contexts and exemplify how they as women and as a minority strive to become influential and fulfill their mandates.

Most of the interviewees expressed a clear political mandate to work for higher gender equality and democracy in their organizations. To initiate processes of change were, however, reported as both strenuous and challenging. Many of them talked about how they as women had to prove their competence to be treated as equals and respected on equal footing

with their male counterparts. And mutual respect was seen as a prerequisite for being influential – only then can they be in a position to frame and negotiate their viewpoints and interests. Many experienced that they had to adapt to and master the dominant cultural codes; to learn to play the "male game", to obtain confidence and respect. It was reported how they were met with gender stereotyping and resistance, and these conditions forced them to act strategically in all situations. Two of the youngest executive board members described their handling of the situation like this:

> In such a strong male culture, you have, so to say, to act masculine. And by doing so, I think I avoided to be treated in paternalistic ways. (…). During the first year I used most of my time, I would say, to listen, analyse and place people – and myself in this picture.
>
> I wanted to be respected and listened to. And I will say that in such a male dominated organization, we women learn very soon to act carefully and strategically. It is, I can say, ehh, not just to raise your voice and give messages.

One of the head coaches, who for a period had responsibility for an Olympic team, expressed similar experiences: "In the process I had to learn how they were thinking … and I emphasized to be seen as a clear leader. (…). I was always strategic, never spontaneous." I was also told many stories about how women were continually tested by male colleagues. Two of the national head coaches put it like this:

> As women you are tested in a quite different way, for still it is so that a man has a natural authority and weight ("pondus"), even though he does not deserve it. I have never been fighting against such perceptions, but acknowledged that as women you are always tested. I think the only way is to stand up and show that you can and have the right competence. You know, if you stick your head up as a woman, it is like the green toads on Tivoli, you stick your head up – for someone to knock you down.
>
> I have seen several examples from the female leagues, where female coaches with solid expertise and experiences are continually tested out and not seen as competent enough.. And then they are replaced by a male assistant with less expertise and experience, who rapidly gains acceptance and respect in another way.

These forms of cultural constraints were experienced as challenging and many of them talked about such conditions as one of the main reasons

for the high drop-out rate of female coaches. Regarding themselves, they argued that their dedication and passion to the sport, their strong mandate for change as well as an unconditional support from colleagues, friends and family overshadowed these constraints.

Several of the executive female board members were concerned about how to change the dominant decision making procedures. The existing procedures were experienced to stimulate positioning, fragmentation and power play, rather than democracy and political dialogue. Therefore they proposed alternative procedures emphasising a political decision making more like a political workshop, which was more process-oriented, open and democratic. One of them justified this initiative like this:

> I view female leaders as more task-oriented than position-oriented. And we have agreed with each other that we want open agendas, all details "on the table" and not all these hidden agendas. I mean, to be rewarded by prestige and power is not so important for us.

It was also mentioned that despite all of the executive board members of the federation, in accordance with the overall organizational aims, had the mandate and responsibility to promote gender equality in the organization, such issues were always put on the agenda by women. The male board members most often resisted discussing gender equity issues and in particular gender disparities in their own surroundings. One of the most experienced females described the situation in this way:

> To argue for the relevance of discussing gender equity issues has been a fight every time and most often a lonely fight. It seems like it is still up to us women to bring these issues onto the agenda, I mean, my male colleagues show no engagement. It seems like they resist and disagree by remaining silent.

The voices of the top managers in coaching echoed similar challenges. They had among other things questioned the fruitfulness and reasons behind the existing sex segregated organization structures of elite sport in their federation; that is, why men's elite activities are organized separate from women's. Several of the female top managers experienced this segregation as a hindrance for providing more equal opportunities for female athletes as well as for coaches coaching females. They prepared a proposal of a new organizational structure and after extensive and challenging negotiations, they gained support for most of their proposed changes, for example for their idea to establish a decision making body, responsible for both men and

women's activities. Thus they had created a new arena to visualise, discuss and change the existing gender inequalities between men and women in the elite sector. The two female top-managers that had initiated and implemented this proposal, underlined however, that such changes are only possible to suggest for women in power positions; for those who have obtained confidence and respect among their male colleagues. They talked about the importance of women in power positions like this:

> For when I am allowed to sit up here and decide, then I see things and ask: Why do I have less pay because I am working with female athletes and women's activities, when I do the exact same job? And why should female top athletes have much lower food budget than top male athletes? These issues are now sorted out and nobody reflects more over it. This was one of the reasons why I wanted to have responsibility for both men's and women's activities, when I received the position as sport director. However, if not, I believe – things will develop in quite another direction.

> To get such issues on the agenda and be able to convince that such changes are fair, we need more women, and I hate to say it: in power positions. (…). It is incredible much that can be changed in a short time, only because somebody comes in and sees it.

The female top managers also talked about how they over the years had worked systematically to strengthen women's role in the male domain of coaching. They emphasized, for example, how they made use of what is often called as a "double" gender political strategy; to make use of both segregated and integrated strategies to strengthen women's position in the organization. The separate strategies reported, were mostly concentrated on leadership and networking programs for female coaches to empower women to better cope with the challenges they face in a male dominated environment. One of the top managers expressed the aim of these measures like this: "We try to give them an assurance, where we convince them that they have at least as much knowledge and competence as other coaches, to give them energy, stamina and something to fall back on." Even though these measures were only directed towards women, they emphasized that they were justified as general, because the aim was to provide more equal opportunities to obtain coaching positions for both men and women.

These examples of powerful women's mandates and practices suggest how meanings of gender as a relative power relation are negotiated and contested when women obtain positions and power to challenge male dom-

inance and work for more equal opportunities. The analyses also indicate how powerful women in different contexts approach their mandates and "do gender and minority" in both similar and different ways. I will in the further discuss some of these differences and similarities and make some conclusions.

Negotiations on Gender and Power: Similarities and Differences

The analyses have indicated how women in different organizational positions look at their changing possibilities as women and as a minority both in similar and different ways. Regarding similarities it is remarkable that most of the interviewees conceived changes in the dominating decision-making procedures and structures as a kind of a prerequisite to obtain gender equality advancement and more democratic sport organizations. It was obvious that in this process both the formal and informal part of the decision making was experienced as a hindrance to become equals and change agents. On the other hand the voices showed that the framing of this issue as well as others was shaped by both individual assumptions and contextual differences.

For example Olga's practices in a local context, which happened more than twenty years ahead of the others, seem in many respects to be colored by a quite different approach of "doing gender and minority". On the one hand this difference may derive from several factors, for example that being a top leader in sport at the local level, is most often less prestigious and less contested than a similar position at the national level (Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003; Hovden, 2000). On the other hand Olga was the first woman to lead her club and was thus aware of being marked both regarding her gender and her minority status (Bourdieu, 2000; Gullestad, 2002). As indicated she opted to become very visible while she was representing a political difference. She admitted that this was experienced as a challenging and strenuous situation, but also as a unique possibility to realize her mandate and political visions. Therefore she decided to be task-oriented and not concerned about how she was perceived by her male counterparts as a woman and as a "miraculous exception" and thus was able to challenge and to disregard the cultural coding of gender that surrounded her. This point of entry made it possible for her to make issues of equality and solidarity, into general, important and necessary political issues. In this process she was also able to transform the intersected meanings of being a wom-

an and a minority and challenge the way gender and minority are usually "done" in most male dominated organizational practices (Bourdieu, 2000; Haavind, 1994; Hovden, 2000).

Most of the powerful women at the national level indicated similar mandates, but their approaches and practices differed in several ways from Olga's, because both the individual and contextual preconditions were different. To challenge and change the gendering of the national sport bodies seems to be a lot more complex and demanding. These bodies are to a much larger extent shaped by prestige and positioning (Hovden, 2000). Even though the female executive board members represented a large minority, several of them as indicated commented that they used much time to understand and handle how the dominant cultural coding of gender affected their influence. The way they were marked indicates that they had to cope with practices shaped by processes of both minoritizing and gendering (Staunes, 2004), and the executive board members interpreted their situation as structured by gender. It was thus impossible to escape or disregard the gendered meanings they were accustomed to. To cope with such gender/power dynamics and find strategies to become respected and powerful were as the analyses indicate, both challenging and sometimes unpleasant. Compared to the local level it seems that the opportunities to be critical and the capacity to negotiate gendered meanings were more complicated and demanding. For example it was obvious that in such male dominated and prestigious decision-making cultures, it was far from easy to actualize gender equality issues. From this point of entry the analyses at the national level seem to indicate that as agents of change, the women had to keep continuous attention on their changing mandate. For example their capacity to strategic thinking and their ability to work step by step to obtain minor changes.

In their work as change agents, the top-managers in coaching emphasized, however, that the most important work was to initiate organizational strategies and measures to recruit more women into top positions. In line with Bourdieu (2000) they argued that having more women in key positions; into positions of definite power are essential to challenge men's hegemonic power position. They saw how their changing potentials increased dramatically when they achieved a top position. In a top position they had among other things power to define and negotiate on situational meanings of gender. This viewpoint was less discussed among the board members, because of different contextual characteristics. However, all of the informants agreed upon the fact that women as "miraculous exceptions" in male

dominated organizations, do not have a sufficient authority or capacity to fulfill greater gender equity and more democracy in sport organizations in the long run.

Conclusions

My analyses indicate that powerful women as change agents of male dominated sport cultures possess several characteristics and resources to fulfill their objectives. Firstly, they are guided by a mandate rooted in a strong commitment to advancing gender equality in sport organizations both generally and in the organizational units they operate. This commitment derives mostly from their extensive experiences as a female minority in male dominated contexts. Most of them reported how they, in many situations and contexts, had experienced how gendering and minoritizing processes affected their potential. Through these experiences they had developed their capacity to identify dominant power dynamics and find appropriate strategies to gain respect and become powerful. For example the sensibility towards how the coding of gender works in concrete situations and competences to actualize and negotiate the existing gender order, where men's standards of policy making most often are justified as the normal and most efficient.

Secondly, most of the interviewees remarked that their belief in the sport organizations' important role in the development of local communities as well as the society at large were essential for their engagement for change. Nevertheless, a perhaps even more important motivation, at least for some of them, was their passionate relationship and dedication to their individual sport. Many described how significant a role that sport has played in their lives such as: sporting achievements, fun and entertainment and the development of lifelong friendships. Some of them talked about this relationship as being so passionate and robust that it overshadowed everything else. Consequently not investing their energy and resources to develop their federations was thus described as a kind of betrayal.

Thirdly, the empirical voices indicate an acknowledgement of possessing power and influence as a prerequisite to be agents of change in cultures shaped by power relationships of dominance. Therefore, in their positions they worked continually to increase their power aiming to achieve more definite power and thus be able to initiate and implement strategies for more gender-balanced sport organizations, for example to initiate new

models of decision making. They also shared the understanding that one woman in an organizational power position surrounded by powerful males, very seldom is able to neutralize the effects of the gendering and minoritizing processes operating in such cultures. To challenge and break down the existing power relationships between men and women, and the understanding of gender on which these are based, requires a concerted effort of powerful women supported by influential and critical men[4] (Hovden, 2006, 2010).

The political practices of powerful women profiled in this analysis, show a picture of dedicated, competent and political creative women, who are obviously vulnerable as a female minority, but still confident and clear about their potentials to be agents of change even though their work most often shows minor improvements. Their stories gave, in many respects, an impression of exceptional women with an extraordinary capacity to give of their time and resources to promote their visions for more democratic and diverse sport organizations. All of them underlined, however, that the presuppositions for their stamina and drive to fulfill their mandates, were the continual support they received from family, friends and colleagues.

Notes

1 Denmark is the only Scandinavian country with two major sports organization instead of one: The Danish Sports Federation (DIF) with 39% female memberships and the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI) with 47% female memberships.

2 This assumption has an empirical base. In all known nowadays societies activities related to men and masculinity are relatively superior to activities related to women and femininities, and sporting institutions are no exceptions.

3 For further information on the gender quota paragraph in the Norwegian Confederation of Sport (the NIF), see for example Fasting & Skou (1994).

4 I have indicated in my former publications (Hovden, 2006, 2010, 2012b) that men and in particular young men, support women's efforts in advancing gender equality in national sport bodies. Because this has not been the focus in this chapter, this aspect is not further included and elaborated.

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Johanna A. Adriaanse

The Role of Men in Advancing Gender Equality in Sport Governance

Introduction

Data on the Sydney Scoreboard, a web-based tool that monitors women's representation on sport boards globally, indicate that gender equality in sport governance has not yet been achieved. The Sydney Scoreboard shows that only four of 44 countries have more than 30% women directors on the board of their National Sport Organisations (NSOs) (International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2012). They include Cook Islands (50.5%), Fiji (32.5%), Norway (39.4%) and Sweden (32.1%). On the lower end of the scale, the Sydney Scoreboard shows that five of the 44 countries have less than 10% women on their sport governing boards which are Bangladesh (5%), Croatia (7.8%), Czech Republic (9.8%), Poland (8.4%) and San Marino (9.5%). Women's representation on NSO boards in the majority of the listed countries on the Sydney Scoreboard varies between 10 and 30% (International Working Group on Women and Sport, 2012). Overall, these data provide evidence that women remain clearly under-represented in sport governance. The rationale to focus on women's representation in NSOs is that they are the national governing body for their specific sport and it is at this level that important decisions are made for hundreds of thousands physically active people, men and women, in their country and those that want to be active.

Research in the corporate domain has suggested that gender diverse boards can lead to more competent boards contributing to good governance (Branson, 2007; Erhardt, Werbel & Shrader, 2003; Huse & Solberg, 2006; Nielsen & Huse, 2010; Singh & Vinnicombe, 2004; Terjesen, Sealy & Singh, 2009; van der Walt & Ingley, 2003). A comprehensive review of research on women directors on corporate boards, conducted by Terjesen, Sealy and Singh (2009) and including more than 400 publications in the past 30 years, found that corporate governance was improved when women were appointed to boards because they brought value-adding talents and represented stakeholders who had previously been excluded. Further, a recent study (Nielsen & Huse, 2010) concluded, the ratio of women directors (number of women directors in relation to total number) is positively relat-

ed to board effectiveness and strategic control. The case for gender equality on boards in the corporate sector is now solidly established.

A growing number of studies have emerged to examine and understand women's under-representation in sport governance. Researchers have examined this issue in a range of countries, for example, in Australia (McKay, 1992, 1997; Sibson, 2010), in Canada (Hall, Cullen & Slack, 1989; Inglis, 1997; Shaw & Slack, 2002), in Germany (Doll-Tepper, Pfister & Radtke, 2006; Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003; Pfister & Radtke, 2009), in the Netherlands (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007, 2008), in New Zealand (Cameron, 1996; Shaw, 2006), in Norway (Fasting, 2000; Hovden, 2000, 2006; Skirstad, 2002, 2009), in Scandinavia (Ottesen, Skirstad, Pfister & Habermann, 2010) and in the UK (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003; Shaw & Penney, 2003; White & Brackenridge, 1985). The majority of these studies have explored questions of distribution, such as the ratio of women directors, barriers for women to obtain director positions and then recommending strategies to address these constraints. Several studies have also used a relational gender perspective and investigated how gender works – the underlying gender/power dynamics – on sport boards. This line of investigation has disclosed important reasons for the lack of gender equality on sport boards.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the underlying gender dynamics on boards of NSOs and in particular, the role of men on sport boards. It is based on a recent study conducted with Australian NSOs. The theoretical framework focuses on the concept of a *gender regime*. Using a gender regimes approach is a marked departure from previous studies and represents a new contribution to the field of gender and sport governance. A gender regime is characterised by four interwoven dimensions: production, power, emotional and symbolic relations (Connell, 2009). When applied to governance dynamics in sport boards, this concept permits identification of how gender works. The gender regime (Connell, 2009) on the board of one of the five NSOs involved in this study has been identified as *gender mainstreaming in process*, the most conducive pattern in advancing gender equality when compared with those prevailing on the board of the other four sport organisations and will be used as a case study. The research questions are: i) What are the gender relations that characterise the composition and operation of this sport board in terms of a gender regimes approach? ii) What is the role of men on this board in advancing gender equality in sport governance?

The chapter is organised in the following way. First, I critically review several salient studies on gender and sport governance and present the

conceptual framework of the study drawing from the concepts of organisational management, gendered social practices and gender regimes. Second, I outline the methods of the study. The study involved an audit of the gender distribution on boards of NSOs in Australia as well as in-depth interviews with board directors and chief executive officers (CEOs) of selected NSOs. Third, I present and discuss the results for the board of one NSO as a case study. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications of the study's findings for the advancement of gender equality in sport governance.

The Role of Men in Obstructing and Advancing Gender Equality

One of the barriers for women to obtain a board position identified by several studies has been the male-dominated culture in sport organisations and the role of men (consciously and sub-consciously) to maintain their privileged position. For example, several researchers (Radtke, 2006; Shaw, 2006; Sibson, 2010) found that some male board members actively prevented women from gaining or maintaining a seat at the boardroom table. This occurred when women were given less opportunity than men to contribute and develop, were being excluded from the male networks, or through intimidation and/or sexual harassment. Other studies have revealed that men can control boards by framing the process of recruitment and selection in a manner so that the male-dominated culture on the sport board is maintained (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Hall et al., 1989; Hovden, 2000). This happens when male board members select women that "fit" to recreate themselves. Hovden (2000), examining leadership selection in Norwegian sport organisations, found that the selection discourses strongly reflected male-centred images of corporate leadership skills. The term "heavyweight" was used as a metaphor of preferred leadership skills. Hovden (2000) explained how these skills were associated with heroic, powerful, masculine characteristics but perceived as gender neutral. The common strategy of searching in networks of friends and colleagues for potential board members recreated the existing gender structure.

On the other hand, Claringbould and Knoppers (2008) introduced a new perspective by asserting that men can play a significant role in the "undoing" of gender meanings to behavior or tasks. They examined how board members of national sport organisations in the Netherlands engaged in "doing and undoing gender in sport governance" (Claringbould

& Knoppers, 2008, p. 81). Male directors *did* gender when they described male and female qualities but *undid* gender when they allocated stereotypical behaviours in atypical ways, for example by allocating women to the role of being responsible for the development of high performance sport or being chair. The authors emphasised that influential men can become change agents by using their position to bring about change. Claringbould and Knoppers' approach represents a change from a focus on the way in which men can obstruct gender equality to one in which men can advance gender equality in sport governance.

Conceptual Framework: Masculine Ethic in Organisational Management

The pioneering work of Rosabeth Kanter entitled *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977) heralded the beginning of a range of studies investigating gender relations in organisations. Based on ethnographic research of a large corporation in the USA, Kanter argued that the role of managers is profoundly masculinised since rationality and efficiency were the raison d'être for their position. Paraphrasing Max Weber, she wrote: "The spirit of managerialism was infused with a masculine ethic" (Kanter, 1977, p. 20). According to Kanter masculine ethic can be identified as a collection of characteristics including a tough minded approach, strong analytical abilities, a capacity to set aside emotional considerations, focus on task accomplishments and cognitive superiority in problem solving. Another related and salient finding of Kanter's work was that men who managed maintained the masculine ethic of management by recruiting people who fitted in, who were "their kind". In this context Kanter introduced the concept of "homosocial reproduction" (1977, p. 54), meaning managers reproduce themselves in their own image through selecting prospective managers on the basis of social similarities. Kanter (1977) proposed that it was the structure of the corporation and not individual characteristics that caused gender inequalities. Women's problems occurred because they were placed in dead-end jobs at the bottom of the organisation and exposed as tokens at the top.

Acker (1990) further developed this perspective by introducing the concept of the gendered organisation. She stated that organisations are *not* gender-neutral and should be viewed as sites that are patterned in their very constitution by a distinction between male and female, masculine and

feminine, in relation to their basic components, that is, structure, ideology, policy and practice, interaction and identity. This constitutive patterning, according to Acker, simultaneously reproduces gender inequalities since the distinction that characterises it necessarily involves hierarchical differentiation of values along gendered lines. She asserted: "Images of men's bodies and masculinity pervade organisational processes, marginalising women and contributing to the maintenance of gender segregation in organisations" (Acker, 1990, p. 139).

Since the publication of Acker's paper there has been extensive and vigorous theoretical discussion of the concept of gender in this context. One of the dominant threads in this development has been the idea that gender is indeed a social process but one that brings the bodily reproductive distinction between men and women, male and female, into being in such a way that the differential relationship involved is not necessarily hierarchical and unequal (Connell, 2009; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ferree, Lorber & Hess, 1999; Kvande, 2007; McNay, 2000; Moore, 1994). This allows for the possibility of gendered social practice that does not reproduce gender inequality and that, in fact, may advance gender equality. The question that arises here is how can we distinguish between social practice that advances gender equality and one that frustrates or obstructs it?

Connell's Four Dimensional Model of Gender Relations

According to Connell (2009) the key to understanding gender is to move away from a focus on gender differences to one on relationships between and among men and women at a number of levels including a personal and institutional level. She (Connell, 2005; 2009) further explains that systematically determining where and how people "do gender" depends on being able to identify a pattern of practices associated with four main areas of social life. The combination of these and the pattern of gender relations produced by it, is what Connell calls a "gender regime" (Connell, 2009, p. 72). The four dimensions of a gender regime are the:

a) *gender division of labour*, that is the way in which production or work is arranged on gender lines including the division between paid work and domestic labour;
b) *gender relations of power*, that is the way in which control, authority, and force are exercised on gender lines, including organisational hierarchy, legal power and violence, both individual and collective;

c) *emotion and human relations*, that is the way attachment and antagonism among people and groups are organised along gender lines, including feelings of solidarity, prejudice, sexual attraction and repulsion;
d) *gender culture and symbolism*, that is the way in which gender identities are defined and gender is represented and understood, including prevailing beliefs and attitudes about gender.

Although four structures of gender relations can be distinguished it does not mean that they operate in separate ways. They are interwoven and constantly interact with each other.

From this perspective, the social practices involved in producing gender in organisations at any one time occur within already existing patterns of practice that have been established over time. These shape the parameters for possible action. Action, in turn, can cause such limits to change. Such an approach permits the possibility of identifying how organisational processes, such as sport board governance, are gendered and whether the configurations identified reproduce gender inequalities or promote gender change. Accordingly, it was chosen as the preferred approach for conducting a study of how gender works in the governance of sport organisations. Schofield and Goodwin (2005) have demonstrated how this model can effectively be used to analyse the gender dynamics in organisations. Their study identified the various gender regimes that prevailed in several public sector institutions in New South Wales, Australia. In their conclusion they state that their approach and method can be adopted by researchers to analyse and identify gender dynamics in other organisations. This fourfold gender model provides the theoretical framework for the present study.

Method

The research design for the study was a comparative case study of five NSOs and included two stages. Stage one involved an audit of gender distribution on the boards of 56 NSOs that received public funding from the Australian Sports Commission (2008) at the time of the study. The main purpose of this stage was to get important benchmark data on the gender distribution on boards of Australian NSOs and to use this data to sample participants for the next stage. For the second stage of the study I conducted in-depth interviews with directors and CEOs (n=26; 9 women and 17 men) from five NSOs. The following criteria for sampling were used. The

governing bodies of sports that traditionally favour participation of one gender such as the football codes, cricket, netball, softball and synchronised swimming were excluded. In addition, based on the information gathered in stage one of the study, only sport organisations that had members of both genders on their board were considered for participation because the aim of the study was to examine interactions within and between the genders. Another criterion for selection was that directors had served on their respective boards for a sustained period of time, which was a minimum of 6 months since it would be difficult to gauge the perspective of board members with limited board exposure. Sample size was determined by data saturation which is the point when additional data are being collected that do not produce any new themes or recurrent topics (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006).

I used a semi-structured interview schedule to guide the in-depth interviews. The fourfold model of gender relations, as previously described, provided the framework for the interview schedule. The schedule was informed by the topic list used in Schofield and Goodwin's study (2005) with public sector institutions in Australia. Further, I considered the questionnaires and checklists used in three other studies on women on sport boards (Doll-Tepper et al., 2006; Henry et al., 2004; McKay, 1992). Interview topics included role and tasks of the directors, status of the role, influence and authority on the board, contributions and qualities of directors, conflicts or challenging situations along gender lines, understanding of gender and gender equality. As part of the interview I also asked for and collected documents in relation to gender equality on boards of these organisations such as an annual report, constitution and strategic plan. A pilot study was conducted with four directors (three women and one man) of a national sport organisation which was a different organisation from the ones that participated in the main study. After the pilot interviews the interview schedule was slightly adjusted. Some questions were added in relation to comparisons between board members along gender lines and meanings of gender and gender equality in order to get more explicit data on these topics. All interviews were conducted face-to-face either in the office of the sport organisation or another location mutually convenient to the interviewee and interviewer. The duration of the interviews was between 20 and 90 minutes with an average of 52 minutes.

All interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. Each transcript was then read to identify and code any comments or responses that were relevant to a particular category of Connell's framework of gender re-

lations. This type of coding has been referred to as concept-driven coding, which uses codes that have been developed by the researcher based on theory prior to data analysis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Similar to Schofield and Goodwin's research (2005), Connell's model was adapted to work as a data analysis tool by formulating the four dimensions as questions to be applied to the interview data. The first category, production relations, was addressed through the question, what are the roles and tasks on the board in terms of men and women? The second category, power relations, became the question, who exerts influence in the organisation's governance and whose authority prevails in the process? The third category, emotional relations, was applied to the data analysis as, who do board members like to work with, who do they dislike? The final category, symbolic relations, was operationalised by becoming the question, how did respondents understand the meaning of gender and gender equality? I then re-read the data gathered under one category and identified any sub-themes. For example, I coded the following sub-themes of production relations: positions on the board, involvement in board subcommittees, link of work on board to professional or sporting background and comparison along gender lines. This type of coding represents an inductive approach. Amis (2005) has argued that using both a deductive approach (theory inspired) as well as an inductive approach (data inspired) can be fruitful because it allows for gaining a creative insight from the data without reinventing concepts that have been proven useful previously. Subsequently, structured on the four categories of gender relations, case studies were drafted with the analysis of the preliminary results for each NSO, five case studies in total of approximately 3500 words each.

Case Study: The Regime of Gender Mainstreaming in Process

In this section, I present the results for one of the five case studies: sport board E. The gender regime in this organisation has been characterised as *gender mainstreaming in process.* This regime provided a strong basis for gender equal governance. Sport board E was the only one of the five sport boards involved in the study that demonstrated this particular gender regime. The board of the other four organisations showed a more traditional gender regime in which masculine hegemony still prevailed. It is for this reason that sport board E is used as a case study to i) analyse the gender relations that characterise the composition and operation on this board and

ii) identify the specific role that men directors play in advancing gender equality in sport governance.

Sport board E is the governing body of a national organisation representing a popular Olympic team sport in Australia with approximately 120,000 members at the time of the study (Annual report). Sex disaggregated data indicate that, in terms of participation, the majority (52%) of players were women but the sport was also prominent among men. At an international level the men's and women's national teams have considerable success as they both consistently rank among the top nations in the world. The board of this sport organisation included nine directors, six men and three women. The male CEO was not part of the board but usually attended board meetings as a non-voting member. The following is based on interviews with the president, the CEO and three directors, two of whom were women and three were men. The results are structured on the four dimensional model of gender relations which are production, power, emotional and symbolic relations.

Production Relations

The role of president was held by a man. In addition to attending to general board matters, each director was expected to assume responsibility for tasks relating to their knowledge area. Governance was structured largely, according to the expertise or professional background of board members. The women board directors' areas of expertise and tasks were as follows: the vice-president, who was a qualified accountant, focused on finances. The male CEO explained her role:

> She is vice-president and she also heads up … finance … and given her expertise in finance she has been a great asset there. We are going through a process of just reengineering how we manage our finances and report on our finances as an organisation and she has been pivotal to that. (She gives) investment advice as well and (advice on) how we manage investments. So in terms of her skill set, (she is) very good, but importantly, beyond that, she is a very good strategic thinker. She is very good at process, and very knowledgeable about … (the) sport and competition as well. So she brings a full range of skills to the board and contributes on every level basically.

Further, the woman director who worked in sports administration, particularly in elite development, was responsible for the high performance area of the sport and the third woman director, who had a Master's degree in Business, was responsible for developing relationships with stakeholders and sponsorship. The male CEO commented on the contribution of the latter director in the following way:

> She is … a very good stakeholder manager, so whether that be with prospective business partners or with the international body when they are out here and hosting them with functions. And ensuring that we are aligning ourselves well to, I guess, the powerbrokers of the sport and perceived in the right way, she is very good at that networking and positioning the national body in that way.

The male president contended that all three women directors were particularly valuable for their contribution in cultivating relationships and consulting with stakeholders:

> … I use (them) more for … talking to people and eliciting responses. And I don't know whether it is just the makeup of our board but (while) a couple of the male members … are quite good, … each of the girls (is) very good at talking to people and getting answers out of people, probably because they listen better than men do.

The expertise of the men on the board, and the tasks they performed in relation to it, were concentrated in several key areas, namely, business, law and corporate governance. All directors but one had a strong background in the sport they governed.

It is evident that the distribution of portfolios and tasks of the organisation was based on individual professional experience, a point emphasised by all the interviewed participants. However, since there were six men and three women on the board, the majority of the roles were taken by men; therefore the division of labour was male dominated. Further, it is also apparent that a significant gendered division prevailed in the work of the organisation in relation to its communication with a wide variety of stakeholders.

Power Relations

Women's representation on the board was 33%. This percentage had been stable over the past few years partly due to the constitution which contained a clause that "No one gender is to constitute less than 3 of the board's membership and at least 2 of each gender must be elected members".

In regard to hierarchy or status on the board, the male president's view was that each member brings their own expertise and skills to the table. All are equally important, as he said:

> … I mean even as president I don't play on … status … I have run teams all my life in business and status is the worst way to run a business. The best success I have always had is actually (when) people are equal and think equally and every view is important, and as soon as you bring hierarchy and status in, good ideas often get lost. And so … what I try to do is make sure that the board is a team of equals, but recognise that certain people have attributes and skill based areas where they will be the experts …

This perspective was supported by other directors as one of the women who participated in the study commented:

> … I would be saying that (this sport organisation) should be looking at what collectively … the board equals, and certainly I have got some qualities that absolutely contribute to that whole as does every other board member but in different ways … so I wouldn't compare us as apples and oranges but we all make up a fruit salad.

On the other hand, all interview participants reported that two board members were especially active and influential in terms of their contribution to the organisation. One, according to interview participants was a woman who distinguished herself by asking many critical questions in relation to good governance and she had also brought several new members to the board. The male president was also identified as particularly dynamic. Both demonstrated a proactive approach towards the state associations by influencing some of their nominations. They provided advice and guidance on the sort of qualities and expertise needed on the national board. In sum, in view of the high ratio of male directors and the position of president and CEO being held by men, the power in this organisation was male

dominated, however the female minority exercised influence through their significant board positions.

Emotional Relations

Participants characterised the board as cohesive and democratic; one in which all voices were heard and respected, including those of women. Despite having different perspectives on board matters, once a decision had been reached, the directors supported each other. As one woman director stated:

> … I think there is, the board is terrific. We all have a view and we will all debate it and we are all even happy to back each other's judgement if someone else feels a little bit more strongly about something. Very open, very honest, very strong have good discussions, and then also a willingness to actually support other people's direction as well.

The mutual respect and collaboration was also emphasised by the male CEO who pointed out how well regarded and respected the female finance director was. Another, relatively new, woman director, whose view on a particular board matter was sought and accepted, stated:

> And look … (in) my first month on the board, I had the good fortune of being given a project to take recommendations from a Sports Commission review of the sport, the National High Performance Network, put that into an implementation plan format through consultation nationally and seek board approval for the content of the plan and strategies moving forward, which included recruitment of a new position. … So I feel very well supported and I felt like I had a really good opportunity to put my strength to the test and certainly that was all well received.

Further to the board's emotional relations it is noteworthy that two women directors were openly gay to which the male CEO commented:

> It is something (in the) history of the sport; … it is just part of the sport and so it is accepted as that. And actually I will say further to that as an example, Michelle brought her (same sex) partner to the (championships) and obviously felt comfortable bringing her partner into that environment, and again you know no issues and no comments, and it is just normal behaviour as it should be.

The woman director agreed that her sexual orientation was accepted which is evident when she stated:

> I have certainly not experienced any discrimination or anything other than you know really being a person that is, you know, in a relationship with three kids.

In addition to alluding to a climate of respect and collaboration, several directors mentioned the enjoyment that they experienced from being part of the board. Overall, the emotional relations on this board can best be described as cohesive, supportive and satisfying.

Symbolic Relations

In reply to the question about the meaning of gender equality, the directors gave a range of answers. The male president understood gender equality in terms of men's and women's ability to listen to, understand and accept the views of the "other" gender. One woman director mentioned that gender equality involved a certain way of thinking:

> it stems through a mindset so I think you need men with a gender equity mindset, you need women with a gender equity mindset as well. So it is as much about the gender of people as well as their (mindset) … so you need people on the board when decisions are being made that will think about both men and women, and see it as of equal importance and weigh up the decisions.

Yet another meaning was offered by a woman director who replied that it involved equitable contributions being made by men and women at every level of the sport. On the other hand, one of the men on the board suggested that gender equality meant equal access by both men and women involved in the sport to financial and human (such as quality coaches) resources.

The participants not only demonstrated a clear understanding of gender equality but also a strong commitment to it. For example, the male CEO acknowledged the importance of the gender clause in the constitution (a minimum of three directors of either gender) to ensure adequate men's and women's representation on the board. One woman board member agreed and mentioned that she would not have stood for the board without the

clause because she would not have liked to be part of an election, a competitive process. She said:

> I think the thing that I would emphasise is having that ratio on a board designated specifically for whatever the minority is that a group is trying to address, so whether it be gender or … whatever it is, I think that allows a space for people to feel confident to have a go … There is a reason that we have you know minority representation in a number of areas and I think that is the space that allows for people to feel confident and therefore contribute on more of a level plane. So I think that is extremely important.

The gender clause in the constitution was instrumental not only to provide space for women directors and actively recruit them but also to maintain a percentage of at least 30% female representation. To summarise the symbolic relations, gender equality was understood as equitable contributions and participation by men and women at every level of the sport.

A summary of the gender relations on the board of sport organisation E based on Connell's four-structure model can be viewed in Table one.

Table 1: Gender relations on the board of sport organisation E

Gender relations	**Characterised by**
Production	Male dominated
Power	Female minority exercised influence through their significant board positions
Emotional	Cohesive and supportive team
Symbolic	Gender equality understood as equitable contributions/participation by men and women at every level of the sport

Discussion

The findings of this case study reveal that gender operated in diverse and complex ways on the board of sport organisation E. The complexity of the gender dynamics derived from the way in which roles were allocated on the board, power and authority were exercised, emotional relations between directors were played out and in particular, the manner in which gender and gender equality were understood. Overall, the gender regime in this sport organisation privileged men. They comprised six of the nine

director positions and occupied the most influential roles of president and CEO. However, the gender dynamics also demonstrated two other salient features. First, the female minority exercised influence through their significant board positions. Second, the male president and CEO played an instrumental role in support of women. They promoted an organisational culture in which both women and men could contribute and develop. Their attitude reflects an approach of gender mainstreaming which, according to Rees, is one "to transform organisations and create a culture of diversity in which people of a much broader range of characteristics and backgrounds may contribute and flourish" (1998, p. 27). The specific role of men on the board warrants further discussion.

In terms of the gendered division of production, power and authority, the male president and male CEO were significant as they exercised considerable influence and power. The findings indicate that both men demonstrated acute awareness and commitment to gender issues. Organisational leadership was characterised by overt and unequivocal support for the advancement of gender equality. As proposed by Claringbould and Knoppers (2008), men can play an important role in the doing and undoing of gender meanings to behaviours or tasks. On the one hand, the male president in sport E *did gender* by allocating stereotypical female tasks to the women directors on the board such as cultivating relationships and consulting with stakeholders. On the other hand, he *undid gender* by asking women directors to assume roles traditionally undertaken by men – in this case, the positions of finance director and the director responsible for high performance athletes. It was the president's view that the distribution of tasks should be based on individual expertise and not gender.

In terms of emotional relations, the board of sport organisation E was cohesive with members respecting and supporting each other. The cohesion was evident when one relatively new woman director mentioned the support and enjoyment that she experienced as being part of the board. She commented on the positive climate on the board in which she had been given an opportunity to contribute and her input had been well received by the other board members including the six male directors. Further, support by men for women was apparent when the male CEO commented on the high regard and respect the board had for the woman finance director. This is in stark contrast to other studies in which men did not support and cooperate with women directors. For example, Sibson's study (2010) found that some male board members blatantly excluded women directors by limiting their participation, input and influence in decision making. Radtke

(2006) reported that several women directors in her "drop-out" study felt obstructed by male colleagues to carry out their duties. In addition, they experienced the power games, infighting and incivility in interpersonal relations on the board as repulsive. Radtke (2006) found that these women cherished values, such as collaboration and support, which were at odds with the behaviour that was prevalent in the sport organisation. Hostility and division among board members ultimately were the main reasons for these women to "drop out" of sport governance. So it is evident that a cohesive team on the board in which men and women support and respect each other is conducive for gender equality on the board.

Further, in regard to symbolic relations, the findings indicate that gender equality was understood as equitable contributions and participation by men and women at every level of the sport including representation on the board. It is noteworthy that the directors of sport organisation E assumed responsibility for gender equality on their board which is a very different approach from directors in other studies who attributed women's under-representation overwhelmingly to women themselves. In terms of McKay's distinction (1992) between external and internal barriers, that is, organisational factors and those associated within women themselves, findings of several other studies (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Henry et al., 2004; Hovden, 2006; Pfister & Radtke, 2009; Radtke, 2006; Shaw & Slack, 2002) indicate that directors generally understood women's under-representation in terms of the latter. They believed that factors such as the lack of suitable, qualified women ("can't find women") and women's unwillingness to be nominated or to assume leadership positions were the main reasons for women's under-representation on their board. It was women themselves, they believed, who had generated the problem through their individual choices, priorities and competencies, all of which were beyond the control of the organisation.

By contrast, directors of the present study assumed responsibility as an organisation to address the issue of gender equality on the board by demonstrating their commitment to the gender clause in the organisation's constitution. None of the interviewed directors or the CEO in this sport organisation expressed resistance to the gender clause, in fact, the male CEO expressed overt support for the clause. In line with the findings of a study on women in the Olympic movement (Henry et al., 2004; Henry & Robinson, 2010), the results of the present study indicate that the adoption of a quota for the percentage of women on boards has had a positive effect on women's representation on the board. The findings suggest that one of the

women directors in sport organisation E emphasised that this clause was instrumental in her being elected on the board. She felt that the clause provided space for women directors and functioned as an incentive to actively recruit women. She emphasised that without this clause it would have been unlikely that she would have become part of the board. It is evident that the clause supported by the male directors had a positive impact on gender equality on their board. Nevertheless, the gender quota was perceived as a maximum rather than a minimum value since numerical parity of men and women on the board had not yet been achieved.

The significance of the role of men in gender equality processes has been acknowledged in the context of gender politics on a world scale since the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women (Connell, 2009). The need to actively involve men and boys in gender equality work based on the premise that gender equality cannot be achieved by women alone. Reasons to engage men include that they often control the resources which are required for the work but more importantly, men will also benefit from gender equality (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2008). Including men in the advancement of gender equality is fundamental.

Conclusion

Although a growing body of research has contributed to the knowledge and understandings of the under-representation of women in sport governance, the present study has contributed by disclosing how gender works on boards of NSOs using a *gender regimes approach*. This study has demonstrated how Connell's gender regimes framework (2009) can be used as an effective analytical tool to identify how gender works in sport governance and the role of men as a foundation for determining the barriers to and opportunities for the advancement of gender equality. The gender regimes approach provided a systematic and transparent method for analysing qualitative data to disclose the underlying gender dynamics on boards.

Analysis of the gender relations that characterise the composition and operation on sport board E indicate that despite a male-dominated division in production and power relations, the female minority exercised influence through their significant board positions. They were overtly supported by influential men, namely, the president and CEO. In terms of emotional relations the board was a cohesive team in which directors enjoyed working

together. In addition, directors understood gender equality as a notion that exceeded numerical parity of men and women on the board and included a gender perspective across all aspects in their sport.

What then are the implications of the study's findings for the advancement of gender equality in sport governance? Based on the case study of sport board E the findings suggest that men can play a critical role in advancing gender equality in sport boards in the following ways. First, men's support for gender quotas is an effective organisational strategy to ensure women's presence on the board. Second, influential men directors can "undo" gender by allocating women to assume significant board roles and responsibilities which were traditionally held by men. Occupation of such positions by women is foundational to gender equal exercise of power and authority in the decision-making of boards, especially related to the directions they propose for the development of the organisation and the allocation of resources. Third, active endorsement of and support for women by men on boards, particularly if these men hold leadership positions, is highly effective in advancing gender equality. Establishing collaborative and supportive relations among women and men on boards is vital in progressing gender equality. Fourth involves men directors' understandings and explanations of gender inequality in sport governance. Recognition and understanding of the organisational and governance dynamics in producing the board's gendered composition – rather than women themselves – is essential to the advancement of gender equality in sport boards. Proactive commitment to and action by board members towards the achievement of gender equality in board membership is crucial. It is critical to emphasise here that none of these structural dimensions on its own is sufficient to advance practice of gender equal governance. Rather, it is the *combination* of each of these dimensions that appears foundational to advancing gender equality in sport governance.

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Gertrud Pfister

Outsiders: Female Coaches Intruding Upon a Male Domain?

Introduction and Issues Discussed

Anja Andersen is something of a celebrity in Denmark, a VIP who is often featured in the headlines. She is a former handball player who later became a successful coach. In 2011, she was even employed for a short period of time as an assistant coach of a men's team, a decision which was not appreciated by some of the male players (Ravnsted-Larsen, 2011). In Germany, too, female coaches of men's teams are a rare exception,[1] whereas men are the rule as women's coaches. Worldwide, coaching elite athletes and teams seems to be a male preserve. In this chapter I will examine the proportions of male and female coaches in various sports and at various performance levels. In addition, I will explore education and recruitment, positions and working conditions, as well as coaching styles of women and men, with the aim of providing insights into the intersecting factors and processes which contribute to the marginalization of women in this profession.

I will focus on the situation of female coaches in Germany, but the findings and in particular the theoretical approaches also shed light on the situation in other countries and regions. It must be emphasized, however, that the information and explanations presented in this chapter may not be valid for coaching and coaches in countries such as the USA, where sport is organized by educational institutions. As the success of athletes and teams contributes decisively to the prestige of American high schools, colleges and universities, these institutions provide grants for student athletes and offer attractive jobs for coaches (see, for example, Gems & Pfister 2010). Since the implementation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 gender discrimination is prohibited in American schools with the effect that the number of female athletes and teams as well as their coaches has increased decisively (Acosta & Carpenter, 2012). Although the new opportunities encouraged male coaches to work with female students (e.g., LaVoi & Dutove, 2012), female coaches still have a good chance of finding long-term employment with a reasonable salary and options for professional advancement whereas the majority of coaches in Europe work in precarious situations (e.g., Digel, Thiel, Schreiner & Waigel, 2010).

