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Experiences and relations in the work of women teacher/coaches: A critical inquiry

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EXPERIENCES AND RELATIONS IN THE WORK OF WOMEN TEACHER/COACHES: A CRITICAL INQUIRY

by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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The purpose of this study was to gain insights into the social realities of high school women teacher/coaches by interpreting and re-interpreting the chronological and Expressive Autobiographical interviews (EAI) of four participants. The EAI and the guided interview methods were used to elicit cultural knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes about women and sport.

Two constructs, experiences and relationships, served as the mediators for entering into the dialectical conversations with these women. The socialist feminist perspective informed the study. The present study proceeded from a historical materialist standpoint of women, and was based on the theory and method of dialectical phenomenology.

A series of interviews were conducted, and the data were juxtaposed with the feminist literature to illuminate the underlying feminist consciousness of these women. Once the social and political nature of their position was established, the data were interpreted and re-interpreted in search of the essential themes.

The two constructs, experiences and relationships, were found to have richness and depth in revealing three essential themes: agency and communal living, maternal thinking and the epistemological development of women. As a central core of women's being, the voices of the

participants revealed congruence with the relevant literature in that the issue of power, and how it is used was also an important construct.

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To the participants in this study, deep appreciation is extended for permitting me to probe into their personal and professional lives in order to gain insights and better understandings about the work experiences of women teacher/coaches.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years as feminist writers have encouraged more research in the area of women's studies, they have also begun to suggest strongly that this process be done on women by women. In keeping with these recommendations, an inquiry was conceptualized to look critically at the personal-professional realities of sport teaching as viewed by women in their middle years. Open-ended questions related to the experiences and relations of sport teaching were proposed. Using the emerging themes of experiences and relationships, instrumental sport was examined for reports of women's positive experiences as teacher/coaches. "Because sport functions as an institution of social control, we assume the meanings associated with it are culturally influenced", and therein women's cultural definition of sport can be revealed (Bennett, Whitaker, Smith, and Tarule, 1987, p. 375).

Until the early 1970's American school sport was conducted and administered separately for boys and girls. Although more girls and women are participating in sport today than in earlier decades, gains at the participation level have been accompanied by a male near take-over in the

areas of administration and coaching. This leaves women's leadership and cultural development in scholastic sport in a state of limbo and without a cause. Because women have had less opportunity to develop a cultural definition of sport to any magnitude, this shift in leadership was viewed as an important perspective to examine as a part of women's cultural involvement. As such, it is the goal of this study to reveal the experiences of several mature women teacher/coaches who have been active participants in the changing scholastic sport culture. The voice of the socialist feminist political critique will be used to set the problematic.

It has been my impression that women's reality often differs from that of the dominant male view. Yet, no matter how difficult or incongruent, women must, within their available space, attempt to make a place for themselves in the workplace. The limited choices, ambiguity, and the skepticism surrounding the small range of choices together with other impinging powerful institutions tend to keep women restricted. Even as women began to gain status in the workplace, their sanctioned roles are typically those of assistants, thus maintaining a secondary status.

As presently instituted, sport and the masculine ideology incorporates and associates competition with aggression, power, and dominance. A woman's view of power

has been shown to stress aspects related to energy, enabling capacities, and creative potential which often emerges in sport competition as a communal dimension. It is this dimension of women's ideology and feminist reconceptualization of power that has potential for social change and a redefinition of sport.

Birke and Vines (1987) suggested that "in order to redefine sport, . . . feminists need to re-address the question of competition" (p. 345). By avoiding "the whole idea of competition we are leaving it on a masculine terrain. Rather than rejecting it, we need to analyze what it is about" the masculine notion of competition to which we object (Birke & Vines, p. 345). It is important to examine competition from a feminine sensibility, to arrive at the conscious ontological and epistemological choices of women which would serve to inform, to reaffirm, and to plan effective strategies which may counteract the effects of male dominance in sport.

It is often stressed that the attitudes, customs, and behaviors of men and women, and gender relations in society are constructed in the social domain. The result of this socially constructed division of roles and defined activities enters many spheres in our society, and indeed no less in sport. Harris (1980) and Naisen (1980) have suggested that gender-defined roles become epitomized in the world of sport. By sheer numbers alone males claim

dominance, cultural influence, and ultimate control over sport. This apparently leaves girls and women who wish to pursue sport on a long term basis, or as a profession, to endure certain degrees of isolation and trivialization in an oppressive system which operates on patriarchal principles and for which male interests are served.

Usually, girls and women cannot choose among activities freely, nor can they use those activities to experience themselves joyfully and as unified human beings. As one begins to realize how many males are privileged to this enhancement, and how few females, it then becomes necessary to ask why this situation exists, and to look for systematic social construction of a women's view and cultural definition which is more empowering and which may better serve the interests of women.

The approach of this study was one of asking how some women experience and define sport. Only in this manner are we able to conceptualize the oppressive nature of the institution and to begin to reclaim sport as a more reasonable place for girls and women to obtain the personal enhancement afforded males. "Through reflexive social action, women (and by extension other traditionally disenfranchised groups) can overcome the hegemonic grasp of alienating ideologies and institute social practices which have authentic meaning in their own lives" (Birrell & Richter, 1987, p. 395).

My initial questions about a feminine view of competition have led me to a feminist consciousness, an examination of feminist literature, and subsequently to a series of informal talks and interview sessions with selected women sport teachers. The meaning and reality of the historical and material conditions of their daily struggle is expressed in a reflective voice. Breaking the barriers to isolation by entering into dialogue and sharing in a feminist scholarship is seen as a beginning step toward reformulation of instrumental sport. Expressive autobiographical stories were intertwined with the feminist literature to illuminate the feminist consciousness of ten women. Four participants were identified for repeated interviews. As they reflected and voiced their many experiences and relations, their deep concern for women's secondary position in society as well as their struggles with the hierarchy of institutional organizations were revealed.

Much of the focus of the study resides in the language of the participants as they reflected and talked about both favorable and unfavorable circumstances of their workplace and position in society. The dialectic used to focus themes for critical analysis was an ongoing comparison and contrast of the interview data intertwined with feminist literature and the sociology of sport. The analysis draws on feminist theory and feminist studies in sport which

explore ways in which women have actively resisted inimical social practices and ideologies.

Statement of the Problem

The inquiry was conceptualized to gain a better understanding and explanation of the nature of the experiences and relations of women teacher/coaches. In light of its personally rooted and socio-cultural perspective, a personal and professional integration of dialogue among women teacher/coaches was the process used to uncover some of the social realities. Understanding how mature women frame and define this socio-cultural setting may provide a richer and more detailed tapestry of women's experience in sport.

From an ontological and epistemological perspective, then, the following issues were explored: What is the essence or meaning of the sport experience for girls and women? What are the characteristics of this experience which distinguish it from others? What are the manifestations of this experience? What are some of the tacit understandings accompanying the women's sport experience?

Assumptions

Ideas that are accepted and not investigated as part of this inquiry are acknowledged as follows:

1. The participants will be provide culturally relevant information about teaching and coaching in high school.
2. The experiences and relations of women can be studied in depth by talking with participants and then juxapositioning these conversations with feminist literature.
3. Insights into the phenomenon of female teacher/coaches could provide a better understanding of the marginality and secondary status of women's experiences as well as provide strategies for transcending an oppressive position.
4. The personal becomes epistemologically political when a subordinate or oppressed group, such as women, have been conditioned to their position in society and denied self-knowledge.

Significance of the Study

According to Jaggar (1983) and Hall (1985), "the notion of a standpoint, and in particular the standpoint of women, is introduced to show how it is possible for women to demystify their social reality and to begin the necessary reconstruction of the sportsworld so that women's interest" are served (Hall, p. 25). Thus, the goal of this inquiry is to gain insights and a better understanding of how mature women in sport teaching think about sport, and

in so doing, how they use their knowledge to shape their understanding of a social world of sport.

First, the study will make known the constitutive social practices which have the possibility for the making and remaking the liberating experiences and other dimensions which women value. It is "the making and remaking of ourselves as agents (individual and collective) in society" (Gruneau, 1983, p. 50) that allows for the creation of cultural form and human agency.

The second point follows from the first: the valued social practices and/or cultural forms are tied to modes of domination and subordination or, in this instance, the resistance to the dualistic nature of instrumental sport. In this instance the researcher will provide insight into the implicit and explicit ways in which women have learned to balance the competitive-cooperative ethos in their sport experience and offer a feminist alternative to this duality. Lenskyj (1987) has argued from a positive perspective that "women's sporting activities offer the potential for resistance: sport developed by and for women may promote values which the traditional male sporting model ignores, and may strengthen understanding and solidarity between" . . . and among all disenfranchised groups (p. 286).

Third, the findings of this study may be of importance to individuals conducting career research in general.

Considering the multiple role tasks required of teacher/coaches and the considerable similarity to role stress in health careers, this study could be useful for such an agenda.

Finally, from a personal perspective, uncovering some of the personal meanings and understandings of sport experience as they relate to the internalized judgments of mature women is an important dimension in physical education and sport that has been overlooked. The perceptions of female teacher/coaches whose lives and experiences are rich with history and culture about sport has been much less approached than those of other groups in sport. The study has the potential of relating to women's studies in general, and for contributing to sociology of sport and physical education in particular.

Organization of the Dissertation

The purpose of this study was to broaden the existing field of knowledge of women's experience by doing the following:

1. To construct a theoretical framework of women's experiences and relations in sport based on selected writings of key authors in the area.
2. To conduct a thematic analysis of the reflections of interviewed teachers/coaches and then to personally and theoretically interpret the analysis.

3. To re-interpret the theoretical framework using the reflections and words of the participants, feminist literature and the researcher's experiential knowledge to culminate in an in-depth analysis.
4. To report and explain the understandings and renewed findings which have implications for the experiences of women in sport, and women in general.

Explanation of Terms

The following terms are defined as they have been understood in the context of this inquiry. Developing a theoretical framework creates an informed view which supports and encapsulates an idea or notion. This informed view as documented by key authors provides a beginning, a guide, and a sense of structure to an otherwise open, very subjective set of hunches and ideas.

It is important to remember that various kinds of experiences are central to this mode of inquiry, namely induction, deduction, and also verification. Inductively, with the data collecting and categorizing phase, the researcher begins a search for commonalties and variations of reoccurring ideas and events. From this base within the data a thematic analysis can be conducted on the most salient ideas emerging from the data. Thus, from a thematic analysis or critical analysis is a method of examining the essential issues of an entity as voiced by the participants.

For the study, the feminist way of thinking and knowing by reason, experience and intuition, feminist epistemology, served as the central core in search for a better understanding of women's existence, ontology, as teacher/coaches. As women continue to struggle for more independence and an autonomous position, the agentic dimension, they seem to be equally concerned with the ethic of care or communal dimension.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Feminist Theory

A primary intent of political philosophy is to look critically at social reality and social relations in their normative mode and to provide strategies which will take us from here to there--from inequality to equality, from oppression to liberation, from injustice to justice. Thus, the articulation and conscious endeavors made through feminist theory serve as a viable political philosophy to create better understandings and relations between women and men.

Strategies for, or theories used to explain the special oppression of women are said to be grouped under four or more concepts. Jaggar (1983) discusses four feminist theories which are (1) liberal feminism, (2) Marxist-inspired feminism, (3) radical feminism, and (4) socialist feminism.

The liberal concept of liberal political theory is to charge the state with the authority of protecting the rights and privileges of the individual. Jaggar stated that "as well as opposing laws that establish different rights for men and women, liberal feminists have also

promoted legislation that actually prohibit various kinds of discrimination against women" (p. 35).

Marxist theory "offers a devastating critique of the capitalist system" and views the notion of class as "the key to understanding all social phenomena, including the phenomenon of women's oppression" (Jaggar, p. 51). From the Marxist view, one cannot have an a priori notion of women's nature, thus, women must be studied from their historical situation and productive activity. Jaggar stated, "thus, in order to understand women in a given society, we must examine the kinds of labor they perform, the ways in which this labor is organized, and the social relations that women form with each other and with men as a result of their labor and its mode of organization" (p. 63).

The liberal and Marxist conceptions of feminism are, respectively, 300 and 100 years old. By contrast, the radical feminism movement is a contemporary phenomenon generated in the late 1960s. "Its emphasis on the importance of feelings and so-called personal relationships is characteristic of the 20th century, and this emphasis was reflected in the ideals and documents of the new left, which was where women first began articulating the ideas of radical feminism" (Jaggar, p. 83).

The last, socialist feminism, is the inheritor of all of the others having its beginning during the early 70s,

and thus being labeled "the daughter of the contemporary women's liberation movement" (Jaggar, p. 123). The author indicated that the central project of socialist feminism is the development of a political theory and practice that will synthesize the best insights of radical feminism, the Marxist-inspired tradition, and which will simultaneously escape the problems associated with each. In addition, Jaggar indicated that in spite of its programmatic and problematic nature, presently socialist feminism seems to offer the most coherent and adequate theory, and thus practice for feminist liberation.

In combining the most promising ideas of the Marxist tradition and radical feminism, socialist feminism claims the need for an alternative view. This view takes on a technical language of naming itself as the historical materialist method. Social feminist theory postulates that a political psychology must be materialist or non-idealist; that is to say, specific motives and character traits must be grounded in specific forms of praxis or in modes of production, Jaggar indicated.

Whether the production is childbearing, child rearing, a nurturing nature, the public spheres of human life or private spheres of human relationships, socialist feminism sets as one of its main goals that of remaining sensitive to the following:

> that our inner lives, as well as our bodies and behavior, are structured by gender; that this gender-structuring is not innate but socially imposed. . . . (Jaggar, p. 127)

The historical materialist account seeks to connect masculine and feminine psychology with the Marxist tradition of sexual division of labor. This account is very sensitive to the inclusion of the sexual and procreational role which has been felt to be only naturally biological, and therefore less uniquely human and less valuable than the culturally constructed public sphere associated with the traditional male model. It seeks to include both the public and private spheres and states that "the woman's place is everywhere" (Jaggar, p. 129).

Although this theoretical perspective focuses mainly on women, this type of analysis has promise and implications for a political philosophy of humankind as a whole. One result of this line of work is that "the adult white male can no longer be taken to represent all of humanity, nor the adult white male experience to encompass all that is important in human life" (Jaggar, p. 22). The historical feminist method is an important intellectual approach which is crucial to the women's movement, the women's struggle, and for knowledge of improved relations between women and men.

Concepts

After reading different sources in the feminist critique, a considered choice of the socialist feminist viewpoint was selected. Two important constructs recognized in this line of thought are concerns for relationships and experiences as central issues in the lives of women. These two constructs were also expected to be powerful mediators for women in sport. Thus, the two constructs were developed and explored in the socialist feminist tradition.

Relations. Only recently have theorists and researchers begun to view women's development as one that has a value and strength of its own--and one which often differs from that of the male prototype. Much of research on human development was conducted exclusively on men and boys, and generalized to women and girls. Gilligan (1982) stated that "the disparity between women's experiences and the representation of human development, noted throughout the psychological literature, has generally been seen to signify a problem in women's development. Instead, the failure of women to fit existing models of human growth may point to a problem in the representation. . . ." (pp. 1-2). This could lead to a misrepresentation of certain truths about life which contributes to the stereotypical nature of peoples' thinking.

Thus, negative stereotypical thinking can be noted to begin with parenting and the socially differential treatment of both genders at birth. The differential socialization begins by dressing one gender in pink and the other in blue--an accepted and tacitly understood practice. With this practice begins a continuous socialization process designed to mold behavior patterns deemed appropriate for a particular gender. Daily activities and play activities reinforce and are rewarded with responses of approval and affection. Conversely, the denial of affection is the case when disapproved acts are displayed.

Girls are supplied with dolls, playhouses, tea sets, and the like which connote their connectedness with mother (the nurturing, caring model). Boys are given sport equipment and/or some facsimile and sent outside to play--connoting their relative closeness to the male model who is physically active, aggressive, and who spends the day away from the house at work. Examples could go on and on. The point I wish to make is that males and females experience the world overwhelmingly differently, though quite subtly, and therein the basis of their moral development emerges differently.

Gilligan (1982) stated that "because this early social environment differs for and is experienced differently by male and female children, basic sex differences recur in personality development" (p. 7). She further explains that

the separation-individuation process in early childhood and adolescent years differs for males and females. It seems that for boys and men, the separation and individuation from the mother is crucial to developing masculine traits and is thus encouraged. For girls and women, the continual close relationship to mother is encouraged. Thus, her feminine identity is based on attachments; and, her psyche is threaten by the pain of separation, and pressure to develop an autonomous nature which gains or wins at the risk of another's loss.

This pattern brings us to the importance of relationships in the emerging sense of self for women. Both Gilligan (1982) and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule (1986) assert that women's moral strength, and overriding concern for maintaining relationships and their responsibilities to the other is what infuses the psychology of women; and, further that these traits should not be devalued. They should, in fact, be taken in the context (social context) in which they develop and viewed as a strength--a different strength from that of the male identity but no less a strength.

Gilligan stated that "the elusive mystery of women's development lies in recognition of the continuing importance of attachment in the human life cycle. Woman's place in man's life cycle is to protect this recognition while the developmental litany intones the celebration of

separation, autonomy, individuation, and natural rights" (Gilligan, p. 23). The new women's view and vantage point in life offers an alternative morality in and among the traditional worlds of men and women to re-create a new world.

There is a real issue and orientation for feminine scholarship, and the historical investigation for the contributions of women as we have productively and reproductively helped maintain this cultural heritage in its social contextual fiber. This issue is not to assert a constant and zealous replication of documentation about oppression by the dominant patriarchal system. But instead, Culpepper (1986) says we to ought have a "primarily positive purpose and orientation" (p. 2). We ought to understand the chains that bind us. Even more than that, we ought to attend to and be able to clearly and persuasively articulate those elements and characteristics embodied in the women's existence which are capable of serving as a strategy for liberation.

What is needed now is an articulation and celebration that "expand the joys of female existence" (Culpepper, p. 3) and unites women in their trains of thought as a supportive dimension rather than separating and silencing us. I think we should be conscious of our predicaments and dilemmas, and move beyond them to creative strategies enabling us to voice, demonstrate, and illuminate both

privately and publicly our unique contributions to humanity.

For instance, Belenky et al. suggested that since women have traditionally and almost exclusively held the responsibility of the caretaker and organizer of child care institutions that there is probably much to be learned by educators in the field of growth and human development. Though this view may suggest a stereotypical role for women, it is nonetheless accepted that in combination with their experiences and nurturing ways, women would have an enormous contribution to make to the teaching of human relationships. The results of information gained from interviews with such women "might be particularly illuminating to those educators and human service providers interested in promoting human development" (Belenky et al., p. 13).

Developed to its fullest potential, this then is one example of how research done on women by women has been particularly enlightening, empowering, and also one that postures a celebration of women's contributions. It was during the analysis of the aforementioned research that "the metaphor of voice" emerged as a theme depicting ethical and intellectual development in women arising out of and informed by different experiences.

Experiences. While some moral philosophers speak of the mind's eye in its visionary connotation perceiving

knowledge as that which is in the distance, outside the self, and is to be judged impartially, women have tended to have a different perception. Women repeatedly use the metaphor of voice and conversation as their primary means of connoting their connecting knowledge and knowing. "By holding close to the women's experience of voice", Belenky et al. said, "we have come to understand conceptions of the mind that are different from those held by individuals who find 'the mind's eye' a more appropriate metaphor for expressing their experience with the intellect" (p. 19). The women's voice has been silenced by tradition, the positivistic clamor, the overwhelming male-dominant view and the lopsidedness of published and printed material which largely has not given women equal opportunity and access.

The lack of voice or fear of speaking out in public settings is clearly connected to the overwhelming dominance of the traditionally accepted way. Further, the fact that there are so few or no models to follow, no collective strand of confidants who suggest or boldly and effectively state that women's ways of knowing and expression are of value, has reinforced the idea that we must either struggle with and view the world through the male model or reside to remain unarticulated, unheard, and/or uneducated. The fact that so many women and girls find the educational institution, and especially higher education, to be

problematic is little wonder. The sterile methods of research and writing which intentionally write the knower out of the work is incongruent to understanding and comprehension for women.

To be confronted with a "sea of word and flood of numbers" while having no confidence in the internal voice or dialogical relationships with the other for meaning-making and meaning-sharing is what is so frustrating and discouraging for many women students. Stanley and Wise (1983) stated that their purpose for writing Breaking Out was that they were attempting "to draw together more succinctly some of our ideas about why and how such links between beliefs, life, and research might be made" (p. 172). Women often experience education and life as inseparable. Truisms are better conceived of as that which we have experienced than which linear forms have constructed.

Many women view theories as just that--theories and abstractions, and not the true reality in every situation. For the constructivist feminine level of knowledge, Belenky said "attentive caring is important in understanding not only people but also the written work, ideas, even impersonal objects. Constructivists establish a communion with what they are trying to understand" (p. 143). "A mode of thinking that is contextual and narrative rather than formal and abstract" is important (Gilligan, p. 19).

Learning moves better by letting the inside out and the outside in--following a passionate and dynamic way. Learning is not necessarily that of other authorities. "It is not the finding of truth that is so wonderful. It is the looking for it, the exploring, the searching" (Belenky et al., p. 140). This suggests that the process (the experience) of constructing knowledge in a passionate, connected, and experiential way is what makes feminine epistemology of value to the knower.

Relations and Experiences for the Sporting Woman

I am very impressed by the recent writings of M. Ann Hall and Nancy Theberge in their analysis of the social fabric of sporting women. They have joined the recent expansion in research and theory about women's experience and therein have set it within the sportworld. Hall (1985) asks the question "is there a distinctly feminist epistemology? The answer to this question depends very much on whether one considers the rapidly accelerating feminist challenge to Cartesian epistemology . . ." (p. 31) and Marxist feminine critique as mounting attacks for an alternative epistemology.

Although, as Hall explained, this front is still very much in its embryonic stages. At the very least, it is not definitive, and at best, only tentative. There are, however, beginnings that are philosophically refined.

Moving beyond the rebellious stage, many writers are finding original thoughts, tools, and categories devised by women to understand their social reality. A state of oppression is best articulated and set to rectitude by the members themselves.

In addition, Hall has suggested that, as there is a distinct feminist epistemology there also is a distinct and "unique feminine methodology" (p. 32) which should be used to understand the feminine experience in sport. Hall stated that:

> The general trend is for feminists to place more faith in methodologies that reinforce the epistemological assumption that the only way of knowing a social constructed world is to know it from within. This entails more of an emphasis on reflexive sociologies, such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and perhaps Marx's dialectical materialism. . . . (p. 35)

Hall introduced the idea of a standpoint of women in particular. She argued that an epistemological standpoint of women has two advantages, and "indeed it can be a superior grounding for knowledge claims relative to men's" (p. 32). For one, because one's situatedness is rooted in the sexual division of labor whereby "men's and women's experience differ in ways that tend to limit men's understanding of social relations and social life more than women's. Second, although differing men's and women's experience within the sexual division of labor seem to have their root in biologically different bodies, these

differences are constructed" (p. 32). Because women generally live with the knowledge of both kinds of realities, their standpoint is likely more accurate.

Theberge (1985) stated in her discussion of sport and gender inequality that sport was a male preserve. That is to say, it is a social arena that potentially maintains and contributes to the oppression of women through their objectification and domination of the physicality and sexuality of women.

The media, commentators, and sportswriters often denigrate and trivialize the sporting experiences of women in general. The recent wave of the fitness boom seems to be sponsored mainly to render sexually attractive and sexually appealing. The opinion is that there is little, if any, concern for the development of physical strength or fitness which should be a major goal. Theberge asserted that "sport does not simply represent gender inequality but contributes to its maintenance in social settings that transcend sport" (Theberge, p. 195).

