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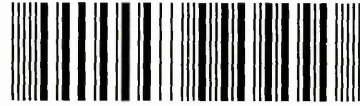
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WOMEN AS SPORTS COACHES

Amanda West

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requirements of Sheffield Hallam University for the
degree of Master of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the reasons why women are under-represented in sports coaching roles in Britain, particularly the most prestigious coaching positions. In depth, semi-structured interview schedules were carried out with twenty women coaches from five sports. The backgrounds of the twenty coaches ranged from those working with essentially recreational performers to those coaching international standard performers. Literature on women and the labour market, women and leisure and women and coaching was employed to contextualise the analysis of the coaches' responses, and a socialist feminist perspective adopted. The interviews with the coaches revealed that, on a macro-level, the unequal division of labour in the home, together with women's unequal position in the labour market contributed to the lack of women coaches in Britain. On a micro-level, women coaches experienced difficulty in gaining access to coaching qualifications, coach development programmes, coaching appointments and difficulty in obtaining opportunities to work with higher status teams. Access to higher status coaching roles was further constrained by coaching networks and the assumption that men were better coaches than women for such work.

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INTRODUCTION

1.0 Statement of the Problem

In recent years the numbers of women involved in sport in the UK has increased significantly and much of this increase can be linked to quasi-central and local government initiatives to raise women's involvement in sport (for example, the Sports Council's "What's Your Sport?" Campaign). Until the late 1980s, however, such initiatives tended to focus on raising the number of women participating in sport, and omitted any reference to increasing women's involvement in sports leadership roles such as officiating, administration and coaching. Consequently, whilst data from the OPCS (1978; 1994) indicate that women's participation rates in sport have risen significantly in the period 1977 to 1993, data from the Sports Council (1994;1995) and Houlston (1995) indicates that women continue to be under-represented in decision making roles in sport by comparison to men.

Of the many such roles in sport, it is perhaps the lack of women coaches which causes most surprise. Whilst the skills and abilities required of administrators and managers are not necessarily developed in the sports arena, links do seem to exist between playing and coaching. An analysis of the backgrounds of coaches, for example, would show that many are ex-sportsmen and ex-sportswomen, probably because they are able to draw on the knowledge and social networks they acquired as performers. Given the links between playing and coaching it seems strange that, despite increases in the number of women participating in sport, little attention has been devoted to helping women make the transition from playing to coaching. It seems that so long as women are playing the game, few people care if they are involved in running it.

Yet, as White (1987) has pointed out, we should be concerned that women are under-represented as sports coaches. She argues that the lack of women in sports coaching is a concern for three reasons. First, because the number of coaches available to work with sportsmen and sportswomen is restricted if women, half of the population, do not take up coaching roles. Secondly, women's absence from coaching roles means that they are less able to play a part in shaping the direction of sport. Finally, the lack of women sports coaches means that there are few female role models for current players/participants who may be interested in becoming coaches themselves.

If we accept that it is important for women to have the chance to play an equal part in sport as coaches, then we must look at the reasons why they are not doing so. Of course, the common sense responses to this question would be that women do not want to coach or that they may not be as competent as male coaches. What this study aims to do is to demonstrate that these are inadequate explanations of gender inequality in sports coaching. This investigation will show that although women may wish to become involved in coaching they face numerous obstacles which make it difficult for them to do so - especially with regard to entry to the most prestigious coaching roles.

1.1 The Aims of the Study

The aims of this study are two-fold:

- 1) to examine the reasons behind the paucity of women sports coaches in the UK; and

- 2) to examine the under-representation of women coaches at the top levels of the coaching hierarchy.

In order to address these aims, in-depth interviews with twenty women coaches with varying experiences as coaches were undertaken. The coaches were asked to describe their experiences as participants in sport, their initial entry into coaching and their progression through the coaching hierarchy. They were also asked to discuss their lives as coaches in relation to other aspects of their lives, thus enabling their experiences to be contextualised within patriarchal and capitalist society, in an attempt to explain the under-representation of women in coaching.

1.2 Previous Research on Women as Sports Coaches

Previous research on gender inequality in sports coaching has tended to fall into one of two categories. The first includes papers which attempt to describe the extent of women's under-representation in sports coaching roles, and is perhaps best illustrated by the work of Acosta and Carpenter (1988; 1990). The second category comprises analyses which move beyond description and seek to explain women's absence from coaching roles by reference to the organisation and practice of sports coaching (see amongst others: Knoppers, 1987; Kane and Stangl, 1991). For example, Knoppers (*op.cit.*) debated the differential effects of power, opportunity and proportion on male and female coaches, demonstrating the ways by which women were disadvantaged as coaches by comparison with men. A common characteristic of both types of research, however, has been a failure to consider sport as a key site in the reproduction of relations of domination and subordination in society: rather sport has been viewed uncritically. In other words research has, generally speaking, not sought to develop a

theoretically grounded analysis of women's lives as sports coaches, which contextualises women's experiences as coaches within the broader confines of western society which is dominated by the social structures of patriarchy and capitalism. One exception to this rule is Knoppers' (1993) discussion of the way in which coaching as a gendered activity disadvantages female coaches in comparison with male coaches (see sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.3.4 for a more detailed discussion of this paper).

1.3 The Development of a Theoretical Framework

Knoppers' (1993) paper reflects Ann Hall's call for sport to be seen as a site of hegemonic struggle in the reproduction of the social relations of capitalism, patriarchy and racism (Hall 1985; 1990). Feminist sport sociologists, such as Hall, have been particularly critical of a tendency amongst sport sociologists to rely almost exclusively on marxist and neo-marxist perspectives to analyse inequality in sport. She argues that although such perspectives are helpful in analysing class divisions in sport, they are much less helpful in explaining gender divisions. Feminist theory, suggests Hall, is an alternative because feminist perspectives position gender as equal to, or more important than, class. Hargreaves (1990) takes up this point in her discussion of the relative contribution of four of the major feminist theoretical positions to an analysis of gender inequality in sport, namely: liberal feminism, radical feminism, marxist feminism and socialist feminism. Hargreaves highlights the main strengths and weaknesses of the different approaches and concludes:

We need a more complex theoretical analysis which can deal with the connections between class, gender and power to control sports resources, than either radical feminism or orthodox marxist feminism provides. This is an issue which socialism feminism has been concerned with. Socialist feminism developed out of a desire to reassess orthodox marxist theory on the position of women in order to understand the complexities of the relationship between, and the relative independence of, capitalist relations and gender relations. (Hargreaves, 1990, p297)

The way forward, she suggests, is an approach which seeks to accommodate the social relations of patriarchy and capitalism, namely, socialist feminism. The origins of socialist feminist theory lie in the attempts of a number of authors to integrate patriarchy and capitalism into a single theory. Foremost amongst these writers are Eisenstein (1979), Hartmann (1979; 1981), Mitchell (1971), Walby (1988; 1989) and Young (1979). However, whilst they generally agree that the twin structures of class and gender interact to mediate gender inequality in society, they are not agreed as to whether this means that they constitute one or two systems. Moreover, there is also disagreement as to whether patriarchy actually has a material base. Mitchell, for example, fails to give patriarchy a material base, instead assigning it to the level of ideology. The strengths and weaknesses of these divergent positions have been rehearsed in a number of review articles (see for example, Tong, 1993) and it is not intended to repeat these discussions here. Rather, a more detailed and historically contextualised account of the origins and development of gender inequality in western, capitalist society is presented in the next Chapter, Women, Work and Organisations. This Chapter explores the complex relationship which exists between capitalist and patriarchal forces, showing that they can sometimes be seen to act in opposition and at other times in co-operation. For as Cockburn (1991) suggests, a concern over whether capitalism and patriarchy are one or two systems does little more than divert attention from what should be the main concern, that is, to understand the articulation of the two systems and how this influences women's lived experiences.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

Some consideration has already been given to the notion that much existing literature on the subject of women coaches provides only a partial explanation of gender inequality in sports coaching (see section 1.2). In the light of this observation literature from two areas beyond coaching have been considered, namely ‘women and paid employment’ and ‘women and leisure’. Literature from these areas is discussed in relation to their usefulness in informing an analysis of gender inequality in sports coaching. Chapter Two explores the literature relating to women and paid employment, focusing in particular on the concept of occupational sex segregation in the labour market. In addition this Chapter rehearses socialist feminist debates on the significance of class and gender inequality in the labour market for understanding women’s oppression in all other spheres of life. More specifically, Anne Witz’ (1992) concepts of exclusion, demarcation, inclusion and dual closure are proposed as a framework for understanding women’s under-representation in sports coaching roles.

Chapter Three moves away from the area of paid employment to concentrate on an area sometimes viewed as its bipolar opposite, leisure. The discussion focuses on three main areas: the relationship between paid work and leisure; the relationship between unpaid work and leisure; and leisure as site of resistance to male hegemony.

Most of the research cited in Chapter Four originates from North America and because the societal contexts in which coaching takes place differ so much between Britain and the USA, the Chapter opens by problematising the use of this literature. The Chapter then considers the effects on women coaches of the inclusionary, exclusionary and segregatory modes of control.

Whereas Chapters Two, Three and Four have focused on the relationship between theory and problem, Chapter Five debates the relationship between theory, problem and method. More specifically, Chapter Five shows how feminist research informed the different stages of the research process. In addition details of the sample, methods of data collection and of the analysis phase are presented.

The results of the interviews with twenty women coaches are considered in Chapter Six. The discussion is divided into two main sections. The first concentrates on the issues which relate to women's initial involvement in sports coaching and the second addresses the points which relate to women's progression to higher status coaching roles. The findings are contextualised in relation to the ideas discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

The penultimate chapter, Chapter Seven, considers the main limitations of the investigation and offers a personal reflection on the research process. This Chapter also presents some potential avenues for further research. The final chapter, Chapter Eight, reviews the main findings of the study and presents a conclusion.

WOMEN, WORK AND ORGANISATIONS

WOMEN, WORK AND ORGANISATIONS

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter argued that socialist feminist theory could make a significant contribution to an analysis of gender inequality in sports coaching, but it did not discuss these ideas in any detail. Chapter Two redresses this by providing an historically contextualised analysis of both women's experiences in paid employment, and the circumstances which contribute to their unequal position in the labour market. In essence this chapter serves two purposes. First, it offers a theoretically grounded account of women's oppression in the labour market and, as a consequence, in society at large. Secondly, it shows how an understanding of gender inequality in sports coaching can be informed by an analysis of the mechanisms which render most women subordinate to most men in the work place.

More specifically, this chapter explores the ways by which occupational sex segregation (henceforth abbreviated to OSS) is both reproduced and resisted in the work force. An analysis of OSS in the work force is significant for this study for two reasons. First, OSS is a theoretically significant concept because socialist feminists like Cockburn (1983; 1988; 1990), Hartmann (1979; 1981), and Walby (1988; 1989) consider inequality in the work place to mediate gender inequality in other spheres of public and private life. They have argued that women's position in society is influenced by their position in paid employment and that structural inequalities in the work place can in turn be linked to OSS.

Job segregation by sex, I will argue, is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women, because it enforces lower wages for women in the labour market. Low wages keep women dependent upon men because they encourage women to marry. (Hartmann, 1979, p208)

In this sense OSS is crucial to an analysis of gender inequality in sports coaching because it can be shown that women's experiences of coaching are mediated by their position in paid employment. Secondly, OSS is a central concern of this study because the mechanisms which account for it in the work force can be seen to apply equally to unpaid work, and in this sense can help in an analysis of gender inequality in sports coaching. For these reasons an historically grounded analysis of OSS, its origins and reproduction are essential components of this study. The discussion is restricted to western capitalist society, more specifically to western Europe and North America.

2.1 What is Occupational Sex Segregation ?

The ubiquitous nature of OSS has been commented upon by numerous authors (for example, Reskin and Hartmann, 1986; Walby, 1988; Witz 1990). Cockburn (1988) writes:

Occupational segregation by sex is one of the most marked and persistent of the patterns that characterise our world, and its nature has by now been thoroughly rehearsed. Women and men tend to cluster in separate industries, separate occupations, different departments and different rooms. (Cockburn, *op.cit.*, p29)

With reference to this study it is important to distinguish between two specific forms of OSS, namely: horizontal sex segregation and vertical sex segregation, a distinction made first by Hakim (1979):

Horizontal occupational segregation exists when men and women are most commonly working in different types of occupation. Vertical segregation exists when men are most commonly working in higher grade occupations and women are most commonly working in lower grade occupations, or vice versa. (Hakim, *op.cit.*, p19)

The need to differentiate between these two forms of OSS is necessary because the mechanisms which maintain and reproduce horizontal and vertical OSS differ, yet both contribute to gender inequality in sports coaching. Hence it is important to understand

how both horizontal and vertical sex segregation are reproduced and maintained within sports coaching.

For the most part, these concepts have been unquestioningly accepted by the majority of authors who have addressed the concept of OSS (see Cockburn, 1988; Walby, 1988; Witz, 1988), but it is worth noting that Hakim's definitions have been problematised by Bagguley (1991), with regard to their operational clarity. He argues that vertical segregation could be seen as a "particular instance of horizontal segregation" because Hakim uses the same occupational titles to measure horizontal segregation as she does vertical segregation. In other words, her basic unit of measurement of vertical segregation and horizontal segregation are one and the same. As an alternative Bagguley calls for the use of three dimensions of sex segregation in paid employment, namely: industrial segregation, functional segregation and hierarchical segregation. Industrial segregation refers to the sexual division of labour by industry; functional segregation is defined as the division of tasks or occupations by sex within one particular industry; whilst hierarchical segregation describes a situation whereby one sex holds power over the opposite sex in a particular industry, occupation, and/or task. However, he admits that whilst this distinction operates on a conceptual level, it is a more difficult task to separate industrial, functional and hierarchical segregation for operational purposes, and most authors seem content to refer to horizontal and vertical occupational sex segregation in their analyses of the phenomena (see Cockburn, 1991; Devine, 1992; Walby, 1988). Therefore, whilst noting Bagguley's reservations, the concepts of horizontal and vertical segregation will be retained.

2.1.1 Horizontal Sex Segregation

What is most significant about the patterns of horizontal sex segregation is not the variations in the types of jobs filled by men and women, but the fact that there is such a level of consistency in the numerical dominance of one sex or another in a particular

occupation. The pervasiveness of OSS is such that Walby (1988) notes that in almost all occupational groupings women are either significantly over- or significantly under-represented. Indeed, of the nine major occupational groupings used by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) in the 1991 Census, only three, associate professional and technical occupations (55:45), personal and protective services (55:45) and sales occupations (53:47) had ratios of full-time male-female workers which were broadly similar. Furthermore, men predominate in a greater number of the minor occupational classifications used by the OPCS. Of the 77 minor occupational groups, 52 recorded higher percentages of men than women (including full-time, part-time and unemployed respondents). Moreover, there are many instances of cultural similarities in the distribution of male and female workers. For example, the ratio of men to women in metal manufacturing and engineering only varies between 1:3.2 and 1:4.6 in France, Germany, Italy and the UK (Watson, 1992). This is not to say that culture plays no part in mediating the occupations in which men and women predominate. For example, in the Netherlands whereas 30% of secondary school teachers were female, in Portugal the figure was 69% (Eurostat, 1995). The key issue, however, is not which sex dominates which occupation, but why occupations are dominated by one sex or the other.

One answer to this question lies with the fact that the patterns of OSS have a great tendency to reflect social stereotypes about typical feminine and masculine characteristics and abilities. Osborne (1991) contends that female dominated occupations tend to be those which reflect women's work in the home or women's "innate" abilities as facilitators, carers and nurturers. Such assertions are supported by the Labour Force Survey (LFS, Nov. 1993) and the 1991 Census. The LFS reported that women constitute the majority of workers in the service industries of education, medical/other health services and "other services provided to the general public". The 1991 Census data indicated that 85.2% of health associate professionals are women,

whilst 97% of those employed full-time in child care and related occupations were women. In contrast, men's work is seen as requiring strength, technical competence and/or intellectual ability (Cockburn, 1988). Some examples of occupations typically associated with either men or women in Britain are shown in table 1.

Table 1 The ratios of male and female workers in selected occupations in 1991

Occupation	Men as a Percentage of the Total Workforce	Women as a Percentage of the Total Workforce
Construction worker	98.5	1.5
Primary school teachers	20.0	80.0
Social welfare assistants	30.0	70.0
Secretaries and related occupations	1.5	98.5
Architects, town planners	90.7	9.3
Engineers and technologists	95.0	5.0

Sources: EOC (1993); OPCS (1994)

The influence of social stereotypes about men and women on the patterns of OSS helps to direct our attention to the types of jobs undertaken by men and women in sports coaching. If this hypothesis is correct, then one would expect men to occupy coaching roles which reflect stereotypical masculine characteristics and abilities, and women to occupy roles reflecting supposed feminine characteristics and abilities. For example, if women form a majority of workers involved with children then it would be reasonable to suppose that the majority of coaches working with young children would be women. Similarly, if men are widely held to have generally greater physical strength than women, one might expect to find more men than women coaches working with athletes in events which require above average attention to strength training, such as rugby, weight lifting, and field events in athletics.

2.1.2 Vertical Sex Segregation

Men consistently predominate at the highest occupational levels, whilst women occupy the lowest levels. For example, whilst the number of women academics in universities rose from 14% in 1981-82 to 22% in 1991-92, only 5% of professors were female at the end of this period (EOC, 1993). Similar patterns of inequality are evident in the legal profession where the number of women solicitors has increased from 11% of the profession in 1983-84 to 27% in 1991-92. This increase is not, however, reflected in the numbers of women in the more prestigious levels of the profession. For example, whilst 60% of men in private practice were partners and less than 25% were assistant solicitors, 60% of women were assistant solicitors; and although women represent 25% of solicitors in private practice only 13% are partners (EOC, 1993). Vertical sex segregation is clearly evident in managerial positions also. The National Management Salary Survey (1993) reported that women comprised 10% of its sample, but that they were concentrated at the lower levels of management structures. Whereas 12-13% of posts at the two lowest levels of managerial responsibility were occupied by women, less than 2% of the top two levels of management, chief executive and deputy chief executive, were held by women.

Conventional wisdom might suggest that women's under-representation at the senior levels of occupations is linked to the low percentage of women in an occupation; however, such an argument can be refuted by reference to the relative position of men and women in female dominated occupations. For example, in an occupation such as primary school teaching where women outnumber men 9:1 on the Main Scale Allowance, more than half of head teachers are men (EOC, 1993). Similarly in the National Health Service where women make up 79% of the work force, less than 10% of its senior managers are female (NHS Journal, April 1995). Women's absence from the more prestigious and senior roles in the work place cannot, therefore, be attributed

solely to the lack of women in a particular occupation. Cockburn (1988) emphasises this point when she writes:

Vertically, work affords a series of ladders with distinct rungs up which men can step out of direct comparison and equivalence with women. Even in the most feminine fields of work the higher the rank the more masculine becomes the occupation. (Cockburn, *op.cit.*, p36)

Data from the Sports Council (1995) suggests that the patterns of vertical sex segregation in sports coaching mirror the general employment trends described above. The Sports Council found that whilst, on average, 70% of registered coaches in the forty sports surveyed were men, significantly more men than women held the most senior coaching qualifications. The British Amateur Gymnastics Association, for example, has over 10, 578 registered female coaches as compared to 4,353 male coaches, but men outnumber women as holders of the top two qualifications, almost two to one. Figures from the sports of badminton, canoeing, ice-skating, rowing and volleyball, amongst others, reflect patterns similar to those in gymnastics. Admittedly a coach's qualifications do not automatically reflect his or her position in the coaching hierarchy, but it is reasonable to assume that someone's coaching qualifications provide some indication of the level at which they coach.

2.2 Women in the Labour Market: Are There Signs of Change ?

The data cited above indicate that horizontal and vertical sex segregation characterise men's and women's experiences in paid employment in Britain, as in other western, capitalist nations. This situation remains constant despite transformations on a number of levels in the labour market over the past twenty five years, transformations which might have been expected to influence the patterns of OSS. In the UK, for example, legislation on equal pay has been enacted (Equal Pay Act, 1970; Sex Discrimination Act, 1975; and Equal Pay (Amendment) Regulations, 1983) and there have been various initiatives designed to promote women's involvement at all levels in the

workplace (for example, Opportunity 2000, launched 1993, and Fair Play for Women, launched in May 1994).

In addition the numbers of women achieving advanced qualifications has increased significantly: something reflected in the numbers of men and women in higher education. In 1992/93 the numbers of men and women enrolled on courses were roughly equal - 436,000 male students and 416,000 female students (OPCS, 1995). Admittedly, this does not mean that all of these students achieved their qualifications. A similar rise has been noted in the numbers of women entering paid employment. In 1973, 54% of women aged 16-59 were defined as economically active, a figure which had risen to 69% in 1993 (OPCS, 1994).

Despite these changes most research on equality in the work place suggests that there appears to have been minimal levels of desegregation in the work force in the latter part of the twentieth century. In 1974 the Employment Gazette reported that the concentration of women into a small number of industries had persisted for some time and currently showed few signs of change as the occupations selected by boys and girls aged 15-17 confirmed the existing patterns. Roberts, Richardson and Dench (1988), in a later study, maintained that there was no discernible difference in the level of sex segregation amongst youth labour markets in comparison with older ones. This finding is, in turn, supported by Cockburn's (1987) research on the career choices made by male and female school-leavers on Youth Training Schemes. In addition, data from the 1991 Census indicate that there is little evidence of youth labour markets being any more desegregated than older ones.

Table 2 shows the percentage of men and women employed full-time in craft-related occupations in 1991, a male dominated sector of the labour force.

Table 2 The ratio of male and female employees in craft-related occupations in 1991

Percentage of Full-time Employees in Craft-related Occupations 1991		
Age	Men	Women
17-20	87.4	12.6
21-24	85.8	14.2
45-54	88.3	11.7
55-59	90.1	9.9

Source OPCS (1994)

The ratio of men and women in this sector is 89.3:10.7.

Table 3 shows the percentage of men and women employed full-time in a female dominated sector of the labour force, clerical and secretarial occupations.

Table 3 The ratio of male and female workers of different ages in clerical and secretarial occupations in 1991

Percentage of Full-time Employees in Clerical and Secretarial Occupations		
Age	Men	Women
17-20	27.0	73.0
21-24	26.3	73.7
45-54	27.3	72.7
55-59	37.3	62.7

Source: OPCS (1994)

The overall percentage of female to male employees is 70.9:29.1.

The percentages given in tables 2 and 3 provide further evidence of the persistence of segregation in the labour market. The lack of any substantial change in vertical and horizontal sex segregation in the work force amongst workers aged 17-59 years of age challenges liberal feminist proposals that an increase in educational and training

opportunities for women will result in greater equality in paid employment. The fact that the patterns of OSS are as consistent amongst younger workers, that is amongst those in the work force who should have benefited most from improved educational and training opportunities, as they are amongst older workers, suggests that intervention by outside agencies and by organisations themselves are not by themselves sufficient to bring about change.

Crompton and Sanderson (1987; 1990) have predicted that, as an increasing number of women acquire professional qualifications (for example, in medicine, law and pharmacy), desegregation will take place in the professions. In addition EOC (1993) data indicates that women's average earnings in the professions are much closer to men's in comparison with female manual workers and female managers, suggesting that the types of jobs undertaken by men and women in professional occupations are valued more similarly than are jobs in manual or managerial occupations.

The EOC (1993) states that women in professional occupations earned 81% of the average weekly pay of men, but that women administrators and managers earned 66% of the average weekly earnings of their male counterparts in 1992. This report (which shows that the gap between the earnings of professional women and professional men is closer than that for male and female managers in the public and private sectors) lends some support to the argument that desegregation may be occurring in professional occupations. Figures show also that the numbers of women registered with certain professional bodies has increased. The number of women doctors registered with a professional body in the UK has increased from 21% in 1980 to 29% in 1990 (Bevan, Hayday and Callendar, 1993). Similarly, the number of women registered with legal professional bodies was just 3.1% in 1960 but this had risen to 24.4% in 1990. Not all professional bodies have large numbers of women members, however. Less than 6% of registered architects and 8% of actuaries were women in 1990 (Bevan *et al*, *op.cit.*). Moreover, it should be stressed that the professions are but

one occupational grouping and, as such, desegregation can hardly be said to be occurring on a large scale in the UK. Moreover, desegregation cannot, by itself, be seen as redressing issues of gender inequality in the professions. There is evidence to show that women do not occupy the most prestigious niches within specific professions. For instance, only two of the eighty four high court judges are women (EOC, 1993) and women comprise just 15% of consultant surgeons (Department of Employment, 1993).