For this reason, studies about the obstacles that women face as well as the support provided for female coaches in a non-European context, see e.g. the comprehensive overview in LaVoi and Dutove (2012), are not used in this chapter. It would, however, be very rewarding to compare the situation of female coaches worldwide and to identify, among other things, the impact of the different environments and forms of employment on coaching philosophies and practices as well as on the opportunities of women in this profession.

In Europe the term "coach" has numerous meanings and refers to a wide range of positions, responsibilities, tasks and activities. I will concentrate on coaches at elite levels who consider coaching to be their main profession although they may not work full-time. Sources will include information about delegations at important sport events such as the Olympic Games, websites of sport federations and the results of studies on, for example, the recruitment, education and situation of coaches.[2]

In the second part of the article the findings will be discussed and interpreted with the help of theoretical approaches including concepts of gender as a code and a social construction, as well as theories of the labor market. A special focus will be placed on the agency of women who are not (only) victims of male domination and relegated to the sidelines but who take on responsibility and decide about their professional and private lives.

Male and Female Coaches: Numbers from Selected Countries and Events

International sport events such as the Olympic Games are highlights not only for the athletes but also for their coaches, who make up a considerable percentage of the countries' delegations.

The Olympic Games in London were dubbed the "women's games". For the first time in Olympic history, all delegations included female athletes and women could participate in all sports. Several countries sent more female than male participants to the games, among them the USA (261 men, 268 women) whose female athletes gained 58% of the countries' medals.[3] However, less than 30% of the head coaches of the US delegation were women, and all female coaches were in charge of female athletes.[4]

Comprehensive information about the gender of the coaches at the Olympics in London is not available, and attempts to obtain the relevant data from the IOC or the organizing committee were not successful. How-

ever, information about national delegations, e.g. the German Olympic Team, provides reliable insights into the gender proportions among the athletes and their coaches. The German delegation is presented in an elaborately designed brochure with color photos of the athletes, team leaders and coaches. 407 German athletes, 44% of them women, competed in 28 of the 32 Olympic sports. Only five of the 51 coaches were women, all of whom were responsible for female athletes; two of them were coaches in the women-only sport rhythmic gymnastics.[5] Researching the entourage of the athletes in the various ball games (football, team handball, volleyball, basketball and hockey) provides another perspective on gender and coaching. At the 2012 Olympic Games, the men's teams of all countries and 43 of the 48 women's teams competing in games were coached exclusively by men.[6]

Explorations of other events, e.g. world championships in the various team games, reveal that coaching is a men's affair not only at the Olympics. It goes without saying that all men's teams at national, regional and even local levels are coached by men, and my investigations on the internet reveal that most women's teams are also supervised by male coaches. Examples are the women's handball world championship in 2009, where 11 out of 12 teams were coached by men. The exception was the Hungarian team with Eszter Mátéfi, a former world-class player, as coach ("2009 World Women's Handball Championship", 2012). At the last world championship in football in 2011 the gender proportion among coaches was a little more equal: 5 teams had female, 11 teams had male head coaches ("FIFA Women's World Cup Germany 2011", n.d.). Studies conducted in various countries, e.g. Norway, Germany, UK, Norway and Canada, confirm the figures presented above. All available data provide overwhelming evidence that the lack of female coaches in elite sport is a worldwide phenomenon (e.g., Fasting & Knorre, 2005; Fasting & Pfister, 2000; Fielding-Lloyd & Mean, 2008, 2011; Hovden 2000a, 2000b, 2012; Lyle, 2002; Norman 2008; 2010a, 2010b, 2012).[7]

In some studies it is emphasized that female coaches mostly hold supporting positions, where caring for others, especially the young, is central (e.g., Redelius, 2002). However, it must be kept in mind that a majority of the "caring" female "coaches" are not "professionals" but instructors who are often in charge of children's or women's physical activities. In the German Gymnastic Federation, a sport-for-all organization with 5 million members, more than 90% of the instructors are women.[8] As a rule, they

are volunteers or are given a small remuneration as appreciation for their services.

Female Coaches: The Situation in Germany

In order to gain more in-depth insights into various issues of coaching, I will focus on the situation in Germany, where several investigations have been conducted since the 1980s. The positions and terms of employment of coaches in Germany vary considerably depending on performance level and success, the sport and the employers, e.g. clubs, federations or Olympic Sport Centers (*Olympiastützpunkte*). Information provided by the German Olympic Sports Confederation reveals that around 90% of the 500 national coaches financed by the Federal Ministry of the Interior are men. Even among the 176 coaches working at Olympic Sport Centers with young athletes women form a small minority of 13%.[9]

Top-level coaches are also employed by the national and regional sport federations or by clubs, where they are in charge, for example, of the teams which compete in national leagues. Here, too, decisive gender differences emerge. A good example is volleyball, a sport with an equal percentage of male and female players.[10] However, there is only one female assistant coach among the 36 coaches of the 15 women's volleyball teams playing in the German national league. Although female coaches are also underrepresented in women's football, this game offers better opportunities for women than other team sports (Sinning, 2012b).

An examination of the websites of the German federations catering for Olympic sports corroborates the gender proportions among coaches as presented above.[11] All federations employ male head coaches. 11 of the 34 federations have installed teams in which both genders cooperate. All in all, 89% of these coaches are men.

This overview of elite coaches in Germany shows a significant marginalization of women in this profession. A comparison of these data with the results of around a dozen surveys and interview studies conducted in Germany between the 1980s and 2008 reveals that the situation has not improved.[12] Among the participants in the latest representative survey of coaches in elite sport and their vocational field (N=1812) 13% were women, who with few exceptions were in charge of female athletes (Digel et al., 2010).

To conclude: In Germany and worldwide, male athletes and men's teams are coached exclusively by male coaches. Men also play a dominant role in women's sports, where the percentage of male coaches increases with a rising level the performance. Female coaches often work as assistant coaches, and predominantly with women, adolescents or children competing at local or regional levels. A large number of women are engaged as instructors in sport-for-all activities (e.g., Digel et al., 2010; Gieß-Stüber, 2002; Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008; Zipprich, 2002). This does not mean that there are no excellent and successful female coaches in almost all types of sports, but they are the exception rather than the norm.

Reasons and Potential Explanations

The reasons behind this gender imbalance in the coaching profession are diverse and complex; they range from coaching education to recruitment practices and mirror the gender arrangements in Western societies. LaVoi and Dutove (2012) proposed applying Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological model and exploring the interplay between the factors supporting and hindering women at the individual, interpersonal, organizational and socio-cultural levels. They present a systematic review of existing studies on female coaches within an Anglo-American context. Hence, their findings and explanations do not necessarily provide insights into the situation of female coaches in countries with different sport systems. Although this socio-ecological model is a valid approach and many of the identified barriers and supports can be found worldwide, the gender differences among coaches may have other reasons and consequences in Germany than in the US. In Europe, scholars from the UK, Germany and Scandinavia in particular have explored the backgrounds of the gender imbalance among coaches (Fasting, Sand, Sisjord, Thoresen & Broch, 2008; Hovden, 2012; Norman, 2008; 2010a, 2010b, 2012; for studies in Germany see endnote 12 and 14). Although some of these studies rely on very few interviews, they reveal numerous instances of discrimination which impede the access of women to coaching.

I will present the available information on potential barriers facing female coaches in a German context, i.e. gender stereotypes, coaching education, recruitment strategies and working conditions. I will interpret this information against the backdrop of theoretical approaches to gender, the labor market and the culture of organizations.

Perceptions, Evaluations and Stereotypes: Coaching Styles and Sexual Orientation

Gender stereotypes impede women's access to coaching and they accompany female coaches throughout their careers. A large body of studies has focused on the abilities and coaching styles of both genders, revealing that many assumptions about male and female coaches are based on stereotypical beliefs. An often quoted early experiment with coaches in the USA showed that male and female athletes judged written CVs of coaches differently according to their gender (Parkhouse & Williams, 1986) and that the male athletes, in contrast to the females, did not expect much from women coaches. In their overview of the relevant literature LaVoi and Dutove (2012) found clear evidence of a gender bias against female coaches in the USA in spite of the high demands on gender equality at American colleges and universities.

Several studies in Europe have also revealed that there are doubts about the competence of women in this profession (e.g., Hovden 2012; Sinning, 2012b). Female basketball coaches interviewed by Gieß-Stüber (1996) reported, for example, that they needed higher qualifications than male candidates in order to gain acceptance (see Hovden, 2012 for female coaches in Sweden). Interviews with officials, coaches and female players in German football clubs likewise showed that women had to struggle for acceptance and were not taken seriously, in particular if they wanted to work with male players (Gieß-Stüber, 2002; Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008).[13]

Female football players in Germany, Norway, Sweden and the USA reported in interviews about differences between men's and women's coaching styles, with women being described as the "better psychologists" (Fasting & Pfister, 2000; Sinning, 2012a). According to Würth, Saborowski and Alfermann (1999) women tend to focus more than men on the process of coaching, the quality of social relations, and the well-being of the athletes; for them winning does not seem to be everything (see also Alfermann, Würth & Saborowski, 2002; Borggrefe, Thiel & Cachay, 2006).

As coaches are largely expected to have a target-oriented and authoritarian style of leadership, the pedagogical approach to coaching adopted by many women may be judged as ineffective by the coaches' employers (e.g., Cachay & Bahlke 2003). Although the findings on gendered coaching styles refer to averages and do not say anything about the coaching of individuals (which depends very much on the situation), they interact with everyday assumptions and condense into stereotypes which have an

impact on the recruitment of coaches, their working conditions and on the appreciation of their work (e.g., Demers, 2004; Hovden, 2010; Schlesinger & Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2012; Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008). On the basis of interviews Norman (2010b) concluded that the trivialization of women's coaching abilities resulted in a construction of coaching as a men's domain.

Numerous stereotypes about female coaches refer to their femininity and their sexuality. Women in this profession are often assumed to be lesbians and confronted with homophobia. Although homosexuality is tolerated in many Western countries, e.g. in Germany, most lesbian athletes and coaches decide to keep quiet about their private lives (e.g., Brackenridge, Alldred, Jarvis, Maddocks & Rivers, 2008, see also Pfister, 1999).

Stereotypes influence the coaches' environments, and the anticipation of encountering stereotypes influences women's decisions, for example about their training and their careers as coaches.[14]

Licenses and Education of Coaches in Germany

Competencies and licenses. Becoming a professional coach is not a sudden decision but a long process which very often starts during a career as an athlete. According to Mrazek and Rittner (1992) 98% of male and female coaches have had experience of playing sports and 73% have participated in competitions at regional, national or international levels. In the latest German survey administered to coaches around 80% of the respondents were former athletes (Digel et al., 2010). Experience of elite sport not only provides insights and competencies but also networks which can support careers in this field. The relatively small percentage of female athletes in some sports, e.g. football, may contribute to men's dominance in this profession.

In Germany, coaching education in the various sports consists of a regulated system of consecutive courses which end with examinations providing licenses at the C, B and A levels. Although it is possible to coach without any formal qualification, coaches in elite sport have as a rule the highest qualification, the A license. In football, coaches can acquire the additional title of "football teacher".[15] Very few women have gained this title, among them some famous players and coaches such as Tina Theune-Meyer and Silvia Neid. Among the 1,800 "football teachers" educated since 1974 only 15 are women (Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008).[16] Some years ago the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) introduced a new qualification

providing a "Pro License" for coaches of teams at the top level of national league systems as well as in the Champions and the Europe leagues.[17] A list of coaches who have qualified for the Pro Diploma until 2012 contains only men, with one exception: Hope Powell, coach of the UK National Women's Team, who gained her Pro License in 2003 ("Coaching Diplomas", n.d.).

In other sports, too, coaching education consists of three levels and, as in football, the percentage of women decreases with the rising level of the license.[18] According to Cachay and Bahlke (2003), women's percentages among coaches holding an A License were 0.8% in football, 4.4% in volleyball, 3.0% in track and field and 30% in gymnastics (including artistic and rhythmic gymnastics). The gender differences have not decreased in the succeeding years: Weigelt-Schlesinger (2008) reports that 565 men and 5 women have a valid A License in football. In 2010, 5,902 men and only 117 women held an A, B or "football teacher" license (Deutscher Fußball-Bund, 2010).[19] A further barrier impeding women's careers as coaches arises from the relatively short validity of the license and the necessity to renew it regularly.[20] Although there is no examination after the "follow-up courses", they cost time and money and it may be difficult for women to participate, especially if they have a family.

Coaching education courses and examinations. In all sports and at all levels of coaching education the requirements and conditions of education and training are the same for men and women. However, this does not necessarily mean that female candidates have equal opportunities in practice. An interview study conducted in a regional association of the German Football Federation identified numerous gender stereotypes as decisive barriers preventing women from even starting a coaching education (Schlesinger & Weigelt-Schlesinger 2012; for England see Fielding-Lloyd & Mean, 2011; Norman, 2008).

Admission to training courses, the actual training and the standards demanded in examinations are oriented towards men's athletic performance and/or their life circumstances, thus putting women at a disadvantage. Each sport federation has developed specific, coherent and comprehensive rules and regulations about access to coaching education, the length, organization and contents of the courses, as well as about examinations.

I have analyzed the curricula of a random selection of sports, i.e. tennis, skiing and football. The main obstacles for women are the admission requirements and the initial examination before the start of the course for the lowest license level.[21] These requirements include a track record as an active athlete/player, membership of a sports club and a recommendation,

for example from the candidate's regional sport federation. This means that only "insiders" even get a chance of starting a career as a coach. In all three sports the initial exam includes demonstrations of various skills, e.g. dribbling in football, serving in tennis or various techniques in skiing. In addition, the candidates have to perform in competitive situations, e.g. skiing in a downhill race.[22] Apprentice tennis coaches have to demonstrate that they are able to play in training situations with the athletes.[23] Although the women in these courses do not have to compete against men, men's performance levels set the standard.

Several studies have revealed that not only the examination but also the contents of the courses, e.g. in volleyball, basketball and tennis, meet the expectations of the male participants while marginalizing the (few) women in the courses (e.g., Gieß-Stüber, 1995, 2002; Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008; Zipprich, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2002). In a project with sex segregated coaching education in team handball one quarter of the women involved mentioned that the demands in the "normal" courses with regard to skill were too high for women (Zipprich, 1995a). According to their statements, the "normal" coaching education is oriented towards male needs, competencies and ideals. A further problem for aspiring women coaches is their minority standing in the training courses since it is well known from leadership studies that women are marginalized as long as their number has not reached a "critical mass" (e.g., Klenke, 2011).

The next steps, i.e. participation in courses for higher-level licenses, require coaching experience with athletes or teams at an elite level. Since, as mentioned above, women have little opportunity of working as coaches of elite athletes or teams, it is very difficult for them to meet these demands.

As a rule, not only the teachers and examiners in the courses but also the majority of the experts and administrators are men (Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008). An extreme example of this is the managing team of coaching education in the German Skiing Federation, which consists of 20 men (Deutscher Skiverband, n.d.). In most other sports, too, men are in charge of coaching education, which may not increase the confidence of the women participants in finding understanding and fair judgment (e.g., Zipprich, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2002). In addition, the men in charge may not be interested in or even aware of the specific situation of the few women in the courses. This does not necessarily mean that they discriminate against women deliberately, but there are numerous norms and practices which contribute to the construction of women as the "other sex" (e.g., Norman, 2008; Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008).

In Germany, several successful "women-only" courses have been organized, e.g. in team handball (Bunt & Zipprich, 1995; Zipprich, 1995a). However, these courses may have the image of catering to (female) candidates who are not good or "tough" enough. Research in the UK indicates that specific courses for female coaches are interpreted by men as unfair preferential treatment and the participants accused of not coming up to the "standards" (Fielding-Lloyd & Mean, 2008). However, these judgments disregard the gender hierarchy in coaching, which makes men's standards the norm and treats women as outsiders.

It can be concluded that the career path to coaching at a professional level is long and difficult, for women even more so than for men.

Recruitment of Coaches

Current recruitment practices favor men in many ways and for many reasons. In Germany, less than half of the coaching positions in sport federations are publicly advertised with calls for applications addressed to both genders (Digel et al. 2010). In 2012, an announcement for the position of a national coach was issued by the German Swimming Federation. The required qualifications included a degree in Sport Sciences, an A coaching license in swimming, English language skills and computer literacy, experience and success as a coach at the elite level, international reputation, commitment to high performance, assertiveness, higher than average dedication, and a flexible working schedule (Deutscher Schwimm-Verband, n.d.). This call is clearly tailored to men's experiences, qualifications, and circumstances of life.

At the club level transparent criteria and formal procedures for the recruitment of coaches are an exception. The decisions are made by high-ranking officials, mostly men, who have a clear picture of the tasks and roles of coaches (Digel et al., 2010; for Scandinavia see Hovden, 2012). Therefore, contacts with influential "mentors" and the men in power, as well as prominence as an athlete, are decisive advantages in competing for coaching positions (Schreiner & Thiel, 2011). By employing individuals whom they know, leaders of sport organizations try to minimize the risk that coaches do not meet their expectations (Schreiner & Thiel, 2011).

Digel's (2010) interview partners legitimize the lack of formal recruitment procedures with the small number of already well-known candidates who have to be handpicked. They describe how positions are filled via

co-optation in line with the principle of homo-social reproduction (Kanter, 1977). This means that candidates with a similar background, i.e. with a similar habitus and taste in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu (1984), are invited to join the group in the hope that they will improve its image and power.[24] As women do not normally belong to "old boys' networks", they do not seem to raise the status of the organization; they may even be regarded as "troublemakers", particularly if they promote women's rights (Hovden, 2000a; Schreiner & Thiel, 2011).

In recruiting coaches, not only the assets in their portfolio count but also expectations, judgments and popular assumptions. Women are expected to give priority to their families and thus may be "unreliable" workers, whereas men are more likely to escape household chores and show an intensive and continuous commitment to their work (e.g. Bundesministerium, 2012). Consequently, women have disadvantages when competing for coaching positions where working overtime and at unorthodox hours is the rule. Moreover, the stereotypes about women described above may have an impact on their chances of being hired as coaches.

As the study undertaken by Combrink (2004) revealed, formalized processes of recruitment with a widespread call for applications and a clear job description improve the chances of women gaining leadership positions. It has yet to be explored whether this is also the case with coaches. However, it would be naive to believe that calls for applications cannot be formulated and the competencies of applicants defined in a way that the outcome corresponds to the intentions of those in power. As already mentioned, the officers of sport organisations know suitable candidates beforehand and they can formulate the call accordingly (Digel et al. 2010).

Studies conducted, for example, in the UK, Sweden and other countries likewise showed "… that exclusionary and demarcationary strategies operated to limit women's access to coaching roles. Such strategies included gendering the coaching role as a masculine role and closing access to networks of coaches" (West, Green, Brackenridge & Woodward, 2001, p. 92). However, interviews with women demonstrated that some of them were able to challenge such strategies, relying on their successes as athletes and trainers (West et al., 2001).

The above information about the recruitment of coaches contributes towards explaining the gender hierarchy in this profession, but it inevitably has a focus on the decisions of sport organizations since information about the choices of women is not available. Nevertheless, we may assume that

women make decisions about their occupations and careers which are influenced (among many other issues) by working conditions.

Working Conditions

Although job opportunities for coaches are abundant in Germany, there are not enough full-time positions with an adequate salary (Digel et al., 2010). In addition, the labor market is gendered in such a way that male coaches have access to most positions (with the exception of rhythmic gymnastics and synchronized swimming) whereas, with few exceptions, women do not get (and take) the opportunity to work with male athletes. In addition, they have to compete with men when they want to coach girls or women, as the following examples show. Currently, 94 head coaches supervise the 83 women's teams competing in one of the team ball games in the highest German leagues, the percentage of women among them is around 18% (Cachay & Bahlke, 2003). 14% of the head coaches of the 36 women's teams in the first and second German football leagues are female (Sinning, 2012b).[25] Only the national women's football teams in the different age groups are coached solely by women (Sinning, 2012b).

In Germany (and presumably worldwide) the working conditions of coaches are very diverse, depending, among other things, on the sport, the age of the athletes or players and the level of performance. The national federations of the various sports employ coaches who supervise their elite athletes and teams mostly in one of the national trainings centres of this specific sport. In addition, coaches are employed by the 19 Olympic Sport Centres. These 775 coaches, around 90% of them men, are financed by the German Ministry of the Interior.[26] In addition, the sport federations of the German federal states, large sport clubs and athletes in some sports can afford to hire a coach. However, these coaches very often work half-time or only several hours a week. Coaches can also combine their work as national head coaches with the training of individual athletes or teams. In many cases coaches, including a majority of the women working in this field, are paid by the hour or even work as volunteers (Cachay & Bahlke, 2003; Sinning 2002). The high percentage of women who coach as a side job has to do with, among other things, their employment in "women's sports" or their work with children, i.e. in areas with little media attention, few sponsors and a lack of resources.

Irrespective of the type of sport or performance level, coaches cannot rely on a high degree of job security as the contracts are signed as a rule for a limited period only and the prolongation of their contracts depends in particular on the sporting achievements of "their" athletes (Digel et al., 2010). The temporary nature of coaching jobs requires a high degree of flexibility and mobility, which is difficult for women with children, not least because husbands are usually not prepared to move to another city on account of their wife's job. It is not surprising that female coaches, e.g. in tennis and basketball, are predominantly singles (Gieß-Stüber, 1995, 1996).

The "nature" of coaching has specific demands with regard to working hours and schedules which are adapted to the needs of the athletes. This means that working long hours as well as working in the evenings and at weekends are the rule rather than the exception (e.g., Digel et al., 2010). As training and competitions often take place far from home, the demands of families on the one hand and coaching on the other are often irreconcilable. According to Digel et al. (2010) 73% of the coaches working at the elite level in Germany are parents. However, no information is provided about the gender of these parents, the age of the children or the arrangements allowing such a balance between work and family. In another study the great majority of the men and women interviewed reported that their jobs as coaches led to problems in the family (84%) and with their partners (71%) (Digel, 2000). In interviews with athletes, coaches and officials Cachay & Bahlke (2003) found that family obligations were named as the main reason for the underrepresentation of women as professional coaches (e.g., Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008).

Full-time coaches of national teams are paid according to a salary scheme laid down by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and resulting in pay roughly on a level with middle-ranking office workers with the opportunity of improvement depending on success. Female coaches have, as a rule, a considerably lower salary than men (Digel et al., 2010). In a number of sports, particularly in the area of men's team games, coaches can earn astronomical sums. However, these positions are "reserved" for men.

According to Digel (2000) almost half of the coaches interviewed considered their remuneration to be inadequate. Lack of security in later life and meagre prospects after ending their career were additional criticisms voiced by 42% and 60% respectively of the coaches interviewed. Stress and problems in their private lives were further complaints stated by the coaches in the survey of 2008. The coaching profession, Digel concluded in 2000 and again in 2010, cannot be recommended to young people.

In 2005, officials of the German Olympic Sport Confederation (DOSB) reflected on the working situation of coaches and complained about their working conditions, e.g. the great pressure to succeed and the high risk of failure, job insecurity and the low salary.[27] Striving for changes, the confederation launched a campaign and proposed, among other reforms, a guaranteed minimum salary. However, many coaches, even head coaches of federations, do not get the salaries recommended by the federation. In addition, the DOSB criticized the relatively scant recognition given to coaches by the media and society as a whole, as well as the lack of visibility of their work.

Not only the "concrete" working conditions but also the "climate" in the workplace is an important deterrent. The stereotypes about female coaches and their abilities, the gendered expectations of the environment including the athletes, and more or less open discrimination, particularly in traditional men's sports, aggravate the everyday work of women coaches (e.g., Weigelt-Schlesinger, 2008; for the UK, see Norman, 2010b).

A First Conclusion

It can be assumed that the real or imagined expectations that coaches face, as well as their working conditions (salary, working hours, lack of job security, difficulties in combining work and family, and so on), play a decisive role in the decisions of women to deselect a career as a professional coach (Hovden, 2012, describes a similar situation in Scandinavia). Some of the coaches interviewed by Jorid Hovden (1999) came to the conclusion: "It is not worth the price!!"

But it must also be emphasized that the choices of women are influenced by (anticipated) discriminations, in particular by recruitment practices and the lack of job opportunities which is caused, among other things, by gender stereotypes. In the last part of this chapter I will discuss the findings presented above using a theoretical framework to gender and to the gendered labor market.

Embedding Empirical Findings: Theoretical Considerations

In many studies the gender gap among coaches is considered to be either the consequence of individual decisions or the result of discrimination. Theoretical approaches to gender and work will provide differentiated in-

sights into the underlying causes of these decisions and these discriminations, which are not self-evident but embedded in gendered cultures, structures and institutions, interwoven with social arrangements, and dependent on individual circumstances of life.

Circumstances of life and working as a coach are not (only) the outcome of an individual's capacities or decisions but also the consequence of the gender order, whereby gender is understood as an institution embedded in cultures and societies as well as in individual lives (Connell, 2009; Lorber, 1994). Gender is constructed via discourses, integrated in identities, negotiated in interactions and performed according to the "scripts" or "codes" provided by society. From this perspective, gender is a performance, something we do. Men's and women's habits and tastes, decisions and activities in and outside the sports arena are not "self-evident" or "natural" but dependent on the gender order and part of doing gender (e.g., Andersen & Witham, 2011).

Drawing on Haavind (1994), Hovden (2012) proposes understanding gender as a "binary code", i.e. a system of differentiation which defines meanings and positions and creates a hierarchical order. Sport is an excellent example of the binary coding of positions and activities: men, men's sports and male coaches are the norm; women are the "other sex" considered to be aberrations.

Women and men adopt the gendered "scripts" of their cultures and acquire specific abilities, habits and tastes, as well as cultural norms and practices, e.g. as athletes or coaches in lifelong socialization processes where socialization is understood as the appropriation of opportunities and environments by individuals via active learning and self-training (e.g., Bourdieu, 1988; Heinemann, 2007).

Based on this approach to gender and on feminist approaches to organizations (see Pfister 2004, 2006), I propose two interconnected concepts in order to uncover gender inequality among coaches: the concepts of the segregated labor market and the culture of organizations.

Labor Market Theories

Gender as an institutional, interactional and individual construction is embedded in the labor market where the organization of work, unpaid in the family and paid employment outside the home, has a decisive influence on the opportunities of men and women (e.g., Buchmann, Kriesi & Sacchi,

2010; Heintz, Nadai & Ummel, 1997). The impact of gender on the labor market can be analyzed from two perspectives: Supply-oriented approaches focus on individuals who provide labor whereas demand-oriented concepts concentrate on employers and their expectations, strategies and decisions (e.g., Pfister, 2006). Instead of blaming either men or women for the unequal gender relations in many fields of work, including sports, social and structural backgrounds as well as the logic of individual decision-making processes must be identified (e.g., Becker-Schmidt, 1994).

The Labor Market for Female Coaches: The Individual Perspective

Important factors for positioning oneself on the labor market are – besides age and gender – qualifications, career plans and personal circumstances, in particular family responsibilities (e.g., Becker-Schmidt, 2010). In addition, aims and values, motivation and priorities, as well as various general and specific competencies acquired during formal education or via numerous socialization processes, play decisive roles. As the data in the current Global Gender Gap Report (Hausmann, Tyson & Zahidi, 2012) reveal, there is a high correlation between women's education, employment rates, economic opportunity and political representation. Last but not least, the perceived accessibility and the desirability of the work have an impact on the different occupational choices of men and women. A good example of this is provided by a survey of German athletes: More than 60% of the respondents planned to engage in coaching; 49% of the male but as many as 72% of the female athletes and even 80% of the female football players surveyed wanted to work with children and adolescents (Cachay & Bahlke, 2003).

At a relatively early point of the careers, individuals aiming to become professional coaches have to acquire the obligatory qualifications. As the information presented above shows, women are a minority among the individuals with qualifications which entitle them to coach at an elite level. There may be numerous reasons why few women choose to qualify as coaches and work in this field. Here, several questions emerge: Are the incentives (for instance power) not as attractive for women as they are for men? Are women discouraged by experienced or anticipated prejudices, stereotypes, discrimination, and an "organizational culture" oriented to the needs of men? Are the (anticipated) working conditions of coaches considered to be incompatible with family life? Does the lack of role models, e.g.

successful female coaches with a family, discourage women from aiming at a career in this profession (e.g., Demers, 2004)? However, it must be mentioned that incompatibilities between working as a coach and caring for a family may also be an issue for some men. A Norwegian coach described the dilemma of female coaches as follows:

> I think there will be someone now and them, who is saying 'Yes, I will go for this, I will put aside children and family and other things for a period so I can go for this, I will be a top-level coach'. That girl will be there soon, but there will never be as many girls as boys who dare and want to take that chance" (Fasting et al., 2008).

A further reason for the seemingly widespread disinterest of women in a coaching career may be the poor working conditions (e.g. with regard to salary, job security), the stereotypes, and the remote career prospects. In addition, as women do not "normally" coach male athletes and men's teams, there are relatively few attractive positions available for them.

Women interested in a coaching career can also choose to become instructors, where they experience a large amount of appreciation and can combine paid work, volunteering and caring for a family without having to deal with the pressures to be found in elite sport.

As mentioned in the paragraph on coaching education, many coaches are former athletes and this is also true of women. However, women may evaluate their skills and capacities as insufficient by comparing them with those of male coaches. A survey of women tennis coaches revealed that they had reservations about their sporting performance and judged themselves to be weaker players than their male colleagues – measured, among other things, by the strength of their service (Gieß-Stüber, 1995). Although the quality of coaching does not depend on the sporting skills of the coach, women may adhere to the myth that their success depends on their own sporting performance. They feel "not good enough" and decide not to work with elite players. According to Cachay and Bahlke (2003) and Benning and Cachay (2001) more than 70% of the participants of a survey (which included athletes, coaches and officials) judged sport-specific competencies of coaches to be important or very important for their work (Cachay & Bahlke, 2003). It can be assumed that women avoid situations and do not apply for jobs in which they presume that they will not be able to live up to the expectations of the "significant others".

In addition, myths about the leadership styles could have an impact. As mentioned above, coaches are largely expected to have a "male", i.e. author-

itarian style of coaching – something which men are more likely to have learned – whereas women seem to tend towards a more communicative and socially integrating style of leadership (Cachay & Bahlke, 2003). Being aware of these expectations, women may rule out work with male athletes or in team sports because they cannot or do not want to adopt "male" coaching strategies and practices. However, the question as to which style of coaching is appropriate in which context and situation is not the subject of debate here.

Insights into resources and expectations of (potential) coaches also contribute to an understanding of how and why coaching became, and still is, a men's domain. On the one hand, aiming at a coaching career means having resources like a record as a top-level athlete, being familiar with the structures of the organizations and having connections with "old boys' networks" (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2007; Knoppers & Bouman, 1994). In all these areas men have the edge on women. On the other hand, it does not seem to make sense for women to strive for a career as a professional coach, invest in a challenging education, expose themselves to stereotypes and combat opposition in order to obtain a position with long working hours and a relatively low salary.

The arguments presented above focus on the "supply" of work, i.e. the perspectives of individuals in a gender-segregated labor market by pointing to men's and women's qualifications and the decisions they take. These decisions are mostly logical from an individual standpoint and frequently the result of anticipated or experienced pressures of the families, at the workplace and/or in society as a whole.

Structural Levels: The Dual Labor Market and its Impact on the Culture of Organizations

Demand-oriented concepts examine labor market structures and the strategies pursued by employers (Holt, Geerdsen, Christensen, Klitgaard & Lind, 2006; see also Rabe-Kleberg, 1992; Willms-Herget, 1985). The "dual labor market" theory assumes a segmentation of the labor market into primary and secondary sectors, where women tend to be employed in marginal segments because they are labeled as – potentially – unreliable workers (e.g., Buchmann, Kriesi & Sacchi, 2010; Heintz et al., 1997; Holt et al., 2006; Pfau-Effinger & Duncan, 2012; Tijdens, 2002; Wajcman, 1998). Since women may prioritize their family, at least temporarily, employers are re-

luctant to entrust them with leading positions. In addition, investment in the further education of employees is only profitable if they guarantee a high degree of availability and flexibility, as well as a long-term commitment to their job.

Responsibility for a family and the working conditions of professional coaches (as described above) cannot be easily reconciled. Women who aspire to those positions may be disregarded because the men in charge assume that they cannot invest the time, flexibility and commitment that seem to be necessary (see, among others, Gieß-Stüber, 1995, 1996).

Other factors which may also play a role in the marginalization of women are stereotypes, defense mechanisms (for example attempts to preserve football as a male space) and various discriminatory processes which can have an impact on the recruitment as well as on the working conditions and the promotion of women in this profession. Even if women's suitability for the job of coaching is no longer openly called into question, it is obvious from the findings of many studies that clichés about women and their lack of efficiency and charisma are long-lived and still widespread. Such notions and expectations also play a role – whether consciously or not – in the filling of coaching vacancies.

The Gender Gap Report (Hausmann, Tyson & Zahidi, 2012) and numerous other studies show that vocational choices, personnel decisions and labor market structures are not

> "… simply the expression of an economically rational distribution of people among the various occupations and jobs but … in the context of the 'cultural system of gender duality' … must be considered the result of complex processes of defining work and qualifications and distributing them among the players involved according to gender" (Gottschall, 1998, p. 63).

The gender structures of the labor market are closely intertwined with the culture of organizations, i.e. their aims and modes of operation, as well as with corporate identities. The definition of tasks, the distribution of work as well as the way how work is done is based on decisions which are embedded in the culture of companies or sport federations (e.g., Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Organizations emphasize equal opportunity but reproduce gender hierarchies, in particular via the social constructions of "ideal workers" and "ideal leaders" whose capacities correspond to men's life circumstances (e.g., Calas & Smircich, 1996; Smithson & Stokoe, 2005; Wajcman, 1998). In the dominant discourses real or alleged gender differences are separat-

ed from the cultural context and naturalized, masculinity being associated with authority and assertiveness. The gendered nature of organizations is thus masked by the assumption of a "disembodied and universal leader", who is actually a man exposing hegemonic masculinity (Acker, 1990, 1992, 2011; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998). The unequal work distribution in families allows men, in contrast to women, to live up to this ideal of a perfect leader or coach (e.g., Hochschild 1997).

The "ideal coach," as described above, is a person with a long and continuing commitment to sport or even a career as an athlete, with extensive networks, the knowledge and attitudes of an insider, with authority and assertiveness as well as a "demonstrative" investment of energy and time. Time and flexibility are considered to be useful benchmarks for measuring the quality of a person's work, as well as his or her commitment, and that is especially the case in the coaching profession. Most women have neither long careers nor large networks in sport organizations (e.g., Pfister, 2006); they may also have difficulty working in the evenings and on weekends, and their abilities may not be suited to the tasks which are "sex-typed" from the beginning, i.e. defined and described in a way that addresses and benefits one sex, in this case men.

The construction of the "ideal" coach contributes to the marginalization of women who are not able, or perhaps also not willing, to comply with the prevalent expectations of the social environment (athletes, organizations, colleagues, media, audiences), the organization of work and, in general, with the culture of sport and its organizations.

Results of the studies quoted above leave no doubt that the requirements in this profession and the expectations of the athletes as well as the sport organizations discriminate against women and that this discrimination is rooted in the institutions and cultures of sport, impeding women's access to this profession or blocking their advancement.

Conclusion and Perspectives

The information on gender proportions and relations among professional coaches provided a clear picture: Coaching in elite sport is a male domain. Few women work with elite athletes and teams and – with few exceptions – they coach girls and women. The discussion of the reasons for women's marginalization in coaching reveals interrelationships between the abilities and the decisions of individuals, interpersonal relations as well as condi-

tions and structures embedded in societies and cultures. Here, mechanisms such as social selections, a combination of self-exclusion and processes of discrimination and marginalization interact, merge and form huge obstacles to women's entry into and advancement in coaching.

Some of the reasons presented above centre on the decisions that women make or have to make with regard to a job as a coach while others focus on the obstacles which women face on their way to becoming coaches. It can be assumed that career decisions are based on the interdependencies between individual aspirations, qualifications and structural requirements, as well as on the relationships and interactions of the individuals and institutions, with individuals, structures and expectations/interactions firmly anchored in the social context and gender order of society.

One of the most important factors in the dearth of female coaches in sport and one of the foundations of the gender order in modern societies is women's responsibility for "reproduction," i.e. for children and families, and an economic structure which can be described as a dual economy in the sense that paid labor in the field of production exists side by side with the unpaid labor of reproduction. Domestic labor (i.e. housework and raising children), which women perform without pay, is indispensable for western societies and changes in women's duties and roles are always intertwined with transformations in men's responsibilities. Whereas it is a long-term process to alter the gender order (which has already changed decisively in recent decades), there are numerous and various strategies and measurements which might contribute to an increase in the numbers of female coaches and a better gender balance in this profession. The strategies may range from a reform of the education and situation of coaches, as instigated by the German DOSB, to measures directed towards the encouragement and promotion of women who are or want to be coaches. These strategies and perspectives – ranging from women's quotas to gender mainstreaming – should be at the centre of discussions and among the urgent innovations of sport institutions and organizations. In addition, sport associations and scholars should concentrate more on research on the opportunities and challenges for women in coaching. They could initiate studies and projects, intensify the debates among all groups involved and perhaps even establish a task force with a focus on the gender hierarchy among the coaches and leaders of sport organizations. A further step would be to compare the situation of female coaches in various sport systems, e.g. those of the USA and Europe, and use the results of these comparisons for reforms in both these regions.

Notes

1 For a short period of time former national player Martina Voss-Tecklenburg coached – unsuccessfully – a men's team in a lower league; retrieved from http://www.women-soccer.de/2011/02/17/fcr-2001-duisburg-beurlaubt-martina-voss-tecklenburg/.

2 See, for example, Digel et al. (2010), who present a comprehensive overview of the existing literature about coaches on pp. 14-16.

3 See the information retrieved from http://www.sports-reference.com/olympics/.

4 See Nicole LaVoi, who published the outcome of her research on her website One Sport Voice, retrieved from: http://www.nicolemlavoi.com/olympic-numbers-london 2012.

5 Information on coaches is provided for 25 sports; information about Olympic coaches in boxing, beach volleyball and swimming is lacking. Information retrieved from: http://www.dosb.de/fileadmin/Bilder_allgemein/Veranstaltungen/London_2012/London2012_DOSB_Mannschaftsbroschuere.pdf and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Football_at_the_2012_Summer_Olympics.

6 See the information on http://www.sports-reference.com/olympics/.

7 See also the comprehensive overview of LaVoi & Dutove 2012, who focus on the Anglo-American context. According to Fasting et al. (2008) 8,3% of the national team coaches were female. 77% of the federations had hired only male coaches.

8 See the results of the project "Women Taking the Lead" retrieved from http://www.bmfsfj.de/RedaktionBMFSFJ/Abteilung4/Pdf-Anlagen/ergebnisse-frauen-an-die-spitze-neu,property=pdf,bereich=,sprache=de,rwb=true.pdf. Here p. 56ff. This project was developed by Gertrud Pfister and conducted in 2002 by a working group at the Free University of Berlin.

9 Email 10.09.2011 from the German Olympic Sport Confederation; see also the 12. Sportbericht der Bundesregierung. Drucksache 17/2880, 03.09.2010. p. 37; retrieved from: http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Veroeffentlichungen/12_sportbericht.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.

10 In 2011, the German Volleyball Federation had 224,000 male and 243,000 female members. Retrieved from: http://www.dosb.de/fileadmin/sharepoint/Materialien%20%7B82A97D74-2687-4A29-9C16-4232BAC7DC73%7D/Bestandserhebung_2011.pdf.

11 121 male and 15 female "head coaches" were employed by the 34 federations catering for Olympic Sports. Their numbers varied in the different federations, which also employed coaches working with specific tasks such as coaching in the various track-and-field disciplines; see the websites of the respective sport federations.

12 The study of Mrazek and Rittner (1992) revealed that in the late 1980s 23% of all instructors and coaches were women, although great differences were to be found between sports and between the different levels of performance. Only around 10% of all coaches in elite sports were women.
Later studies conducted, among others, by Digel (2000), Gieß-Stüber (2002), Zipprich (2002); Cachay & Bahlke (2003), Hartmann-Tews & Combrink (2006), Weigelt-Schlesinger (2008), Digel et al. (2010) and Sinning (2012a; b) confirmed the marginalization of women in the coaching profession. See the overview of the state of research in Weigelt-Schlesinger (2008, 12). Here, studies also conducted in other countries are presented.

13 Several famous German female football players, among them Anouschka Bernhard, did not find acceptance as coaches of men's teams, despite their skills as players and excellent qualifications, including the highest licenses. See the interview retrieved from: http://www.frauenrat.de/fileadmin/user_upload/zeitschrift/2011-2/Interview0211.pdf.

14 For female leaders see, for example, the overview in Günther & Gerstenmaier (2005).

15 See the information retrieved from: http://www.dfb.de/index.php?id=11285 and http://www.bdfl.de/tl_files/bdfl/itk/itk2008/ITK08_Fussballlehrerlizenz.pdf for the contents of the course.
16 The 25 candidates selected for the course in 2012 were men. Retrieved from: http://www.dfb.de/index.php?id=511739&tx_dfbnews_pi1[showUid]=32444&&tx_dfbnews_pi1[article_page]=1&tx_dfbnews_pi4[cat]=192&type=.
17 Information retrieved from: http://de.uefa.com/uefa/footballfirst/footballdevelopment/coachingeducation/news/newsid=1873591.html; Weigelt-Schlesinger 2008. The structure of coaching education is similar in European countries; for Denmark see: http://www.dbu.dk/Faelles/uddannelse_og_traening/traeneruddannelse/traeneruddannelser/dbu_a-eksamen.aspx; see the UEFA rules http://de.uefa.com/uefa/footballfirst/footballdevelopment/coachingeducation/news/newsid=1873591.html.
18 For example in tennis (Gieß-Stüber 1995), volleyball (Zipprich 1998) and handball (Bunt & Zipprich 1995; Zipprich 2002). In Germany and perhaps also in other countries additional qualifications are possible. The "Coaches Academy Cologne of the German Olympic Sport Confederation" offers a supplementary education for master coaches in various sports. Applicants must be in possession of an A license. Information about the Academy of Coaching in Cologne reveals that until March 2011 10% of the 857 individuals who gained a "diploma" at this school (in addition to their A license) were women. Among the 22 teachers were 2 women.
19 In general, it is difficult to establish the percentages of men and women currently holding licenses as coaches because of the numerous organizations involved in coaching education. The highest licenses are awarded by national sports federations, in Germany more than 55; the "lower" licenses are awarded by the regional sports federations, in Germany more than 800. However, there are numerous indicators that very few women are in possession of high-level coaching qualifications. See Deutscher Fußballbund (2010). *Statistik aktuell gültiger Trainerlizenzen*. Working Paper.
20 The length of validity depends on both the category of the license and the sport.
21 See the websites of the respective sport federations, e.g. http://www.dfb.de/index.php?id=11284; on football coaching education see Weigelt-Schlesinger (2008).
22 Apprentice coaches in skiing have to take part in a two-day training course during which their abilities are tested. Information retrieved from http://www.deutscherskiverband.de/ausbildung_trainerschule_anmeldung_zul_de,455.html.
23 See the websites of the German Tennis Federation, e.g. about the A license http://www.dtb-tennis.de/downloads/hinweise_a-trainer_bewerber.pdf.
24 According to Digel et al. (2010) most of the salaried coaches at elite levels have a relevant education, although some of them acquired it after the beginning of their employment.
25 The study by Weigelt-Schlesinger (2008) on one of the German regional football federations (Saxony) revealed, that the 59 girls' or women's football teams were coached by 51 men and 8 women. No female football coach was working full-time in this federation.
26 Information provided by the German Olympic Sport Confederation in an email.
27 Retrieved from http://www.dosb.de/de/service/download-center/olympia-leistungssport/traineroffensive/.