The implications of the male preserve are said to be threefold. The first reason is to "prepare" men for adult roles in the public sector and workplace; the second is to "maintain" the hierarchy of the sex roles; and, lastly, the implication is to "preserve" an exclusive male realm which allows for the expression of intimacy that is otherwise

inappropriate as a male trait (Boutilier & SanGovanni, 1983); Theberge, 1985).

In a critique of critiques, Theberge (1980) stated "two basic components of the feminist prescription for sport . . . and they are "first, gender equality and second, a shift away from a masculine orientation, so that sport becomes less instrumental" (p. 348). Hall suggested in a summation that the study of the women's experience is within its own right something worthwhile--an autonomous and meaningful sphere of human experience. The "sui generis" perspective of the female experience is indeed problematic in its attempts to wrest itself from the dominant view. "At the very least, it can provide a site of resistance" (p. 38). And, it can aspire to the transformation of a new social order which presently is neither humanitarian nor equitable.

Personal Reflections

Many themes have emerged from writing personal journals and essays through this past year. Most prevalent were themes such as: teacher socialization, democratic participation, concepts of domination and manipulation, equity issues, and the competitive/cooperative ethos. An intermeshing of all of these ideals and writings has been the focus of my desire to come to a better understanding of self and the world of work and its relatedness to feminine epistemological development for women in sport.

It is my impression that sporting women and girls suffer a great deal emotionally participating and striving to compete under the male model of competition and sport. And further, if women could head up a sporting ethos separately, the importance of relationships in its nurturing and caring sense would be much more apparent. Women might benefit equally as well in terms of the health and fitness aspects; they could develop proficiencies in sport skills and strive just as hard, but instead, there might be a better atmosphere and a better sense of fairness and concern for the other (opponents as well as team members).

The feminist critique might support my observations that the sport experience for girls and women is hampered and runs incongruent to the natural being and socialization of a large majority of females. Women want to achieve, and to win--but often not at the expense of the other. What may be defined as a "fear of success" by some could alternatively be living out a socialization process and view which is far more concerned with the experiential process than with seeing winning as the most important outcome.

It is my view that many women accept the events of wins and losses in gamesmanship and sport with a different emotional perspective than many men. Women may tend to accept the fact that there will be winners and/or high

achievers; and also that there are lower achievers whose perspectives in accommodating and accepting lesser positions is likened to a mind set of "ones personal best." And further, this suggests a positive orientation toward the idea that an individual is neither defined nor labeled as a loser. In short, there is much more to be gained from symbolic interactionism and/or the sport experience than merely determining winners and losers.

While feeling very productive and enthusiastic about this project, I will affirm my personal convictions. I feel very close to this study. Admittedly, I feel a strong sense of repression. Being black and female, observant, and an experienced teacher, the double bind incidents of silencing, manipulation, and intended domination are very apparent to me.

Sometimes the personal awareness of a certain socio-political situation can lend itself to a more heightened awareness of liberation and an emancipatory praxis. When a lived experience comes to the forefront, a quickness to rebel, emotionalize, and internalize often takes hold before any desire or will to confront a better understanding becomes apparent. The lived experience, sometimes in its repeated episodes, can be more likened to an anger and outrage--thereby painful.

We carry with us our past experiences, those of good outcome as well as those of bad. We move about daily with

good intent and positive attitudes, be they platitudes or genuine, hoping for a better tomorrow. But all the while the chance for misunderstandings is there to get in the way of new beginnings. To the extent that this may affect the results of this study, it is a possibility to be reckoned with.

First, placing oneself fully in the center of the study is important. And, inherent in this approach is a continuous reminder of a lingering chance for a rather zealous and overt identification which could cloud the results and analyses. What may be necessary is a preunderstanding of the understanding and/or a critical awareness of the heightened awareness. Reagan and Stewart (1978) suggested that one be able to leap out of their personal history in order to view the totality of the situation (p. 234).

Taking those things which seem momentous, mysterious, and mythological and looking more closely to see what may be paradigmatic in them is an alternative. As Reagan and Stewart presented in their anthology of Ricoeur's work, they noted that it is not primordial to "break the cultural framework of a myth. . . . The fundamental act of the hermeneutic is the liberation of the significant potential held in suspense in the myth and which consequently constitutes its symbolic content" (p. 236).

As such, the phenomenological approach with a personal motive is the planned process for establishing a dialectic among women to examine their experiences and relationships in sport. The journey I will take to create authenticity and stability is in dialogue with teacher/coaches having career experiences in sport teaching similar to each other and to my own.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to gain insight into the experiences and relations of women sport teachers, and how these experiences and relations are similar to or different from those phenomenon women experience in other situations. Thus, from a socialist feminist perspective, and based on the theory and method of phenomenological investigation, the present study employed a series of interviews with selected women sport teachers.

Dialectical Phenomenology

In its broadest sense, "Phenomenology seeks to describe our basic concepts, . . . by going to the streams of individual experience--to the process of perceiving, thinking, feeling, deciding, remembering, and other mental acts" (Kneller, 1980, p. 27). These streams are our access to all that exists--the basic data of our experiences indicated Kneller (p. 27). And it is here that we must turn for "repository concepts" of what is happening in the particular experience.

Suransky (1980) referred to phenomenology as an alternative research paradigm. Acknowledging the force of phenomenology as a weapon of social change, the author contends that "it has the task of (1) unveiling reality,

(2) demythicizing the second order construct of social science and (3) penetrating to the essence of our social reality" (p. 177).

In an essay "On Making Sense," Rowan (1981) wrote that "a true human inquiry needs to be based firmly in the experience of those it purports to understand, . . ." and for his basic premise he returned to the Hegelian position and the three levels of consciousness available to people in everyday life (p. 113). Rowan reclassified the consciousness levels into the Primary level, the Social level, and the Realized level.

The Primary level, the one-sidedly subjective is where decisions about inquiry appear in a very narrow and personal way. At the Social level the one-sidedly objective appears. One is only "interested in the facts--what is true and false, what is real and what is illusion, what can be proved and disapproved" (Rowan, p. 115). However, at the Realized level, Rowan invokes the objectively subjective. Having moved through the primary and social levels, one may rescue continually material from the subjective experiences to be imparted with the images and symbols of the objective to reaffirm the realized.

Other positions Rowan suggested were: (1) an ideological position which involves a reconciliation as synthesis of two warring tendencies, (2) a consciousness awareness that suspends thinking, and at the same time

permits an ever-flow of the present in the research cycle, and (3) Dialectical thinking where one is concerned with process and movement. Rowan indicated that "dialectical theories are always looking for contradictions within people or situations as the main guide to what is going on and what is happening: dialectics talk a lot about opposition, and really try hard to understand it" (p. 130). In "making sense" of the data, Rowan stated that the inquirer tries "to keep the data alive by allowing the contradictions to emerge, and by exploring the ways the opposites are interdependent, how they interpenetrate, and how they are also a unity" (p. 132).

As a radical thematization of social consciousness, the phenomenological approach serves well the socialist feminism philosophy which advocates that women need a reinterpretation of their position in history and culture. Rowan stated that . . . "in reinterpreting history, they give themselves new possibilities as women in the future" (p. 133). Rowan stated that

> understanding can be seen as a fusion of two perspectives: that of the phenomenon itself, whether it be an ancient text, the life of an historical figure, or a current social or psychological event or process: and that of the interpreter, located in his or her own life, in a

> large culture, and in an historical point in time. (p. 133)

The fused perspectives, hermeneutical-phenomenological approach, called the 'canons' of an interpretative social science by Kockelmans (1975) serve as "guidelines which lead toward an acceptable inter-subjective validity where the interpreter knows to some degree the phenomena he seeks to understand" (p. 83). Kockelmans viewed the task of the two perspectives as that of critically examining

> this fore-knowledge of the world and of the phenomena we encounter there, with the intention of coming to a deeper comprehension of these phenomena. . . . The canons have no other function than to help us make explicit systematically what implicitly was already there before us. (p. 83)

Marsh (1985) viewed phenomenology as having a critical social aspect. Highlighting the hermeneutical component as recollection and suspicion, and the descriptive component as the illumination of experience and to show how opposites initially opposed to one another imply one another" (p. 177).

In another essay, "From Immediacy to Mediation: The Emergency of Dialectical Phenomenology", Marsh (1987) cited

three examples of the unfolding movement from immediacy to mediation as: (1) descriptive to dialectic, (2) the immediate evocation of the given to interpretation of the given, or (3) receptive openness of experience to critique of experience.

The descriptive phase, phenomenological reduction, is a search for a starting point which is solid and cogent. That domain measuring up to the criterion is "neither cultural institutions, nor physical world, nor psychological or physical constitutions but rather that of consciousness itself. The method then emerges in a strictly descriptive stance unfolding in a presuppositionless manner. From this transcendental and existential ego phase comes "various kinds of exteriority such as body, the human other, language, and traditions" (p. 138). Folding in upon itself as incomplete, the hermeneutic is necessary.

"The hermeneutical turn begins a shift from description to the interpretation as a way of gaining access to meaning" (Marsh, p. 130). Those things not immediately present or describable, that which is a hidden structure of language, the unconscious, are then revealed in the interpretation. "In such a move, however, an explanatory moment is united with interpretive and the descriptive moments. Once again we relate immediacy to mediation" (p. 139).

If there is a necessary moment of explanation for the articulation of conscious experience, then too, there is a critical turn. Conceding the possibility that there may be flaws and distortions "by the various kinds of class bias and class domination" create suspicion (Marsh, p. 143). Suspicion or critique elevates the psychological and social content for a union of the conscious and unconscious.

Marsh stated that "there is a psychological and social unconscious that forces us to move beyond both a strictly descriptive and a strictly receptive hermeneutical approach" (p. 143). What then become necessary for a full and complete phenomenological process are the conscious, the mediation, and the unconscious each depending on one another as crucial to the part-whole relationship. To do less than examine the descriptive, explanation, and critique of the practical lived objectivism is to fail to ask all the relevant questions and to remain unclear about the relations of the part-whole phenomenon of social form.

Pilot Study

Procedures for the main study were tested and the questions were refined as a result of the pilot study. One teacher/coach and one former teacher/coach in the surrounding area were selected because of convenience, availability and similarity to the proposed participant group. The interviews took place during office hours, and at the convenience of the participants.

As part of the pilot study, the participants were asked to critique the contact letter, consent form, biographical profile sheet and the interview process. Final drafts of the forms used in this study are located in Appendices B, C, D, and E.

An addition purpose of the pilot interviews was to determine the interviewer's ability to question, and obtain elaborations and clarifications on relevant information. The interview guide (on p. 40 of this study) was re-evaluated based on the findings of the pilot study and the interviewer gained a number of insights about the process. In combination, the data from the two pilot participants were found to meet the researcher's criteria in richness and depth, and thus formed the beginning thematic threads for this study. With each continuing interview the commonalties and variations within the stories became richer and deeper as the researcher interplayed one participant's language with that of another.

Selection of Participants

For this inquiry, mature women having ten or more years of experience as teacher/coaches were selected as participants. The researcher not only sought to include women from a wide geographical range who had a variety of sport experiences in teaching and coaching but also sought those who seemed to have the potential for leadership and

supervisory responsibility at other tasks such as athletic directors, supervisors, department heads, and administrators.

Participants were recruited by referrals and recommendations from instructors and supervisors in the field of physical education. After a personal phone call, an information packet was sent to each participant which included an introductory letter explaining the study (Appendix B). A list of the researchers' criteria for selection and willingness to participate form (Appendix C) and a brief questionnaire concerning professional experience (Appendix D) were also included. Subsequent telephone calls were made approximately three to five days later to determine consent and/or to confirm the first interview sessions. All interviews were conducted individually by traveling to the teacher's work site.

During the initial contact or first interview session, the information packet was returned, and the participant was informed of the researcher's assurance of anonymity. In addition, the researcher answered the participant's questions concerning the study. At that point, each participant was asked to read and sign the consent form (Appendix E). After this brief introductory period, the first interview session was conducted with the participant.

From the initial group of ten participants, including the pilot participants, four women were chosen to be the

final ones. The researcher wished to select the most salient interviews for in-depth analysis. So, a review of all audio-tapes was done between each interview. The transcribed data from the first sessions were studied. Then four teachers were chosen based upon their ability to explain verbally and elucidate their feelings and thoughts to real-life-experiences in sport teaching.

Interview Process

A series of three contacts was made with the final group of participants. The phases of interaction are described in the following positions. The Expressive Autobiographic Interview (EAI) in combination with a guided interview method was used for this study. Spindler & Spindler (1988, no page number) defined the EAI as "a cross between a structured expressive interview and a chronological autobiography--in abbreviation form." One of the stated purposes for using the EAI is "to elicit materials concerning a person's special cultural knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes" (Spindler, & Spindler, no page number). As anthropologists, they believe that through indirect questioning these kinds of data can be secured.

Using the chronological EAI the participants revealed relevant information about themselves as high school students, college students, their first job experiences, and about their positions as tenured teachers. Following

the EAI, the following questions served as a guide for the researcher during the first interview session:

1. To begin, let's open the interview session with the expressive autobiography starting with your high school experiences. What are your reflections?
2. Tell me something about what your life is like as a teacher/coach?
3. What does being a teacher/coach mean to you?
4. Looking back over your career, what relationships and experiences have been important to you? Why?
5. How has your sense of yourself as a woman changed as a result of being a sport teacher?
6. Have you had a relation with someone in sport who helped shape the person you have become? If so, tell me about it.
7. What do you think will stay with you about your experience as a teacher/coach [in this school, position, program]?
8. In your opinion, tell me how important is the sport experience to the life of girls and women?

The eight, more or less, open-ended questions were used as deemed necessary by the researcher as well as a number of impromptu questions. When the participants answered any of the guiding questions sufficiently within her story then those questions were not redirected or repeated. And further, as the participants preceded with

certain episodes and/or events, the researcher purposely used the participants' language or words to create or prompt reflexivity and further explanations.

The interviews consisted of taped conversations of 45 to 60 minutes in duration. The times and places for taping the dialogues varied according to the participants' convenience. The purpose for using the storytelling approach was to allow the participants to continue to be expressive without the effect of regimented-type questioning which could have abbreviated the flow of expression.

During the first interview sessions concerns focused on the following: (a) the expressive autobiography, (b) special experiences and relations, (c) the value of sport experiences in the lives of girls and women, (d) the socialization process of female teacher/coaches, and (e) good/bad experiences. The second interview session was a collaboration session wherein the researcher and the participants discussed the participant's personal story composite, the coding of the data, and the feminist ideology emerging from the data.

The process allowed the participants to agree or disagree that their thoughts, words, and the meaning derived from the lived experience had been captured as intended. A third contact was made when the individual analyses and interpretations were completed. For a member

check, a two part interpretation of the EAI was mailed or hand delivered to each participants. The dialogues were returned within two to six weeks with corrections, and points of clarifications. None of the participants resonated any dissatisfaction with the interpretations.

Organization and Interpretation of Data

The material for this study was obtained from four sources: (a) the participant biographical profile sheets, (b) the interviews with the participants, (c) the intermeshing of feminist and sport literature with the dialogues of all participants, and (d) the research notes and memos taken during and after each interview. Files were created for each participant's data. Notes and memos taken during and after interviews included participant's characterizations, responses and reactions, and other insights and observations. The researcher routinely recorded and embellished field notes following each interview and after each telephone conversation.

The biographical profile sheets were used to collect initial personal and professional information for the following purposes: (a) to ease the actual interview process by prompting reflective chronology, (b) to allow more time for the interviews, and (c) to clarify and quantify certain bits of relevant data during the interviews.

The constant-comparison method as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967), and Strauss (1987) notations on basic analytic procedures were used to guide the early stages of analysis. Coding, categorizing, and re-coding the initial set of interview data led to the common threads of thematizations found embedded in the language of the participants.

After the interviews, the inquirer listened to the tapes and made notes. Common threads in each interview led to further questions in subsequent interviews. Using the words, feelings, and thoughts of one participant led to future questions to other participants. The commonalties and variations in the stories led to increased depth, range, and specificity of the interpretations.

The audio-tapes were transcribed by a professional typist providing the researcher with a written copy of each interview. Upon receiving the transcripts, the researcher listened to the tapes while reading the typed copy. This process allowed further comparison and contrast of the data, open and axial coding, and the subsequent emergence of common concepts.

The potential of themes, clusters and/or concepts were recorded on a 14" x 25 1/2" analysis pad. The axial coding or main categories on all participants were grouped and recorded in columns on the pad, providing a visual aid for the interviewer and also the interviewees.

The next step was to present the preliminary interpretations to the final four based on the main themes and concepts of all participants. The coded material in combination with the personal composites were discussed with each teacher at the second interview session. Using much of the language of the respondents, two page composites were written for each. The composites were juxtaposed with feminist literature and ideology. At this point in the process, the participants were given a copy of their personal composite, and a look at the coded data on the analysis pad. This exchange was followed by a process of free negotiation between the participant and researcher which opened a dialogue permitting corrections, additions, and deletions.

The participants returned the composites with few corrections. The researcher and participant talked briefly about how they felt about the wording of the composite. With the general responses being that their meanings had been captured as intended, this again opened up the session for further discussion, questions, and concerns in feminist ideology. Feminist epistemology in sport competition, the apparent secondary status of women in sport, and other aspects of feminine concerns were discussed and taped for the completion of the second interview process.

Several months later, a third contact was made. Each of the four indepth participants was mailed or hand

delivered the two part interpretation. In an article on "Reconstruction of Which Reality? Qualitative Data Analysis", Brown (1988) stated that "the interplay of researcher bias, theoretical perspective, participant bias, and research question affects what piece of reality are selected at every point of the collection and analysis of data" (p. 99). She recommends taking these factors into account in a subjective design.

The special terms used in the interpretative analysis are underlined for emphasis in this explanation. A systematic inquiry which reflects a continuous self-examination of the researcher as instrument, repeated member checks, peer debriefing, and Strauss' procedures for analytic memoing may balance some subjectivity. However, intersubjectivity is always present and is valued as an element of this design.

Critical theorists as Lather (1986) explicitly indicated that research is valued-based, not value-free, and further indicate that its purpose is not merely to describe the world or phenomenon in question but to change it through emancipatory knowledge. Lather suggested that the mutual negotiation of meaning and significance, and power between the researched and the researcher in the "research design is a matter of both intent and degree" of reciprocity (p. 263). The inclusion of participants in the latter stages of analysis fleshes-out the nature of maximal

reciprocity and enhances the construction and verification of that reality.

Other properties which Brown finds useful to strengthen the research design are the constructs of comparability and translatability. Brown states that "the degree to which the components of a study are sufficiently well described and defined that other researchers can use the results of the study as a basis for comparison . . . , and the degree to which the researcher uses . . . research techniques that are accessible to or understood by other researchers" strengthens the alternative paradigm (pp. 95-96).

In order to approach the question of the degree of researcher subjectivity which might have overwhelmed the analysis, a system of peer reading was employed. Two members of the dissertation committee, and two additional experienced and former teacher/coaches read the entire dissertation for "believability" and translatability. Each reader was asked to critique the work for voice--including the autobiographical voices of each participant and the researcher.

Upon receiving this feedback the author retained some personal observations and interpretations that flowed from the interviews and field sites. She reduced the emphasis upon some concepts that; on reflection, seemed out of balance with the voices of the participants. This process

helped the researcher feel more at home with her own analytical judgment. With subsequent clarifications from the participants, the data are presented in CHAPTER IV in the form of composite interviews.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and to conjoin the interview data in an expressive autobiography style which permits a free-flowing storytelling illustration of each participant's experiences and relations as a teacher/coach. Each description begins with an introductory background statement, selected career information, and college experiences. All participants names have been changed for anonymity. The inquiry speaks to the experience of each teacher/coach in the phenomena separately.

Myra

Recalling the first interview session, my thoughts returned to a small office space at one corner of the gymnasium. It suggested a well-used space with many stacked boxes, athletic equipment here and there, and a standard teacher's desk against one wall. The memorabilia about the walls were quite similar to that of other coaches' offices. Myra was very welcoming and helpful with setting-up for the session. Very early I got the impression that she was dedicated, determined, and strong-willed individual. The questions were answered very freely--no reservation noted in her expression or choice of

words. She was clear and precise with her answers making the interview process flow expediently. Her willingness and desire to tell her story was also apparent.

She began expressing her challenges and struggles, as well as her proud and pleasant experiences with the same vigor and a touch of emotion. This, to me, captioned her deep and personal involvement in her lived experiences as a coach and teacher. As she spoke about her accomplishments as a rules interpreter for the state and a clinician in gymnastics, it was clear that this is where she feels she made her significant contribution to the profession, in general.

Myra has been a teacher/coach of twenty-eight years with five of those years being an instructor in a community recreation center. She has long standing memberships in many organizations and on committees too numerous to mention. Most pertinent to this project, she has represented her school at regional, and state sport meetings, directed district, regional and state sport events; and she has coordinated meets in several sports. She is rules interpreter for gymnastics at the state level. Her involvement in gymnastics alone extends to local, national, and international levels. She has coached girls track and gymnastics for twelve years each, girls varsity soccer for eleven years, and co-educational swimming/diving for thirteen years--all at differing times.

According to Myra, her first experiences and early ideas to become a physical educator were during her high school days. She stated that she was very active in physical education classes, after school intramurals, sports days, and play days as they called them then. There were no competitive sports for girls during her high school days. She was influenced by her high school physical education teacher to some degree but much more by her college coach and advisor. Myra said:

> probably my biggest influence as a student was from my basketball and field hockey coach. I did my master's level work under her and I was the second person to graduate in the masters' program with a combination of education--physical education, and yet, it was all due to her advising.

The other person to have a tremendous influence on her life, not only as a teacher but also as a co-worker, was the high school athletic director for whom she worked. Myra indicated that

> he has always been very supportive of what I have done. He was supportive of the girls' programs, and particularly, supportive of both the junior varsity and varsity athletes, and that was a big break for me.

Speaking of her early experiences as a teacher/coach, she began by saying "we had no competitive sports for girls, only boys." Myra started both girls varsity track and gymnastics programs in the same academic year. In that there were no girls' teams in the surrounding area she and parents of the athletes would travel in cars to the next

major city in order to give girls a chance to compete. She referred to herself as a person who had initiated many sports for girls at a time when competitive sports for girls were few, and further stated that "much of this was without pay. That's just the way it was when I started on this job." She remembered vividly selling and having the student-athletes to sell candy bars and candles in order to raise money for uniforms and other supplies. "But nowadays its equal pay for all sports. Whether it's girls' soccer or boys' soccer, the head coaches are paid the same stipends." And then she stated that "the first soccer team for girls is another of her many contributions to the girls' athletic program."

Highlighting some of her special relations with talented students, she indicated that she had a wonderful group of athletes between the late 60's and early 70's. During that period she had state level championships in individual events in gymnastics and track. She said the girls competed in individual entries because during that time there was no team competition at the state level. Speaking about the loyalty and dedication of her students, Myra stated:

> I had state champions all-around which was just a thrill! I mean, these were kids who worked very hard. These were kids who would come to practice, and we would be down in auxiliary gym until 6:00 to 6:30 at night.

Another highlight, she recalled, in 1974, was that she had a state champion in the 100 yard dash at the state meet and "this was very interesting--an interesting young lady, in fact, she still comes to visit me when she's [in town]."