Although there is little evidence of desegregation in the labour market, there is evidence which suggests that there has been a significant re-organisation of the labour market in the UK in terms of changes in the proportion of full-time and part-time workers, a process labelled by Walby (1988) as resegregation. Table 4 shows the change in the numbers of part-time workers between 1984 and 1994.

Table 4 Changes in the Numbers of Full-time and Part-time Workers Between 1984 and 1994

Year	Male Workers		Female Workers	
	Full-time employees	Part-time employees	Full-time employees	Part-time employees
1984	13,240,000	570,000	5,422,000	4,343,000
1994	12,875,000	998,000	6,131,000	5,257,000

Source: OPCS (1995)

During this ten year period the total number of full-time employees increased by 344,000, whilst the total number of part-time employees increased by 1,342,000. This point is significant on two counts: first, because women constitute the majority (84%) of part-time workers and part-time working contributes significantly to women's subordinate position in the labour market; and secondly, because many coaches are employed in part-time roles, there are implications for understanding women's experiences as coaches.

The growth in part-time working in the UK can be linked to periods of both economic growth and economic decline in the 1980s. OPCS (1995) reveals that full-time employment for women rose by 709,000 between 1984-1994 whereas for men it declined by 365,000 over the same period. Part-time employment increased for men from 575,000 to 998,000 between 1984 and 1994, whilst an additional 914,000 women entered part-time employment during this period. Indeed, Sly (1993) reports that over 40% of employed women held part-time jobs (Sly, 1993). The majority of part-time workers are, however, found in the lower occupational categories with only 16.5% of all part-time workers are found in the top five occupational categories, (Sidaway and Wareing, 1992). In addition the Employment Gazette (1991) reported the findings of a Department of Employment-sponsored study, *Training for Women: the Future Imperative*, which concluded that part-time workers received less training than full-time workers, resulting in many women working in 'dead-end' and unchallenging jobs. This datum is supportive of Walby's (1988) claim that part-time working is typically low paid, with limited career prospects and less security than full-time jobs.

Women's position in the labour force as part-time employees has been explained in a number of different ways. It has been suggested that they act as a secondary labour force, constituting in marxist feminist terms a reserve army of labour (RAL), drawn upon and then dispensed with during times of economic growth and recession, to meet employers' needs (Dex and Perry, 1984). However, as authors like Walby suggest, an analysis of women's involvement in part-time paid employment, grounded in the RAL thesis, is more complex than it might seem at first glance. She points out that whilst part-time workers are drawn into the labour force to fill jobs created during times of demand, these workers are not necessarily the first to lose their jobs when demand wanes. Pollert (1981) concurs, noting that during the mini-boom of 1973 part-time women workers were recruited faster than full-time or male workers, but that when the recession took hold part-time women workers continued to be recruited although full-

time workers were losing their jobs. Unemployment amongst part-time workers was, however, greater than for men and women employed full-time between 1974 and 1977 in every industry where employment declined.

In the light of these figures Pollert supports the view that female part-time workers constitute a reserve army of labour, but she qualifies her argument as follows:

Because of the adaptability of part-time labour to short-term fluctuations in demand, long-term generalisations and predictions are impossible; while part-timers are the most vulnerable sector of the work force during a crisis, and in some areas bear the brunt of unemployment, in others their number swells rapidly. It is in this sense of being rapidly hired and fired with the vagaries of the market - often at the expense of full-time workers - that part-time women workers conform most closely to the model of women as a reserve army of labour. (Pollert, *op.cit.*, p231)

It has also been suggested that women choose, or else are limited to, part-time jobs because of their familial responsibilities, an argument supported by data which show that married women, whether with or without children, are significantly more likely to work part-time than unmarried women, with or without children (Martin and Roberts, 1984). Labour Force Survey (LFS) data for winter 1992/93 shows that this argument still holds, with twice the percentage of married women (33%) working part-time as unmarried women (17%). However, whether women "choose" to engage in part-time paid, as opposed to full-time, paid employment is open to question. Some women with dependant children may work part-time because they do not have access to affordable child care facilities. LFS surveys only report the number of men and women who "did not want full-time work"; they do not survey women's preference for part-time or full-time work if child care facilities were available to them.

In summary, an examination of OSS in paid employment reveals a number of consistent features. First, both horizontal and vertical sex segregation appear highly resistant to transformation even allowing for generally minor cross-cultural variations in the dominance of one sex in an occupation. This situation is perhaps all the more

astonishing given the changes which have taken place in education and in the work place, which might have been expected to lead to some desegregation of the labour market. Secondly, irrespective of the ratio of men to women in an occupation, men presently and disproportionately occupy the most senior and prestigious positions. Thirdly, where employment patterns have undergone significant change, this has taken the form of a transition from largely full-time to increased levels of part-time employment, in other words the labour market has become reseggregated not desegregated.

Should coaching reflect the patterns of women's employment in British society in the 1990s, then one would expect to find:

- a) no evidence of desegregation in coaching in the UK;
- b) more men than women in senior coaching roles;
- c) more women than men to be coaching on a part-time basis;
and
- d) more married than unmarried women to be coaching on a part-time basis

2.3 Socialist Feminist Theory and Occupational Sex Segregation

The previous section has reviewed evidence which indicates that women remain subordinate to men in the work place, in terms of the types of jobs they undertake, the nature of their employment (part-time versus full-time) and the seniority of the position held. Changes in the work place which might have been expected to have effected a decline in OSS, such as state sponsored legislation and organisational initiatives on equal opportunities, have had only a limited impact. Socialist feminist theory explains the existing patterns of paid work in terms of capitalist and patriarchal forces, that is the drive for capital accumulation and men's efforts to secure their own

position in the work force, which ultimately act to restrict women's access to paid employment. Seen in this light capitalism and patriarchy are, at times, in contradiction with capitalism drawing women into the work force as a cheap source of labour, whilst patriarchy resists women's entry into the work force because this threatens men's dominant status in the work force. Men's response to women's participation in the work force should not, however, be seen as a reaction against women *per se*. Rather men's individual and collective conscious and unconscious actions must be seen as a response to a much more complex set of circumstances, the origins of which lie in the changes wrought by the onset of capitalism, as will be shown below.

Socialist feminists like Hartmann and Walby identify two key mechanisms as being responsible for OSS in the work place: the first is exclusion and the latter, segregation. This approach has been criticised by Witz (1992), however, for failing to give sufficient attention to the power which men derive from familial authority. Witz argues that Walby prioritises the public face of patriarchy, that is patriarchal forces in the work place, at the expense of private patriarchy, that is male control in the home, suggesting as she does that the former influences the latter. Witz argues that such an analysis underestimates the effect of gender inequality in the home on men's and women's experiences in the work place. She further problematises Walby's account by suggesting that, like Hartmann, she overestimates men's ability to organise collectively to resist women's entry into paid employment. Witz maintains that men's trade unions were not, in most instances, sufficiently well organised prior to the twentieth century to resist actively capitalism's efforts to draw women into the work place as a cheap source of labour. She tries to rectify what she sees as a weakness in Hartmann's and Walby's accounts of OSS by giving greater attention in her analysis to the effects of patriarchal power in the home. Given the absence of any evidence to suggest that male sports coaches have been capable of any collective action to exclude women from coaching in the UK, Witz' work appears to offer a more fruitful theoretical framework from which to examine OSS and gender inequality in coaching than either of those

proposed by Hartmann or Walby. Witz' approach is more appropriate because her analysis encompasses the effects of both paid and unpaid work in structuring gender inequality in society. This is important because, as this study will show, women's lives as sports coaches are shaped by the sexual division of labour in the home and in the work place.

Witz argues that it is the configuration of the three modes of patriarchal control (which she labels: inclusion, exclusion and segregation) which is key to comprehending the specific nature and organisation of OSS in paid employment in the 1990s, and, at a broader level, it makes a significant contribution to the analysis of gender inequality in society. After reviewing the effects of the inclusionary, exclusionary and segregationary modes of patriarchal control on OSS in the workplace, attention turns to a consideration of the actual mechanisms employed by men and women in the work place to reproduce and resist occupational closure. These ideas, advanced by Witz, will be used here to inform and underpin an analysis of gender inequality in sports coaching.

2.3.1 The Inclusionary Mode of Control

Witz (1992) describes the inclusionary mode of patriarchal control as the family system of labour where wives are subordinate to their husbands. As Hall (1979) writes, women's subordination predates capitalist society. She maintains that women had always assumed more responsibility for domestic labour than men, but the transition from feudal to capitalist society enabled men to move gradually into the public sphere to work, leaving women to fulfil domestic and familial responsibilities. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the unit of production was the family and the location of most work was the home (Hudson and Lee, 1990). With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, however, more and more work was located in factories where owners could exert greater control over the manufacturing process and over their

labourers. The social organisation of child care at this time, where women assumed greatest responsibility, militated against many women with children from working in these factories (Barrett, 1980). Moreover, middle class concern for the welfare of future generations ensured that the prevailing ideology of the period was that a woman's place was in the home, caring for her husband and children (see section 3.2.3 for a more detailed discussion).

Women continued to be employed in the home, for few working class men earned enough money to keep their families (Yeandle, 1984), but women's involvement in paid employment came to be viewed as secondary to their responsibilities in the home (Osterud, 1986; Hudson and Lee, 1990). Employers used the belief that women's position in the labour market was secondary to their role in the home as justification for paying women lower wages than those they paid men (whether this be for work in the home or in the factory). For example, data on men's and women's earnings in Lancashire cotton mills in 1834 show that the maximum average weekly wage for men was 22s 8½ d, women's maximum average weekly earnings were less than half this, 9s 8¾ d (Evans, 1990). Therefore women found it increasingly difficult to secure for themselves well paid positions in the work place, and once married and with children, they found themselves increasingly dependent on a male wage earner.

What is interesting, however, is that whilst the inclusionary mode of control has influenced women's participation in paid employment throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its influence does seem to be waning. In the second half of the twentieth century there is evidence to show that women have been drawn into the work place in increasing numbers. Whilst a large percentage of single women, less constrained by the inclusionary mode than married women, have always worked outside the home (Census data reveal that in 1921 76% of single women aged 25-34 worked outside the home, a figure which stood at 86% in 1971), a more dramatic rise in the number of married women in paid employment has taken place. Whereas less

than 10% of married women aged 25-34 were engaged in paid work in 1921, this figure had risen to 36% in 1971. The Labour Force Survey of Winter 1992/93 revealed that 68% of married women aged 16-59 were in full or part-time paid work. The number of women with dependants who currently participate in paid work also reflects the erosion of the influence of Victorian ideologies about motherhood and the inappropriateness of paid work for mothers and to a lesser extent married women. Lewis (1984) reports that since 1950 women have been much more inclined than formerly to return to paid work. She writes:

The idea of women entering the labour force once their children were in school or had left home, which has become familiar since 1950, did not apply to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries... (Lewis, *op.cit.*, p150)

Data presented by Roberts (1988) support Lewis' assertion. Roberts reports that the 1901 Census reveals that 77% of women aged 15-34 years of age were in paid employment, in comparison to 13% of women aged 35-44 years old and 11% of women aged 45-59. By contrast the 1971 Census indicates that although only 44% women aged 15-34 years of age were in paid employment, 21% of women aged 35-44 years old and 55% of women aged 45-59 years old were in paid work. Thus although the numbers of younger women in paid work had declined in the period 1901 to 1971, substantially greater numbers of women aged 35-59 were engaged in paid work.

Roberts (1988) concludes:

The figures for 1901 reflect the pattern of women leaving work when they could afford to; those for 1971 reflect a new, post-Second World War trend of women who returned to work when their children were grown. (Roberts, *op.cit.*, p61)

These figures suggest that the influence of patriarchal ideology on women's access to paid employment has undeniably waned during the twentieth century. However, the fact that many women, particularly married women and those with dependants, are engaged in part-time work suggests that the inclusionary mode of patriarchal control

continues to exercise considerable influence on women's experiences of paid employment (see also section 3.2).

Understanding the effects of the inclusionary mode on women's participation in paid employment is significant for this study on two counts. First, as Witz states, understanding the power of the inclusionary mode contributes to an analysis of women's subordinate position in paid employment, and is therefore key to an historically contextualised analysis of women's experiences in paid work. Secondly, elements of Victorian ideology have undoubtedly survived into the latter part of the twentieth century, as evidenced by the current Conservative government's promotion of itself as the party of "family values" and its "Back to Basics" campaign (1994). Such attitudes may deter some married women, and in particular some mothers, from entering or returning to paid work. It might therefore be expected that married women and women with children would experience more difficulties than single women in taking on either a full-time or part-time coaching role.

2.3.2 The Exclusionary Mode of Control

As stated in the previous section, the rates of pay for women in paid employment in the mid-nineteenth century were often considerably lower than the rates of pay for men, because employers argued that women had a secondary role in paid work, secondary to their work in the home and secondary in relation to men's position in the labour market. Not surprisingly, manufacturers preferred women workers because they could justify paying them low wages (Hudson and Lee, 1990; John, 1990; Neff, 1966). Women's involvement in waged labour, however, threatened men's position within the labour force and consequently there were many occasions where women's entry into the labour force was resisted. This resistance was not so much directed at women *per se*, rather it was directed at women in response to manufacturers' attempts to employ female workers at wages below those earned by men. Neff (1966) describes

how in 1833 the owners of a Scotch (*sic*) mill tried to hire women spinners at wages one-thirteenth below those of men. The association of spinners campaigned against this reduction, fearing that men's wages might be reduced to those of the female employees. Rioting followed with the focus of the male spinners' physical and verbal attacks being the female spinners, until eventually the company agreed that women would be paid the same wages as the men, whereupon the rioting ceased. John (1986) maintains that male workers were concerned that if women were employed in the same work as men, then these jobs would be deskilled and wages reduced, because women's work was and is still viewed as less "skilful" than men's work. Efforts made to restrict women's access to particular trades or crafts had some interesting consequences. British watchmakers refused to allow women to join their trade and because they could not meet the demand for watches in Britain, goods were imported from Switzerland - made by both men and women (Hall, 1990)!

A further concern was male unemployment. In 1842 male workers in the Yorkshire textile industry went so far as to petition the government, calling for them to limit the proportion of female to male workers and to forbid married women from working altogether (Neff, 1966). Although men sometimes sought to exclude women from waged labour, their actions can be interpreted as an attempt to protect their own position in the labour market by resisting employers, attempts to reduce their costs by employing women workers. Such actions were not necessarily an attempt to remove women from the work place simply because they were women; rather, male employees saw women and immigrant workers as posing a threat to their position in the labour market and they reacted to preserve their status accordingly.

Hartmann (1979; 1981) has argued that the introduction of legislation designed to restrict women's access to paid work (including the Mines and Collieries Act 1845 and the Factory Act 1883), together with male dominated trade unions' calls for a family wage (supposedly a wage sufficient to meet the needs of a husband, wife and their

children) is evidence of men's success in excluding women from waged labour. Such an analysis, however, ignores the fact that many working class men did not earn enough money to support their families. In 1889 Booth reported that 30% of working class men in London did not earn enough to provide for their families. This situation had not improved by 1921, with Bowley (1980) estimating that only two families in five could live solely on a man's income. Hartmann's analysis therefore ignores the plight facing a substantial number of working class families, as in reality few could afford to depend solely on the income earned by a male breadwinner. Many married women in the nineteenth and in the early part of the twentieth centuries supplemented working class family incomes by informal means such as taking in washing and laundry, dressmaking or providing cleaning services (Black, 1983; Hudson and Lee, 1990; John, 1986).

Therefore, whilst the efforts of male dominated trade unions to secure a family wage might be seen as an exclusionary strategy, this does not mean that it was always successful, and there is much evidence to show that the drive for capital accumulation has over-ridden patriarchal forces in the twentieth century. For instance, the past fifteen years have witnessed successive Conservative governments' attempts to deregulate the labour market by such means as the imposition of strict conditions on union activity (rendering illegal secondary picketing and strikes called without a ballot) and the abolition both of a minimum wage and of the Wages Councils which monitored low pay in selected industries. Furthermore, the Secretary of State for Employment at the time, Michael Portillo, condemned moves by the European Union (EU) to equalise the rights of part-time and temporary workers. In a written reply to the Commons, he explained that such action would result in higher levels of unemployment, particularly for women (9th Dec 1994, reported in the *Employment Gazette*, January 1995 p7). In a later written reply to the Commons, he added that the EU directive would reduce flexibility in the labour market and burden employers (20th Dec 1994, reported *Employment Gazette*, February 1995 p78). These actions reflect

employers' wishes and capital's drive for accumulation, but in so doing they may also constitute a challenge to male power in the work place (see also section 2.3.1).

Long-term predictions about further changes in the labour market are not easy to make, however. For example, the House of Lords upheld the appeal by the EOC that the application of different qualifying conditions for part-timers in employment legislation (referred to above) discriminated against women and was contrary to European equal pay and equal treatment law. Furthermore, recent EU legislation which requires employers to grant women maternity leave, regardless of their length of service or the number of hours worked (The Pregnant Workers Directive), came into force in October 1994. Will these two pieces of legislation make women less attractive as employees?

Although there is little evidence of male sports coaches organising collectively along the lines of trade unions to exclude women from their occupation, legislation has, however, indirectly served to reinforce men's dominant position in sports coaching in the UK. This is because Sections 29 and 34 of the Sex Discrimination Act (SDA), 1975, exclude private clubs from its provisions (although interestingly private clubs are covered by the Race Relations Act, 1976). As the majority of sport in the UK is organised through private sports clubs, their exclusion from the provision of the SDA may reduce women's opportunities of obtaining coaching positions because they need not be filled through open competition. Furthermore, even if a woman coach believes that she has been discriminated against because of her sex, there is no legal redress available to her.

The lack of evidence to show that men have organised collectively to exclude women from coaching positions can be seen as a challenge to the efficacy of some socialist feminist arguments. Hartmann (1979; 1981) for example, argues that mechanisms to exclude women from employment are successful where men are able to organise

collectively to resist women's entry into an occupation, and unsuccessful where they are unable to do so. The lack of evidence to suggest that male coaches organised collaboratively to resist women's entry into coaching, and the fragmentary structure of coaching in the UK means that, as increasing numbers of women are playing sport, we might have expected to witness an influx of women into coaching roles. This situation begs the question of why, in occupations where there is little or no evidence of exclusionary practices, women have not entered these jobs in greater numbers. What this study tries to show is that exclusionary mechanisms of control cannot by themselves explain women's absence from sports coaching roles and that segregatory mechanisms combine with inclusionary and exclusionary mechanisms of patriarchal control to constrain women's assumption of coaching roles. The next section develops these ideas in more detail by examining the part played by segregatory mechanisms of control in shaping women's experiences in paid employment, and discusses the implications for understanding women's lives as coaches.

2.3.3 The Segregatory Mode of Control

Seen in an historical context, the inclusionary and exclusionary modes of control preceded the segregatory mode, and although both are still in evidence today, the segregatory mode has become the prime means by which men attempt to maintain their position in the work force according to Walby (1988;1989;1990). The segregatory mode of control has its origins in the division of domestic and non-domestic labour which occurred with the growth of factory work, as described earlier (see section 2.3.1). Once work became divided between the home and the factory, work in former was associated with women, and work in the latter with men (Hunt 1986). John (1986) writes that women had always been subordinate to men in the home but that the process of industrialisation acted to reinforce this situation by placing women "... into categories of unskilled or semi-skilled workers with low

status and salary "(p6). Hunt (*op.cit.*) affirms this argument by stating that women's position in the home as low paid, piece rate workers was translated into the factory where, regardless of the skills required of a job, if it was a female dominated job then the rates of pay were automatically lower than they were for men.

The association between skill and sex in this way meant that women's entry into the labour market had two implications for male workers. If women were placed in jobs alongside men, then this work would become "feminised" and subsequently deskilled, a threat men were already facing with the increasing mechanisation of work (for example, the textile industry was to be transformed out of all recognition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by inventions such as the Spinning Jenny, the Mule, the Water Frame and ultimately, the Power Loom). Moreover, if men and women undertook the same work then there was the possibility that men's wages might be reduced to those received by women.

One way to avoid both of these unwelcome outcomes was to ensure that men and women were not employed in the same work. Hunt (*op.cit.*), for instance, describes how in the late nineteenth century the printers' union refused to allow women to join the union and then castigated the few women printers that there were, for undercutting wages and downgrading men's skills. The rates paid to the women, however, were lower than those paid to men, precisely because they were not union members. In contrast, writes Hunt, female bookbinders encountered little resistance from male employees, because the women were employed in clearly demarcated areas and furthermore restricted to certain practices. Thus they did not constitute a threat to male workers.

Cockburn (1991) contends that segregationary practices take two forms. The first is through horizontal segregation, where gender differentiated jobs negate comparisons

between men's and women's work. As data given earlier in this chapter show, men and women are over- or under-represented in the major occupational groupings in Britain. The second is through vertical segregation whereby, if men and women do perform the same job, men predominate at the highest levels of an occupation, as data given above on nursing and primary school teaching show (see section 2.1.2). In both cases the aim is the same, to limit the possibility of direct comparison between men's and women's work, thus reducing the opportunity to deskill men's work and to lower their wages. Cockburn argues that it is important to acknowledge that ideology plays a key part in ensuring that OSS is reproduced within the work place, a process she describes as the "gendering process", and because this process is central to an understanding of OSS in sports coaching, this idea will be developed and applied here in depth.

2.4 Occupational Sex Segregation and the Gendering Process

Cockburn (1988) argues that horizontal and vertical segregatory practices are not in themselves sufficient to account for the reproduction of OSS, because they do not explain why occupations are so resistant to the inclusion of men in female-dominated occupations or to women in male-dominated occupations. She identifies a third mechanism, namely, the gendering process as responsible for this resistance to change, a process which reinforces the division between men's and women's positions in the labour market and reproduces male hegemony. This process assists in the construction of the divisions in the workplace on the basis of gender. As described above, beliefs about women's work and men's work were constructed and refined with the onset of the Industrial Revolution and the partial separation of work and home. Evans (1990), for instance, argues that the factory system allowed men to dominate the key aspects of production in the textile industry, relegating women to work in peripheral, unskilled, non-mechanised areas of production. She writes that men undertook mule spinning because this was deemed to require too much skill and strength for a woman.

Evans' ideas are supported by Hudson and Lee (1990) who state:

Assumptions about women's weaker physical capacity and inferior intelligence were used to justify the male monopoly of most of the more lucrative and high status processes of production. (Hudson and Lee, *op.cit.*, p18)

These same authors contend that the type of jobs undertaken by women have their origins in women's primary role in the home and notions of femininity constructed during the Victorian era. They write that in the early phases of capitalism, women's waged labour was frequently little more than an extension of their work in the home; there is evidence from recent census data to show that this still holds true in the 1990s (see section 2.1.1). Hudson and Lee further propose that women's predominance within the "service industries" reflects women's traditional role as carer, and matches supposed feminine qualities such as "politeness" and "sobriety" which are deemed desirable in, for example, shop assistants and librarians.

Data from the 1991 Census suggest that this situation persists in the late twentieth century, where the types of work in which men typically engage are very different from those in which women participate. As Cockburn (1988) suggests, stereotypical beliefs help to restrict women's movement into traditional male occupations by reinforcing the view that such occupations are physically and/or intellectually demanding, and too tough for women. But, as she contends, it is not so much the skills required of particular jobs that determine their status in the occupational hierarchy; rather, status is determined by the association of jobs with supposed masculine or feminine qualities. Men's jobs are accorded greater status and the skills are seen as more valuable than those evident in women's jobs because men have had more opportunities to argue that this is so. Cockburn writes:

... masculine equals superior, active and powerful; feminine equals subordinate, submissive and directed. Lowly jobs may be pink or blue, and men manage to establish a compensatory advantage for masculinity even at this lower level in the heroisms of heavy manual labour [Willis,

1977]. Top jobs in any field, however, are deepest blue. (Cockburn , *op.cit.*, p 39)

She goes on to argue that until occupations are no longer subject to the gendering process, and no longer viewed as either male or female, there is little hope of a reduction in OSS.