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Women in "Men's Sports"

Bente Ovèdie Skogvang

Players' and Coaches' Experiences with the Gendered Sport/Media Complex in Elite Football

Introduction

In this paper I will present some of the findings from my doctoral thesis: "Elite football – a field of changes." (Skogvang, 2006)[1] In the thesis I discussed different areas within Norwegian elite football from a gender perspective; like professionalization, the media and commercialization, and the players' experiences of football practice. The main findings of the project show many similarities between men and women playing elite football; for instance they experience the game as joyful and exiting because of tough tackles and they feel team spirit and the joy of victory. The social network and the friendships are emphasized as well. However, the study also revealed major gender differences when it came to the development of elite football, such as finances available, status, media attention and commercialization, which will be explored in this chapter. The theoretical framework employed was Pierre Bourdieu's *field* theory (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), where football may be recorded as a field with relations to other fields.

The paper is organized as follows. First, in order to understand the Norwegian field of sport, a few words about the Norwegian sport organization are necessary. Secondly, central concepts from Bourdieu's theory are introduced, with particular reference to the field of sport, the sub-field of football, and the sub-field of elite football and how these fields are related to the field of media and the field of market. Thirdly, I present the empirical investigation before selected findings from my thesis are presented and discussed.

The Norwegian Field of Sport

Sport has a unique position in the Norwegian society due to the fact that more than one third of the population of about 5 million are involved with organized sport in some way (Helsedirektoratet, 2008). The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) is the umbrella organization for all national sports federations in Norway,

both amateur and professional, a total of 54 sport federations – among those the Norwegian Football Association (NFA). According to the laws of the NIF, only voluntary organizations can be members of the NIF (NIF, 2011).

Sport in Norway has always been organized on a voluntary basis (Enjolras, 2001; Sivesind, Lorentzen, Selle & Wollebæk, 2002). According to Enjolras (2001) the sports organizations, including the football clubs, have "a community-based economy". He wrote that the Norwegian sport organizations are economically independent and self-sufficient, the proportion of commercial income in their total revenue is quite high. Also, the clubs are heavily dependent on voluntary work. In Norway professionals and amateurs, men and women, can all belong to the same club.

The professional football clubs are included in the NIF and NFA according to certain regulations and laws from the NIF. Although the elite football clubs are commercialized to a high degree, they are still dependent on voluntary work such as in organizing matches. As a part of the professionalization process in elite football, more and more experts like fitness coaches, mental coaches, physiotherapists, nutrition advisors and lawyers are associated with the teams and at the players' disposal.

Historically, football has been the largest organized sport for men. The NFA was established in 1902, women's football was included in the NFA as late as in 1976 (Olstad & Tønnessen, 1986). There was a subsequent struggle for acceptance and integration of women into the NFA before widespread popularity and acceptance were achieved (Skogvang, 2007). However, before women's football was included in the NFA, exhibition football matches of female teams were organized and female handball players started to play football, even when football was banned by the game authorities in NFA (Olstad & Tønnessen, 1986). Today football is the largest organized sport for women in Norway with 105,595 registered players, which means that 29% of all Norwegian football players in 2011 are females (NIF, 2012). The number of teams for girls and women has increased from 91 in 1975 (the first year of registration) to 7,492 teams in 2011.[2] At the same time the number of teams for boys and men has increased from 6,081 in 1975 to 20,060 in 2011. Norwegian football is 99% amateur or "grass root" football, which includes 27,552 teams. Each team includes not only the players, coaches and team leaders, but also parents, referees, waffle makers, kit washers and so on.

From the 1990s the Norwegian women's national team has had significant success both in European Championships, World Cups and the Olym-

pics. It won the gold medal in the Sydney Olympics in 2000. This was its most memorable victory (Fasting, 2004). In her research on women's football Fasting (2004) discussed why Norwegian women's football has undergone such a positive development, both at the grass roots as well as at the elite level, and she concluded:

> When Norwegian girls and women started playing football they 'did gender wrong', which can explain some of the resistance that they experienced particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. As girls and young women, they challenged conventional standards of femininity. But even if the first female footballers "did gender wrong", they played the men's game. … Thus, the development of women's football in Norway can be looked upon as a clear example of how girls and women can succeed in "invading" a traditional masculine sport. By doing that, female footballers may contribute to a transformation of the concept of "femininity" and gender in society in large (p. 160).

By using the term "doing gender wrong" Fasting relates to West and Zimmermanns' (1987) concept "doing gender", which means that gender is not something we are or we have, but something we do. "Doing gender" is however also associated with perceptions of behaviour from society. When female football players "did gender wrong" they did not live up to expectations from society with regard to gender appropriate behaviour, in contrast, they changed these expectations and transformed traditional gender concepts.

Despite a lack of money, few spectators and little media attention, elite women's football in Norway has attained great international success, and more and more girls and women are attracted to football. The development of women's football in Norway had a large impact on the international "women's football movement". The first woman who ever mentioned women's football at a FIFA congress was Ellen Wille from Norway.[3] At the FIFA Congress in Mexico City in 1986 she criticized FIFA for not organizing World Cup and Olympic football tournaments for women. The World Cup in women's football was organized for the first time in 1995, and in 1996 women's football was included in the Olympic program.[4] Internationally, football has become one of the fastest growing sports for women around the world since then. FIFA has 208 national associations as members, and it has reported that girls and women play football in 140 of these countries ("About FIFA", n.d.). This means that "doing gender wrong" and invading

a masculine space, may cause changes nationally as well as globally, which according to Fasting provides a potential for change in society at large.

Sport as a Social Space from the Perspective of Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu introduced the term *field* as a part of *the social space*, which is divided into several fields and sub-fields. Social space refers to the overall society where actors stand in positions relative to each other. Positions in the social space structure the actors' preferences and access to particular fields.

One of the central concepts in Bourdieu's theory is *capital.* He put forward different types of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic and field-specific capital). A field is composed by actors struggling for the types of capital recognised in the field which create positions of power. The structure of a field is defined by the distribution (amount of composition) of capital, that is based on the result of previous struggles, and which directs future struggles (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu defined a field as:

> … positions, including those of power, which have developed during history and which create structures between the positions of actors struggling for the field-specific capital and the fields' hegemony and the right to define its rules of function and change; and the habitus of the agents, their systems of dispositions which are based on objective material and social conditions as well as subjective preferences (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, pp. 104-105).

Munk (1999) discussed how sport can be understood as a field according to Bourdieu's concept, where people are involved in struggles for having "sport capital" aiming at gaining advantages in the field. "Sport capital" refers to benefits that may provide recognition in the field, which not only include physical capital, but also sport performances, titles, prizes and medals (Munk, 1999). The field of sport has its own rules, at the same time as it is not a self-contained universe (Bourdieu, 1988). Hence, the Norwegian sport field is autonomous and independent of other fields while simultaneously being dependent on other fields, for instance the field of market and the field of media.

The relationships between the sport field and related fields like the media and the market are illustrated in Figure 1. The figure shows how the field of sport with its sub-fields is related to the fields of sport media and

sport market. Furthermore, the figure includes two poles; the autonomous and the heteronomous pole, which symbolizes the degree of dependence versus independence of related fields like the football field, the sport media field and the sport market field. As illustrated in the figure, the field of football in large is closer to the autonomous pole while the elite football field is much more closely linked to the field of market and the field of media. Through a symbiotic relationship between elite football, sport media and sport market, the elite football field becomes more heteronomous, and hence, more closely linked to the market and the media fields, whereas "grass root" football is closer to the autonomous pole (Skogvang, 2006).

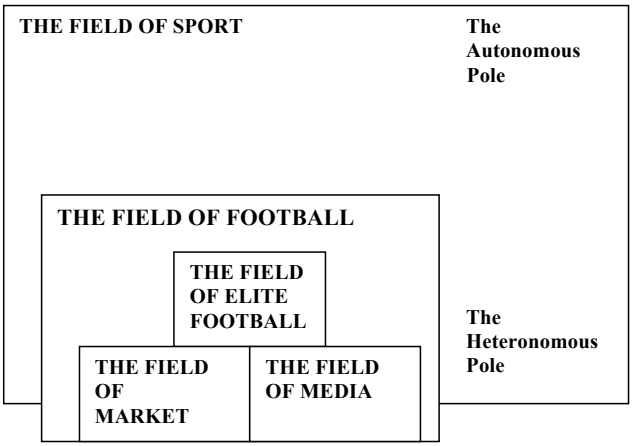

Figure 1. The relationship between the field of sport, the sub-fields of football and the fields of sport media and sport market.

One of the changes in elite football, internationally as in Norway in recent years, is the increasing interconnection between elite football, the media and the sponsors (Goksøyr & Olstad, 2002; Helland, 2003; Lippe, 2001; Skogvang, 2006), also conceptualized as "the Sport/Media Complex" (Boyle & Haynes, 2000; Rowe, 1999). The so-called "complex" refers to a shared commercial interest of elite players, sports organizations, sponsors and media that has occurred during the last few decades, in Norway this particularly applies to men's football.

Other concepts of Bourdieu relevant for this study, are *symbolic power* (Bourdieu, 1996), and *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1995). Bourdieu (2000) understands symbolic power as invisible power, provided by symbolic capital in any form (physical, economic, cultural or social) which is perceived as valu-

able in the field. Men's dominance in society, in sport and in particular in football is based on symbolic power and taken for granted. It is a "doxa" meaning a self-evident and uncontested truth. Thus the gender hierarchy is perceived as given by nature and not a human construction embedded in a historical and cultural context (Bourdieu, 1995). Doxa, in form of taken-for-granted expectations to individuals and groups, define what is perceived as normal and acceptable behaviour and what gives status and recognition within a field. Due to the fact that men's power and dominance in Norwegian elite football is taken for granted, some large, elite football clubs for men have most of the power in the field. Men's football is considered as "real" football and sparks great interest among the population. It generates enormous revenues. On the other hand women's football is "another game" which is not included in the sport/media complex (Skogvang, 2006).

Aims of the Study

The aim of the study was to gain a deeper understanding of the female and male elite players' and elite coaches' experiences of their sport, their attitudes towards each other and their experiences of how other people look upon themselves. Another aim was to study what the elite players and coaches understood about and how they experience the increasing commercialization and professionalization, including the increase in media coverage, inside Norwegian elite football the last 20 years.

Methods

The methods employed in the study were fieldwork and qualitative in-depth interviews. Fieldwork was conducted in Norwegian men's and women's elite football clubs. Three women's teams and three men's teams were followed closely throughout one year, and I was lucky to have access to players as well as coaches in the clubs. The fieldwork included observations, talks and informal interviews during practices, meetings and matches. In-depth interviews were conducted with eight elite coaches; four in women's and four in men's football and with male and female elite players. The sample consisted of 22 elite football players (11 men and 11 women) aged 19 to 35 years old, with a variety in skills and experiences from newcomers to

well-known and skilled players playing on the Norwegian national teams for men and women.[5]

The interviews lasted from 65 minutes to two hours; they were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were coded with main categories and associated sub-categories, and cross-case analysed in order to compare each issue across the sample. The main categories were sport career (beginning/future plans), positive/negative with football, everyday life in combination with football, gender, status, media coverage, economic conditions, spectators and conflicts. Sub-categories were start of career, future plans inside football, description of an ordinary day as a player or coach, possibilities for inclusion of family, friends and partners, experiences of training with the opposite gender, wages and other financial and sporting conditions, experiences of the media coverage of their team, etc. Based on the data analysis the results are presented and discussed in three sections. First, the focus will be on the economic situation of players, teams and clubs in men's and women's football. Secondly, the interviewees' experiences of the media coverage of football will be highlighted. Thirdly, I explore the commercialization and the "Sport/Media Complex" and its impact on the "gender gap" in football.

Financial Conditions

My first question referred to how the athletes experience their economic conditions for playing football, which means the collective situation in the clubs as well as the individuals' situation according to employment opportunities and income. In general, increased commercialization has improved the conditions for both men and women. In terms of the collective situation in the clubs, the interviewees indicated that the match facilities have improved for both men's and women's teams, however, elite clubs for men generally have better stadiums and training facilities than elite clubs for women. All 14 stadiums in men's elite football have heated fields to prolong their use in spring and autumn, floodlight, VIP-facilities, seating for spectators, facilities for the media and sponsors, etc. This is experienced as positive by the players who said that it is crucial for attracting spectators, sponsors and media. Only two of the ten women's elite clubs have stadium facilities which satisfy similar expectations.

Another difference between male and female clubs relates to the coaches' situations. Coaches in women's elite football said that their jobs are

more challenging than jobs in men's football because they had to take care of a lot of different roles and duties such as; driving, marketing, financial matters and organizing of matches. On the other hand, coaches in men's elite football can focus on coaching during the training and the matches. In addition the coaches in men's football receive higher wages than coaches in women's football. Coaches in men's football earn more than three times more than coaches in women's football.

The increased commercialization in football has also impacted the employment opportunities and salaries for the players. In men's elite football five of the interviewed players have full-time employment paid by the clubs and the sponsors, four have part-time employment and two combine elite football with other jobs or studies. The players focus on the employment opportunity's positive effects on their performances, as one male player said: "I am lucky to have my hobby as my job! Because of that I can put all focus on how to improve my performance." Being employed as football players gives the male players more free time and recovery time after training than they had before. The players also reported that they have more time with friends and family than they had earlier in the carrier.

Women elite footballers experienced quite different conditions compared to their male counterparts. They reported that they have fewer opportunities for employment than the elite men. They also said that they have much lower income than men, but most of them have some salary. The interviewed women said that they get employment opportunities, but very few women can live fulltime from football in Norway today, and only two of the interviewed female players have football as a job. The Norwegian Elite Sports Programme (Olympiatoppen)[6] supports elite athletes. This includes paying some of the women playing in the national team. Two national team players mentioned that they have fulltime employment with money from Olympiatoppen in combination with money from the clubs' sponsors. Two players have part-time employment with money from sponsors, but most of the female elite players interviewed (5) have fulltime jobs outside football. To combine fulltime work with elite football the players' have agreements with their employers. They pay fulltime salary to the players even when they are away for practice or at matches or training camps during their working-time. Two of the informants were students however they studied only part-time since they take one year study in two years.[7]

In general male elite players have much higher salaries than female elite players. The male interviewed have wages between 80,000 and 300,000 euros per year, whereas the women earned between 5,000 and 30,000 euros

per year. The figures demonstrate big gender differences in salaries, which reflect the different status of men's and women's football. Male players and coaches revealed both positive and negative perceptions regarding the wages, and two factors were evident; a critique of the high wages for male players and the positive effect of commercialization on the training and playing conditions. Most of the interviewees were critical of the fact that some players are overpaid in men's elite football. One of the male players revealed a positive attitude to the high salary and said: "If I should have had a job outside football, I would have had to work in 10 years to have the same income as I have for a year or two inside football." Others were more concerned that higher salaries could spoil them as players, as one said: "We are spoiled and we earn too much money. There is something wrong with the system." (Male elite player) Similar perceptions were expressed by some of the coaches. They were worried that money could be the main motive for the players, and that too high wages at an early age may have a negative effect on their athletic development: "The boys change a lot when they get too much money when they are young. Then other motives get more important to them. I used to say: the thicker the purse, the worse the football player." Here both players and coaches said that if the focus turned from football skills to focus on how to earn the most money, the players would not develop their skills.

Both male coaches and male players gain from a good economy in the clubs. Increased commercialization gives better economy to the clubs and guarantees excellent training and playing conditions, however some interviewees were concerned with the increase in investor involvement in elite football. One male player said: "We don't like the development with more power to the investors and higher and higher wages for players, but at the same time we are dependent on the money." As the quotations show the issue is double-edged since the players and coaches are dependent on the money and at the same time are critical to the power of investors and sponsors outside the football field. Through this development with closer links with sponsors and the market, men's elite football moves closer to the heteronomous pole in Bourdieu's conceptualization (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Although, the women's situation in elite football is very different from the conditions in the men's clubs, the female players have experienced a positive change during the last years since they do not have to pay with their personal funds for playing football as they had to do before. Increased commercialization has made it possible to improve the conditions for prac-

tice and to increase the level of performances, because financial support provided by sponsors has made it possible for the club to pay the players when they have to stay away from work for practice, training camps and matches. One of the interviewees explained:

> "That is a very important change for us! Now it is easier to combine elite football with a job. I only have to work three days a week, and get more time for recreation and relaxation after training. It is lovely!"

Several of the female interviewees however still "have a dream" of sometime in the future to be able to play football fulltime, but to manage this they need more support from the sponsors and media:

> "It would have been wonderful to train during daytime and have the evenings free with the family. Think, what it would be like if these rich uncles had paid more interest in women's football and supported us with more money. I still have a dream about being a full-time professional football player – sometimes in the future."

The women interviewed in my study believed the lack of sponsors and investors in women's football as unfair. They felt it discriminating that men get higher wages and better employment opportunities while also complaining that sponsors and media are more attracted women's football.

Observations and interviews revealed that the conditions of Norwegian elite footballers and their income depend on the following variables: gender, performance level and football skills (field specific capital), duration of the contract with the club (loyalty), and the length of football career (experience). According to Bourdieu's approach (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) male players can convert physical and field-specific capital to economic capital to much larger extent than can women, because they get fulltime employment opportunities and higher salaries. The distribution of capital is based on results from previous struggles in the field of men's and women's football, and it also directs future struggles (Bourdieu, 1993). Wages and economic conditions contribute to the symbolic capital that is made visible in the media which provide coverage and exposure to players and sponsors.

Media Coverage

Media play a crucial role in sport today (i.e., Rowe, 1999). Women's sports get considerably less media coverage than men's sports (i.e., Daddario, 1998; Harris & Clayton, 2002; King, 2007; Lippe, 1998; Pedersen, 2002). Football is the most media covered sport in Norway today (Bjertnes, 2005; Sisjord & Kristiansen, 2008), and men's elite football gets the major part of the media representation (Bjertnes, 2005; Gynnild, 1990; Hovden, 1996). A common perception among the participants in my study is that men's football gets the main part of media attention compared to women's football and also compared to other sports. All interviewees stated that the coverage of women's football, even at the elite level is fairly low compared to men's football.

When elaborating on the media coverage of men's and women's football, all participants said that men's football at the club and international level gets huge amount of media attention, whereas women have to perform internationally in order to get at least some media coverage. An important improvement occurred when the NFA in 2005 made an agreement with a Norwegian television company to broadcast all women's international matches, the Women's Cup Final and at least two league matches (Skogvang, 2009), as a part of the NFAs policy in promoting women's football. Although policy strategies were made from the NFAs side with the purpose of making women's football more visible, interviewees in my study still experienced low interest for women's games, as one woman explained: "Even if we perform well and win gold medals in World Cup or the Olympic Games, I don't think that people have more interest in women's club football. It is men's football that counts for the media!"

What the statement conveys is a comprehension that international success does not necessarily positively influence people's interest in women's club football. However, it is not only people's interest, but also the decisions of the journalists that influence media's selection of events. Most of the sport journalists are men, and some may even show sexist attitudes such as I observed during my fieldwork. While talking with the director of a women's elite club, I heard a male sport journalist say: "Not until you run naked on the football ground, will we broadcast your matches." (Field notes). Today, the same TV journalist actually comments on women's football, because of the agreement made between the NFA and the TV-company where he works.

Most of the interviewees revealed very positive attitudes towards women's football and thus reacted to the low media attention accorded to women's football. One of the men argued: "The girls are at least as good as us, and they deserve more attention according to the hard work they do inside their sport football." There should be more recognition of the women's performance and their efforts, and they should have more media attention. Two of the male players, however had little respect for women's football while also defining themselves as "man chauvinists", as illustrated here: "I do not like women's football at all. Men's football is much better and is the real football … We dig ourselves in men's football. Here, I am a bit man chauvinist, that's true."

The interviewees furthermore experienced that the greater media attention also makes men's football more attractive to coaches. When a male elite coach was asked why he preferred to coach men, he answered: "There is more enthusiasm and many more spectators, and much greater interest in men's football. Because of that this is spread via the media to the people." The statement indicates that football is entertainment, where coaches can contribute to give people what they want, which is transferred via the media to the people.

Media coverage is closely connected to interviewees' perceptions of gaining status among peers, in the local context, among spectators as well as among supporters which relates to Bourdieu's (1998) statement: "Nothing is important before it has been on TV", and the newspapers write about what TV companies broadcast (Brandås & Odden, 1997). One woman said: "You gain status when you are visible in the media and you are a good football player or coach, you know." One of the male players related recognition as a player on the local as well as on the national level: "You get something for free in your life when you play football. When you are a good football player you get recognition and status both locally in the neighbourhood and all over the country."

Many interviewees were also critical to the development of sports media where men's elite football gets more space than other sports and other important issues in society, as one male participant said: "It is too much football in the media and on TV now!" In line with this, both players and coaches focused on the negative consequences of what Hovden (1996) called "the footballization" of the media, which means increased power for the media, sponsors, agents, and investors, and less to the clubs, coaches, players and volunteers. However, this development was judged in an ambivalent way as media attention brings finances into the club and makes it

possible for the players to develop and improve their performances. Most of the interviewees said that the clubs need all the positive publicity they can get, because that often results in more spectators and more money to the club, and one male interviewee explained:

> We try to be as positive as possible to the media and give them good service, because their coverage of our club influences how many spectators we get and how attractive we are for the sponsors. The more visible we are, the more visible our sponsors are, and that also attracts more sponsors and spectators to the club.

This statement shows that the players are aware that relations to the media and the sponsors are based on a give and take situation. Because the media want to increase the number of viewers and readers, they focus on more personal and private information about the players, which might be of interest to people who are not interested in sport per se, something which players and coaches involved in elite football mentioned as negative. They criticised that the indiscretions and misdemeanours in player's private lives become more and more the focus of headlines (Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel, 2001; Whannel, 2002). One male player said as follows:

> It is huge media coverage of the Norwegian male Premier League. The problem is that they only write about the bad boys or the heroes and certain happenings. They do not write about the match, which many are interested to read about. The player's private lives, scandals and conflicts in the clubs are the focus.

At the same time as the informants are negative to too much football on TV and in other media, they emphasized, as already has been mentioned, that they need the cooperation with the media to get money for the club:

> Money, TV and the media have too much power today, and it puts pressure on the players, coaches and the clubs. You lose the dimensions about other things that are going on in the world. At the same time we need them, otherwise the club will not be attractive for the sponsors and we will not earn our money from playing football (Male elite player).

The situation is very different in women's football. Here the clubs struggle every day to get more media attention, more spectators and more sponsors. According to the players in this study, one of the reasons for the low sponsor support in women's football clubs is connected to the lack of media

attention. Many of the interviewees were aware of the vicious circle, i.e. the lack of attention to women's football and the lack of sponsors which impeded the development and attractiveness of the women's games:

> Media attention is related to how much money you can get into the game. The more media attention you get, the more money you get, because it is easier to get sponsors then. More money can develop the club and the players (Female elite player).

Another female elite player said:

> We want to be in the media, especially on TV, because then it is easier for the club to get sponsors. It is important for the sponsors to be exposed in the media. The media also need to send and write about that which gives them money.

These quotations also show how elite players reflect upon the influences of "the Sport/Media Complex" in elite football.

The perception of what is real football is similarly often discussed in daily life, and which I and other colleagues run into when teaching gender and media topics and students (mostly males) commonly argue that men's football is better and that media reports are what people want, and what sells. Hence, men's football takes a position of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1996) where it normally is taken for granted (doxa) that it is "a man's football performance" which is declared as "the real football". It seems to be taken for granted (Bourdieu, 1995) both inside and outside the field of football that men's football is "better" than women's football, and some men do still have "the symbolic power" within the field of football.

Commercialization and the Sport/Media Complex

Results from the study revealed close links between elite football, the media and the market which has an impact on the financial conditions, media representation and recognition of the players in the social space. Even though much progress has been made in recent years, women still remain underprivileged compared to men. Hence, the symbiotic relations between media, sponsors and elite football ("the Sport/Media Complex") (Boyle & Haynes, 2000; Rowe, 1999) seem to increase the gender gap in this sport (Skogvang, 2006, 2009). "The Sport/Media Complex" is positive for professional football. At the same time a lot of conflicts arise from when football

becomes business, which according to Helland (2003) challenges traditional values in Norwegian sport where sport for all and equality is highly valued. The results show that there are experiences of injustice in media coverage and in the salaries between men and women that create tensions and conflicts between the different cultures within the "Sport for all" vision in NIF and the voluntary tradition within Norwegian football as well as the business culture and the media culture.

Studies show that male elite football clubs are split in "small" and "big" clubs according to their economic resources, numbers of spectators, public interest and media attention, and that this might influence the results in the field (Gammelsæter & Ohr, 2002; Helland, 2003). This situation has made a difference between attractive and non-attractive clubs for the media and for the sponsors. Most of the male players get a lot of media attention and feel empowered because of the stardom it brings to the game (Whannel, 2002) and the increase of their wages, like in other countries (Morrow, 1999), but several players experienced that the market and the media make differences between so-called "Small Clubs" and "Big Clubs". My study shows a similar development in Norway where men's elite football clubs are split into "big" and "small" clubs based on the economy of the club, numbers of spectators and media attention. Both male, especially in small clubs, and female players experience this kind of discrimination as negative. The best clubs have money to buy the best players and get an advantage on the field. The interviewees in the study experienced the competition on the pitch as more unfair because of the different financial conditions outside the pitch. Several of the male elite players argued that performance does not always influence how much media attention you get and that a few clubs earn a lot of money because of the huge media coverage. Some clubs get media attention even if their performance is bad. One male elite player expressed how the media has a few favourite clubs:

> The media has got a few favourite clubs and teams which they write and broadcast everything about. These few big clubs earn a huge amount of money because of this publicity, because their sponsors are visible for much more people than the thousands on the stands. Then they got more money to buy the best players. This is an unfair competition!

Gammelsæter and Ohr (2002) argue that when the competition outside the football ground (on the market and media fields) overshadows the acknowledgement that the clubs are dependent of each other, the elite foot-

ball coverage risks undermining the basis for its own existence. It is a kind of "economic doping" going on that make the competition more unfair because the clubs with most money, buy the best players and do more often win the league (Gammelsæter & Ohr, 2002).

Both players and coaches, and, volunteers involved[8] in men's football said they were disappointed because of the power that money makes to the investors, agents and club owners. At the same time they need and want better finances. One of the key informants in the fieldwork focused on the negative effects of the external fields (the football market with stakeholders, investors and sponsors) influence on the clubs: "It is the A/S [a stockholder company] which owns the players and decides their future in this club. The head coach and the club board have nothing to say, if the A/S decides to sell a player or two." Some of the negative effects mentioned are that skilled players are sold to other clubs when the club really needs them i.e. before important matches according to advancement or relegation. Another negative effect mentioned is that coaches are fired if the team does not have success immediately.

Male players in "small" clubs feel that they are discriminated against because of the lack of media attention and lack of economic capital. The "big" clubs have the symbolic power in the field, and that threatens the autonomy in the football field. The increased commercialization with closer links between football, media and market challenge values within Norwegian sport which has a focus on democracy, "sport for all" and equality between men and women and equality or equal possibilities which should also be the case between so-called "big" and "small" male elite clubs within Norwegian football. Commercialization and finances available are crucial for the development of football at the same time that it increases differences in elite football. As mentioned, the commercialization has had positive effects on employment opportunities and financial conditions for both men and women in elite football in Norway. At the same time it creates large differences between the most popular clubs, the most popular players and it can even enlarge the differences between men and women and between big and small clubs.

The relationships between football, the media and the sponsors are most predominant in men's elite football. In Bourdieu's conceptualization (Bourdieu, 1993), elite football appears to be located closer to the heteronymous pole (with higher influence from market and media) and closer to the autonomous pole in women's elite football, similar to club football at amateur or the grass roots level.

Concluding Remarks

Contemporary football is a changing complex *field*. The study shows both similarities and differences with regard to gender. The informants believed that it gives status for both men and women to participate in elite football, yet men get higher status than women whether as players or coaches. Commercialization and media attention are experienced as a crucial development by the interviewees. The symbiotic relationship between elite football, the market and the media is experienced as both positive and negative by and for the players. It gives better facilities and employment opportunities, but at the same time women experience that they are discriminated against because of the lower amount of finances available and the low media coverage. Men's symbolic power and especially that of some men's elite clubs enable men to earn more money, to get more attention than women and to increase their symbolic capital in the field of football.

Men and women with good skills in football have a different status in the football field. *Physical capital* (Bourdieu, 1993) is transferred to "football capital" (or "sport capital", see Munk, 1999) which is important for the players self-esteem, as well as *economic capital,* in terms of individual salaries and collective income for the clubs. With reference to Bourdieu's concepts the findings indicate that men compared to women are able to convert physical and football capital into economic capital to a much higher degree than women. Women elite players do need more than physical capital or being a good football player, before they gain respect on the football field. The field specific capital ("football capital"), like being a skilled football player or football coach decides what gives power and status inside football (symbolic power). This is embodied both among men and women, and at the same time it is institutionalized in the football organization (Skogvang, 2006). However, men can transfer their status to other fields, women cannot.

Notes

1 Kari Fasting was my supervisor for the doctoral project.
2 Girls and women are also allowed to play on boys' and men's teams.
3 Ellen Wille was member of the Executive Board in NFA, and she was a delegate at the FIFA congress representing the NFA.
4 The first Olympic final was between USA and China in Atlanta 1996 in front of 76,489 spectators, broadcasted live to the whole world. The referee was the author of this chapter.

5 The study proposal was guided by the Data Protection Official for Research, and the interviewees were assured confidentiality and anonymity.
6 The Elite Sport Program (Olympiatoppen) receives money from the Norwegian Government as well as from sponsors to make elite sport possible at the international level. The money gives national team players and athletes employment opportunities. The amount of money is dependent on previous performances in international championships.
7 The Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund (Statens Lånekasse for utdanning) has rules which make it possible for elite athletes to study half but get full student pay.
8 Volunteers were also included in my study during the fieldwork in the clubs.

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Mari Kristin Sisjord

Women Battling for a Space in Snowboarding

Introduction

Snowboarding in the literature is found under the categories of extreme sports, action sports, risk sports, alternative sports, lifestyle sports and so forth (Rinehart, 2000; Wheaton, 2004).[1] These sports include, but are not limited to; board sports (surf, skate, snow, wake), climbing (mountain, ice) kiting, BASE jump, skydiving, BMX biking, tricking and parcour. Central features are "grass root" participation, commitment in time and/or money, and a participatory ideology that promotes involvement, fun, and hedonism. The sports are individualistic in form and/or attitude, representing values in contrast to traditional, organized sport (Wheaton, 2004). However, in recent years several of these activities have developed their own institutional forms or became organized within settled institutions. In Norway, some have joined established sport federations whereas others have founded separate federations, for example the Norwegian Snowboard Federation (NSBF).

The sports mentioned above are in some cases less gender-differentiated than the "traditional" sports, since female and male participants commonly practice together (Wheaton, 2004). Nevertheless, "the degree of acceptance for females is uneven, largely dependent upon the specific sports themselves." (Rinehart, 2000, p. 515). In particular, the so-called risk sports are highly male-dominated and associated with particular notions of masculinity (Donnelly, 2004; Laurendeau, 2008; Laurendeau & Sharara, 2008). In snowboarding, women compose a minority; the percentages do however vary among studies and countries (Sisjord, 2011).

In scholarly research, gender issues in snowboarding are discussed from various angles. Anderson (1999) focused on the social practices used by male snowboarders to construct masculinities relating to clothing styles, and risk-taking. Young (2004) highlighted gender differences in skateboarding and snowboarding with particular attention to the participants' motivation and social networks. Thorpe (2005) examined females' positions and opportunities in snowboarding, and further explained how the legitimate forms of femininity, preferred forms of capital (social, cultural and symbolic) and gender relations differ between various groups in the

snowboarding field (Thorpe, 2009). Laurendeau and Sharara (2008) have explored the construction of gender and the strategies women employ to carve out spaces for themselves in snowboarding and skydiving contexts. In my former research on snowboarding, I have explored gender relations between women and men as well as different types of femininities among female snowboarders labeled "babes", "fast-girls" and "the invisible girls" (Sisjord, 2009). Furthermore, I conducted a study at an international camp for female snowboarders, which was held in Norway. The camp attracted participants from five European countries and the study focused on networking among female riders within the different countries as well as across the national borders (Sisjord, 2012), and the participants' perceptions of, and experiences from, snowboard competitions (Sisjord, in press). Whereas the majority of research on gender issues has examined snowboarding as an activity and various snowboarding contexts, the present study focuses on women's position and agency in a snowboard organization – NSBF – then with particular reference to the work of PowderPuffGirls (PPGirls). PPGirls is a group of women snowboarders, established in 2003, which works to promote women's snowboarding in general and within NSBF.[2]

The chapter explores how PPGirls came into being and how it further developed, with focus on challenges and success factors. Moreover, visions and ideas for further work of women's promotion in the sport are highlighted. In order to contextualize the study I will briefly outline the development of snowboarding – from its origin to the organization of the sport and its organization in NSBF.

Snowboarding: From a Counterculture to a Competitive Sport

Snowboarding emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s in North America. The pioneers embodied the idealism of youth culture and counterculture embracing snowboarding as an enjoyable and individualistic activity. As part of the new leisure movement, snowboarders subscribed to anti-establishment counterculture values and do-it-yourself philosophy (Thorpe, 2007). Adherents to the new leisure philosophy reacted against the overarching conformity and stifling nature of society; the counterculture inspired individuals to see themselves as individuals with their own needs and values who aimed at expressing their "true selves". In the 1970s and 1980s, the punk movement influenced the artistic sensibility of the new leisure movement (Humphrey, 2003). The influence from punk and skateboarding im-

pacted on the development of snowboarding in the early 1990s with its increasingly urban, aggressive attitude and clothing style which also reflected the hip-hop image (Howe, 1998).

Significant changes occurred in snowboarding during the late 1980s and 1990s. The convergence of several factors contributed to the escalating number of participants. Many resort owners, who from the beginning had refused snowboarders entrance, gradually opened up and facilitated their participation (Heino, 2000). The mainstream media started reporting on the snowboarding culture and snowboarding magazines and films communicated positive attitudes, images and styles. Technical innovations and an increasingly competitive market provided participants with a wider variety of equipment (Thorpe, 2007). And, not least, the institutionalization of snowboarding, its entrance into the Olympic Games (1998) and contests organized all over the world, have significantly influenced the development of the sport.

For many years, female snowboarders were not really considered in the snowboarding industry. Not until the mid-1990s were snowboards and equipment for females manufactured. In snowboarding films, the few females participating had to ride the same terrain as the males, something which female participants regretted (Howe, 1998). In the early half-pipe competitions, there were no separate contests for women; the few woman participants competed in the same events as the men. This remained the situation until late 1980s when a separate division for females in the sport's various disciplines was established (Gutman & Frederick, 2004).

The development of snowboarding has been criticized by "core members"[3] and evoked scholars' interest as well. Humphreys (2003) discusses the commercialization in terms of "selling out snowboarding" pointing to the paradox of the new leisure movement as authentic, esoteric and anti-commercial which cannot remain separated from the reality of capitalism. Snowboarding today is characterized by strong relations between professional snowboarders, resort owners, organizers of events, producers of snowboard equipment, and the media (Rinehart, 2000). Consequently, commercial organizers, commonly in co-operation with professional riders, strongly impact on the facilitation of snowboarding contests.

In terms of the organization of snowboarding, internationally and nationally, some snowboard associations are associated to the World Snowboarding Federation (WSF) which replaced the International Snowboard Federation (ISF) in 2002, with no relationship to national sport organizations. In other cases, snowboarding is federated with national ski organi-

zations associated to the Federation International du Ski (FIS). An example of a third way of association is the NSBF, which is connected to WSF internationally and nationally as a member of the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sport (NIF), the umbrella organization for all sports federations in Norway. This means that an "alternative" sport, originally contrasting with a "traditional" sport, has been integrated within the established sports' confederation.

Norwegian Snowboard Federation

NSBF, which was founded in 1987, is a relatively "small" federation compared to other federations in the NIF. The annual report from 2010-2011, shows that memberships over the last five years have varied between 3200 and 3800, while the number of snowboarders in Norway is estimated to be about 200,000. Females comprise less than one third of the members in the federation. In 2010 NSBF had 50 registered clubs (Norges Snowboardforbund, n.d.).[4] The board of NSBF consists of an elected President and eight board members. In 2012 the federation had seven full-time employees including a secretary general, and two part-time employees.

NSBF was already associated with the ISF when incorporated into the NIF in 1999. The incorporation is described by Steen-Johnsen (2008) as a process of establishing legitimacy within the snowboarding community while simultaneously adapting to the formal requirements of the NIF. This was a challenging process and I will mention one particular aspect of relevance for the present study. One of the requirements from the NIF is that memberships to the individual federations must be signed through a local sport club, which NSBF found very difficult since so few snowboard clubs had been established. Therefore, in 2000 NSBF applied to the NIF board for permission to register "direct membership" to the federation, not solely through local clubs, which resulted in a "pilot project" (2001-2003) where individuals were allowed to register membership to NSBF centrally. Although the memberships of NSBF increased significantly during this period the NIF refused to continue the project because "direct membership" was not in accordance with the statutes of the NIF (Brekke, 2003). After 2003 the number of members of NSBF decreased.

Methods and Participants

This study, which was conducted in spring/summer 2012, is based on qualitative interviews with six women who have had a large influence of the development of PPGirls. Two of them were among the founders of PPGirls; today one is employed as the Secretary General of NSBF, the other serves as the President of the federation. The third interviewee got involved with PPGirls soon after the group was established. She has a job outside the federation but remains active with various projects. Another two were recruited to PPGirls a few years after the group was founded, one of them is now a full time employee in the administration of NSBF the other is part time employed on a project basis. The last interviewee was employed as the Secretary General when PPGirls was founded and she held the position until 2008.

The interviews focused on the origin of PPGirls and how the work proceeded in terms of gatherings, organization, communication, and main tasks and goals. Furthermore, the PPGirls' relationship to NSBF, how they perceived constraints and challenges over the years, and success factors were discussed. Moreover, the interviewees' personal path to snowboarding and their engagement for PPGirls was outlined as well as ideas for PPGirls' future work. Three of the interviews were conducted in the office of NSBF two took place in my office, the last in my home. The interviews, which lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. The transcriptions were coded with the main categories and associated sub-categories and cross-case analyzed in order to compare each issue across the sample of interviewees when relevant. In terms of ethical considerations, when addressing the interviewees they were informed about the purpose of the study and plans for publication. They all received a draft of the chapter on which they could comment. Moreover, the study proposal was guided by the Data Protection Official for Research.[5]

The Origin of PowderPuffGirls

The history of PPGirls started with an initiative of a few, enthusiastic young women in November 2003. One of them served as a member of the NSBF board (she is currently the President of NSBF). Her entrance into NSBF was via "direct membership" (during the "pilot project" formerly explained)[6] and she was soon asked to take a position on the board because

of her qualifications in economy (master degree). Her own motivation, she explained, was twofold: "One thing was that I wanted to use my experience [from business life], and the other was that I wanted to do something for girls' snowboarding". While practicing snowboarding on various resorts she had noticed very few females compared to male boarders, therefore she felt the need for specific efforts to promote females' snowboarding. When she addressed the issue in a board meeting another board member (male) dropped a name to contact, who on request found interest in the project. The Secretary General of NSBF (female) provided the contact to a woman she assumed would like to join the group, and who responded positively to join. Both of the latter were involved in sports studies. The first meeting took place at a restaurant in downtown Oslo and the three women brainstormed ideas for their work and how to progress. The current President elaborated on the origin of PPGirls as such:

> We talked about that we wanted to start a project for women, we had really no idea about what it would be like, but then we were on our way. And we realized that none of us came from the inner core of snowboarders, we all sort of came from the outside. We used to snowboard but we had not grown up with it, so to speak. So we decided for the first season to travel around and observe, get to know what it all was about. And later on, I have reflected a lot about that, and I think it was the right thing to do, that we did not come up with any big plans from the beginning. We traveled around, visited Norway Cup competitions and other activities, just observed and snowboarded, participated in a few competitions and so on. And I think many people we met found it a bit odd – Who were we? And, actually, even here at the federation they wondered a bit about what we were doing. It was in a way like that; ok, that's their business. But, one of the first issues we discussed was how to make a good project and how to gain acceptance in the culture, we talked a lot about that, and we assumed the name to be very important. We did not want a "women's project" or "women's group", so we arranged a competition in order to decide upon the group's name and that resulted in PowderPuffGirls.

The quotation conveys some interesting aspects concerning PPGirls' agency as well as comprehensions of their own position in the culture. The fact that the founders came from "outside" and "not from the inner core of snowboarders" indicates that they looked upon themselves as outsiders, which is an expression used in studies of sport subcultures (i.e. Donnelly &

Young, 1988). The comprehension of maintaining an "outsider" position is similarly revealed with regard to contests, where they traveled around and observed in order to learn. The statement "ok, that's their business" may furthermore be understood as their efforts were not regarded as any business of the federation. Worth noting is that the labels "woman project" and "woman group" were definitely out of question, concepts commonly employed in other federations within the NIF as well as in the NIF centrally (Fasting, 2005). The latter may be interpreted as disassociation from former initiatives of promoting women's conditions in the sport organization. The name PowderPuffGirls does however bring several interesting associations. The term is derived from "PowerPuffGirls", an animated television series showing young girls as active and capable heroines. The pun of "Powder-Puff" relates to powder snow, which is perceived as the ultimate riding condition by advanced snowboarders. However, in semantic terms powder puff might also connote "make up", and thereby a sign of the feminine *and* athletic, capable female snowboarders.