Myra spoke of another very special athlete who won the Marine Corps Marathon the first two times the event was run. She compared the event to the Boston and New York Marathon and said further:

> I think this year they had 25,000 runners. What is really rewarding, is that the former student/ athletes always let me know once a year by letters, telephone calls, or visits how they are doing.

She felt that she has been privileged to have the acquaintance of and to have worked with a number of super athletes. As recently as 1983, she recalled again that she had an athlete try-out for the Olympic team in track and "was ranked as one of the top ten women runners in the world"! Stating again, "I don't like to say it, but I have had some super kids." Myra said she looks forward to the possibility that someone at her school can start a girl's volleyball team and with the increased enrollment of the Vietnamese and Spanish students, "I think we could have a . . . good volleyball team," she exclaimed. She then realized as she spoke that this may not be possible since she has been turned down on several requests for field hockey and stated that: "the school officials now are not willing to fund anything for us. So, you struggle with the

sports that you have." Nonetheless and although she has been turned down on the funding of field hockey, she still, every year or so, attempts to address the issue and continued by stating:

> I guess I've been battling also to become an athletic director. And that didn't work either. Someone decided that they were not ready for a woman athletic director. I've been battling my whole life, and I will until the day I retire to get equal programs for girls.

She recalled that she had been a member of a special committee which recommended equal funding of girl's softball and that this had been accomplished mainly through community effort. "Hey, if you're going to outfit a boy's baseball team--you're going to outfit a girl's softball team." Myra stated that she was a part of that committee which espoused "that the women coaches should get what men coaches are getting with an equal sport."

One of Myra's many efforts to improve conditions for and to get equitable treatment for girls and women in sport is trying to get scholarship for girl athletes. During the mid-semester vacation, she said, "I begin doing a lot of paperwork toward that effort." Admitting that this involves a great deal of her personal time she said, "so your day is never over when you are a teacher and a coach." Even though being a teacher and a coach is a time-consuming task she expressed her loyalty and dedication as well as

enjoyment. Expressing what seemed to be her deep and heartfelt feeling, she said:

> It has been my entire life, not only as a teacher; as a coach I have tremendously enjoyed for the last thirteen years doing the boy's and girl's swimming and diving; and I guess I will stay in sport as an official.

In addition to her many coaching and teaching responsibilities at the high school, Myra has been a gymnastics official for twenty-six years. This gives her an opportunity to travel all through the state giving rules clinics. Through sport and officiating she has made a lot of friendships "not only with athletes, but with other teachers, coaches, and officials," and there are many who she continues to correspond with. "So, it is a big part of your life when you have been [involved] for twenty-eight years," Myra stated.

Myra commented with regret that girls do not come out for sport participation as much as they did in the earlier days. She speculated that "because of their backgrounds, having to work--sport not being acceptable in their culture or subculture--does lessen the number of participants." In many instances, the staff members actively recruit for many sports. She recalled that she "had quite a response for swimming--but that's just one sport." She expressed further concern for the elective program. Again she said, unfortunately, most of the [students] that are in it are boys. She concluded that after the required program very

few girls are interested in a real lengthy program. Discussing this problem among other teachers in the county, she surmised that for most of these students the required program will be the last time they will have a structured program until college unless they try-out for a varsity sport, and she felt that:

> What I personally see as a teacher is that a young lady in good [condition] . . . take a look at her a year later or two years later--and all because of inactivity. Again, it's very sad . . . somewhere we have lost them.

Myra was not sure of how or when it happened, but she believed that teachers have failed to reach the larger majority with a sound philosophy of personal fitness and this is of great concern to her. Her motivating incentive has been one of offering a wide variety of team and individual sports. She stated that one example of an activity that they do enjoy is aerobics but she admitted that even this is not drawing them back to enroll in the electives courses. She concluded that the reason many students are not involved in elective physical education and sports as in the past was due to certain trends in society. "But," she said, "I will continue to try to create incentives and interest for pulling them back into the program."

The teachers of today have many more roles to play than teachers of earlier years. "You are expected to do everything here--and when I say here--in the teaching

profession and in this school," Myra said. She believed this to be important because in many instances "nowhere else do these" students have anyone to talk to. During a given day, she said:

> I pull many hats off the shelf and out of the closet as a disciplinarian, as motivator, as a counselor, as a psychiatrist, as someone [the students] feel they can come to. And I know we are talking about women and girls but, hey, it's the same with boys--maybe even more so.

Myra stated that she believed the students should feel free to come and talk to the teachers about their personal problems or problems on the team, be it student or athlete. The teacher/coaches' task is to have an open-mind, listen, give directions, and choices based on the conversations and then allow the student to make the decision. She commented that "it's a full time job and it does not end when the bell sounds, neither when practice is over, nor when the game is over." Myra indicated that she has had calls at 11:30 p.m., simply because, she said, "an athlete needed to talk to someone and there was no one home or no one there whom they could relate to."

Seemingly troubled, she recalled, "this was not the case in the days when I was in school." Talking about this situation with students in her health education class, Myra found that many students become very anxious and are often discouraged even when talking-about-talking to parents concerning health issues. According to Myra "one student

just blurted it out--how do they expect us to know what it's [Aids] all about when they don't know the information." Myra said she responded by saying, "I'm trying to give you the [information] so maybe you can go home and educate your parents." She concluded by saying, "so you see we have many roles."

Relating this philosophy to her coaching role and the importance of the sport experience for girls, Myra believed that:

> in order "to be successful--to be successful as a teacher as well as a coach you have got to be interested in each as an individual. They are all different. . . ." If the coach is a good coach she will show an interest in them, not only as athletes but also as people.

Myra explained that a week never passed when she did not ask her athletes, indicating that this currently holds true for swimming,--"are you having problems anywhere, is everything okay at home, how are you doing in your classes"? Myra felt that finding a bond where you are interested in their lives, not just in the sport you are coaching, is a key aspect. "Then", she said, "I think you are going to be successful with them as a team member." Reflecting on her previous comment, she professed:

> my philosophy has always been, yeah, we're going to go out there and try and win this ball game. And, we're going to try and do it the best way we can, but if we lose, hey, we are still going to hold our heads high because we did the best that we could do.

According to Myra, there are coaches, both men and women, who "are only interested in winning, winning, winning at high costs." But where there is genuine interest in the athletes as individuals then the "experiences for girls are going to be great"?

Another issue of real concern to Myra is the lack of women athletic directors on the one hand, but the abundance of women assistant athletic directors on the other. According to Myra there are women "who have many, many years of experience as teacher/coaches and when the male athletic director retires--who gets the position--another male"! She stated that she worked as an assistant director in charge of all girls sports from 1972 to 1984. She commented that the former director was appointed supervisor of health and physical education for the county school system. She indicated that she applied for the position, but the position was given to a male biology teacher with less than four years of experience with the system. Myra said that between 1984 and 1986 she was involved in a sexual discrimination lawsuit and lost. "After that ordeal," she said, "I resigned as assistant athletic director." Returning to a teaching load of five classes and serving as department chairperson, "it keeps me busy," she said.

During the period between 1984 and 1986, she indicated that she may have suffered some isolation from other

faculty members but it was nothing she could not handle. In a heighten voice, she announced her convictions.

> I believed in what I did--that it was right! I believe it to this day! The state teachers' association financed that lawsuit, so they also believed it right.

On the second interview session, Myra stated that she felt that there were barriers against women for the athletic directors' position. "Women as I said before, just can't seem to break into the job no matter how qualified or experienced. It's okay for women to be department chairperson. Being chairperson requires a great deal of paperwork, scheduling of classes, completing inventories and going to committee meetings with other department chairpersons. In stating her view of the two positions, she then said:

> I have worked both, because working as assistant athletic director in charge of all girls sports you have many of the same duties. In fact, I helped the new director with many tasks when he arrived. So, I decided it was only fair that I should have the position.

Myra explained that there is a clear or maybe more important an unclear division of labor, and is likely to remain that way for a long time. She stated that it is clear to the extent that no matter how hard women try they can not seem to break the barrier in this area; and unclear as to why women are denied no matter how experienced and qualified. Myra said she could cite examples of many women

in the area who have applied but who have been denied for some unclear reason. Myra reflected, and said:

> well--the department chairperson is a behind the scene probably a managerial job. And, when compared to the athletic director's position you are then in the public view making statements to the press [concerning school sports], traveling, and communicating constantly with other athletic directors about the scheduling of events. So, I guess there is some truth in the notion of public and private roles.

But for her, it is difficult to accept that explanation because she travels all over the state as rules interpreter for gymnastics and has traveled abroad in certain capacities. And being in "the public view is not a draw back for me--but then the decision prevailed." She suggested that:

> it is going to be left to the next generation of women coaches to make further strides." There is a new brand, and I say a new brand rather than breed, because the next group of women coaches are different."

According to Myra, the new brand seem to be more of the win-at-any-cost attitude. "The responsibilities for making the next impact are now going to be left to them," she concluded.

Interpretations of Myra

Perplexed after probably two days of giving thought to my interpretation of Myra, I have come to the view that on one level she is a role player, but on a feminist political level she is not a willing participant to playing a secondary role to her male counterparts. "On a given day,"

she intimated, "we pull many hats out of the closet and off the shelf. And, so you see we have many roles" to play. Elshtain (1982) stated in a critique of feminist ideology that in liberal discourse, persons are not essentially mothers, fathers, lover, friends, scholars, laborers, essentrics, dissendents, or political leaders but role player" (p. 140). We are all a collection of aggregates and social beings performing different roles "within a relatively fixed range of operations" (p. 140). "A flattening out of social life and human subjects results" which results in a distortion of the full meaning of the significance of reality (Elshtain, p. 140).

While speaking of mentors who had had a role in life, she intimated that she would be forever grateful for their support and genuine interest in her professional productivity. With some influence from her high school teacher/coach but much more from her college coach and advisor, I believe Myra gained the grounding of a strong social affiliation and coaching philosophy necessary to building and maintaining good sport programs for girls and women. It too was no small coincidence that her former athletic director was very supportive of the programs that she instituted. However, I believe it speaks more to her ability to be enthusiastic and convincing about "starting sports for girls."

From those influential mentors that she mentioned and others, she gained the inclination to be multidimensional as a teacher/coach and as a participant in the community struggle for the betterment of conditions for women and girls in sport. What I want to say is that I see her as having taken desirable traits from both genders and visualized herself as a contributing being in sport with few constraints from the typified female gender role expectancy. I further envision her among a small group of women who are "engaged in intentional role breaking" with a definite look at future endeavors of all women. Believing very strongly in those shared goals with a same-gender coach and in her accomplishments with a male co-worker, she came to view herself as more than an intermediary between man and culture and/or as the secondary sex.

For Myra, each gender seemed "equal to another in a kind of leveling process, a homogenization of description and evaluation" (Elshtain, p. 140). The public roles achieved by men and the private roles ascribed to women are not acceptable to Myra. She said, "it is difficult for me to accept that explanation." Having held many public roles she resisted the notion that she was unable to handle being in the public view and therefore incapable of being an athletic director. And, although she referred to herself as a role player, she accepts some roles, but she refutes others.

Gilligan (1986) stated that "the arc of developmental theory leads from infantile dependency to adult autonomy, tracing a path characterized by an increasing differentiation of self from others and a progressive freeing of thoughts from contextual constraints" (p. 309). Given the discrepancy in the concepts between adulthood and womanhood, this often leaves mature women of autonomous thinking and action split of love and work. Society tends to relegate women to expressive capacities rather than both instrumental and expressive.

In spite of Myra's challenges and struggles as a woman in sport teaching she contends that she will continue until the day she retires to get equal programs for girls and women. Not to disagree with her comment but it is my idea that she will remain as active, vocal, and assertive in retirement as before. She has been instrumental in starting sports for girls where there were no competitive sports. She has been instrumental in raising the consciousness level of others where there were unfair and inequitable situations for other women coaches. And, her battle with the school board over the unfairness of making assignments and/or the exclusion of women from certain ranks speaks to a broader issue than any personal needs one might think she has.

Noting in her mind that in her twenty-four years of employment in this county system, no woman had ever served

as an athletic director, she knew it was time that this situation be named. The naming of the oppressive situation served to connect abstract ideas with a concrete problem for political action. Pearsall (1986) said feminist theory is dialectical to feminist practice and emerges from women's concrete, lived situations.

To resist and reject the assistant athletic director's position is her conscious and purposeful intent to say that she does not accept the societal structural means of devaluing women's--and girls--roles, task, and production. Duquin (1977) expressed the "less valued and lower status" of the women's sport experience. "So while culture is valued over nature, and man is seen as being closer to culture, and woman is seen as being closer to nature, woman is, as a result, less valued and has lower status than man" (p. 20). The author further explained that in ancient sportive ritual bonds and puberty rites for young males "sport can be seen as a means of personal transcendence" over nature (p. 22). Sport, then, as a bridge to culture--that is transcending nature, has been a sanctioned aspect of the male but not the female experience.

Theberge (1985) viewed "sport as a male preserve" (p. 193). The author cited three reasons why men resist women's entry into sport. She said it prepares, maintains, and preserves an exclusive male realm which allows for expressiveness and intimacy not otherwise permitted. The

male dominance in administration and organization of sport and the underrepresentation of women are just other instances of unequal access to the valued goods and resources in society. The fraternal-like near exclusivity of males as athletic directors is a realm in which the dominant groups wishes to keep the economy or budget, and thus power, in the hands of another male. Myra's feelings that the athletic director's position is reserved for males and that women can not seem to break into that job seems to align itself with the observations made by the authors cited above.

Liz

This is the second day of the interview process and I feel a great deal more rested and prepared to conduct an interview session. The participant specified a designated time, is organized, and seemed very calm about the whole ordeal. She was seated behind her desk very business-like arranging papers--when I decided that we should move to a window view and thereby place the recorder directly in front of each of us at voice level. I expressed a desire to be able to look out of the window--to enjoy the spring view of the budding of the trees, and also that an occasional glance at the landscape often helps me to think. We both agreed that that might be better and accommodated each other in the new arrangement. My motive here was not

all nature--I meant to ease the deliberation and to get a free-flowing and less technical arrangement.

Once re-ordered with an accommodation to each other in space and time, we began the session again. As revealed in the expressive autobiography, Liz has been a public school teacher/coach and athletic director in the mid-eastern region for sixteen years. Currently, she is a full-time graduate student serving as a teaching assistant in physical education. She taught grades four through eight for four years, and also grades nine through twelve for twelve years, having special education for five of those years. She indicated that she also worked three summers with the city recreation department. She has coached field hockey, tumbling and gymnastics, and track and field two, seven, and one year, respectively. Liz was the sponsor of cheerleaders for four of those years in connection with gymnastics. Securing a master degree during this intervening time, she was appointed athletic director and served for five years in that capacity. She is a member of several state and national level organizations in teaching and athletic administration.

Liz began her expressive autobiography by indicating that her interest in physical education was an outgrowth of a combination of high school instruction and influence from a family member. Coming from a very rural, small-type high school having approximately 200 students in its entirety

and stating that the program was not an elaborate one--it seemed as though many students were supportive of and involved in an extracurricular activity, "so," she said, "I played basketball." She indicated that mainly they had basketball for girls and boys. . . . Being instructed at the high school level by both male and female, she said that she felt that there was a special quality about the female instructor and the manner in which she instructed her classes. Referring to sensitivity, she said, "the instructor was sensitive and caring toward both her athletes, as well as students in her classes." She indicated that this was an impressive female role model that she had as a high school teacher. In addition, she revealed that she had an aunt who was in physical education, "so," she stated, "those two people initially influenced me to pursue the area of physical education as a career."

Intimating that her mother was a home economics teacher, hence, many others felt that she would be a home economics teacher. However, Liz indicated that she thought that that area would require more patience than she actually had--so,she chose physical education. Smiling, Liz admitted that she did not realize that physical education requires just as much patience as home economics instruction. Speaking of her college experiences, she further stated,

> I had a number of female instructors who were very attentive to the needs of the students, who were prepared for the activities, and [who] demanded that you always put your best into your work. I think that is one of the things that I have attempted to carry over even into my teaching career . . . that there is a necessity to prepare for whatever it is that you are wanting to do.

"Being well prepared" or that inference is a reoccurring theme in Liz's conversation. "Being prepared for two schools, being prepared to adapt what she had learned in a professional preparation program to different age levels of students" are all examples of her willingness but cautious endeavor to be well prepared before assuming a task. When asked does she have a commitment to teaching athletic administration, and to encouraging girls to enter the field now that she has had five years of experience, she responded:

> I do feel that I could bring the personal experience into a course of that nature. However, I think before I would really be ready to teach such a course I would want an additional course in administration.

Thus, becoming better prepared before assuming such a task was important. Liz stated that when she entered college, the programs were separate. There was a men's department and a women's department. "There were, however, courses in the major area--theory courses--where the males and females shared the same classroom experience," she said. When prompted about the leadership and equity among the genders she stated that "without generalizing about the

entire program, I can say that several of the instructors . . . were probably well-respected for their particular area of expertise." And compared to many programs during the 1960's, the program for the males did receive more emphasis than the females. The women's department was housed in the older facility whereas the males were housed in a newer facility.

And even when she began her first teaching job on the secondary level the facility was shared equally, though the classes were gender-separate. From there she moved to an elementary school which was strictly a teaching position. And again, the classes remained separate with one exception, folk dance--"we did teach the folk dance as a co-educational activity. That program at the elementary level gave us broad exposure--it was a very structured program." Liz indicated that she was given a curriculum guide or syllabus with an outline of activities geared for week one to week ten. The supervisory staff had additional updates, and they were close at hand to help you with implementation problems. Explaining further she stated:

> They were there on inservice [days] and also for periodic visitations. . . . They would come in, observe and, give you hints on what you may have done wrong, and make suggestions for improvement.

When asked how she felt about such a structured program--that is, having little curriculum freedom, she said that "as a young teacher just out of college--it was a

security blanket. Having guidelines as a source allowed me to feel more secure." Liz referred to the situation as a re-emphasis and reinforcement of her collegiate preparation. Admitting that "it was okay for that time," she said, "now I'd like to know that there are guidelines available but I also want a certain amount of freedom in scheduling, and planning activities."

After four years at the elementary setting, she transferred within the system to a nine-twelve setting. Liz described this magnet special education high school as a very good experience--one which allowed curriculum freedom. She indicated that she was never under any demands to accomplish A-B-C within a certain period of time. She then had the freedom to personally structure appealing activities, and to progress at individual rates, she indicated.

Returning from sabbatical leave, she requested placement in a general high school closer to her residential area. "There," she said, "I taught, coached, and also worked as an administrator in the athletic program." Liz described her first year as "a kind of weird year." She indicated that a number of teachers had been transferred and/or absorbed with the system and that as she ended up in this particular school, she was a "super numerary. So, I more or less filled in where other teachers were out." she said. In addition to being super

numerary, she explained that she had her first coaching experience in that school and that was a mixture of frustration and enjoyment. With little interest and understanding of the sport on the part of the students and thus few students coming out, "we went an entire season without completely filling the team," she admitted. However, this was not a real problem in that others in the conference were experiencing the same situation and the coaches involved agreed to play with less than the regulation number.

Liz indicated that after two years field hockey was discontinued system-wide. "The city was having turmoil in terms of financing athletics programs, in general, so all athletic programs were cut to three major sports for boys and three major sports for girls," she stated. And later as the schools in the system began to re-institute more sports, field hockey was replaced by another sport.

As she recalled it, there was equity in terms of sport offerings, but there was also "the constant problems [where] the major emphasis [and] money went to the boys' program." Liz cited the example of "switch and swing" of one set of uniforms among all the girls, and, she said, "you didn't have that situation with the boys' program. So, it was still a good bit of inequity, in that sense." Explaining further the situation for girls, Liz stated,

> You received only what was barely necessary to say that you had just enough hockey sticks for field

> hockey that everybody who had to be on the field had a hockey stick. . . .

With elation, Liz began to talk about her teaching experiences, and relations with staff members. She described her teaching experience as a pleasant and also a very rewarding one. Explaining that the office spaces for the males and females are separate, housing the females in what was originally designated as the girls' gymnasium she then commented:

> So, my office workers and I hold a lot of the same things in common in terms of believing that certain things should go on, so we [women] worked well there. However, we still have a good working relationship with the men who are in the program.

She explained further that all classes were co-educational. What was taught was open to both males and females. The dance classes and gymnastics classes were open to males. There were heavy concentrations of males signing up for gymnastics but few for dance. Apparently there were many more male students signing up for team oriented type sports with other female and male instructors. At this point, she began to talk about her position as athletic director. She indicated that her teaching load was reduced to three classes. She was responsible for equipment for both boys and girls sports along with the respective coaches. When asked about the decision-making process and the personal freedom to implement new programs, she stated that "a good bit was [to

follow] the order of things" in terms of the guidelines designated by the league office. . . . Explaining that monthly meetings were held to discuss certain types of rules and regulations which governed everyone involved, "so, therefore you were, of course, locked-in on certain regulations," she stated.

"However," Liz stated, "we tried to initiate more cooperativeness between the male and female coaches, and/or coaches of male sport and coaches of female sports." She explained the situation as one of being in season and out of season. "The in season coaches seemed always to have an excuse as to why they could not work on a cooperative project . . . and I think we resolved that problem," she indicated. She indicated firstly, that awards day programs for all athletes were held jointly; and secondly, that they continued to gradually work toward establishing more and more equality in terms of allocations of funds for females as opposed to males sports. Over a five year period she indicated that they were able to make "some inroads" in equating the situation between and among the genders. Liz explained it by saying:

> So, the necessity was one thing considered in trying to equate the program and in trying to use a building process so that every sport, be it male or female, could begin to have more of the things that were needed for that particular sport by nature or the sport and not just the fact that [it was] a male program.

Directing her to return to the issue of in season and out of season coaches and how they actually resolved the problem, Liz indicated that "there was room for further improvement." "But again having two to three large functions during the school year allowed everyone to get involved," she explained. The implied notion of fund-raisers which "required everyone to take part in order to assure success" was recognizably an inroad to cooperation among coaches. Where some coaches and athletes participate in fund-raisers and others do not, the situation can be equalized by arranging projects several times over the course of the year to include everyone.

Speaking about her perceptions, Liz intimated that she was "poorly received by most of the male coaches, be they soccer, football, basketball or whatever." She revealed that "there were many days when she felt it just wasn't worth it." But by sometimes taking a day off and/or refocusing on the fact that the programs were designed and geared for young people, "it gives you a little push to stick it out," Liz explained. The principal who placed her in the position was very supportive and, in addition, there was one other female athletic director in the system who acted as a mentor. Finally, after a period of reflection, Liz admitted, "it wasn't so bad."

Continuing, she indicated that she likes to pride herself at being perfect. Where there were rules and

regulations to be followed and deadlines to be met she made it clear and expected all coaches to be up-to-date. Expecting certain behaviors of students, she inferred, required certain behaviors, and the coaches were to serve as role models to their students. In Liz's opinion coaches are typically not accustomed to doing a great deal of paperwork, filling out forms and meeting deadlines--and those were the kinds of problems she encountered. She implied that she created a safety valve by having most requests and responses documented.

Liz inferred that the duties associated with being a coach and an athletic director is a chosen personal commitment. Her relations and interactions with other staff member did not directly impact on or relate to her role as an athletic administrator. She stated, "I felt that more as an individual and in how much I was willing to give of myself to understand other people."

When prompted about the time-consuming nature of the job as one which she described as extending from mid-August and sometimes into the summer vacation with inventories and health physicals for students, her feelings were expressed as thus:

> Because I am a single female, I did not mind putting the extra time in because, there again, I was looking at what benefits would be achieved. If I had been a person who was married and had a family, I think it would have been a real problem.