The gendering process where men and women are associated with differentiated responsibilities is clearly evident in sport. Many sports are socially constructed as masculine or feminine and, viewed on this basis, as gender appropriate or inappropriate, whilst only a few sports are considered gender neutral (Metheney, 1965). Therefore, the gendering process has implications for coaching, in that male and female coaches could be expected to coach in gender appropriate sports. Given that men and women also engage as participants in gender appropriate sports, this ought to mean that women are more likely to coach women and women's teams, and men to coach men and men's teams.

It is not only the sports themselves which are subject to the gendering process, however; the role of a coach can also be seen as gendered. Assuming that, as Hudson and Lee (1990) and Hunt (1986) suggest, women have been historically directed into low status, low skilled occupations and those which reflect female values, one would expect to find women occupying just these sorts of coaching roles. Conversely, one would expect men to predominate in coaching roles defined as skilled, of a high status and demanding masculine qualities (such as playing sport at highly competitive and elite levels). The way in which coaching is gendered, and the part played by this process in shaping women's lives as coaches, is discussed in considerably more detail in Chapter Four.

2.5 Occupational Closure in the Labour Market

The patterns of OSS evident in the labour market have been explained as a consequence of the articulation of three modes of patriarchal control in the labour market namely: the inclusionary mode, the exclusionary mode and the segregationary mode. What has not been discussed in any detail thus far, however, are the specific strategies by which men create and sustain horizontal and vertical boundaries in the workplace so that they may maintain their advantage over women. In the context of this study what is required is a theoretical model which can be used to explain OSS in sports coaching from a socialist feminist perspective. Such an analysis is provided by Witz' (1986) work on occupational closure in the medical profession. Witz explores the mechanisms by which medical men reproduce themselves in the light of challenges from women in the profession, and it is her analysis of this struggle for power which will be used here to contribute to an understanding of women's subordination in sports coaching. Witz writes from a socialist feminist perspective, but she draws on the Weberian and neo-Weberian concept of closure, specifically from the work of Kreckel (1980) and Parkin (1979). Witz gives the previously gender-blind Weberian theory of closure a gendered dimension, that is she recognises that men mobilise patriarchal power in the pursuit of strategies to consolidate their advantages over women in the labour market. She identifies four gendered strategies of occupational closure and employs these in her analysis of the struggles to create and sustain both horizontal and vertical boundaries in one specific occupation, that of medicine.

2.6 A Rationale for the Application of Witz' Model of Occupational Closure to Sports Coaching

This section highlights some of the issues which need to be addressed concerning the application of Witz' model of occupational closure to an analysis of OSS in sports coaching. The section opens with a discussion of the appropriateness of Witz' model

in light of the fact that sports coaching is not considered to be a profession.

Subsequent to this discussion, attention is drawn to the potential of Witz' gendered strategies of exclusion, demarcation, inclusion and dual closure to further our understanding of OSS in sports coaching.

Concern over the use of Witz' model of occupational closure in the medical profession to inform an analysis of OSS in sports coaching can be allayed on two counts, first, by reference to Witz' (1992) concluding comments on her work; and, secondly, by closer examination of the defining characteristics of a profession in relation to the occupation of sports coach.

Witz opens the concluding chapter of her book, *Professions and Patriarchy*, by stating that her model of occupational closure has been used to analyse the medical profession, but that:

. . . further questions about the applicability of this model to current developments in professionalisation and in other occupations remain open questions which need further investigation. (Witz, *op.cit.*, p192)

Thus Witz does not see her model of occupational closure as one limited in its focus to the medical profession nor indeed to occupations classified as professions. On the contrary, she calls for its efficacy to be tested in other areas of the labour market.

Therefore, using Witz' model to analyse OSS in sports coaching is not inconsistent with her ideas, developed as they were, in relation to the medical profession.

Moreover, coaching is defined by the OPCS, in its register of occupations, as falling within the occupational grouping, "Associate Professions and Technical Occupations".

Also included in this category are nursing, midwifery, and radiography and Witz includes all three in her analysis of occupational closure in the medical profession.

Furthermore, it is possible to draw a number of parallels between Larson's (1977) discussion of the processes involved in the creation of a profession (as Witz does) and

the current role of a sports coach in the UK. Larson proposes that for a profession to develop, it has to offer a distinctive commodity. Coaching athletes certainly represents a distinctive commodity for no other occupation would claim to offer an athlete the technical and tactical skills and physiological, nutritional, and psychological knowledge required from a coach. He also suggests that the commodity offered by the profession has to be standardised. In coaching standardisation is sought through coaching qualifications in the different sports. In conjunction with a standardisation of service, Larson contends that there must be a uniform cognitive base. It could be argued that coaching is currently moving towards a uniform cognitive base as the National Governing Bodies of Sport (NGBs) in the UK are relating their coaching qualifications to the appropriate levels of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs).

A profession, argues Larson, has to exhibit cognitive exclusiveness. The sports coach draws on knowledge from many spheres (such as exercise science, nutrition and psychology), but the cognitive exclusiveness of the coach rests with his/her ability to relate this information to a particular sport or to an aspect of a particular sport. It is this application which means that an exercise scientist, a nutritionist and a psychologist could not expect to take the place of sports coach. This last point meets with Larson's notion of a profession as distinguished by an inaccessibility of expertise. The knowledge base of the sports coach is constantly changing, as our understanding of the factors influencing human performance improves. This progress means that there is an absence of routinisation of work as a sports coach and this too, fits with Larson's notion of a profession.

Where coaching appears to depart from Larson's treatise of what constitutes a profession is at the level of state support with regard to education and monopolies of competence. Larson argues that these are crucial to the success of a professional project, but until very recently the state has shown little concern or interest in the regulation and registration of sports coaches and sports coaching. For example, whilst

doctors have to be registered by the state to practice, coaches can coach without qualifications and without the knowledge of the NGB of the sport in question. What little evidence there is on this issue tends to suggest that coaching has not secured state interest or support for a central, state-sponsored register of sports coaches. After the Lyme Bay canoe tragedy, for example, when four children died in a sea canoe trip led by inexperienced and unqualified instructors, there were calls from the British Canoe Union (BCU) and from Roger Putnam, chair of the Council for Outdoor Education, Training and Recreation, for the government to make it compulsory for adventure centre instructors to hold full qualifications (Midgley, 1994). Guidelines issued by the Department of Education and Science merely recommend that instructors leading children have appropriate (BCU) qualifications but these are not essential. At the time of writing the government's response to this tragedy was to remind teachers and governors that they had a legal responsibility to check on the safety of children at their school and to point out that such centres were subject to existing Health and Safety legislation (Midgley, *op.cit*). A repetition of this, or a similar event, however, may put pressure on the government to enforce some form of registration scheme.

The arguments presented above show that even though sports coaching is not classified as a profession, it meets many of the criteria used to distinguish a profession (as defined by Larson) although it has not secured state support. Moreover, as Witz suggests, her model of occupational closure need not be seen as restricted to an analysis of professional occupations, to the exclusion of other occupations. It is on the basis of these arguments that Witz ' model of occupational closure is presented as one which is appropriate to analyse OSS in sports coaching.

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2.7 Witz' Model of Occupational Closure

Witz' four gendered strategies of closure are:

- a) strategies of exclusionary closure;
- b) strategies of demarcationary closure;
- c) strategies of inclusionary closure; and
- d) strategies of dual closure

2.7.1 Strategies of Exclusionary Closure

Gendered strategies of exclusionary closure are those which exclude women from access to resources in the form of knowledge, skills, entry credentials and technical competence. Witz writes that such strategies reflect:

... the downwards exercise of power in a process of subordination as a social group seeks to secure, maintain or enhance privileged access to rewards and opportunities. (Witz, *op.cit.*, p46)

In essence such strategies, when employed by men in the labour market, act to preclude women's entry into specific spheres of competence. This, in effect, restricts women's access to male dominated occupations, usually occupations with the greatest material and symbolic rewards. Witz cites the General Medical Council's (GMC) attempts to prevent women qualifying as doctors in the early to mid-nineteenth century as an example of an exclusionary strategy. Stacey (1990) describes how the first woman doctor to be registered in Britain, Elizabeth Blackwell, eventually obtained her degree in the USA. The GMC was forced to accept her registration but then closed this "backdoor" means of entry into the medical profession in Britain by insisting that all doctors must have studied medicine at a British university. As women were not admitted to study medicine at any British university this ensured that no women could train to be doctors, a prerequisite for registration as a doctor after the 1858 Medical

(registration) Act. Nor were the male-only, professional bodies within medicine supportive of women's entry into the field. For example, the Royal College of Surgeons refused permission for Elizabeth Garrett-Anderson to sit its exams for a Diploma in Midwifery, arguing that although it did not actually say in its Charter that women were excluded, by not making specific reference to women, that is, in fact, what it meant (Witz, 1992).

It was some twenty years after the Medical (registration) Act and after much campaigning by women wishing to study medicine, that the Enabling Act (1876) was passed which allowed for women to be granted qualifications in order that they might register as medical practitioners. Significantly though, the Act did not require universities to allow women to study medicine. Thus, as the Act allowed universities to use their discretion in admitting women students, rather than compelling them to do so, women's opportunities in medicine changed little. Male medical students, with the support of their tutors, also conspired to make life difficult for female students.

Leeson and Gray (1978) describe how a riot was staged outside a hall where women students were sitting examinations and that they had been released from classes early to facilitate their actions. The problems encountered by these women did not end here, however. In 1876 Edinburgh University decided that although women could study for a medical degree and that it was happy to receive their fees, it could not graduate them (Leeson and Gray, *op.cit*).

In fact open resistance to women's entry into the profession continued until 1909, when the last professional body, the Royal College of Physicians agreed to admit women. It should be noted, however, that the GMC were not the only professional body to deny women membership during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Professional bodies for accountants, actuaries, lawyers, surveyors, and veterinary surgeons amongst others, were not open to women until 1919 or later.

Witz draws attention to the fact that the most successful strategies employed by medical men to exclude women from the profession were those which centred on access to qualifications, knowledge and registration. Witz refers to these as credentialist strategies. This directs an analysis of OSS in sports coaching to the ways by which knowledge and skills related to coaching are acquired and, importantly, to the ways in which such skills come to be seen as relevant and appropriate.

2.7.2 Strategies of Demarcationary Closure

Gendered strategies of demarcationary closure are mechanisms of inter-occupational control. Witz writes:

They [strategies of demarcationary closure] turn not upon the exclusion, but upon the encirclement of women within a related but distinct sphere of competence in an occupational division of labour and, in addition, their possible (indeed probable) subordination to male dominated occupations. (Witz, op.cit., p47)

Such strategies are used to create and control occupational boundaries in the division of labour and, in contrast to the previously described strategies to keep women out, are employed to keep women within certain spheres of competence. For example, demarcationary strategies were employed by some members of the BMA in an attempt to limit the practices of female midwives. Witz describes how some doctors in the late nineteenth century initially tried to subsume the work of midwives, vociferously opposing their registration. Stacey (1990) maintains that doctors opposed the registration of midwives for three reasons. First physicians were keen to practise midwifery because they believed that they could increase their clientele by influencing their female patients and thus gaining access to the other members of the family. Secondly, argues Stacey, doctors felt that their position was threatened if this sphere of competence was given over to midwives. Thirdly, some doctors expressed the view

that ladies were unsuited to such work - doubtless a legacy of the Cult of Domesticity (see sections 2.3.1 and 3.2.3).

Eventually, as Donnison (1988) describes, the Obstetrical Society of London proposed that midwives should be registered, specifying that midwives could attend all "normal" births, that is those without complications. This meant that doctors retained control of the practices of midwifery, by defining the limits of midwives' work and at the same time it meant that doctors avoided having to spend a considerable amount of their time at the bedsides of women in labour. Their idea was accepted by the General Medical Council (GMC). The registration of midwives and the restriction of their working practices to "normal" births effectively served to deskill and control the practice of midwifery. Midwives became a distinct occupational group, regulated and bound by the GMC and the male-dominated Obstetrical Society. Stacey (1990) writes:

This definition of what a midwife could do was finally enshrined in the Midwives Act of 1902. Not only was their practice circumscribed, but the board which was to regulate them was not even required to include a midwife. . . . many later Acts delineating the health care provision were to follow this logic. In this way the medical men of the nineteenth century helped to create a new male-dominated gender order. They had the right of attending any birth; they had secured for themselves the right and responsibility of handling all difficulties and complications in child birth and had made it the midwives responsibility to see that they were called in such cases. They had ensured that midwives would be trained in the way they thought right. Women could work in the public domain so long as their work there was appropriately restricted and controlled. (Stacey, *op.cit.*, p91)

Witz' analysis points to the division of tasks in sports leadership in such a way that related areas, such as team manager and chaperone, for example, are distinct from those of a coach. Demarcationary strategies would help to ensure that whilst women occupied chaperone and team manager roles, ultimately these roles are viewed as secondary to those of a coach (akin to the relationship between the midwife and doctor). Similarly, demarcationary strategies in coaching might be in evidence where

women are encouraged to coach in particular spheres of competence, for example, coaching children, beginners and novices, because these roles do not challenge men's position as coaches to elite level athletes, who have greater status.

2.7.3 Strategies of Inclusionary Closure

Gendered strategies of inclusionary closure describe:

... the upwards, countervailing exercise of power in a social group which is hit by exclusionary strategies, but which, in its turn, seeks inclusion within the structure of positions from which its members are collectively debarred. (Witz, *op.cit.*, p48)

Generally speaking they involve the mobilisation of power by one group, women, against the dominant group, men. Witz describes how inclusionary strategies were employed by women to challenge the medical profession's attempts to exclude them from qualifying and practising as doctors (described above). Aspiring women doctors sought access to university education on the same basis as men, and when they were denied this, they enrolled at Edinburgh university in 1869 to be taught separately from male students, paying three times the fee that male students paid for this privilege (Leeson and Gray, *op.cit.*).

Confronted by men's determination to refuse women the right to study medicine, some women pursued a separatist strategy and in 1874 the London School of Medicine was opened. However, although women could receive instruction in medicine they could only qualify or register as doctors through the existing, male-dominated universities and professional bodies and, as most refused to qualify or register women students, progress was slow. During this period men sympathetic to the women's plight were enlisted to lobby parliament to grant women the right to study medicine; the passage of the 1876 Enabling Act was one outcome of these efforts. Finally in 1878, against the

wishes of its medical faculty, London University agreed to admit women to all degrees, including medicine and in this it became the first British university to do so (Witz *op.cit.*). Cambridge University did not follow suit until 1948.

Witz' description of inclusionary strategies in medicine point to an examination of the ways by which female sports coaches have sought entry into "male-dominated" jobs in coaching. Her analysis suggests that inclusionary strategies might involve recourse to legalistic tactics, for example, the Sex Discrimination Act. They might also include separatist approaches to improve opportunity for access to male dominated jobs in coaching. Finally, Witz' analysis points to an evaluation of the way in which credentialist tactics, for example, coaching qualifications, have been used as a mechanism to gain access to higher status coaching roles.

2.7.4 Strategies of Dual Closure

The strategy of dual closure is designed to capture the complexity of women's resistance to men's attempts to create and regulate occupational boundaries. Witz writes:

They are not simply strategies of resistance to the demarcationary strategies of dominant occupational groups, but they also seek in turn to consolidate their own position in the hierarchy of closure through employing exclusionary devices. (Witz, *op.cit.*, p 50)

Witz recognises that whilst women seek entry into occupations which men attempt to deny them, at the same time some women seek to exclude men from occupational niches which they have carved for themselves. One example is that of midwifery. In the first instance, midwives sought to establish for themselves a position which was parallel to, but separate from, that of medical men. To this end the Female Medical Society was founded in 1864, which offered instruction in the theory and practice of

midwifery (Donnison, 1988). Their ideas were, however, resisted by the Obstetrical Society and the Society closed in 1874 due to lack of funds. A more accommodative strategy was adopted by the Midwives' Institute, founded in 1882. The Institute accepted that midwives were subordinate to men and that their work should be limited to dealing with "normal" births, that is those without complications. They agreed that membership of the Midwives' Institute should be dependent upon possession of the Obstetrical Society's diploma in midwifery. In reaching this agreement midwives did at least secure a degree of relative autonomy as it was accepted that they need not be under the constant supervision of doctors (Donnison *op.cit.*).

A second instance which might be interpreted as an example of an occupational group employing strategies of dual closure is that of nursing. Garmarnikow (1978) argues that nursing was organised as a mirror of gender relations in Victorian bourgeois society where women were subordinate to men, and hence nurses were subordinate to doctors. Stacey (1990) offers a different interpretation. She contends that whilst the subordination of female nurses to male doctors might have been the intended outcome, nurse education and training developed as distinct from medical education, so much so that doctors had no direct control over nurses, who reported instead to a ward sister or matron. Moreover, when the College of Nurses was established in 1915, its regulations excluded entry to men!

Strategies of dual closure can help to shed light on the ways in which female coaches attempt to carve out niches for themselves as coaches. For example, do netball coaches, in an all-female sport, argue that women coaches in netball are preferable to male netball coaches? Witz' notion of dual closure begs the question of whether women coaches are keen to ensure that they enjoy a degree of relative autonomy, for example, by coaching children and less skilled athletes? Do women coaches see their work in these areas as work for which they are better suited than men?

2.8 Summary

In summary, Witz' (1986; 1992) work provides a useful framework from which to analyse occupational closure in the labour market. The concepts of inclusionary, exclusionary and segregationary modes of patriarchal control contribute to an analysis of the barriers to women's initial entry into coaching, the obstacles to their progression through the coaching hierarchy and their predominance in particular roles and at particular levels. Although her analysis is focused specifically on occupations within health care and latterly within the medical profession, her description of the mechanisms by which dominant groups reproduce themselves when facing resistance by subordinate groups, is highly relevant to an analysis of the techniques by which men reproduce and women resist male hegemony in sports coaching.

The succeeding chapter moves away from women's participation in paid employment to focus on women's experiences of leisure. Remaining within a socialist feminist perspective, Chapter Three explores women's involvement in unpaid work in the home, in paid work outside of the home and in leisure, to show how an understanding of the relationship between the three can inform an analysis of gender inequality in sports coaching.

WOMEN AND LEISURE

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the significance of women's work in the home for the reproduction of gender inequality in the work place and beyond. This Chapter develops this theme, but it does so by reference to the medium of leisure as opposed to paid work. The main reason for changing the focus from paid work to leisure is that feminist literature on women's experiences of leisure offers a particularly insightful analysis of the way in which work in the home (defined as the inclusionary mode of patriarchal control in Chapter Two) constrains women's involvement in coaching in both a paid and unpaid capacity. In addition such literature has also helped to promote a debate on how leisure can act as a site of resistance to patriarchal and indeed to capitalist power (see Deem, 1986; Wimbush and Talbot, 1988; Wearing and Wearing, 1988; Wearing, 1992). This section begins with a brief description of the patterns of men's and women's leisure, before moving on to to address the following issues:

- a) the relationship between unpaid work and leisure for women;
- b) the relationship between paid work and leisure for women; and
- c) how leisure can represent a site of resistance to patriarchal control.

3.1 Patterns of Men's and Women's Leisure

A number of efforts have been made to quantify the differences between men's and women's leisure. Figures in table 5 from OPCS (1995) estimate the average amount of free-time per week reported by men and women in different types of employment. Men employed full-time typically had 46 hours free-time per week, more than women employed full-time (31 hours per week) and women employed part-time (41 hours).

Table 5 Estimates of the Amount of Free-time Reported by Men and Women

Men in Full-time Employment (hours)	Women in Full-time Employment (hours)	Women in Part-time Employment (hours)	Housewives (hours)
45.7	31.4	40.6	51.1

Source: OPCS (1995)

Research by the Henley Centre (1994) cited by the OPCS (1995) offers an explanation for the differential in free time available to men and women. It reported that employed women spent twice as long each week as employed men on essential cooking, shopping and housework (25.5 hours, compared to 13 hours) and almost seven hours more than men carrying out what the Centre describes as non-discretionary tasks such as caring for children and personal hygiene.

Men's and women's leisure differs not only in the amount of time available to them but also in the types of activities in which they engage during this uncommitted time. For example, data from the 1993 General Household Survey (GHS) show that women are more likely than men to read and to do gardening. Marked differences in men's and women's leisure have also been observed in out-of-the-home activities, and not only in the sense that men are more likely to engage in these activities. Men are far more likely to participate in sport than women, as figures from the 1993 GHS reveal. 72% of men and 57% of women said that they had taken part in at least one activity including walking in the four weeks prior to the survey. Although 60% of indoor sports participants are female against 40% male, women's participation continues to lag behind men's in outdoor sports, particularly outdoor team games where women comprise only 6.7% of participants (Sports Council, 1992). Furthermore, even where men and women are engaged in what is ostensibly the same activity, their experiences of it may be very different. Green, Hebron and Woodward (1990) illustrate this point by comparing men's and women's participation in one of the most popular leisure

pursuits in the UK. They comment that whilst both men and women gamble, men's gambling tends to centre on horses and the football pools, whereas women are more likely to gamble in bingo halls.

As these figures demonstrate, women's and men's leisure differ in both the nature of the activity and the amount of time available for it. Feminist researchers such as Deem (1986), Green, Hebron and Woodward (1987), and Wimbush (1986) assert that the major cause of these differences is that women spend so much of their time servicing others' needs rather than engaging in their own leisure. In other words, a great deal of the qualitative and quantitative differences in men's and women's leisure can be explained by women's greater responsibilities in three major areas: in the home, to a male partner and/or to their children. Just as Hartmann (1979; 1981), Walby (1986; 1990) and Witz (1992) have argued that women's participation in paid work is restricted by their commitments in the home, feminists working within the area of women and leisure have drawn similar conclusions, arguing that women's leisure is significantly constrained by their domestic and/or family responsibilities.

3.2 The Relationship Between Unpaid Work and Leisure

An analysis of the relationship between unpaid work and leisure contributes to an explanation of the patterns of gender inequality in sports coaching by showing how unpaid work in the home constrains women's involvement in other spheres of their lives, for example as both paid and unpaid coaches. Three main points arise from research on the effects of work in the home on women's leisure. The first is that work in the home, as established in Chapter Two, limits women's participation in paid employment, leaving many women financially dependent upon a male partner. Secondly, women's domestic and family responsibilities limit the time women have at their disposal to enjoy as leisure. Thirdly, ideologies about work in the home and for the family cause many women to lack a sense of entitlement to autonomous leisure.

Consequently, if coaching as a leisure pursuit involves a financial and time commitment then the implication from this research is that women will be much less likely than men to have these resources which they need to be coaches.

3.2.1 The Effects on Women's Leisure of Economic Dependence on a Male Partner

Many women are, at least in part, materially dependent upon a male partner, a situation which invariably affects women's experiences of leisure. Green, Hebron and Woodward (1985) concluded from their research that earned income is often seen as belonging to the individual who earned it. Men may give women a housekeeping allowance but this is not necessarily perceived as entitling a woman to spend this money on herself. Pahl (1984) drew similar conclusions from her study on the political economy of household units, arguing that the division of earned income between wives and husbands is rarely equitable. Green *et al* (1987) propose that there is a relationship between the ability of men to influence their wives' leisure pursuits and her level of economic dependence. The greater the woman's financial dependence, the greater the control available to a male partner over her spending. A man feels that he has a right to control a female partner's leisure because she is spending money derived from his earned income. Significantly, what is often ignored is the fact that women perform a large amount of unpaid work around the home for men's benefit. Interestingly, Wimbush (1986) noted that single mothers on low incomes who had almost complete autonomy in prioritising spending were much more likely to spend money on their personal needs than women who were on higher household incomes but were financially dependent upon a male partner. Thus it seems that it is not income level *per se* which affects women's leisure, but women's level of economic independence. In the light of these findings one might expect coaches without an independent source of income to report more difficulty in negotiating access to the resources needed to assume unpaid coaching roles, and for a relationship to exist

between the level of support they receive from a male partner in their coaching and the extent of their financial independence.