The intention of gaining acceptance, as revealed in the quotation above, was similarly emphasized by other interviewees. One of them explained: "We have had the attitude that it does not help to complain that there are so few girls, we must do something on our own, we must adjust the way we want it to be." However, it is important to note support from the NSBF administration, not least from the female Secretary General who worked for increasing females' representation on the board. She came also from "outside" and had no snowboard experience. Her background was involvement in "traditional" sports, particularly soccer, and her education was in sport studies, which one of the interviewees put forward, together with her emphasis on equality, when explaining the Secretary General's willingness to give priority to gender issues. In that regard it should be added that in the NIF and in the associated federations, gender equal representation has been an issue for many years and manifested in the NIFs Statue Book (Norges Idrettsforbund og Olympiske og Paralympiske Komite, 2008) in line with quota rules in the Norwegian law relating to gender equality.

PowderPuffGirls' Networking and Communication

PPGirls does not operate with memberships rather the group is best described as a network which one of them explained: "Many people think it's a club, but that's not the case, it's a network. There's been a core group consisting of anything from 3 to 10, and then a big network beyond that again". From the beginning, recruitment was promoted via personal contacts and through a gradually expanding mailing list covering associated PPGirls. PPGirls was soon presented at the NSBF's homepage with a separate link, and later on they established a group on Facebook.[7] Through these channels, upcoming events and other relevant issues are communicated.

The PPGirls' network is characterized by informal relations and the absence of formal leadership, their work is however anchored in the administration of NSBF as one of the employees helps with sending out information, announcing meetings etc. The communication apparently functions both ways, between the "administrator" and members of the network, however, also among the involved individuals. One of the interviewees gave an example describing her own way of communication: "If I think about a project I want to initiate, I just send a mail like: Listen, I would like to do this and that, so can we meet and talk?" Furthermore, she and other interviewees described Facebook as a useful forum for brainstorming and discussions.

The findings reflect central aspects of the sports mentioned in the introduction which according to Wheaton (2004)[8] are featured by grass-root participation and informal relationships. However, the results may also be understood in relation to Castells' analysis of the network society which he claims developed during the last decades of the 20th century. Castells (2000) defines a network as "a set of interconnected nodes" whereby the definition of a node depends on the kind of network we are referring to. Castells gives several examples of networks encompassing a wide range of institutions, movements and social groups in society, large and small scale, varying from political institutions, networks of global financial flows and television systems, to street gangs. Networks are open structures, able to expand and integrate new nodes as long as they are able to communicate with the network and share the same communication codes, like values and performance goals. The findings referred above fit to Castells' approach and illustrate the impact of the internet and the web as vital channels of communication in today's society (Castells, 2002).

The Development and Progress of PowderPuffGirls

When the interviewees described the development of PPGirls some of them referred to "generations" of women involved, which also indicates periods of the development of the group in the timeline. The generation shifts are however not clear cut since some women continue with newcomers. During the first years after the foundation the group focused on network building and establishing channels for communication, in addition they made plans and developed projects to be realized. As the narratives reveal, plans and projects were developed in informal meetings and dinners with a gradually expanding group. Discussions revolved around the organization of separate practices for females, workshops and camps as well as education. PPGirls has arranged several courses (for free for the participants) to which women were encouraged to participate, via personal contacts or web channels. The efforts resulted in a significant increase in women educated as instructors, judges and TDs (Technical Delegates) and thereby, the visibility of women in the overall snowboarding community increased across the country.

A central part of the discussions focused on how the participants' experience and competences could be used for realizing the group's aims, for instance women certified as instructors organized practice and gave instruction on camps. Mostly, the initiatives were based on voluntary work except for support from the administration in practical matters (developing a web page, distributing information via PPGirls' mail list, etc.) or in relation to applying for grants from sources outside NSBF.

One of the first projects the PPGirls discussed – and "dreamed about", as one phrased it – was to organize women-only camps. The first camp turned out to be a big event. It was The International Woman Snowboard Camp, which was held at a summer ski resort at a glacier in southern Norway in 2006. The camp was part of a larger project supported by the EU Youth Program, where PPGirls with support from NSBF had invited representatives from other snowboard organizations in Europe to participate. The camp attracted about 30 participants from five countries. The intention was to collaborate in the promotion of women's snowboarding and to build networks for future initiatives and projects[9] (Norwegian Snowboard Federation, 2006). Due to work load in the process of application and reporting (to EU) the international camp was not reiterated. Hence, the following camp in 2007 was limited to Norwegian participants.

PPGirls has played an important role in bringing gender issues onto the agenda in NSBF. However, it is important to notify that core members of the PPGirls hold central positions in the federation, on the board or in the administration, and worked towards integrating gender issues in the overall work of NSBF, as one of them explained: "It's very much about having a strategy and prioritizing, and we prioritized in the federation [NSBF plans] to focus on giving women more backing, from 2005-2010." During this period new and younger women engaged in the work of PPGirls and a generation shift took place, which one of the founders described as follows:

> We were very afraid that they'd be a sort of clique who remained in charge and felt that we wouldn't want to give it up. So after three years, or after the camp at Stryn [2006], we thought that we should let the next generation take over, so it was very much [mentions three names] who took it further. And after a few years, I know they thought the same way as we did and left it to next generation. I think in order to succeed, it's important to continually leave it to the younger ones, preferably those in the age group 18-25, when you're approaching 30 you sort of loose track.

Interesting to note is the short time span of generations which in average counts three-four years. In the PPGirls' less than ten years history the interviewees already refer to three generations. The emphasis on the younger generation is further reflected in the suggestion of having people around the age of twenty, or early twenties, which might indicate the PPGirls' target group as well as an assumption that snowboarding as an activity is best suited for younger people. Another interviewee revealed a similar perception: "it is important that 'we oldies' leave it to the younger."

From the interviews it seems like the PPGirls' activity and the focus on gender issues in the federation, dropped a bit around 2007/08. This was explained by the fact that NSBF faced financial challenges and the backing on females "became more of a sideline thing". Although, the intention was embedded in the organization, other and more "important tasks" were given priority while the administrative staff was downsized. However, the informal network of PPGirls continued in a more "user driven manner".

After the economic situation was stabilized, gender issues – with the focus of girls and women – were implemented in the overall policy and strategy documents of NSBF and integrated in the different fields of activity, for example education and participation in the Norway Cup. Some of the participants, however, reflected upon the situation which may be un-

derstood in terms of gender mainstreaming. With reference to the Council of Europe (2004) gender mainstreaming is defined as such: "Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equity perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making." One of the interviewees explained: "I think the result is that women's issues will never be the most important among all the other tasks, so we want to define it as a separate field again." The statement may indicate that women still remain "the second sex" (Beauvoir, 1994) and that gender mainstreaming was not made the right way. It should be added that the issue of gender was already on the agenda for discussion in the federation when the interviews were conducted.

Challenges and Success

When the interviewees were invited to elaborate on what they had succeeded with as well as challenges they had approached, most descriptions had positive evaluations which to a great extent may be explained by the PPGirls' way of thinking, strategy making and agency. In order to gain respect within NSBF they took a proactive stand and consciously worked towards concrete results. The main goal was recruitment of participants which gradually developed into gatherings, organized practice, and snowboard camps. Education has further been a highly prioritized matter which every interviewee perceived as significant for the growth and success of their work. Some argued for the benefit of female instructors and judges in terms of role models, others emphasized the impact of women in these positions on the overall snowboarding community, not least in terms of making women's contribution and ability visible.

Moreover, a predominant goal was to increase females' representation on the board of NSBF, which soon reached equal gender representation (50/50 from 25/75 a few years earlier). According to the interviewees, the increase in women's representation has influenced the subjects of debate, in general, as well as the priorities of women's matters in strategy documents. The rapid increase of women on the board is however worth a reflection. Research on gender representation in sport organizations shows that women have been and still are underrepresented in management positions, and that changes occur slowly (Fasting & Sand, 2009; Habermann, Ottesen &

Skirstad, 2005). One of the interviewees, a member of the board, gives her comprehension of the situation in NSBF:

> The fact that it's a new thing, it's not so that there are a bunch of men who've always been on the board and in a way maintain the ideas about how everything should be, I think it's something to do with that, that it's more openness.

The expression "it's a new thing" may refer to snowboarding as a relatively new sport and/or the age of the federation, with less settled structures than in traditional sports. With regard to "more openness" she further explained by women's standing in the federation, not least due to the President and the Secretary General who are "respected in all layers" (in the federation). Other essential factors for success of PPGirls were the competencies and enthusiasm of the participants investing considerable time and effort in various projects. The fact that the members of the group came up with the ideas and participated in the development of the projects was crucial for their feeling of identification with the group and ownership to the projects, as one of the interviewees emphasized: "We developed a very strong identity with PPGirls, the people involved, a lot of voluntary work, due to the fact that many felt strong ownership to the projects."

The findings may be associated to Castells' analysis of social movements where identity is a significant factor, which relates to people's source of meaning and experience. Castells understands identity as a process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, given priority over other sources of meaning. For a given individual or for a collective actor, there may be a plurality of identities (Castells, 2004). Castells focuses only on the collective aspects of identity, arguing that sources of meaning become socially relevant only if they are expressed in a shared culture, in social organizations and institutions (Stalder, 2006).

With regard to challenges, most of the interviewees pointed to the importance of recruitment of participants at various levels of activity. First and foremost, PPGirls' main goal is to get more females involved in snowboarding and enjoying the activity. However, in recent years PPGirls has put more emphasis on getting women involved in snowboard competitions, which appears to be a challenge. Several interviewees explained that PPGirls organizes gatherings with courses and at the last day they have a competition where usually most participate and perform very well. However, it appears to be a huge barrier for these women to enroll in other

contests like the Norway Cup, where only a few from the PPGirls take part. Therefore, the PPGirls discuss strategies for "pushing the girls" and enhancing their self-esteem. The third aspect of the PPGirls' work and concern refers to recruitment of new members of the "inner core" of PPGirls as one of them explained:

> What we have achieved with PPGirls – actually we have reached most of our goals, and they [goals] have been integrated in all fields of activity in the federation. However, it's a challenge to find people to take over our positions. Well, we kind of need some new energy.

The statement reflects perspectives of gender mainstreaming with reference to the integration of the PPGirls' goals in all fields of the federation's activity. However, she also indicates that PPGirls' work should continue. She also addressed the issue of shift in generations as discussed earlier in the chapter, where the interviewees emphasized the importance of continually being open for fresh and younger forces to take over and develop their own projects.

PowderPuffGirls 2.0

When the interviewees were invited to elaborate on ideas and visions for further work a variety of ideas and perspectives appeared. Interestingly, a few labeled the coming version as PowderPuffGirls 2.0, which can be interpreted as a new or updated initiative – or as one of them expressed a group aiming at "revitalizing and setting new goals". Yet, it was emphasized that the goals should be set and implemented by those being involved in the "new" project, which was considered important in order to develop a feeling of ownership and identity similar to the forerunners as discussed earlier. Some argued that it was important to maintain focus on women in all fields of activity as well as maintaining women's standing and respect inside the federation.

Although, PPGirls has encouraged females to participate in competitions the focus has mainly been on recreational snowboarding. In that regard it appears to be a shift in orientation towards women's participation in elite sport. Several spoke about "filling the gap" between the recreational/lower level and higher levels of performance[10] while advocating for recruitment of younger riders and facilitating their athletic development. Two central factors were put forward: to continue the emphasis on education

of female instructors with the purpose of training girls and young women, and to work more directly towards snowboard clubs in order to facilitate female riders' skill enhancement. It should however be noted that several of the PPGirls already have been involved with clubs at the local level by giving advice and support as well as with establishing local PPGirls groups. The shift in orientation towards "filling the gap" may be understood in relation to PPGirls' integration in NSBF as well as the fact that some of the core members in PPGirls maintain central positions in NSBF (full time or on a project basis) and thereby somehow are influenced by the sport federation's perspectives of a sport ethos.

Concluding Remarks

In order to conclude, I will point to the main findings of the study. The short history of PPGirls shows how a few enthusiastic women established a core group which gradually developed into an informal network which has no formal members and has no formal leaders. Communication takes mainly place via mail and web which reflects central features of the network society (Castells, 2000, 2002). The work of PPGirls has essentially been directed toward the increasing of women's involvement in snowboarding in which competence building and various projects (practice, gatherings, camps etc.) were major tools. Most of these projects are based on voluntary work and identification with the group, which relates to Castells' (2004) perspectives of social movements. It is worth recalling the interviewees' concern for continuously recruiting new and younger women to PPGirls and to encourage them to develop and implement their own ideas in future work.

When describing PPGirls in retrospect some interviewees referred to different periods in its development and to different generations of women. The first period was characterized by network building and concrete projects anchored in the administration, the main load of work however relied on volunteers. In the second period, gender issues were for a while less prioritized inside NSBF due to financial challenges, whereas the informal network of PPGirls continued in a more user driven manner. During the third period, women's issues were incorporated in all fields of activity as well as manifested in strategy documents. It should however be emphasized that the interviewees questioned whether mainstreaming secures gender equal treatment. Therefore, it seems to be a common perception among the inter-

viewees that PPGirls' work ought to continue, suggestively in a revitalized version – PowderPuffGirls 2.0.

Finally, comprehensions of a "new" PPGirls concept more directed towards "filling the gap" between recreational and competitive snowboarding, reflect the process snowboarding has undergone from its origin in a counterculture, representing values contrasting traditional, organized sport (Wheaton, 2004) into a competitive sport. The change in orientation may be explained, at least partly, by their integration in the federation. It can also be understood in the light of gender mainstreaming in the federation where achievement and competition is one of the prioritized fields of activity.

Notes

1 The various terms reflect characteristics of the sports whether employed by the participants themselves or researchers in the field.
2 PPGirls' organization, aims and various projects are described in the section of results and discussion.
3 Professional snowboarders, mostly from the "first generation", have criticized the involvement with FIS and the Olympic Games. The Norwegian rider Terje Haakonsen, widely regarded as the "snowboard legend" after he refused to participate in the games in Nagano in 1998, dissociated himself and snowboarding from the Olympic movement with the expression: "Snowboarding is everything the Olympic isn't" (Lidz, 1997, p. 114).
4 In comparison, the Norwegian Football Association as the largest of the federations in the NIF has almost 370,000 members and 25,000 clubs.
5 The Data Protection Official for Research evaluates proposals from scholars at Norwegian universities, university colleges and several hospitals and research institutes.
6 The current Secretary General was also enrolled in NSBF via "direct membership".
7 By Oct. 31st 2012 the number on PPGirls' mailing list was 258 and 3607 were registered "likes" on Facebook.
8 Wheaton employs the term "lifestyle sports" because participants in her studies on the topic commonly describe the activity (windsurfing) that way.
9 The first meeting was held in Oslo in September 2005 with participants from several snowboard associations in Europe. A planning meeting for the camp took place in Oslo in April 2006.
10 Professional/top level (female) snowboarders have not been involved with PPGirls.

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Gerd von der Lippe

Discourses on Women's Dress Codes in Beach Volleyball and Boxing: In the Context of the Current Consumer Culture

Introduction

After the final decision on the new dress code with small bikinis in women's beach volleyball in the Olympic Games of 2004, Norwegian national tabloid papers, like *VG* and *Dagbladet,* started a media discourse on this theme. In 2010 and 2011 media discourses focused on women's boxing, which were first and foremost linked to the Norwegian professional world champion, Cecilia Brækhus. In this chapter I will examine these two media discourses using discourse analysis as a method and a theory.

According to Normann Fairclough (1995, 2003) a media discourse concerns practices of journalists (how texts are produced), discursive practices, (i.e. the production in media institutions and the reception of the texts by audiences/readers/listeners), and sociocultural practices (a wider social matrix of the discourse, for example a gender perspective). Discourse analysis can be understood as an attempt to show systematic links between texts, discoursive and sociocultural practices.

This chapter is organized as follows: First, a brief historical view of fashion in general and dress codes in some Norwegian sports is presented. Then, the mentioned dress code discourses of 2004 and 2010-11 are presented and discussed. The focus is here on the logics of the gendered dress code discourses. The chapter ends with reflections on how the structure and understanding of the dual logics of language and that of sport contribute to the reconstruction of this duality between the sporting female and male.

Dress Code Glimpses of Fashion and in Organized Sports in a Historical Perspective

According to the femininity ideal of bourgeois men, women's fashion from the 1890s onwards highlighted the silhouette of the mature, full-figured body. Low busts and curvy hips were flaunted by the dress styles of the

time (Lehnert, 1999). Parisian male designers set the fashion tone for the rest of the upper classes of the western world. Skirts were long until the 1920s. During this decade youthful elegance and their practices were in focus. Thus, more comfortable styles like pants and short skirts were available and worn by some of the most fashionable women such as Marlene Dietrich. During the World War (1940-45) all types of outfits were needed for a variety of uses, because of the lack of materials. In the 1950s we are witnessing a return to history of the curvy hips. During the 1960s and 1970s youth began to rebel against traditional clothing styles and create their own trends. Miniskirts and hot pants became popular, and blue jeans were accepted for women on a daily basis. From the 1990s onward more casual clothing became common. In 2013 pants, skirts and dresses which show the tummy and naked skin became a new trend.

According to the male track and field coach and 1920 Olympic decathlon champion Helge Løvland (1948), the correct sports for female athletes are those in which men wish her to compete. These were: gymnastics, slalom, swimming, tennis, figure skating and a "little track and field" (60m, 100m, long and high jump). The justification for this opinion was the ideal of the bourgeois understanding of "the feminine", because the beauty of women had to be preserved. In what way did this traditional ideal manifest itself in women's sport's attire?

I will present some glimpses from dress codes in horseback riding, gymnastics, fencing, tennis, figure skating, swimming and track and field. Discussions on the dress forms or dress codes of female athletes are often tied to the date of women's introduction into the different organized sports. Thus, there is often a relationship to the general fashions of women's clothes.

Horseback riding has a long tradition as a women's sport and we are aware of the clothes through photos. Although horse riding did not become an organized sport in Norway until 1915 and women did not enter the Olympics in this sport until 1952, pictures of female horseback riders of nobility from the second half of the 17th century are featured in Bugge, (1961). Showing one's legs was considered indecent, therefore long dresses were required of riders in earlier days. Today both sexes wear the same type of outfits during competitions – light blue long pants, dark (brown or black) jacket, dark leather boots and a dark helmet.

Gymnastics as a sport in a Norwegian context has been popular among women since the 1890s. From the 1930s females were the majority in the Norwegian Gymnastic Federation. Norwegian women participated in mass

gymnastic exhibitions in several European countries. The first performance took place in the capital of Norway in 1893. In 1912 Norwegian gymnasts participated in the Olympics.

The only Norwegian sport, with the exception of figure skating, in which skirts have been an obligatory dress code until recently, is tennis. Singles competitions in the Olympics were introduced in 1900. Until recently the required tennis dress color was white. In 1921 Norsk idrætsblad[1] showed photos of our bronze medal winner from the 1904 Olympics, Molla Bjurstedt-Mallory, in a dress covering the knees. Our world champion in speed skating and bronze medal winner in alpine skiing from 1936, Laila Schou Nilsen, used white skirts above the knees during competing for her several Norwegian Championships in tennis during the 1950s. The Norwegian Olympic winner in figure skating in 1928, 1932 and 1936, Sonja Henie revolutionized the fashion of the dress in that sport from skirts in rather dark colors covering the knees to short skirts in different colors. Before the Henie-period, the dresses reached mostly to the upper part of the legs or just above the knees.

Female fencers (an Olympic sport since 1924) have always competed in long trousers. This is contrary to the idea of bourgeois femininity and beauty of wearing shirts and not showing the contour of the legs. Eva Nansen, the first wife of the polar scientist and national builder, Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930), used a skirt over the trousers while skiing. This became popular for many women in the capital of Norway after the 1890s. Later, ski fashions were influenced by the "radical" fashions of the 1920s. The world champion in women's ski jumping in the 1930s Johanne Kolstad, wore a ski suit with dark blue, long pants and a jacket to the legs when she was competing in Norway.

Swimming for women became popular from the beginning of the 20th century. Astrid Bugge included swimming lessons for ladies in 1904 in her book *Female Tourists and Other Sports Girls*. The dress code was a shirt covering the knees with a sleeve just over the shoulder. In the 1912 Olympics the 100 meter freestyle event for women was introduced. At that time, the swimsuit – a tight fitting suit – covered the knees close to the body without sleeves. In track and field, from the 1960s onwards, in line with the fashion of the time, pants and top became tighter and more form-fitting. This was in line with the introduction of the sports bikini in this sport in international competitions from the end of the 1990s. The sport dresses had to comply to the fashion of the time and to the practical demands of the sport.

The Dress Code Discourses in Beach Volleyball

Beach volleyball began in Santa Monica, California in the 1920s. It evolved from indoor volleyball. The first official tournament was on State Beach, Santa Monica, in California in 1947 (Askeland, 2012). In the 1950s Brasil also arranged competitions. According to Askeland (2012) the sport became professionalized in the US in the 1970s. The first official world championship for men was arranged in 1987 and in 1993 for women.

The dictates of the fashion industry today of showing more "female skin" are a point of departure for the dress code discourses in beach volleyball. The media requirements on this issue were not unexpected with reference to "the dominating masculine media industry". This network consists primarily of central sports editors and sports journalists; secondly of central leaders and coaches of The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF); and thirdly of central sponsors (Lippe, 2005, 2010).

According to the Federation International de Volleyball's (FIVB) Marketing Guidelines for the players' uniforms for the 1995-96 season the aim of the dress code was to attract audience, media and sponsors to the sport:

> The Permanent Committee recommends that the fabric used allow men's shirts and women's tops to be tight fitting: the design should be with open arms for men and with open back, upper chest and stomach for women. Also the length of men's shorts and width of women's bathing suit bottoms has been defined to suit the Beach Volleyball image and not to hide the athletes from public, media and sponsors (FIVB, 1998, p. 16).

The inside leg of men's shorts ought to be the measurement of 2/3 of length from hip to knee, whereas the side width of women's bikinis was decided to be 6 cm and then 7 cm in 2004 (Lippe, 2005). This change was according to Eva Lio in the Norwegian Volleyball Federation (NVBF) a result of media discussions in several countries. In a personal email from Lio, she stated that the NVBF sent a note to FIVB criticizing the new dress code for women.[2] However, they got no answer. She added that FIVB did not seem to be open for critics of their market politics. Most leaders of the federations in the different countries regarded this decision as an untouchable fact, especially from 2004 onwards. Thus, women's volleyball skills in themselves were not regarded as enough. The subtext of this "facelift" is a focus of the sexualization of female athletes. The performances of the fe-

male players were linked to the idea of the visual appeal of their bodies, to their beauty and sexuality, and related to the specific cultural context of volleyball normally played in the sunshine and on the beach.

The first article about the dress code in volleyball in the Norwegian press was in 1998.[3] A man had to cover his abdomen and most of his back while a woman had to expose both of these body parts. Two aspects of this dress code are important. First, the news about the "non-negotiable points" was headlined on the front page of *VG* and *Dagbladet,* because two popular Norwegian athletes, Kathrine Maaseide and Susanne Glesnes, competed in that sport during the Olympics in 2004. Second, the audience following the TV-reports from Athens could not avoid looking at the bottoms of the female athletes. The male photographers zoomed in on that part of the body as often as possible. Their "excuse" was that the players give each other signs behind the back. Thus, the bottoms of female athletes, could be labeled "the nodal point"[4] (Laclau, 1993) of the dress code discourse. Since the athletes were young, good-looking and fit, they might be regarded as objects of dreams and desires and celebrated in consumer cultural imagery. Hence, they were representing particular sites of consumption, which might generate a fascination of direct bodily excitement and pleasures (Featherstone, 1996).

Theories of consumer culture include the concept of "commodity-sign" which can be interpreted in a multiplicity of associative relations. The bottoms of the female athletes may be consumed symbolically as commodity signs by the audience gazing at, dreaming about, and talking about them as a "piece of meat" or a beautiful part of the body to be touched in a dream. In a "dream liminal spaces" of Victor Turner (1969) heavenly features of heroes and heroines are far from reality but are possible here, at least in theory, because the everyday world is then turned upside down, in which the tabooed and fantastic are possible.

Analysis of the Different Dress Code Discourses

Three dress code discourses on beach volleyball dresses emerge in the coverage in *VG* and *Dagbladet* beginning August 18th, 2004. These may be analyzed as follows: a neo-liberal, an equal rights, and a feminist discourse (Lippe, 2005).

The neo-liberal discourse. First, the neo-liberal approach (Fairclough, 2003, Bourdieu, 2005). The focus here is on the idea of "free" competition

in general and in sport as a precondition of freedom and marked liberalism. The promoters of the bikini are the professional, female players, Kathrine Maaseide and Susanne Glesnes. In the following texts they confront the critical researchers and the equal rights spokespersons, who are criticizing the beach volleyball girls playing in bikinis. "We have heard this many times before. This critique is the most stupid we have heard of. It is a question of getting accustomed to a culture," Maaseide explained to *Dagbladet* (Halkjelsvik, 2004, p. 24). The same day she commented to *VG*:

> We are playing in the costume that suits us best, and that looks best. I could never have played in shorts, that's quite old fashioned. … I am satisfied when I am playing in bikini, and I think that all the other girls feel the same (Svendsby, Jarslbo & Eriksrud, 2004, p. 14).

The efficacy of free markets needs people who are able to adapt to new situations. Thus, adaption (a question of getting accustomed to a culture) is a predominant logic in the neo-liberal discourse among athletes. I will tie these ideas to some aspects of the daily life of top athletes in Norway today. They need sponsors to promote their brands in a consumer culture. Thus, young, fit, top athletes must become accustomed to important ideas of an orthodox neo-liberal discourse order. They do not discuss their dress code, for them it is irrelevant, it would disturb the focus on the competitions.[5] A consequence of this is sexualizing of their bodies, which for some of them seems to be very positive (Lippe, 2011).

The male, elite beach volleyball player in 2004, Vegard Høidalen, is quoted as follows on the front page of *VG* the same day: "Sex appeal is a part of sport". Høidalen's comment is an example of the "taken for granted" of the dominating neo-liberal discourse in elite sport today.

The equal rights discourse. The first agent here is professor, Kari Fasting. She is quoted in *Dagbladet*, August 18th as follows: "Norwegian sports researchers are responding to the new dress code. It is discriminating that there is a difference on this between women and men. The prowess of sports ought to be in focus, not the body and the looks" (Halkjelsvik, 2004, p. 24). According to *VG*, a member of the Norwegian parliament from the Social Democrats, Gunn Karin Gjul, expressed the same day: "It is a paradox and sex discrimination that boys are not allowed to show their backs, while girls are forced to wear as little as possible" (Svendsby et al., 2004, p. 14). Thus, she focuses on discrimination of both sexes. None of the sexes are heard. According to *Dagbladet*, August 18th, Høidalen wants to play without a top, because of the heat (Halkjelsvik, 2004).

The discourse on equal rights derives historically from the idea of the free and rational individuality of both sexes, who are able to decide for themselves what to do with their lives. In that regard I will refer to an event that put gender issues in sport on the agenda. The Norwegian sport-specific discourse on equal rights dates from 1972, in a debate both in sports and media whether women should compete in a popular national, male relay track and field event. Two females did participate, one of them under a male name. As a consequence she was not allowed to qualify for the Norwegian, national team in her sport (Lippe, 2000).

The focus for athletes in the equal rights discourse is on the results and equal conditions in competitions. A subtext of this discourse may be (as I see it) that women's sports and prowess in competitions are not interesting enough. This may be interpreted as just a reconstruction of the classical view of women as the second sex.

The well-known opinion of Fasting (2011) of the need to include power relations is not referred to in the text. Thus, she is silenced on this discourse. Just a small portion of the answers in interviews with Norwegian sports journalists are normally reproduced in the papers. Here the journalists carefully categorize the agents in the different discourses. The sports journalists produce their articles in the tabloid papers as if their texts are objective. They do not express their opinion directly; just present the sources in a polarized way.

The feminist discourse. In this discourse the power aspect is crucial. The Social Democratic representative, Synnøve Konglevold, is quoted in *VG*: "These clever girls are featured more as sex-objects than athletes, when commercial interests decide the dress rules" (Svendsby et al., 2004, p. 24). This statement was commented on by a sports journalist of *Dagbladet,* Esten Sæther. He wrote: "Kathrine and the rest of the beach volleyball girls are naive assistants to those of us boys who insist on maintaining our power" (Sæther, 2004, p. 25) Although Sæther is categorized within this discourse, he blames the "naïve girls", in which he offers a double edged view point and turns the female athletes into victims. The author of this article is quoted as follows based on a TV-programme:

> This TV production is also very speculative. Several young girls seem to be unwilling to go all out for volleyball, because they do not want to have their bottoms all over the TV screen, said Gerd von der Lippe during a televised debate on Olympic Games Studio on the Norwegian National Broadcast System.[6]

I was also quoted relative to pinpointing the power of the media to produce the sporting agenda, which illustrates the power of the dominating masculine media industry, when they focus on the bottoms of the women and not those of the men.

In the world of media, the relationship between the network of the athletes and of the journalists is asymmetrical. The aim of feminist discourses in this context is to tie different fields together and analyze the texts, pictures and speech in a critical way (commercial interests and the production of sports media programs). Nevertheless, Sæther represents a minority of male, sports journalists, who are able to use their media power.

Glesnes, was portrayed lying down after a set in her bikini in the Olympics and several pictures of the half-naked Maaseide were also circulated. According to *Aftenposten* Maaseide did not want to comment the quest of the soft porn magazine, *Playboy*, which wanted to portray six female beach volleyball players naked, among them was Maaseide (Bø, 2004). A letter from the magazine was not sent to the athletes, but to the FIVB (Bø, 2004). In my opinion Maaseide's silence may be connected to an article in the Norwegian national paper, *Aftenposten,* on August 20 (Bø, 2004) to the fact that she might have realized that journalists were focused on her body and dress code, and not on her sport. This is exactly the opposite of her opinion quoted in the newspapers. She did not, however, admit this and she did not want to comment further on that issue. *Playboy* is one of several magazines that are producing illusions about the objectification of female bodies and the audience's unrestricted access to them.

The spokespeople from the three discourses are, however, considered to act rationally within their understandings and practices. The neo-liberal does not question competitions in general nor in sports and their consequences in particular. The equal-rights discourse argues against sex-discrimination. And the feminists focus on the power-relations.

The Dress Code Discourses in Boxing

First, a short story about professional boxing in Norway, which has been banned from the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sport (NIF) since 1981. According to §1: "The person who intentionally takes part in a competition, show or friendly match in professional boxing in this country, will be punishable by fines or a jail sentence of up to three months" (Department of Culture, 1981). On May 5th, 2012 the board of

NIF recommended to the Ministry of Culture that they abolish "The law of professional boxing" (Olsen, 2012).[7] The argument for the NOC's perception is that that there is no longer a difference between amateur and professional boxing. The main justification against this sport is damage to the brains of the athletes through a knockout. In Norway, Mike Tyson's horror stories in and outside boxing about rape, irregular knocking down of competitors, as conveyed by the media, are often used by opponents of professional boxing. Thus, Tyson is not exactly the best ambassador for the sport. The media coverage of the match of the heavyweight competition in Las Vegas on June 29th, 1997, is not easily forgotten. Tyson's "Dracula bite" of the ear lobe of Evander Holyfield is well-known all over the world.

The point of departure of this discourse is the Norwegian female, professional boxer, Cecilia Brækhus. She started amateur boxing in 2004, four years after the first official Norwegian championship for women. She has won 75 of her 80 matches as an amateur. In 2006 she continued with the sport as a professional. Women's professional boxing has been highly disputed in Norway until Brækhus became world champion in 2009. She is covered in the media as a successful, clever, beautiful and outspoken athlete. Brækhus is regarded as the best promoter of the sport, because of her symbolic capital and all the interviews with her. This is manifested in her looks, body shape, size, walk, tone of voice and sense of ease with her body (Bourdieau, 1984). The reality of the slogan "The winner takes it all" seems, however, to have some kind of truth, since there seems to be less resistance towards professional boxing in Norway today. Both German and Norwegian newspapers have asked Brækhus to pose naked, but she has refused (Bugge, 2009).

Most of the sports journalists at the Norwegian National Broadcast System, as well as parts of the audience, are not especially keen on this sport, but they seem to love the way Brækhus is covered in the media. She became world champion both in kick-boxing in 2003 and later on as a boxing welterweight, a title she has defended. She is a member of the team of the biggest promotion firm in Germany, "Sauerland Event". Her income is paid after each competition. She also seems to be popular among male boxing promoters. The famous boxing promoter, Don King from Cleveland, Ohio, US, has called her: "(A) fine little devil." And in the newpaper, *Bergens Tidende*, she was labeled: "The feminine slugger from Bergen" (Ullbø, 2011a). According to Brækhus, boxing is like ballet. You have to understand it, before you are able to see the beauty of it.

Although there were 12 articles in the media about her boxing attire in the A-text, discussions by researchers and politicians were not presented in the media, in contrast to that of the volleyball discourse. Most of the articles on Brækhus refer to her expectations before the match and experience with a new dress, created by a designer. Thus, the headlines and the media texts differ from that of beach volleyball.

Brækhus decides on her own dress as a professional boxer, however, it is quite common for women to compete in skirts in order to compensate for the associations of the mediation of the male aggressive boxing bodies. Brækhus normally fights in knee-length shorts like men do. Because of the boxer's popularity, designer Nadya Khamitskaya has suggested that she would make a dress worthy of a woman like Brækhus. According to an article in *VG*, (Delebekk & Sundbø, 2010) she at first agreed to compete in a dress. She wanted a "cool and sporty dancing dress" with the correct size and excellent fabric elasticity. In the match on October 30th, she was quoted that she would borrow the words from Muhammad Ali: "Float like a butterfly and sting like a bee" (Delebekk & Sundbø, 2010, p. 2). This she did, but without the designer dress. It was too small. She had built up her muscles too much in order to meet her opponent. Later in the same year she did, however, use a new dress from the same designer in a match against the Serb, Eva Halasi in Finland. Brækhus thought the dress was a little uncomfortable, although she managed to get in a "lucky punch" in the third round and won easily. *Aftenposten* produced the following headline on their front page after the match, on November 20th, 2011: "The knock-out dress." The legitimation for making that dress was as follows: "Boxing is believed to be one of the toughest and maybe one of the less elegant sports, at the same time as Cecilia is perhaps one of the most elegant Norwegian female athletes of today" (Nydal, 2011, p. 61).

This dress discourse, which could be titled "The knock-out dress", continued as a discussion before the entrance for women in boxing in the Olympics in London, especially in *VG*. One headline said: "Skirt-shock for the boxing ladies" (Strøm, 2011, p. 16). Further, one could read:

> It is all wrong to force us to use a feminine mini-skirt, says Lotte Lien, a welterweight athlete. … It ought to be a free choice if one uses shorts or a skirt. … Women in the sport of boxing experience prejudice. People regard it as a masculine sport (Strøm, 2011, p. 16).

The discourse "Skirt-shock for the boxing ladies" was changed to "Women decide themselves," because in the end, women were able to choose

between a skirt and shorts. Brækhus has been photographed in the media in a skirt several times. She told, *Aftenposten*, however, that she regretted that she had competed in a dress (Ullbø, 2011b). In professional boxing women decide themselves. The above mentioned two female boxers seem to be afraid to appear as traditional masculine boxers. "Women are feminized in order to show that the masculine is just performative and not real. She [Brækhus] is feminine in reality, while the more masculine part of her personality appears in the ring, just like a play …" (Ullbø, 2011b). The journalist's statement may be interpreted as a strategy of how a female body survives in a so-called masculine sport. Brækhus's aggressiveness and knock-outs can be understood as unreal. The longer a sport has only male competitors, the more masculine the female newcomer is regarded (Lippe, 2010). Thus, the context of the articles produced by the journalists has been interpreted by sports journalists in terms of the hegemonic being cast as normal, natural and taken for granted. If we use the categories of the gender discourses, we might label the discourses on boxing as a neo-liberal one in regard to "a free choice" and as the feminist one if one pinpoints "women decide for themselves".

The Dress Code Discourses and their Consequences

The sporting context of the dress code in boxing is regarded as hyper-masculine, whereas traditional femininity and masculinity are in many ways contrasted in beach volleyball. Thus, the gendered history of the two sports is very different depending on the gender of the participants. The Norwegian history of both amateur and professional boxing for women is a short-lived one, although women have been boxing for a long time in other countries ("Women's Boxing: Historical Events", n.d.). In NVBF both sexes were included from its beginning in 1936. Whereas female athletes in beach volleyball were forced to adapt a sexy dress code, each individual female boxer in Norway is so far able to choose between a skirt and pants.

Understandings of boxing as a body-contact sport with reference to the texts presented above strongly relates to popular perceptions of masculinity and the history of this sport. Brækhus and other boxers, players in American football, rugby and hockey need to use their bodies as aggressive tools, even as weapons as a winning formula (Messner, 1994). What is special in boxing is the aggressiveness of bodily contact and the possibility of knock-outs.

In the discourses of media sports, the sports journalists celebrate any victory in important events. The dress code discourses on boxing seem more open than in beach volleyball in spite of the hegemonic masculine contex. Thus, one could expect an overcompensating conventional femininity (Davis-Delano, Pollock & Voise, 2009). Since Brækhus, however, is a very successful and popular athlete, her opinion weighs strongly. Her body maintenance and appearance as well as the slogan of "the winner takes it all" seem to have an influence on the decisions for the dress code of the amateurs. Thus, the discourse of "Women decide themselves" could be understood as the hegemonic one.

The volleyball players were objectified and sexualized in the circuit of media communication (Hall, 1997) after the dress code discourse. My focus on this circuit of communication is that once the representation of a person is mediated – here half-naked – there is no control of new productions and consumption. Both Maaseide and Brækhus were asked to pose naked, but rejected. The never changing flow of naked and half-naked female bodies may refer to women's sports in general. In line with the theoretical perspective of the consumer culture, athletes have been featured as heroes and heroines of the dreams of others. The symbolic capital of their bodies in both sports including their dress code is essential for their media representation. Thus, these dress codes symbolize both the sexy (outer part) and sensual (inner part) bodies in the consumer culture of today.

Reflections on Polarities in Language, Sexualities, Dress Codes and Bodies

In line with the understanding of the pleasures of everyday life with point of departure of Featherstone and Baudrillard, the body is perhaps the most important "commodity-sign" of today. In line with this, Umberto Eco (1973) writes that not only the expressed intended communicative object, but every object may be viewed as a sign (e.g., picture, texts, talk). According to Featherstone (1996) there is a growing tendency of the *culture* of consumption that is not related to production, but to the celebration of mass desires and pleasures.

The "face-lifting" of women's beach volleyball to attract more audience, *Playboy*'s attempt to present Maaseide naked and Norwegian and German journalists efforts to portray Brækhus similarly, the boxer's attempt to wear a dancing dress during a competition in boxing, can be related to

Simmel's contentions (1978). According to him a different view of the pleasures involved in looking at objects from a detached point of view, is the practice of voyeuristic fans and the sports audiences of today. They often celebrate the elite athletes of both sexes – especially the good-looking females as objects of a stylization of life. In this sense the idols articulate the limits of dreams and hopes of people.

If we study internet and blogs we may get the impression of people intensely yearning for sexual desire in their investment in the production of words, both in text and in talk. The dream-world of the magazines and most tabloid media portraying half naked top stars find resonances in the longing and nostalgia for – I should say – superficial love. According to Baudrillard (1999) media do not give us reality, but a "dizzying whirl of reality", which is for him a place where nothing happens. In this sense we live, sheltered by signs, in the denial of the real. Baudrillard calls it a simulational world. This is, of course, a very pessimistic interpretation of the praxis of consumption.

Consumer culture utilizes images, signs and symbolic goods which summon up dreams, desires and fantasies, which suggest romantic authenticity and emotional fulfillment in narcissistically pleasing oneself. According to Baudrillard (1999) consumption is defined as "exclusive of enjoyment." It is for oneself, as something autonomous and final, however, something one never does alone, if we consider that no one lives in a vacuum. This illusion of aloneness is in line with the ideology of individualism, as part of the neo-liberal ideas and the belief that each individual is able to choose freely and more or less rationally without the influence of others.

According to Maaseide she is satisfied when she is playing in a bikini, and shorts are too old-fashioned for her, which sounds as if she is happy with the outfit. However, on the other side she has to obey the decisions of the dress code requirements to be able to focus on her competitions. Thus, she could be interpreted as ambivalent.

The texts in a discourse analysis often have many layers of interpretation. The subtext of the presented viewpoints in this chapter is the meta-narratives of the logics of polarities between the two sexes and the consequences for the dress code discourses in a global consumer culture. If we start with language, we must know that words do not exist in a neutral or impersonal language. If we interpret binary oppositions in a fundamental way – characteristics of women as polarities to that of men – we may easily end up with over-simplified ideas, which sweep away several distinctions and create a rather rigid two-part system, which in some way is easy to do

in competitive sports, because we have two classes in nearly all Olympic events: men and women based on biological sex. Hence, it is a paradox that the structures of sports have enabled females to compete at the same time as the logics of gendered sports often reconstruct this polarity in the future of women as the second sex (Lippe, 2010). A stereotype of the "feminine" body of today outside sports is still that a woman ought to have round and smooth forms, although not as round as the classical ones – in contrast to the "masculine". If we look at Maaseide, Glesnes and Bækhus, together with the best female athletes in handball, football, track and field (runners and jumpers), gymnastics, figure skating and swimming, what do we see? Today we notice their fit and slim bodies with visible muscles. Most of them do not have the round and smooth forms of the ideal of the bourgeois woman before the 1920s. Does this mean that male leaders who opposed the entrance of women's sports were right when they warned against the masculinization of female bodies? Some feminist researchers seem to take this as a matter of course. From my point of view, they then take men's bodies as a point of departure (Lippe, 2010).

If we, on the other hand, identify and start with women's bodies, we can conclude that the fights for equal rights, feminist politics and parts of consumer culture have contributed to giving women a new and wider space; more and more jobs are available, more and more sports and better training conditions and more competitions have contributed to more visible muscles for both sexes. The late modernization of everyday life has opened up for changes of the bodies of female athletes with more visible muscles as new tastemakers for the young generation.