As she stated, the socialization process of the American family and roles of female teacher/coaches or female athletic director "present a larger stress factor" for the married female than for the married male in the same category. She suggested that it is an accepted thing in society that "a male can be away with student activities nights, weekends, and even during the summer." But only with rare exceptions can a woman just come home and expect to settle for the evening, and not have other responsibilities.

Approaching her view of competition as a teacher/coach and athletic director, Liz was very adamant and direct. She stated that "winning was important but more importantly it is the coaches responsibility to instill in their players that winning is not everything." As individuals go through life every situation is not going to be a winning one, she indicated. "So," she stated, "I see sport as a mechanism to teach one how to accept wins and losses. Yet, only the coaches and athletic directors can keep that as a focal point, oftentimes." Expressing her personal strategy for sport participation she implied that she was more interested in getting students to become involved, and to work hard at doing their best whatever the outcome. Liz indicated that she was particularly impressed with a policy adoption of a male basketball coach who at one point was outfitting twenty-five players and then she said:

> As long as students wanted to participate and were willing to come to practice and be a part of and give it their best, he was not willing to cut them. So, that attitude of wanting to keep and not to cut also allows students to achieve something on their own.

Re-defining her personal definition from a sportswoman to a woman who has long been associated with sport programs, she clarified further by saying that she was an active participant for only two years. Since high school, she has occupied a non-active role as a statistician and as a spectator. Liz highlights bowling as an adult activity which she really enjoys on a personal level. However, for girls and boys alike, she "sees the value of sport as one which provides a medium for people to learn that they can and need to work together to achieve a common goal. Although the process of group dynamics and/working on a common project may be difficult at times, "the medium of sport shows an individual that it can be accomplished," she said. And she suggested that this was the most important factor about being involved in sport.

During the second interview session Liz suggested that many women do suffer from a partial denial of oppression. In stating her perceptions she said:

> Women do, oftentimes, continue to strive in spite of [oppressive situations] for the common good or common goal. Finding yourself in a situation which you can not change, yet you want to be a part of the activities then you have to establish some strategy for dealing with situations as they basically are. In order to have an impact for change we must remain a part of the system. So, the denial strategy may be a looking beyond the

> present situation in order to find ways of coping and/or to find mechanisms for accomplishing an immediate goal which will get you to the next step for influencing and implementing change.

When speaking about women in leadership roles and group interaction, Liz stated that:

> where women have the responsibility of being the head of a group, they may have the tendency to not always submit to that position, but attempt to see everyone within the group on an equal status, thereby practicing a less aggressive trait.

A woman coach or leader may act more aggressive when the group is totally female because centrally located within a same-gender group she is not perceived of as being too aggressive. Yet, when placed in a mixed-gender group "she will often step back and play a less aggressive role because of the perceptions of others," she stated. She continue by saying:

> it is a broad generalizable statement that I make when I say women will speak-up or hold their own in a mixed group; but then at other times they may take on a lesser assertive role in another setting because of the perceptions of others.

Liz concluded by saying that women make few definitive statements--"it's always conditioned." And in so doing, she suggested that women are attempting to follow the line of the female-linked trait in communication.

Interpretations of Liz

At differing points, the interview session and written dialogue presented some difficulty for me, in that I felt

there was some degree of concealment. During the interview session I pressed on certain situations and episodes to generate more emotionality. And even with the transcript itself I was hoping for a framework that would leap forward and capture my attention which did not happen--at least not right away. As I continued to read, code, re-read the many transcripts, transcript four was on the edge of some quality that I could not describe.

Sometime later, and after reapproaching the literature, I decided that it was sufficiently revealing but the participant was using a different language--a language of maternal thinking within and without. It often seemed to be an unpredictable and also uncandid way of quickly moving from the obstacle, the struggle, and even the historical reality of a situation to a decided position of rational discourse and/or rational speech. Much later, I came to realize what that quality was--a language free of power-over or the use of discourse as domination. A feminist movement which seeks to gain control over its own reality by resisting and rejecting the notion of domination through discourse "can burst the bonds or social control, and unexpectedly offer intimations of a life still-in-becoming," (Elshtain, 1986, p. 131).

Elshtain stated that "women historically had no place to bring their thoughts, certainly no public area to give them voice in the misogynist milieu of Greek antiquity.

When they did speak, their language was labeled so much reactive noise, devoid of meaning and significance" (p. 130). Even today, many women are cut-off or frightened to speak because of this flourishing misrepresentation and self-doubt. "A serious problem of choice emerges for thinkers who wish to describe a situation and simultaneously to condemn it" (Elshtain, p. 136). On the one hand, a language that is overstated can leave the reader with as suspicion that things can not be that bad. On the other hand, a language of description that is too bland or muted looses its moral and political point, Elshtain indicated. But one which is socially situated and embraces the true meaning of self in its complexities, does not deny, yet moves beyond the dilemma re-focusing, re-defining, and re-creating a new vision is an "emancipatory window toward the future" (Elshtain, p. 129).

Gilligan (1982) presented an argument for women as having a distinct moral language which is concerned for the other. Embedded within its richness of complexities she finds that women presented with a moral dilemma of choice have the ability to deal with and are better able to blend equally concerns for personal autonomy and the responsibility to others.

"Since the reality of connections is experienced by women is as given rather than as freely contracted, they arrive at a understanding of life that reflects the limits

of autonomy and control," indicated Gilligan (p. 172). By not viewing life situations as resting on moral absolutes holding final decisions of justice, right and wrong, mature women are more inclusive and see others around her as equals. Her inclusive morality of integrity and ethic of care helps her to be true to herself and tolerant of others.

Thus, mature women may reach their mid-lives with a different psychological perspective. And in both her personal and professional lives, "she does not abdicate responsibility of choice but rather claims the right to include herself among the people whom she considers it moral not to hurt" (Gilligan, p. 165). The moral language then comes to express itself as power-sharing or power diffusion rather than power-over. "Women talk about (and try to practice in many of their groups) power diffusion. Leadership is rotated, and information sharing is encouraged as alternatives to traditional power structure" . . . (Kramarea, 1981 p. 158).

Liz's comments about women's deference to leadership positions, through stated indirectly, was to me, some indication of how she handles her leadership process. In many of her responses to questions about herself as a woman teacher/coach, she deferred again and again to outcomes and to the betterment of students. By constantly refocusing on students and others, and by playing down power moves in and

among the coaches, a reconciliation of a moral question about responsibility to the other and her adult autonomy was settled. The moral question of how things [ought to] be between in season and out of season coaches was resolved by having several cooperative fund-raisers, rather than one, which might have allowed the in season coaches to avoid the ordeal all together.

The conflict between self and other, and a moral imperative which states that everyone must participate in one designated project presented a moral dilemma, and a conflict for ongoing relations among staff members. Gilligan said "it is precisely this dilemma--the conflict between compassion and autonomy, between virtue and power--which the female voice struggles to resolve in its efforts to reclaim the self and to solve moral problems in such a way that no one is hurt" (p. 71).

I sensed very early within this interview that coaching, per se, was not a passion of hers. Liz was far more expressive and concrete about her athletic directorship experiences. She impressed me as being very validating and rational about her struggles. Approaching her view of competition as a teacher/coach and athletic director, her view that sport is mainly a mechanism to teach students how to accept wins and losses, in general, and the issue of a no-cut policy both illuminate her process-orientation toward competition. The socially

affiliative interaction, and personal growth enjoyment of same-gender female leadership remains very much a part of her maternal thinking and teaching philosophy.

A grammar of moral discourse with an ordinary language more alert to the critical edge of removing certain masks was demonstrated. Removing the masks of purity, militancy, and of know-it-allism, and moving toward a speech of emancipatory effort which frees the discourse itself is a language of empowerment and significance to the feminist movement, Elshtain indicated.

Cindy

Arriving on the campus at 5:30 p.m. and finding my way to the graduate students' office space, as I remember it, was a welcome sight. It was the first time in many, many years that I had driven such a long distance alone. While questioning the fragile condition of my nine year old car, I had bargained with myself that I must arrive before dark. At the same time, I wondered whether I was being too intense at the driving pace I was keeping. At any rate, I arrived in record time with only one brief stop at the state line to make a forwarding call--so, arriving on the campus and seeing the physical education facility was a relief. Visiting and familiarizing myself with the surroundings of the office, I felt as though I was intruding and interrupting their schedules--the paperwork seemed immense. Take out the appointment book, for you

many never get your chance here without a stronger affirmation of your presence, I thought.

With appointment schedules intact and most of the students off to evening classes, I decided to rest before dinner. After dinner, and in Cindy's apartment, she confided, that we could have the interview then, if it was okay by me. Sensing that she was either anxious about the ordeal or that she could probably use her block of time on the following day, I agreed and we began arranging for the session. In very leisurely clothes and with feet propped on the very modest furniture, we began the interview. Cindy returned the biographical sheet and other forms and I began with an introductory statement to bring our conversation to focus. The expressive autobiography moved with ease. Trying hard not to show glimpses of my own reflections, I was captured by her reflections on her college experiences--that is, the similarities with my own conditions, perceptions of those conditions, and even outcomes. The interview was very revealing personally and professionally.

Cindy displayed a wide range of emotions during the interview from excitement about her rich involvement in the programs at the different schools to near anger and despair about women's misrepresentation, as she viewed it. The responses to many questions were almost spontaneous--almost to the point of rapping the answers over my questions.

This caused no bother to me; being the searcher, I was delighted to get the flow of data moving.

Cindy is presently a doctoral student in physical education with an interest in Curriculum and Supervision. She attends a major university in the southeastern region and works as a research assistant designing curricula. Her busy schedule as a full-time student and research assistant was very apparent during my trip. Before taking a leave of absence to enter school, she had been a public school teacher/coach for seventeen years. She has taught for two years at a junior high and fifteen at a senior high school in the middle and northeastern region. She has been a dance instructor for sixteen years, respectively. She was a member/player of a local volleyball league, and also sectional representative of a local Volleyball Coaches Association.

Speaking of her early interests, she stated that biology, art, and physical education were subjects she enjoyed. By the time she reached high school, being really impressed "by her female physical education teacher," she decided "it would be physical education" that she would teach. Coming from a family tradition of teachers and a principal, she implied, that the choice of career was assumed or limited to a realm almost predestined for that era.

Cindy vividly cited one occasion during her childhood where she accompanied her mother to a teacher's conference which was held on a college campus. This experience further strengthened her conviction with regard to a career in teaching and also influenced her to attend this particular university. She recalled:

> I can remember going with my mother to a teachers' conference . . . and falling in love with the campus. So, I had decided that . . . was the place that I would go. It was the place and atmosphere that r-e-a-l-l-y sold me.

Initially, Cindy's mother did not support her choice to pursue a major in physical education. Fortunately, as a result of Cindy's persistence, her mother began to accept Cindy's wishes. Having done well in grade school without applying herself and knowing little about the curriculum for physical education majors, she was surprised by the depth of the course work. She increased her interests and skill level in dance, officiating, and teaching methods. However, she confessed again that she "had a rude awakening when it came to the anatomy, physiology, tests and measurement, and kinesiology. . . ." In talking about her college experiences, she suggested that she had many misgivings about male-domination in sport and physical education. With limited or no varsity sports for girls, and the male students seemingly getting better exposure and concrete instruction as it related to future tasks and endeavors, she nevertheless, managed to focus on that which

she could do well--as secondary student teaching, and officiating which proved beneficial.

She stated that she and other women students became rated officials which was unusual for that time since the opportunities to officiate were few during her early tenure in teaching and coaching. In conjunction with her techniques of officiating there was a component in which she had to go to the YWCA to teach little children to play basketball. She also commented that her cooperating teacher was an excellent person to work with, and so, she elected to stay at the same school for both parts of her practical. All considered, these seemed to be the activities and events which she most enjoyed as a student.

Cindy commented that her first teaching experience was at a small junior high school where the participation concept was fluent. The only interscholastic team for girls was basketball. She then stated that she started a dance group, and she taught choreography. The students gave dance performances the two years she was at that school. Junior high schools in the area would conduct jamborees, annually, as a competition between schools, she said, "so, we would get a directive saying--there is going to be a jamboree next month, and we are going to get the kids ready to play." She indicated that not only did the two week preparation make the situation hectic, but also the class size of forty or more caused one to feel that

this situation was less than desirable. Then adding, "that was the extent of participation and competition," she said.

Her second position proved to be exciting, revealing but hectic. As she and her family pursued better positions, she had the opportunity to interview for and secured a secondary level position. Cindy recalled that she "went for an interview and was amazed at what an extensive program they had. They had an elective system that was coed" . . . but the required classes were gender separate. At this point, Cindy began to express a certain delight and enthusiasm as she talked about her involvement in the program. She explained that there was equity in and among women and men coaches and the organization was such that one could teach and coach their specialities. The first year there, she was cheerleader advisor, which she perceived to be somewhat of a "scrub job." In addition, she coached volleyball which was relatively new for that school--relatively new included playing a season between winter and spring sports. In addition, she began formulating a dance group.

Dance, she stated, was a required course for all sophomores, "and that was great." At one point she was the assistant tennis coach, but later she was given expanded coaching duties in volleyball with the responsibility for both the varsity and junior varsity teams. She then intimated that this was where her "true coaching

experience" or her true love for coaching began--as a volleyball and dance sport teacher. The department chairman encouraged all coaches and teachers to attend clinics, to become officials in their sport, and to participate "heavily" in their local and state level organizations relative to their sport. Cindy said, "we were considered the consummate professionals and athletics were very important."

She then began explaining her uphill struggle to building and developing good teams. She indicated that in the beginning stages she did not get the better athletes--many of those players signed on with more familiar sports as soccer and field hockey. However by attending summer camps and clinics, and encouraging many students to attend, also, many of the seemingly unskilled players developed. She commented, "it made a difference in my coaching and our league became one of the more competitive leagues in the state." Cindy's implicit sense of accomplishment was very apparent. The experience, though difficult at times, and having started from the bottom-upward, as she termed it, had been hectic but exciting and also rewarding. She continued by saying that where there were no comparable sport for girls, "then the girls could participate on the boys team which was the case in track and field, and cross-country track." This was the

case for indoor and outdoor track, and the case for skiing, both downhill and cross-country.

Moving into the new building, she then had a dance studio. Reminding me that she had been hired especially to develop the dance program she explained:

> I developed a program in social dance, international folk and American square, and modern jazz, so that my teaching role over the years has fluctuated between all dance; and dance and other things. At one point I was only teaching dance and--I thought--if I decided to leave it would be important for me to have competencies in other areas. So, then I ask to be given other areas to teach . . . maybe one team sport class or one life-time or fitness class.

To find an instructor of dance, and sport teaching and with extensive involvement in both is somewhat of a rare blend. It is obvious that by requesting classes in sport and fitness that she not only wanted to keep her teaching skills broad but also seemingly the desire to mingle daily and to maintain good relations with all staff members was important to her. The helping relationships and comradeship among staff members were illuminated when Cindy stated:

> . . . everybody had an area of expertise and when you went to someone to ask them for help they would do whatever was necessary to help you with whatever it was that you were teaching. We could go into classes of other people. People would take extra time to teach us to help raise levels of competence.

When asked if there ever was a time in which she felt isolated from others, she responded by saying that her

"department chairman encouraged us to be active participants in other areas of the school whenever possible." She indicated that head coaches did not have to attend faculty meeting during their coaching season, but otherwise, we did participate and get involved in committee work. Speaking further about involvement, Cindy stated:

> And we're encouraged to articulate and to be professionals. You never wore your physical education attire to school. You always changed. And for all games, you always changed into regular [attire] so that there was a sense of promotion of professionalism and it was important that you were involved in professional organizations, as well.

As time passed, there were changes in demographics, and changes in leadership leading to what seemed to be a change in the philosophy and structure within the department. It seemed that with the closing of some community schools, their school was having to absorb teachers from junior high schools in the surrounding area. With the inception of what she termed Proposition two-and-ahalf, they could no longer interview, screen, and be selective as to who was hired. Absorbing from within the system you "sometimes got the best of the worst." As these new teachers came bringing half of their student body, she exclaimed, "things started to change with regard to philosophy . . . and therefore things were minimized." She stated that they lost certain individual sports because some teachers were not able to teach them, and further, some were not interested in learning new techniques. Her

heightened state of near anger and frustration was clarified when she stated that:

> there was a shift toward more competitive team sports and less individual sports, and what happened was that there was coercion for girls to go into less competitive team sports in order to play, and the chauvinistic view grew.

Cindy then stated that she became more and more frustrated, having an allegiance to the former philosophy and knowing the growth process and now seeing "the department again splitting into male versus female and it almost seemed to be an antagonistic relationship." The acting athletic director was not a people person, was often defensive, and any suggestions that were made were quickly floored because this group was not into teaching, she surmised. "By this time," she stated, "I had completed my masters in the area of curriculum but "someone else got the curriculum coordinator's position, and I think that I resented that." When asked, why do you think you were passed over, she responded:

> I think probably because I was a woman, because it was a real heavy experience that I was going through at the time, but I think that I resented it a great deal and consequently this person was very intimidated--he also--both of them were junior high school teachers. So, it was interesting. The department was not split.

Cindy continued to discuss what she perceived to be the demise of the department by stating that it was almost a prophesy. There were changes in curriculum which could not possibly work. The decision-making process had

changed. There seemed to be no consensus, and the staff was now male-dominated in numbers and supervision. Moreover, the leadership of the department was in the hands of the newer teachers. She disheartedly confessed, "and I was the only one--myself and one older guy--we were the only ones who were left who had been there for [any length of time]."

Cindy, after reflecting, stated her belief and summation by saying that because these people were from junior high school settings where apparently little was accomplished, comparably speaking, and not having had many facilities--they thought they had arrived. They saw no vision for what could be done or improved upon. They were satisfied with things as they were, and so gradually the department lost it's elitism and specialities, thus individual sports were replaced by team sports. "It was interesting to see the dynamics at work," she stated.

Because she had gained many and varied experiences, she still felt it was her obligation to the field to "put back." As such, she opted for the training of student/ teachers. In addition to her "many responsibilities and with that tight schedule," she said, "I had no lunch period." She further intimated that she was told to give up public school teaching and open a dance studio in my basement and in that way she could be home with her newborn

baby and be able to teach dance, also." Explaining her interpretation of this comment she said:

> he was a chauvinist, he couldn't really deal with feminism and I think he had the idea that women were secondary, [that] athletics for girls was secondary.

As a result of this and other observations, Cindy inferred that she came to view the leadership as authoritative, and chauvinistic. Now missing the moral support and comradeship that once was so pervasive during her early tenure, she felt even more alone in her struggle. Nonetheless, a new dimension was added to her repertoire of proficiencies--that of player/coach. She commented that her sense of herself changed--she "had a different perspective." She was more emphatic and better able to understand the beginning levels of competition through higher levels of competition. The meaning she applied to player/coach was expressed as thus:

> You also understand a lot more about the things that you are coaching and why certain things do, and do not happen. I also think that if you can execute then that serves as a better model. You know, then you're coaching.

Renouncing and/or qualifying her previous statement, she stated:

> I'm not sure that I really believe that you have to be able to play a game well to be a good coach, but I really do believe that there is another dimension that you experience if you do play and coach.

She stated that the one thing that had really been important to her was the friends and relations that she

developed. Some of her former students are now in their thirties and she said, "I am still in close contact with them. Some of these kids, now men and women, get in touch with me when they have problem," she professed, "I have just been able to be there for them in ways that I wish I had someone to be there for me." She added, these relations have been developmental, supportive, and also reciprocal.

Continuing her discussion about relationships she explained that in 1981 when she became a player/coach and a member of the Cambridge volleyball team, the coach for those junior teams was a very inspiring person. She stated that "he asked me to join his team--my playing was not at the level it is today." In conclusion, she stated, that he taught her things she should and should not do; he helped her to overcome many anxieties in dealing with coaching techniques. Cindy indicated that this was very important to her and that her proficiencies or skill levels improved.

When asked how important is the sport experience to the lives of girls and women, she responded, "I think it's very important." Extrapolating further, she indicated that women can feel a sense of accomplishment intellectually but then in athletics women and girls are primarily thought of as students even though there is greater participation today. Describing the importance of the sport experience further she said:

> Competing interscholastically still affords them an opportunity to see themselves in a different light and to push themselves in a different way . . . and that way is likely to be beneficial when you think of how truly competitive our society is. I don't think we really get that message explicitly. I think that is something that is implicit in that women are not always prepared to deal with being a competitor.

Dialectically, Cindy sees the necessity for girls to have a wide variety of lived experiences including competitive ventures, but by the same token, she is not satisfied with the current trend and direction girls and women sport seems to be taking. She admitted that she has cautions and worries with the "win at any cost" ethic. "So, when I say preparation for a competitive life, I am not stressing winning," she said.

When asked directly what was she stressing, she responded by saying--determination, perseverance, working against odds, and taking risks. Reflecting on her teaching experience she said:

> I came to understand in both my teaching and coaching that it really was not about teaching just the subject matter or coaching a sport--it was that I was involved in the process of preparing young men and women to take steps and to stretch themselves in life.

The intrinsic values became apparent as verbalized. The expressed need for women mentors was voiced in relation to the aforemention concerns. Cindy then said:

> Men are taking over the roles of coaching women's interscholastic sports and I think, it's of primary importance that we as women do not give up the field because, again, I think that young women need

> mentors! They need women role models and they need to view competition from a woman's perspective.

It is Cindy's view that male-dominance is so pervasive and so taken-for-granted that she is not sure that girls are consciously aware. "They experience it all of the time," she said. When speaking of women administrators in connection with role models, Cindy said,

> this being a generalizable statement and probably more rhetoric than fact, but if young women can see women in positions of power and/or authority as coaches then maybe they can move beyond to administrators.

Stating further:

> you know, if they feel that men are always in charge and men are ones who coach and instruct them competitively, then they may assume that is the role of men and they [girls] have a secondary role.

During the second interview session, Cindy confessed that as a matter of conditioning, mature women, to a great extent make their workplace an extension of their home. With a demeanor of quiet control, speaking slowly, and as if careful selecting her word, she said that as a condition of the home they have learned from their mothers to make a number of sacrifices. Citing an example of her girlhood, she intimated:

> How often have we seen our mothers wear the same best dress over and over. On a given holiday or special occasion when everyone else was getting new outfits and new things--she got nothing, and never complained. Her joy was in seeing others happy.

"So," she stated, "many women perceive their conditions at work, not unlike their position at home."

And in so doing they continue to strive and struggle against certain odds in spite of obstacles and unequal situations, she inferred. She declared:

> Basically now and probably much more in earlier times--you simply had to in order to accomplish a goal.

The reality is that women do not have the real power, so our activities have been that of negotiating in terms of that power. She cited an example of her girlhood by saying "you really don't want daddy to get upset, so, you go to mom to mediate for you."

Learning to negotiate and maneuver around the situation is developed very early. Perceiving father as the real power, she inferred that you would not go directly to the source and be cut-off before being heard, but instead, find an intermediate who could be the spokesperson and keep the discussion open. "The social reality," she said, is that "women do not have the real power and in their position of authority they must not allow themselves to be perceived as overt. Even when they are being direct, assertive, and/or affirming, it is often softened and prefaced by comments that are inviting and seeking agreement among. "So, I agree, women do practice a great deal of power-sharing," Cindy said.

Being able to diversify our roles has allowed us to accomplish what we have thus far. It seems that women in the workplace often times polarize toward the

power-sharing, cooperative, democratic orientation rather than power-over and demanding. In her closing comments she indicated that those who are successful, are the ones who have learned and know the subtleties, and if not, they may suffer the consequences of being pushed aside.