3.2.2 The Effects on Women's Leisure of the Temporal Constraints Caused by Unpaid Work

Glyptis and Chambers (1982) report that women's leisure activities are often confined to the home because of their domestic obligations, whilst Deem (1982), amongst others, writes that leisure activities are frequently home-based because women can combine these with domestic chores and/or child care. The popularity of home-based leisure activities reflects the situation that much of women's unpaid work in the home restricts their involvement in out-of-the-home leisure activities. Shaw (1986) explains that because unpaid work in the home is not restricted to particular hours or days, women's access to leisure is impeded by the difficulties they experience in trying to plan for leisure. Support for this assertion can be found by referring to the differing amounts of leisure enjoyed by husbands and wives at week-ends in Shaw's study. Men report far more leisure time because their "working week" runs for a clearly demarcated period of time, typically Monday morning to Friday afternoon. In contrast, the saying "a woman's work is never done" seems to hold true. In Shaw's study, whilst women reported only 20 minutes less leisure time per week day than men, they reported 220 minutes less leisure per week-end day than men. Further evidence of the constraining nature of women's unpaid work and the relative freedom enjoyed by men comes from Dempsey (1987) who examined gender inequality in leisure in an Australian town. He concluded that men enjoyed an advantaged position in recreational life in Smalltown because:

...husbands take advantage of the flexible nature of their household tasks compared to the constraining nature of their wives' to achieve much greater temporal and geographical autonomy than their wives . . .
(Dempsey, *op.cit.*, p17)

Women coaches with male partners and/or children might therefore be expected to experience difficulty in meeting the temporal demands placed upon them in the home and to their families in order to fulfil a coaching role. For women it is not merely the time taken to fulfil their domestic obligations which constrains their access to coaching, but it is the nature of these domestic obligations. Consequently women with male partners and/or children might be expected to report difficulties in putting aside their on-going and unending domestic responsibilities (such as child care) in order to find sufficient freedom to engage in out-of-the-home coaching activities.

3.2.3 The Effects of Domestic Ideology on Women's Leisure

Most researchers have found that in addition to the material and temporal constraints placed upon women by unpaid work, ideologies about motherhood and domestic labour play a significant part in limiting women's access to leisure. Green, Hebron and Woodward (1985) argue that such ideologies about women's place in the home are a legacy from the Victorian era, during which time attitudes about domestic labour were shaped by patriarchal and capitalist forces. Hudson and Lee (1990) write that the belief that women were "domestic beings" emerged as a consequence of the tension between Christian moral values and those of emergent industrial capitalism. These authors, amongst others (see Hall, 1990; Neff, 1966 and Yeandle, 1984) contend that middle class reformers and parliamentarians such as Lord Shaftsbury expressed considerable concern for the welfare of women (and children) employed in the new, organised forms of labour, where production was located outside of the home.

Shaftsbury and others like him argued that women should be removed from these work environments because of the physical strain on their health and because of the "alleged neglect of domestic responsibilities by working women, and of their inability to provide domestic comforts and services for their husbands" (Yeandle *op.cit.*, p16). Hall (*op.cit.*) writes that fears were also expressed concerning the welfare of "future

generations" whose mothers worked outside the home. On the basis of these concerns, middle class reformers secured the passage through parliament of the Mines and Collieries Act (1845) and the Factory Act (1833). The former banned women from working underground whilst the latter restricted women to a maximum shift of twelve hours with no night working. Hudson and Lee (*op.cit.*) maintain that this legislation helped to reinforce the belief that a woman's role should be restricted to the domestic environment. The pervasiveness of these ideas in the early part of the twentieth century is illustrated clearly in Clementina Black's report, first published in 1915, on married women's work. She commences her report to the Women's Industrial Council thus:

It is the general opinion and especially, perhaps, among persons of the middle class, that the working for money of married women is to be deplored. . . . The underlying implication seems to be that a wife and mother who thus works must be withdrawing from the care of her home and her children time and attention of which they are really in need.
(Black, 1983, p2)

The idea that a woman's role should be based in the home also helped to give rise to the notion that domesticity and maternity were a source of pleasure, creating the belief that women's involvement in paid employment was of secondary importance to their work in the home. Such beliefs combined to promote an idea that women were somehow less entitled to leisure because they had not carried out any paid work to earn a right to it (Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1990). Beliefs such as these are, in part, another legacy of the Victorian era, where hard work was seen as a virtue and material wealth an indication of God's pleasure in one's actions described by Weber as the Protestant Work Ethic (Weber, 1976).

Evidence of the lingering impact of Victorian ideologies on motherhood and housework on twentieth century women can be found in a number of research articles, which is somewhat surprising given the unprecedented number of married women and

mothers of dependant children. Wearing (1988) noted from her research on women's well-being and leisure that because unpaid work was just that, unpaid, some women felt that it could not possibly be classified as work. Coles (1980), Green *et al* (1987; 1990) and Wimbush (1986) report that many women felt that they did not deserve leisure time because they had not earned it. Perhaps this point is best illustrated by a mother in Wearing's study, who explained that until she had attended a mother's group prior to being interviewed, she did not consider mothering to be work because it was unpaid. Upon learning that other people regarded mothering as work, she reported an increased sense of self-esteem and self-worth, and said that she would in future take more time for leisure. It might therefore be reasonable to assume that women coaches who perceive housework and child care as work will exhibit fewer feelings of guilt about the time they spend coaching.

Even women who believe their domestic and family commitments constitute unpaid work may still lack a sense of entitlement to leisure because of the ideologies associated with this type of work. Harrington, Dawson and Bolla (1992) Henderson and Bialeschki (1992), Freysinger and Flannery (1992) and Wearing (1988), amongst others, perceive many women's lives to be dominated by what they describe as the "ethic of care". Women, they argue, are expected to nurture others, and to respond to the demands of others before they consider their own needs. Harrington *et al* (1992), for example, found that mothers at home were less likely to spend money on themselves than women at home without children. This finding suggests that once women have children they are even less likely to spend money on themselves than before.

Almost inevitably this "ethic of care" demands that women subordinate their own leisure opportunities to meeting the needs of their male partner and/or children. This point is illustrated by Thompson (1990), who sees women's involvement in sport as limited by the support they are expected to provide for both their children's and

husband's sport participation. She concluded that women support others at the expense of their own sport and/or at the expense of a loss of control over their personal leisure time. Even where women may feel that they deserve some leisure time, they may not take it because they feel guilty if it means putting their own needs above those of others. In a later study on recreational and club level competitive women tennis players, Thompson (1992) noted that women whose husbands and children were involved in tennis found it easier to maintain their involvement in the sport after becoming mothers. She argues that the reasons for this are that women are able to fulfil their obligations to the family at the same time as playing tennis. Therefore, women coaches whose children and/or male partner participate in the same sport may find it easier to negotiate access to coaching roles in sport than women whose family is not involved.

Ideologies about motherhood and domesticity also have a constraining effect on women's leisure, in encouraging them to devote large portions of their time to pursuing the status of the perfect wife and mother. In their efforts to attain the status of superwoman, women lose out on opportunities for leisure because, as Coles (1980) writes this ideology is: ". . . in practice, simply not attainable. . ." (p35). Domestic work is never-ending and never complete. According to this belief system, women should be able to find complete fulfilment in their roles as wife and mother, making any desire a woman has to spend time on her own, away from both housework and children, illogical and unnatural. Furthermore, Harrington, Dawson and Bolla (1992), who investigated constraints on women's leisure, observed that some partners' attitudes to women's responsibilities in the home negatively affected their leisure activities. One female interviewee in their study explained her lack of out-of-the-home leisure activities by saying: "My husband feels I should always be home with the children and never go anywhere" (Harrington *et al, op.cit.*, p214). Women who have internalised such ideologies about motherhood and domestic chores might be

anticipated to express feelings of guilt about the time they spend away from the home as a consequence of their coaching activities.

The influence which men seem to exert over women's leisure is bound up with an often unconscious desire to appropriate women's unpaid labour for their own benefit, one such benefit being enhanced opportunities for their own leisure made possible by women's work in the home and for the family. Thompson (1990) explains that men's minimal participation in domestic labour and child care effectively usurps their wives' labour for their own leisure activities. Consequently it is not surprising that men resist attempts by their partners to enlist their help with domestic chores and child care. When the OPCS (1990) last reported on this topic it noted that, regardless of a woman's employment status, she was, on average, responsible for between 70% and 90% of all household tasks.

Men's unwillingness to help around the home means that many women are simply unable to take up leisure pursuits. A comment from an interviewee in Wearing's (1988) study illustrates this point. She says:

I think if my husband helped me more I'd have more leisure. The thing is when he comes home I ask him to do things - he's tired, he wants to relax, he doesn't want to do anything in the house. And week-ends - I've tried to write a list out - I'll have about 3 or 4 things to do - he does one and that's it. And then I have to wait about 2 or 3 weeks before he thinks of it... When Jim comes home I say I've had Martine all day, it's your turn. He'll say 'Oh well, I'm busy'. (Wearing *op.cit.*, p15)

In addition to refusing to help around the home, men may adopt more coercive measures to safeguard their own leisure time and to limit women's recreation opportunities. Green *et al* (1985) maintain that:

... men employ a variety of strategies in order to regulate their partners' activities, ranging from sulking, refusing to co-operate with domestic arrangements through to more directly coercive behaviour. (Green *et al*, *op.cit.*, p5)

In the light of these findings one would anticipate that women coaches' male partners might express a neutral or supportive attitude towards their coaching activities. On the other hand, women who have unsupportive male partners might be expected to have either adopted strategies to cope with a lack of support or else to have considered ending their involvement in coaching in the face of such opposition.

3.3 The Relationship Between Paid Work and Women's Leisure

Employed women with male partners and young children resident in the home might be expected to enjoy the least amount of leisure of all adult groups, given that they have both paid and unpaid work commitments. Research, however, shows that the relationship between paid work and leisure is not so clear cut. Data collected by Cyba (1992) in Austria and Shaw (1986) in Australia indicate that employed women have less leisure time during the weekdays than housewives, but more leisure time at week-ends. In both studies employed women reported that they had over one hour's leisure per weekday less than housewives, whilst Cyba found a difference of 30 minutes on Saturday and one hour on Sunday to the advantage of employed women. Shaw's figure was lower, with a difference of only 15 minutes at week ends, also to employed women's advantage.

Deem (1982) has argued that although employed women enjoy less leisure time than housewives, they are more likely to engage in out-of-the-home activities. This assertion is supported by Gloor (1992) who argues that women who prioritise paid work over unpaid work are more likely to participate in active leisure pursuits, whilst Harrington *et al* (1992) maintain that employed women are less likely to be constrained in their leisure by the ideals of domesticity, self-image and gender. In essence, then, whilst there is little difference in the absolute amount of leisure enjoyed by employed women and housewives, there is a qualitative difference in the two groups' leisure, in when it occurs, in the types of activities in which they participate,

and in the quality of the experience achieved. The absence of a difference in the mean number of hours' leisure for the two groups is also significant because conventional wisdom suggests that housewives ought to enjoy considerably more leisure time than paid workers, yet this is not evident in this study.

What, then, are the reasons for the quantitative and qualitative differences in the leisure experiences of women in paid employment and women who work exclusively in the home? Deem (1986), Green *et al* (1987), and Harrington *et al* (1992) have all suggested that employed women have a greater degree of financial independence which confers greater autonomy over how they spend their earnings. In contrast, women performing unpaid work are reliant upon a male partner's earnings and feel less able to spend "his" money on themselves. Linked to this are women's beliefs about whether they are entitled to leisure, in other words whether or not they feel have earned the right to leisure. Cyba (1992) reports that employed women saw leisure as more clearly separated from both paid and unpaid work than housewives, indicating that employed women defined their household responsibilities as work. This finding is supported by Wearing (1988) who observed that employed mothers were more easily able to demarcate leisure from work and consequently felt more justified in taking time for leisure, a legacy of the Protestant Work Ethic (see section 3.8.3 above). Therefore, women who are in part-time or full-time employment can be expected to find it easier to negotiate access to a voluntary coaching role than women not in paid employment.

Whether women take time for leisure or spend money on themselves in their leisure pursuits seems to be linked to whether or not they feel justified in so doing. Not all employed women feel justified in taking time out for leisure, however, as research by Harrington *et al* (1992) and Shank (1986) demonstrates. Both studies found that some working mothers felt guilty about spending money on their leisure because they did not feel that they were able to meet fully their children's needs. These women felt less entitled to leisure than women who did not have children and did not work, despite

being the most tired group. Shank's (1986) research supports this claim. He discovered that working mothers have the least amount of discretionary time of all adults, but that they felt guilty about working and not being at home and therefore worked additional hours in the home to offset these feelings of guilt. The women in Shank's study said that they felt entitled to leisure only when they had done everything possible for everyone else. As one woman commented, although she felt that she was doing her best to combine roles in paid and unpaid work, what she really needed to do was to give herself approval and to feel less guilty about taking leisure.

Therefore, whilst employed women may have greater financial independence and enjoy fewer restrictions on their out-of-the-home leisure, these advantages are frequently offset by their increased working hours and by feelings of guilt. This last point is interesting because, whilst for some women paid work provides them with an increased sense of entitlement to leisure, for other women, especially working mothers, paid work seems to result in a reduced sense of entitlement. The ideologies about motherhood and domestic life, in conjunction with their material circumstances, play a significant part in influencing women's leisure experiences. In summary, then, employed women have two major work roles, one in the home and one as a paid employee. This represents an enormous burden for most women as they try to juggle the demands of wife/partner, mother and employee. As one woman in Harrington *et al's* study wrote:

I feel that as a woman too much is expected of me. I'm supposed to work 40 hours out of the house and another 40 at home per week. (Harrington *et al, op.cit.*, p213)

Such demands create considerable stress and strain, and ironically, whereas these women probably most need leisure, they often enjoy the least leisure time of all adults. In the context of coaching, women in paid employment who also coach in a voluntary capacity might be expected to report the greatest sense of entitlement to coach, but the

least amount of time to themselves. Where they are able to combine coaching with their domestic and family commitments, for example, if their children are involved in sport, then these women could be predicted to report the lowest levels of guilt about the time they spend coaching.

3.4 Leisure as a Site of Resistance to Patriarchy

Leisure is now widely defined by feminist researchers as being an area of relative freedom or autonomy, with opportunities for self-determined, autonomous activity and experience (see for example, Freysinger and Flannery, 1992; Wearing, 1992). Yet many early studies on women and leisure paid little attention to the potential for agency in leisure, choosing instead to concentrate on the constraints and barriers affecting women's leisure (see for example, critiques by Deem, 1986; Wimbush and Talbot, 1988). Given that one concern of this study is to examine the ways in which women's involvement in coaching challenges accepted gender stereotypes, and more specifically to explore the strategies employed by women to negotiate access to coaching, such a deterministic account of women's leisure is unhelpful as it is too narrow and unwarranted. Indeed in recent years, as Deem (1992) reports, there has been a move away from such overly deterministic accounts of women's leisure experiences towards those which incorporate a notion of agency, showing how leisure can act as a site of resistance to patriarchal capitalist society. Deem (1984), McRobbie (1978), Scraton (1987) and Wimbush and Talbot (1988) have all produced work which contextualises leisure within patriarchal capitalism and illustrated how it represents a potential site of resistance to domination for women. Whilst most leisure research identifies constraints on women's leisure, helping to explain why women do not coach, leisure research which acknowledges the concept of agency is more useful in the context of this study because it underpins an analysis of how some women are able to break free of these constraints and to participate in coaching.

Even more recently, a small number of feminist authors have specifically addressed the question of the extent to which leisure can be seen as a site of resistance for women. Freysinger and Flannery (1992) investigated the possibility of leisure acting as a site of "popular resistance" for women and concluded that, whilst the meanings their female interviewees attached to leisure served to reproduce traditional gender roles in society, the nature of the activities in which they were engaged also acted to challenge these roles. Freysinger and Flannery (1992) concluded that, whilst the women in their study did not necessarily resist the traditional gender roles of mother and wife, they did resist being constrained to only these roles and to a devalued sense of self. The women's resistance took the form of seeking out leisure experiences which were self-directed, where they could spend time doing things in a way they wanted, both of which led to enhanced feelings of well-being. Thompson (1992) drew similar conclusions to those of Freysinger and Flannery in her study of women's participation in tennis. She noted that women's involvement in tennis occurred within the confines of patriarchal capitalism but that it did provide a satisfying means of resisting a life primarily devoted to servicing the needs of men and children.

Freysinger and Flannery (1992) make an interesting observation in their study when they acknowledge that women's acts of resistance are not necessarily conscious acts. In other words, although the authors define the women's actions as instances of "popular resistance", the women themselves did not always define their actions in this way. A similar conclusion is reached by Thompson (1992), who explains that participation in tennis was relatively unproblematic for her interviewees and that none were engaged in any conscious acts of resistance to patriarchal power. This last point has implications for understanding women's experiences in sports coaching. How conscious are women coaches that some of their actions constitute a challenge to patriarchal power?

Writing from an interactionist perspective, Wearing and Wearing (1988) and Wearing (1992) have gone further than most feminist writers, suggesting that the macro-sociological perspectives advanced by radical, marxist and even some socialist feminists portray women as victims, influenced by material, structural and ideological forces. Wearing and Wearing contend that power seen in these ways leaves little room for women to experience autonomous leisure.

In her latest work, Wearing (1992) calls for an approach which acknowledges the strengths of the macro-sociological perspectives but at the same time acknowledges the optimism of micro-sociological approaches which view leisure as an area of freedom and choice for individuals. She employs Mead's concepts of "I" , "me" and "self" to show how leisure provides both men and women with an opportunity to transcend traditional stereotypes which influence leisure activities. Wearing (1992) concedes, however, that leisure can also be an area of constraint where gender stereotypes are reinforced. This investigation intends to establish the extent to which coaching represents a site of empowerment and self-determination for women. Does coaching constitute a site of resistance to patriarchal capitalism or does it serve merely to reproduce and perpetuate the existing gender and class relations? Is Wearing's optimism justified: do women coaches make choices within a patriarchal capitalist society or are they fundamentally constrained within the system? If women are engaged in acts of resistance, how aware are they of the consequences of their actions?

3.5 Summary

This Chapter has shown that, for most women, their experiences of paid work, unpaid work and leisure are interdependent, and that an understanding of women's experiences of leisure can inform an analysis of gender inequality in sports coaching in the UK. It has also demonstrated that leisure can be both a site of the reproduction of male dominance and a site where it can be challenged.

Whereas Chapters Two and Three concentrated on literature from the spheres of work and leisure, seeking to apply the ideas generated from each to coaching, the next Chapter, Chapter Four, focuses specifically on some relevant empirical research undertaken on women's experiences of sports coaching. The conceptual framework for Chapter Four reverts back to that used in Chapter Two, where the discussion focuses first on the effects of the inclusionary mode of patriarchal control, and moves on to consider the effects of the exclusionary mode of patriarchal control before addressing the effects of the segregationary mode of control.

WOMEN AND SPORTS COACHING

WOMEN AND SPORTS COACHING

4.0 Introduction

Chapter Four reviews some of the literature on women's experiences as sports coaches. Unlike the previous two chapters which focused predominantly on data and papers from the UK, the majority of papers discussed in this chapter are North American in origin and focus. The reason for this is that so little research has been published on sports coaching in general, and on women's experiences as coaches in particular, in the UK. Therefore, this chapter opens with a discussion of the applicability of North American research on women as coaches to understanding women's lives as coaches in the UK. The remainder of this chapter debates three main concerns. First, the discussion addresses the effects of women's domestic and family responsibilities on their lives as sports coaches. Secondly, the chapter evaluates the impact of exclusionary practices on women's opportunities to coach. Lastly, it focuses on the effects of segregationary mechanisms on women's experiences in coaching.

In Chapter Three data were produced to show that horizontal and vertical sex segregation in the work place crosses cultural boundaries. The limited data that exist on male and female coaches suggest that vertical and horizontal sex segregation affect sports coaching in a similar fashion. Data compiled by Acosta and Carpenter (1988; 1990; 1992; 1994), and Delforge (1989) and the Sports Council (1995) show that women are underrepresented in coaching positions in many western, capitalist societies such as France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Britain and the USA. For example, Acosta and Carpenter (op.cit.) estimated that whilst 90% of women's teams in US colleges were coached by women in 1972 this figure had fallen to 46% in 1990. Figures from the Sports Council (1995) indicate that women coaches are significantly

under-represented as coaches to British athletes in recent Olympic Games as Table 6 indicates.

Table 6 Percentages of Male/Female Athletes and Coaches in the Summer Olympics 1976-1992

	% of Athletes		% of Coaches	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1976	73	27	96	4
1980	68	32	91	9
1984	68	32	96	4
1988	64	36	90	10
1992	61	39	92	8

Source: Women's Sports Foundation (1995)

Furthermore, as discussed in section 2.1.2, Sports Council data indicates that relatively few women hold the most senior coaching qualifications, suggesting that women are absent from the most senior positions in the coaching hierarchy.

The similarities of the patterns of horizontal and vertical sex segregation in sports coaching exhibited in these two countries suggests that the processes by which sex segregation is reproduced in coaching remain largely unaffected by cultural differences in the social and economic context of coaching. As such it is reasonable to assume that research from other countries, in this instance, Canada and the USA, can inform a study on women coaches in the UK, even if the social organisation of sport may vary.

Whilst the patterns of sex segregation in coaching, and the processes underlying them, appear to be similar in the UK and North America, it is important to bear in mind that women's experiences as coaches are likely to be very different. The most fundamental

difference between coaching in the UK and in the USA occurs in the coaching environment. In the USA most coaches work within the education system, in high schools, colleges and in universities (Acosta and Carpenter, 1994). A second main difference between coaches' experiences in the USA and the UK concerns their employment status. In the USA coaches to high school and college teams are employed as full-time coaches, (Acosta and Carpenter 1994) whereas in the UK the majority of coaches operate on a part-time or voluntary basis. Although it is impossible to give accurate statistics on the numbers of full-time coaches, part-time coaches and volunteer coaches, handbooks from the British governing bodies of sports like athletics, hockey, netball and gymnastics indicate that only a tiny proportion of individuals are employed as full-time coaches. The All England Women's Hockey Association employs just one full-time coach out of 647 who are registered, whilst the British Amateur Gymnastics Association employs just six full-time coaches out of 14,387 registered coaches (AEWHA Handbook 1995/96; BAGA Handbook 1995; Sports Council, 1995).

In the UK there are many organisations providing individuals with the opportunity to play sport (Sports Council 1993), from the public, private and voluntary sectors, including local authority leisure services departments, fitness and health clubs and clubs catering for one or more sports. Coaching positions may be found in all three of these sectors. Sport in the USA is a more formal and highly structured affair. Consequently much of the research from the USA has tended to focus on organisational influences on gender inequality in coaching.

4.1 The Effects of the Inclusionary Mode of Control on Women's Experiences as Sports Coaches

The inclusionary mode of patriarchal control as defined by Witz (1992) in Chapter Three describes men's attempts to subordinate women by dominating the family system of labour. As has been demonstrated in Chapter Two, women's work in the home, as constructed within western capitalist society, is such that it restricts many women's involvement in paid employment, and limits their financial independence. Davidoff (1987) and Hall (1979) suggest that this mode of control was much in evidence at the onset of capitalism, when the division of labour between private and public spheres became more pronounced, enabling men to move into paid employment outside the home, which tended to leave women increasingly dependent upon a male wage earner (see section 2.3.1). As explained at the beginning of this section, research has tended to concentrate on the effects of the work place on women's lives as coaches, ignoring the effects of women's domestic and/or child care responsibilities on their coaching experiences. Therefore, the ensuing discussion draws on selected literature to assess the extent to which women's domestic/family obligations affect their involvement in coaching.