Was the decision about the dress code in beach volleyball in 2004 an expression of the need to overcompensate for the new muscular body of the female athlete in order for male, central leaders to feel comfortable with a distinctive bodily difference as an element of the vulnerability of these leaders? If so, we can add a quest for market-oriented consumption and the constantly search for new cultural goods and objects of desire and dreams. Female bottoms are understood as the "nodal point" in these discourses, whereas the portrayed feminine bodiment was in focus for a while in that of boxing as a compensation for the hyper-masculine context of the dominating masculine exposure industry together with the commodified sports-media complex (Dahlén, 2008).

The analysis in this chapter has shown that history and context are important. Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that: as long as gender stereotypes are reconstructed, dominating masculinity is understood as the

context in which the man is regarded as the representative of the human race in politics, business, media and sport, while the objectification and sexualization of females by males are, however, reproduced in these fields.

Notes

1 One of several Norwegian Sport's short-lived sport's papers between 1900 and 1920.
2 Personal communication, e-mail December, 17th, 2012.
3 According to search in *A-tekst*. Retriever Norge (Norway) AS is a Norwegian media-institution, which offers archive search to 80 Norwegian newspapers, known as "A-tekst".
4 A privilege sign or word in a discourse.
5 From an interview with Maaseide I made, January, 15th, 2005 in Oslo.
6 August, 18th, the day before the news in VG and Dagbladet, Norwegian National Broadcast TV produced a debate on this theme, in which this author took part.
7 The Ministry of Culture decides whether professional boxing in Norway is legal or not.

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Health Issues:
Harassment, Homophobia, and Empowerment

Heidi Eng

Issues of Gender and Sexuality in Sport

This chapter presents some results from a qualitative research project of a handball team called *Hullabaloo* which associates to LGBT[1] sports. The team plays in a mainstream sport league so questions of political activism in this context will be explored. What opportunities and challenges emerge when a LGBT sport team participates in a competitive sport? Research on sexuality and gender offers several different perspectives on this. In the following, I will present some of these considerations on what can be at stake when a LGBT minority culture takes a political position in the mainstream.

In this article, two main findings from the data will be highlighted and discussed. One is the homopolitical awareness that was apparent in Hullabaloo, and how that awareness affected the players and the handball team. The second is related to gender, and how issues of masculinity and femininity enacted under the label of *gay sports*, engendered conflicts on the handball court. How did the players experience their participation as a gay sports team in a mainstream league? With which cultural norms is a specific minority (here Hullabaloo) unified with the "main culture" in order to become "mainstream"? Queer theory and the concept of *queering* (Berlant & Warner, 2002; Mortensen, 2002) will be used to discuss whether a cultural and social process of change of a dominant practice, is taking place in the sport context of Hullabaloo.

Theories of gender and sexuality, as well as a look at the sport field in general and the Hullabaloo team in particular need to be introduced before the empirical work (method and results) will be presented.

The Field of Sports

It is reported that 40% of adult Norwegians exercise 3-4 times a week or more (Survey of Level of Living, 2007). We have however little knowledge about physical activity in the LGBT population, since the demographic category "sexual orientation" is not included in the national survey.

In this article, what is meant by "the field of sport" includes the competitive sport which is organized by the Norwegian Confederation of Sport and Olympic and Paralympic Committee (NIF) the umbrella organization

for all sport federations. One such federation is the Norwegian Handball Federation (NHF). Organized sport activities outside of NIF, are rare because traditionally sport has been facilitated by clubs included in the NIF system. But in the case of LGBT minorities (in Norway and several other countries), the community itself has chosen to utilize protected environments for the sporting LGBT population, despite the possibility of becoming isolated/marginalized and perceived as different from what the average citizen recognizes as the typical sport club or association. Different international tournaments and games among LGBT associated participants have rapidly grown after the first Gay Games was arranged in San Francisco in 1982 (it has continued every fourth year after that). Today, there are the Eurogames, the Outgames and the Gay Games in addition to a wealth of tournaments in different sports every year mainly in Europe and North America. Last Gay Games for example had 9,500 participants from over 70 countries in Cologne, Germany 2010.

Taking into account the previously segregated status of LGBT sport clubs it was rather sensational when Hullabaloo as a gay sport team stepped out of the "LGBT sports ghetto" and joined the NHF/NIF in an "ordinary" mainstream sport where they worked their way up from the 8th to the 3rd Division in the men's national handball league. For the Hullabaloo sport club, the ambition – and success – of competing in the "mainstream" league had another effect. In 2006, a Norwegian television documentary program followed the Hullabaloo as they played through a handball season.[2] Handball is a very popular team sport in Norway as well as in other Nordic and European countries. Hence the broadcasting of the Hullabaloo games was influential in spreading knowledge about the existence of LGBT sport teams. The series won the Golden Square (The Norwegian Film and Television Producers' Association annual award) and the Hullabaloo boys became celebrities for a while, mostly within the sport and handball context, as well as in the gay/lesbian society. The celebrity status was not great and did not last long, yet the series had a special local effect: small sports halls were filled to bursting with people curious to see "the gays" play handball against their home team. Hullabaloo drew hundreds of spectators (especially many young girls, who cheered for them) to games in stadiums where the organizers were used to audiences of around fifty people, mainly family members.

This is a promotional picture for the TV series Hullabaloo (produced by Kenneth Elvebakk and Motlys), broadcast on TV2 Norway, winter 2006.[3]

Gender and Sexuality

Theories of gender and sexuality are useful in understanding the phenomenon of Hullabaloo, and the players participating on the team. The research field of gender and sexuality has exploded during the last few decades. Whereby the interest of gender scholars and readers focused on the intersection of the two concepts (gender and sexuality) queer theory points to the strong linkages between gender and sexuality in social practices[4] (Beasley, 2005). Judith Butler explores the concept of the "heterosexual matrix" in the books *Gender Trouble* (1990) and *Bodies that Matter* (1993).

> I use the term *heterosexual matrix* throughout the text to designate that grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders, and desires are naturalized. … to characterize a hegemonic discursive/epistemic model of gender intelligibility that assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically de-

> fined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality. (Butler, 1990, p. 151)

Butler showed how heterosexuality, as the natural and obvious reference point for the understanding of both, gender and sexuality, has had and still has importance for research, as well as for activism. Her concept of the "heterosexual matrix" illustrates how much power of definition heterosexuality as a norm, has in our society. One result of her work was a "sexual shift" in gender research (Eng, 2006), which, among other things, had an impact on the relationship between gender research, politics and the political activism areas which now also include issues of sexuality (for example; LGBT politics, Queer and trans-political movements, ontology and sexual difference, heterogender, female masculinity). Hence, heterosexuality can thus be understood as the fundamental understanding of gender as a social and cultural phenomenon in (a heteronormative) society (Bolsø, 2010; Halberstam, 1998; Mortensen, Egeland, Gressgård, Holst, Jegerstedt, Rosland & Sampson, 2008; Seidman, 1996).

Monique Wittig asserted that resistance towards heterosexualization always brings your gender category into question: "The refusal to become (or remain) heterosexual always meant to refuse to become a man or a woman, consciously or not" (Wittig, 1997, p. 267). As such, homosexuality is often perceived as a deviation from gender roles: Lesbian women are expected to be masculine, while gay men are assumed to be feminine, which places the "man-women" binary in homosexual relationship ("who is the man, and who is the woman?") making the couple culturally recognizable by translating heterosexuality into the same-sex couple (Eng, 2008). Important issues of current gender/sexuality research are thus related to investigations about various life projects and studies of different contexts where gender and sexuality is played out, such as in sport, where lots of people are spending increasing amounts of leisure time.

Queering Sport

Current sociological studies have resulted in descriptions of important or central characteristics constituting the social context of sport. Among these characteristics are; competition and cooperation among the participants, the body as a site for experiencing and communicating, access to physical intimacy, nakedness and homosociality in same-sex situations (e.g. locker

room, dormitories or hotel rooms at tournaments, etc.). The sports context is also seen to reinforce male dominance, homosociality, heteronormativity, and sexual abuse as it has been characterised in feminist studies (Coakley & Donnelly, 1999; Eng, 2003; Fasting, 2012; Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel, 1999).

The sport arena as a site of physical activity can have the potential to contain counter-sites which, in the words of Foucault, are effectively enacted heterotopias of deviation (space of otherness), with the potential of queering the traditional picture of sport as an exclusive arena for heterosexual enacting (Foucault, 1986). Exposing deviant or provoking behaviour in an arena that is expected to be straight and "normal" is conceptualised as *queering* in the research field of Queer theory (Roseneil, 2000). I understand queering to be practices of cultural and social process of change of a dominant practice in a particular context – for example how to act sexually, or how to behave as women or as men – away from strictly heteronormative expectations to embrace multiple, more diverse practises. The effect of such practices could be that the meaning of the context (e.g. in sport), as standard, straight, conventional or "average" also would change. And if queering happens over a longer period of time and in many similar situations, it could change the cultural climate in sport.

The presentation of the Hullaballoo can be an example how queering can work in the context of competitive sport. Is it so that the players are "ordinary athletes" aiming at performing their best in sports, and at the same time being devoted to political questions doing queer activism on the handball field?

Methods and Results

I joined Hullabaloo and followed the team during practice and competitions in the handball season of 2006/07, taking the role of their coach in cooperation with one of the players. The team practiced twice a week, with competitions on the weekends. During a season, it met all the opponent teams twice. I took part in the life of the team also on and off the handball court, during tours, team socializing, meetings and debriefing etc. doing observational participation (Bernard, 1995). In addition, I interviewed 8 of the players on the team during the period of observation. Field notes were made from all the different contexts in which I participated; in the sport hall, in the locker room during debriefing, in cars driving to and from

competitions, in bars, and at private parties with the players celebrating the season etc. In some of the contexts[5] I was able to write the notes on the spot, but mostly I made them as soon as I was left alone.

All players on the team were willing to participate in my study. Since Hullabaloo was the only gay sports club in the league, the team's name could not be hidden. However, in presentation of the data I was able to offer secure anonymity for the single subjects I observed and interviewed. I also had conversations with other people in the context, like referees, spectators and supporters, family and friends of some of the players, and people working in the administration of the handball league. All of those were left anonymous as well.

The interviews took place in the informant's home or in my office, while the informal conversations took place in the context of the handball court.[6] The focus in my conversations (informal and the interviews) was related to how it felt for them personally to engage in sports activities, and become devoted to the specific context of the Hullabaloo team. I was also concentrating on questions about the political agenda of Hullabaloo, and how different players related to that. Another focus was how they identified with the label gay sports, and how (or if) they felt expectations from the opponent teams to behave in certain ways. One issue that we talked about, was about the possibilities of making change (with reference to the state mission of Hullabaloo), and on whose cultural understanding of the sports context was most powerful?

One focus in the analyses was to understand how both the element of sexuality *and* gender were constitutive for how the players adjusted to the sports setting. Another focus was what internal climate the team developed if it came up conflicts about how much, and by which means they would perform a "gay culture". I was also concerned about observing the opponent teams, to analyze how their reactions were when playing against Hullabaloo; did the interactions of the two teams on the handball court evoke any reactions one or the other way? And if so, what would Hullabaloo do with it?

Gay/Lesbian Sports and Political Activism

My first experience with the team Hullabaloo was as a spectator at one of their games. On the court, I saw a team skilled in the sport of handball. But I also saw a team putting on a "different" sports show: the Hullabaloo

boys had girls' names – after the stars of the winning Norwegian women's national team, and the keeper, who had a blonde wig with long Tyrolean braids, shouted encouragingly, "Yes!!! Come on girls!!" There was crazy clowning and joking with facts about women, shrieking and whining, combined with beautiful goals, fast-paced counter-attacks and elegant shifts to "macho" masculinity during tackles and defensive play. What was this about? What consequences could it have; for the players and for the sports context? What I saw made me very curious and I decided to learn more about this team.

Some months later I learned that the Hullabaloo Handball Club is concerned both with offering an opportunity for gays/lesbians doing sport and with the homopolitical aspects of being a gay sport club in a mainstream handball league. The players want to be visible in their sport as a gay/lesbian team and to contribute to creating change in their sport's traditions both nationally and internationally as it is expressed in Hullabaloo Club's mission statement:

> The Club's objective is to be an athletic and social offering primarily for gays and lesbians who wish to play handball. Nevertheless, no barriers will exist to prevent others joining who desire membership, as long as the person in question is informed about and understands the club's statutes. Hullabaloo Handball Club will stand forward actively and contribute positively to openness with regard to homosexuality and sports. Further, the club will be involved in creating a national and international community of handball clubs for gays and lesbians, as well as working to make handball a natural and obvious branch of sport represented at all larger sports events such as the Gay Games, Eurogames and the like.[7] (Hullabaloo, 2009).

This did not appear to be a "paper statute". The players seemed concerned with this mission, in particular with the aspect of visibility as a gay/lesbian sports team. There was little doubt that they were visible, but there were disagreements about the way in which they wanted to appear. Discussions within the team concerned the choice of means of visibility in standing out as homosexuals distinct from heterosexuals. Kim commented that when he joined the team, Hullabaloo had a game cheer that went; "Gay, gay, gay, plus! Pussy is not the thing for us! That was *too much,*" he laughed. The Hullabaloo handball players' game cheer (which they shout loudly to get ready for the game) can be understood as an attempt to queer the sports context. They attempted to challenge the heteronormative environment,

by bringing the gay culture to the field. In order to achieve a queering effect, the expression or act must not be "over the top", or as Kim said; "too much". In order to gain a queering effect in a specific context, it has to be perceived as something acceptable inside the already established culture (though on the border of it), making the cultural context expand a little by its acceptation of the "new" behaviour (Caudwell, 2006)

Why was it so important to make gay culture visible, and introduce what the Hullabaloos probably saw as "typically gay"? It appeared there was a political engagement of many members based on their experiences as participants in "ordinary" sports: "We have to accept that we are ambassadors (for "the gays") a little bit, because we owe the sport context something because we have been given the right to have a free zone and play handball," explained Michael. Another motive for visibility was to ensure recruitment. As a social offering, Hullabaloo had no problems with recruitment, but in terms of its athletic ambitions recruitment of experienced and skilled players was problematic. This problem accelerated with the ambition to move up in the divisions.

In general the sports clubs in NIF are totally dependent on a large voluntary support system composed of local community individuals and other interested persons – usually previously active players and parents and the family networks of sports participants, who then take on the roles of trainer/coach, leaders, economic managers and the like.[8] Hullabaloo had none of the elements common to most clubs in NIF. Hullabaloo's local community could be called the "gay landscape" in Norway. It was: difficult to identify, loosely composed, geographically dispersed, and not comparable with a village, a town or a part of a city. It did not have the usual resource bases for recruiting supporters, coaches, managers, etc. that are common in "ordinary" Norwegian sports clubs. There was no parents' group in Hullabaloo, mainly because the players were kind of "sexual refugees", and had moved from the countryside /small towns to the big city of Oslo where the choice of living in anonymity as gays is at hand.[9] Hence most of the players in Hullabaloo were now living a life their people at home did not follow, and the players had to take on all the organizational roles themselves, such as trainer, team leader, and club committee members. There was no junior team (usually teenagers) developing talents for later participation in the A-team as usual in the other teams, because few teenagers have established a sexual identity and are out of the "closet" at that age. Hence, Hullabaloo was dependent for recruitment of handball talents from other mainstream teams in the league. Tom said this about the recruitment problem:

> The goal is to move up to the second division. But we have a recruitment problem. I don't think that just by moving up to the second division in the league, those who are now living as homosexuals and hidden in [mainstream] sports will suddenly just come out of the closet because they want to join us and play in a higher division.

What Tom is addressing here, is the difficulty of recruiting gay handball players who are participating in mainstream sports clubs. Hullabaloo is also participating in mainstream sport, but the players are open about living homosexually and representing a gay sports team. Even if they could make it to second division in the national handball league, many top handball athletes would hesitate to join Hullabaloo because it meant that they would have to "come out of the closet." Hullabaloo's players had athletic ambitions and they had been successful to such an extent that they saw the potential for reaching the top divisions/leagues. But in order to recruit players, Hullabaloo was dependent on making itself visible and promoting its advantages as an attractive "niche club" for those top players who for different reasons did not feel at home in mainstream sports clubs.

Clubs that offer something additional to sporting activity are no longer common in NIF. Special sports teams for distinctive social groups stand in contradiction to sporting activity based in a local community where opportunities are to be open to all. This integration ideal is strong in Norway. "Open and inclusive sports" is formulated as a main political ambition in NIF in the current period. Hullabaloo Handball Club also spoke about its own existence as temporary. In an editorial in the Norwegian national newspaper *Dagbladet*, the director of the Hullabaloo TV series, and the leader of Hullabaloo remarked:

> In ten years there might not be the need for separate gay/lesbian teams. Then it may be so acceptable to be homosexual in society that teams such as Hullabaloo become redundant. The advantage of that is that athletes can continue their careers in the local community [regardless sexual identity] (Brevik & Elvebakk, 2006).[10]

This raises questions of the integration of a sexual minority culture into the mainstream. Is it the case that aspects of the "gay culture" in Hullabaloo will be cast aside to accommodate a traditional or heteronormative way of being a handball player, when the "gay team" is integrated in the mainstream handball league?

It was obvious to observe how the effeminate enactments Hullabaloo took to the handball court, usually produced reactions in the opponents like anger, aggression and nasty tackles on the court. There was only one team, of the ten teams in the league that took the challenge and went with the effeminate clowning Hullabaloo was exhibiting. However, in the stands when Hullabaloo played their games, it was filled with local people curious about watching "the gays." Several times I experienced the local supporters of the opponent team cheering for Hullabaloo instead, because they laughed and enjoyed how Hullabaloo played with their opponents.

"Goddamn it, we're not going to lose to a bunch of fucking poofters!"

Hullabaloo is a sports club with good visibility as a "gay sport team" in an athletic context characterized by a heteronormative culture. On the one hand there were rumors about Hullabaloo as skilled handball players influencing the surrounding sport culture. On the other hand, both the team and the players were looked down upon by the opponents and their coaches when they brought "gay culture" to the court. It was clearly exhausting for the players to handle the homonegativism while at the same time concentrating on performing their best. The political ambitions of promoting a gay culture created internal trouble within Hullabaloo. Daniel explained it this way:

> We have to – as long as no one else does anything from the top, we have to do it from the bottom. The only thing we can do is contribute – be visible [as gays] and play games and show that we are normal competitive handball players.

Daniel was irritated that the "top," the leader level, of the NHF/NIF system does nothing with the problems of homo-negativism in Norwegian Handball. In other words, the phenomenon of Hullabaloo could clearly be seen as a reaction towards a lack of politics to combat homophobia/homo-negativism in sport.[11]

Many of the players spoke about how they took responsibility for the matter by demonstrating gay sports in a mainstream league. Nevertheless, it does not seem like the Hullabaloo manage to influence the surrounding culture to be less homonegative or less prejudiced, when *stereotypical views of "the homosexual"* already exist in the sporting culture.

> Roger: Gays among boys is in a way the midpoint between boy and lady. They look at it as stronger than lady – or a bit different from lady, but in a way not as good as, actually [pause]
>
> Heidi: Hierarchical, do you mean? So the ladies are at the bottom? And then?
>
> Roger: Yes, sort of physically speaking. Sort of, sort of strengthwise. No, not in terms of hierarchy. Then gays are no doubt wa-a-a-ay below the ladies! [laughter]
>
> Heidi: As sexual objects sort of?
>
> Roger: Yes, both as sexual objects and like, in the pecking order otherwise I think as well.

Ideas about gender are usually connected to sexuality: "gays = feminine men", and "lesbians = masculine women". The Hullabaloo boys pointed out how views of homosexual men are related to views of women in a gendered hierarchy in our (sports) culture. Gays are placed below women as sex objects, but because they are tough opponents on the field they move a notch up the ladder as handball playing gays – that is to say somewhere between boys and ladies in Alexander's terms. And as they are judged as not quite "good enough" as "real men", they are also not quite worthy opponents. Many of the opposing teams mobilized all their forces so as not to lose to the "poofters":

> Tom: … yes, we got one comment before a game, "Goddamn it, we're not going to lose to a bunch of fucking poofters". And they lost like pigs of course.
>
> Heidi: But there haven't been any signs of violence or aggression or?
>
> Tom: No, no. Some can maybe be a little bit like, they give more when they play against us. We've noticed that all right. They arrive with a stronger team than they otherwise would. All the best in the club join in when they play against us, because they really want to beat us. They want to beat the gay team.
>
> Heidi: You don't think it's unfair that you get tougher resistance, because you're on the gay team?
>
> Tom: No-o-o, it's not that. I mean, these are the players they can play with. But that they choose to do that to us, that's just the way it is. Of course we have to, if we want to get anywhere we have to assert ourselves against them as well, if we're to move up a division, it's like that. We just have to look at it as a challenge.

The players said that the motive for participation on a gay sports team is to join in what they regard as a "free place" of likeminded people, creating heterotopias in the words of Foucault, as mentioned earlier in the text. Additionally some members truly wanted to excel and thereby show "the others" that they could "beat them". Sometimes there were signs of discrimination, especially in situations in which Hullabaloo performed very well in a game:

> Roger: It's a little like racism in a way. It's easily done to say something racist. In a game or some other thing, maybe you get tackled by an immigrant or a dark-skinned guy or, then it's easy to let frustration be expressed in a racist way instead of the actual tackling and what happened there and then. And I've certainly noticed that a couple of times. Most recently this year, actually, in the third division, we were up against the best team in the series, and we were the second best team. But they played so ugly against us, hacked into us and hit and [pause]. There were a couple of them then, who were a little – it was almost hate – in their eyes. I got a little fed up, actually.

In spite of this, it appeared that internal satisfaction in Hullabaloo was high, but the members were vulnerable in the sense that they were dependent on performing well (winning the game) in order to achieve respect and be valued as athletes. Hence in my data, there are stories about problems connected to experiences of discrimination and bullying. But there are also many stories connected to the joy of sports and satisfaction in an atmosphere characterized by togetherness, humor and friendship in Hullabaloo.

Closing Remarks

In this article I have presented and discussed how a mainstream competitive sport context is used as an arena for the Hullabaloo Handball Club. As a team with ambitions of being competitive in the league, the players fulfilled the norms of mainstream sport; performing sport at a high level. At the same time Hullaballoo made a show on the court that provoked sport as "the leading definer of masculinity in mass culture" (Connell, 1995, p. 54). The effeminate "clowning" went on alongside scoring goals and winning the match and provoked the opponent teams to the extent that they

played harder in order to control the show of Hullabaloo. Hence, visibility of male handball players making a "gay" show on the court can have the potential of challenging heteronormative masculinity claimed by straight men.

Normative assumptions about LGBT minorities, are constitutive of what can be called *homonormativity*. Berlant and Warner (2002) characterize homonormativity as follows: "Because homosexuality can never have the invisible, tacit, society-founding rightness that heterosexuality has, it would not be possible to speak of 'homonormativity' in the same sense [as heteronormativity]" (p. 306). Because heterosexuality is the norm, the phenomenon of heteronormativity is so powerful in current Western cultures. Though, in the study of Hullabaloo, I found that disruptions of a taken-for-granted homonormativity could effectuate queering in the context of Hullabaloo. According to my findings, Hullabaloo managed to perform both homonormativity and heteronormativity in their sport and thus resisted to the dominant norms about significant characteristics of male sport performances.

I have also highlighted the political awareness of the players as ambassadors of "gay culture" and "gay sports". I have shown in this article how difficult it was for Hullabaloo to recruit new talented players, coaches, leaders, economic managers etc. The future of the club is therefore always insecure since it has little of the elements required for its continued existence in NIF.

This article highlights what can be seen as a successful story about a gay sports team performing in a Norwegian mainstream, competitive handball league, but it also shows the negative consequences of the team's resistance to both heteronormative and homonormative culture.

Notes

1 LGBT is the abbreviation for Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgender people. There are more categories to add to the list, for example Queer, or Intersexual, but I have chosen LGBT in the article because it is the preferred shortening in the National homopolitical organization in Norway; (http://llh.no/en/). However, when referring to "Hullabaloo" Handball Club or the "Hullabaloo Team", I use the concept they use which is "gay/lesbian" sport. Hullabaloo has both female and male handball teams at both the A and B levels, and since I have studied the male A-team, I will use gay sport/team as they are calling it. Hullabaloo is the English version of the name of the team. In Norwegian the name is: Raballder.

2 For more information about the team; see the webpage: http://www.nfi.no/english/norwegianfilms/show.html?id=709

3 The picture displays how the team plays with issues of masculinity and femininity, which also turned out to be the case on the handball court when competing. I will come back to the latter, while an analysis of the picture is not part of my study. The

picture serves only as information of how they promoted themselves as a team for the TV series.
4 More about a queer perspective will follow.
5 For example while coaching the team; I could easily go between making quick notes and coaching them. But when the team competed, I had to be fully concentrated on the handball court, and make my notes after the game.
6 The interviews were about one to two hours long. Informal conversations varied between a few minutes, to an hour or two together with the players in the car on the way home from a match. All interviews were recorded, while notes were made from the conversations.
7 My translation.
8 Some elite sports which have developed in a more professional direction as, for example, men's top football in Norway are run commercially.
9 More possibilities of finding a lover/partner, and a lot more social spaces, places, activities etc. was also mentioned as attractive in the interview/small talk I had with the players.
10 My translation.
11 Interestingly, NIF started a new project in 2006 about "fighting LGBT hate speeches/hate acts in sports" which is now named specifically in the political documents for the period of 2007-11.

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Stiliani "Ani" Chroni

Sexual Harassment of Female Athletes

Since the first studies on sexual harassment in sport in the mid- to late-1980s, more research has been completed and plethora of recommendations have been put forth while a number of milestones have been passed on our journey toward our goal (e.g., research, policy development, codes of ethics, etc.); yet multiple forms of sexual violence continue to be experienced by sportswomen around the world (Chroni et al., 2012). In this chapter, following a brief review of our knowledge today on sexual harassment experiences of sportswomen, the notion of safety will be revisited to aid us further in our call for safety against sexual harassment for girls and women in sports.

What Constitutes Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment definitions vary around the world as cultural and environmental influences are manifested in them (Fasting, 2005). "Unwanted sexual attention" is the common ground among existing definitions (Fasting & Brackenridge, 2009). According to the recent definition put forth by a group of experts for the International Olympic Committee (IOC):

> Sexual harassment refers to behaviour towards an individual or group that involves sexualised verbal, non-verbal or physical behaviour, whether intended or unintended, legal or illegal, that is based upon an abuse of power and trust and that is considered by the victim or a bystander to be unwanted or coerced. (IOC, 2007, p. 3)

More descriptively, according to the Sexual Harassment Task Force brochure of the WomenSport International (n.d.) sexual harassment is unwanted, often persistent, sexual attention. It may include: written or verbal abuse or threats; sexually oriented comments; jokes, lewd comments or sexual innuendoes; taunts about body, dress, marital status or sexuality; shouting and/or bullying; ridiculing or undermining of performance or self-respect; sexual or homophobic graffiti; practical jokes based on sex; intimidating sexual remarks, invitations or familiarity; domination of

meetings, training sessions or equipment; condescending or patronising behaviour; physical contact, fondling, pinching or kissing; sex-related vandalism; offensive phone calls or photos; as well as bullying on the basis of sex.

Sexual harassment is also perceived differently depending on the individual's background and as such its impact on the person also varies. To understand what constitutes sexual harassment Brackenridge's (1997, 2001) conceptual continuum of exploitation is illustrated in Figure 1, which encompasses on one end sexual discrimination as a mild case of sexual exploitation, then sexual harassment, then at the other end is sexual abuse.

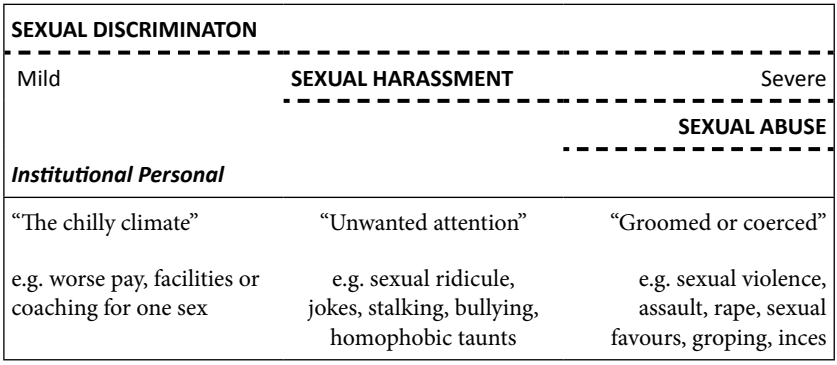

Figure 1. Sexual exploitation continuum (adapted from Brackenridge, 2001, p. 29).

Besides the problem of underreporting, not reporting and not labelling inappropriate behaviours as sexual harassment, in most cases sexual harassment lacks the physical and medical symptoms of abuse, thus it can easily go unnoticed. Gender harassment is a relatively grey area of behaviours as it leaves no visible marks on the victim. Nevertheless, according to Fitzgerald, Swan and Magley's (1997) classification, gender harassment does constitute sexual harassment. Fasting (2005) has also argued that "what is called *gender harassment* such as generalized sexist remarks and behaviour not designed to elicit sexual cooperation but to convey insulting, degrading or sexist attitudes about women and seductive behaviour which is unwanted or inappropriate, and offensive sexual advances" (p. 132) is a form of sexual harassment although it is difficult for some to recognize and to accept as inappropriate.

Sexual harassment should be thought of and explored within the context in which it occurs. Various countries have developed their own definitions and detailed descriptions of what is sexual harassment within their

sport environments as time and culture appear to play an important role for defining the problem, for perceiving the experience as well as for coping with it.

Sexual Harassment in Sport: Why and How

Although sexual harassment concerns both men and women as victims and as perpetrators; men have been reported as perpetrators in most incidences against sportswomen (Brackenridge, 2001; Fasting, Brackenridge & Walseth, 2007). Moreover, according to Kirby and Greaves (1996) sexual harassment and abuse inside sport is mainly initiated by authority figures such as coaches, team physicians, physiotherapists, trainers, etc. Peer-athletes have also been identified in many occasions as perpetrators (e.g., Chroni & Fasting, 2009; Elendu & Umeakuka, 2011; Fasting & Knorre, 2005; Fejgin & Hanegby, 2001; Gündüz, Sunay & Koz, 2007). With regard to *why sexual harassment occurs*, through a feminist perspective sport researchers accept that sexual harassment is not about sex but about control, and as such its forms are viewed as expressions of male power over females (Fasting & Brackenridge, 2009). As social theorists commonly accept, controlling a person's body is one of the most effective ways to obtain control of the individual (Bourdieu, 1986; Foucault, 1978, 1979; Giddens, 1994). In view of that, it has been advocated that the typical motive behind sexual harassment is most often the harasser wanting to hold power and control over the victim (Fasting, 2005). Nonetheless, Fasting and Brackenridge (2009) in their recent study exploring harassing coaches' characteristics did find some evidence for both *sex and power roles* involved among the cases analyzed. Still, the issue of power is particularly relevant and typically straightforward to observe within the sport environment, where most powerful positions are held by men, where coaches and other leaders hold positions of considerable power over athletes, and where hegemonic masculinity and traditional male values still hold a top spot (Burke, 2001; Fasting & Brackenridge, 2009). However, when power of authority is not the case, sex roles among peers or possibly male gender power over females may be involved in the occurrence of sexual harassment. This is an area that requires further exploration.

With regard to *how sexual harassment occurs*, the underlying feature of sexual harassment is that it is based upon an abuse of power and trust while it is unwanted or coerced. The IOC position clearly states that "in

sport, it [sexual harassment] often involves manipulation and entrapment of the athlete. Sexual harassment and abuse occur within an organisational culture that facilitates such opportunities. Indeed, they are symptoms of failed leadership in sport" (IOC, 2007, p. 3). As Brackenridge (1997) and Cense (1997) have explained, athletes become socialized into the culture of sports and accept and tolerate more sexual harassment because it is a part of the masculine culture of sports and something that "one just has to live with". This process, described in the literature as *grooming*, allows us to understand how one slowly gains trust of a potential victim before he or she systematically breaks down interpersonal barriers prior to sexually harassing the victim. As Brackenridge (1997) attested;

> sexually abusive coaches spend a long time … grooming their athletes. This process is a crucial precursor to sexual approaches and involves building trust, gradually pushing back the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and slowly violating more and more personal space through verbal familiarity, emotional blackmailing and physical touching" (p. 122).

The process of grooming is step by step illustrated in Table 1. It is this grooming process that in many cases explored in research makes harassment look *normal* in the eyes of the victims. Grooming oftentimes goes beyond the potential victim and involves adults or significant people around the victim, sports clubs, and even whole communities. This way, the perpetrator cultivates an alibi that will help him/her go unnoticed from caring to grooming.

Table 1. The grooming process in sport (adapted from Brackenridge, 2001, p. 35)

Targeting a potential victim	• Observing which athlete is vulnerable • Finding occasions to test her out for secrecy and reliability • Checking her credentials as a susceptible person • Striking up a friendship • Being nice to her
Building trust and friendship	• Making her feel special • Giving gifts and rewards • Spending time together • Listening • Being consistent • Setting down basic conditions for each meeting • Beginning to bargain: "You have to do this because I have done that"
Developing isolation and control; building loyalty	• Refusing the child access to significant others and/or demeaning any previous sources of friendship and support • Restricting access to, or reliance on, parents and carers and non-sport peers • Being inconsistent, building up hopes and joy one moment and then punishment the next to increase the child's desperation for attention • Checking out the child's commitment through questioning and small tests
Initiation of sexual abuse and securing secrecy	• Gradual incursion into ambiguous sexual boundaries • If athlete objects, saying "You didn't mind last time" to entrap her • Invoking co-operation: "You owe me/it's the least you can do" • Invoking guilt: "Now look what you've done" • Offering protection: "I won't tell/it's our little secret" • Discrediting the victim so she has no choice but to remain: "Others won't understand" or "Nobody will believe you" • Threatening the victim: "If you tell anyone I'll hurt you/tell others what you've done/hurt someone you care about/drop you from the team."

Conflicts do arise when athletes or coaches misinterpret feelings of being liked and cared for and become romantically interested in each other. As Jowett and Poczwardowski (2007) have recently argued "lack of trust, lack of respect, excessive dominance, and blind obedience as well as verbal, physical, and sexual exploitation" (p. 4) can hurt the coach-athlete relationship. It is then that both the physical and psychological development of the athlete are greatly influenced by the unhealthy coach-athlete relationship.

When we think of sexual harassment, oftentimes it is viewed as an illegal problem for athletes under 18 and as a moral issue for athletes over 18 years of age. Regardless of the athlete's age, today a number of researchers suggest that the after-effects of a sexual relationship between a coach and an athlete can be detrimental for the athlete (Brackenridge & Fasting, 2005; Brackenridge & Kirby, 1997; Fasting, Brackenridge & Walseth, 2002; Kirby, Greaves & Hankivsky, 2000; Volkwein, Schnell, Sherwood & Livezey, 1997).

Sexual Harassment in Female Athletes: Prevalence, Risk and the Aftermath

Based on our knowledge from mainstream psychology and sociology, a sexual harassment experience can seriously influence the person's psychological well-being, social life and physical self, as the cognitive, behavioural, emotional and physical symptoms following the harassment, may be present long after the harassment ends (Leahy, Pretty & Tenenbaum, 2004; Rabinowitz, 1996). It is worth noting that the breaches of trust between the female athlete and the male figure of authority greatly challenge the athlete's life history after the harassment experience.

Since the mid- to late-1980s researchers around the world have been uncovering sexual harassment occurrences against sportswomen, while in the society-at-large sexual harassment has been proclaimed as one of the most widespread forms of sexual victimization among women (Pina, Gannon & Saunders, 2009; United Nations, 2003a). Early sexual harassment in sport studies were conducted in Canada, USA, UK, Denmark and Norway (e.g., Brackenridge 1997; Crosset, 1986; Fasting, Brackenridge & Sundgot-Borgen 2003; Holman, 1995; Kirby & Greaves, 1996; Lackey, 1990; Lenskyj, 1992; Toftegaard, 2001; Tomlinson & Yorganci, 1997; Volkwein et al., 1997). In these studies the researchers often explored both the experiences of sexual harassment and of abuse as the distinction between these two forms of violence has been difficult to differentiate (Toftegaard, 2001). In recent years research data has provided evidence of sexual harassment occurrences in countries outside of North Europe and North America, such as: Israel, Czech Republic, Turkey, Greece, Japan and Nigeria (e.g., Chroni & Fasting, 2009; Elendu & Umeakuka, 2011; Fasting & Knorre, 2005; Fejgin & Hanegby, 2001; Gündüz et al., 2007; Takado, Ayako & Satoko, 2010).

The numbers presented in the aforementioned studies cannot be compared since researchers have used different ethical assumptions, method-

ologies, samples and most importantly different definitions/descriptions of sexual harassment. As an example some results are reported henceforth for the reader to become acquainted with the prevalence of sexual harassment around the world. In Canada, among a high performance and recently retired sample of Olympic athletes (N = 1,200), 22% reported having had sexual intercourse with persons in positions of authority in sport (Kirby & Greaves, 1996). In the UK, 143, of a total of 154 respondents, revealed that 15% had experienced demeaning language, 6% verbal intrusion, 17% intrusive physical contact, 2% fondling in any way, and .7% pressure for sexual intercourse (Tomlinson & Yorganci, 1997). In Denmark, 25% of 250 male and female sport college students knew about or had experienced situations in which a sport participant under 18 had been sexually harassed by a coach (Toftegaard, 2001). Among 2,118 Australian athletes, Leahy, Pretty and Tenenbaum (2002) found that 31% of the female and 21% of male athletes had reported experiences of sexual abuse at some time in their lives; of them 41% of the females and 29% of the males had been sexually abused within the sport environment. In Norway, among 553 women athletes, 51% reported experiences of one or more sexual harassment forms: for 39% of the victims the perpetrator was someone outside sport and for 27% someone from inside sport. Interestingly women in masculine sports reported higher experiences than women in feminine and gender-neutral sports (Fasting et al., 2003).

Outside North America and North Europe sexual harassment is also experienced among female athletes. In Israel, 14% of 301 female students at a Physical Education department (164 of them were competitive athletes) reported experiences of harassment in sport. Of them, 26% reported severe experiences and 62% mild cases of sexual harassment (Fejgin & Hanegby, 2001). In the Czech Republic, 72% of 595 female athletes and exercisers reported experiences of some form of sexual harassment from a man inside or outside the sport arena (Fasting & Knorre, 2005). In Greece, among 308 women active in sports either at the international and national level or exercisers, 71.5% reported having experienced some form of sexual harassment from a man inside or outside sports (Chroni & Fasting, 2009). The Czech Republic and Greece study have used the same methodology and sexual harassment definition thus their results are comparable. In Turkey, 200 (56%) of 356 sportswomen reported experiences of sexual harassment (Gündüz et al., 2007). In Japan, among 144 female athletes, over 30% of them had experienced inappropriate behaviours which included remarks about their physical appearance, sexual or improper jokes, being asked to

attend a meeting in an office alone with the coach and to serve alcohol (Takado et al., 2010). In a Nigerian sample of 1,214 male (N = 789) and female athletes (N = 425), for which the researchers did not report findings by gender; with regard to sexual coercion 78% reported having had experiences from peer-athletes, 23% from coaches, 3% from sport directors and 4% from spectators. With regard to unwanted sexual attention, 86% had experienced it from peer-athletes, 30% from coaches, 3% from sport directors and 1.5% from spectators. Lastly concerning gender harassment, 97% reported experiences by a peer-athlete, 34% by the coaches, 9% by sport directors and 4% by spectators (Elendu & Umeakuka, 2011).

Moreover, Leahy, Pretty and Tenenbaum (2008) have reported on the prevalence of sexual abuse in organized Australian sports and the trauma of it among young Australian athletes. Auweele et al. (2008) have reported on unwanted sexual experiences of Flemish female student-athletes by male coaches. Massao (2001) found that in Tanzania sexual harassment is a barrier toward participation in sport for girls and women. Rodriguez and Gill (2011) explored in detail the sexual harassment experiences of six former Puerto Rican female athletes, who reported a total of 26 experienced incidents among them.

Certain factors have been identified and discussed as risks for sexual harassment to occur because they jeopardize women's safety in sport. Brackenridge (2001) classified risk factors under three major aspects: the coach, the athlete and the sport. Risk factors for the sport were organized into normative ones (associated with organizational culture) and constitutive risks (associated with organizational structure, including technical and task demands). According to the IOC;

> The risk of sexual harassment and abuse is greater when there is a lack of protection, high perpetrator motivation and high athlete vulnerability (especially in relation to age and maturation). There is no evidence that the amount of clothing cover or the type of sport are risk factors: these are myths. Research identifies risk situations as the locker-room, the playing field, trips away, the coach's home or car, and social events, especially where alcohol is involved (2007, p. 4).

Beyond prevalence numbers and risk factors, qualitative investigations have been carried out exploring the experience itself as well as the after-effects of sexual harassment in sport. As such, female athletes, who have been sexually harassed, have reported a reduced ability to concentrate, sleeplessness,

depression, diminished ambitions and self-confidence, poor performance at work or sport, sick leave from work/sport, negative effects on family life and parenting, persistent feelings of shame and guilt, diminished athletic performance, and even complete withdraw from sport and social activities (Fasting et al., 2002). Fasting et al. (2007) exploring athletes' psychological responses after being sexually harassed, reported feelings of disgust, fear, irritation and anger concerning their experiences.

The prevalence numbers are here and they add up to build a solid case for disempowering experiences of women in sport. A number of potential risks have been identified. The consequences and the difficulties to cope are apparent. Still, women do not feel safe in sport.

The Need for Safety

Considering that participation in sport is a human right (UNESCO, 1978; United Nations, 1948), we ought to provide a safe and violence-free sport environment for girls and women, especially when so much learning and development (individual and social) takes place while playing sports. Considering that world-wide sport is treated as an effective tool for promoting health, personal and social advancement as well as for coping with extreme poverty and hunger, diseases, reducing child mortality, etc. (United Nations, 2003b), the quality of the sport experience for girls and women should be a major concern of ours. Considering that sport is promoted as an empowering experience for women (Oglesby, 2006; United Nations, 2003b; Women 2000 and Beyond, 2007), we ought to safeguard that its experiences will not have any disempowering effect on them. Last but not least, considering that all sports are governed and played by rules, where physical safety of the participants is of outmost importance to the sport governing bodies, psychological safety ought to receive more attention.

In the world of sport safety is valued particularly high. Physical well-being of the athlete concerning potential injuries in the course of play and practice, by equipment misuse or failure, due to the individual's physical developmental and excessive training, lack of fitness and proper preparation, etc., is extensively thought-out at all levels of sport, from youth to the elite of the elite.