Interpretation of Cindy

I view Cindy as a woman who is practicing feminist theory in her daily life. Taking the feminist mode of analysis and her adult female experiences as well as her childhood experiences and setting each into a historical context, she is in the process of transvolution. The meaning-making and meaning-sharing with others of like experiences are feminist theory-building. She is neither frightened by, nor does she deny, the oppressed conditions of women as a group. Prepared for, confronting, and necessarily understanding the social reality that, as a group, women do not have the real power she then is capable of diversifying her role to meet the social reality.

Being instrumental and productive in her role as a teacher/coach and player has built assurance and confidence in her ability to work from the bottom upward. Having a vision which is not satisfied with the status quo, mediocrity, or the ascribed woman's place has been her motivator to many, and varied experiences.

Jane Flax (1986) proposed in her essay of feminist philosophy that "Women Do Theory" (p. 2). The author

stated that after a timely and reasonable search, and the development of a theoretical framework she found "none of them sufficient to explain the range of things I think a feminist needs to explain (p. 2). Much like a 3,000 year old conversation, many theorists take the ideas of another and attempt to reapply them in an ongoing political discourse, Flax stated. "In traditional political theory, however, the relationship between men and women and the status of women, are rarely discussed" (Flax, p. 3). Be it implicit theory or explicit, women to a larger degree are frightened by the idea of theory-building let alone feminist theory. Because they are not supposed to be abstract thinkers they are neither involved nor included traditionally in a political discourse in which they make-up half the representation.

Flax offered three purposes of feminist theory. The first is to understand the power differentials between men and women; secondly, to understand how women's oppression occurred; and thirdly, to overcome oppression. The third point, to overcome oppression, seemed to be Flax's main point. She stated that "it is senseless to study the situation of women without a concomitant commitment to do something about it." (p. 4). She indicated that an individual should draw upon life experiences and the consequences there-in "as part of her basis for

understanding, for feeding into the development of theory" (Flax, p. 5).

Hartsock (1986) stated that "through this practice women have learned that it was important to build their analysis from the ground up, beginning with their own experiences. They examine their lives not only as thinkers but, as Marx would have suggested, with all of their senses" (p. 9).

Cindy sees her work as a personal commitment--as a female working from the bottom upward but she also recognizes the political struggles of all women. Startled with the notion that she should give up teaching, and open a dance studio in her basement, so that, she could be home with her baby was a signal of devaluation of her role, and thus the devaluation and secondary status of all women and girls in sport. Baffled and somewhat stunned by this comment, she made her feminist mode of analysis, and went on to add to her proficiencies in sport teaching as a player/coach. Hartsock indicated in her writings about the personal and political change that by working out the links between

> daily life and social institutions, we have begun to understand existence as a social process, the product of human activity. Moreover, the realization that we not only create our social world, but can change it, leads to a sense of our own power and provides energy for action. (p. 10)

Understanding that we do not live, produce, and reproduce in a vacuum to ourselves, and to change the consciousness of others and likewise changing the definitions of self, we should remember that this can only occur in the social dynamics in which each of us is involved. By working out the links between the personal and political, and the links between and among patriarchy, capitalism, and racial supremacy one can see the totality of the social forces which make for the social-structural formations as we experience and know them to be. "By calling attention to the specific experiences of individuals, feminism calls attention to the totality of the social relations, to the social formation as a whole" (Hartsock, p. 10).

Looking at each of the social institutions as interlocking we can come to view each as a different expression of the same--domination and control. Collectively appropriating our life experiences, again and again, we are creating women who recognize that "we can not be ourselves in a society based on hierarchy, domination, and private property (p. 12). To resist and revolt the practices of such a system, we are transforming a "politics of idealism into a politics of necessity." In that way "a feminist mode of analysis leads to an integration of theory and practice," stated Hartsock (p. 12).

Not to reduce Cindy's thought and acts to merely thinking about deeds, I do view her as being in a transvolution stage where each new and varied experience, both personally and professionally is transformed. Not only for her but also for the individuals she is in contact with on a day to day basis, the experience is one of being critically aware of life situations and thus she serves as a good model and a representation of the feminist mode of analysis.

So far, I have not mentioned, generally or specifically, the operant or complex relations of class relations. Cindy's language brought out the issue vividly. And here, I am concerned with the class among a class, that is, the middle class ideology of women. We can never have "a united and large scale movement for revolution" with a subset division of mental and manual labor in and among women, (Hartsock, p. 16). There is an overwhelmingly hegemony that the middle class way is the right way. Also, "middle class women retain control over approval" (p. 15) and acceptance of what is considered polite behavior. These conditions in combination add to the complexities of relations and serve to divide by looking down on.

A political theory of necessity further necessitates that we remove class barriers which operate generally to divide people and keep them down. Hartsock stated that "advocating downward mobility and putting down those who

are not as revolutionary is another form of middle class arrogance" (p. 15). Being on the wrong side of the division of mental and manual labor, of the less articulate having real difficulty and know-how for voicing concerns and issues in an appropriate way, serves to exclude and support a system of domination and subordination. "A feminist mode of analysis suggests that we work on issues that have real impact on our daily life" and to be inclusive of all levels rather than assuming that we know what's important to that group (p. 17). By confronting and examining class as a part of everyday life, and looking at the practical rather than isolated categories, we are looking at cultural domination as a whole.

Jane

Arriving for an early interview and not realizing that it was a teacher's workday, it seemed that the campus was deserted. Though deserted-looking, I was impressed with campus. As I entered the office, Jane was on the telephone performing a typical task--arranging a volleyball schedule for next season. Looking around the small office space, the area was very familiar. I noticed two viewing windows--one toward the exit door and one with a view of the main gymnasium floor - great! So often have I seen coaches offices with no view, seemingly, except the view of another wall.

After a short introduction the tape was turned on. The autobiography flowed bountiful--the participant was very expressive--did not seem at all constrained. She seemed to be stating the plain truth without bitterness or resentment--good experiences and bad were vented candidly. I found Jane to be an interesting person, provocative, and self-assured. Very early on, she began to express the fact that she loved a challenge and has seemingly had many.

Jane is presently a full-time athletic director at a 4-A high school having some thirty-five coaches to supervise. She is in her twentieth year as a teacher/coach athletic director, and also at one point she served as department chairwoman in physical education. She has coached some six or more sports at differing times. Jane coached volleyball and softball for fourteen years each, basketball for nine years, track and field for three, and field hockey for four years. She has also coached tennis for ages six through adulthood at a private club during the summer months, while administering the City Tennis Association Program.

Recalling her first job, she said, "it was a bad experience." She stated that she applied for the position in a pool of about 400 applicants. This was a very prestigious and affluent neighborhood school. There was an abundance of facilities and equipment, the situation was

near utopic and for that reason, to her, unrealistic and not a challenge. "Well," she said,

> the fact that I got the position was a real surprise but the biggest surprise or shock, as it really was, was that I was not informed before hand that I would be teaching two classes out of the field.

When she arrived, she said that the principal told her that she would be teaching two special education classes in science. "The old idea of the new kid on the block gets the dirty work," Jane said. She then expressed her real frustration and near humiliation by saying: "I was totally unprepared, I was not told until the day that I got there and after I had signed the contract! I felt inadequate and really unprepared for this group of students." She further conveyed that there were a lot of discipline problems, and that she knew little about preparing an hour lecture. She said, "I was prepared to teach activity courses in the gym and outdoors, and not to give one hour lectures." As it was she had to go home and study every night in order to be prepared the next morning.

When asked what sort of help was available as curriculum guides and resource people--she responded "none, none except the designated textbook"! There were no work sheets or guides and no one was available to help me she explained. Indicating that after one year she resigned and she stated: "being an only child, and that being my first time away from home, I resigned," she said again.

Jane returned to her college town and began looking for a new job, which apparently was not difficult. "Luckily again, I was able to get a job," she said. There she worked for one year as a teacher/coach. The coaching aspect was very important to her as a young coach, she illuminated this by saying:

> Winning was probably at the top of my list--I even had Vince Lombardi signs posted all over my office. I conducted fund-raisers to get equipment and supplies. Again, I taught biology which was difficult but this time I did get help. The curriculum guides were current and resource people were there to assist when I requested help.

Within the one year she indicated that she had begun to build better teams, to purchase and secure better equipment and uniforms, and had winning teams. She indicated that she was feeling a real sense of accomplishment when to her surprise she was reassigned. "I had to leave all that behind--I was hurt," she said with exasperation. In compliance with desegregation guidelines, people were shifted and moved all over the place. "For a while," she said, "I resented this move because I felt like I was leaving behind everything I had built and everything I was attached to."

She indicated that she was very unhappy for several reasons. For one, she had worked very hard to get equipment and supplies which she left behind and second, her teams were split in half which meant she was having to coach against some of her former athletes. This she said

create an intense rivalry which lasted for several years. Combined with all the integration intensity, the senior class intact, and the coaching against former athletes,--"so, it was really a difficult transition," she stated.

Jane indicated that it was mostly difficult because she came into a program that had virtually nothing. "I mean zero," she said, the school had been overlooked and neglected by the system in every aspect--not just the girls program--physical education and athletics, in general." According to Jane, "it was like starting at zero." Being one to enjoy a challenge, she decided to face up to the fact that if she was going to be there she was going to make the best of the situation.

> . . . then I got fired up about it, because I like a challenge and I was young and just at the point where you wake up in the morning and can't wait to go to school to teach and--so, I loved it.

"As time passed," she confessed, "it was really the best thing that ever happened." Jane then indicated that she had great teams, won lots of championships, the girls really turned out for the teams, and again they laid a strong foundation for a good athletic program. Realizing that she was talking more about athletics, she said, "I loved the teaching too. Teaching all physical education for the first time, so, that was better," she professed.

After coaching and teaching for a long time and having served as the department chairwoman during the latter period, "I then moved into the athletic director position," Jane said. The first three years as athletic director, I was teaching two classes each year; this year is the first without classes," she explained. When asked, how was she received in her new position, she responded, "very poorly." At this point Jane began to relive what was a very trying situation.

She re-addressed and re-analyzed every mentionable facet of the situation including the fluctuation of racial make-up and changes therein, including the demotion of a black male who formerly held the position, the mixed feelings from coaches with whom she had worked for thirteen years, the skepticism of other athletic director's in the city; "there were many people in the community that were just up in arms over the move," she said. "I think they [men coaches] had mixed feelings about it, I really do," Jane said. She admitted that by and large, she thinks she had their support. However, in a situation where you have two women running the show as principal and athletic director--"I have to tell you that-that was a difficult, a very difficult situation," . . . she added.

Within the four years that she has been athletic director, there have been a number of changes in coaches positions having thirty-five to supervise. The fact that

she has done much of the hiring "naturally is going to make for better relationships" she stated. "So, that has helped some, but there are still some key coaches who have been here for many years, "I'm sure they have mixed feelings about my position," she concluded. She continued by saying that she had a difficult time getting the support of the boosters club, indicating that that process took awhile. "So, it's a real challenge, it's a real challenge," she exclaimed.

Further explaining the situation she indicated that the three athletic directors in the city were also skeptical as were nearly everyone else. Jane felt that there was just a handful of people who considered that a woman was capable of handling the job. Speaking of the generalized skepticism, she stated,

> . . . and just thought, well a woman can not do this job, period, and that it was a mistake for the principal to even think that a woman could tackle such a job. So--I have to say the other athletic directors were [both] skeptical and supportive.

As she talked about her first big task--one which would be viewed publicly she seemed to reveal a quiet panic. As athletic director, she was responsible for lining and marking all fields, and making sure that all the facilities were ready for the particular event. Marking the football field for the Friday night event was a key task for her.

Judging that many of the people who could have helped had been "alienated because of the circumstances, I could not call the former A.D. and say, hey, come over here and give me some advice," she recalled. The entire situation ended up being a big ordeal for her. Jane, then began telling how she visited a neighboring school, and that the athletic director there gave her a lot of helpful pointers. She persisted that she had to learn the job as she went along with little or no help and that most--the coaches, athletes, spectators--all were surprised and shocked. "They were shocked that the task got done, let alone, done well," said Jane. She pointed out that the whole experience has been a lot like that, even at athletic director's meetings where virtually no women are a part of the group.

> So, I'm still a real oddity and everything I do is pretty carefully scrutinized to see if it's going to be up to par, or all right. You have got to go beyond--you can't be as good as--you've got to be better than I think to really genuinely be accepted. That's my perception.

When asked about her highlights in sport teaching, Jane spoke first about former student-athletes who are now teacher/coaches themselves. She indicated that there are "three teaching and coaching in this county, and two in another state." She then said, "so, those folks are special," then adding.

> You know you always like to see kids go into your profession. They loved it enough that they wanted

> to do it. I would say that those folks that are teaching and coaching are real special.

Jane goes on to talk about a ninth grader who resembled a former student-athlete, finding out in the conversation that she was actually a niece of a former athlete, and the daughter of another. This incident, she said, made her realize how old she was and just how long she had been teaching. That was the first time she could remember teaching a student of a student. After pulling out some old scrapbooks of her first year of coaching in her college town, she and the ninth grader laughed "seeing those old hairstyles, tee shirts, and cut-off jeans and, of course, she [the student] just thought that was the funniest thing she had ever seen." Jane, went on to explain that . . . "when I came here the girl's didn't have uniforms. Those were the days before Title IX," Jane stated.

"Another real highlight of my coaching experience was in 1978," she explained. Because she had had some very successful volleyball teams, she was invited to represent the eastern region of the United States taking nine players to compete against Polish teams. The Polish teams were preparing for the 1980 Olympics. Jane indicated that "we were playing amateur status players who were much older than the players I carried." She indicated that basically they were competing against women who ranged in ages from

20-23 and "my girls were 14-17, . . . so, we weren't real successful, but that was a great experience for us," Jane stated. She indicated that they placed or won against a group that was nearer to the age group of her team. "But mostly," she stated, "it was not the win-loss factor that made this trip so special." She then began to reveal what seemed to be her most heartfelt moments by stating,

> . . . the people were great and I wouldn't trade it for anything in the world and I still . . . those 9 girls that went with me to Poland pretty much still keep in touch. That group will always be special.

According to Jane, nowhere else in the school can students receive the same kinds of experiences as they do in athletics. She said, "I may be biased but I don't see any area in the school--as clubs or any organizations that can offer the same kinds of growth experiences. . . ." She then began to identify certain qualities that she felt were developed as a result of sport participation. "First of all," she stated, "I would say self-discipline and others," as she recalled, "are social skills, determination, and learning to be dependable." Confessing that she was not a parent, but indicating that, if she were, she "certainly would encourage her kids to participate in some way. . . ."

The importance of girls' sports has changed over the years, and having seen those changes Jane had some revelations and observations to make being in the midst of those changes. She indicated that when she first started

coaching she did not verbalize the importance of keeping academics in perspective but, more and more, this is an issue. Certain elements of her comments seemed to indicate that as conditions improve for girls in sport, as facilities, equipment, scheduling, so too, did other emulations of the male model of sport become apparent. "Nobody thought anything about it, but after the girls' program came into its own right" she indicated that she began to verbalize the importance of academics, and no longer did she make assumptions. She consciously began to stress the importance of academics having a different perspective herself.

This too, being the case with her philosophy of competition, she professed, "I have to say now my philosophy has changed and I see the overall picture a lot more than I did when I was a young coach. She stated, "winning is great," that she loves to win but now she thinks there is a lot "to be gained and to be emphasized--positive things--that can come about even if you don't win. . . ." Jane intimated that when one is a young coach, winning and building the name as a real contender is important. This suggested that during one's early coaching tenure one possibly mistakenly makes an overstatement, and in so doing, often sees winning as the only thing.

Another issue that was discussed in some depth was the socialization of women teacher/coaches in and among other staff members. When asked whether she had ever felt any isolation from the rest of the staff, Jane responded, definitely. In her opinion she felt that,

> you are isolated not only by the differences in interest and busy schedules, but also, by the mere geographics. You are always isolated from the rest of the staff because of the facility. So, unless you make a concerted effort to get into other parts of the building and mingle with other staff members you will be unknown.

She confessed that by the same token people are not going to come to your area to watch you teach. And unfortunately, they may not come to your events, only to the varsity male events do they really turn out. Jane explained further that there are few opportunities to break out of perceived stereotypical notions unless the individual makes an effort to get involved in something outside of athletics and show people that you have some additional capabilities. Jane indicated that she hopes these types of issues are approached during undergraduate tenures because as she sees it, "it is a real important issue." She felt that in order to build relationships, and rapport, and a network within the school,

> you have got to go to them. . . . With women coaches becoming a dying breed particular issues of concern of that role model need to be approached with greater concern.

Jane said, "we virtually never find a teacher outside of physical education--a female who wants to coach." Relishing the thought, she stated, that this was an area where a female could "name the school and practically name the job" if they, while teaching other subject areas, were willing also to coach a sport.

> Coaching just takes up so much time. It's a real commitment and even though here it pays quite well, I think as compared to other jobs we are not talking about a lot of money. You have to pretty much want to take a coaching job, not for the money, but for fulfillment and enjoyment. Nowadays--[there are] too many other ways for women to make just money.

Finding female coaches in other subject areas is going to be a key issue in the future. Emphasizing how crucial the situation is, Jane commented that she probably has thirty-five coaches, and only 3 women are head coaches and two are assistants--"that's not a very high number," she stated. Whenever possible, she indicated, she would hire a woman coach for girls and vice versa for boys teams. In most instances gender does not come into play--first she considers who is best and when all things are equal she indicated that same--gender coaches are preferred as a role model for the students. "However, many times it is simply a matter of convenience because of the locker room problem," she stated. According to Jane, "if women are not careful there aren't going to be too many women coaches . . . and that's a real concern on the high school level."

In the second interview session Jane was questioned about the existence of some built in strategies to the division of labor for women teacher/coaches. There is a prevalence of women department chairs as opposed to the infrequent appointment of women to athletic directorships. According to Jane, "it is generally agreed upon that it is okay for women to be department chairpersons because quote-unquote it is not an important position." In Jane's opinion, "it is likened to a managerial position and the work is not viewed publicly." The athletic director, on the other hand, she noted, "is much more visible--it's more powerful." She indicated that male coaches, in general, are not receptive to women in that position because women are then in a position to make critical decisions which directly impact on their coaching tasks and the outcome of those tasks.

Looking at two issues, the division of labor and total responsibility of child care, as areas that may constrain women to a lesser autonomous position and comparing these conditions to women coaches, are they able to close the gap on women rights? Jane stated, "no, we are possibly losing ground." With some ambivalence she indicated that she was not sure that

> women coaches make a conscious decision not to have children, however, many do not. And as far as the division of labor is concerned there is, I think, more of a division of labor in physical education than in any other area in education.

In fact, Jane declared, "we are losing ground with the scarcity of women going into this profession." She said she could remember when all girls teams were coached by women, now she can think of only two women basketball coaches in her region, and for that reason she thinks sport is becoming more male-dominated.

Without any remorse or resentment in her voice, she explained that generally speaking, and looking at women as a group she really thinks that most feel it is okay to be considered second class or the second sex. Further explaining that if you single out a particular event, then many will agree "that-that's not fair or that's not the way things should be." But to a greater extent, she explained, women are brainwashed in every aspect of their lives, not just in their careers, that oftentimes they do not view themselves as oppressed. "As a rule," she stated, "we do not look critically at our conditions or situations for the simply reason that it might become overwhelming." She indicated that family orientation as well as formal educational experiences bring much to bear on a kind of reproduction of mothering.

> I can just remember so clearly . . . these are the kinds of things that were expected. I mean it was just the instructors I had and to me society expected you to try and be the best you could be which meant going the extra mile and it wasn't even the extra mile--it was expected, I mean it was just the norm. . . .

There were many times in her coaching experience when she knew things were not equal. "For instance," she said, "we didn't have uniforms--we had to raise money, we didn't always get to practice in the big gym." But for her it was just an incentive to work harder, to try harder, and to work longer. Jane indicated that maybe this is one of the reasons that . . . many women are leaving coaching.

> It's just a burn out kind of thing when you are fighting the system all the way for every little scrap that you can get for your coaching and teaching. It wears you out--I mean it really does and that's sort of what happened to me. I was beginning to really get burned out just to get equitable kinds of things.

Jane continued by saying there had been some changes over the "last ten or fifteen years" but she feels that in many respects women are still an oppressed group. She stated that she is somewhat of an oddity and the fact that she is the exception and that she has been able to close the gap, generally speaking, she renounced, "I just don't see the gap closing, if anything it is widening. . . .

As we talked about women and the process-product orientation, she agreed that women teacher/coaches are likely more process-oriented, but from a different viewpoint. She reasoned that women are process-oriented and that men are product-oriented because society allows women to be process-oriented, but on the other hand, it demands that men prove themselves and/or be captioned as winners or losers.

> Take coaching, for example, if a woman coach loses volleyball, season after season, no one seems to care very much. However, if the man coach loses basketball too many seasons, the booster club and others will begin to show real concern. Women can afford to be process-oriented since there is less pressure to win."

Commenting about the practice of power diffusion on the part of women, Jane smiled and said, "I think that's interesting because I think that's true but, to me, it's a matter of being able to survive in a situation." Women learn [to practice power diffusion] . . . or else they will be relegated to the bottom rung of the ladder forever, she espoused. She further explained that women have to tone down much of their aggressiveness and use it in a careful manner. In her opinion, men do not have to but women definitely do or otherwise you are perceived as being too aggressive. She concluded by saying "it's unfortunate, but an interesting phenomenon."

Interpretations of Jane

Jane offered an open and different viewpoint of the role of female teacher/coaches. Her view was as different and diverse as her experiences themselves. She has experienced many of the joys, triumphs, challenges, and struggles yet, she maintains as almost endearing as well as positive and honest viewpoint for all involved in the sport experience. She knows and further understands that women are an oppressed group. She understands and notes the contributing factors of that oppression as familial

relationships, educational and social relations, and also the reproductive relations between mothers and daughters. She half-heartedly views women, in general, as brainwashed but offers no anger or resentment for this condition citing her personal upbringing and relations as a classic example of the circumstances of the broader culture.

Noting her role as an "exception to the rule" she neither boasts nor does she criticize other women teacher/coaches for not having obtained equal status. She simply understands with her heart and her head the paradoxical and contradictory nature of women's existence. On the other hand, women are often encouraged "to be the very best" that they can be and certain standards are simply expected but then on the acceptance level they must do much more than their counterparts because of the skepticism and scrutiny often surrounding women in leadership positions. This only seems to naturally give rise to the perfectionist syndrome. As Jane talked about doing battle with the demands of coaching, teaching several classes, sponsoring fund-raising projects to get essentials, working nights and Saturdays, doing more, adding to, and continuing to deal with a generalized skepticism--we easily see how the momentum gives rise to the perfectionistic ideal of the self.

The polarization of the idealized self and the small range of role choices permitted to women is explained by

Ortner (1986). Ortner suggested that "psychic mode associated with women seems to stand at both the bottom and the top of the scale of human modes of relating" (p. 73). The tendency is to get involved directly with people as individuals, thus relying on relationships, but not as a representative of any "social category." This way women can either be ignored as common place or they can attempt to transcend those social categories. This, she explained, can account on the one hand for the polemic spectrum of the witches, evil eyes and other subversive symbols; and on the other hand the feminine symbols of transcendence as goddesses in art and religion, and symbols of justice and salvation. According to Ortner, "feminine symbolism, far more often than masculine symbolism, manifests this propensity toward polarized ambiguity--sometimes utterly exalted, sometimes utterly debased, rarely within the normal range of human possibilities" (p. 73).