Of the few studies which have addressed this issue Mathes (1982) noted that married women cited time demands and family commitments as significantly more important influences on their decision to leave coaching than did single women. Hart, Hasbrook and Mathes (1986), investigating reasons why coaches stopped coaching, referred to as "drop out", found that 37.7% of the variance between married and single coaches could be explained by women's perceived time/role conflicts with their personal lives. However, the authors offer no details as to the nature of these time/role conflicts, nor do they provide data on the marital and parental status of those women who left coaching.

Research by Hasbrook, Hart, Mathes and True (1990) provides some interesting findings in a study which compared male and female coaches' perceptions of the effects of their family responsibilities on their coaching experiences. Contrary to their expectation, they noted that male coaches reported more constraints than female coaches on their time due to family commitments. Significant mean differences on a Likert scale and in the rank order of factors given as reasons for quitting coaching were observed, where women ranked family responsibilities as the eighth most important reason for leaving coaching, with men ranking them fourth. The authors were keen to point out that their findings challenge the stereotypical view of women coaches being constrained to a greater extent than men by in-the-home responsibilities. However, there is perhaps an obvious explanation for the unexpected results obtained from this study. As the authors state, significantly more male respondents were married (78.6%) than female respondents (52.5%), a factor which may explain why men reported significantly greater familial/home constraints. Furthermore, as the authors admit, they failed to obtain information on the coaches' parental status, a significant omission in the light of their findings. Indeed Hasbrook *et al* concede:

While it appears that fewer women than men would leave coaching careers due to perceived family responsibilities and time constraints, perhaps a greater proportion of married women than men never become athletic coaches because of such responsibilities and constraints.
(Hasbrook *et al*; *op.cit.*, p264)

Findings which challenge the idea that women's family commitments have a constraining effect on their experiences in paid employment can represent a double-edged sword for women in their fight for equality. If women coaches are no more likely to leave coaching as a consequence of their family commitments than are men, this challenges conventional wisdom which suggests that only women coaches experience such problems. At the same time, however, Hasbrook *et al*'s findings that their female respondents cited family responsibilities less frequently than men as a factor influencing any decision to leave coaching tends to negate the significance of

women's in-the-home commitments. It is worth noting, for example, that women's family/domestic responsibilities may be used as an excuse by those holding power (usually men) in sports organisations to do nothing to assist women coaches' career development. In Hall and Slack's report on Canadian National Sports Organisations (NSOs), for example, the absence of women coaches was explained by administrators as a consequence of women coaches' "family responsibilities" and subsequently used as a reason not to support and encourage women coaches because such constraints lay "outside of the NSOs control" (Hall and Slack, 1991).

Ironically, one of the few studies to assess the impact on coaches' lives of factors such as their home/family commitments (Sage, 1987) focuses exclusively on male coaches. Sage seeks to justify his selection of an all-male sample by stating that that he was unable to locate sufficient numbers of women coaching in US high schools for his study. The responses of male coaches in Sage's study to questions about the effects of coaching on their home lives are interesting in so far as they might equally have been spoken by a male or a female coach. Many of the male coaches reported that their coaching responsibilities left them with very little time for their families. Others explained that they had broken marriages as a result, and that they had missed out on their children's formative years. One of the coaches in Sage's study commented:

... I found that conflict was a major problem for me, and to be very honest any success my children will have I credit to my wife rather than myself because of the fact that I just wasn't there. (Sage, *op.cit.*, p221)

What is significant about these data is not that both men and women experience conflict in reconciling their work in the private and public spheres; rather, that men can have a career in coaching *and* a female partner and children whilst women seem to have to make a choice. How many women coaches, if asked, would respond by saying

that their male partners were left to take primary responsibility for rearing their children in the way that the male coach cited by Sage suggests his wife has done?

In summary, scant attention has been directed to examining the effects of the inclusionary mode of control on women's lives as coaches. The paucity of research on the effects of women's obligations in the home on their lives as coaches can, in part, be attributed to the cultural context of coaching in the USA, where most of this research has taken place. The more elaborate organisational structure for coaching in the USA in comparison with the UK may well have stimulated research focusing on the barriers presented by the work place environment as opposed to those presented by barriers in the home. What little research there is on this subject, however, suggests that women coaches do indeed experience problems in reconciling their obligations in the home with those that they have as coaches. Whilst Hasbrook *et al's* research supports the assertion that the constraining power of the home-based responsibilities (that is the inclusionary mode of control of control) is over-emphasised, their use of a research sample comprising current or former coaches means that there is no way of knowing how many women coaches have considered a career in coaching only to be deterred as a direct consequence of their household/family responsibilities. For as Knoppers (1987) writes:

A labour pool that consists primarily of single, childless women is more constricted than one in which marital and parental status is not a factor.
(Knoppers, *op.cit.*, p15)

Women's under-representation in coaching, as in many other areas of paid and voluntary work outside the home is almost certainly shaped by their commitments in the home.

4.2 The Effects of the Exclusionary Mode of Control on Women's Experiences as Sports Coaches

Some changes in the patterns of OSS in coaching in the USA between the years 1972 and 1990 have been documented by Acosta and Carpenter, (1988; 1992). Their research reveals that whereas 90% of women's college teams were coached by women in 1972, by 1990 less than 48% of women's teams were coached by women. It is interesting to compare common sense explanations offered for the decline in OSS in the USA in general between 1970 - 1980 by Fields and Wolff (1991), that is, employment growth, with the reasons offered for the decrease in OSS in coaching. Common sense explanations are that increases in provision for women's athletics brought about by Title IX (a piece of legislation designed to ensure equality between men and women in all spheres of education including physical education) gave rise to more opportunities for women to play sport, more women's teams and hence an increased demand for coaches. As there were insufficient numbers of female coaches to meet the demand men were recruited to these new positions. Fishwick (1990) refutes this market forces or supply-demand argument as being too simplistic and naive, pointing instead to a more complex set of factors as causing a reduction in the number of women coaches. More specifically, she argues that coaching as an occupation has been not so much desegregated as resegregated. Coaching has been redefined so that coaches to women's teams are no longer expected to be female; rather male coaches have become the norm.

Furthermore, there are contradictions in the argument of market forces as an explanation of men's incursion into women's athletic programmes. All else being equal, one would expect that an increase in female participants in sport would bring about an increase in the pool of potential female coaches, and that gradually, more women athletes would filter through into coaching roles. Yet, in the twenty years

since Title IX appeared on the statute books in the USA, there is no evidence to show that the number of female coaches is increasing. Acosta and Carpenter (1994) report that in 1978 58% of women's teams were coached by women, whereas in 1992 this number had fallen to 48%. Moreover, there has been no desegregation in men's athletic programmes. In 1992 less than 1% of men's college teams were coached by women, a figure which had not changed since 1972 (Acosta and Carpenter, 1992). These data show that men have consolidated their position of power as coaches in women's athletic programmes. Fishwick's belief that more complex dynamics account for the reduction in women coaches would seem to have some substance. Although her work is not explicitly feminist in its orientation, her findings are consistent with a socialist feminist analysis of OSS (such as those presented by Cockburn, 1988; and Witz, 1990) which propose that patriarchal and capitalist forces interact to shape women's experiences as coaches.

Cockburn (1988; 1990), Hartmann (1979; 1981) and Walby (1986; 1988; 1989) view the exclusionary mode of patriarchal control as crucial to our understanding of OSS and wider aspects of gender inequality in society. The exclusionary mode describes strategies employed by men to secure their positions in the work force, often at women's expense. As described in Chapter Two (section 2.3.2), some common examples of these strategies are:

- a) collective trade union activity to secure a monopoly of a particular occupation; and
- b) action designed to secure the support of the state in the form of legislation to restrict women's access to paid work.

Although focusing on administrative roles as opposed to coaching, Hult (1989) provides one of the few detailed accounts of men's use of exclusionary tactics in the context of sport leadership roles. She discusses women's loss of power and subsequent exclusion from amateur collegiate athletics in the USA through the 1970s and 1980s, explaining that prior to the introduction of Title IX women's collegiate athletics elicited little interest from the men's ruling body, and that between 1960 and 1980 women's sport was governed by the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW). According to Hult, the increase in women's participation in sport, together with a dramatic rise in expenditure by educational establishments on women's athletic programmes which was brought about by Title IX, encouraged the male-dominated National College Athletic Association (NCAA) to assume responsibility for the administration of women's sport. The NCAA was successful in wresting control of women's sport from the AIAW because it offered affiliating institutions greater resources for college championships. The AIAW could not compete with this new emphasis on competitive as opposed to recreational sport and in 1986 it closed down.

The loss of the AIAW signalled a dramatic reduction in the number of women in leadership roles in collegiate athletics. 1300 women had occupied leadership roles in the AIAW at the time that it closed down. Within the NCAA just 300 women held leadership positions, and only half of these women were admitted to senior decision making roles on the NCAA council. Despite the implementation of a Five Year Plan to guarantee women 16% representation on the NCAA council and 18-24% representation on other important committees, Hult concludes that women have effectively lost control of women's athletics. She writes:

The success of Title IX has led to male governance power in all amateur sports from high school competition through college, non-school agencies and the Olympic movement. (Hult, *op.cit.*, p259)

Paradoxically the passage onto the statute books of Title IX led to women's loss of control of female athletics programmes in the USA. Hult explains that as the NCAA assumed responsibility for programmes previously administered by the AIAW, men effectively excluded women from positions of power in US collegiate sport. Parallels can be drawn between the loss of control of women's college sport suffered by the AIAW and the loss of power experienced by the UK Women's Squash Racquets Association (WSRA) when it was forced to merge with the men's NGB, the Squash Racquets Association (SRA) by the Sports Council in 1988-89. The WSRA handbook of 1986-87 shows that all senior positions and all committee members were female. The handbook for 1995 reveals that only three of the eleven decision-making posts within the SRA are now held by women and that less than 25% of the 111 committee members are female.

Whilst the focus of Hult's paper is not directed at coaching, there are implications for understanding why and how the numbers of women coaches in the USA have fallen in the years following the introduction of Title IX. This is because there are parallels between the way the NCAA took over the AIAW and the way that women's college athletics programmes became subsumed in men's programmes. As there was a need for only one administrative body to control men's and women's sport in US colleges, it seemed logical to rationalise the co-ordination of the activities of men's and women's athletic programmes within individual colleges. A rationalisation of resources in this way would of course increase efficiency and save money, but such action meant that male Athletic Directors (ADs) tended to assume overall control of the now combined programmes. This situation is linked partly to the greater budgets enjoyed by men's programmes prior to merger and to the greater status of men's collegiate sport by comparison to women's. Whereas in 1972, 90% of women's athletic programmes were headed by a woman, by 1988, 84% were headed by a man.

Acosta and Carpenter (1992) explain the effects of this change on the number of women head coaches thus:

. . . the administrator making personnel decisions was more frequently a male. It seems reasonable to assume that the male athletic director, while seeking applicants from the "old boy's club", unconsciously understood and valued the male applicant's experience more than the female applicant's. (Acosta and Carpenter, *op.cit.*, p8)

If Hult's analysis of the reasons behind the reduction in the numbers of women in decision-making roles in collegiate sport holds as an explanation of the decline in the numbers of women coaches, then this is evidence of the use of the exclusionary mode of control in the USA.

What is not so evident, however, is how the exclusionary mode of control is relevant to an analysis of OSS and gender inequality in coaching in the UK. Socialist feminist theory proposes that the exclusionary mode is successful where men are able to organise collectively to resist women's entry into an occupation, and unsuccessful where they are unable to do so. The fragmentary structure of coaching in the UK means that, with increasing participation by women, we should have expected to witness an influx of women into the profession since there is little evidence of any potential on the part of male coaches to organise to resist women's entry into coaching. As in the USA, in Britain there has been an increase in the numbers of women participants in sport from 34% of women in 1977 to 57% in 1993 (OPCS, 1978;1994), thus increasing the number of potential coaches: it is all the more surprising, therefore, that the percentage of female coaches has not increased. As the situation currently stands, however, there is little evidence from the data presented in the Introduction and in this chapter to show that the distribution and proportion of male and female coaches in different sports and at different levels varies significantly between the two countries. The similarities in the distribution of male and female coaches in the UK and the USA, despite the contrasting levels of organisational

structure for sports coaching, calls into question socialist feminist analyses which stress the importance of the exclusionary mode of control in securing men's dominance in the work force. It also calls into question Hartmann's emphasis, in her analysis of OSS, on the importance of the exclusionary mode in enabling men to subordinate women in the work force and, ultimately, in society. This begs the question which this study attempts, in part, to address: how, in occupations where there is little or no evidence of exclusionary practices, are men able to sustain a position of dominance?

4.3 The Effects of the Segregationary Mode of Control on Women's Experiences as Sports Coaches

For socialist feminists like Cockburn (1988; 1992), Walby (1988; 1989) and Witz (1992) the segregationary mode of patriarchal control of women's labour has, in certain instances, superseded the inclusionary and exclusionary modes as the primary means by which men both reinforce and reproduce their position of dominance in the work place.

Cockburn (1988) proposes three mechanisms by which segregation in the work place is achieved:

- a) horizontal segregationary practices;
- b) vertical segregationary practices; and
- c) the gendering process.

According to Cockburn, horizontal and vertical segregationary practices are designed to exploit the differences within the occupational structure of the labour market to serve men's needs. The creation of horizontal and vertical boundaries in this way allows men to move sideways or upwards in the labour market, avoiding incursions by women, and sustaining a gender differentiated labour market. The third mechanism

responsible for OSS, argues Cockburn, is the gendering process, a process which refers to ideologies about men and women. These ideologies are constructed and reconstructed by men to affirm things masculine as superior to things feminine. The gendering process can be applied to almost all facets of society: in the context of the work place it applies to people, to skills and to jobs.

Although, for conceptual purposes, it might be possible to distinguish between the three mechanisms highlighted by Cockburn, it is difficult to differentiate between the effects of horizontal and vertical segregationary practices (designed to differentiate between types of job and levels of job) from those of the gendering process (aimed at ensuring that jobs, skills and workers' personality characteristics are associated more with one sex than the other). The literature outlined below will show that, in essence, the three mechanisms, horizontal and vertical segregation and the gendering process are inextricably linked to reproduce OSS in the coaching profession to men's advantage.

The gendering process is a central component of the segregationary mode of patriarchal control, speaking specifically to the processes by which dominant ideologies about the nature and roles of jobs are established and reproduced. The way in which the gendering process impinges upon coaching is an essential feature of the debate about OSS in coaching because it addresses concerns about who gets to define what it means to be a coach, whose definition becomes dominant, and what happens when this definition is challenged. Before considering in more detail the way in which coaching is gendered, it is worth noting that sport itself is a gendered activity. Indeed, Connell (1987) writes that the primary social significance of sport lies in its contribution to the accomplishment of gender, where images of masculinity are constructed in and through competitive sport. He further argues that the ideology of sport glorifies toughness and competition, giving added significance to sport as a

training ground for developing a notion of what it means to be a man. Thus, the environment and culture within which coaches work not only reflects masculine values, but constitutes a major site for the construction and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity.

The past twenty years, however, have witnessed a significant increase in women's involvement in sport in both the UK and USA (see Introduction) and, although much of this increase has occurred in traditional female sports such as aerobics and swimming, women have begun to participate in sports which were once the exclusive preserve of men. For example, the triple jump, pole vault, 10,000m and marathon competitions, once considered beyond women's physical capabilities, are now recognised as events by the International Amateur Athletic Federation and are included in the programme of events for the World Athletics Championships. Moreover, England's women are the world champions at rugby union football and at cricket, both of which are sports traditionally played by men rather than women. Knoppers (1992) believes that women's invasion of previously male territory represents a serious challenge to male supremacy in sport, which carries a wider symbolic threat to patriarchy in society as a whole. As a consequence of this challenge, argues Knoppers, men are confronted with the task of re-establishing their power base in sport through another means. She argues that currently this involves reasserting their superiority by dominating leadership roles in sport, one such role being coaching.

Why then do leadership/coaching roles in sport constitute sites for the production of masculine hegemony and the reproduction of male dominance in sport? Theberge (1990) maintains that there are two reasons. First, she states that coaching emphasises the technical aspects of sport, the performance, the doing of sport. This reflects masculine values because it emphasises the product (the performance) as opposed to the process (the taking part); and consequently coaching is viewed as congruent with

male but not female personality traits. Secondly, she argues that the coach is invested with power over the athlete, just as in society men assume power over women. Therefore the position of the coach mirrors the position of men in society and, as such, coaching is considered as an occupation more suitable for men than for women. The relationship between coach and athlete therefore both reflects and reinforces gender relations in society where men have power and women do not.

Theberge's analysis, whilst providing a useful starting point, does not really explore the dynamics of the process which ensures that coaching is defined as a masculine occupation. A more detailed treatise on this question is provided by Knoppers (1992). She proposes that there are four dynamics or processes which ensure that coaching becomes associated with men rather than women. These four dynamics are:

- a) gendered structure;
- b) gendered jobs;
- c) gendered activities; and
- c) gendered workers in the gendered workplace.

Knoppers argues that by examining these four dynamics it is possible to show not only how coaching has come to be defined as a male occupation but also how, when this definition is challenged, it is reconstructed to men's advantage. The remainder of this section dwells on Knoppers' ideas in detail, demonstrating their significance for understanding the gendering process in coaching and the contribution which it makes to an analysis of the patterns of OSS in coaching.

4.3.1 The Gendered Structure of Coaching

According to Knoppers, gendered structure refers to the relationship between organisational complexity and gender. She explains that coaching is organised on a hierarchical basis whereby tasks which are considered complex and which require skills developed through training and an investment of time and effort are compensated by higher pay and greater status. For example, in 1995/96 coaches holding the highest level coaching award in squash are advised by their NGB, the Squash Racquets Association, that they may charge £14.25 per hour, whereas coaches holding the lowest level award are advised that they may charge £7.50 per hour. Knoppers writes that tasks at the top of the coaching hierarchy are more likely to be associated with men than they are with women (see also section 2.3.1). She gives the example that because female athletes are viewed as less skilful than their male counterparts, coaching a women's team is viewed as less demanding than coaching a men's team. Consequently coaches of the former enjoy much less status and fewer rewards than do coaches of the latter. Evidence in support of this assertion can be found by comparing the status of the coaches of women's and men's teams in the UK. Ruth Prideaux had to pay over £1000 of her own money for the privilege of touring Australia as the manager of the England women's cricket team. In contrast the team manager of the men's cricket team is employed full-time by the Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB).

Given the greater status accorded to elite athletes and men's teams in comparison with novice or recreational athletes and women's teams, coaching novice or recreational athletes will be perceived as easier than coaching elite athletes because the coach is considered to require greater knowledge of skills and tactics to work with the elite group. Moreover, Knoppers contends that because women are perceived to be innately more suited to working with children, novice and recreational athletes, the skills

needed for this level of work are under-valued. She asserts that the perception, amongst (male) coaches and coaching administrators is that such skills have not been acquired or learned, but occur naturally. Consequently, because coaches to elite athletes are deemed to have invested time and effort in acquiring their coaching skills, they are rewarded for their efforts to a much greater extent than coaches who work with less able athletes. Not surprisingly, men predominate in these more prestigious coaching roles.

It is possible to overlay Knoppers' dynamic of gendered structure with Witz' strategies of exclusion and demarcation to understand women's prevalence in some coaching roles as opposed to others. Exclusionary strategies can be seen at work whereby few women work with elite athletes, particularly elite male athletes and few men work with novices. Acosta and Carpenter (1992) suggest that this is because the people who are responsible for appointing coaches at this level argue that women lack experience of elite competition and that they also lack the skills and understanding of top level sport. Their over-riding belief is that men make better coaches. Fishwick's (1990) study on the under-representation of women in college athletics programmes in the USA provides empirical support for Acosta and Carpenter's assertion. Fishwick found that male Athletic Directors attributed the appointment of male as opposed to female applicants to the "fact" that women were less qualified. There are also occasions when women collude in the belief that men make better coaches for elite level athletes. In reply to a question on whether the Women's Squash Racquets Association (1988) had a preference for employing male or female coaches, an official at that time stated that female coaches were preferred for women players except at the highest levels, when a man was considered as more suitable. The argument by male administrators and coaches that women are "naturally better suited" than men to coaching children is an example of a demarcationary strategy. Because such arguments are widespread, and

sometimes supported by women themselves, many women remain in coaching roles which do not threaten men's dominance.

The gendered structure of coaching therefore contributes both to horizontal segregationary patterns, in terms of who coaches male and female athletes, and also to vertical segregationary patterns, whereby men are employed in the most senior roles in the coaching hierarchy, whilst women coaches occupy low status roles and/or work with children and female athletes.

The success of usurpationary strategies can be seen where women are employed as coaches to men's college programmes in the USA. However, the success of these countervailing strategies must be set in context, for less than 1% of these programmes have women coaches. Knoppers proposes that women's involvement as coaches to male teams is tolerated in so far as it does not threaten masculine hegemony or where it serves capitalist interests because women represent a cheap source of labour. For example, in the USA, women coach in sports like gymnastics which have more female than male participants, and in non-revenue producing sports in such as tennis and swimming (Acosta and Carpenter, 1994). The categorisation of tennis as a non-revenue, and therefore a minor, sport can be viewed as peculiar to college sport in the USA, because outside of the college system in the USA tennis is a major professional sport. Both men's and women's tennis circuits attract substantial sponsorship and television coverage. It is important to recognise, therefore, that whilst the literature reviewed here focuses primarily on US college sport programmes, they do not necessarily comprise an accurate reflection of the way in which sport is organised and administered outside of US colleges.

What is interesting, however, is that Knoppers does not explain why it is that, if coaches to women's teams have such little status, men have moved into these roles in

significant numbers since Title IX. Her failure to deal with this issue is surprising because a number of authors, including Acosta and Carpenter (1992) and Eitzen and Pratt (1989), have offered an explanation which is consistent with Knoppers' concept of gendered structure, and which illustrates the dynamics of the gendering process by showing how hegemonic masculinity is reconstructed when threatened. These two sets of authors have suggested that, prior to Title IX, coaches to women's teams had a philosophy which stressed the educational, personal and social development of athletes, a philosophy which reflected feminine values. This philosophy was, perhaps, related to the status of these coaches, who were faculty members first and coaches second. In other words, coaching was something which they took on in addition to their teaching commitments.

Acosta and Carpenter (*op cit.*) and Eitzen and Pratt (*op.cit.*) propose that after the introduction of Title IX, as more money was made available to women's teams and their status increased, the emphasis in women's athletic programmes was shifted to competition and winning, moving away from feminine and towards masculine values. Moreover, coaches were appointed on a full-time basis rather than being appointed on the understanding that they would undertake some coaching in addition to their teaching responsibilities. These changes meant that the role of the coach to women's teams was altered and was reconstructed in such a way that it came to be seen as a job for a man rather than a woman.

Here we can see how a demarcationary strategy of incorporation was successfully employed by male coaches to resist a potential challenge by female coaches. The increased allocation of funds to women's athletic programmes could have threatened men's dominance of college athletics. Men's response to this threat was to incorporate what had previously been women's work into their work remit by redefining the role of the coach in light of this new competitive ethos and philosophy. Consequently,

although women achieved a degree of success in increasing their participation in sport, this was countered by a loss of power in the control of women's sport.

4.3.2 Coaching as a Gendered Job

Knoppers uses the term “gendered jobs” to describe the process by which male dominated jobs are assumed to demand higher levels of commitment and flexibility than female-dominated jobs, by prioritising paid work over unpaid work in the home. She does not offer any empirical evidence to support her assertions but attempts to make a case for coaching being defined in this way, by citing research which indicates that married male coaches shoulder fewer domestic responsibilities than married female coaches (Knoppers, Ewing, Forrest and Meyer 1989), and by referring to Sabock's (1979) text on coaching where he lists the duties a (male) coach could expect a (female) partner to perform in supporting him.

Research by Hall and Slack (1991) on the reasons for women's underrepresentation as coaches in Canadian National Sport Organisations provides some support for Knoppers' assertion that coaching is seen as unsuitable for women because of their supposed inability to commit themselves to the role. Hall and Slack (*op.cit.*) found that just under 50% of male administrators, coaches and officials and approximately 70% of female administrators, coaches and officials felt that significant reasons for the lack of women at the upper echelons of coaching were their family and domestic commitments.