Local clubs, national and international sporting bodies comply with the respective rules of each sport to make playing safer. When time comes to update sport rules and to approve new equipment, athlete safety is one of

the primary provisions for all International Sport Federations usually under the advisement of their medical committees. Studies have been funded by national and international sporting bodies aiming to minimize physical harm in sport. For example, the International Ski Federation (FIS) initiated the FIS Injury Surveillance System to reduce injury rates through changes in rules and regulations, equipment, and/or coaching techniques based on research evidence (FIS, 2009). Coaching education material proactively prepares coaches for dealing with injuries on the field of play, at least minor ones. Parents are also offered essential knowledge on how to prevent and care for their child in case of physical injuries. Moreover, physicians and physical therapists are regularly employed by teams and clubs to provide both preventive and therapeutic services. Physical examinations are required by most countries prior to permitting athletes' participation in formal competition. In simple words, physical well-being and athlete safety appear to be crucial. How much do we care for the athlete's psychological well-being?

The world of sport for too long did not seem very keen on safeguarding the psychological well-being of its participants. For a long time it appeared that if physical and medical correlates were not present in the condition-at-hand, then psychological well-being was not receiving any attention. As Brackenridge (1995) argued early on, "because of the political naiveté and laissez faire attitude of sport administrators, abusive behaviours … have been allowed to pass unchallenged and therefore, by default, have flourished within sport" (p. 1). Sexual harassment is an abusive behaviour documented to occur in the sport setting.

Today, as in many cases and countries the phenomenon remains an underreported one both in the society-at-large and in sport, prevention and control of sexual harassment in sport is still in its infancy as praxis. Efforts to prevent and control the phenomenon through laws, conduct policies, and procedures have been made worldwide. As such, sexual harassment is usually defined as an illegal practice under labour or equal rights laws, yet sport organizations in most countries are not usually covered by these laws. Though some progress has been made, seeing that harassers continue to harass makes one question whether the advancements in knowledge and understanding along with the laws, policies, and procedures against SH succeed as anticipated in preventing and controlling the social phenomenon.

Over the past ten years, the IOC Medical Commission has developed a number of projects focusing on the preservation of the health of the

elite athlete. Some of these projects focus directly on the athletes' physical health (e.g., training the elite child-athlete, body composition and performance, injury and prevention, etc.) while other projects value the psychological health and well-being of future Olympians (e.g., sexual harassment and abuse in sport, respect me). In 2009 the IOC Medical Commission implemented the Olympic Movement Medical Code as an ethical guideline for the protection of the health of the elite athlete, clearly encouraging stakeholders to adopt "those measures necessary to protect the health of participants and to minimize the risks of physical injury and psychological harm" (IOC, 2009, p. 3). This Code is enforced by all members of the Olympic Movement, the International Sport Federations and National Olympic Committees at the time of the Olympic Games.

Yet what happens outside the times of few weeks of the Olympic Games, during the four years between Games? What happens at the national level of sport and most importantly at the local level where before becoming elite athletes, numerous men and women spend a big part of their athletic lives? How is the psychological and social well-being of the athlete protected? On a day-to-day basis we need to ensure that sport participation will indeed empower girls and women with achievement experiences and life skills learned through sports.

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Carole A. Oglesby

Explorations on Attachment Styles, Gender and Sport

Introduction

In order that girls and women authentically enjoy the human right of sport participation, two conditions must alter within the present domain of sport: the context of sport must become safe from physical, social and emotional abuses; the context must become gender equitable in the leadership and value models experienced by participants.

This book is filled with current and accurate data illustrating just how far we still have to travel by these simple standards. In my view although these conditions are both of significant importance, they are not independent of one another. It is unlikely that women will move to equitable positions of power and leadership until the sport space has become safe. Of course I do not mean that women must be made immune to injury or the challenge of defeat. My intention is to describe the necessity of a space where girls and women's inherent human dignity and freedom from gender harassment is maintained.

As an academic and consultant in the psychology of sport, I will focus my analysis on the potential use of concepts and techniques from studies on human attachment to help us to clear away one potential threat to the provision of "safe sport space"; for females and, to a lesser extent, their male counterparts as well.

Traumatic Abuse and Attachment

Gould and Krane (1992) conducted a literature review to identify categories of sources of possible traumatic experiences in sport. A featured category was relations with significant others in sport. This literature review did not pursue the nature of the the issues with significant others, but based on data from recent years, at least some of issues were abuse and harassment. Our data further make clear that the victims of abuse were dominantly female and abusers were male. It is important to note that the focus, of this and other such inquiries, was "trauma"; not casual upset but trauma.

Evidence has been presented that trauma of severe and chronic types, exists for most athletic performers. Some of this trauma is unavoidable due to injury and/or the self-chosen challenge of the athletes' quest. It has been suggested that one of the potential positive psychological benefits of sport is the development of resilience in the face of severe emotional challenge. To achieve this resilience there is no need to "manufacture" trauma by virtue of the coach sexually abusing an athlete. Further, two caveats must be noted; one is the frequent need of psychological support and services in order to deal with challenges. This is why most Olympic teams today have sport psychology support for athletes. Second, in the material to follow, a case will be made that all athletes do not tackle their attentional and self-regulation challenges from the same starting line. Shalev (1996), and others, have pointed out that what is viewed as mild to moderate distress to one will be "catastrophic" to another. Attachment theory provides us both with an explanation and also some possible ways to anticipate how sport psychology support can mitigate vulnerabilities that early trauma experiences bring.

Attachment Theory and Sport: Basic Framework

Attachment theory has been a prominent feature of child psychology since the work of Bowlby (1969/1982). A steady, if modest, stream of theorists and researchers have elaborated and deepened understanding since that time, especially A.N. Schore (1996). Attachment considerations are being interpreted in sport, for the first time by Forrest (2008). She states:

> There is virtually no research in the sport psychology field linking reports of early attachment experiences of stress, such as trauma, abuse, neglect, rejection, pressure to achieve, or loss of a loved one, to how an athlete responds to competitive stress. Attachment-based self regulatory perspective suggests … such experiences may be underlying individual differences in athletes' attentional flexibility under competitive stress (Forrest, 2008, p. 242).

It has long been frustrating to me that applied sport psychology work has utilized so little of the rich resources offered by group process and family systems theories and practices and, instead, has focused only on the individual athlete in the moment of competition. Forrest echoes this observation in pointing out that cognitive-behavioral approaches, in the context of

selected "social factors", dominate sport psychology literature and that the athletes' state of mind in the time frame of competition dominates other considerations (Forrest, 2008). In the utilization of attachment theory considerations, the time frame must be widened to include early life and other developmental experiences. General sport psychology texts sometimes recognize "psychodynamic approaches", with their lifespan implications, (LeUnes, 2001) but only fleetingly. The numbers of psychodynamic-oriented sport psychologists have never been large. Forrest's interpretation of relevant sport psychology literature is that competitive conditions such as fear of failure, fatigue, unfamiliar circumstances, pressure from coaches and others, may trigger attachment-related attentional and self-regulatory difficulties. Research by Fasting and others has shown how the "pressure from coaches" may be harassment as well as performance pressure.

In order to pique the interest of readers, I will lay out a "bare bones" argument in regard to two questions: 1) what is attachment theory and how do "attachment styles" express themselves in childhood and beyond; 2) how might attachment and trauma factors influence sport participants?

Attachment is a construct approached by researchers in an interdisciplinary manner, with contributions from child and developmental psychology, neurobiology, clinicians, and a few performance psychologists (Kolk, 1994). Attachment can also be seen as a theory of psychosocial development postulating early relationships with caregivers as crucial to the manner in which individuals learn to regulate their attention in the face of attachment-related stress (Bowlby, 1969/1982). Socio-effective interactions between an infant and primary caregiver have been found to either enhance or inhibit the child's neural-emotional development (Forrest, 2001).

Infants, as early as three months, modify behavior depending on the caregiver affect behavior and the immature system is unable to tolerate frequent and/or intense negative affect. The caregiver, optimally, attunes own behavior to connect with the infant. By the first year or two of life, " imprints" have developed; "these dyadic interactions may be an evolutionary based expectation that the nervous system needs in order to select the appropriate subset of synaptic connections following the initial overproduction of synapses" (Schore, 1996, p. 266). What do these imprints look like? Behaviorally, as previously noted, by about one year, the social-emotional effects of caregiver interactions can be observed but are described as "pre symbolic". By twenty-four months, the interactions have evolved into "representations" that can be accessed in the child's memory. Later, they have become symbolic internal representations of the caregiver, carried by the

child. These representations were described as "working models of attachment" (Bowlby, 1969). These models were shown to be reliably measured in infants and preschoolers by observing child responses to being separated from the caregiver and then reunited (called the "Strange Situation Test") (Main, 1996).

Main's works with colleagues lead to identification of three attachment patterns. A fourth pattern was identified later but concerns pathological issues not relevant to this discussion.

Secure. The child misses the parent at first separation and cries at the second separation. At each of the two reunions, the child actively seeks being held, but then returns to the interrupted play. It is hypothesized that "self-with-other" representations can be invoked to facilitate tolerating the negative stress of the separation.

Insecure-avoidant. In the strange situation, the child appears unmotivated to seek contact at the reunions; will withdraw from contact and look away to minimize anxiety. The self-regulatory system appears to lack energy and the child is over-controlled with difficulty managing intensity. Caregivers have demonstrated a pattern of hesitancy in interaction and exhibited frequent withdrawals and reluctance for contact.

Insecure-ambivalent. The child appears to be over focused on the caregiver in order to gauge what will happen next. High distress is shown at separation and the child does not calm at reunion. Behavior is under-controlled, impulsive and blaming. The pattern of the caregivers' behavior is highly unpredictable (warm one moment and coldness in another). In the latter two patterns, the response system is "biased" towards behavior that is "adaptive" in the moment but not facilitative to attention patterns that are adaptive in differing environmental contexts (Forrest, 2001). Schore (1994, 1996) summarizes that insecurely attached children have consistently experienced environments that were not responsive and thus developed context independent (fixed) ways of organizing their own behavior through either chronic avoidance of attachment or fixation on attachment objects. Optimal development occurs when the caregivers facilitate positive arousal, down regulate over arousal, and repair experiences of mis-attunement.

In the sport context, and in sport science research, we would seldom encounter infants and children at the time period of development of the primary attachment style. Our focus is thus on description and awareness of style imprints and using interventions to sharpen coping and optimization strategies. Aware or not, each of us utilizes a primary attachment style. It is common in sport psychology literature to encounter discussions of at-

tentional style, perceptual style, and activation styles and the intervention programs athletes may utilize for optimization strategies. Attachment theory suggests that this concept should join the list of influential attributes. Self-awareness and self-regulation with regard to this socio-emotional personality factor gives teachers, sport psychology consultants, and coaches one more tool in the effort to enhance performance and functioning.

Of value to us in the sport/sport science context, Main and colleagues (George, Kaplan & Main, 1996) have developed an Adult Attachment Interview (AAI), whereby adults and children over ten years of age may be categorized by an attachment state of mind. Similar to the "Strange Situation Test", AAI results also produce three potential classifications.

Secure autonomous. The individual utilizes flexible attention to task in a variety of situations.

Insecure avoidant. Dismissing towards others during stressful situations; the individual does not expect assistance, devalues needing help, feels unworthy of help and/or compelled to help others.

Insecure anxious. Preoccupied internally; the individual is inflexible in attention to environment and focused on self.

Research with athletes using the AAI could reveal if the distributions of styles are similar or different from the general population and identify possible consistent effects on performance by style category.

Other disciplines and professions have begun to assess the predictive power of attachment style. Bond and Bond (2004) searched for predictors of violence among couples in conflict. Researchers found that women in the study who reported insecure/anxious styles were more frequently victims of violence. Insecure-anxious style women, whose husbands reported dismissive styles, reported the highest levels and occurrence of violence.

Bernier, LaRose, and Soucy (2006) assessed the interactive role of student/mentor style dispositions in a college population. Students who reported a dismissive attachment style benefitted more when the mentor style valued interdependence and closeness. Students with an anxious/preoccupied style benefitted more from a mentor whose style valued self-reliance and autonomy. The researchers suggested possibilities for coaches, as well as their study participants, in recommending "… mentors benefit from being aware of their own and mentee style and developing skills to gently challenge mentee patterns" (Bernier et al., 2006, p. 48).

In the sport context, especially for girls' and women's sport programs where budgets are especially tight, limited opportunities exist to carefully assess attachment styles and test predictions about coach-athlete dyads and

team dynamics. The AAI could, however, be utilized much more frequently in our research and also in selected high performance settings in which we are more likely to find low numbers of participants and high resources (human and financial).

In the context of female sport participation, we are much more likely to encounter mass sport numbers and low resources. There are, however, sport development professionals using attachment models to enhance their work in just these kinds of trying circumstances. I have in mind the plight of hundreds and thousands of (mostly) women and children in refugee camps following natural disaster and/or warfare.

Play and sport have begun to be recognized as a low resource/high reward activity by the UN, UNICEF and other such bodies but the manner of the play/sport offerings is different from standard "sport skill-building" fare.

Following nearly 20 years of research and youth sport programming in post catastrophe and conflict settings, Bergholz and collaborators (Edgework Consulting, 2013) have created and tested what they call "trauma sensitive design principles." Programs built around these principles, with special attention to sequelae of trauma and attachment disruption, have been empirically demonstrated to enhance psychological development and healing (Edgework Consulting, 2013).

In circumstances where caring adult leaders can only depend upon their observational skills, the Edgework Group has created and shared tools facilitating the delivery of trauma sensitive sport programming using insights enhanced by attachment and trauma theory. For example, simple clues are provided to identify participants with special trauma sensitive needs. It is made clear such individuals are not only to be found in far-flung places and developing countries.

Characteristics of "trauma-sensitive" individuals. Benign game infractions or small incidents escalate rapidly even to violence; Lack of self-awareness about feelings and how one is behaving; Quits competition or the team/program over seemingly minor concerns; Inability to make friends or form pro-social relations with team or coaches; Struggles to stay within the rules when things are not going as hoped; Inability to handle competitive stress or losses; Lack of focus/concentration.

The Edgework Group has made very clear the link between attachment knowledge and skills, safe environments, and trauma healing through sport. This linkage is perhaps best expressed in five of their "Design Principles". The first is "safe space" and holds that play areas, training areas, travel

arrangements, leadership must be as free of threat as possible. The second principle is "long term engagement". All programming aims toward stability and open-endedness; nothing is "one and done". A vulnerable participant needs to feel that she will never be "hurried out" of involvement. The third principle is "attachment focus". Any participant has the strongest possible encouragement for developing meaningful relationships. Edgework says the sport environment that heals is "safe and relationally-rich" especially as regards the adult figures. There is a high possibility, given the damaged attachment styles of the participants of such programs, that engagement will be challenging. The fourth principle is "supporting structures" and means that all possible steps will be taken to make life predictable in the sport context. Stable and repetitive behavior patterns are created. The fifth principle is "integration with local culture". Differing cultures have their own ways of managing, talking (or not talking) about, sadness or conflict. Local mores are respected when it is possible to do so.

Concluding Thoughts

Structurally, the sport context is ripe with non-catastrophic trauma experiences. If these experiences are unprocessed and more or less frozen in the athlete's consciousness, the impact personally, and in performance, may be marked. In my own sport psychology consultations, I periodically review with the athlete remembered "worst moments". Clearing and processing these memories, locating them as "past events" that are completed, identifying any possible perceived similarities with present circumstances, have been important steps in reducing the power of these memories in the present.

Forrest, and others, now point out another avenue to be explored in regard to early experiences that may resonate in the present. Early imprinted patterns of behaviors and expectations of "caregivers" and social-emotional central figures in athletes' lives can often impact on capacities to focus attention appropriately for personal and performance purposes. Unprocessed trauma may be a trigger source of attachment-related stress and attachment-related stress may be experienced as non-catastrophic trauma. I do not propose that the conscious state of most athletes is strewn with past issues troubling them at every turn; far from it! An analogy might be drawn, however, with the case of physical injury. Many such cuts and bruises would heal without medical treatment. With appropriate attention,

the healing is faster and more complete. Proper care to psychological "cuts and bruises" (and vulnerabilities to certain types of injury) seems to be called for by reasonable policy and administration of sport. I am suggesting that we look much more deeply into the attachment patterns of sport participants as such information can greatly enhance the possibility of success in the important attachments needed in the life of adult participants especially coaches and other sport administrators. Possibly it is because sport, as we know it today, arises out of the historical context of "play" and childhood, its deep effects on identity, life ambitions and consequences are left to be processed without much in the way of professional guidance. Relative to its pervasive reach, little of sport is subjected to either extensive, systematic research or policy work directly linked to research findings in pursuit of enhancing positive benefit and reducing risk of harm for participants.

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Doing Gender in Physical Education: Contested Discourses and Practices

Sheila Scraton

Feminism and Physical Education: Does Gender still Matter?

Introduction

This chapter explores how our understandings of gender and Physical Education (PE) have developed since the 1980s as differing feminist approaches engage with a changing social and cultural world. The types of questions that I am grappling with reflect many debates that are currently being played out in the media and academia (Banyard, 2010; Walter, 2010). These include: Is feminism still needed? Are we now in a postfeminist era where gender equity has largely been achieved? Can girls "just do it" as Nike's advertising campaign for girls' sport suggests? Has a focus on shared inequalities been replaced by questions of difference, identities and individual choice? How do we keep feminist praxis when theory seems to have become quite divorced from practice? I am reflecting on where we are in relation to these debates in the second decade of the 21st century and whether the questions being asked in feminism, as highlighted above, have resonance for the world of PE.

Although feminist theories of gender and PE have become more sophisticated and engage with new and relevant questions, I am not so convinced that PE practice has changed quite so much. There is little doubt that feminist thought has contributed to our understandings of gender and physical education since the 1980s. Feminist analyses of PE in the second wave of feminism drew on both liberal and structural approaches to explore gender relations. My work, at the time, focusing on the teaching of girls' PE in an area of northern England, used a socialist feminist lens to identify key issues in the construction, reproduction and resistance to dominant gender power relations (Scraton, 1992) and was influenced by the developing work of feminist sports scholars (e.g., Hall, 1988; Hargreaves, 1979) and feminist educationalists (e.g., Arnot & Weiner, 1987). My aim was to examine how images of femininity and the construction of gender appropriate behaviour were reinforced and/or challenged by the structure, content and teaching of girls' physical education in secondary schools (11–18 years). My conclusions highlighted how teachers of PE had clear ideas about 'appropriate' activities and behaviours for girls based on dominant notions of acceptable

femininity. I argued that the teaching of PE contributed to the construction of a female physicality linked closely to a 'compulsory heterosexuality' that was central to unequal gendered power relations. Whilst I took a fairly deterministic, structural approach, I also began to explore the potential of girls to challenge and resist gendered expectations and suggested that PE was an important site for the physical and political empowerment of girls and young women.

Since I conducted my research, feminists in PE have contributed increasingly sophisticated accounts of difference, identities and bodies that have moved our understandings on from the early structuralist accounts of gender inequalities. This chapter provides a brief encounter with developments in feminist theory and their application in PE. My key argument is that gender still matters, we do still need feminism and a social justice agenda but we need far more nuanced understandings of how social relations intersect and are performed in different sites and contexts. A major challenge is how we can translate our theoretical understandings into transformative practices. "Doing" gender research requires us to be more creative about how we research in order to understand complexity and think about how change for the better for all young people and PE may come about. My focus throughout is on PE in the English context although research from a range of scholars across the world continues to inform the feminist PE agenda in the UK.

The Changing World of Feminism

From the early 1990s, at about the time I published my work on gender and PE, the argument that we were moving into a postfeminist era gained considerable credibility. In the academy, second wave feminism with its emphasis on centralised power systems and shared oppression became strongly contested by post-structural and postcolonial feminists. Influenced by the writings of Foucault (1980), power became conceptualised as far more fluid with the emphasis shifting from inequalities and oppression to diversity, identities, discourse and the "radical de-naturalising of the post-feminist body" (McRobbie, 2009, p. 13). Centralising language and discourse, meaning and identity is understood as fluid and enacted processes, explored through the term "performativity" by Butler (1990, 1993). Rather than seeking one single theory or "grand narrative" such as patriarchy, post-structuralism denies the notion of a single truth or cause, rendering

regimes of truth unstable and open to alternative ways of seeing. From this perspective there are endless possibilities for change, transgression and transformation allowing for agency and empowerment. Postcolonial feminist theories draw on post-structuralism , but at the same time recognise the critique of black feminists who argue that much structural feminism is written from the perspective of white, Western, middle-class women thus marginalising the lived experiences of black women and those deemed to be "outsiders" or "other" (Collins, 1991; hooks, 1991). By giving voice to those rendered silent, dominant discourses are displaced by those seen to be on the margins (Spivak, 1988). Postcolonial feminists emphasise language and discourse and by challenging Western discourse turn attention to global and gendered power in colonial and imperial contexts.

Developments in feminist theory, particularly the move from structural and material analyses to post-structural understandings have not been without their critics. A key debate is whether the shift to diversity, identity, and individual agency de-politicises feminism and distances it from shared inequalities (Stanley & Wise, 2000). However, a focus on diversity and identities has importantly drawn attention to the differences *between* women as well as "…how identifications and disidentifications are simultaneously experienced by subjects in specific spatial and temporal moments through the course of everyday lives" (Valentine, 2007, p. 18). Valentine goes on to remind us that identities are complex and as such are situated accomplishments. However, the ability of individuals "to enact some identities rather than others is highly contingent on the power-laden spaces in and through which our experiences are lived" (p. 18).

Parallel to these developments in feminist sociology and cultural studies, has been a growing political and cultural backlash against feminism, arguing either that feminism has succeeded and is no longer relevant or that it is unnecessary because fundamentally it was wrong in the first place (Scraton, 1994). This latter argument found expression within popular culture, on the pages of newspapers and magazines of the 1990s (McRobbie, 2009) and was critiqued in the writings of academics such as Faludi (1992) and Roberts (1992). Faludi in particular coined the term "backlash" and although mainly writing about white America, gives an account of how politically and culturally, feminism is increasingly seen to be responsible for many social ills and individual unhappiness. A more positive postfeminist reading is that, in contrast to feminism having got it wrong, it is no longer necessary because it has succeeded in its fight for equality. In a changing social, cultural, economic and political world, individuals now have the

freedom and choice to construct their identities, to have "girl power", to be who they want to be at different times and in different places. Neo-liberalism, which has been in the ascendancy in the western world over the past three decades, with its emphasis on the market, individual responsibility and self-determination, mainstreams "equality feminism" and incorporates equality, diversity and tolerance into its rhetoric (Duggan, 2003). For McRobbie (2011), modern young womanhood is being re-made in ways that suggest that feminism has now been taken into account; this is constantly reproduced in popular culture and the media. Feminism is being swallowed up by a neo-liberal discourse that hinges around the notion of personal choice. Feminism and the neo-liberal discourse are not at odds with each other, rather they are intertwined. Women, especially young women, are seen to recognise that it is now about individual choice and effort – a new meritocracy. They want equality and empowerment but accept that it is up to them to be strong, take their opportunities and they will succeed. There may still be some constraints and barriers along the way but these can be surmounted with the right attitudes and effort. Of course what this does is take the politics out of feminism and makes any feminist voice appear to be from a bygone age when feminism was strident, speaking only of oppression and "in the 'victim' camp" (Banyard, 2010; Heywood & Drake, 1997). McRobbie (2011, p. 5) argues that we are in fact not in this positive post-feminist era but in a new gender regime whereby:

> …the subjectivities of young women are defined and described in a repetitive manner in popular and political discourses along the lines of female individualisation. This permits the replacement for feminism through stressing not collectivity or the concerns of women per se, but rather the competition, ambition, meritocracy, self-help, and the rise of the Alpha Girl. … The young woman is addressed as a potential subject of great capacity … she is a "can do girl".

For McRobbie this spells out the need for a major challenge to this post-feminist logic arguing that the incorporation of feminism within social and political discourse does indeed dismantle it and make it unable to, or ineffective at, challenging the new inequalities that are as pernicious today as they were several decades ago (Walter, 2010). She argues that this new gender regime is eroding many of the institutional gains that feminism has made over a period of about 30 years. Whilst feminism remains relatively strong in some parts of the academy (although this is also being eroded), it is within political and popular culture that feminism is seen to be no

longer necessary; this is recreating a powerful divide between academic research and practice.

What is clear from this brief discussion of changing feminisms over the past two decades is that there have developed more complex understandings of gender and a growing divide between academic feminism and political and cultural post-feminism. The next sections consider how our understandings of gender and PE have developed over the past two decades before arguing that this academic discourse has become increasingly divorced from the practice of PE which is entwined within the dominant neo-liberal discourse of post-feminism.

Feminism and PE: Bodies, Identities and Difference

A key area at the forefront of feminist thinking is the body (Bordo, 1995; Grosz, 1994). Interest focuses on how gendered meanings of an ideal heteronormative female body are produced through the media and popular culture and are taken up by young women (Markula, 1995). Research demonstrates how the ideal feminine docile body – white, slender and non-sporting – is constructed and then worked on by women through fitness and exercise practices, developed to discipline the body to the ideal (Azzarito, 2009). This takes forward the early work by Iris Young (1990), who argues that girls learn to restrict their bodily movements and physicality by literally learning to "throw like a girl". As Garrett (2004, p. 235) found in her research on young women's experiences of PE and physical activity:

> Such is the strength and power of discourses around the body that the confidence with which a young woman engages with physical activity and physical education seems to be significantly influenced by the "appropriateness" of her body as well as her fear of public display.

Embodiment is fundamental to young people's identities and positioning in PE (Azzarito, Solmon & Harrison, 2006; Hills, 2007; Oliver, 2010). As Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton (2008, p. 78) argue, "Different bodies do matter in PE: how they move and how they 'look' is central to whether individuals feel comfortable and are judged as having 'ability' and, hence, status in the subject." Garrett (2004), focusing on young Australian women's physical stories of their school experiences, identifies three types of bodies constructed within and through PE: the bad body, the comfortable

body and the different body. Paetcher (2003) takes this further focusing on how gender is performed in PE; how it is a crucial arena for enacting hyper-masculinities and femininities and where gendered forms of bodily usage are constructed.

However, girls and women do not simply take up notions of the ideal body but negotiate and resist through constantly re-presenting and redefining the images on offer to them. Azzarito (2010) identifies the construction of "new" femininities, the "Alpha Girl" and the "Future Girl". These are powerful, sporty, femininities that, through emphasising fitness and health, challenge and contradict traditional notions of the feminine docile body (Heywood & Dworkin, 2003). These images of femininity provide sites of resistance and empowerment for girls and young women and can be seen as a reconstruction of female physicality. Just as my research in 1992 identified PE and sport as a potential site for the reconstruction of a "new" active physicality for girls and young women, this research two decades later suggests that this is indeed what is happening. Several researchers have explored the concept of "physicality" arguing that the potential for girls and women to gain control of their lives lies in their "physicality" or direct physical experience of their bodies (Gilroy, 1997; Scraton, 1992). Physical power comes from the skilled use of the body and the confidence that this produces (Hills, 2007). PE therefore, is a crucial context for the construction of a positive "physicality"; some young women become empowered by the skilled and pleasurable experience of physical movement whilst others embody a gendered physicality of powerlessness (McDermott, 1996). This research provides us with a more rigorous understanding of female physicality and how girls and women can embody traditional docile bodies or construct resistant, active bodies. However, importantly, the more recent work of Heywood (2007) and Azzarito (2010) takes the analysis further by arguing that these new sporting femininities, whilst reflecting individual agency to resist traditional discourses of femininity, also are informed by white Western ideals.

> Global neo-liberal trends informing new femininities herald homogenization, and without the theorizing of difference, they produce a utopian form of pre-packaged successful Western girlhood. (Azzarito, 2010, p. 269)

This resonates with McRobbie (2011); not all girls have access to these new femininities and a neo-liberal discourse of opportunity and progress provides an illusion of gender equality that fails to account for persistent social

inequalities and creates a new gender regime of successful and unsuccessful femininities. This illusion becomes part of a globalised, consumer image of post-feminism that renders feminism and "old" inequalities redundant. Research on female bodies and physicality in PE makes an important contribution to our understandings of the complexities of femininities and how girls and young women perform active, physical bodies that construct new femininities. However, researchers such as Azzarito and Heywood, argue coherently for the need for social and political analysis that places this research within a neo-liberal postfeminist discourse of equality that continues to marginalise all those whose identities and bodies become "other" to the "can do" girls.

Masculinities have also come under critical scrutiny as researchers over the past 20 years have explored gender *relations* in more detail (Connell, 2005). Boys who do not "fit" the ideal of athletic, sporting masculinity also face negotiations and resistances in their experiences of PE. Tischler and McCaughtry (2011) use hegemonic masculinity to examine the intersection of masculinities and school PE from the perspective of boys who embody marginalised masculinities and conclude that competitive sport-based PE functions to oppress boys who are seen to be outside the norms of masculinity but that they can also be active agents in resisting these processes. Bramham (2003, p. 68) similarly argues that we need to be cautious against a simple view of "effortless hegemonic masculinity". Hickey (2008) using narratives, explores how some young males navigate their identities within and against dominant sporting discourse. He concludes:

> While many boys choose not to participate, or take an interest, in the hyper-masculine male sports, they are very likely to have their identities calibrated against the sorts of masculinity such games project. Given the powerful role that sport plays in wider social definitions of gender, the merits of one's performance in sport and PE become powerful sites for distributing the sort of gender capital that will determine who's a real man and who's not! (p. 156)

While there may be some spaces for alternative masculinities, PE continues to be an important site in the making and re-making of hegemonic masculinity. This would suggest that we need to continue to research hegemonic masculinities and emphasised femininities as well as exploring new alternative gendered identities.

In addition to research on gendered identities, there have been a number of studies that explore the relationships between gender and sexuality

centralising heterosexism and homophobia in PE (Clarke, 1998; Sparkes, 1994; Squires & Sparkes, 1996). This work focuses on individual experiences, often through the use of narratives, rather than the institutional and structural research carried out in the 1980s. This is an important development telling us far more about the complex and fluid nature of gendered and sexualised identities. Research on teachers, identifies heterosexual gender regimes and the discrimination that many gay and lesbian PE teachers face as well as their active resistances (Clarke, 2002). It is unsurprising that researchers have not explored fully the experiences of gay and lesbian young people in school PE. Section 28 of the Local Government Act of 1988 in the UK, prohibited the promotion of homosexuality in schools, thus making access to research virtually impossible (Clarke, 2002). Although this act was repealed in 2003, the sensitive nature of talking about sexuality with young people has meant that we have little empirical research in the area. Sykes (2010) is an exception in that her research, drawing on poststructuralist and queer theory, explores how the taken-for-granted ideas of the "athletic" body rely on the "marginalisation of multiple forms of queerness". Working in Canada, she interviewed adults who self-identify as a sexual minority, gender minority, have a physical disability and/or have a body shape or size that is socially undervalued. She gathered retrospective data, a technique that avoids direct research on students, by getting the adults to "look backwards" at their school PE experiences. This research is an example of exploring difference, not only in relation to a single issue such as gender, but across identities between and within individuals. Her data provides rich and emotive examples of how bodily discourses articulate with each other to produce "queer bodies" in PE and how individuals who embody some form of queerness often have to engage in difficult and embodied coping strategies.

Wright and Macdonald's (2010) *Life Activity Project,* also engages with multiple identities and their intersections, adopting a longitudinal approach to studying the place and meaning of physical activity in the lives of young people in Australia. Although not focusing specifically on school PE, it provides a wealth of information on choices, self-perceptions and embodiments of young people in relation to physical activity. Their analysis points to the dangers of homogenising or universalising young people's experiences and the sole use of either structural explanations or individual biographies devoid of cultural, social and geographic location. Their work begins to engage with the theoretical ground between structural accounts and individual explanations and assumes "biographies to be produced in relation

to changing material and discursive circumstances and that attention to the complex and dynamic nature of lives is necessary to fully understand how identities are constituted" (Wright & Macdonald, 2010, p. 3). This chimes with the work of Benn (1996) and Dagkas and Benn (2006) who focus on the complex intersections of PE and Islamic practices and beliefs; Farooq and Parker (2009), who explore sport, PE and Islam, particularly in relation to the construction of masculinities; and Azzarito (2009) who explores young people's construction of the body in and through PE at the intersections of race and gender. Knez (2010) as part of the *Life Activity Project* looks at young Muslim women living in Australia and explores the complex ways in which these women constitute themselves as female. The data provides nuanced understandings of how young women negotiate their own meanings of Islam and shape their own subjectivities whilst also recognising the impact of powerful discourses of gender and fundamentalism.

Although just a snapshot of the types of feminist PE research over the past two decades, the studies discussed demonstrate how our understandings of gender and PE have moved on since the 1980s. Rich accounts of individual experiences, with an emphasis on diversity and deconstruction, challenge any universalistic notions of femininity and masculinity and allow for far more complex understanding of diverse and fluid gendered identities and their intersections with other social categories.

Feminist Praxis

A fundamental tenet of feminism has always been the relationship between theory and practice. Stanley (1990, p. 15) writing at a similar time to my early work on gender and PE defined feminist praxis as:

> …an indication of a shared feminist commitment to a political position in which "knowledge" is not simply defined as "knowledge what" but also "knowledge for". Succinctly the point is to change the world not study it.

Hall (1996, p. 78) takes this approach and in applying it to the world of sport feminism argues that there needs to be far more unification between "theory and practice, the personal and the political: in sum what I have defined here as praxis." Although gender research, drawing on feminist post-structuralist theories, is now far more sophisticated, asks complex questions and provides more nuanced understandings, I would argue that

there remains a significant gap between research and PE practice (Macdonald, 2002). The latest report from the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2012) in England makes for depressing reading for all those concerned with gender and PE. Through a survey of 1,500 school students they show that over half the girls are put off physical activity by their experiences of PE; over half of all the girls and boys think that there are more opportunities for boys to succeed in sport; nearly a third of all boys think that girls who are sporty are not feminine. Their summary suggests that rather than diverse femininities being constructed and enacted by individuals:

> …social norms around being female and feminine are still affecting girls' attitudes and behaviour. Notably, being "sporty" is still widely seen as a masculine trait. While "sporty" boys are valued and admired by peers, "sporty girls" are not, and can be viewed negatively. Meanwhile, being feminine largely equates to looking attractive. (Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation, 2012, p. 4)

Whilst recent feminist research in PE has engaged with important questions about the body and physicality, it would appear that little has changed since my study in the 1980s. The report finds that activities remain very gender specific; girls do not appear to have confidence in their skill levels; many girls feel self-conscious about their bodies and appearance, with compulsory PE clothes and showers after activity yet again being singled out as problematic; space continues to be dominated by boys; and teachers are seen to focus only on the "sporty" girls. Whilst our knowledge of gender has developed significantly, change in relation to everyday practice seems to be limited with a disjuncture between research discourses and PE practice. This does not deny some important initiatives that have taken place such as some curriculum reform (Ennis, 1999), more opportunities outside of school for some girls (Flintoff & Scraton, 2001) and "girl-friendly" PE initiatives (Nike/Youth Sport Trust, 2000). The Nike/Youth Sport Trust (2000), for example, helped teachers devise a set of strategies aimed at increasing girls' participation in and enjoyment of PE. These included the introduction of new activities, changed teaching styles, improved changing room environments and/or running promotional events (Flintoff & Scraton, 2006). The research of Dagkas, Benn and Jawad (2011) is also a recent example of researchers focusing on individual voices whilst explicitly linking these voices to informed recommendations for educational policy. In this case the voices are those of teachers, young people, head teachers and parents and the research captures the concerns and experiences of

those involved in the inclusion of Muslim girls in PE. Although not overtly feminist in approach, this research does raise consciousness of the diverse needs of Muslim girls and the barriers to participation which they continue to face. This research is a development from the liberal, equal opportunities research of the 1980s in that it engages with access and opportunity but with a more complex understanding of identity. Macdonald (2002, p. 209-210) makes a pertinent point when she argues that "as modernist institutions, schools are shaped by timetables, space allocation, bounded subject communities, industrial models of teachers' work, and frequently traditional syllabuses." Research that remains within a modernist discourse of equality, access and opportunity can still contribute to helping to reform our schools. However, this change is based on inclusion and access just as in the 1980s rather than any radical revision of PE itself. A critical feminist praxis requires a discourse and politics of transformation (Walby, 2000) fundamentally questioning all aspects of PE. However, the radical feminist work of the 1980s has been largely supplanted by poststructuralist analyses which are increasingly divorced from the everyday lives of teachers and students who have to cope with neo-liberal politics and policies based on individualisation in a consumer driven market place.

But gender does still matter as the recent study by the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (2012) highlights. Gender still matters because both the institution of schooling and the individuals within it remain influenced by powerful gendered discourses that impact on what is taught, how it is taught, and gendered expectations about behaviour, appearance and abilities albeit that these are complex and diverse. If our research has produced exciting new knowledge in the past 20 years but practices remain largely unchanged, how can we ensure we do not have two parallel worlds of the academy and PE practice that never meet? How do we move towards feminist praxis?

Gender still Matters

Post-structural analyses have certainly opened up our understandings of the complexities of difference and the social construction of gender. In highlighting discourse, culture and identity, post-structuralism rebalances the determinism of many structural accounts of material inequality. However, I would argue that it is not a binary relationship between equality *or* difference, rather it is the need to understand and explain the sys-

tematic links between equality *and* difference (Scraton, 2001). Feminism is about exploring the fluid construction of diverse identities but with an acknowledgement of enduring oppression and material inequalities. This "middle-ground" theorising enables analysis of specific circumstances encountered by individuals, whilst maintaining an explanatory and analytical perspective focusing on systems and processes (Valentine, 2007). One approach to exploring this "middle ground" is through a theoretical engagement with intersectionality (Grabham, Cooper, Krishnadas & Herman, 2009). Whilst there are many critiques and concerns about the use of intersectionality within feminism, it can be a useful approach as it focuses upon specific *contexts* and the political, social and material *consequences* of social categories (Valentine, 2007). Theoretically, engagement with the messiness of accounts somewhere between modernist accounts and poststructuralist analyses, reminds us that the focus should be on inequalities *and* identities, not one or the other. I would want to see feminist PE research exploring more fully this "middle ground" theorising; a critical PE feminism that recognises both multiple categories and identities whilst locating these within political, social and economic power structures. It is important that feminist PE continues to forge strong links with mainstream feminism and researchers involved more broadly in critical social research.

However, whilst this can help develop useful knowledge there clearly remains a significant gap between the production of this knowledge and its implementation in our schools. This should not deter those researchers interested in exploring ideas and developing theory. Academics apply their theory through their teaching and the education of the next generation of practitioners as well as seeking to inform national and local policy. It is crucial that research and critical ideas are fed into teacher education to ensure informed teacher educators in the future. This is a major challenge. Dowling (2011, p. 201) exploring the concept of the "professional teacher" in Norway argues that student PE teachers "seem to be locked into 'modernist' or 'classical' ideas about good PE practice". Her research into PE teacher education suggests that theory is seldom linked to practice and that a "good" PE teacher centres on being a competent performer. Dowling considers that "the PE teacher is still cast as someone whose work is confined to the gymnasium, rather than an educator who nurtures society's citizens of tomorrow" (p. 218). Similarly, Brown and Rich (2002, p. 96) researching PE student teacher identities suggest:

> … a vision for gender inclusive futures in physical education strongly implicates physical education teachers' gendered identities. While the quality and commitment of our participant's approach to their profession is not in doubt, the dimensions of their gendered identities which they drew upon during the difficult circumstances of teaching are implicitly strategic enactments that tend to fit into, rather than challenge the Gender Order in society, sport and physical education.

Teachers play an important role in reinforcing or challenging gender in PE. Despite the detailed knowledge that has been developed over the past few decades, very little appears to have found its way into the teacher education curriculum (Wright, 2002a). Students continue to receive limited critical work relating to gender in their teacher education programmes. Writing in relation to teacher education in Australia, Wright (2002b, p. 204) argues powerfully that constraints on gender reform do not come from the lack of appropriate national policies but rather "through the discursive construction of IPETE programmes and the investments of those who teach and study in them". In the UK, as the routes into teaching become increasingly diverse, it is difficult to see how this situation will improve in the future but it is crucial that it does if critical ideas are to be fed into practice.

The way we "do" gender research is also important in linking researchers to practitioners. We need to try to incorporate teachers and young people into our research methods rather than including them simply as respondents. Participatory methods including photography, mapping exercises, story-telling, role play, drama, journal writing, poster design have all been used recently to gain more detailed and relevant data in sport and PE research (Fitzgerald & Jobling, 2004; MacPhail & Kinchin, 2004). Enright & O'Sullivan (2012) argue that educators and researchers need to ask questions that produce different knowledge through different means thus producing different ways of thinking and being in the world. This would seem to replicate the intention of feminist praxis. If teachers, students and researchers can come together to produce knowledge then the rich multi–layered data generated could help bring theory and PE practice closer together.

Conclusion

Since the 1980s when I conducted my research into gender and PE, feminist theory has developed to produce new and exciting knowledge. A focus on difference and identity has meant that girls and women are no longer seen as an homogenous group and the binaries of femininity/masculinity, individual/society, structure/agency have been transgressed with new questions and new understandings developed. Yet the relationship between feminist PE theory and practice remains problematic. I have argued that we need to continue to develop feminism through a focus on the "middle-ground" between structural and post-structural understandings. This approach does not view gender as an identity separate from other social identities such as class, race, ethnicity, (dis)ability, sexuality. We need more rigorous theorising that can explore the intersections of identity and provide layers of understanding mapping individual biographies onto broader social, political and economic structures. Applying such theory to ensure feminist praxis is in no way straightforward as neo-liberal discourse sets up a "new" binary between post-feminism and feminism. Although not easy, the relationship between feminism and PE must be retained so that there is a critical engagement with both equality and difference. If knowledge from the academy is to influence practice then we require critical, reflective practitioners who understand and query the complexity of difference within a moral agenda of social justice. Ideally these practitioners are central to research as partners in innovative projects. PE should be a continuing focus for feminist research not only because there remain significant issues in relation to equality, difference and PE but also because PE, with its primary concern for the body, physicality and movement, offers a crucial site for the exploration of feminist theoretical understandings.