Ortner theorized the conversion and inversion of "women seen as closer to nature" (p. 66). Woman's physiology is seen as closer to nature" (p. 66) in body space as she spends the greater percentage of her lifetime in "the natural process surrounding the production of the species" (p. 66). Secondly, "Women's social role is seen as closer to nature" (p. 68) by those very limitations and the degree of confinement for those processes. The aforementioned observation in combination with women's

continuous association in and with child-rearing compounds their potential for being seen as closer to nature. Thirdly, according to Ortner, "women's psyche is seen as being closer to nature" (p. 70). Viewing the dominant and universal aspects of feminine psyche, a relevant dimension does seem to be relative concreteness versus relative abstractness, the subjectivity versus relative objectivity. "Females represent experiences in relatively interpersonal, subjective, immediate ways" juxtaposed in early child care and later female socialization responsibilities structurally situated for replication and reproduction in sexual sociology (p. 70). Other authors as Chodorow and Dinnerstein support the contentions of social-structural arrangements, and sexual arrangements of the human species.

Accepting Ortner's intent to show reasons why society views or aligns women as closer to nature in some aspects and in other aspects aligns her symbolically with her culture or culture forms illuminates the generalized ambiguity of meaning characterizing women's marginalities. Ortner stated that "in indicating how nature in general, and the feminine mode of interpersonal relations in particular, can appear from certain points of view to stand both under and over (but simply outside of) the spheres of culture's hegemony" begins to approach the depth of dilemma imposed on women's existence. Woman is not in reality any

closer to (or further from) nature than man--both have consciousness, both are mortal, said Ortner, (p. 74).

Jane's repeated referral to "mixed feelings" on the part of male coaches, other athletic directors, athletes on the football team, and the community in general is within itself a bout with ambiguity. By and large, as she stated her perceptions, she had their support but there was a great deal of skepticism and controversy surrounding a woman's ability to handle the task. As an experienced and mature women she was essentially being tested--contending that "it is still pretty much that way. Everyone seemed to be just waiting to see what is going to happen." It is my impression, judging from her comments, that she turned a would-be bad situation into workable, enjoyable outcome by facing the challenge in an open, confronting, and risk-taking manner. Having gained confidence in previous accomplishments, she was ready to move beyond any embrace with anger, cynicism, or self-pity. Schaef (1981) discussed in her chapter "Stoppers-Keeping Women in their Place," the socio-political course of events which often cause women to back-off of their perceptions, particularly if these perceptions are not validated by the common reality (p. 69).

According to Schaef, "the greatest stoppers of all is the implication that a woman is sick, bad, crazy, stupid, ugly or incompetent" (p. 60). A generous amount of

skepticism and scrutiny breathes the accusation of incompetence and may well have been intended to cause Jane to back off of her perceptions of being an expressive, assertive, and instrumental woman athletic director.

Schaef referred to a developmental, progressive process that leads women from childlike innocence of girlhood into what is called "innocence with wisdom." Being fully conscious of the political, economic, racial, and gender dynamics, adult women of rich and abundant experiences are then free to see what they see and to know what they know, trust their perception while remaining open, vulnerable, and connected in their love and work--innocence with wisdom.

CHAPTER V

PERSONAL AND THEORETICAL INTERPRETATIONS

This study was engaged to report some relevant data about the experiences and relations of women teacher/coaches by exploring with select persons the meaning and significance attached to that position. It was determined that many areas of women's work are being explored and examined for a better understanding; however, the literature on high school women teacher/coaches' experiences and relations seemed very sparse. Having had those experiences myself, and also owing a considerable amount to experiential data, I then chose to share in a hermeneutic-phenomenological study the nature of female teacher/coaches and their experiences. Being experienced, yet removed from the high school setting, I was fully aware that there was much to be said, understood, and for me, much to be reclaimed.

At differing times and with several preliminary participants, I got the feeling that there was either a level of distrust in communication or there were seemingly differences in agendas occurring during the sessions. Grumet (1987) discussed the politics of personal knowledge in storytelling as not only a social struggle of negotiation of power but also an ontological one as well.

> The politics of personal knowledge demand that we acknowledge that telling is an alienation, that telling diminishes the teller, and that we who invite teachers to tell us their stories develop an ethic for that work. (Grumet, p. 322)

She further instructs that we should encapsulate our work with a "seeing that is more inclusive, that survey an ever widening surrounding" (p. 324).

To be fascinated with the life of school where we no longer teach, with the challenges and struggles that we no longer bear is likely suspect from the interviewee's perspective. Grumet advised that we devise a method of receiving stories that "mediates the space between the self that tells, the self that told, and the self that listens. . . ." (p. 323). Any anxiety on the part of the participant concerning the outcome of the results or what we may do with personal knowledge is an aspect of research that deserves our concern and alternative action. Usually, when the participants seemed open and frank, displayed some emotionality and where a certain level of trust in communication and sharing of experiences were pervasive, then those were the women with whom I made second visits to examine emerging themes.

An intriguing observation to be noted is that it appeared as though women of the taller and larger stature were more vocal, open, and even provocatively self-assured. And conversely, as these participants were smaller in stature and/or petite, their language became closed, less

provocative, and even cautiously indirect. Differences noted in their responses ranged from "wrap around" spontaneity to momentary silence before responding to any question. Amidst conversations which were sometimes filled with stories of frustrating times, and even suffering hardships, there were responses of remarkable resilience which showed a look toward a productive future.

There seemed to be a polite reluctance or inability to speak about the self. When asked questions which could have prompted the participants to speak more directly about the self, they often deferred to programs, athletes, or to the sports coached. The language was less instrumental than expected. Very rarely did the participants speak about championships, and never about scores or matches won. On some level this is believable. Women as a group, interacting and communicating tend to show a certain bias against each other when boastful talk becomes the focus of the conversation. Women frequently say "I do not like to brag but . . . or I do not like to say it, but . . ." and continue with their explanations. For what may be perceived as bragging or talking about the self is often summed up to be conceit. This was seemingly the case for several of the participants in this study.

Where the male gender is expected to be instrumental in both language and action, high achieving women are expected to remain temperate about their accomplishments

and/or to allow others to speak about their accomplishments. The participants' greatest reward(s) were voiced, more times than not, as the successes of their students and/or the accomplishments of their former students who were either teaching or engaging in other levels of sport. One participant, Myra, stated: "As recently as 1983, I had a young lady who almost made the 1984 Olympics team in track. . . . She ran [here] in the late 70's and went on to the university level where she did excellently, and was ranked as one of the top ten women runners in the world. . . . I don't like to say that but I have had some super kids."

A second participant, Jane, expressed her accomplishments though her experiences and relations with former students by saying: "But it was a wonderful experience, the people were great and I wouldn't trade it for anything in the world and I still . . . those nine girls that went with me to Poland keep in touch." She indicated that most are still in the area--one is a mathematics teacher and two others are physical educators. "That group will always be special," she concluded. With elation, another stated: "I think the greatest thing now after twenty-three years is to see the kids coming back and to just keep that contact with them. That is the best part of this job no matter what anybody says." Voicing their accomplishments and their greatest rewards through the lens

of the other is viewed as indirect instrumentalism, and a learned social exchange for women.

Several women stated or implied a certain obligation to give back and/or to use teaching and coaching as a chance to put back into the profession the enjoyment and fulfillment which they had earlier received as students. One woman mentioned the many sports started for girls under her leadership, and the effort she expended to get equal pay for women coaches. Another talked about a class action suit which affected, not only the pay for women coaches, but also that of all paraprofessionals and janitorial staff members in the system. The desire to make a contribution to a larger communal effort was present in the responses of some but the ideas of immediacy and close networking were more pervasive. The rewards of reciprocity from co-workers, and especially former students seemed a integral part of their intrinsic reward.

Almost all mentioned the time-consuming nature of teaching, coaching, and being an athletic director. One participant described the position(s) as "very time consuming but important." Another said "coaching just takes up so much of your time, it's a real commitment." And still another said, "it does involve a lot of your time, so your day is never over when you are a teacher and a coach." Only one individual mentioned that she resented the time-consuming nature, and only then in relation to her

teaching. She stated it thus: "I felt more guilt . . . in the amount of time I had to put into coaching, it took me away from my teaching. So, I was beginning to feel more resentful of the coaching situation toward the end." In the cost-benefit category of time, several mentioned or strongly confirmed that there was a sense of isolation, if not, by the demands of time and scheduling of events then by the "mere geographical location of the gymnasium" which is usually out of the central building space.

Several indicated, however, that they had made a concerted effort to mingle with other teachers by getting to the teacher's lounge and/or teachers' cafeteria. One teacher mentioned that even though there were a number of faculty members that she does not know by name, she does communicate with the general faculty by bulletins, fliers, and the public address system. Another mentioned that in one setting she was so put out by the locker room setting she insisted on an additional office space in order to have meaningful and stimulating conversation with other adults.

And a third participant stated that one of the reasons for moving to another state was that she was the only female teacher in her department, and she wanted to be in a school where there were other women physical educators. For her, the sharing of ideas, and the sharing of teaching and coaching strategies with other women coaches was important. Whitaker (1985) discussed the opportunity for

shared and reinforced values of the female athlete and hence the subsequent female sport teacher. "Individuals tend to affiliate with others who support their values, especially those who share them" (Whitaker, p. 19). Developing an "insular circle of like-other" which permits a richness of affiliative interaction, and an expression of common concerns, interests, and priorities constitutes a high value expectancy for female athletes and female coaches as well.

A concern of nearly all participants, the ten preliminary and/or finalists, was a shortage or diminishing number of female role models in the coaching and athletic administrative roles. When asked was there an issue that they would like to discuss, the participants invariably cited the lack of women coaches. Some concerns were focused on the increased number of males coaching girl's sports and others on issues of the feminine view of sport versus view of sport versus that of the male's ethic of sport. This tended to be an emotionally charged issue for almost all and they seemed to reveal a certain despair, if not anger. One participant expressed her feelings from a coach's perspective by saying:

> Another concern that I have is the fact that men are taking over the roles of coaching women's interscholastic sport. I think it is of primary importance that we as women do not give up the field--young women need women mentors. They need to view competition from woman's perspective! In our society there is enough male dominance for them to know it [on both a conscious and unconscious

> level]. They experience it all the time. If we are to prepare young women to be administrators. They have to see women in positions of power and coaching at this point is a conceivable position for a young woman.

Another participant, serving as assistant athletic director, stated her discouragement by saying:

> One of the problems that I have or one that exists is that there is a great lack of young women in physical education . . . or candidates for the future administrative position in athletics. You want the best coach but you need to have women coaches for these girls--I am not saying for everything--but you have got to have some women coaches or you are not being fair to the girls. The majority of the men do not bridge the gap. You hear some guys who say--"'we lost the game and I couldn't stand it and on the way home the girls are singing on the bus! And I couldn't stand it.'" So, it is just a conflict between the man, and the woman's way of dealing with a win or loss. The girls were just ready to get on with the next step of their lives but the coach "'couldn't stand it.'" So, when I hire a male coach for girls team I make sure it's a guy who understands what the girls are all about.

Expressing further their discontent and their attempts to ameliorate the situation, two participants mentioned that the recruitment of women coaches from outside the field of physical education would likely be the way to go in the future. They seemed to be taking steps to encourage high school female athletes to broaden their base of educational endeavors while maintaining their athletic participation. In that way, they believe that the young female teacher is more likely to find a stable, tenured position rather than half-time positions or one-year positions which often fluctuate with enrollment.

Abram (1982) referred to Title IX as "a modest success." Speaking in broad terms and looking at the results of the mandate from an overall view, she stated that Title IX has helped bring some changes to discriminatory policies and practices in most school districts (p. 23). She perceived that there is a quiet revolution occurring in the nation's elementary schools and that "the best way to judge the effectiveness of Title IX is to look at the finished product of the educational system"--college graduates (p. 23). She further indicated that "figures from the Department of Labor showed a dramatic increase in the number of women (and men) receiving degrees in all fields, particularly those considered nontraditional" (p. 23-24).

The National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs of the Department of Health and Human Services (1982) reporting on the area of athletics stated that although inequalities still exist, the gap has narrowed" (p. 21). In addition, many reluctant parents, administrators, teachers, and students as well were reportedly surprised by the ease with which the integration of physical education was accomplished and viewed the integration as "a much more natural reflection of life" (p. 21).

One parent, who was reportedly reluctant about the integration of physical education, said "my daughter was

much more comfortable in mixed groups; and my son began to look at girls as possible real friends instead of potential conquests" (p. 21). Considering the period from elementary to high school and also college, and speculating about the long term effects of Title IX, we may consider that structurally and from within many stereotypical notions are being dissipated.

However, focusing on the day to day milieu and from the view of the women teacher/coaches in this study, the issue of compliance is far from being resolved. Without asking a direct question, I found embedded in their conversations a high residual of dissatisfaction as it relates to equity issues. Though mandated some fifteen years ago, the only matter that seemed to have been quelled for most was a degree of equity between the salaries for coaches of female sport and that of coaches of male sports. Initially, there were many concessions. An effort was made to increase the number of sport offerings for girls, and the salaries were deemed reasonable but there remained many functional inequities as revealed by several participants.

As one participant talked about her coaching experiences in field hockey, she indicated that at one point the sport was discontinued, in part because of "financial turmoil" within the system, and in part because there was little interest in the sport. However, for the seasons that she did coach she endured many inequities.

The situation and/or circumstances mentioned were: the number of games schedules for girls as opposed to boys, the amount of equipment received, the switch and swing of uniforms for girls, the generalized problem of more money going to the boy program. She further illuminated the inequities by saying:

> You received only what was barely necessary to say that you had just enough hockey sticks for . . . everyone . . . on the field. Whereas with football, you had a zillion balls sitting on the shelf for every athlete to have as many as they needed to work with.

A second participant announced her feelings of a current situation and said angrily:

> Men can get what they need in their particular sport much easier than a woman coach. We [women] are still questioned! Just yesterday, I was talking to the volleyball coach, which is the lady that teaches physical education. She was telling me that she had only about 4 to 6 volleyballs for varsity; and that's not true for basketball, and that's not true for football for the young men.

A third participant indicated that while she was on maternity leave, a wrestling coach was hired to monitor her dance classes. Upon returning she found herself having "to share the dance studio with the wrestlers because of numbers." For the remainder of that year there was an alternating practice schedule and she explained the circumstances this way:

> So the schedule was then moved so that on alternate weeks I would have practice from 4 to 6, and other times I would have practice from 2 to 4 p.m. And if you are talking about taking a number of kids, some with varying degrees of ability in dance and

> giving them a 2 hour period and sometimes in a carpeted room with no mirrors--the program died! That year I couldn't have a concert. . . . So, that was difficult to deal with.

Still another participant indicated that she had difficulty with the idea of spending large sums of money for athletics in general. As she talked about the instructional program versus athletics, she revealed some inequities within athletics. Demonstrating her feminine voice on the issues she stated:

> It was hard ethically seeing all that money going for sports and then a third of the money going for instructional programs. Yeah, I had a hard time with that.

Reflecting on the issue she then said:

> Getting practice space--and as I think back, the boys were given priority on practice time and practice space and that was hard to deal with. A lot of times they had more than we did. I mean they had sweats and little bags. And I just put my two cents in there and said--look, we need these things too! We need to have our shoes paid for too. Before the people (coaches of girls sports) had not asked for it.

Other participants did not state any particulars but instead mentioned that the administration had been sensitive to issues of practice time and space. For example, the schedules for both genders had been worked out for balance and accessibility.

From a different perspective, I found that some women coaches were coaching co-educational sports and also male sports. One female teacher/coach had the girls tennis team in the fall, and the boys team in the spring. Another

indicated that she was a co-coach for the swimming/diving team and stated that she coached "both boys and girls."

With the advent of deregulatory practices where there is less federal intervention on state and local units, new strategies and practices will have to be created. An open system and greater professional cohesion between and among the genders are likely to be required. Competing and attracting the most gifted students to the profession is imperative to the survival of the profession; and an open system of employment opportunities which is representative of not only both genders but also racial/ethnic minorities as well is important. Hoferek (1985) approached the issue of the "deregulatory climate" with a number of serious realities and added that there are no simple answers to the complex problem. In summation, Hoferek stated that . . . "the challenge of providing equal employment opportunity in this deregulatory climate through self-regulation and renewed commitment" is going to be necessary (p. 211).

The idea of having to play or perform different roles was an emerging theme. The women in the present study did not seem to reveal having experienced conflicts in role performance, and often seemed to accept the different roles as an important part of completing certain tasks and a natural part of their job. I got a sense that many of these women felt an obligation to act out a number of roles as disciplinarian, mother confessor, motivator, counselor,

and many other roles. One participant viewed the different roles as an opportunity to learn more about the trade and perceived the different tasks as "role blending." She further stated that as an athlete she was able to model herself after the traits of both the male and female coaches and believed this to be an asset.

Spencer (1988) stated that "teachers are committed to a work ethic. Not being prepared is unthinkable to most teachers and they are critical of colleagues who are unorganized, poorly prepared, or remiss in making classroom assignments" (p. 177). Several women in this study clearly revealed a hard work ethic on the part of themselves and their athletes, and that being well prepared was important. Being well prepared was a reoccurring statement for one participant and another stated her feelings as thus: "So, I think the kids got some good work ethics out of it (working on basic skills) and the best part is to know that they are now successful in their careers."

Another stated that in order to compensate for being shorter than most, she had to be willing to work hard "and that was the work hard ethic pushed to me quite early and I think it pays off in the long run," she said. The reality is that for almost all participants their work days often extended into the evenings; and their summers were spent at clinics, workshops, and/or formalized training.

They often alluded to their input on professional organizations and committees and seemed to gain personal satisfaction from the fact they were able to have an impact on policy-making. One participant expressed her feeling by saying:

> One of the things I enjoy about this particular job is that I've gotten into some leadership positions in the county . . . so I'm able to have input on a lot of legislative areas and can speak out on different issues. I feel very good about my relationships with my peers in the area of athletic administration. That's something I am very proud of.

Spencer stated that "unlike other workers, teachers often have no coffee breaks, or lunch hours away from their work settings or no place to prop up their feet" . . . and engage in adult conversation. One participant alluded to just such a situation: "I really felt it was my obligation to the field to put the time into other young professionals (student teachers) . . . but with that schedule I had no lunch period."

These were mature women who had experienced a wide range of events from triumph to despair but did not reveal any overt bitterness or resentment. Most stated one or several goals which they earnestly seeking and/or currently working toward. The goal-orientation of all was very apparent. The ones that were full-time graduate students, of course, were looking forward to completing the degree and returning to their respective school systems. The

athletic director of four years was earnestly seeking a principalship in her system. And the department chairwoman with two years more before retirement indicated that she had thirty hours toward her doctorate, and planned to give the endeavor her full-time commitment upon retirement.

Walshok (1981) made the observation that "certain characteristics of women's experience are common to all women, regardless of age, education, and background" (p. 248). However, differentiating experiences occurring during childhood and adolescents can "break pattern" with traditional expectations and seemingly "affect the opportunities a growing girl has for independence, experimentation, and the development of interests that have physical and/or mechanical dimensions usually thought of as masculine" (Walshok, p. 248). The author indicated that of the higher achievers interviewed, an unusually large number came from small-rural towns, and more significantly, they came from families that required them at an early age to assume responsibility for at least themselves and often times other responsibilities too. "These early experiences of being depended on rather than doted on clearly contributed to a potential for autonomy and risk taking as adult women" (p. 248). Walshok further stated that:

> How much of herself a woman is willing to invest in her paid employment, how many risk she is willing to take, and how much effort she will make are all tied to this subtle difference. Women who have a basic sense of themselves as working people and

> whose sense of achievement, fulfillment, and social validity is tied to activities in the work sphere rather than the domestic sphere are going to be the higher achievers, whether in blue-collar, white-collar, or professional work spheres. (p. 248-249)

Whether intentionally or unintentionally, Walshok indicated that growing girls who were placed on a path of commitment to autonomy, action, and achievement outside the domestic sphere were likely to be risk takers and achievers in adulthood. Citing the need for mastery, the influence of family life, a nontraditional childhood, and a life at work with a commitment, Walshok suggested that these are important factors differentiating working women from one another.

Immediate as well as long range goal-setting speaks to the ability of the women in this study to handle delayed gratification which to some degree explains their success. In spite of all difficulties they remained optimistically prepared for new ventures, growth, and a conditioned change. There existed a certain tension between change and preservation. The imposed or superimposed changes within their school-community were not taken well when these situations created a loss of something of value. A condition common to all and embedded in their stories was that certain socioeconomic conditions surrounding their school-community settings had greatly impinged upon their ability to function well and to be content in that setting.

Demographic changes and the resultant economic changes as well as desegregation guidelines imposed gradual or sudden structural changes resulting in some conflict and real unhappiness. These conflicts occurred for reasons over which they had no control. Several were very adamant and even provoked to real discomfort and unhappiness by the demise of what they felt were excellent programs and/or the breaking up of athletic teams. One participant described an episode as a very trying time when she found herself coaching against former players. Another in a tone of blaming was unnerved by the complacency of those "new teachers" who were neither willing nor interested in learning new skills and proficiencies which might have maintained the departmental program of activities as she and other veteran teachers knew it could and should be. In both instances the disappointment and loss of something valued as important relations, personal growth on the part of the other(s), and the preservation of teams and programs were illuminations of their nurturant thinking and caring attitude.

Though seemingly oppressed in their work situations, women may not experience their work as oppressive, in that they may ask different questions and seek answers with a system of prioritizing which differs from the dominant mode. In their concern for the other, as the other flourish, achieve, and are acceptable, then there is a

sense of well being rather than a feeling of serious oppressiveness. To be in an oppressed position is not necessary to experiencing oppression. Ruddick (1980) indicated that an account which describes simply the pain and exploitation is "egregiously inaccurate account of women's experience" . . . (p. 344).

Finding a certain truth in Ruddick's statement, I have presented the interview data, as nearly as possible, as it was voiced. That is to say, I have included the higher and low notes, the positive and negative feelings, the hardships and delightful experiences of these women. Reflecting on my theoretical framework of a year ago, I am finding a "best fit". Much of what was stated in the broader scope of feminist theory as voiced by these women sport teachers does include much of that social reality. And in addition, the nature of sport with its physicality being a central focus in a "power over" notion serves as a metaphor for the experiences of sportswomen. The relations of women/coaches seem liken to the efforts of an oppressed group resisting the dominant mode.

The reconceptualization of women's roles and the empowerment of women through sport could serve as a powerful redefinition of the social order, thus transforming many culturally entrenched ideas to liberate women of all levels of feminist consciousness. The analysis moved among the sources of literaure, interviews,

and my reflections. And the original theoretical framework of experiences and relations deepened in Chapter VI when re-interpretated.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF EMERGING THEMES

Many issues surfaced and/or were crystallized as a result of the interviews. As sport teachers, the interviewees presented many views and concerns as they relate to women's issues in sport. However, after a considerable period of reflection on all aspects of this study, I have concluded that three broad themes have emerged as the most significant ones for me--namely, agency and communal living; maternal thinking for women in sport; and the epistemological development for women in teaching.

Sport, as other institutions, socializes its membership to maintain and preserve the existing cultural heritage and patterns. "It does this by instilling in people the requisite motives and skills to assume socially valued roles in other institutions and to desire the rewards offered by these institutions" (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983, p. 99). For the masculine domain, sport is said to enhance a "valued imagery" felt to be useful in other endeavors, but there are seemingly many cultural dilemmas which can cloud this vision for girls and women.