Fishwick's study offers further empirically-based support for Knoppers' assertions. One coach in Fishwick's (1990) study elaborated on the idea that coaches are expected to spend periods of time away from their families and to work unsociable hours, including evenings and week ends.

... I believe the sentiment is that a female is eventually going to settle into a societal role which is a mother and provide more time to her family... [whereas] coaching involves spending a lot of time away from the family... and it is considered the norm for the man to be able to do that and not the female. (Fishwick, *op.cit.*, p41)

Views such as these fuel the belief that coaching is a man's job. Fishwick explains that patriarchal notions of "femininity" and "domesticity" are used to justify men's entry into women's college athletics programmes. She writes:

Female coaches face accusations that their . . . household responsibilities interfere with their ability to coach effectively . . . (Fishwick, *op.cit.*, p155)

In summary, women are seen as less qualified to coach than men because of their imputed domestic responsibilities. The gendering of the job of coaching in this way is another example of an exclusionary strategy, in this case used to restrict women's access to coaching.

4.3.3 Coaching as a Gendered Activity

Knoppers draws on work from Hearn and Parkin (1983; 1987) to articulate the process of gendered activities. She contends that job activities associated with men are defined differently from those associated with women and that definitions should be problematised. She writes that coaching is defined in such a way that masculine attributes, for example, strength, toughness and aggression, are emphasised, ensuring that the role is identified as more suitable for men than for women. Conversely, the importance of empathetic, facilitating and other social skills are underplayed because these would stress the feminine side of the role.

Support for the assertion that the job activities of a coach are more firmly associated with men than with women comes from research on collegiate sports organisations, by

Fishwick (1990) and on Canadian NSOs, by Hall and Slack (1991). Fishwick (1990) quotes one coach in her study:

Women characteristically have not had the traits... I have to come outside of myself to be aggressive... I am very emotional and I try to hide that. Men are closer to the traits of a coach. (Fishwick, *op.cit.*, p44)

Hall and Slack (*op.cit.*) found that several male respondents believed that women lacked the necessary "single-mindedness" and the ability to "hang in" when the going gets tough." They reported that, on the whole, women coaches are not felt to possess the necessary skills and qualifications to do the job. Hall and Slack make the point, however, that more often than not, such discriminatory attitudes operate at an unconscious rather than a conscious level because of the pervasiveness of the idea that men are more suited to the requirements of the job.

Within Knoppers' description of the gendering of the job activities of coaching there is evidence of both exclusionary and demarcationary strategies of closure. Exclusionary strategies include suggestions that women are not tough enough for the top jobs in coaching, whilst demarcationary strategies operate where low status coaching roles (which includes work with children, novice and recreational athletes) are seen as compatible with female characteristics. Coaching seems to be defined as masculine when the role receives the greatest material and symbolic rewards, and as feminine when the rewards are least. Logically, this means that, as the rewards and status of a coaching role increase, so should the likelihood of the role being defined as masculine as opposed to feminine. Evidence of exclusionary and demarcationary strategies does not mean that such strategies were employed in a conscious attempt to limit women's access to coaching, nor to ensure that women remain subordinate to men. Rather, these strategies need to be seen as a consequence of a hegemonic struggle and an attempt by white, middle-class men to retain a position of power and dominance, the consequences of which are the subordination of other groups, one of which is women.

If, as Knoppers suggests, men's superiority in sport is being challenged by the influx of women participants and they need to re establish their position by dominating leadership roles, then they have to reconstruct the coaching role in such a way that it is associated with men and not with women. If, as data suggests men are unable to secure women's complete exclusion from coaching roles, then they need to define coaching in such a way that the most prestigious, rewarding and powerful coaching roles are associated with men and not with women. This point is linked to the first dynamic identified by Knoppers, namely, gendered structure. Coaching both men's and women's high status teams is defined as a man's job, requiring male traits and qualities, whilst coaching low status teams, for example, novices, children and many women's teams is defined as women's work.

4.3.4 Coaches as Gendered Workers in a Gendered Job

The fourth dynamic identified by Knoppers in the gendering of occupations is gendered workers in the gendered workplace. This dynamic conveys the idea that:

... people... experience the dynamics of gender relations on a daily basis in their work. Each workplace is a microcosm of meanings about gender... [and] used to broker power on the job. (Knoppers, *op.cit.*, p221)

She argues that power relations between men and women are often negotiated through sexual behaviour, and to this end she identifies four key themes within the process of gendered workers in the gendered workplace. These are: heterosexual relations, (hetero)sexual harassment, heterosexuality and homosociality.

4.3.4.1 Heterosexual Relations

Heterosexual relations between men and women serve both to reflect and to reinforce men's superiority over women in all areas of society. In heterosexual relationships

men typically adopt a dominant role and this relationship is exhibited in the workplace, where men typically assume dominant roles and women subordinate roles. Examples of such relationships include those of the manager and the secretary, and the doctor and the nurse (data on the numbers of men and women in these occupations are given in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). By encouraging men to take on decision-making roles and women supporting or follower roles, heterosexual relations help to construct the boundaries of vertical sex segregation in the work force. In essence, heterosexual relations serve to organise relationships between men and women in the work place. The same can be said of sport, as data cited in the introduction and in this chapter have shown that men occupy the majority of senior decision-making and leadership roles.

4.3.4.2 (Hetero)sexual Harassment

(Hetero)sexual harassment can seriously disadvantage women in the work place as it serves to reinforce male power over women. Contrary to the popular belief which suggests that women may use their sexual charms to gain advantage in the work place, data from the EOC (1995) reveal that men are almost always the guilty party in cases of sexual harassment. Of 775 enquiries relating to sexual harassment covered by the employment section of the Sex Discrimination Act in 1994, less than 0.5% were from men (personal communication, EOC statistics section 26/4/95). Knoppers explains that the perception of men as the innocent party and of women as the guilty comes about because of the belief that men are asexual beings in the workplace. Men are viewed as objective, rational and unemotional in an organisational context whose actions are therefore devoid of sexual overtones. Alternatively, where their actions are acknowledged to have sexual connotations, men are seen as simply being "men" around the office. In many instances men simply do not realise that their actions are unwanted because they consider them routine, typical of any normal, healthy heterosexual male. Given that many men and women fail to recognise the explicitly sexual nature of men's actions often means that sexual harassment goes

unacknowledged and unchallenged. Whatever the reason for sexual harassment going unchallenged, it undermines women's status, acting as a very powerful exclusionary strategy to prevent women from challenging men's dominant position in the work force. Sexual harassment can be used to reinforce both the horizontal and vertical divisions in the labour market by excluding women from senior decision making roles in an organisation and by excluding them from male dominated occupations. To summarise, sexual harassment represents an exclusionary strategy, used to restrict women's access to all-male environments, as MacKinnon (1978) explains: sexual harassment is used to "defend the territory". The perception that men are defending their territory probably accounts for the fact that women in non-traditional roles, in male dominated environments report higher incidences of sexual harassment than women in traditional roles, working in predominantly female environments (Bullock, 1994; O'Leary and Ickovics, 1992).

As sport is typically viewed as a masculine domain it is reasonable to assume that women involved in masculine-typed sports activities will report higher incidences of sexual harassment than women in feminine-typed sports. Lenskyj (1990) argues that sexual harassment is used against women in sport who are seen, by men, as encroaching on male territory. Lannin (1987), for example, describes incidents of sexual harassment against women sports journalists from male athletes in the USA, which ranged from verbal to physical abuse.

4.3.4.3 Heterosexuality

Heterosexual relations, where men take on a leading role and women a supporting role, are considered the norm in society and, as described above, gender relations in the work place are expected to reflect this norm. Women's assumption of a leadership role, such as that of sports coach (especially of male athletes or at an elite level), challenges the current definition of heterosexual relations and therefore men's

dominant position in society (Bryson, 1987). Griffin (1992) argues that when threatened in this way men typically respond by calling into question a woman's sexual orientation, asserting that if a woman adopts a role traditionally associated with men and displays masculine traits (for example, being assertive, aggressive, competitive and single-minded) then she cannot be a real woman. Griffin writes:

The lesbian label is used to define the boundaries of acceptable female behaviour in a patriarchal culture. When a woman is called a lesbian, she knows she is out of bounds. Because lesbian identity carries the extreme negative social stigma created by early 20th-century sexologists, most women are loathe to be associated with it. (Griffin, op.cit., p252-253)

What is at issue here is not whether a woman is a lesbian but that accusations to this effect can be used to assert social control and to deny women a fulfilling experience in sport. While ever women are afraid to defy traditional gender roles or to assume a male-identified career for fear of the label lesbian, men have an effective tool with which to resist women's entry to masculine domains (Bennett, Whitaker, Smith and Sablove, 1987; Griffin, 1992).

Women who are teachers or coaches are especially vulnerable to homophobic comments, for their jobs may be at risk from such accusations. Fields (1983) suggests that at some schools a coach's heterosexual credentials are scrutinised more carefully than her professional qualifications, whilst Griffin (1992) comments that some coaches have been fired on the basis of assumptions, unfounded or otherwise, about their sexual orientation. Griffin provides no data to support her assertion, but women coaches in the USA who were asked to comment on how homophobia affected them reported that securing and retaining coaching positions constituted problems for them (Thorngren, 1991). Moreover, they added that some married and single women left coaching because of the pressure and stress caused by being labelled lesbian.

Women coaches who work with children or young adults face additional problems related to the myth that lesbians and gay men recruit and proselytise from among the ranks of the young (Griffin, 1992; Lenskyj, 1991). Fields (1983) suggests that such beliefs are sometimes used by colleges in order to recruit potential athletes. She describes how negative recruiting is used where colleges play on parents' and athletes' homophobia, and imply that young female athletes will be 'safe' in their programmes, but not in those of rival colleges.

The irony in all of this is that young athletes are probably at far greater risk from heterosexual males than from lesbians or gay men (Griffin, 1992; Russell, 1984). Although very little has been written on the subject of child sexual abuse in sport, Brackenridge (1994) and Crosset (1986) excepted, statistics from the UK as a whole indicate that men account for over 98% of the offenders in reported cases (Michell and Anderson, 1988).

In summary, because men are able to define heterosexual relations as dominant over homosexual relations, they are able to use this as an exclusionary strategy to limit women's access to male-dominated roles in the work force. As demonstrated above, questioning a woman's sexuality can seriously undermine her position as a coach and influence the way she is treated, both by the athletes she coaches and by the administrators to whom she is answerable. Such tactics may well act as a deterrent to women considering a career in coaching. Furthermore, women who wish to coach men or who wish to coach in masculine-typed sports may experience additional problems because they represent an even greater threat to male supremacy and may therefore be subjected to even greater vilification.

4.3.4.4 Homosociality

Although sportswomen may face questions about their sexuality, it is a testimony to the strength of masculine hegemony that sportsmen are able to operate in all-male environments without similar questions being raised. Lenskyj (1990) contends that homosocial boundaries serve patriarchal interests because they help to articulate differences between men and women, in a way which defines male as superior and female as inferior. Moreover, sport provides a key site for the reproduction of masculinity and male advantage because it makes visible the physical superiority held by men over women, (Lenskyj, 1990; Messner, 1988).

Knoppers writes that male bonding or male homosociality is especially problematic for women coaches because, by definition, it excludes women, not only from some formal aspects of the job but perhaps more importantly from informal aspects such as organisational culture, and information about job vacancies. Research by Acosta and Carpenter (1988; 1990; 1992) has repeatedly shown that women coaches rank their failure to gain access to men's networks as the most significant factor responsible for women's underrepresentation in coaching roles. Hall and Slack (1991) drew similar conclusions from their research on Canadian NSOs. The success of male networks was reported by 69% of female coaches as a reason for the small numbers of women in sports leadership roles, whilst 61.5% reported that the weakness of female networks contributed to the low percentage of female sports leaders. Although women also form networks, the fact that they do so with other women means that they have fewer opportunities to gain access to individuals in power, because the people in power tend to be men (Knoppers 1987). In other words, Old Boys' Networks represent an extremely effective strategy of exclusionary closure, serving to limit women coaches' opportunities and power.

4.5 Summary

In summary, then Knoppers' description of the gendering process in sports coaching and her discussion of the four inter-related processes or dynamics provides a useful framework from which to begin to explore OSS and gender inequality in sports coaching. What Knoppers' paper does not do, however, is to give a sufficiently detailed account of the actual mechanisms by which the gendering process contributes to the patterns of vertical and horizontal segregation in the profession. Furthermore, although she acknowledges that women resist OSS in coaching and highlights the fact that men respond to such resistance, she fails to discuss the strategies employed by women to resist OSS and the strategies used by men in response. Consequently, whilst Knoppers' paper provides a useful commentary on the gendering process, we need to use her ideas in conjunction with those of Witz (1992) in order that a model of occupational closure in the labour market may be developed and used as a theoretical basis for exploring the actual mechanisms by which OSS is reproduced in sports coaching.

The past three chapters have explored literature on Women, Work and Organisations, Women and Leisure and Women and Coaching in an attempt to debate key theoretical concerns. The three preceding chapters have also made a significant contribution, through reference to empirical research, in directing the focus of this study toward particular concerns and questions. The next chapter moves away from showing how existing literature helped to frame this investigation; its focus is on the actual processes by which the data were gathered for this study. Chapter Five describes the ways in which feminist approaches to research influenced this study before moving on to describe the means by which the data were collected and analysed.

METHOD

5.0 Introduction

Chapters Two, Three and Four paid scant attention to feminist concerns relating to methodology, concentrating instead on theoretical debates and empirical research findings. In the light of this omission, the purpose of this chapter is to highlight some of the major feminist arguments with regard to the inter-relationship of theory, problem and method. More specifically, the first part of this chapter shows how the concerns within feminist research have informed and influenced this study, whilst the second part describes the different phases of the research process.

The methodological approach employed in this study was heavily influenced by feminist debates on the research process in sociology. The origins of such debates lie in feminists' deep-seated dissatisfaction with orthodox social science research on, and about, women (see Smith, 1979; Westkott, 1979). These authors argued that women's experiences were all too frequently marginalised or mis-represented by mainstream (and predominantly male) social scientists. Graham (1983) summarises this position:

The feminist critique of sociology has addressed itself primarily to the misogynic nature of sociological theory. Sociological theory, it is argued has been built upon and from man's relation to this social world. . . . Sociology is oriented not simply to men, but to the social arenas to which men have privileged access Shattering the silence of women remains a major commitment of the women's movement both within and beyond the academic world. It is a commitment which raises crucial questions about the way sociologists collect as well as analyse social data. (Graham, *op.cit.*, p134-135)

Such critiques appeared to provide the stimulus for the publication of a number of articles on feminist research in the early 1980s, many of which portrayed feminist

research as a kind of panacea to the ills of malestream sociological research (du Bois, 1983; Mies, 1983; Reinharz, 1983). For instance, feminist approaches to research were presented as being less likely to misrepresent women's experiences (because the subjects of the research were able to express their views in their own words and because they were involved in the research process). Advocates of feminist research claimed also that research could be used both to challenge wider gender inequalities and on an individual level as a consciousness-raising exercise.

Although these points remain central tenets of feminist research in the 1990s (Rutledge-Shields and Dervin, 1993), the claims made about feminist research, as far as it is able to resolve the problems of orthodox social science research, have become more circumspect. A more sophisticated body of knowledge has developed, and with it, increasingly divergent views on the exact nature of what we understand by the term "feminist research". Debates have raged with respect to the value of particular research tools - questionnaires versus in depth interviews (Graham, 1983; Lather, 1988; Oakley, 1981; Rutledge-Shields and Dervin, 1993), the validity of claims that feminist research can include an agenda for political change to reduce inequalities (Armstead, 1995; Hammersley, 1994; Reinharz, 1983), and the ability of feminist research to overcome the power differential between the researcher and the researched (Oakley, 1981; Wise, 1983; Lather, 1988; Armstead, 1995). In addition, feminists have asked, and found different answers to, the question: "Can men carry out feminist research?" "Yes", says Harding (1987). "No", says Kremer (1990).

Despite the on-going and unresolved debates on what does and does not constitute feminist research or indeed on whether feminist research is a separate and unique research paradigm, there does appear to be broad agreement on what feminist research

should try to achieve (Armstead, 1995). First, feminist research involves positioning gender at the centre of the analysis; secondly, it should be used to challenge women's subordinate status in society; and thirdly, it necessitates a reflexive account of the investigation by the researcher. The influence of these three concerns on this investigation on the lives of women coaches is discussed in more detail below.

5.1 Gender as Central to Feminist Research

Armstead (1995) contends that gender is the starting point for feminist researchers, not simply one variable amongst others. She maintains that doing feminist research requires researchers to place gender at the centre of the analysis, to value women's experiences and in so doing to derive conceptual and theoretical frameworks which acknowledge such a commitment. Moreover, Rutledge-Shields and Dervin (1993) write that feminist research should:

. . . strive to incorporate the major concerns of what is called 'feminist perspectives', consisting of the overarching themes that run throughout feminist theory. (Rutledge-Shields and Dervin, *op.cit.*, p65)

However, although it might once have been accurate to read "women" for "gender" in discussions on feminist research, Stanley and Wise (1990) make an important point when they write that it is a misreading of feminism to assume that it excludes men. In their opinion it is impossible to do this, they write:

Women do not inhabit a single sex universe. . . In investigating the textually mediated, institutionally located social relations of ruling, there is no way in which a focus on men can be excluded; but it should be included so as to deconstruct the notion of any transcendent always all powerful patriarchal 'Man'. . . (Stanley and Wise, 1990, p44)

All of these points are acknowledged in this study, for whilst the sample is drawn only from female coaches, their experiences are situated within patriarchal, capitalist

society. The interviewees' experiences in paid employment, of unpaid work in the home and of leisure and sports coaching are contextualised within socialist feminist theory, which positions women at the centre of the analysis.

5.2 Feminist Research and Political Change

The second premise which receives broad agreement amongst feminist researchers is the need to acknowledge the political nature of the research process and to use research to challenge women's subordinate position in relation to men (Mies, 1983; Armstead, 1995; Rutledge-Shields and Dervin, 1993; Stanley and Wise, 1983). Lather (1988), for example, writes that the overt ideological goal of feminist research is to end women's unequal social position. Whilst Stanley (1990) writes that the term feminist praxis should be used to describe:

... an indication of a continuing shared feminist commitment to a political position in which 'knowledge' is not simply defined as 'knowledge *what*' but also as 'knowledge *for*'. Succinctly this point is to change the world, not only to study it. (Stanley, *op.cit.*, p15)

There are many examples of research by feminists whose specific intention has been to mesh theory and practice, an approach which falls within the paradigm of Action Research (see for example, Griffiths, 1990; Lather, 1988; Poland, 1990). This study tries to follow their example by using the research findings to promote social change to benefit women. In this sense the research process moves towards becoming a collaborative effort between the researcher and the researched. More specifically, this means disseminating the findings in a way which will assist women coaches fulfil their ambitions and potential. In this instance the findings were disseminated through three separate workshops (in collaboration with the Sports Council, the Women's Sport Foundation and the National Coaching Foundation) attended by coaches and coaching

administrators responsible for coach education and development. At these workshops the data from this study and from that by White *et al* (1989) were presented and used as a starting point for the development of strategies and policies aimed at: encouraging more women to take up coaching, supporting those women who are already in coaching, assisting those who wish to move up the coaching ladder.

5.3 Reflexivity in Feminist Research

The third premise on which there is a general level of consensus amongst advocates of feminist research is that the researcher should engage in a reflexive account of the project. Williams (1993) writes that one of the most significant contributions to developing sociological theories of knowledge made by feminists has been a concern with reflexivity. She writes:

Importantly, feminists have also extended gender analyses to include serious consideration of the gender of the researcher *herself* (or *himself*) in elucidating method. (Williams, 1992, p584)

Reinharz (1983) has argued that because (value) judgements are made at every stage of a research project when decisions are taken as to the nature of the research question, the sample and the research tool, particular attention should be given to exploring the impact of such decisions on the outcomes of the project. Moreover, Stanley and Wise (1983; 1990) contend that because all research is inherently subjective, subjectivity should be acknowledged as an integral part of the research process rather than as something which requires elimination. Mies (1983) explains the benefits of such action in terms of enhancing the potential of research to correct distorted views of women's lives. She argues that acknowledging subjectivity in research helps to challenge the so-called objective malestream views on women's experiences. Reinharz

(1983) calls for feminist researchers to ask questions such as: “How has my age, my sex, my class and my ethnicity influenced the way that I have approached and carried out the investigation?” I have tried to address these concerns in Chapter Seven where I reflect on the research process, the decisions taken and the problems encountered.

The first part of this Chapter has shown how the central tenets of Feminist Research influenced this study, the second part of the Chapter provides details of the research process including the development of the interview schedule, the selection of the sample, the interviews with the coaches and finally the analysis of the data.

5.4 The Research Tool

Many feminist researchers have tended to express a preference for qualitative methods of enquiry as opposed to quantitative methods (Mies, 1983; Reinharz, 1983). They have argued that they enable the participants in a study to express their opinions in their own words rather than being constrained by a researcher’s predetermined responses in the form of a questionnaire. However, the preference for qualitative tools should not be taken as a wholesale rejection of survey methods by feminists doing research. Oakley (1981), Jayaratne (1983) and Woodward, Green and Hebron (1988), amongst others, have maintained that large scale survey data can be used to influence policy-makers, to the ultimate benefit of particular groups of women. Given that the state of knowledge about women’s experiences as sports coaches was limited, a qualitative approach was deemed to be more appropriate than a quantitative approach because it could provide much more detailed and in depth information. As such, the most appropriate method of data collection was felt to be through interviews.

Interview schedules can take a variety of forms. They can be so structured with fixed questions and responses that they closely resemble questionnaires, whilst at the other

end of the continuum an unstructured interview schedule may consist of little more than a single question or topic area to open the discussion. Denzin (1978), in his classic text *The Research Act*, refers to the interview as the “favourite tool of the sociologist” (p113) and he goes on to provide a detailed discussion of the relative merits of different types of schedule, drawing attention to the schedule’s administration, the type of sample used and the analysis of the data. He considers the structured schedule to be most appropriate where the sample is homogeneous and therefore likely to share a common vocabulary and understanding of the questions posed. He points out that this type of schedule requires careful piloting to ensure that all relevant information is included and that questions are appropriately ordered. Although the structured schedule requires careful attention in the design phase, it is fairly easy to administer and the data relatively easy to analyse because the responses can be coded and subjected to statistical analysis. This type of schedule was not appropriate for this investigation, however, because whilst the interviewees shared a common status as a sports coach, the context of their experiences was extremely varied (see section 5.7 and Appendix 1 for further details on the sample) and the interviewees therefore needed to have the opportunity to express their opinions in their own words.

Burgess (1982) describes an unstructured interview schedule as one which has no pre-set questions and where no attempt has been made to standardise the format of the interview. This type of schedule is often recommended for exploratory studies, but this does not preclude its use from situations other than this. The main advantage of unstructured schedules is that they afford the interviewees almost total control over the topics discussed and the freedom to respond to a question in ways which they perceive to be most fitting. Not surprisingly, the main limitation associated with unstructured schedules is the potential difficulties which arise in the data analysis phase, as not only do the responses to questions differ between subjects, but also there is no guarantee that the topics under discussion will be the same for each subject.

Unstructured interviews were used at the outset of the investigation in an exploratory phase, to generate a list of topics which related to women's experiences as sports coaches. However, once the main topics had been identified an unstructured schedule was deemed inappropriate because it was important to ascertain the subjects' views on a given range of topics and an unstructured schedule would not necessarily have enabled this information to be collected from each interviewee.

The third type of interview is the semi-structured schedule which, as the name suggests, exhibits some degree of structure, but at the same time enables the researcher to modify the questions to fit the circumstances of each particular interview, and allows the subjects the opportunity to express their views in their own terms. In other words, it affords both the interviewer and the interviewee high levels of flexibility in the questions asked and the responses offered (Griffin, 1986). This type of schedule appeared to be the most appropriate for this investigation, because it meant that all of the subjects could be asked to comment upon or to describe their experiences on a given set of topics and issues which had been identified through the literature and through informal conversations with coaches and the pilot studies. At the same time, however, it offered the coaches an opportunity to define their experiences in a way which reflected the context of their involvement in coaching.