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Fiona Dowling

Teacher Educators' Gendered Workplace Tales

Introduction

As a PE teacher educator with over 20 years' experience, I have long since pondered over the way in which my research and teaching interests in feminist and gender studies tend to be ridiculed and lack legitimacy amongst sports science colleagues in the academy. Certainly my professional narrative resonates with Flintoff's (1993, 1994) findings from the early 1990's in England, but I would like to think that two decades later the status of gender matters in PE would have been enhanced. After all, growing research evidence has shown that many girls and some boys are regularly subjected to inequalities in school PE in Norway (Bakken & Elstad, 2012; Imsen, 1996, 2000; Johansen & Andrews, 2005), and that initial Physical Education teacher education (IPETE) courses often construct unequal learning opportunities for their male and female students on account of gender (Brown & Rich, 2002; Dewar, 1987; Dowling, 2006, 2008, 2011; Dowling & Kårhus, 2011; Flintoff 1993, 1994; Larsson, 2009; Wright, 2002). Why is there such seeming reticence to acknowledge gender inequity and to develop "instructional discourses" (Bernstein, 1990) which draw upon knowledge produced in the primary fields of gender studies and education? Why do actors in IPETE seemingly ignore mandatory policy concerning gender and equity? In this chapter I will adopt a narrative approach in order to reflect upon teacher educators' opinions and experience of gender relations in IPETE, and to outline research findings which can contribute to an understanding of this complex state of "inertia". On the whole I will draw upon my own research, some of which was carried out with colleagues, in Norway, but I will also contextualise the discussion within international research findings.

I advocate a narrative approach to understanding gender relations because narrative is fundamental to life (Barthes, 1977) and narratives provide a structure and a sense of order to " … the multitude of fragmentary experiences which constitute our lives" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 185). The stories teacher educators tell structure and illuminate not only their own experiences and on-going self-identities, including their gender identities, but they also reveal insights about the socio-cultural locations they inhabit and reproduce and/or challenge. Narratives are, in other words, inextrica-

bly subjective and relational, and they are imbued with power; no one is simply free to choose a story, and subjective tales from IPETE are inevitably intertwined with macro societal relations (Dowling, Fitzgerald & Flintoff, 2012; Riessman, 2008). Gender narratives will draw upon the available circulating discourses about masculinity(-ies) and feminity(-ies) in a given context and can function to promote specific ways of being and doing gender, whilst simultaneously denigrating other forms of gender practice; they are far from "innocent". Another strength of a narrative approach is that it recognises the role emotions play in our understanding of social phenomena (Richardson, 2000) and when tales are well told, they can persuade us to revisit our taken-for-granted realities about gender and inclusive education (Barone, 1995). Narratives conceptualised as social action can therefore provide us with a means for analysing the ways in which discourses about gender function to in/exclude young women and men in PE.

Before recounting an everyday tale from an IPETE setting, it is useful to briefly provide some background information about public discourses about gender equality in higher education in Norway. The Gender Equality Ombudsman (1996) state that the dominant public discourse is one of trying to eliminate discrimination against women caused by historical and current patriarchal values. Much policy has hinged upon positive action in favour of women, and whilst the numbers of women gaining academic positions in higher education has improved dramatically – for example, in 2010 women researchers comprised 41% of the workforce – they nevertheless remain in lower status positions compared to their male colleagues – for example, in 2010 only 21% of professorial positions and 33% of associate professor positions were held by women, whilst they occupied 60% of lecturing posts ("Kjønnsbalanse i forskning," 2013). Indeed, as Seierstad and Healy (2012) observe, despite the prevalence of strategy documents and action plans directed towards greater sexual equality, the gendered culture of universities tends to still favour men. With regard to initial teacher education, the national curriculum for teacher education (Utdannings- og forskningsdepartementet [UFD], 2003) stipulates that gender equality and inclusive education are mandatory themes for all student teachers. Student teachers are expected both to understand themselves as gendered professionals and to grasp the expectations society places upon them with regard to equity work within the school system. Gender equality is an explicit aim of the national curriculum ("Generell del av læreplanen," 2011). It has to be said, however, that institutions have considerable freedom with regard to how gender and inclusion should be taught, how much curric-

ulum time should be spent on them, and like most policy documents (Penney & Evans, 1999), the national curriculum for teacher education and its surrounding policy documents contain competing theoretical views about gender equality. Consequently there exist a range of explanations about the nature of the "problem" of gender and how best to address it, not least given the wide spectrum of pedagogical strategies available in the education system. Following Imsen (2000), individual teacher educators thus need to reflect upon the following: What gender differences are we talking about? Are they differences we can tolerate or do we need to do something about them: for example, with regard to the moral issue of justice or the needs of society? How can we explain and understand the differences? What visions do we have about men and women in an egalitarian society; what sort of men and women do we want? What strategies do we need in order to reach our objectives?

Against this backcloth my research has focused upon the lived spaces between national policy about gender equality in teacher education and the everyday lives of actors in IPETE, and to explore the "small stories" (Phoenix, 2008) of how gender is played out in formal and informal settings. Below I share a fictional narrative (Clough, 2002), which has been crafted on the basis of numerous interviews with teacher educators, of participant observation in IPETE settings, my biographical experience and my knowledge as a researcher/teacher educator. It is derived from a real event, genuine emotions and conversations which have taken place, but it is ultimately a version of the "truths" of IPETE. Whilst it is an everyday tale about an "ordinary" lunch break, I hope that it has explanatory power to nudge the reader to go beyond the canteen and to illuminate some of the macro structures which influence upon gender relations in today's teacher education.

"Innocent" Lunchtime Banter

> "Yeees! That was a good 'en, today!" Jane couldn't help but smile and be pleased with her efforts. She locked the door of the seminar room. S'pose this is why I carry on. Even Bradley, "Mr. *Dis*interested" himself, seemed animated by today's discussion! Lately she'd been feeling a bit despondent about work. Sorely missed having another female colleague around with whom she could share her doubts, and the men were all so damned sure of themselves she

couldn't unload on them. They'd laugh in her face. They didn't seem to share her subject interests or concerns. Maybe Alex did, at least when it came to inclusive education, but he rarely gave her support in public. Far easier to be sympathetic to her viewpoints behind closed office doors. Most of them were just interested in talking about their next conference appearance or forthcoming publication. But a dynamic session like this one can rekindle the thrill of teaching. Adrenalin, or what, she mused. I'm swaying up here on cloud nine, she reflected, as she entered the canteen.

She weaved her way across the dining hall to the "Sports Science" table, and the din of the students and hectic kitchen momentarily interrupted her high spirits. God, it's noisy in here, she thought, but resolved herself not to flee to the peaceful, safe space of her office in order to devour her packed lunch. Not today.

"Hi Jane," Per greeted her, as she pulled out the only available chair. "We're discussing Petter Northug's impressive performance[1], come an' join us."

"Don't mind if I do. He was pretty invincible yesterday, wasn't he," she replied, sliding down onto the seat and reaching for the coffee pot. "But actually, I wanted to ask you lot if you've read that latest report from the Norwegian Social Research Institute (NSRI)? It's quite staggering reading to discover that girls still attain lower grades in PE than the boys, even thou' they're performing better in *all* other subjects. Don't you agree? Where on earth are we doing wrong?"

"Oh give us a break, luv, it's lunch time! Not more of your feminist blurb, not now," exclaimed a clearly agitated Fredrik. "Take a time-out, eh! I put my money on Cologna. Did you see how he sprinted at the end? And they say Petter is a good finisher! Bloody impressive."

"Yeah, it looked like Petter was standing still at one point. It wasn't exactly a 'piece of cake' yesterday," Ronny laughed. "More like Northug is still in nappies!"

This observation resulted in much rowdy laughter. "Hey, Per, he's a bit like you, then. Still crawlin', not running like us mature men", added Alexander to the jovial banter, whilst reminding Per of his relative young age and status in the department. "See Jane, Per doesn't mind a bit of teasing. Just havin' a laugh, aren't we lads. Mustn't take life too seriously, must we."

Trying to ignore the red flush on her neck, Jane took another deep breath and repeated her concern about girls and PE. "Sure, I can have a laugh, you know that Alex. But sometimes not everything's very amusing. The fact that many girls in 2012 still don't do very well in PE isn't at all funny. At least the students seemed to share my concern. Even those who we wouldn't exactly label as the brightest of the bunch were eager to discuss the issue this morning! Sure, I wouldn't necessarily agree with their analyses, but then I wasn't probably so different from them at their age! But you lot," She paused for a moment and looked around the table into her colleagues' faces. "You lot, thou', you'd rather take another blood test or record a BMI to solve the so-called challenges of health and physical activity in this country, rather than asking whose blood or fat it is you're measuring! Never mind the individual beyond your tests! Most of the population are in fact not Petter Northugs, nor Alexanders, nor Pers. They don't even particularly like training. If we really want 'em to be physically active, it's about time you acknowledged this! The NSRI report vividly charts how gender and social class, as well as ethnic background, influence educational attainments. Why doesn't that interest you? I just don't get where you're comin' from!"

"That's a bit harsh, Jane," judged Fredrik, and gained a wave of sympathetic nods from around the table. "You know we're for fair play an' all that. We all want everyone to be active, you know that, luv. But we still believe there are fundamental differences. The male students are quite simply rougher and tougher, and they're more active in seminars, whilst the females are quieter, like. Women's football is never going to catch up with the men's, luv!"

"Yeah, you gals are much better at being punctual, doing things on time and all that, but Jane, biology's biology and we guys are stronger. There's no getting' around it," added Ronny, flexing his biceps in a "good humoured" fashion.

"Oh Ronny. We're been here before, haven't we. And you know I don't agree with you. Sometimes I feel I'm the only one amongst us who really cares about tomorrow's PE teachers. Schools aren't getting more homogenous."

"Homogenous, eh! Aren't we being grand today, Miss! Schools aren't getting more homo, lads! That's one good bit of news, then!" roared Fredrik, hardly able to contain his self-congratulatory laughter, such that students at neighbouring tables were beginning to wonder what the commotion was all about. Per couldn't resist the temptation to

stay on the roll, and added, "For sure, excellent news, Fredrik, 'cause we don't do homos around here, do we!"

Jane registered that even though Per was the "new guy", he'd already cracked the code and seemed more a part of the department than she'd ever felt during the past 10 years. Inwardly she groaned, and felt the last drop of her adrenalin rush from the morning's teaching session drain away. She rallied and good-naturedly returned the conversation back to the weekend's cross-country skiing, despite the big temptation to try to explain more recent gender theory.

"Marit Bjørgen did really well, too, at the weekend, didn't she? Don't forget her in your gender analysis, Fredrik! I had a great ski trip, myself, on Saturday. Did any of you get out in the fine weather or were you all glued to the TV? Anyone else want another cup of coffee? There's still some in the pot."

Unravelling the Tale

On reflecting about this narrative, I think a useful starting point is to identify the characters and the plot, as well as to analyse the context and the story's time-scale. It is also pertinent to ask was the content easy to convey, or were there risks involved for the tellers? What is the narrative's function(s)? At a first glance, we might interpret the story as a tale about Jane's desire to share her positive teaching experience about gender inequalities in school PE with her work colleagues' over the lunch table, and her subsequent failure to do so. We can identify the dominant cultural narrative of discussing the weekend's TV sports coverage, which is common to many workplaces, as displacing her desire to engage her teacher educator colleagues in talk about a recent report about young people's grades, and in particular, girls' underachievement in PE. Some readers might agree with Fredrik's sentiments that lunch time should represent a break from work, whereas others might share Jane's opinion that the lunch table offers a valuable arena for exchanging points of view and debating subject issues. Depending upon one's position, Jane's obvious discomfort from the ensuing conversation can be written off as justly deserved or seen as unfair marginalisation. Given the insights which the main character provides at the beginning of the narrative, I do not interpret the storyline as being easy for her to pursue; she knew she was taking a risk in a work environment which she on occasion experienced as being disinterested in her values. Having

registered all of this, we might be tempted to round off our reflections: perhaps Jane will take up the report at the department's next staff meeting or maybe she will just get on with the daily routine of work and let sleeping dogs lie? On the other hand, if we dig a little deeper under the surface of the plot, I believe that the narrative has a lot more to reveal than this initial reading.

Indeed, it is possible to argue that it is a tale of patriarchy, with its attendant inequalities, which resonates with international research about gender relations in IPETE from for example, Sweden (Larsson, 2009), Australia (Macdonald, 1993; Wright 2002), the United States (Dewar, 1987) and the United Kingdom (Brown & Rich, 2002; Flintoff, 1993, 1994). It can be read as a narrative about positioning and power, both with regard to women and men, as well as to ideas. I believe that further deconstruction of this "innocent" tale can shed some light upon the persistence of inequitable relations in IPETE. In particular it is interesting to dwell upon which "truths" are hegemonic in the story and the ways in which emotions such as humour and shame, configure the social interaction.

If we return to a basic analysis of the time and the context of the story, we soon discover that the narrative is in fact part of an on-going plot which plays out far beyond the confines of the canteen. The request to refrain from "more of your feminist blurb" infers that this episode is part of an on-going and/or repetitive discussion about gender (in)equality. The disrespectful manner in which Fredrik dismisses Jane's request to switch the conversation to girls' underachievement in PE, which is given unanimous support from the rest of the PE teacher educators, is in fact symbolic of the way gender matters are all too often marginalised in IPETE in Norway (Dowling, 2006, 2008, 2011; Dowling & Kårhus, 2011), and in other countries (Flintoff, 1993, 1994; Wright, 2002). The dialogue reinforces the dominance of a deterministic view of gender as being biologically defined, carrying with it a set of gender specific traits which position men as strong and women as weak, and a view that certain sports and physical activities are more appropriate for either men or women. The homophobic ridicule of Jane's choice of vocabulary to describe the girls' lower achievement in PE contributes to the idealisation of hegemonic masculine (heterosexual) power, and accordingly can make it problematic for lesbian and gay physical educators to feel comfortable in IPETE spaces (Clarke, 2002; Squires & Sparkes, 1996). We can observe that Jane is the only woman among a group of male colleagues, which reminds us that Physical Education was histori-

cally a male-dominated domain (Gurholt & Jenssen, 2007; Kirk, 2010) and appears to retain this pattern today.

The dialogue is saturated with performance discourses aiming at the improvement and enhancement of human performance (Tinning, 1997) which is typical for sports science professionals, and apart from Jane's failed attempt to introduce participation discourses into the conversation, there is little talk of inclusion, equity or the enjoyment of human movement. This hierarchy of subject discourses within sports science is not to be underestimated in trying to understand the seeming inertia with regard to embracing insights from social theory about gender inequity in IPETE, because there is little evidence to suggest that the latter has gained the status of "legitimate knowledge" (Apple, 2006) in IPETE (Dowling, 2006; Flintoff & Scraton, 2005; Kirk, 2010; Tinning, 2010; Wright, 2002). The physical, biological and behavioural sciences continue to dominate physical educators' professional knowledge at the expense of knowledge about the social body (Evans & Davies, 2004; Tinning, 2004). Images of "neutral" machines requiring tuning for maximum performance tend to exclude images of enfleshed, emotional and intellectual human beings who are inevitably located in matrices of power (Dowling, Fitzgerald & Flintoff, 2012; Tinning, 2010). Research in Norway (Dowling & Kårhus, 2011) has revealed that gender is "taught" in one-off modules of socio-cultural perspectives in sport and PE from the sub-disciplines of sociology, history and philosophy, (which in total account for 16% of the total number of credits for IPETE) depending upon the interests of the individual lecturer, or it is fleetingly touched upon in lectures about pedagogical theory or subject didactics. Our analyses have also revealed that on the whole the literature which is used to underpin such teaching is generalist in nature, providing students with rather a superficial overview of the "problem" of gender; primary research resources from gender research are an exception as opposed to the rule. In the absence of competing theoretical perspectives, teacher educators draw upon their biographical experiences of gender in PE, which for the majority of participants in our study (both women and men), were characterised as unproblematic and therefore gender is not perceived as being an important aspect of teaching and learning (Dowling, 2006, 2008, 2011; Dowling & Kårhus, 2011).

The glimpses of the "terrors of performativity" which the narrative provides (for example, of the teacher educator's need to publish research) remind us of the ways in which the wave of neo-liberalism in higher education based on market individualism (Giroux, 2011; Rivzi & Lingard, 2010)

further marginalises "truths" about social inclusion in IPETE, which build upon social democratic notions of social justice. Indeed, the marketization of higher education in Norway encourages a gender policy of equal access and opportunity and meritocracy, rather than an understanding of gender relations as socially constructed interrelations of power. A research project I conducted, together with Kårhus (Dowling, 2006, 2008; Dowling & Kårhus, 2011) revealed that teacher educators' professional identities seldom build upon the ideals of democratic professionalism and are instead underpinned by notions of standardised performative professionalism (Hargreaves, 2003). Many PE teacher educators see themselves therefore as expert deliverers of pre-defined IPETE knowledge and skills, as opposed to active meaning makers in the social interactions of PETE and as someone who is concerned with the broader pedagogical issue of education for democracy.

In fact, a striking feature of our analyses was that many PE teacher educators did not necessarily identify themselves as teacher educators or having great interest in pedagogy; instead they introduced themselves as sports psychologists, exercise physiologists, or specialists in a range of sports activities, such as a football coach. The latter reflects once again the multidisciplinary nature of PE and sports science, and the ensuing hierarchical ranking of what counts as "official knowledge" in IPETE. When the pedagogical relay does not highlight gender theory the individual teacher educator tends not to become interested in gender matters, or in equity issues in general. Certainly action plans and strategy documents for greater gender equality did not seem to impact upon the teacher educators with whom we spoke; most of those we interviewed had not in fact heard of their institution's local policy and were ignorant about its content. They lack the cultural and theoretical resources to structure the narrative differently (Riessman, 2008). Of course there are exceptions, like Jane's story illustrates, but as her tale also illuminates there are powerful macro structures which work to counteract individual initiatives to put gender on the official agenda. The teacher educators in our study reported few opportunities for collaborative teaching and learning, and they expressed that the Bologna-inspired modular structure of today's degree courses tends to create more distance between lecturers than previous IPETE course structures. The teacher educators characterised the liaison between lecturers as centring mainly on administrative tasks, rather than working towards the creation of a professional learning community where gender, among other educational themes, could be addressed, which seems common for all subject areas (Henkel,

2000). The informal arena of the lunch table as depicted in Jane's narrative may therefore represent one of the few spaces in IPETE for airing concerns about gender relations.

Despite the PE teacher educators' widespread view that "gender is not a problem", most of the participants in our research in Norway have been aware of the dominance of men in senior academic posts ("Kjønnsbalanse i forskning," 2013). Echoing the logic of the lunchtime talk, this state of affairs tended to be explained as "natural" and a matter of liberal individual "choice", which resonates with research on women teacher educators more generally (Acker & Dillabough, 2007). In the same way that Jane "chose" to retreat from the lunch time conversation about gender inequalities, in our research teacher educators articulated that women lecturers prefer not to assume leadership roles at work; they choose not to apply for promotion. Indeed, the notion of a "fair" workplace seemed to be taken-for-granted by many teacher educators, even though the statistics concerning men's and women's positions in the academy discussed in the introduction ought to lead to at least some doubt concerning equal rights. Following Seierstad and Healy (2012), the public discourse of equality may be so strong in Norway that questioning it becomes difficult and almost unthinkable, and for women like Jane, who experience being isolated with their gender concerns, there is relatively little public space for gender politics in IPETE. The "feeling rules" (Lupton, 1998) of IPETE would appear to contribute to the marginalisation of gender talk with laughter and ridicule playing an important part in a deliberate social strategy to reinforce patriarchal values. Returning to the narrative, we might ask how would the plot have unfolded had Jane's suggestion to discuss the girls' grades been met with empathy, rather than her being made to feel embarrassed and her suggestion ridiculed? Had a different set of emotions expanded IPETEs teaching possibilities with regard to gender? It certainly appears to be the case today that it is legitimate to make a mockery of people who, or ideas which, dare to challenge the current gender "status quo". "Innocent", everyday talk like the dialogue in the lunch time narrative facilitates the perpetuation of these historically configured emotions, and it is easy to understand why Jane's discomfort leads to accommodating behaviour as opposed to further confrontation.

Finally, another feature of the narrative worth mentioning with regard to how little change in IPETE occurs in the way gender theory is approached, is the reference to "fair play". Although at first glance Fredrik's remark about supporting the notion of fair play may seem incidental, re-

search on teacher educators in Norway would suggest that discourses of fair play and moral education do considerable "ideological work" to displace a more complex understanding of gender than biological determinism (Dowling & Kårhus, 2011). Teacher educators' understanding of these concepts and practice would appear to be largely based on common sense assumptions rather than theoretical perspectives, and they reify universal, disembodied and de-contextualised (male) subjects through a discourse of treating "everyone" fairly. Moral voices are not seen to vary according to gender, level of (dis)ability, social class or ethnicity (Hekman, 1995), and rarely is the male dominated historical legacy of sport's notion of "fair play" acknowledged (Singleton, 2003).

Concluding Comments

In drawing these reflections to a close, I think it is actually vital to acknowledge how the "idea of the idea of PE" (Kirk, 2010) is currently still strongly influenced by the notion of "physical education-as-sport techniques", reproducing inequities from sports and games in the school system on account of gender, ethnicity, social class and disability. As Kirk (2010, p. 41) writes, "The *idea of the idea* of physical education-as-sports-techniques seems so natural and has been the dominant *idea of the idea* for so long that is is, indeed, *the* way of thinking about physical education". It is hegemonic because it works at the level of assumption, of common sense. It is reproduced via the everyday practices of actors within IPETE and school PE. A traditional gender order is the historical backcloth for this notion of a physical education; generally speaking, it remains unchallenged. The domination of scientific discourse in IPETE means that many teacher educators often lack the cultural and theoretical resources to reconfigure the idea of the idea of PE. The current neo-liberal emphasis on a pedagogy of certainty with its accompanying management discourses makes it even less likely that they will do so in the current climate of teacher education (Tinning, 2010). Policy aimed at improving gender equality remains marginalised or is largely unknown to PE teacher educators.

Against this backcloth, I believe that stories like the one about Jane and her colleagues have a potential to at least enable actors in the education system to painstakingly grasp the other person's viewpoint and "… to overcome that 'certain blindness' of which all human beings are victim" (Plummer, 2001, p. 247). The "small story" about a lunch break has a potential to

enable the reader to revisit her/his taken-for-granted worlds, to critically engage with them by deconstructing the tale's form and content, and to try to see the "big stories" of IPETE (Phoenix, 2008). I am not proposing that we should try to grasp who Jane is, or pass moral judgement about her or her colleagues, rather I am suggesting that it can be fruitful to dwell upon how the everyday lives of Jane and her fellow teacher educators are told within the current context of IPETE (Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou, 2008). Returning to the poignant questions Imsen (2000) advocates educators must ask themselves, we might ask: "… are the ways of being and doing gender illustrated in the narrative, gender relations which we think are acceptable and/or need to be challenged?" Feminists have long since recognised the way stories can mobilise others into action for progressive social change, so despite the calls for "hard science" and the pressures of "publish or perish", I would encourage colleagues to keep sharing their "soft" tales from the field if we are to re-weave the fabric of IPETE with patterns of greater gender equity.

Notes

1 Petter Nordthug is a cross-country skier who participates in the World Cup series of ski races.

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Kristin Walseth

Norwegian-Pakistani Girls' Experiences in Physical Education in Norway

Recent years have seen an increase in scholarly attention to ethnic minority pupils and their experiences of physical education (PE) (Benn, Dagkas & Jawad, 2011; Dagkas, Benn & Jawad, 2011; Farooq & Parker, 2009; Hemzeh & Oliver, 2012; Hill & Azzarito, 2012, Zaman, 1997). In the UK, for example, research identifies specific challenges related to Muslim pupils' participation in PE, and PE teachers seem to lack competence to solve the conflicts related to religion such as clothing, Ramadan, dress codes, swimming, gender-segregation, and diets and fasting (Benn et al., 2011; Dagkas et al., 2011) In Norway, little research has been undertaken on Muslim pupils' experiences in PE, something this paper hopes to redress in part. In particular, it addresses the role and significance of religiosity[1] to their experience of PE. Norwegian-Pakistani girls are a particularly interesting group insofar as the Pakistani community is one of the largest immigrant communities in Norway, and because girls of Pakistani origin are clearly underrepresented in sport activities. Only 9 percent of Norwegian-Pakistani girls are members of a sport club (Strandbu & Bakken, 2007).

The Norwegian Context

The Pakistani community in Norway. Pakistani immigration to Norway started in the late 1960s as Pakistanis moved to Norway in search of work and initiated a self-perpetuating process of chain migration, similar to the migration of Pakistanis to Britain and other European countries. The majority of these early migrants originated in rural Punjab; only a few had an urban, middle class background. The majority settled in the central areas of the capital, Oslo. Today, the metropolitan area has a population of about 1 million. Many Pakistanis still prefer to live in Oslo and neighboring municipalities, typically in neighborhoods where they constitute a substantial proportion of the residents (Walle, 2011). The Pakistanis used to be the largest group of immigrants, but are currently third after the Polish and Swedish communities. As the Pakistanis were one of the first groups of immigrants to reach Norway, they have the highest percentage of second

generation migrants, almost 50 percent of which are of Pakistani heritage (Statistics Norway, 2012). Ties to Pakistan remain important in the daily lives of Norwegian-Pakistanis. It is not uncommon for children and youngsters to spend their holidays or even a year or two, in Pakistan (Dzamarija, 2004). The Pakistani community is often portrayed as a closely knit social network, with its own ethnic and religious organizations (Walle, 2011). A sign of cultural reproduction in the younger generation is that only 7 percent of young Norwegian Pakistanis marry a person who is neither born in Pakistan nor born to Pakistani parents outside Pakistan (Daugstad, 2009). Gender roles in the Norwegian Pakistani community are often said to be traditional. Teenage boys are highly visible and contribute to the urban youth culture in various ways; girls of the same age are expected to spend most of their spare time with their family (Lien, 2001; Prieur, 2002; Sandberg, 2008; Vestel, 2003; Østberg, 2003). At the same time, we can see strong signs of social mobility among Norwegian-Pakistani youth. National statistics show that in the age group 19-24, Norwegian-Pakistani boys and girls are more likely to take higher education than the population in general. Among Norwegian-Pakistani girls, 39.4% were taking higher education in 2008 (compared to 36.4% in the female population in general) (Langseth, 2010).

In terms of sport, cricket serves a central role for the Pakistani communities in Norway. Walle (2011) shows how cricket functions as an arena for leisure, and also has a meaning beyond. Cricket gives access to important social networks and is a place where young Norwegian-Pakistani men create important social capital. This is why Walle (2011) categorizes cricket in Norway as a "men-only diasporic space." There are few examples of sports playing a similar all-encompassing role for Pakistani women in diaspora. In contrast, studies often show the marginal role of sport in young Pakistani women's lives. Research in Norway shows that only 9% of Norwegian-Pakistani girls are members of a sport club, compared to 42% among non-immigrant girls (Strandbu & Bakken, 2007). Despite low levels of participation in traditional sport clubs, other studies indicate that young women of Pakistani origin find other arenas for being physically active (Ahmad, 2011; Strandbu, 2005), and many girls note the significance of physical activity in school (Azzarito & Hill, 2012).

The Norwegian physical education context. PE has been a compulsory subject in Norwegian schools since 1936. PE was gender segregated in Norway until 1974 when the curriculum (M74) was revised, setting a standard of gender equality in PE. As a result, boys and girls were supposed to

do the same amount of PE per week, with similar exercises and in mixed classes (Brattenborg & Engebretsen, 2001). Today PE is the third largest subject in Norwegian schools in grades 1–10, in terms of teaching hours (Moen, 2011).

According to the curriculum for PE, the purpose of PE in Norwegian schools is to inspire physical activity in all aspects of life and a lifelong enjoyment of being physically active (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training [Udir], 2012). From lower secondary schools on, the pupils receive a mark for overall achievement based on their competence. Competence goals are not formulated in a way that judges the pupil's physical strength, running speed, or jumping height. However, there is a tradition in PE teaching to test pupils in different ways, physically and technically, to determine strength, agility and endurance.

Studies of pupils in Norway indicate that PE is one of the most popular subjects although it is disliked by quite a significant number of pupils (Säfvenbom, 2010). It is assumed that the pupils who dislike and opt out of PE belong to the same group of adolescents who prefer not to participate in organized sports in their leisure time.

Previous Research on Physical Education and Sport among Muslim Girls in Diaspora

Little research has been carried out on the experiences of PE among Muslim pupils. Since sports are one of the main constituents of the traditional mode of PE teaching, one can partly understand how minority pupils feel about PE by studying research on minority adolescents' experiences of sports.

One of the first studies of Muslim youth and physical activity was conducted in Belgium (Knop, Theeboom, Engeland, Puymbroeck, Martelaer & Wittock, 1995; Knop, Theeboom, Wittock & Martelaer, 1996) The Belgian survey revealed that Muslim girls were interested in sport, but were prohibited from taking part by religious and cultural traditions. "Girls are very restricted in their behaviour mainly because parents fear that their daughters will be negatively influenced by the western way of life" (Knop et al., 1996). More recent studies confirm the tendency of parents to withdraw their daughters from PE lessons and sports (Dagkas et al., 2011; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2012).

However, there has been a shift among researchers from perceiving parents and culture as restrictions to focusing on the structural inequalities and barriers caused by the way physical education and sport are organized in Western countries. UK research indicates that PE is characterized by institutional ethnocentrism (Green, 2008). Smith's (2009) thesis on physical capital and minority pupils' experiences in PE in Norway describes Norwegian ethnocentrism in PE when asking whether:

> We can trace a potential "value conflict" in the encounter between the informants' [minority pupils] and their socio-cultural background and the heritage left by Fridtjof Nansen, Grete Waitz and the fifty-kilometre Holmenkollen ski race, which in many ways characterize a number of aspects of the Norwegian sports culture, and thereby also the national curriculum for PE (p. 96).[2]

Despite a shift of focus from culture and parents as restrictions, to focusing on barriers caused by the way PE and sport are organized in Western countries, recent research confirms the struggle Muslim girls continue to have in order to combine their rights to religious freedom and participation in physical activity and sports (Ahmad, 2011; Jiwani & Rail, 2010; Ratna, 2011). One particular challenge in the West is the lack of gender-segregated PE and sports facilities and the recognition of the hijab as part of sporting attire (Ahmad, 2011; Benn et al., 2011; Dagkas et al., 2011; Guerin, Diiriye, Corrigan & Guerin, 2008; Jiwani & Rail, 2010; Wray, 2002).

Ratna's (2011) and Jiwani and Rail's (2010) studies show how Muslim girls refuse to choose between their religious identity as Muslims and their right to participate in physical activity and sports. The British Asian female football players in Ratna's (2011) study negotiate their entrance into sports using various reflexive techniques. Some make reference to the Koran to empower themselves and justify their football participation, some engage in the establishment of Muslim sport organizations to secure the possibilities for playing football within the Islamic framework, while others prefer to oppose sexism and racism by focusing on being highly skilled female football players.

A similar form of reflexivity related to Islam and sport is found in a Norwegian study on sport among Muslim girls (Walseth, 2006), where some of the participants regard Islam as a more important source of identity formation than ethnicity. Because of the positive attitude for physical activity in Islam, it was important for the participants to take part in sports. Identifying with Islam also means that Islamic guidelines inform how these

girls take part in physical activity, exemplified by their use of Islamic sports gear. Recent research has also emphasized the embodied aspect of Islam, and how this impacts on PE and sports. Benn et al. (2011) and Wray's (2002) studies illustrate how Muslim girls' faith is embodied and how physical education and sports challenge the women's right to embody their faith. As one of the girls stated, "I cannot participate comfortably without hijab" (Benn et al., 2011, p. 26). Wray's (2002) study of Pakistani women in the UK highlights the importance of gender segregated physical activity. One of the study's respondents said she was afraid of men entering the class. "You know this is a problem for Muslim ladies. And they feel shy 'somebody is looking at me.' All ladies need exercise but they feel shame, just shame, they're shy" (Wray, 2002, p. 132). This recent research highlights Strandbu's (2005) findings from Norway. Her research underlines that girls' desire for gender-segregated participation in physical activity and their bashfulness in gender-integrated sports are not caused by restrictive parents who deny their daughters any participation in physical activity, but by the internalization of cultural ideas and values. The girls choose not to participate in gender-integrated physical activity, because they don't see it as a natural thing to do. The theoretical tools provided by Bourdieu (1977, 1984) can help us to grasp this phenomenon. In his publications, Bourdieu showed how ways of being and embodiment can be understood in light of the conditions under which they were established. His concept of *habitus* indicates a behavioral disposition which again is strongly marked by the conditions under which it is established, but which are experienced as "natural" by the actor. Similar perspectives have been presented by Østberg (2003). Her study illustrates how Islam is embodied during early socialization. Norwegian-Pakistani children learn in early childhood how to pray, that they are not supposed to eat pork, that different standards apply to girls in terms of modesty etc.

In contrast to the conclusion from the above mentioned research, i.e. that PE and sport must be adapted to Muslim girls' religious needs, Hamzeh and Oliver (2012) question what they call the simplistic acceptance of religious accommodations. Their participant research tries to capture how Muslim girls negotiate physical activity. Their findings indicate that the discourse on the wearing of the hijab by Muslim girls could be interpreted in multiple ways and is negotiable by them and their parents. There is a need, they suggest, to go beyond the simplistic acceptance of "religious accommodations" dictated by authoritative community leaders, and indeed, to engage directly with young Muslim girls and their parents.

Independent of different theoretical perspectives applied, the focus on including and integrating Muslim girls into PE and sport is often seen in conjunction with the feminist agenda of empowering women, and giving women the opportunity to enter arenas previously reserved for men. A controversy in this respect has been that this feminist project has been led and dominated by white Western feminists. An example of an initiative promoting Muslim women's participation in sport is the "Atlanta plus" project run by a non-Muslim European women's rights activist group. The group argued for the exclusion of Muslim countries from the Olympics if they did not participate with female athletes. Their perspective has been influential, and during the London Olympics in 2012 after considerable pressure from the International Olympic Committee, every team had at least one female athlete representing their country. Elsewhere, an Iranian woman initiated the "Solidarity Games", an alternative Olympics for Muslim women who are not interested in participating in gender-mixed Olympics (Benn, Pfister & Jawad, 2011). With this controversy in mind, I will now present the feminist position on which this study is based.

Third Wave Feminism

Feminist theory is grounded on the premise that women, illegitimately, are discriminated against by social and political structures. There exist several theories aimed at explaining women's subordination. One (among many) ways of categorizing feminism is through different forms of constructivism, by drawing a line, for example, between the second and third waves' positions to post structuralism (Ytrehus, 2004).

While feminists in the early "first wave", write Heywood & Drake (1997, p. 23), worked for abolition and voting rights, second wave feminists concentrated on wage equity and developed "gender" and "sexism" as key categories. The second wave of feminism is a term used to describe a new period of feminist collective activism and militancy that emerged in the late 1960s (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). Second wave feminists talked in terms of "liberation" from patriarchy and that the key site for struggle was the female body itself. The idea fostered by the explosion of second wave radicalism, that anyone could "join" the women's movement, encouraged a kind of inclusiveness that led to the emergence of sub-groups that were established to allow critical space for lesbians, women of colour and working class women (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004) These sub-groups criticised

feminism for ignoring the experiences and needs of non-Western women. The existence of "post-colonial feminism", "black feminism" and "Muslim feminism" resulted from the white feminists' lack of sensitivity to issues like race, religion and colonial domination.

Even though the second and third waves of feminism are neither incompatible nor opposed, there are important theoretical differences. Third wave feminism seems to be inspired by post-structuralism. In terms of gender research, third wave feminists have focused less on the reproduction of gender and more on the fluidity of gender and new forms of femininities. In this respect, sport is often seen as an important means for challenging traditional notions of femininities (Azzarito, 2010; Heywood, 2007).

When I advocate a third wave feminist perspective on Muslim women's experiences in PE, it is because I perceive third wave as a new type of feminism that is led by, and has grown out of, the challenge to white feminism posed by women of colour (Short, 1994). According to Sandoval (1990), the recognition of a differential consciousness is vital to the third wave and provides the grounds for alliance with other decolonizing movements for emancipation. Thus, an important aspect of third wave feminism is to analyse gender as only one of many markers which embed women within social hierarchies of domination. This understanding echoes the principle of "intersectionality".

Intersectionality. Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton (2008) argue that although the concept of intersectionality is established within debates around sport, there has been much less attention to debates around intersectionality and difference in PE. Most PE research focusing on difference has had, what Flintoff et al. (2008) call a "single issue" approach, where the focus is either on gender, race or disability, rather than addressing the complexity of their interrelationships. A theoretical shift away from fixed identities and essentialism towards diversity and difference requires a parallel shift in focus away from the single issue approach. Cole (1994) and Azzarito (2010) argue that third wave feminism should focus on exploring power relations among sport, gender, sexuality, nature, the body, race, social class and on reconceptualising relations among these categories. An example of PE research with an intersectionality approach is Azzarito and Solomon's (2005) study of the intersection of gender/race/social class in PE. By using feminism/poststructuralism as a theoretical framework, they deconstruct historically dominant gender, race, and social class discourses around the body in sports and physical education. The paper highlights how dominant discourses such as "playing like a girl", the stereotype of the African-Amer-

ican female as "the Other" and stereotypical views of African-American physical superiority and intellectual inferiority in PE classrooms involve both embedded socially constructed realities, and historical contingency.

To sum up, intersectionality means to analyse the intersection of different social markers, for example gender, social class and ethnicity, instead of focusing on one social marker to the detriment of all the others (Anthias, 2001; Watson & Scraton, 2001). One has to acknowledge how gender, ethnicity, social class, sexuality and religion are intertwined and should be understood in connection with each other. This paper will extend the analysis of gender issues to the intersection of gender, ethnicity and religion.

Method

This chapter is based on interviews with seven Norwegian-Pakistani girls aged between 17 and 24. The girls were born in Norway and have parents who migrated to Norway from Pakistan. Most of the young women were upper secondary school students. They were recruited to the study via schools and sports organizations, and have had different experiences of physical activity and sport. One was involved in sports at an elite-level, and some have never been members of a sports club. Two of the women participated in gender-segregated aerobics for women. All the girls had attended physical education lessons at school, mostly in mixed gender classes, but with some gender segregated PE as well.

The young women spent most of their spare time at home with their families. None of them participated in political or religious organizations. In terms of religious affiliation, the girls described themselves as Muslim, though their degree of religiosity varied. Three wore the hijab. The women were asked about their parents' past and present job situations as an indication of their socioeconomic backgrounds. Most of the women lived in families where the father was the only breadwinner. The working fathers had typical working-class jobs. Only one of the parents had higher education and worked as a teacher assistant.

Some of the girls were interviewed only once, others on several occasions (by the author). The interviews were loosely structured and focused on their participation in sport in general, identity issues, integration questions and experiences in PE. The interviews were conducted in Norwegian without any need for an interpreter, and each interview lasted 2-3 hours.

All were tape recorded. The tapes were later transcribed in full. The transcribed data were subjected to meaning coding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

I regard the process that is often called "data collection" as a two-way process where data are produced, rather than collected, in a dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee. The data produced are influenced by the researcher's background, the researcher's experiences and his/her location. Ann Phoenix (2001) emphasized how difficult it is to understand in advance how different aspects of social location influence the research relations. As a result, she argues, the impact of "race" and gender within particular pieces of research cannot easily be prescribed. Prescriptions for matching the "race" and/or gender of interviewers and interviewee are thus too simplistic. In the study presented here, the researcher and participants do not share the same location when it comes to ethnic background, religious belief, age or education background.

Emerging Themes and Interpretations

The following section presents the Norwegian-Pakistani girls' experiences of PE. The interpretations are presented and organized according to three meaning categories: "attitudes towards PE", "gender segregated PE", and "gender segregated swimming".

Attitudes towards Physical Education. The general picture drawn by the data indicates that Norwegian-Pakistani girls in Norway appreciate their PE lessons. Their reasons for appreciating physical education lessons are familiar to other person since it is similar to mainstream ideas on sport and Physical Education: "We need PE, especially when we don't exercise in our leisure time. If I don't exercise I feel lethargic/dull, I don't feel well." (Asma). PE lessons, Asma argues, are good for the social environment in the classroom: "In PE classes you get to know your classmates in another way, we have to cooperate, and when you play on a team with people you don't know enough to talk to, you get to know them better." When I asked them if their attitudes to PE had changed from primary to secondary school, most of the girls said they enjoyed PE more in primary school. They changed their attitude to PE because the secondary school PE curriculum had changed. The girls disliked the pressure associated with secondary school PE lessons. These are some of their experiences; "I don't like getting marks based on how fast I run. It's like being judged based on your size, the bigger you are, the slower you run. I really hated these tests. …

Apart from that, I love PE." (Layla). "I preferred PE in primary school. I don't like the pressure now. If you get a bad mark in PE it can ruin your average mark." (Aisha). A study of physical education in Sweden showed that even though PE teachers tend to view the goals of PE to be enjoyment and lifelong interest in exercising, the grounds for assessment still seem to be skills or abilities that can be measured (Redelius, Fagrell & Larsson, 2009). This contradiction can also be found in Norwegian schools (Udir, 2012). Growing calls to justify PE marks from pupils and parents has led to more testing in PE in recent years. The consequence is seen in the Norwegian-Pakistani girls' growing dissatisfaction with PE in secondary schools.

Gender segregated Physical Education. As other researchers have pointed out, there is a need for gender segregated sporting facilities for Muslim girls. Gender-segregation at the secondary level, either in separate schools or separate departments in mixed-sex schools, are essential to maximising participation for many Muslim parents and pupils (Benn & Dagkas, 2006). Based on their research I have scrutinized my data to see if the Norwegian-Pakistani girls participating in this study expressed a desire for gender-segregated PE lessons.

Only two of the girls (Turkan and Aisha) responded that they preferred gender segregated physical education. Turkan argues for gender segregation because of boys' dominance in PE:

> I don't like PE. It's boring. I don't like ball games, which is what we do all the time. When we play basketball I hide. I stand on the side. I think the boys are too violent when we are playing. Once they dribbled the ball so hard it hit my head.

Turkan's view is not new or typical of Norwegian-Pakistani girls. Despite the government's promotion of gender equality in PE, it is still perceived as a male domain. As Næss (2000) concludes, Norwegian PE lessons suffer from a lack of gender equality. Nielsen (2009) concludes in her study of Norwegian schools and gender issues that PE lessons reproduce gender more effectively than any other aspects of school life. Dowling and Kårhus (2011) found that PETE (Physical Education teacher education) culture in Norway seems to continue a subject tradition of constructing teachers, student teachers and pupils as universal, disembodied, and de-contextualised subjects. This might explain the continued lack of gender equality in PE, despite a focus on gender equality in PE since 1974 (M74). These Norwegian studies are supported by several international studies which found continued emphasis in PE on reproducing male dominance and hegemonic

masculinity (Connell, 2008; Hills, 2006; Larsson, Fagrell & Redelius, 2009; Redelius et al., 2009). In this respect, the views of Muslim girls on gender mixed PE seem to be more informed by gender and male dominance than religiosity. However, Aisha's argument is different, she feels shy in PE lessons with boys:

> I think it's best to have gender-segregated PE, then the girls can behave like they want to. If there are boys in the class it feels different. If you want to scratch your foot or your backside it doesn't matter, but if there are boys you can't be so intimate.