"If asked to select the most sacred value enshrined in all ideologies cf the 20th century, we would choose the values of equality" (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, p. 31). Our

tradition of the democratic process has embedded in it a devotion to some concept of equality. As such, we find in sport a devotion to the equalization of the conditions of competition. All competitors have an equal opportunity to win because none is given an advantage during the contest" (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, p. 31).

However, much less attention is devoted to the equalization and acceptance of each gender into the mainstream of sport. Equalization of access to the games, facilities and equipment, leadership roles and professional prominence on nearly all levels has been slow arriving for the female gender. As with any exclusionary occupation, sport illuminates the polarized cultural shaping of traditional attitudes and behavior as they relate to gender.

The barriers and resistance to girls and women entering the mainstream of sport have been noted by many authors. Two in particular, Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) and Theberge (1985) attributed the resistance to a number of factors. Theberge viewed sport as a male preserve--preparing, maintaining, and preserving a realm which allows men the freedom to be expressive and intimate in and among themselves which is often judged inappropriate in other facets of life. Sport further serves as a "safety valve mechanism for the expression of anachronist ideas about masculinity that have lagged behind those social and

cultural forces that demand new conceptions of men as human beings" stated Boutilier and SanGiovanni (p. 102).

The authors believed that there are probably many more reasons for this resistance which will be ultimately revealed as research and study continues in this area, but "as long as sport remains a protected sphere of male sexuality, men will resist intruders that could confuse and threaten this valued imagery" (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, p. 103). This valued imagery which prepares men for other social institutions as the workplace is denied and/or trivialized for girls and women. This results in part and parcel in an unequal socialization and acceptance in a society, cultural and subculture, where adult women are striving for equal parity in recognition, promotions, and economic status.

Agency and Communal Living

Many authors attest to the notion that girls and women experience sport differently than do men and boys; nonetheless, there is a overwhelming hegemony of the male view to which the female have to accommodate. This results in constant evaluation against the backdrop of the male world-view and a frequent and inherent devaluation of the female world-view. Since women have not been active creators of sport thus developing a feminine view of sport, women are said to stand at the edge of a dilemma. Girls and women, in their haste and eagerness to act out both

their agency and communal dimensions, and at the same time to blend with their male counterparts, have largely accepted the male definition of sport. Often the female has emulated the training techniques, officiating, equipment, styles of play, dress, and sometimes general mannerisms in her eagerness to experience sport and to identify. She may do this at the expense of the female world-view.

Hall (1985), while examining the relative importance of sport as "body-subject" phenomenon indicated that "what follows for women and sport, however, is that a culture which defines sport as a body-subject and women as body-object forces an incompatibility between women and sport" (p. 36). Play and sport calls upon the body's capacities and skills to reach its goal and thus is aligned with the nature/body/subjective dualism rather than the culture/mind/objective. Hall stated that "sport is clearly identified with the former and so are women, yet women are excluded in many ways from sport" (p. 37).

This means that women experience sport as marginals as they are excluded from the symbolic and institutional practices and are further denied authentic expression of human movement except for those socially approved categories as rhythmics and dance, and some individual elitist historically upper-class sports. As girls and women participate in team sports, it is felt to be and

sometimes named the powder puff model and therefore not the true game.

Another indifference that girls and women experience is that sport is largely structured to permit the participant to exercise instrumentalism. The word instrumental applies to objects, activities, and/or personalities associated with achievement, aggressiveness, control, rational thinking and/or using instruments to accomplish a goal. Most people exhibit to some degree both instrumental and expressive traits and for the female athlete the attraction of instrumental sport experience is consistent with their personality traits. Whitaker (1985) further added that "regardless of the setting and the relative roles being played, if there are males in the group, the female athlete is likely to have a lower expectancy of being fully instrumental" (p. 18). Being in the masculine domain of sport, adult women too are subject to the cultural norms and behavioral expectations of that occupational role which limits power and mobility opportunities.

Males in positions of leadership and power tend to assume the instrumental role and many females tend to allow them to do so. "Hence, the sport environment which is gender-mixed is partially at cross-purpose to instrumentalism" even as the gender-specific individuals

seek an instrumental experience and at the same time try to meet social expectations (Whitaker, p. 18).

It appears that women in sport teaching may share experiences with policewomen, women in the military, firefighters, and others who enter a male protected sphere or gender-restricted occupations. They suffer stereotyping and are subsequently expected to respond or adopt one of several strategies. "The principal choices," stated Hochschild (1975), Walshok (1981), Martin (1988) "are between two polar patterns of behavior variously labeled defeminized and deprofessionalized, and overachievement and accommodation (p. 216). As Martin discussed the dilemmas of policewomen, and defined two role choices, she stated that

> the defeminized woman seeks to overcome barriers to being treated as a peer and professional by doing more than is expected of men and of other women. The deprofessionalized women accommodates to men's pressures to behave according to sex role norms by acting as a junior partner in exchange for exemptions appropriate for a "lady" on the job and by avoiding participation in the informal peer group's activities. (p. 216)

Defined in those terms then I would speculate that women sport teachers appropriate both choices at differing periods of their careers. However, as high school and college student-athletes with an extensive anticipatory socialization period in which many have vicariously rehearsed teacher/coaches roles, they may be more prepared than some of the other individuals in the aforementioned

gender-restricted occupations. During their tenure as student-athletes, many will internalize and appropriate a number of indifferences of the male preserve. For that reason, the disposition to deprofessionalization is lessened for women teacher/coaches. Nonetheless, there are varying degrees and/or structural constraints which relegate them to seemingly dependent roles.

Very early in their teacher/coaches careers they may more or less experience differing degrees of deprofessionalization and be accommodating in an effort to gain status and stable positions. They may acquiesce to stereotypic roles of the mother-sister type--all the while resenting the constant tests of their competence as productive teacher/coaches. One participant, Liz, intimated that she was "poorly received by most of the male coaches, be they soccer, football, basketball or whatever." She also revealed that "there were many days when she felt it just wasn't worth it."

With little support, they may be reluctant and even refuse leadership roles for fear of insubordinate acts from male counterparts. A general acceptance of the male dominant sphere as is, and a general acceptance of tokenism and whatever material goods which may be given to the girls' programs, are off-set by working quietly and independently on fund-raising projects for girls' sports. Tensions begin to exacerbate. Often with little control

over their labor process both within and without the department of physical education and athletics, many will begin to resent the devalued roles and invisibility.

Westkott (1986) proposed that interlocked in the character structure of the idealized feminine type is a certain "volcanic foundation of repressed rage" (p. 166). Behind the cheerful acquiescence and selfless attention to others is a relentless desire for the authentic expression of the real self. "The feminine type who lives under the dictatorship of the idealized self constantly accuses herself of failure to achieve perfection" (Westkott, p. 166). The conflict between the idealized image and the real self that struggles with a degrading sexuality is expressed in perfectionist expectations. "The proud, idealized self is an aspect of external living and thus seeks to attain only the image of success" (Westkott, p. 173). At one point Jane said, "You have got to go beyond--you can't be as good as--you've got to be better than, I think, to really genuinely be accepted. That's my perception."

Thus, the defeminized characterization begins to emerge. The defeminized woman begins to "adhere to an individualistic model of occupational success through overachievement" (Martin, p. 216). They believe strongly that they must work harder, try harder, work longer, and in general, do more than their counterparts. They seek

acceptance as professionals who more than fulfill the occupational norms rather than personal acceptance on the basis of their likeability. Martin characterized defeminized women further by indicating that even when they believe that there are inequities and other aspects of males' behavior which reflect sex discrimination, "they remain silent, proving they can take it" or individually work toward accomplishing their own centered goal. Again, Jane said, "there were many times I knew things were not equal. For instance we didn't have uniforms--we had to raise money, we didn't always get to practice in the big gym. But for me it was just an incentive to work harder, to try harder, and work longer."

For the teacher/coaches this concept may be further reflected by a win at any cost attitude and they derive work satisfaction principally from organized sport and the coaching aspect--having few or no other outlets or acquaintances. The defeminized woman does not feel that her feminine identity is threatened by her job. She comfortably blends the roles and task of the job that are traditional female traits as well as the traditional male traits. She is not uncomfortable in a traditional male domain, she confronts the harasser, and clearly asserts and seeks autonomous tasks and positions of leadership using assertiveness in interpersonal skills to gain control of situations.

And although they are accepted as capable co-workers, they frequently are stereotyped and "excluded from the informal social world, thereby limiting their access to information and informal influence" (Martin, p. 216). Successful in sport teaching and other related roles, "they may pay a price in terms of performance pressures and social isolation" (Martin, p. 218). The effects of teacher burnout, stress and generalized malaise may be an outcome of living a one dimensional life preoccupied with a career.

"Although, and in fact, most women fall between these poles of a continuum in defining their own occupational identities," it is the extent to which they limit themselves to these stereotypical choices that they are fully successful in their occupations (Martin, p. 218). The newly emerging typology of the inventive roles and role transcenders are conceptions to consider. A continuum implies a static and closed world in which women may accept the seemingly obvious and limited role choices on the polar ends of that continuum. Martin pointed to the emergence of role transcenders, where women who are capable of combining the instrumental attributes and the feminine attributes of the moral concerns, and thereby force a change in the perceptual world of men.

While reviewing some contemporary feminist writings, Trask (1986) found a language to name sources of strengths as well as confinement, an analysis of oppression and

liberation which often reverberated two themes: love and power. These themes which she named the twin manifestations of "life force" (Eros) resonated as love (nurturance, care, need, sensitivity, relationships) and as power (freedom, expression, creativity, generation, transformation). She noted that most of the prominent Western feminists write of oppression and subjugation but in addition they "also write of dreams of liberation-achievement, a society based on human need and relationship, creative expression that is not bartered with love or money" (p. 86). Trask further stated that:

> Feminists speak of two kinds of power: one that is often hidden, sometimes brutal, always insidious, and another that is open, knowingly tender, and intelligently supportive. They also speak of two kinds of love: one that is twisted, manipulative, or too self-sacrificing, and another that is charitable, easily reciprocal, and above all caring, wisely nurturant. (p. 86)

Among the lovelessness and powerlessness exists a vision borne from women's experience which sustains and enables generational continuity. Chodorow (1978), and Trask (1986) agree that "as long as women have near-exclusive caretaking responsibility, their female children will have greater relational capacities" (p. 89). It is this relational capacity and "power with" that Trask relates to the feminist Eros or life force. She advises that women should no longer reject their relational subjectivity but on the contrary, "they should cultivate its best aspects as a springboard to wisdom and alternative

imagings" (p. 93). Just such a process has begun to occur among women in sport.

Birrell and Richter (1987) reported in "Is a Diamond Forever? Feminist Transformation of Sport" how members of several softball teams engaged in what at first glance appeared to be a great American past-time "but on closer inspection turns out to be a ritual of resistance to male dominant structures and values" (p. 395). There, feminist conscious women constructed and maintained alternative practices which had authentic meaning in their own lives. The analysis conducted by the authors was based on ontological and epistemological choices which were informed by and consistent with feminist consciousness. And while the levels of sophistication of feminist consciousness was observed to be different by individual and by teams, the participants' generalized notions of solutions for change were related and grounded in their feminist sensibilities" of what it is like to be women in a world constrained by patriarchal pressure (Birrell & Richter, p. 398).

As part of their deconstructing male sport and reconstructing of feminist softball in a supportive nature they proposed a number of remedies to the situation. Compatible with the feminist spirit--all players were given equal playing time presuming they attended practice--there was an atmosphere of support, and even criticism about performance was relatively supportive. Mostly, the players

wanted to play and have a good time. A coach reportedly said "'It's nice if we win, but if we don't, we don't win--as simple as that'" (p. 397).

Birrell and Richter indicated that although many minor complaints were voiced by the women, . . . several themes emerged which seemed to hold particular importance to these women in sport. In the process of reconstruction and the critique therein, six areas of concern were explored and analyzed. First, the most clearly voiced sentiment was their insistence on measuring the value of the activity for themselves against the joy of playing. The primacy of winning as in male sport was sidelined to friendship, sensitivity to others, and safety. They wanted to play hard, to challenge the opponent, and to have a good time--all of which they felt could be accomplished whether they won or lost.

Second, the hierarchy of authority was another major concern. The ethos of parent/child or in this instance coach/player relationship which is so apparent in traditional coaching situations was perceived as an area of distrust. As such the role of the coaches was dealt with in a sharing atmosphere more than in the usual coach/player relationship in which the coach is the boss. One team incorporated a collective management style rotating coaching duties among players. Rule changes per se were

not sought. As such, the structure of the game remained the same except for the power entrusted to the coaches.

Elitism to skill, the third concern, was felt to be an issue which often causes disenfrancisement for women. "The feminist solution was to offer opportunities for women with little sport experience to learn the game in a supportive environment" (Birrell & Richter, p. 404). They were not only concerned about skill performance, but equally they were concerned about the manner in which players and officials interacted and reacted to questionable calls.

A fourth concern, social exclusion, was viewed as another form of elitism. The exclusion of others because of race, size, class, age, or sexual preference resonated as still another form of oppression for this group. "As members of a social category which has historically been denied access to sport, these women were sensitive to exclusion of others. . . ." (Birrell & Richter, p. 406).

Viewing "the opponent as other" was the fifth theme. The opponent as other or extending supportiveness to one's opponent is rarely considered in the traditional frame of sport and for that reason was termed unusual by authors Birrell aand Richter. Supporting one's teammate(s) is commonplace as each works toward a common goal, but for this group of feminist players the cooperative venture of sport had a different meaning. Whether it be a teammate or opponent, the opportunity to celebrate excellent

performance on the part of [all] participants was deemed worthwhile.

The final theme, endangerment, was a rejection of the need or desire to put oneself, teammate, or opponent into a situation of physical danger. Birrell and Richter stated that "the disparagement of opponents and an ethic of endangerment", as do the other theme, dramatize women's sensibilities and serve as a blueprint for changes for those seeking an alternative view. The accounts of concerns, complaints, and efforts to challenge the dominant image of sport revealed a process oriented, collective, supportive, inclusive form of sport infused with an ethic of care typically of what feminist theorist believe to be a woman's world-view. Gabriner (1976), and Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) are other feminists who have explored the reconstruction of softball in an attempt to develop alternative imagings.

And finally, Boutilier and SanGiovanni stated that

> we believe that women's alienation from sport, their indifference to or reluctance to enter it, stems in large measure from the fact that as presently constituted, what sport celebrates, what sport offers, what sport demands, and what sport rewards does not reflect much of the women's experience in the world. (p. 123)

The two authors further discussed this dilemma by revisiting a work of M. Duquin's which included three alternative models of sport. Duquin (1978) offered three alternative models to sport, and indicated one as having

the most promise for the future for women. The first, sport as an agent of masculine orientation, has for decades been the dominant model stressing power, product, control, a win-at-any-cost attitude, and other masculine values and orientations. Duquin indicated that this model is only attractive to those women who score very high in psychological androgyny testing, and even then, sport is only moderately attractive. The feminine female who scores low is expected to have low attraction, and it is this group "who, in fact, has the greatest need for experiencing such instrumental activities" (p. 97).

The second model, sport as an instrumental activity suitable for both genders, is said to attract many more women. Within the last two decades and as a result of legislative mandates, many more women have experienced sport as an instrumental activity. The popularity and recognition of team sports for girls and women, as well as, the socially approved categories of sport has vastly increased in the number of participants across many ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic levels. However, Duquin finds a flaw in this approach and points out the limitations. As overwhelmingly instrumentally experienced, sport does not provide for the expressive traits for individuals, men and women alike. Duquin stated that "the perception that instrumentality is important for both sexes has the effect of elevating the status of instrumental traits and behavior

over expressive traits and behavior" (p. 98). And again, girls and women embracing the human movement experience from an expressive dimension and process orientation are likely to have "a difficult time finding their way into the sport experience" (Duquin, p. 100).

Duquin's third model of sport seems to have the potential for appealing to a much wider range of women, and also to men who find instrumental sport alienating. Androgynous sport, then would be inclusive of the elements of both instrumentality and expressivity, to be viewed as both work and play, stressing the process as well as the end product, and where the agency and communion can emerge. One participant said, "You know--thinking about the different roles that you have to accept, it may produce some sense of androgyny in the sportline, and I think I may feel that I have developed some of that through my experiences. . . . I think that many sport experiences lend [themselves] to the development of more androgynous traits . . . and in a way I think that's good."

As Boutilier and SanGiovanni discussed the androgynous sport model, they stated that "it is this model of sport which comes the closes to reflecting women's traditional experience of themselves in the world" (p. 124). Such qualities as cooperativeness, sociability, solitude, beauty, spiritual and bodily awareness were found to be expressed qualities of the members of the running movement

of the 1970's. Hence, it is an example of a newly created androgynous sport inclusive of qualities which meet the needs and expectations of both genders.

"Historically and philosophically", Duquin stated, "the majority of women leaders in physical education have directed their programs for girls and women from what may be termed an expressive perspective" (p. 101). However, as women coaches and teachers diminish and as the number of men coaching women's sport increase, the instrumental element is likely being elevated over the expressive.

The notion of androgenizing sport may correct an inherent gender difference by maintaining and attracting more women to the field of sport teaching as well as balance the means-end dimension. Duquin suggested that "there are many indications that sport is being experienced as an androgynous activity" (p. 101). Participants feel a sense of fulfillment, joy, strength, and competence whether practicing or competing. Duquin indicated that on an individual level, "she performs ethically, drawing her ethics from her own self-conscious, with standards which if necessary could rise above a coach's instructions" (p. 102).

However, when teammates, coaches, opponents, and spectators approach sport from an overwhelming instrumental perspective, it may be difficult to experience sport with a balance between means and ends. Therefore, to androgenize

sport rather than humanity would provide an enticing and creative medium of human expression for both genders, resulting in an awareness and wholeness for all participants. The putting together of two archetypes, masculine and feminine, does not result in an adequate whole, but rather the scotch taping of two inadequate halves. Raymond (1975) stated that "further evidence of this pseudo-organicism can be noted when perusing dictionary definitions of androgyny" (p. 58).

Hall (1984) makes a strong statement about the reproduction of certain categories of literature in feminine sport, finding it unacceptable and destructive. She viewed the supposed conflict between femininity and sport, and also the androgenized women athletes as misguided pieces of research. Hall suggested that we should focus attention on destroying this pejorative stereotype and aim to assist female athletes in dealing with this conflict, if it indeed exists. The misunderstandings, the vague envisions, the mystical uses renders it "dysfunctional to the extent that it encourages on some level a perpetuation of stereotypes" (Daly, p. 205).

The question arises--what do women, who now rightly claim instruments of public power, have culture, traditions, and inquiries, bring to the public world? Ruddick (1980) stated that "the ideology of womanhood on

the one hand was created by men. It confines as it exalts us. On the other hand, the ideology of androgyny is often a disguised ideology of manhood that continues the disrespect for women shared by both sexes" (pp. 345-46). The author stated that she is increasing convinced that "there are female traditions and practices of which a distinctive kind of thinking has developed," namely maternal thinking (p. 346).

Maternal Thinking

Viewing maternal thinking as a social category, Ruddick neither denied or affirmed any biological bases in her article. She did indicate that such a social category includes probably many more women than men, yet both genders. "Although maternal thinking arises out of actual child-caring practices biological parenting is neither necessary or sufficient" (p. 346). And by concentrating on what mothers do and/or what those who engage in the act of mothering do rather than what mothers are, we can then suspend "the biological questions until we have the moral and political perceptions to answer them justly" (p. 346).

She explained further that many men and women practice maternal thinking in their various kinds of work and caring for each other. Here, immediate thoughts turn to health care personnel, nuclear families, and other social structures where nurturance and preservation are primary goals.

Maternal thought as Ruddick indicated appears in women in radically different ways than men. As a result of the mother-daughter relationship she perceived that women have "received maternal love with special attention for their bodies, their passions, and even their ambitions." Women, having come by their maternal thinking differently, are ever alert to the value and the cost of maternal practice whether they engage in or avoid the practice.

Ruddick stated that she believed "that there are features of the mothering experience which are invariant and nearly unchangeable, and others which, though changeable, are universal" (p. 347). Identifying those generalizable features she referred to women's intellectual capacity for making judgments, a metaphysical attitude that is assumed, and the values affirmed. Viewing mothering as a discipline, Ruddick then described the maternal effort as one which is based on the conception of achievement. Ruddick stated that "maternal thought consists in establishing criteria for determining failure and success, in setting the priorities, and in identifying the virtues and liabilities which the criteria presumes" (p. 347).

The virtue of humility in a metaphysical attitude presupposes that there are natural and even supernatural forces beyond one's control. The priority for some women in competitive and organized sport seems to say that when we play we do our best knowing full well that there will be

a winner and a loser named in each event. There is a sense of seeing and knowing which connects with their sense of agency and valuing. Dialectically, the participant, Cindy, sees the necessity for girls to have a wide variety of lived experiences including the competitive ventures, but by the same token, she is not satisfied with the current trend and direction girls and women sport seems to be taking. Cindy admitted that she has cautions, and worries with the "win at any cost" ethic. "So," she said, when I say preparation for a competitive life, I am not stressing winning."

This is a sense in which they see values of symbolic interactions, and social affiliation as equally important to winning. This may be a view which sees sport as a mechanism for teaching one how to accept wins and losses, in general. These are all alternative ways of thinking to be contrasted with the strong notion of win at any cost.

Jaggar (1983) and Hall (1985) discussed a view of the world from the standpoint of women. This alternative view of a feminine epistemology is a more inclusive wand comprehensive view which sees winning as important but not so important as to lose sight of the many other valued outcomes. This resilient, innovative thinking which can accommodate different outcomes prioritized for an inclusiveness distinguishes maternal thinking from the pervasive masculine mode of thinking.

From a less valorous perspective, a maternal thinking that takes in a cheery denial or one that internalizes partriarchy in an inauthentic obedience is typically what feminist theorists see as problematic and therefore, "not yet, worthy of respect" (Ruddick, p. 357). This involves a "conception of the relation to those values in which obedience and being good is an achievement" in and of itself. The position of inauthentic obedience accepts without question or consciousness the prevailing social hierarchies and sexual arrangements.

The acquiescence of responsibility to the other can be "designated as a double willingness--first, a willingness to . . . accept the uses to which others will put one's children; second, a willingness to remain blind to the implications of these uses for the actual lives of women and children" (Ruddick, p. 354). A maternal thinking which takes on the values of the dominant culture and constructs an inauthenticity where one's own values no longer count is "allied with fatalism" stated Ruddick (p. 354). But instead, when a consciousness insists upon the inclusion of women's values and experiences, and voices what is humanly acceptable for all children, then the work of growth and preservation in maternal practice will be transforming.

As Flax (1978) discussed "The Conflict Between Nurturance and Autonomy in Mother-Daughter Relationships and Within Feminism," she indicated that the sense of

gender is not neutral. Children learn their sense of gender at a very early age. For mature women this may "entail a coming to the awareness of and to some extent internalizing asymmetries of power and esteem" (p. 173). Given a patriarchal system, coming to terms means to recognize that "men and women are not valued equally and that in fact men are socially more esteemed than women (Flax, p. 173). Again, there is some agreement between the theories of Ruddick and Flax in that women experience or come to embody the nurturance idea differently than men. The close ties and strong identity between mothers and daughters create a different psychological development.

Even mothers who encourage their daughter to move toward autonomy typically send a double message--"be like me, but also do not be like me" (Flax, p. 179). Flax explained that mothers relate to their daughters and sons differently. Mothers seek indirect power and esteem through their son's activities in the wider world, but for their daughter the relationship may be intensified by the conflict of a recycled mother-daughter problem. Another cruel twist may be that knowing the difficulties of being a female, the mother might also wish that for the daughter's own sake that the daughter could have been male.