Many feminist scholars note that women are usually very willing interviewees, because they want to talk about their experiences and that a semi-structured interview schedule offers them the opportunity to do just this (Finch, 1984; Oakley, 1981). Furthermore, Finch suggests that where both interviewer and interviewee are female (as is the case in this study) female interviewees reveal a great deal of information about themselves because of the "natural propensity" for women to talk easily and freely with each other. In addition, Burgess (1982), Jones (1985), Oakley (1981) and Walker (1985) suggest that where the researcher and the researched share common

experiences, this is likely to increase the quality and depth of information and understanding.

Employing a semi-structured interview schedule enabled me to inform the coaches that I shared some of their experiences through my involvement in sport. On a cautionary note, Finch (1984) reminds us that knowledge is power, warning against abusing the trust of the interviewees in this situation. She argues that the information gleaned from research must be used for the benefit of women and not simply add to the stock of existing knowledge. Therefore, I have tried to ensure that their responses to my questions were used to benefit other women coaches, for example, by seeking to shape policy and practice by disseminating the findings at workshops (see section 5.2).

5.5 Designing the Interview Schedule

As a consequence of the preliminary, unstructured interviews with coaches and through a literature search three main issues were identified as being of significance for women's involvement in coaching:

the role of the coach

the availability of support mechanisms for coaches

opportunities for career progression

As the pilot interviews revealed that this focus was much too narrow, the number of topic areas was expanded from three to eight during the course of 10 pilot interviews and four drafts of the interview schedule. Amendments to each schedule were made as soon as a problem was noted, for example where questions were unnecessary because the topic was covered under another heading, or where additional probes were required. This list of topics included in the final version of the interview schedule is given below:

- * biographical information about the interviewees
- * their socialisation into sport and into coaching roles
- * their awareness of issues relating to a lack of women coaches in their sport
- * the availability of support mechanisms to assist their development as coaches
- * their opportunities for professional development
- * their perception of the role of a coach
- * their hopes and ambitions as a coach
- * coaching in the context of their lives

No one section was devoted specifically to gender issues or to the influence of gender on the coaches' lives. Instead, throughout the interview the coaches were encouraged to describe any experiences where they felt that being female had been significant.

The coaches who formed the sample for the pilot interviews were drawn from six different sports: squash, gymnastics, swimming, cricket, netball and hockey. Hockey was not one of the five sports selected for inclusion in this study, but it was important to conduct a pilot interview with a coach at the elite level and given the small number of women coaching in any sport at this level, it was important to "preserve" the elite coaches in the five sports for the final study. The ten coaches interviewed during the pilot stages of the investigation were selected to represent different levels of involvement in, and experience of, coaching. They included voluntary, part-time and full-time coaches; coaches working with performers in the foundation, participation, performance and excellence categories (see Appendix 4); qualified and unqualified coaches; coaches who had been participants in the sports they coached, and others with no involvement in sport as participants. Such a cross-section of coaches provided an opportunity to check that the topic areas identified in the schedule were relevant to the coaches' lives; and that important issues had not been omitted.

5.6 Administration of the Interview Schedule

All of the coaches were identified through their National Governing Body (NGB) handbooks and via personal communications with coaching administrators at local, regional and national levels. This made it possible to obtain a sample composed of coaches with contrasting levels of involvement in and commitment to coaching (see section 5.7). On the basis of the names and information supplied by the administrators, twenty women coaches from five different sports were contacted by telephone and asked if they would be prepared to be interviewed. All twenty agreed to take part in the project.

On agreeing to take part in the study, each coach was sent a brief questionnaire which requested details of their past and current involvement in sport as participants, coaches and administrators, together with information on their employment status, age, marital status and number of children. The information provided by the coaches enabled profiles to be drawn up of each, (see Appendix 1). Their responses to this questionnaire were also used to frame the initial questions in each interview, which centred on their socialisation into sport and sports coaching.

Ten of the interviewees were interviewed in their homes, three at their place of employment, four where they coached, and one in a restaurant. At the outset the interviewees were told of the purpose of the study, in other words that its aims were to examine issues relating to women's initial entry into coaching and their progression to more senior coaching roles. The interviewees were also informed that the research was to be used to try to encourage more women to start coaching and to help support those who were already involved. Such action might be criticised by sociologists adhering to positivism and to the Scientific Method for biasing the outcome of the interview. However, as discussed previously (section 5.4) a number of feminist and non-feminist researchers have argued that the relationship between the interviewer and

the interviewee is enhanced and the likelihood of obtaining quality responses is increased if interviewees are informed of a study's aims. Subjects were assured that the interview would be treated confidentially, being heard only by a maximum of three other people; myself, my supervisor and the secretary transcribing the interview. Subjects were also assured that nothing would be written which would enable them to be identified personally as participants in the study. This issue of confidentiality was particularly important because the number of women in higher status coaching roles is so small that the identification of these coaches in particular might be relatively easy. All of the coaches agreed to allow the interview to be recorded on tape. The interviews lasted between 30 and 120 minutes, with the more experienced and higher status coaches talking longest.

5.7 Selecting the Sample

The sampling procedure used in this investigation was “purposive” (Morton-Williams, 1985), in the sense that coaches with particular characteristics relevant to this study were selected on the basis of details supplied by the coaching administrators. The characteristics required of the coaches were that they had contrasting levels of experience and involvement in coaching and that they were drawn from one of the five different selected sports. The need for a sample that included coaches with different levels of involvement in coaching was essential if the study was to examine women’s experiences of their initial involvement in coaching and their progression to higher status positions.

The decision to select coaches from five sports was an attempt to acknowledge some of the factors which might influence women’s experiences of coaching. Three factors were identified. The first was the ratio of male to female participants in a sport, as it might be expected that coaches’ experiences would be affected by the percentage of female participants, in the same way as women’s experiences in the workplace are

shaped by the ratio of male to female workers in a given occupation (see section 4.3.4.2). The second influence on the selection process was the administrative structure of the sports NGB, specifically with regard to whether it was a single sex or a mixed sex association. However, this factor was subsequently disregarded as organisational concerns were felt to be beyond the scope of this inquiry. A third influence on the choice of sports was a desire to build upon, as opposed to replicating, the study by White *et al* (1989). Consequently, none of the five sports selected by those authors (athletics, basketball, hockey, rowing and tennis) were included in this investigation.

5.7.1 The Five Sports

The sports selected were: cricket, gymnastics, netball, squash and swimming. The ratio of male and female participants in each sport is shown in table 7.

Table 7 Ratios of male and female participants in the five sports studied

Sport	Male Participants (%)	Female Participants (%)
Cricket	95	5
Gymnastics*	40	60
Netball	0	100
Squash	85	15
Swimming	50	50

* Percentages refer to all five disciplines: Men's Artistic Gymnastics, Women's Artistic Gymnastics, Rhythmic Gymnastics and Sports Acrobatics. 100% of participants in Women's Artistic Gymnastics are women and only coaches from this discipline were interviewed.

Source: A Digest of Sport Statistics (1993)

5.7.2 The Twenty Coaches

The interviewees were women from all levels of the coaching profession, brief details of the sample are given below.

Socio-demographic Data

Table 8 Employment status of the coaches

Number in Full-time Paid Employment	Number in Part-time Paid Employment	Number not in Paid Work	Number of Students
10	3	4	3

Table 9 Marital status of the coaches

Number Married	Number Divorced/ Separated	Number Single
8	4	8

Table 10 Parental Status of the Coaches at the Time of the Interview

Number of Coaches With One or More Children Under 16	Number of Coaches With One or More Children Over 16	Number of Coaches With No Children
7	3	10

Table 11 Ethnic origin of the coaches

White	Black
19	1

Table 12 Ages of the coaches

Age	20-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Number of Coaches	5	7	5	3

Personal Sport Participation

The terms used here to describe the coaches' involvement in sport as participants are those used by the Sports Council to define levels of participation in sport. Please refer to Appendix 4 for further clarification of these terms.

Table 13 Highest level at which the coaches participated in sport

Level	None	Foundation	Participation	Performance	Excellence
Number of Coaches	0	2	5	7	6

Table 14 Coaches level of sporting involvement at the time of interview

Level	None	Foundation	Participation	Performance	Excellence
Number of Coaches	3	7	9	1	0

Data on the Interviewees' Involvement in Coaching

Eighteen of the coaches held at least the basic coaching qualification in their sport. It is difficult to provide summary information on the level of qualification held by coaches as these differed so much between sports at the time of the interviews. For example, a preliminary qualification in one sport is not necessarily equivalent to a preliminary qualification in another. Indeed none of the five sports examined in this study used the same names for their qualifications. The fact that some sports had three levels of qualifications and others five further complicates matters. To try to get around this problem the coaches have been allocated into one of three categories, namely one group holding the lowest ranking coaching qualification, one group with

middle ranking qualifications and one group with the highest ranking qualification in their sport. Details of the number of coaches in each category are given table 15.

Table 15 Level of coaching qualification held by the interviewees

Coaching Qualification	No Coaching Award	Lowest Ranking Coaching Qualification	Middle Ranking Coaching Qualification	Highest Ranking Coaching Qualification
Number of Coaches	3	7	4	6

The level at which a coach coaches does not always coincide with the level of coaching award held. Table 16 illustrates the level of performer coaches were typically working with at the time of interview. The typology of the Sports Development Process is used once again to categorise the level at which coaches worked. Where they worked at more than one level the level at which they coached most frequently is recorded.

Table 16 Level of performer coached by the interviewees

Level	Foundation	Participation	Performance	Excellence
Number of Coaches	6	4	4	6

Table 17 Years Spent Coaching

Years Involvement in Coaching	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20 +
Number of Coaches	7	4	4	2	3

The mean number of years that the interviewees had been involved in coaching was 10 years with the shortest time being 1 year and the longest time 30 years.

It is difficult to give data on the level of commitment of the coaches because of the variable nature of their roles. For example, one coach was interviewed after she had finished five days of intensive training with the national squad yet, as she explained, only three more such sessions were planned in the next seven months and this comprised her total coaching commitment for the year. Furthermore, a coach's commitment does not begin and end with the session that they take. There are myriad tasks attached to a coaching role such as booking venues, writing training programmes, and photocopying match details, to name but a few. In the light of this the interviewees' involvement has been categorised on the basis of its frequency (for example weekly) or infrequency (for example once a month) and on the basis of whether it is heavy (for example sessions which required substantial planning and preparation outside of the coaching session) or light (with few additional responsibilities outside the actual session). Coaches were allocated on the basis of which of these categories was the fairest representation of their commitment.

Table 18 Intensity and frequency of the interviewees' involvement in coaching

Level of Commitment	Frequent	Infrequent
Heavy	7	7
Light	3	3

Coaching and Economic Status

Table 19 indicates how many coaches were paid for coaching and the type of payment they received. A number of coaches fell into more than one category, for example where they reported that they usually coached for an honorarium, but occasionally they coached at a representative level where they were paid for their time. Where this

occurred the coaches are placed in the category which best typifies their usual involvement in coaching.

Table 19 Type of payment received for coaching by the interviewees

Employment Status as a Coach	Employed as a Full-time Coach	Employed as a Part-time Coach	Paid per Session	Paid an Honorarium or Expenses	Minimal Financial Reimbursement
Number of Coaches	1	3	8	6	2

5.8 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis can be an intensely personal affair, for example, the analysis of ethnographic data. There are no set guidelines or statistical procedures to follow but this does not mean that it lacks rigour. Indeed, researchers such as Griffin (1986) and Marshall (1986) describe in some detail the lengthy process involved in organising and analysing their data, and of their subsequent attempts to generate theory from their data. Significantly, they and many others carrying out feminist research draw heavily on the ideas presented by Glaser and Strauss (1967) on Grounded Theory. This study is no different in that it seeks to generate understanding, explanation and theory from the data (an inductive approach) as opposed to testing the data against an existing theoretical framework (a deductive approach). Such action is consistent with feminist researchers' calls to carry out research from below, that is starting with the data, as opposed to carrying out research from above, that is situating the data within an established theoretical framework. In reality it proved impossible to disregard the ideas which emerged as a consequence of writing Chapters Two, Three and Four. The process of analysing the data was therefore partly inductive and partly deductive.

The first phase of the analysis involved the organisation of the coaches' responses into coherent topic areas, similar but not identical to those identified in the interview schedule. At this stage new files were created on computer disk and tags were employed so that it was possible to identify which coach made which comment. Quotes which might be of use were asterisked on the hard copy of the transcripts and then cross-referenced to the topic area, coach, page and paragraph number so that they could be easily located at a later date.

Throughout this process a small number of "emergent themes" were identified, that is other issues which did not have a natural home within any of the other topic areas. Different coloured highlighter pens was used to identify text in the transcripts relevant to each of these emergent themes. The text was then transposed into a new file using the "cut", "paste" and "clipboard" facilities on "Word for Windows", and a hard copy made of each file.

This chapter has shown how ideas from feminist research guided the methodological decisions taken in this study as well as describing the processes involved in collecting and analysing the data. The next chapter, Chapter Six, uses the interview data to help answer the question of why women are underrepresented as sports coaches in the UK. The findings from the interview data are discussed in the context of the ideas presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.0 Introduction

Using the data collected through interviews with twenty women coaches, this chapter sets out to develop a theoretically grounded understanding of women's underrepresentation as sports coaches in the UK. More specifically, the analysis seeks: to identify potential constraints on women's involvement in sports coaching; to highlight the ways by which women's progression to more senior sports coaching roles is hindered; and to show how the twenty women in this study have managed to circumvent these constraints, when others do not.

The discussion starts from a position which recognises that the interviewees share many similar experiences because they are first, women and secondly, coaches. Therefore the initial focus of the analysis is on areas of commonality amongst the twenty interviewees. However, the analysis is mindful that the women's lives as coaches have been shaped by their individual social and economic positions, their familial status, and their involvement in sport as participants, as well as by the type of sport they coach and their level of commitment to coaching. The ensuing discussion shows also that these women are not typical of British women in general; rather, they represent a minority of women who are relatively privileged in terms of class and personal income.

The discussion itself is organised in two main sections. The first considers the factors which shaped women's initial entry into coaching (sections 6.1 to 6.4), whilst the second

concentrates on those which appear to constrain women's progression to more prestigious coaching roles (sections 6.5 to 6.8). A summary is presented in section 6.9.

6.1 The Effects of Family and Domestic Responsibilities and Domestic Ideology on Women's Initial Entry into Coaching

Research cited in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis suggested that women who are married and have children are less likely than men and single women without children to be in paid employment, (LFS, Winter 1992-93) and to participate in out-of-the-home leisure activities (Dempsey, 1987; Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1987). The authors explain these patterns in terms of the constraining nature of women's domestic and family commitments and the pervasiveness of domestic ideology. What this section tries to do is first, to understand how the lives of the women coaches in this study have been shaped by their marital and parental status and secondly, to show how such an understanding contributes to an explanation of why fewer women than men engage in coaching.

Exactly half of the twenty interviewees in this study were married when they first started to coach, and six had children. None of these women reported that they had experienced any major problems in reconciling the needs of their male partner and their children with a commitment to coaching. These data appear to contradict the research cited in Chapters Three and Four which suggested that marriage and children *do* reduce women's opportunities for leisure and an involvement in coaching. However, the results are not perhaps surprising when one considers that if the women had found that their family and domestic commitments constituted significant barriers to their coaching activities, they

would probably not be coaching, and hence would not be a part of the sample. Moreover, the fact that only one quarter of the coaches had children when they started to coach might be seen to indicate that women without children find it easier to become involved in coaching.

A closer examination of the interview data revealed four key concerns. First the coaches expressed the view that “other” women might be put off coaching as a consequence of the temporal constraints imposed by their family and domestic responsibilities. Secondly, the coaches who were married and/or had children defined themselves as different from “other” women, precisely because their lives were not centred on the home. Thirdly, those women who were single and without children anticipated that their involvement in coaching would change if they had a long-term boyfriend or children. Fourthly, both the married and single coaches saw themselves as “better”, not worse people as a consequence of their involvement in activities away from their homes and in some cases away from their families. These four points are discussed in more detail below.

6.1.1 ‘Other Women’ Might Be Put Off

Many of the interviewees expressed the view that although they had managed to reconcile their domestic and familial commitments with their coaching activities, other women might not find this possible. Nora, for example, believed that many sportswomen delay an involvement in coaching until their children have grown up, and the personal experiences of Winona support this belief. She said:

There are barriers there because if you’ve got young children you cannot spend the time. I just went into it quite late in life really, so that my children didn’t really need me so much then. I couldn’t have coped with looking after

them like they need to be looked after and run a home and do this coaching job the way I do it now. It would have been impossible. So those are the barriers that would stop people from doing it, or stop them from ever trying. (Winona)

On this same theme, Claudia suggested that, based on her personal circumstances, men would find it easier to take up coaching than women. She had found it more difficult to accommodate her family's needs with her involvement in coaching than had her husband. She said:

I don't know if it's financial or time. It is difficult for married women to give the same time as a man. I suppose men would argue differently, but that's what I find. If I want to do coaching I've got to organise my family around the coaching, rather than the family falling in with what I want. (Claudia)

The coaches' responses reflect the findings of Gilligan (1982), Harrington, Dawson and Bolla (1992), Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw and Freysinger (1988) and Wearing (1988), all of whom make reference to the idea that women's lives are dominated by the "ethic of care". Women, they argue, are expected to nurture and to care for others before they consider their own needs. The origin of such beliefs was discussed in Chapters Two and Three, where it was pointed out that these perceptions of a woman's role owe much to Victorian, bourgeois ideologies (Yeandle, 1984; Hall, 1990).

Not surprisingly, then, some women found it difficult to strike a balance between their domestic/family and their coaching responsibilities. Gail, for example, described an incident which had taken place only one week prior to the interview:

Last week Aled [her husband] was so disgusted he tidied up and I haven't been able to find a thing. I've had to tidy out all the cupboards. Joanne said to me this morning: 'Where's me maths book?' and I know for a fact that it was on there, and he's thrown it away, so that's how it affects my life. . . . If I'm not there to do it, it gets left, they don't do it for me. (Gail)

Few of the married coaches with children indicated that their male partners assisted routinely with the housework or with child care, or if they did, their comments were couched in terms which suggested that their partners were helping them out, for example by “baby-sitting”, or by doing some work around the home. Sian, for instance, commented:

. . . I mean Dean’s [her husband] *pretty good*. We try and sort things out between ourselves, but I still tend to do the washing and the ironing, and cook the meals and do the shopping, . . . (Sian, emphasis added)

Researchers have reported that some men’s reluctance to assist with domestic chores constitutes a means of curtailing their female partner’s leisure (Green *et al* 1987; Wearing 1988). However, although the interviewees may have found it difficult to reconcile their family and household commitments, none suggested that their male partners engaged in any deliberate attempt to deter them from coaching. Whether this represents a true reflection of their experiences or merely a censored version presented to an “unknown” interviewer remains open to question. If the respondents did not experience any difficulties in negotiating time away from the family home to coach then this is probably a key issue in explaining their capacity to sustain their involvement in coaching.

What the data showed was that, although some of the interviewees did encounter some difficulties in organising their family around their coaching activities, the majority managed to reconcile the two. However, they were aware that not all women would be able to do this and as such they saw their ability to combine their roles as wife, mother and coach as setting them apart from “other women”. The women’s belief that they were “different from other women” is elaborated upon in the succeeding section.

6.1.2 'But I'm Different'

The interviewees' perception that they were different from most other women was articulated in a number of ways. Gemma, for example, saw her life as unconventional in the sense that:

... I suppose that one usually expects the wife to stay at home and look after the family and cook the meals. Many-a-time I say: 'Oh your food's in the oven.' Because we go out at half-five. (Gemma)

Colleen, who had been married but was now divorced, reasoned:

You see, socially I would otherwise be at home running the house and the family. If I were married and had a husband there it would be much more difficult. But I made a choice, I'm a fairly independent person socially. I don't have to rely or lean on anyone in terms of my own relationship. I go to do it independently, but I expect that probably accounts for the fact that I'm divorced! (Colleen)

Interestingly, it was not so much the women's involvement in sport and sports coaching which defined them as different from "other women", rather it was that their lives did not revolve exclusively around their homes and families. In other words the interviewees believed that it was not what they *were* (sports coaches), but what they *were not* (housewives), which set them apart from other women. This issue is discussed in more detail below (see section 6.1.4).

This distinction appears to be based on a perception that the major preoccupation of most "other women" is the home and their family. Such views are significant because they indicate that ideologies, promoted in Victorian times, that a woman's primary role lies in the home, caring for her family, still have currency in the late twentieth century. In addition these findings lend support to arguments put forward by Witz (1992) that the inclusionary mode of patriarchal control must be considered in conjunction with the

effects of the exclusionary mode as significant factors in shaping women's experiences (see section 2.3). This is significant because traditional socialist feminist analyses (see, for example, Hartmann, 1979 and 1981; Walby, 1989) have prioritised the effects of the exclusionary mode of patriarchal control, and "public patriarchy" in shaping gender inequality at the expense of the inclusionary mode and "private patriarchy".

6.1.3 'If I Were Married, It Would Be Different'

Many of the coaches without either a male partner or children believed that a long-term personal relationship and/or the presence of children would have a deleterious effect on their commitment to coaching. Wendy commented:

Some people might want to become coaches but then get married... have a family. It's [coaching] very demanding. I'm there [at the pool] five nights a week, Sunday morning. If I had a boyfriend - I haven't at the moment - they either like sport or they don't and even if they do, it's a bit much really.
(Wendy)

Similarly Wanda believed that being single gave her a degree of independence in her thoughts and action not enjoyed by married women. What is significant about these beliefs is the taken-for-granted assumption that marriage or a long term relationship with a male partner would reduce the time a woman could give to coaching, because her partner's or family's needs would take precedence over her commitment to coaching. Even though fewer women than at any time in the past define themselves as housewives, the residual effects of Victorian domestic ideology appears to help shape women's views of what is and is not appropriate behaviour once they marry and have children (discussed previously in sections 2.3.1 and 3.2.3). Claudia's response to the question: "Why do fewer women than men enter coaching?" illustrates this very point:

I think probably, once you get to women getting married, that, I don't know if it's inbred, that women will look after the home, which is what I did for ten years before I started playing. I think they then get this role at the home.
(Claudia)

Sally described a similar set of circumstances. She had always participated in sport but reported that she gave it up when she got married to become a “normal, working wife”, and only went back to playing squash after a year of marriage.

It is important to stress that it is not marriage *per se* which constrains women's access to leisure, but rather that a male partner's needs tend to be automatically prioritised.

Therefore, marriage is *perceived* to signal a number of changes in women's lives, not least of which is the expectation that it reduces women's freedom to pursue opportunities for work and leisure outside the home. It appears to be the case that being single is perceived to enhance women's access to coaching, whereas marriage and a family is seen to hinder access. However, as the experiences of those interviewees who were married and had children testifies, in reality the situation is not quite as clear-cut. So how have the married women with children in this study managed to negotiate their involvement in coaching?

6.1.4 Resisting the Restriction of the Home

One of the ways by which the women interviewed in this study who were wives and mothers seem to have negotiated their involvement in coaching with their partners is by distancing themselves from the narrow, restrictive ideology which locates women in the home and sees as secondary their participation in paid employment and/or access to out-of-home leisure activities. These women see themselves as different from other women

precisely because their dominant identity is not as a housewife and/or a mother. These responses are similar to those noted by Gloor (1992). The women in her study who prioritised paid work over unpaid work were more likely to engage in active leisure pursuits than women who defined themselves as housewives. Harrington, Dawson and Bolla (1992) drew similar conclusions from their research, arguing that employed women were less likely to be constrained by the ideals of domesticity, self-image and gender. Their analysis is consistent with the description of the effects of coaching on their lives given by the participants in this study. Significantly, the women saw their involvement in sports coaching as having a very positive effect on their lives, sometimes contrasting their lives with those of “other women” who they saw as having few interests outside the home.