The sense of bashfulness in gender mixed PE is more likely to arise when the girls take gender-mixed swimming lessons as part of the PE curriculum.

Gender segregated swimming classes. In contrast to their response on gender-segregated PE, most of the girls preferred gender-segregated swimming (five of seven).

Aisha attended swimming classes in primary school even though her parents were uneasy at the prospect. Now, at secondary school, she doesn't participate in gender-mixed swimming classes. When asked why, she replies:

> No way. I don't know why but they are boys! It is so unnatural for us, boys are supposed to be kept at a distance! … I don't know why, it's just something in my head, I think it has to do with our way of thinking and how we are raised.

Turkan shares the same opinion. She joined swimming classes at the age of 10, but cut swimming out at secondary school. When asked why she says:

> Maybe I have forgotten how I do it, maybe I have to learn it again. And I don't want to wear a swimsuit in front of the boys. I used to wear a swimsuit and a t-shirt. It's because of my religion, I am not supposed to expose my body, you are not supposed to be so open and show it to other people.

Asma talks about her sense of bashfulness in connection with swimming as part of the PE lessons:

> We can go swimming at school if we want to, but I haven't. I don't know if it's because I have become shyer. I don't feel comfortable in a swimsuit. When I was younger it was not a problem, but now I am more shy. … My parents don't want me to participate either,

> but I don't think it's because of that. … You know, Kani [her friend] wasn't allowed by her parents either, but she joined in without her parents knowing it. She wanted to swim, and I still think she does swim. So, I had the opportunity, but I couldn't take it. Not because my parents told me, but because I didn't feel comfortable.

Their views agree with Benn et al.'s (2011) research in the UK, which persuaded her to conclude: Muslim girls, she suggests, embody their faith. Educational researchers and practitioners need to accept and respect the diversity of Muslim women's opinions in terms of how they choose to participate in physical activity. Strandbu (2005) agrees; the girls' desire for gender-segregated physical activities and their sense of shyness in gender-integrated sports are not caused by restrictive parents who deny their daughters physical activity at school, but by an internalization of culture and religiosity. The girls choose not to participate in gender-integrated physical activity, because, to them, it is not a natural thing to do. The perspectives provided by Bourdieu (1977, 1984) and his concept of "habitus" can help explain why most of the Norwegian-Pakistani girls in the study felt uncomfortable about sharing swimming facilities with boys.

Concluding Discussion

The findings from this study on Norwegian-Pakistani girls and PE underscore the importance of analyzing experiences in line with the concept of intersectionality. Some of the girls' reluctance to mix with boys in PE classes can best be understood in light of their dislike of male dominance in PE. As such, their gender identity seems to be the most important dimension to understand their attitudes and response to PE. In contrast, their identities as females and Muslims seem to be the key dimension for understanding their reluctance to mix with boys in swimming lessons, exemplifying how pupils' responses to PE are always a product of the intersection of their various social markers.

Flintoff et al. (2008) question how the interrelationships between different axes of oppression should be conceptualised. I agree with Flintoff et al. (2008) who suggest that additive accounts to which several different axes of oppression such as ethnicity and religion are "added" to those of gender, can be misleading. In the present case, the notion of Norwegian-Pakistani girls being oppressed "in triplicate" is misleading. I also agree that struc-

tures of gender, religiosity and ethnicity are experienced simultaneously. Nevertheless, the findings of this study, I suggest, highlight the ability of different structures or categories to dominate in different contexts, including PE contexts, and every category do not have to be equally important at all times. As such, what Norwegian-Pakistani girls make of PE is not always dictated by religiosity; their position as girls in a male-dominated space seems as important for their response and experiences.

In conclusion, then, religiosity seems to have little influence on Norwegian-Pakistani girls' experience of PE, with the exception of swimming lessons and showering facilities. We can understand the objections of some of the girls to gender-mixed PE by looking at the dominance of the male gender, and as such, their experiences are similar to those of non-Muslim girls. However, objections to gender-mixed swimming classes are best illuminated by the girls' gendered religious identities and embodied faith. Despite the Norwegian-Pakistani girls' positive attitudes toward and experience of PE in the classroom, to facilitate their enjoyment in PE and lifelong interest in exercising, schools must ensure that PE teaching is less about testing physical skills, less male dominated and more sensitive to Muslim girls' embodied faith.

Notes

1 We distinguish in this paper between Islam as a religion (official Islam) and belief in Islam as a manifestation of religiosity (unofficial Islam) (Kamrava, 2006).
2 My translation.

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Personal Memories and Perspectives

Celia Brackenridge

Letter to a Friend: Reflections on a Research Journey

Author's Note: I have chosen to write about the research process here as I believe it is important to chart the journey that we travel as researchers and not just to record the findings of our work. It is also important to lay bare the personal highs and lows of our research experience so that those following us will be more aware of the path that lies ahead.

Dear Kari,

Do you remember how we first met? You were already an established academic: I was stumbling towards a proper academic career and attending my first major conference overseas. The 1984 Pre-Olympic Congress took place in Eugene, Oregon. I had decided to take the opportunity to travel after the conference and was seeking a companion who would share the cost of a hire car for the journey south along the Pacific Coast Highway to San Francisco.

I was at the conference to present my first serious research paper with Anita White, then a lecturer at Bishop Otter College in Chichester (now the University of Chichester) in West Sussex. Anita and I met through a shared interest in match analysis and a passion to challenge sex discrimination in sport. All three of us had a background in elite sport: you as an 800m runner on the Norwegian national Track and Field team; Anita as captain of the World Championship winning England Field Hockey Team; and me as captain of the England and Great Britain Lacrosse teams. It was these experiences that prompted us to ask questions about unfairnesses in sport and to start our research and advocacy careers.

Anita and I were roommates in Eugene but I barely saw her for the social programme was at least as exhausting as the academic one! Anita brokered our first meeting. It did not go well. You made it clear that you appreciated luxury and I was on a horribly small budget seeking the cheapest possible hotels. As a rookie at the international conference game I had felt compelled to attend as many papers as possible, and consequently staggered to 44 presentations spread over many different hotels across the

town, dashing hither and thither via the conference shuttle bus. By the final day I was exhausted. We left Eugene in our hire car and, on arrival at our first motel, I promptly threw up with sheer fatigue! Luckily, you and I hit it off straight away: we played golf, walked on gorgeous beaches, sat in jacuzzis looking over the ocean and talked about women's sport and how to right the world's wrongs. We visited the giant sand dunes, the redwood forests, pot-scented Mendocino Village, crossed the Golden Gate, then went our separate ways and vowed to stay in touch.

That journey was the start of a collaboration, now almost thirty years old. Along the way we have had a lot of fun, shared tears and tantrums, helped each other through broken hearts and broken dreams and developed productive ways of working. We have spent many, many hours poring over laptops, white boards, data spreadsheets and draft papers. We've sustained ourselves with excellent dinners, good wine and – thanks to your generosity – not a little champagne! I hope through this letter we can celebrate and reflect on our successes and perhaps stimulate others to assess our contribution.

When, a couple of years later, I visited you in Norway for the first time we were mostly interested in the nascent internationalisation of the women's sports movement. Like other areas of feminist critique, sport had experienced its second wave of activism during the 1970s. By the time sports feminism in Europe started to get properly organised, the US Women's Sports Foundation (WSF) was celebrating its 10th birthday. One of the reasons I went from Eugene down to San Francisco in 1984 had been to visit Eva Auchincloss, the founding Executive Director, and then-organiser of the US WSF, in its west-coast offices. I had returned to the UK from that trip and written a report for the budding UK WSF on the ideological gulf between the two organisations. With Anita, I joined a small group of women from backgrounds in sport, leisure, politics and academia who wished to coordinate efforts to "enhance opportunities for women in and through sport". This became the first and original aim for the UK WSF. It was significant because it situated women's sport within a wider social context, rather than simply focussing on sport goals.

On returning from Eugene, I had completed a term as the first chair of the UK WSF through which I had worked on the development and delivery of a strategy for change. My own political awakening had been accelerated by this experience and helped me to shape my thoughts. My feminist education had also been accelerated by annoyance at the lack of media coverage of women's sport and also, crucially, by teaching sociology. At last, this

had given me the theoretical tools to make sense of my personal grievances about gender inequality.

At my next Olympic Congress in Malaga in 1992, as well as presenting some propositions about sexual abuse in sport I also explored there some of the organisational issues facing women's sport groups. As always, I sought your own opinions. Indeed, you were a crucial part of my growing activism – as were Anita, Carole (Oglesby, USA), Libby (Darlison, Australia), the late Bobby (Steen, Canada) and Marian (Lay, Canada). Anita's influence was a thread in all this. She not only took over from me as Chair of the UK WSF but also took up a very significant job as Head of Sports Development for the English Sports Council. In this influential role she was able to develop the first national policy on women and sport while, at the same time, extending and consolidating her own international women and sport network. Together, we talked about establishing an organisational challenge to the current institutional order.

In order to advance this idea, I travelled to the annual congress of the US WSF held in Denver in the spring of 1993 to run workshops on international women and sport development. At that meeting, I proposed the establishment of a new organisation – the Women's International Sports Coalition or WISC ("designed to shake things up" – although the analogy of a whisk was lost on most people!). The "unique selling point" for WISC was to have been a federal structure whereby each existing organisation involved in women's sport would maintain its identity but lend its weight to the collaboration. In this way it would not threaten the identity of single organisation yet would achieve the collective power of the entire group. Carole Oglesby was in the audience as I presented my plan. As always, she gave me insightful and constructive feedback. I'd also been encouraged by the presence there of the new CEO for the US WSF, Donna Lopiano; only two weeks into her post she had told us that the first thing to go up on her office wall had been a map of the world. Despite that, I never really expected the parochialism of the US to change much.

Through the years since Eugene, you were also continuing your work on equality issues through Norwegian and wider European and North American networks. As we shaped our concerns into a systematic set of demands we both realised that the existing structures for women's equality in sport were simply not up to the job. The long-established International Association for PE and Sport for Girls and Women (IAPESGW) was a focus for occasional conferences and networking among women in sport but had failed – in our view – to work *through* sport for change. In the

closing keynote speech at the IAPESGW conference in Melbourne in 1993 I echoed the message given by Libby Darlison in her opening keynote: we both challenged the audience to wake up to its feminist roots and to politicise its work more overtly. Many there disagreed but there a groundswell of opposition to the old, liberal and submissive ways of working. A group of about 20 or 30 delegates had met together one lunchtime that week, away from the main conference venue, to discuss what might be done.

I returned to the UK with the experiences of Denver and Melbourne impelling me to lobby for support for WISC. My efforts did not last long. You, Libby, Marian and Carole met at the Annual NASSS conference in November that year and hatched a plan to set up a completely new, breakaway organisation. You telephoned me from that meeting in Canada; was I in or not? I had to react on the spot. I agreed. By 1994, *WomenSport International* (WSI) was born. We both served on its earliest committees and attempted to drum up support and members at the landmark 1994 international women and sport conference in Brighton. I think that, although we both believed in diversity, we were passionate about the need for good science to underpin policy: WSI gave us that platform and in many ways proved a perfect outlet for our later research collaborations.

By 1995, the UK had witnessed its first major legal case again a sexually abusing coach who by then was in prison. I continued to develop a case catalogue during the 1990s, based on both personal unstructured interviews with sexually abused athletes and on media reports. For me, this was an intensive time of lobbying for political support for the issue but neither the politicians nor the sport organisations were much inclined to pay attention. A breakthrough came when, in 1997, our government changed from Conservative to Labour and when, again with help from Anita, a group was established to examine the need for comprehensive child protection in British sport. While we were establishing this (eventually becoming, in 2001, the Child Protection in Sport Unit of the NSPCC) you continued to combine your committee work for WSI with research, teaching, PhD supervision and a hectic schedule of conference speeches. We were fortunate in being able to take time to meet fairly often, either at conferences or at each other's place of work. I am especially grateful for the many opportunities you gave me to visit Norway and give seminars or classes.

Typically, we would meet once each year in Norway and once in Cheltenham (then Edinburgh then London), and have between two and three days to get at least a couple of articles started or finished, and to catch up on conference issues, politics, PhD students' progress and general academ-

ic gossip. All of our visits included a blend of hard work and partying – but it was usually quite productive! We seemed to develop a good balance between leisure and work, even while you were laughing uproariously at my constant falls from cross country skis and my failed efforts at downhill. The many dinner parties you generously hosted during my visits to Oslo gave me the chance to meet more of your colleagues and students and to learn much more about Norwegian life. Spending time together in mountain huts and on skis, horses, snow and ice gave us the chance to develop not just our friendship but also our understanding of each other's ways of working. My preferred work style was always to try to set out an overall plan and a set of priorities for us to chase and then work through them one by one. This became a signature "first" session each time we met and usually filled the white board in whichever meeting room we were using. Meetings at conferences were always more rushed as the international conference circuit is so demanding but we usually managed to create some time for editing, analysis or just for talking.

We first published together, in 1999, having worked on a review of sexual harassment in sport for the Council of Europe (CoE). This was a desk study but it helped establish a foundation for future policy development and research and led directly to a 21-nation conference on the issues, convened by the CoE in Helsinki in 2001. In the late 1990s, I recall you rang me to ask if I might help with a prevalence study as part of a wider project on elite female athletes in Norway. Using the findings from my earlier qualitative research we drew up a measurement tool for the Norwegian survey and our empirical research collaboration began. From that we wrote a report and several joint papers and then went on to co-author subsequent papers from other investigations (see list of joint publications). Largely through the work of our PhD students, we also kept independent lines of research enquiry going. The range of your masters and doctoral work encompassed ethnicity, diversity, social theory, prison sport, domestic violence and a host of other topics.

You were always much more attuned to the literature on sexual harassment and much more competent at statistics. I always felt more familiar with the literature on sexual abuse and prevention and with efforts to develop explanatory theoretical models. Despite your impressive grasp of foreign languages I was more comfortable with writing in English so would take on the drafting and final editing of our papers. I think, in this way, we developed a very balanced and effective method of working but one which led to certain differences of view. Looking back, I don't think I ever really

persuaded you of the importance of the mainstream sexual abuse literature for our work in sport. Its theories and models took me in a different direction from that which you pursued. Using Fitzgerald's and others' workplace research on sexual harassment that you favoured, for example, gave us models with which to analyse sexual harassment in sport but only ever applied sport data within pre-existing frameworks. When I wrote *Spoilsports* (Brackenridge, 2001) I felt it was important to try to use sport data to develop mainstream theory, hence my efforts to develop a Contingency Model of sexual exploitation that might have currency beyond sport.

I have often tried to explain to myself this sense of difference in the way we approached our common goals. After all, we shared a commitment to transformation in the gender politics of sport, we often shared a platform in activist or advocacy events, and we had a common background as elite women athletes who were discontent with the gender order that too often marginalised and demeaned women. It is tempting to examine feminisms as a possible answer. I came relatively late to feminist theory and practice, with the awakening of my own lesbian identity in the mid-1980s, followed by a personal and professional alignment with radical objectives. You came to feminism much earlier than I did, in a country renowned as a beacon of equal rights. It must have been all-the-more frustrating, therefore, to experience sex discrimination and to witness harassment, both in sport and in academic life. We had both been victims of gender politics in higher education at various times, through embarrassing job interviews, missed promotions, cultural isolation and various forms of ridicule. This gave us a kind of common bond with our feminist partners in *WomenSport International* as it became clear to all of us that sex discrimination is blind to international boundaries. You have done a huge amount of work on equality policies and, latterly, gender mainstreaming and have had a very real and positive impact on the practice of gender relations in sport in many different countries. Indeed, your appetite for conference travel has often left me amazed as I find such journeying simply exhausting. It seems to me, therefore, that you have kept much more closely in touch with the broad sweep of gender work in sport internationally than I have. (As one example, you have a much deeper understanding of Muslim issues in sport than I do.) I felt I had to focus more on sexual abuse, and its prevention, since I saw, too often and at close quarters, the devastating effects that it had had on the athletes I interviewed. My own struggle to effect change in the way sport deals with abuse meant that my energies were devoted much more to lobbying and activism throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, mostly within

my own country and only occasionally abroad. I should like to think that we have both been influential but perhaps in different ways and perhaps in different spheres.

My strategy led eventually to both the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and UNICEF asking us to work for them on the issue. I am very proud that our joint efforts brought together the world's most significant child protection organisation (UNICEF) and the world's most important sport agency (the IOC). I hope that the future sees the IOC and UNICEF jointly promoting improved practices in international sport-for-development contexts. Using research evidence as an effective tool, your work has resulted in policy change across several nations and in many different organisations, in relation to both gender equality and gender relations.

As you are well aware, it has not been easy getting to this point. We have both encountered professional sceptics and personal rivals at various points. Arguably, gender disappeared off the policy agenda for a while as the younger generation of women in sport following behind us began to enjoy the fruits of feminist activism and perhaps thought that all equality battles had been won. But we know differently. I'm sure we both have confidence in the next generation to keep up the pressure, to keep using scholarship to drive improvements for women and girls and, as we did, to enjoy each other's company along the way.

Others will judge the quality and impacts of our work. For now, I think we should both raise a glass of champagne and toast our collaboration of almost thirty years. Thank you.

With every good wish from your friend and colleague,
Celia

List of Joint Publications: Books and Reports

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Nadezda Knorre

Women, Traditions and their Opportunities in Sport Management: The Czech Experience

During the many years of working in the Czech Olympic Committee, I gained a deep recognition of the situation of women in general, and women in sports in particular, in my home country. The cooperation with Kari Fasting increased my interest in the situation of women in various sport related roles, e.g. as athletes and as leaders. We cooperated closely in a project on sexual harassment and her questions, ideas and interpretations were in many ways eye-opening and inspirational.

The following reflections about women in leadership positions are a part of an ongoing dialogue with Kari and other colleagues which will provide insights into and understanding of the diverse barriers that women are facing on their way to top positions.

Our son's favorite singer, Jaromir Nohavica, sings in one of his songs: "A beautiful day, everywhere in the Czech Republic it's pretty, welcome …" (Nohavica, 2009). I don't know what kind of song he would compose about the Czech sport organizations where the situation is not "pretty" at all.

Czech Women: Still Hampered by Tradition

What is today's Czech woman like? According to research (Kuchařová & Zamykalová, 2001), she is fully involved in her work and her family. On the one hand, she expects that her husband would be more engaged in the family; on the other hand, she does not want him too involved, as she still perceives it to be her domain, as the place where she can fulfill her professional ambitions. The typical Czech woman does not have too much time for anything else other than work and the family (not even for herself and her interests), let alone public or political engagement. When the children grow up but are still not independent, she ends up often in a "sandwich" situation – she is caring for elderly parents as well as adolescent teens and is dissatisfied with this situation, because she cannot engage effectively in her professional career. She feels equal to her husband, but she sees his position in the family and on the job market as better due to the unfair as-

sessment of women and the unequal division of obligations in the family (to which she herself contributes).

Can then such a woman fight with a man for decision making positions in a sport organization? It will be at least difficult, maybe impossible.

To change the current situation and to reach true gender equality is not easy and it is a long struggle. Kari Fasting was the one who has started doing research on women and writing a new chapter about women in Czech sport. Thanks Kari.

National Traditions and Expectations are reflected in Women's Sport Leadership Opportunities

Czech women participate in all areas of the society, they work successfully in all fields and on all levels, but they do not get a lot of recognition, on the contrary, their work is often devaluated and their leadership qualities are disputed.

What about women themselves? Do they believe in equality? Or do they comply with men's superiority demands? The objection of women against taking a stand also shows when they are asked to take on a leadership position in a sport organization, in particular when they will work in an area where men predominate and where traditional male values are prevalent. Some women may refuse this offer with the argument that the area is not interesting and therefore not attractive for her. Others may accept the offer, but leave when their expectations are not met or when their initiatives fail.

Often they merely adjust to the system. However, there is also the option, that the organization will change in such a way that women will eventually get the opportunity to influence future policy in sports.

Czech media reconfirm the general attitudes towards women in Czech sport as well as in the society as a whole. Despite the gender hierarchy in the Czech Republic in general and in sport organizations in particular, there is not an open "battle" between men and women. In addition, Czechs are not used to address seemingly minor problems and to face serious conflicts. They hope that problems will disappear by themselves or be solved by authorities.

It may be Czech Crystal or Glass – But there is a Ceiling

In the Czech Republic, a "glass ceiling" seems to prevent the advancement of women not only in sport organizations, but also in other areas of the society. Women make up a small percentage of the Czech government, comprising only 9% of the total number of MPs. On average, women only earn 70% of the salaries of men. The difference in the salaries changes with education, the higher the level of education, the smaller the difference. The difference also depends on age. Women at the age of 20 earn 98% of the salary of men whereas 60 year old women earn only 71% of the salary of men of the same age ("Gender Equality in Czech Republic", 2011).

It is assumed, as a matter of fact, that decisions made by women are not as high in quality as decisions made by men in the same positions. This negative assessment of women´s skills is not expressed openly because the public opinion about women is influenced by the myth of gender inequality as it is promoted by tradition, Western media and international institutions.

Currently the percentage of women on the executive committees of Czech sport federations is about 10%. And women in decision-making positions, in sport and in other fields, don't have it easy. Their position does not elicit respect and esteem from men; instead, we can observe a slight ridicule when women rise to speak or dare to make decisions. The lack of women in executive roles is – at least partly – the result of the gender politics of the previous regime, where women had to be not only wives and mothers but also full time employees. The double or triple workload made it impossible for women to hold management positions – they did simply not have time for the energy-sapping work in a sport organization. After the 1989 revolution, the situation changed slightly, but the recognition of women in management positions is still low. There are still relatively few women in leadership positions and their recognition is much lower than the status of female leaders in many Western European countries.

Cutting through the Crystal Ceiling

Many women in top positions of sports federations are former athletes who have learned to be competitive and assertive. This may not make them very popular, but I have observed that there is no serious resistance against women in decision-making positions in the Czech sport organizations.

Men are aware that the Olympic Committee and other important international sport organizations are monitoring the situation relative to the position of women in sports, so nobody dares to oppose open gender equality. While there may be no open "battle" against the "other sex", some men often feel nothing but contempt for female leaders and they show their feelings in various ways. Their negative assessments are often connected with a devaluation of women and a depreciation of their management skills. Sometimes, the decisions of women are trivialised or even assessed negatively, sometimes men in power will also refuse to cooperate with their female colleagues.

The problems experienced by top female leaders have an impact on the decisions of other women, for example: there are not many female applicants for management positions and women seem to intentionally avoid many top-level "jobs". They don't want additional worries when they have plenty to worry about in their families and at work.

The attitudes towards women on the boards of sport federations are based on the gender roles in the Czech society; it is not expressed in words, but in actions. However, since actions speak louder than words, we can understand the reticence of women to assume decision-making positions in sports. It is important not only to know the number of women in management positions, but also to ask how they specifically can affect the process of organization and control of sports activities in the country. The only research project on this topic has been done by Kari Fasting for the Czech Olympic Committee (Fasting & Knorre, 2005).

Based on my experience, the few women with executive roles in Czech sport do a very good job; they show insight and take the responsibility for the consequences of their decisions. This is essential if the authority to do a job implies the responsibility for its outcome. This authority-responsibility entity is often not observed by the timid. It takes courage to take responsibility for an unsuccessful project. Some men have trouble with admitting failure because it does not fit the hegemonic masculinity ideal!

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Anita White

Kari Fasting's Contribution and Influence on the International Women and Sport Movement

I first met Kari in London in 1978 when we were both invited speakers at a conference on women in sport. Since then there have been many conferences on women and sport but in the late 1970s research and activism around women and sport issues was in its infancy. I recall that Kari impressed me and the rest of the audience with a presentation containing a lot of statistics about women's sport participation in Norway. We met again a couple of years later in Denver, Colorado, USA at the first NASSS conference. I was studying for my Doctorate in Colorado with George Sage, and he suggested I attend the conference. It was early days for the sociology of sport, a field in which Kari was later to have a huge influence, and as someone new to the field, I was very pleased to find another European woman with whom to share ideas.

I am not sure when the women and sport movement was established in Norway – probably earlier than in the UK and other parts of Europe. However Kari was a leading figure as the movement became established in Europe in the late 80s and 90s. One of the landmark events was a Council of Europe seminar staged by the British Sports Council In 1989. Kari was there together with Margaret Talbot, Celia Brackenridge and me. Together with some other delegates, we insisted that the issues raised should be recognised by the European sporting organisations and followed up after the seminar. Consequently a working group was formed of which Kari was a key member. Initially the working group came under the auspices of the Council of Europe, and later the European Sport Conference, an organisation that brought together governmental and non-governmental sports organisations from both East and West Europe. It is still in existence as European Women and Sport (EWS) having become a free standing organisation in its own right.

We had a struggle to get the male dominated sporting establishment of that era to recognise the issues surrounding women's involvement in sport and to sign up to the principle of gender equality in sport. Kari's particular contribution to this was research based argument – producing evidence of inequalities that were indisputable and difficult to ignore. I well recall a presentation made by the Women and Sport Working Group to the dele-

gates to European Sports Conference in Bratislava in 1993. Kari presented the results of a survey she had conducted among all the European countries, demonstrating which of them had and which had not fulfilled their stated commitment to gender equality in the preceding two years. This tactic of "naming and shaming" had a huge impact on the audience who were mostly senior male bureaucrats and sports officials. It was another example of using research based evidence to make the case for women and sport.

In 1994 the first world conference on women and sport that brought together policy and decision makers in sport was held in Brighton, England. It resulted in the Brighton Declaration, a policy document on women and sport, which has stood the test of time and now has worldwide currency. Kari was part of the planning group for the conference and played a leading role in the conference itself, leading a thematic workshop over 2 days. The conference not only engaged policy and decision makers, but also brought together leaders in the women and sport movement from outside Europe – notably the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It was at this conference that WomenSport International (WSI) was launched – a new non-governmental organisation committed to addressing major issues facing women in sport. Kari was one of the founder members of WSI which, as Celia Brackenridge describes elsewhere in this book, took a radical and very effective approach to sport and gender issues.

Kari has remained centrally engaged with WSI over the last 18 years, serving on its Executive Board and recently as its President. Its work has been distinguished by the contributions of highly respected researchers from different countries who were not afraid to address difficult and sensitive issues, such as the female athlete triad, homophobia, and sexual abuse and harassment in sport. Celia Brackenridge, another key member of WSI, describes the collaborative work that she and Kari have done on sexual abuse and harassment in Chapter 14 of this book. Their work has had and potentially will continue to have a huge impact on the sporting experiences of women, as sports authorities recognise and address the issues and sport becomes a safer place for women. The success of the interventions that Kari and colleagues have made is that their advocacy is powerful because it is based on evidence and this approach has been an extremely successful.

During the 1990s and 2000s Kari has also remained actively engaged with the wider women and sport network. We served together on the International Working Group on Women and Sport (IWG) in the period leading up to the 4th World Conference in Kumamoto in 2006, and Kari gave freely of her time to help design the programme and provided tremendous

support to the Japanese organisers. She has remained a representative of WSI on the IWG since then, always offering sound advice and support based on her extensive experience.

Kari has also worked directly with women scholars and leaders from developing countries, such as the Czech Republic and Tanzania, sharing her research expertise and supervising their higher degrees through the University of Oslo. She is much in demand as a keynote speaker at international conferences and is a highly effective communicator whether she is speaking to scientists or sports practitioners.

In summary, it is hard to think of anyone that has sustained such a significant contribution to the women and sport movement over the last 30 years. A highly respected scholar and advocate for gender equality in and through sport, with a huge capacity for work.

Thank you Kari – we are all grateful to you and privileged to have known you and worked with you.

Biographies

Johanna Adriaanse completed two undergraduate degrees, Bachelor of Education (PE) and Bachelor of Psychology in Amsterdam prior to obtaining her Master of Education and PhD at the University of Sydney. Currently, she is Senior Lecturer in the Business School at the University of Technology, Sydney. Her expertise is in the area of gender and sport, including women in sport governance. She has published in scholarly and professional journals and regularly appears on television and radio. She has presented her work at national and international conferences including at the United Nations in New York.

Since 2006 Johanna has been Co-chair of the International Working Group (IWG) on Women and Sport, and has also served on the Board of WomenSport International. She is the founder of the Sydney Scoreboard, an innovative web-based tool that monitors women on sport boards globally which is the legacy of the 5th World Conference on Women and Sport. In 2004 Johanna received the Margaret Pewtress Memorial Award from the Australian Government for her outstanding contribution to women's sport. Representing the Netherlands in the Europe Cup for Hockey, she was a member of the team that won four gold medals in the 1970s. She is the proud mother of three children, Arabella, Johan and Luigi.

Celia Brackenridge is a Professorial Research Fellow in the Centre for Sport Health and Welfare at Brunel University in West London. After qualifying as a Physical Education teacher at Bedford College of PE and Cambridge University, Celia worked at Sheffield Hallam and Gloucestershire Universities. She has been an honorary visiting professor in Germany (the Deutsche Sporthochschule, Cologne), the USA (Smith College, Massachusetts) and the UK (the Centre for Applied Childhood Studies at Huddersfield University). An accredited BASES Interdisciplinary Researcher, Celia has drawn on both natural and social science paradigms in her work. She has pursued particular interests in gender and social justice themes but in her early career also conducted investigations into the evolution and ethology of territorial sports.

Celia has acted as programme consultant to the IOC Medical Commission Consensus Statement on Sexual Harassment and Abuse in Sport (2007-12) and to the UNICEF working group on violence against children in sport (2007-08). She served on the Research Committee of the National Organisation for the Treatment of Abusers and the Research Task Force of

the NSPCC/Sport England Child Protection in Sport Unit. Celia was made a Fellow of BASES in 2010. Her awards include: the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in the 2012 Queen's New Years Honours; an Honorary Doctor of Science at the University of Bedfordshire in 2009; the Distinguished International Scholar Award of the Association for Applied Sport Psychology in 2008; and the US Women's Sports Foundation's Darlene Kluka Research Award in 2007.

Stiliani "Ani" Chroni has a background in sport sciences (Aristotle's University of Thessaloniki, 1991) and Master's and PhD degree Sport Psychology (Springfield College, 1994; University of Virginia degrees, 1997). She further conducted post-doctoral research funded by the Hellenic State Scholarship Institution (University of Thessaly, 1999-2001). Ani is a Certified Consultant in Sport Psychology by AASP (USA) and by the Greek Sport Psychology Society.

Ani has collaborated in book chapters and articles published in both international and Greek refereed journals. She has two research lines: The first investigates psychological safety and well-being of sport participants. The second explores athletes' perceptions and responses that influence persistence and performance in sport.

Since 2004 Ani has worked extensively on gender and equity issues in Greece with an emphasis on female athletes' sexual harassment experiences. She coordinated the institutional program "Gender and Equity Issues" (University of Thessaly, 2005-2008); developed the material concerning gender equity as part of a larger Greek school program on eliminating social inequalities (Kallipateira, 2006); and organized the First International Forum on "Youth Sport with a Gender Perspective" (2008) in Greece. Currently, she serves as the Secretary for WomenSport International, where she also served as Advisory Board Member (2005-2009). For over a decade she has served on the Managing Council of the Hellenic Sport Psychology Society (2000-present). All her life she has been active in sports. Today she competes at masters alpine ski races and serves as Technical Delegate at international and continental races for the International Ski Federation.

Fiona Dowling is Professor of Education at the Norwegian School of Sports Sciences. She has worked with teacher education at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels for many years, after teaching in schools in England and Norway. Her research interests include teacher professionalism, gender in Physical Education (PE) and sport, narrative and qualitative

research methodology. Fiona's recent work has focused on the experiences of teacher educators who aspire to a social justice agenda in teacher education, and young people's narratives about their participation in physical culture and their experiences in PE.

Heidi Eng is Associate Professor in social work and family therapy at Diakonhjemmet University College, Oslo. She was educated at the Norwegian School of Sports Sciences (BA, MA and PhD). Her research interests include: Issues of gender and sexuality in sport and physical education, queer theory and feminism, and epistemology and writing methods. Heidi is currently involved in an interdisciplinary research group "New World – Old Gender? Growing up in a Gender Equality Era", at the Centre for Gender Research, University of Oslo. She also teaches on Gender/Sexuality Studies in the field of family therapy.

M. Ann Hall was educated at Queen's University (BA, BPHE), the University of Alberta (MA) and the University of Birmingham (PhD). In 1968, she joined the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta, where she remained until her retirement in 1997 as Professor Emerita. She is also a former Chair of the Women's Studies Program in the Faculty of Arts. Her teaching and research interests focused primarily on the sociological aspects of sport in Canada, more specifically gender relations in sport and leisure.

She continues to be an active scholar through writing, reviewing, occasional teaching, conference presentations and volunteer work. Her research focus for the past 15 years has been on Canadian women's sport history, and she has published several papers and books in this area. Her most recent book is the award-winning *The Grads Are Playing Tonight!: The Story of the Edmonton Commercial Graduates Basketball Club* published by the University of Alberta Press in 2011.

Throughout her career, Ann has been associated with numerous boards and organizations related to sport, especially women's sport, both nationally and internationally. She is currently a member of the Alberta Sport History Project committee sponsored through the Alberta Sports Hall of Fame and Museum. She also sits on the Edmonton Historical Board, an advisory committee to City Council.

Still an active athlete, she rides regularly, and for the past 25 years has been involved in the sport of dressage.

Jorid Hovden has a long academic career within sport studies in Norway. She started her career as an assistant professor at Finnmark University College in 1981. During her nearly 25 years as an assistant and associate professor at Finnmark University College, she contributed substantially to integrating a gender perspective into the curriculum both in sport studies and in other academic fields. She was the coordinator of The Research Group on Women and Development in Rural Regions for twenty years. Jorid has a PhD in sociology (2001, University of Tromsø). Since 2007 she has been employed as a professor in sociology at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim.

Jorid has conducted regional, national and international research projects, in one of which eighteen countries were included. She has edited books and special issues of journals and published several articles and book chapters in national and international journals and books.

Jorid is past-president of the Association for Gender Research in Norway. At the moment she is member of the extended board of the International Sociology of Sport Association. She has been a national player in volleyball and was for many years engaged as a coach and as a sport politician at both the local and national levels. She still loves to play ball games and is convinced that playing ball games is the best and most enjoyable form of relaxation.

Nadezda Knorre has a doctoral degree from the Faculty of Sport and Physical Education, Charles University in Prague, where she worked as a teacher at the Department of Gymnastics from 1986 to 2004. All her life Nadezda has been active in sport, particularly in artistic and team gymnastics. She loves golf and skiing. Nadezda was a coach of gymnastics and served from 1993 to 2001 as a member of the Technical Committee General Gymnastics, in the European Gymnastic Federation (UEG). During the same period she was also a board member of the Czech Gymnastic Federation, and an international judge in team gymnastics.

In 1997 she was appointed to her current position as the first chairperson of the Women and Sport Committee of the Czech Olympic Committee. From 2001-2004 she was the first elected woman as member of the Board of the Czech Olympic Committee, and from 2001-2004 she represented Czech Sport in the European Women and Sport steering group (EWS). In 2011 she was elected as an Advisory Board member of Women Sport International. Her current publications concentrate to all issues concerning women and sport in the Czech Republic.

Gerd von der Lippe was able to draw on experience from her sporting life as a Norwegian champion in the 100m, 200m and 400m track and field events into research. In 1960 she competed against the US Olympic gold medal winner of three events in the 1960 Games, Wilma Rudolph, in a 100m race at White City Stadium in London. Today, she is a professor of sport sociology.

Gerd was the first person to do research on gender and sport in Norway in 1976. In 1980 Gerd founded the Institute for Sport and Outdoor Life at Telemark University College and became its first leader. Her PhD was a feminist analysis of the body cultures of organized sport in Norway from 1890-1950. Her research focuses on gender, power and sexualities in sport and in sport media. Because she has written several books, critical chronicles in newspapers and taken part in TV debates on sports, masculinities and femininities, she was chosen as a member of the Norwegian Broadcasting Committee with an agenda to discuss the contents of their programs. The project "Heresy as a Victorious Political Practice: Grass-roots Politics in Norwegian Sports 1972-1975", published in the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* in 2000 might be the best example of her integration of theory and practice. Her last book *A Critical View on Mediasport* was published in 2010, and her latest research project is "Football, Masculinities and War in Gaza".

Carole Oglesby has been in the professoriate for more than forty years; 27 of them at Temple University. She earned a PhD in Kinesiology at Purdue University in 1969 and a PhD in Counseling at Temple University in 1999. She was a department chair at Temple from 1992-1995 and at California State University, Northridge 2003-2009.

Carole's scholarly career has been devoted to growth and development in two areas; women's/gender studies in sport and sport psychology. She has held major leadership positions in academic and advocacy organizations in these areas such as National Association of Girl's and Women's Sport, Women's Sport Foundation, WomenSport International, Association for Applied Sport Psychology and USA-FISU organization.

She was awarded the AIAW Award of Merit, NAGWS Honor Fellow and Women's Sports Foundation Billie Jean King Award; AAHPERD Honor Award, R. Tait McKenzie Award for service outside the profession, C.D. Henry Award for service to racial and ethnic minorities. She received the American Psychological Association Div. 47 Lifetime Achievement Award

in Public Service and also the Phillip Noel Baker Research Award of the International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education.

Carole was principle contributor for a UN-Division for the Advancement of Women monograph entitled *Women, Gender Equality and Sport*, translated into four languages and released March 2008. She published over 50 chapters, articles, essays, four books or monographs and advised 49 successful PhD students at Temple University. Her doctoral work in counseling was a culmination of a lifetime of observation that sport, and other high performance contexts, can bring trauma as well as positive development.

Gertrud Pfister looks back to a long academic career starting with a PhD in history (1976, University of Regensburg), followed by another PhD in sociology (department of sociology of the Ruhr-University Bochum, 1980). In addition, she conducted a post-doctoral habilitation in the area of sport sociology at the Ruhr-University Bochum. From 1980 to 2000, she was employed as professor at the University Berlin and was appointed to a professor position at the University of Copenhagen in 2001. Gertrud has been a guest professor at several foreign universities, among others, of the University of Jyväskylä and the Gama Filho University in Rio de Janeiro.

In Germany and in Denmark, Gertrud conducted several large national and international research projects, funded by such organizations as the IOC, the German Ministry of Women and Youth and the Danish Agency of Science, Technology and Innovation. She has published more than 200 articles and 20 books.

Gertrud is past-president of the International Society for the History of Physical Education and Sport and of the International Sociology of Sport Association. In addition, she supports women and sport associations (IAPESGW and WSI), among other things, by providing advice or organising networks.

All her life, Gertrud has been active in sport, in particular in skiing, tennis and long distance running. She loves bicycling and jogging and is convinced that life is enriched by being physically active.

Sheila Scraton began her career as a teacher of Physical Education in schools and colleges in the UK. During a career break for a family she completed her PhD on *Gender and Physical Education*. Since the late 1980s she has been a lecturer and professor at Leeds Metropolitan University where her main research and teaching interests have been on feminist the-

ories and (in)equalities in sport, leisure and Physical Education particularly focusing on gender and race.

Sheila retired from full-time university work in 2010 having spent the final 5 years at Leeds Metropolitan University as the Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Research. She is now an Emeritus Professor and continues to supervise PhD students and write and research with colleagues.

Sheila has published widely in the area. She is past editor of the international journal *Leisure Studies* and currently sits on the advisory boards of *Sport, Education & Society, Leisure Studies* and *Journal of Social Issues in Sport*. In the 2001 Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) in the UK, Sheila was on the national panel for Sport-Related Studies and was invited to be Vice-Chair for the following RAE in 2008. She is currently an adviser to four UK universities on their RAE 2014 submissions.

Sheila has always loved participation as well as understanding and researching about sport. Her days of netball, rock climbing, winter mountaineering, kayaking may be over but she continues to love walking in the hills and mountains, visits the gym and watches all types of sport.

Mari Kristin Sisjord is Professor at the Norwegian School of Sports Sciences (NSSS) where she earned her PhD in 1994. Since then, she has been employed at the same institution, first with a post-doctoral scholarship financed by the Norwegian Research Council before she was employed as Associate Professor in Sport Sociology in 1997. From 1999-2001 she was dean at the Institute for Social Science at NSSS. She has served two periods (1996-2003) on the board of the International Sociology of Sport Association, the last period as Vice President. Mari Kristin's research has focused primarily on youth sports, lifestyle sports, gender issues in sport, and sport and media.

Bente Ovèdie Skogvang earned her PhD from the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences (2006) with the thesis *Toppfotball – et felt i forandring* (Elite football – a field of changes). She works as Associate Professor at the Department of Sport and Active Lifestyle, Faculty of Public Health at Hedmark University College, Elverum, Norway. Bente co-authored Skogvang, B., Peiterson, B. and Stanley-Kehl, K. (2000) *Soccer Today* (Wadsworth's physical education series, Wadsworth Thomson Learning, Belmont, USA). She has been the Director of Serieforeningen for kvinnefotball (Women Elite Clubs Organization in Norway) and has a long personal history with women's football as player, leader, coach and referee. She was the referee

of the inaugural Women's Football Final in 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta and she has been a member of the Executive Board in the Norwegian Football Association from 1996-2002. Bente is today member of the Steering-group for the NORCORP-project "Scandinavian women's football goes global".

Kristin Walseth is an Associate Professor at Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences. Her PhD in sport science (2006) from the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences was titled *Sport and integration – the experiences of young Muslim women*. Kristin's main teaching area is sport sociology and handball. Her current research project is on sport, Islam and Muslim organizations in Norway.

Anita White is an acknowledged leader in sport in the UK and in the international women and sport movement. In her sporting life she was captain of the England hockey team that won the World Cup in 1975 and went on to coach at all levels. In her professional life she worked in higher education for 20 years before becoming one of three Senior Directors in the Great Britain Sports Council. She was a founding member and former Chair of the Women's Sports Foundation (UK) and she was also responsible for the staging of the first international conference on Women and Sport in 1994. This resulted in the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport which now has world-wide currency. She co-chaired the International Working Group on Women and Sport from 1994 to 1998 and advises many countries and organisations on women's sport development. In 2005 she was awarded the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for service to women and sport.

Since 2000, Anita has worked as a consultant in sports policy and sports development. Clients include the IOC, UK Sport, the British Council, Sport Canada, and Japanese Women and Sport. She is currently the Chair of the UK Sport based charity "International Development through Sport".

In 2011 the University of Chichester established the "Anita White Foundation" which provides a focal point for activists and scholars in the international women and sport movement. It has two components: an archive of original materials, and a fund to support the education and development of women leaders from developing countries. www.chi.ac.uk/awf