It is Flax's view that in a patriarchal society which fosters a great deal of ambivalence about female roles, it would seem difficult for women not to feel some conflict,

if only unconsciously. In the work world many women have difficulty functioning single-mindedly toward their goals. Having a great deal of self-doubt, they may have difficulty seeing their work as a career. With few role models or few quasi-maternal figures in the adult work world, this may leave women with a unsettled nurturance bond. Although Flax stated that "nurturance does not lead to success in the outside world" she does call for "transformation in the character of work itself" (p. 182). She indicated that until there is an integration of noncompetitive, nurturant ways of relating, . . . these conflicts are likely to remain.

Epistemological Development

Given the possible conflicts of nurturance and autonomy, I ask myself--how have these women in this study fared? As mature women in responsible positions, with many decisions to make and chances for leadership and management of the other, are they connected in love and work? For this brief interlude I returned to Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule's, Women Ways of Knowing (1986). Belenky identified five epistemological positions, each illuminating the different levels of thinking and ways of knowing for women. Silenced women, Belenky said, live "selfless and voiceless" and at the behest of others. They accept external authority without question.

The second level of received knowledge is mainly listening to the voices of others. They are active listeners and it is a demanding process for them. Believing that if you do not listen, it is not worth it. Listening to the voices of authority and to the voices of friends they establish concrete and dualistic ideas of right and wrong, black and white, and good or bad. "They assume that there is only one right answer to each question, and all other answers and all contrary views are automatically wrong" (Belenky, et al., p. 37).

The third level of subjective knowledge is a quest for self which is often demonstrated by a denial of external authority or at least protection of their private space for personal growth and development. They may remove themselves from the familiar settings and long standing relationships to get to a new perspective should the present one be too restrictive. The inner voice of private concerns and knowing began to emerge. They are beginning to take steps toward connected knowing, Belenky said.

Procedural knowledge of reasoning, the fourth level, is of two voices--that is, separate knowing and connected knowing. In separate knowing the individual remains very impersonal and even distances the self from the issues and knowledge being dealt with. The voice of the separate knower is easy to hear in that we experience this traditionally in learning. Being a separate knower for

women is learning to adapt and learning to satisfy professors by speaking and writing impersonally--a method highly regarded in the dominant masculine mode. To speak dispassionately is to exclude any emotional concerns. Adopting a perspective which will be accepted and respected by adversaries is the goal but often this is incongruent to many women's ways of knowing.

The connected knower or believer, on the other hand, allows the self to participate and bases truth in that which is personal, particular, and that which is firsthand. Belenky stated that "at the heart of this procedure is the capacity for empathy" (p. 113). This level is said to come easier for women mainly because many began at a level of believing. Not wanting to argue, it is easier to accommodate the experiences of the other, and so, women often seem to take nonjudgmental stances. This may not be the essence. Belenky stated that "it may be easy to condemn women's refusal to make judgments as evident of passivity or absence of agency . . . however in the believing game there is a "trying-not-to-try" (p. 117). In the believing game, there is a different energy--an energy of patience, waiting, and not hurrying while the doubting game of the separate knower is a "combative energy that feels like clenching muscles" (p. 117).

An integration of voices, the fifth level of constructed knowledge combines the voices of trustworthy

emotionalizing, expert knowledge, judgment and evaluation, and also reasoning and intuition. Common characteristics at this level, Belenky indicated, are that women articulate, reflect, and are intensely aware of the self and others around them. "Each," she said, "is concerned with issues of inclusion and exclusion, separation and connection; each struggle to find a balance of extremes in her life" (p. 133). The desire is to live without denial or suppression of conflict. Learning to deal with what may be inevitable conflict and confrontation is part of the growth.

Women at this level often pose questions to themselves which are cast in epistemological and moral terms. They may, ask, "How can I do the most good for the most people with a qualification of personhood which does not compromise the self?" The construction of new knowledge and a "new way of thinking about knowledge, truth, and self that guide the person's intellectual and moral life and personal commitment" is more open to the inclusion of both personal feelings and reasoning. Having moved from the selflessness to seamlessness, the public and private selves of the constructivist are seen as interwoven and interconnected, rather than as separates or compartmentalized.

Question posing seemed to be at the heart of the constructivist way of problem-solving and decision-making.

Belenky reported that women interviewed at this level no longer seemed to offer simple or panacea answers to what would be complex situations. They reportedly posed questions again and again to examine the circumstances thoroughly before making decisions, and often delayed actions insisting "on a respectful consideration of the particulars of everyone's needs and frailties" (p. 149). The orientations were that of responsibility that constructivist women "reveal in the way they speak and live their lives their moral conviction that ideals and values, like children, must be nurtured, cared for, placed in environments that help them grow" (p. 152). The sense of moral responsibility to the other(s) and the ethic of caring remained a part of their personal conviction even as they developed a stronger sense of agency.

As Statham (1988) talked about a woman's way, she stated that "women may be blending task and people involvement in unique and effective ways not previously recognized in the workplace" (p. 26). In an interview study conducted by Statham, women in management positions were reported to be equally committed to a people-orientation as to the accomplishment of a task. "In contrast to prevailing perceptions of women," Statham stated that "the women were not perceived as being primarily people-oriented" (p. 238). In addition, she reported that women's detail orientation or perfectionist

attitude, sometimes seen as a negative trait, was viewed positively by their subordinates.

On two accounts, the secretaries and other subordinates believed that women did more work, strived to get the job done sooner, knew how to delegate authority better. Reportedly, the women "used the technique of participatory management to avoid challenges from their subordinates" (Statham, p. 239). Most women felt that the involvement, giving subordinates autonomy, and making personal follow-ups were all ways of investing in the development of others. Statham concluded by stating that women used "task-engrossed, person-invested style" which differed from the male "image-engrossed, autonomy-invested style" (p. 236-237). "Hence, orientation to task and to people may not be as distinct as is commonly assumed in the literature . . . at least not for women managers" (Statham, p. 239).

The Expressive Autobiographical interviews and follow-ups conversations held with the women in this study revealed these essential themes to a larger extent. I would speculate that the epistemological development of the participants varied over a range of levels and in relation to that factor the sense of agency seemed stronger for some than others, as well. The issue of balance between agency and communal living, and/or the ease and comfort with which they dealt with the issue of power and/or powerlessness

seemed related to maturity and clarify in voicing their ways of knowing.

All participants maintained empathetic feelings toward the other. The ideas of nurturance and the ethic of care toward student-athletes in particular, and others in general were very apparent. Each showed a real connectedness to their work even as they endured a great deal of ambivalence on the job. Where concrete and/or tough decisions had to be made in regard to the self and the other, they apparently were able to master the situation(s) without insurmountable conflict. Largely, I would say the high levels of connected and integrated knowing in combination with inclusionary and exclusionary patterns of living have been useful traits for the women sport teachers in this study.

CHAPTER VII

REFLECTIONS

This final chapter is divided into three sections: (a) the dialectical relationship between the insights derived from the study and the pertinent aspects of existing literature; (b) reflections on data gathering, data analysis and the use of dialectical process; and (c) my perceptions of the personal and professional role(s) of women teacher/coaches.

The Dialectical Relationship Between the Insights Derived From the Study and The Pertinent Aspects of Existing Literature

The Differential Treatment of Power

The study started in search of experiences and relationships. In addition, another strong theme was found: Power. The concept of different treatments of power appeared as a underlying theme for all the participants, and as well, the documentation of similar expressions appeared in several recent articles written by feminists theorizing about the women's standpoint. In sport, Theberge (1987) was more direct in her analysis, and stated that "the consistent difference in the treatment of power by women and men theorists suggests that the source of this difference lies in the contrasting life experiences of men and women" (p. 388). Women's perceptions of power

are related to energy, capacity, and potential; rooted mainly in their reproductive labors, it "is generalized to all women who, as a sex, are responsible for childbearing and rearing are socialized to these roles" (p. 388).

Schaef (1980) stated that in the female system, power is seen as unlimited, and "when it is shared it regenerates and expands. There is no need to hoard it because it only increases when it is given away" (p. 125). In the male system, the author indicated, "the concept of power is based on a scarcity model" (p. 125). Ferguson's (1980) statement in The Aquarian Conspiracy indicated that "women are now learning to use their power openly," and referred to the power of women as flexible (p. 226). No longer should a woman be coy, and resort to using some of the manipulative ways of the past. The work for social justice, peace, poverty and alienation is truly the humanizing process.

Indicating that it is a "caring form of power--power aligned with love," Ferguson further stated that feminine values such as "compassion, cooperation, patience," and the abilities to integrate power and love are badly needed in giving birth to a new order in human history (p. 227). With each of us having a purpose in life, each of us contributing meaning and significance, she suggested that it was morally wrong for women to abdicate their power. From a Christian ethic of womanhood, Beverly W. Harrison

(1985) talked about "The Power of Anger in The Work of Love" and makes a statement which is relative to the themes of this study. She stated:

> Women's lives literally have been shaped by the power not only to bear human life at the biological level but to nurture life, which is a social and cultural power. Though our culture has come to disvalue women's role, and with it to disvalue nurturance, genuine nurturance is a formidable power. (p. 11)

From a different perspective, Frye (1986) stated that "differences of power are always manifested in asymmetrical access" (p. 135). The very rich have access to everyone; nearly no one has access to them. The boss has access to the employee, but the employee must wait in long lines to gain access to the boss. Parents have access to children but children do not have unconditional access to parents. "Total power is unconditional access; total powerlessness is being unconditionally accessible" (Frye, p. 136).

Another frame of assuming power is accomplished "by controlling access and simultaneously by undertaking definition" (Frye, p. 136). The powerful will often determine what is sayable and what is not; they can dub a thing to be and so that thing becomes what they call it. Thus, definition can be seen as another face of power. Together, stated Frye, "access and definition are fundamental ingredients in the alchemy of power" (p. 137). For women this may mean to withdraw, break out, regroup, transcend, step outside, migrate or say no--that is,

controlling access and defining by repatterning, drawing new boundaries, or collectively renaming and reconstructing a definition of sport as some are doing in the softball examples. Gabriner (1976), Birrell and Slatton (1981), Grant (1984), Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983), and Birrell and Richter (1987) provide examples of the liberatory possibility for reconceptualization of power through sport.

The interviews in this study have given me a renewed oasis to the definition of power. While the capitalistic notion of power is a monstrous predator, and an often feared notion for many women, power, nonetheless, can be measured in many terms. Women bring a formidable power to humanity in their reproductive and productive processes. With that beginning, they should not be afraid to seek and attain power, and to voice their definition of the world at large.

Reflections on the Data Collection, Data Analysis and the Dialectical Process

Data Collection

The responses of persons to participate in the interviews were favorable. Most participants seemed to enjoy the opportunity to talk about themselves, their students-athletes and programs. However, several seemed skeptical, others experienced some discomfort in the storytelling or "the rehashing" of difficult times. For one participant, as the interview preceded, the more befuddled she became, as if all of a sudden she did not

know why she had chosen the field of endeavor in the first place.

For the second exception, the "rehatching of all those events", as she termed it, proved to be very painful and thus the process was ended tactfully but quickly. I sensed her pain and despair, and what turned out to be a real upheaval over the course of much of her career.

In a heightened voice and near tears she demanded that we stop. While staring out of the patio door, she had re-enacted her entire teaching and coaching career. However, it was not until she embarked on her duties as a state representative and spokeswoman for Title IX that she felt as though her career had taken a downhill spiral. From that point on, she said that she was moved from school to school, and her coaching position was assigned to someone else. Further, she was assigned to teach all health classes the entire year, and she was "just made miserable in the process."

As a matter of debriefing, I felt a strong obligation to remain longer than usual, and to engage in conversation as it related to her future endeavors. We walked out to her backyard garden as I talked about my experiences as a graduate student, and together we examined the possibility that she might do consultant work when she retires. With three years to retirement, she is looking forward to the

completion of her terminal degree. Currently she is contemplating a dissertation topic.

Her depressed mood seemed to have subsided after a brief period and we returned to the house. As I departed she was quite congenial, wishing me the best of luck. I left with the feeling that she has many endeavors to look forward to. But this, I confess, was the most heartful, emphathic session. I enter this episode as an experience of the researcher, but more importantly it speaks to the kind of devastation and despair some women have suffered in their effort to gain equitable situations for themselves and more. For those who dare to speak out, resist subordination, and confront the status quo there may be disabling repercussions.

This participant believed that her involvement in, and serving as spokeswoman and liaison to grievance committees for Title IX implementations had a direct effect on the outcome of her career and the treatment of her therein. Subsequent to the display of painful and tearful emotionality, I did not return for a second session with this participant. In the name of research, this no longer seemed important compared to the discomfort which the participant demonstrated and the positive re-orientation through constructive sharing.

Due to the nature of the search, it was difficult to prepare the participants for the intensity and range of

emotions they encountered in the course of the interviews. For the two who appeared disenchanted, efforts were made to move beyond the interview to other levels of discussion before departing.

Data Analysis and the Dialectical Process

The early period of working with the data was enjoyable, as was the interactions with the participants. During that period I was totally submerged in listening to audio-tapes, comparing and contrasting the stories, and the sorting of indicators to build categories. Finding themes and categories at the commonsense level for the personal and theoretical re-interpretations, and the individual interpretations flowed with ease.

However, delving deeper and beneath the surface for deeper themes for critical theorizing became much more taxing. The dialectical movement between and among the data, the literature, and my personal experiences in the critical circle became a tedious period. There were days on days when I did not interact with other people, I ate alone, spent a lot of time listening to classical music, went for long walks as advised--yet, I was unable to write a page for days. After a period of deliberation my own thinking surfaced, the situation improved, and I completed the analysis chapter. The experience of the peaks and valleys of the critical analysis was a difficult phase.

Returning the dialogues to the participants.

Returning the dialogues to the participants, again, created some apprehension for me. In that the individual interpretations were intertwined with that of feminist quotations and that of the language of the participants, I was not sure the participants would be agreeable with some of the ideology or illuminations which were cited. While none of the participants actually stated that they were feminists in the political sense, there were many instances in which their language indicated that they were not politically neutral. As such, the individual interpretations were often characterized with examples from the feminist literature to further dramatize and analyze the political position. However, none of the participants refuted or questioned the illustrations during the member checks; in fact, two of the four commented positively upon finding voice to their viewpoints.

Perceptions of the Personal and Professional Role(s) of Women Teacher/Coaches

After listening to the experiences of all the participants, one idea was very apparent: that as a select group, women teacher/coaches seem to be seeking an alternative imaging. Born with and/or developing at a very early age a desire for independence and a strong sense of agency, they are willing to live out a pattern of risk taking endeavors for personal freedom and liberation of the self and others.

The alternative imaging they most personally desire seems to be an integration of human strengths which allow for a full expression of the self. Not being fearful of entering a male-protected sphere and insisting on an equal footing, they join a group of women who intentionally "break pattern" from the protected-female environment. There seems to be a desire to move away from the traditional feminine female type to one which expresses both love and power, a stronger connectedness to both love and work, and a desire to experience a life that is neither diminishing nor invisible.

The women interviewed seem to place a high value in education and the status it may bring. Looking to improve themselves, both personally and professionally, they use education as their stepping stone to positions of authority and strength. The seem to show that strength in their public and private lives. Even to the extent that they suffer a degree of isolation, the sacrifice seemed not to outweigh the benefits of a life of more autonomy. Placing their careers above the domestic spheres, they related greater satisfaction in their independence and accomplishments in the professional-public spheres.

Given that many women teacher/coaches do not marry and make family life the center of their world, they nonetheless voice a high maternal instinct especially in their parenting role as coaches. For many, the remembrance

of relations with former and present students, how well those students are doing, and that they come home to visit, so to speak, triggered an enormous gleam and a certain delight.

However, the often repeated notion of being primarily people-oriented is not an exact fit. Although they seemed concerned with lasting relations and a concern for the other, they seemed equally concerned with task as with people. This is exemplified by their willingness to take on and sustain longer working hours, and weekend activities when others are often at home and/or on vacation. Many of the participants appeared to reveal a real commitment and love for their work and voiced a willingness to continue to struggle against many obstacles for political and social justice.

The consciousness awareness levels seemed highly acute for most. As knowing participants in an area (sport) where they are often felt to be intruders, they seem willing to extend themselves to a realm of feminism without contradiction and to act as role models for others. On the subject of feminism without contradiction Rosenthal (1973) suggested several motives for "the pull toward ineptitude of women" (p. 41).

On a more practical level it was indicated that women should make an effort to improve their skills and performance. Some women appear to find moral expiation and

justification in the "almost official harmlessness, almost official restrictedness of influence, purpose, and outlook, [that] women represent to their male counterparts the reassuringly official know-nothingness of civil life" (p. 42). To correct the general problem of servitude and passivism, a change of attitude would be to feeling morally right about enlarging their outlook and skills, to choosing the unfamiliar and sometimes difficult for the function of reassigning themselves in culture.

In the present study several interview segments alluded to the notion of giving back to the profession and to providing the same wholesome enjoyment of sports involvement for others, both boys and girls, that they had experienced as young girls. Though there were few instances where these women coached male sports, and few athletic directors of male athletes, there was the same empathetic concern for the development of personal strength for males as for female students.

My feminine sensibility about sport and competition was renewed. However, I had never considered the ritual of resistance to the male ethic of sport. As a matter of clarification, this resistance is not to be confused with fear or denial but a refusal. A refusal to accept the win at any cost attitude seems to be a prevailing tendency among these and other women coaches. The moral commitment to the ethic of the other that Gilligan speaks of

transcends the prevailing notion of capitalistic sport. We need to hear the voices stated that it is desirable to win, but if we do not win--we are still okay.

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APPENDIX A

Biographical Sketch

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Biographical Sketch

The author of this dissertation grew up in the rural American South. Attending high school in a small southeastern town known best for its production and marketing of tobacco was just one gateway to hard work and achievement. On the eve of desegregation, a strong religious and family-oriented background, physical labor and an active living was no stranger in our backyard. Graduating with academic honors, and being "the first" to go off to school held its suspense and responsibilities. As such, aspirations were held in check for many reasons, and so provisions were made for me to attend a one-year nursing program.

Upon completion, and after working for one year as a ward nurse, I began a four-year teacher education program in physical education obtaining a Bachelor of Science degree. Not to be interrupted, yet more so to be better prepared for teaching, I then began a Master's of Science at the same historically black institution--a school which had it beginning as a normal school for teachers. Having completed a thesis project about The Effectiveness of Learning Badminton Skills for Women in a Coeducational Class and in a Separate Class for Women, I was off for my first teaching job at a small black private college. I

worked for two years as an instructor of fundamental skills in physical education and health education.

The next eleven years were spent at a high school setting where I taught, and coached two sports for girls during the latter years. In the midst of Title IX mandates and with better provisions for girls in sport, there too were many other changes and adjustments to which both students and teachers had to accommodate. But they were fun-filled years, productive years--years of professional growth as a practitioner. Feeling a need for something different, and the desire for more creativity and further growth, I decided to enter school as a full-time adult graduate student.

Leaving behind the hectic high school teacher/coaches schedule, reflexivity began. This is not to say I was not busy--just a new busy. New ways of seeing, speaking, and knowing surfaced. Graduate school tenure held many rich and rewarding experiences. With varied experiences as a research assistant, a teaching assistant, attendance at numerous professional conferences and a course of study in Curriculum and Instruction, I was challenged, inspired, and the sparks of creativity began to move. Feeling confident, empowered, and rejuvenated, I approached this project with a lot of zest and determination. Only to find the process of interviewing women of similar work experiences equally rewarding, and certainly personally enjoyable as any other

phase of my work. The journey from "there" to "here" can not be duplicated. Future work in the area of mature women's work experiences has a place.

APPENDIX B

Introductory Letter

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Introductory Letter

As a doctoral student specializing in curriculum and instruction, I am conducting a dissertation project. This study involves the collection of interview data for qualitative analysis. The purpose of the study is to uncover some of the social realities and to better understand the experiences and relations of sportswomen as viewed by them in the middle years of their careers.

The interview process will entail two one-hour dialectical conversations or storytelling sessions about your experiences-relations as a teacher/coach in a public school setting. The interviews will be taped and transcribed for comparison and analysis with that of other women with similar experiences. The first session will involve the completion of a biographical profile sheet for some broad background information on yourself as a participant, and also the responses to eight or so comprehensive open-ended questions about the nature of the women's experience as teacher/coaches.

The second session will be a collaboration and verification session with further probing for meaning and significance as the stories began to unfold certain themes and categories. Together, we will be searching for women's ways of knowing and rationalizing the workplace in sport teaching.

Please be assured that all information received will remain anonymous and confidential. In addition, every effort will be made to keep the interview sessions within the designated times realizing that you are giving valuable time to participate.

I would appreciate a reply concerning your decision to participate as soon as possible. Thank you for your consideration of this study.

Sincerely,

Arcelia T. Jeffreys
Graduate Student-Department of PED
Address: 305 Edwards Road C-7
Greensboro, NC 27410
Phone: (919) 299-6242

APPENDIX C

Criteria for Participation

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Criteria for Participation

To be eligible to participate in this study the individual must:

1. Have 10 or more years of experience in a high school setting.

2. Be between the ages of 35 and 50 years old.

3. Be a sportswoman who has been a participant coach or teacher coach for girls or women sport.

Willingness to Participate

Name _____

Address _____

School _____

Home Phone _____

The best time and place to contact me is: _____

_____

Please check one

____ I am willing to participate in the study about the experiences and relations of women teacher coaches.

____ I would like more information about the study.

____ I do not meet all of the listed criteria for participation.

_____

Signature

APPENDIX D

Biographical Profile Sheet

APPENDIX D

Biographical Profile Sheet

Code # _____ Date _____

Name_____

Professional Rank/Title as Teacher _____

_____

Professional Rank/Title in your new position _____

_____

Highest Earned degree Date Rec'd Institution

_____ _____ _____

List the professional organizations/positions held which are/were pertinent to your teacher/coaching positions:

_____

_____

_____

Specify the number of mos./yrs. of teaching experience you have had in the following school/teaching settings

Public school [K-3] _____ [4-8] _____ [9-12] _____

Two year college _____ College/university _____

Community facilities [Y's, arts council, etc.] _____

Designate your length of coaching experience (mos./yrs.) in the following forms and the average enrollment of student-athletes.

Sport	Yrs./mos.	Grade level/age group
1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.

Does/did the instruction of physical education courses comprise fifty percent of more of your teaching load? ____

APPENDIX E

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO
SCHOOL OF HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION, & RECREATION

SCHOOL REVIEW COMMITTEE

INFORMED CONSENT FORM*

APPENDIX E

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO
SCHOOL OF HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION, & RECREATION

SCHOOL REVIEW COMMITTEE

INFORMED CONSENT FORM*

___ I understand that the purpose of this study/project is an explanation of the nature of understanding the experience-relations of mature women in sport. A personal and professional integration of the dialogical and dialectical process of the interviewed conversations among the sport teachers will uncover some social realities of female teacher/coaches.

___ I confirm that my participation is entirely voluntary. No coercion of any kind had been used to obtain my cooperation.

___ I understand that I may withdraw my consent and terminate my participation at any time during the project.

___ I have been informed of the procedures that will be used in the project and understand what will be required of me as a subject.

___ I understand that all of my responses, written/ oral/task, will remain completely anonymous.

___ I understand that a summary of the results of the project will be made available to me at the completion of the study, if I so request.

___ I wish to give my voluntary cooperation as a participant.

_____
Signature

_____
Address

_____
Date

*Adopted from L. F. Locke and W. W. Spirduso. Proposals that work. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976, p. 237.

Approved 3/78