Gill, married with a young child, asserted:

I just think they [other women] must have boring lives. I think that everybody, whether it's cookery or needlework or badminton or swimming, every female, every person, must have an interest outside the home to keep it right. (Gill)

A number of the coaches who were not married and did not have children held similar views. Natasha, for example, argued:

I think sometimes by participating in sport..... you have a bit more personality. Personally I feel that from participating in sport I have a lot more to offer, certainly at work and in life. (Natasha)

Other single coaches resisted what they saw as the attempts of other people to label *all* women as potential wives and mothers, who should therefore not be involved in coaching because this took them away from the home. Wendy recounted:

Sometimes people say: ‘How old are you?’ I say: ‘Twenty-six’ They say: ‘You should have been married, had kids by now.’ I say: ‘Who says I should? I’ve been quite happy doing what I want.’ (Wendy)

Despite women's increasing involvement in the public sphere of life (OPCS, 1994 indicates that 48% of all women in Britain aged over 16 are economically active), and figures which show that fewer women are having children. CSO (1995) data predicts that 20% of women in England and Wales are unlikely to have children by the age of forty), the respondents' experiences suggest that women continue to be defined by others in terms of their roles as housewife and/or mother. Having said this, it is important to realise that the women coaches in this study are challenging the social expectations which relegate women to the home. They may not be conscious of this, but by seeing themselves as enriched by their involvement in activities outside of the home, and by rejecting the roles of wife and mother, they are presenting a challenge to the status quo. These findings are consistent with those of Freysinger and Flannery (1992), who concluded that whilst the respondents in their study on women's leisure did not consciously resist the roles of wife and mother, they did resist being confined to these roles alone. Therefore attempts to seek out leisure activities which are self-directed and fulfilling can be viewed as challenging patriarchal ideology, which positions women primarily within the home.

In summary, the responses of the interviewees suggest that marriage and children can preclude women's involvement in sports coaching, primarily because of the temporal constraints associated with the roles as wife and mother, but secondly because of social expectations which encourage the view that once married and with children women, in general, will have less need of, and free time available for, interests outside the home. However, noting that so many of the women in this study have managed to combine successfully their coaching activities with their domestic and/or child care responsibilities indicates that it is not impossible to do so. Moreover, their insistence that interests outside

the home made them “better” people can be seen as a challenge to Victorian domestic ideology which locates women primarily within the home. Finally, it is important to recognise that these women are not typical of British women in general and that their ability to resist the restrictions of the home must, in part, be linked to their relatively privileged socio-economic status. This issue is debated in the next section.

6.2 The Financial Implications of Coaching, Employment Status and Personal Income

One of the problems of assessing the impact of economic status and personal income on women’s involvement in coaching is that for some, but not all women, it represents paid work, whereas for others it constitutes an activity within their freetime. Previous research has shown that social class and personal income affect women’s participation in leisure (Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1987), but because coaching can be employment or a leisure activity, an analysis of the relationship between paid work and coaching is complex. Moreover, whilst most of the interviewees received some form of financial reimbursement for coaching yet others received nothing, this did not appear to influence whether they perceived coaching to be “leisure” or “work. Sally, for example, was paid for each session she took but explained that she did not coach for the money, as the payment which she received did not even reimburse her fully for her time and expenses. She stated:

Sally: My pay is abysmal ‘cos I work for a leisure centre, £6 an hour, so I can’t command the same rate of pay as someone in a private club. . . . when you think I have to drive over to the centre and it takes out a full half-day.

Interviewer: So how important is the payment to you?

Sally: It isn't really, its the one thing that makes me think I could never live off squash!

The view that coaching was not something they did for the money was echoed by a majority of the coaches. Many described the level of financial rewards which they received from coaching as "inadequate". Seventeen of the coaches described how coaching cost them money when they first started to coach, and only two, Sonia and Sylvia, defined coaching from the outset of their involvement as "paid employment." These results indicate that, although coaches may be paid for their work, the money which they receive is generally insufficient reimbursement for their efforts and, as such, they need another form of income to offset the costs incurred through coaching. What is at issue here is whether coaching is prohibitively expensive for women wishing to start coaching. Some of the interviewees certainly thought so. Colleen reasoned:

... I suspect one reason you don't get many people in coaching is that there's not (not that everything should be based about finance) ..., but I don't think you should find yourself poor at the end of the road. How do you as a cricket coach accrue cricket balls and enough equipment if not by yourself? No one gives you an allocation of money to buy them. (Colleen)

This is not to say that all coaches need to acquire expensive equipment when they first start to coach: a swimming coach, for example, would not. Yet, as other coaches explained, equipment was just one drain on their finances; travelling costs were another major expense, as many coaches felt obliged to travel to venues to watch their performers compete. Travelling expenses can prove especially prohibitive to novice coaches, as Whoopi, whose first involvement in coaching was on a part-time basis for a local authority, described:

There are problems if you're not full-time because of expenses going to galas. If I'd driven to Southampton [from the north-west of England] as a part-time coach, I would have had to pay my own petrol and that. You're out of pocket

a lot working part-time. Full-time you can claim off your department or club
... (Whoopi)

The evidence from the interviewees provides a strong indication that women without an alternative source of income would probably encounter financial difficulties if they started to coach. Therefore it is not surprising to find that at the time that the women started to coach twelve of the coaches were in full-time employment, two were in part-time employment, three were students, and only three were without access to an independent income. The fact that seventeen of the twenty interviewees had access to some form of independent income illustrates that they are not typical of women in general. Although women's participation in the labour market is at an all-time high, with 10.2 million women aged 16-60, in paid employment, 46% of them work part-time (LFS Winter, 1994). By contrast 62% of men are defined as economically active and 93% are in full-time employment. The data presented here are consistent with previous studies which have examined the relationship between women's socio-economic status and access to leisure (see Deem, 1986 and Green *et al*, 1986) and concluded that opportunities for leisure are mediated by socio-economic status.

As the two women, Sonia and Sylvia, took up coaching as their main source of earnings, their experiences indicate that it is not impossible for women to earn a livelihood from their involvement in coaching. However, it must be pointed out that both coaches acquired coaching jobs as a result of their status as international squash players, which suggests that paid employment as a coach is mediated both by the type of sport and the playing status of the individual (see section 6.3).

Access to earned income may be important for women coaches, not only because of the indirect costs involved, but also because research has found that women with access to an independent source of income tend to perceive themselves to be more entitled to leisure and able to exercise greater autonomy in their choice of leisure activities than do women solely dependent on a male partner for their financial security (see Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1987; Pahl, 1984 and Wimbush, 1986, reviewed in section 3.2.1).

Interestingly none of the coaches, including the three women without a personal income, reported particular difficulties in negotiating access to time to coach within their households.

Contrary to data presented by Harrington et al (1992) and Shank (1986) which indicated that women felt guilty spending money on themselves, none of the working mothers amongst the interviewees indicated that they felt guilty about spending money in order to coach. This could be for three reasons, first because they did not view coaching as leisure, but secondly, because their children were involved in sport, they saw coaching as a part of their responsibilities as a mother. Gemma and Winona, for example, began to coach as a result of taking their children to gymnastics and swimming clubs respectively, staying to watch them train and eventually being asked to help out by a coach in the club. Such an explanation is consistent with an earlier study by Thompson (1992) who noted that women whose husbands and children participated in sport found it easier to maintain their own involvement in sport after becoming mothers. She reasoned that this was because the women were able to fulfil their obligations to their families whilst playing sport. The same might be said of the coaches in this study. Thirdly, the lack of guilt felt in spending money on coaching might also be explained by the mothers' perception that they had more

entitlement to leisure because they had earned this time through their involvement in paid work, a finding replicated by Wearing (1988) in her interviews with Australian mothers.

Having established that earned income is important for women starting to coach, how does this help us to explain why fewer women than men take on coaching roles? The answers to this question are linked to the levels of women's economic activity and to their personal incomes. Data from the LFS (Winter 1994) and the EOC (1993) indicate that fewer women than men are in paid employment (see above) and that women's average earnings are approximately 79% of men's average earnings (men's average earnings, in 1994 were £8.80 per hour, women's £7.00 per hour). Therefore women are less likely than men to have a sufficiently large, uncommitted income to enable them to offset the costs associated with coaching.

In summary, although none of the interviewees felt that the lack of financial remuneration for coaching had any serious impact on their decision to become involved in coaching, some believed that other women might be put off coaching because of the costs involved, and others highlighted the fact that coaching did sometimes leave them financially worse off. What these data appear to indicate is that most coaches require access to some form of earned income in order to commence coaching, since only a tiny proportion of them are likely to receive sufficient remuneration to meet the costs which they incur, let alone provide a decent income. As such it is logical to conclude that opportunities to coach are largely restricted to relatively affluent, middle class women, normally with access to an independent income. The only exceptions to this appear to be women such as Claudia,

Gemma and Winona who were presumably subsidised by their male partners when they first started to coach.

6.3 The Significance of Participation in Sport

This section examines the extent to which the interviewees' involvement in sport as participants shaped their initial involvement in coaching. One of the most striking features of the data was the similarity in the interviewees' experiences of sport prior to becoming a coach. Analysis of the responses revealed that eighteen of the twenty coaches had taken part in organised competitive sport. All described PE as having been one of their favourite subjects at school, and seventeen said that they had continued to be involved in competitive sport after leaving school. The degree of similarity in their experiences suggests that involvement in competitive sport is an important way in which women are socialised into coaching. A number of the interviewees expressed the opinion that a lack of women coaches was related to the low numbers of women who continue to play sport on leaving school. Nell, for example, argued that whilst many men played for their local football or rugby team, few women continued their involvement in sport beyond school. Gemma suggested that, for many women, other interests and commitments took priority over sport once they left school or college. She reasoned:

See the trouble is you get girls at school who are keen on sport, they then leave home, go to university or college or get a job and sport falls by the way. And the people that continue with sport after they've left school must be much smaller than men who continue sport. Because they play sport on a Saturday, now women don't do that or that's my expressed opinion that they don't do that. They may have their families, their young children, they don't start jogging up and down the road again or they're few and far between.
(Gemma)

Claudia's experiences, however, show that not all women give up sport for good. She related that she gave up sport in her early twenties and did not take it up again until her early thirties. She explained that this had happened not because of her lack of interest in sport but because at first her workmates and friends were uninterested in sport, so she had no companions with whom to participate, subsequently marriage and children meant that she had little time to play sport.

If a background in competitive sport increases the likelihood that an individual will take on a coaching role then, as many fewer women than men participate in competitive sport after leaving school (Hendry, Shucksmith, and Love, 1989) this helps to explain why men outnumber women in coaching positions. The pool of potential recruits is smaller.

Researchers (see Deem, 1986; Graydon, 1983; Hargreaves, 1994) have suggested that it is not just the temporal constraints brought on by family life which cause many women to give up sport. These authors argue that another key reason for women's low participation rate is that sport is closely identified with masculine values, such as aggression, power, and competitiveness. As these values contrast with those typically defined as feminine (such as passiveness, gentility and co-operation as opposed to competition), sport is perceived by many men and women as a less socially acceptable activity for women than for men. Consequently, many women are put off sport because they view most sporting activities as gender inappropriate. Significantly, none of the women in this study perceived themselves as engaged in a socially inappropriate activity or even an unusual activity. However, some of the coaches were conscious of the fact that whilst they did not

see themselves as different from other women simply because they were involved in sport, they recognised that other people might see them as so. Celine said:

I suppose women who aren't connected in sport think that women who are connected in sport are...., they're not as feminine as them, but I don't think I'm any different to other women. (Celine)

Similarly, Colleen related:

Colleen: I suppose you're always having to combat the reaction of people to the fact that you're interested in cricket anyway, 'cos cricket is well..... perhaps society's changing a bit now, but certainly then [when Colleen started to play] there was the expectation of wondering whether you were female or not. I think that's an inevitable thing in a game where a low percentage of women play anyway.

Interviewer: How did you react to that?

Colleen: I laughed and said that's the wrong conception. . . . I suppose it's been so much part of me in lecturing, in teaching in what I've done. . . . but perhaps I've got used to the fact that people are a little suspicious of you as a person if you do these rather extraordinary things. (Colleen)

The interview data provide some indication of the differences between the women in this study and women in general with regard to involvement in sport. First, the fact that the interviewees enjoyed sport at school sets them apart from most other women who, as Scraton (1987) describes, are put off sport as a result of their experiences at school. Secondly, the coaches' continued participation in formal, competitive sport on leaving school further differentiates them from the majority of British women who, according to Sports Council (1990) data, give up such activities in large numbers. Thirdly, the interviewees' perception of themselves as "no different" because of their sporting activities is important because once again it illustrates that women may be engaged in challenging ideologies of what constitutes "appropriate" feminine behaviour, even if they do so unconsciously. These women may not see themselves as consciously redefining the

boundaries of acceptable feminine behaviour, nor as challenging patriarchal ideology, but this is, in effect, what they are doing. It should be pointed out that where the women did see themselves as different from other women, this was only in relation to not seeing themselves solely as wives and/or mothers (see section 6.1.2). To this end the results from this study are consistent with the arguments presented by Freysinger and Flannery (1992), who concluded that the interviewees in their study on women's leisure unconsciously resisted definitions of "appropriate" feminine roles (see sections 3.4 and 6.1.4 above).

A second issue relating to "appropriate" feminine behaviour was highlighted by all four cricket coaches, each of whom made some reference to overcoming the "suspicions" of other men and women, in other words that, as cricketers, questions had been raised about their sexual orientation. As this issue was not probed further, it is difficult to offer an analysis of the significance of homophobic reactions in sport for women's involvement in coaching. That the four women continued to be involved in cricket suggests that they had not been put off coaching cricket. However, this does not mean that all women would react in a similar fashion. Bennett, Whitaker, Smith and Sablove (1987) and Griffin (1992) have argued that the label of lesbian is an effective tool with which to deter women from entering non-traditional gender roles or assuming a male-identified career.

6.4 Getting Involved in Coaching

The previous section looked at areas of commonality in the interviewees' experiences of sport as participants. This section focuses on the processes by which they became

involved in sports coaching. In essence, it attempts to identify the extent to which aspects of this process encourage or deter women from taking on a coaching role.

Seventeen of the coaches played the sports that they later coached, which suggests that women are more likely to become coaches in sports in which they themselves have taken part, but why? First, it is important to point out that the women often played more than the one sport which they went on to coach. What seemed to influence many respondents' decision to coach one particular sport as opposed to others was the success they had enjoyed as a performer in that sport. They felt that their competitive involvement and success in a sport gave them both knowledge and confidence. The coaches felt that people who had participated in a sport had a better understanding of the demands of that sport, greater knowledge as a consequence of being coached themselves and hence more confidence in their own coaching, than coaches who had not participated in a sport. Gill, who had competed to a high standard as a gymnast, maintained:

I think it [personal experience of a sport] is very important. I look at my gymnast who's come through as a coach and she's been able to coach that much better because she's done it and she knows the problems they're going through. Whereas sometimes you get a parent looking at the problem as a coach and that doesn't work at all. Sometimes you need to be that little bit firm, firmer than a parent can be, but if she's been a gymnast she'll understand it. I think a gymnast turned coach will make an awful lot better coach than a parent. (Gill)

Furthermore, a number of the coaches argued that coaches who had been good performers were automatically held in higher esteem by players than coaches who were less able performers, even though they might not be the best coach. Sonia spoke from personal experience when she recounted how she had sought a coach with a good playing record. Although many of the coaches expressed their reservations about the relationship between

playing and coaching, suggesting that “the best players don’t always make the best coaches” (Nell), sixteen of the coaches had played to at least a good club standard in their sport, and thus could be described as being above average performers.

Analysis of the women’s initial involvement in coaching revealed that not only were they likely to coach in a sport which they had played, but that they were also likely to begin coaching at the club where they were an established member. Thirteen of the interviewees’ first involvement in coaching occurred at the club where they had played themselves, suggesting that membership of a club eases the transition from playing into coaching.

Of the seven coaches who did not commence coaching at the club where they played sport, six had excellent links with the clubs or with the coaches at the clubs where they first started to coach. For example, Gail, Gemma and Winona became involved in coaching at a club where their children were members, whilst Grace and Wanda first started to coach at clubs where they knew the head coach. Natasha’s involvement came about because a team-mate of hers wanted to give up coaching a recreational university team and Natasha agreed to take over, whilst Nell took over coaching the county Under 18 team because many of the team attended the school where she taught. These results suggest that unless women have strong links with a club, whether these be through their own participation, their children’s participation or through contact with coaches known to them, they may be less likely to take up sports coaching.

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from this particular set of results, because the interviewees were not asked to comment directly on whether they would have preferred more help in getting started as coaches. What the results do highlight, however, is the importance for the interviewees of feeling comfortable and being “known” by others in their first coaching environment. Moreover, the interviewees’ responses highlight the importance of being ‘known’ by someone who already coaches, as this increases the likelihood of being asked to take on a coaching role. A number of researchers (Acosta and Carpenter, 1994; Knoppers, 1987; Hall and Slack, 1991) have proposed that male coaches make better use of networks to acquire coaching positions and that men are more likely to recruit other men to vacant positions than are women (see section 4.3.4.4). If this is also applicable to coaching in Britain, then it represents yet one more reason why fewer women than men become sports coaches.

Much of the research on women’s leisure suggests that the presence of dependent children operates to constrain rather than facilitate women’s leisure. Whilst this was true for some coaches, for others their children were largely responsible for the women’s introduction to coaching, as the accounts of Gail, Gemma and Winona show. All three became involved in coaching as a direct consequence of taking their children to gymnastics and swimming clubs and staying to watch them participate. Therefore, in sports like swimming and gymnastics, where a high percentage of participants are children and parental involvement is likely to be high, children may not be a hindrance to women becoming coaches; rather, they might be seen as enabling women’s involvement in coaching as an extension of women’s roles as nurturers and promoters of their children’s welfare.

This section has attempted to promote an understanding of the reasons why fewer women than men take on sports coaching roles. The next section tries to explain why comparatively few of the women who enter coaching reach the top levels of the hierarchy. Perhaps, not surprisingly, many of the reasons which were shown to influence women's initial involvement in coaching also help to explain the lack of women at its higher levels. Women's family and domestic responsibilities, their relationship to paid employment, and their access to an independent source of income can all be seen to contribute to the paucity of women coaches at the highest levels. The next section opens by addressing these issues first, before moving on to investigate the way in which the social practice and organisation of coaching militate against women's involvement at its top levels.

6.5 The Effects of Family and Domestic Responsibilities on Women's Involvement in Higher Status Coaching Roles

Sections 6.1 to 6.4 looked at the effects of women's domestic and family responsibilities on their initial entry into coaching and concluded that, whilst interviewees in this study had managed to reconcile the two, it might be envisaged that many other women with domestic and family commitments would be deterred from coaching. Analysis of the data revealed that such responsibilities also affect women's progression to the more senior coaching roles in sport. Of the ten interviewees who coached at the top levels of their sport, five were married and six had dependent children, and all reported that they sometimes found it difficult to sustain an involvement in top level coaching given the demands made on them by their family. Moreover, some of the coaches believed that

women's responsibilities for child care also explained why men were more likely to occupy higher status positions. Nora commented:

Women tend to play and then you coach after you've played . . . your average woman starts to coach after she's finished playing and probably when her children have grown up a little bit and got out of the way, whereas men don't have that handicap. (Nora)

If women's domestic and family commitments constrain their progression to higher status coaching roles, how had some women in this study managed to reach the top despite domestic obligations? The data suggest that there are two reasons why these women have managed to progress to the top levels, when others do not. First, their commitment to sport, whether as a participant or as a coach, had continued even though they married or had children. None of the coaches reported that they had a long break away from their sport. Gill described how marriage and the birth of her child affected her coaching:

If I didn't have Ivan [her husband], if it'd been anyone else, I would have had to have made a decision: gymnastics or marriage, but because Ivan was always active in his own sports and I was always involved in gym when we were courting, and we were courting a long time. . . we made a decision that I wasn't going to change and he needn't change and so we kept it going through. And then when I found out I was pregnant we had to sit down and make a decision and I said: 'Look I'll take Chris with me whenever I can and I'll let everybody know.' And I think I only had a week off, I had him on the Sunday and I was back in the gym on Tuesday, the following week. (Gill)

Perhaps what is key here is the fact that her male partner was also interested in sport. Indeed Claudia, Colleen (now divorced), Nora and Sylvia all reported that their male partners were supportive of their involvement in coaching. Such results are consistent with Thompson's (1992) study of recreational and club level competitive women tennis players. She noted that women whose husbands and children were involved in tennis found it easier to maintain their involvement in the sport after becoming mothers. She

argues that the reasons for this are that women are able to fulfil their obligations to the family at the same time as playing tennis. Claudia and Sylvia, for example, both had children involved at high levels in the sport that they coached.

Winona also had children involved in competitive swimming, but she reported that her husband showed little interest in, or understanding of, sport, and perhaps as a consequence he offered her little support. Significantly this coach expressed a wish to leave her job as a swimming development officer because of the strain it was putting on her marriage.

Perhaps what was significant in this instance was that Winona's children had retired from competitive swimming and her husband no longer felt it necessary to support her involvement as it was independent from their children's. Winona's experiences are more typical of those reported by Green *et al* (1987) in their study of women's leisure, where the support or lack of support given to women by a male partner was seen as crucial to their continued involvement in the activity.

The ability of the women to sustain their involvement in coaching is significant because it can be related to women's participation in paid employment. Research indicates that when women take career breaks they often fail to return to paid employment because of a loss of confidence and/or a belief that their skills are out of date (Hardhill and Green, 1991). It is reasonable to assume that the same might be true of coaching, where once women have taken a break from their sport they lose confidence, or else feel that because of rule changes and/or changes in technique they no longer have enough knowledge to return to playing and coaching. The break from coaching and/or playing which some women take in order to care for their children can also be seen as equivalent to women

who take career breaks to start families. Such women tend to return to jobs which are at a lower level than those they left, placing them at a disadvantage to men who are much more likely to have a unbroken record of paid employment (Corti and Dex, 1995; Gibbins, 1994). If the same occurs in coaching, then because women are more likely than men to take time away from coaching to care for their children, they may return to coach at a lower level than the one at which they operated before taking a break.

The second explanation of how these women have succeeded in reaching the top levels of coaching where others do not is that, with the exception of Claudia and Nora, all of the top level coaches (eight in total) who were married with children had established themselves as coaches before they had their first child. Colleen, for example, who was one of the first women to be invited by the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) to attend the Advanced Coaching Course, explained that she had undertaken a lot of coaching in her own county and around the country before this. It was not until three years after she had passed the Advanced course that the first of her four children was born. Gill, Sylvia and Winona reported similar experiences. Nora's involvement in coaching started once her son was aged 10 but prior to this she had established herself at the elite level of her sport as a participant, playing for England for three years before her son's birth and playing for the county and region after his birth. Therefore, all of the higher level coaches in each sport, except Claudia, had established themselves as players or coaches at the elite levels in their sports before they had children. That these women had managed to establish themselves at the top levels of their sport as players or coaches may have made it easier for the women to return to coaching at a relatively high level after a break. The status they acquired as players or as coaches may have made a return to playing or coaching easier as

they benefited from the respect and status which they had accrued prior to a break from sport.

Women's domestic and family commitments appear to exert a constraining effect not only on the time which women give to coaching, but also on the time they have available for professional development to update their knowledge through workshops and to acquire coaching qualifications. Gemma felt that she had found it difficult to find the time to acquire the next level coaching qualification because of her family/domestic responsibilities:

I did the first coaching course and that wasn't too bad. It was a local one, because it was on the first level. But when I wanted to go up a level, that has been a barrier because I have three children. My husband isn't involved in gymnastics, therefore for me to go and do a course means that he's left looking after the children. . . . I don't have grand parents or anybody else up here I can leave them with so in the end it took me a long time to go on and do the next course. . . . The courses are super if you work, if you're a school teacher, you've got no responsibilities, you've got summer holidays, school holidays, you can just go and do the courses. But if you're married and have got small children then there is a barrier. (Gemma)

One of the main problems affecting women with children who wish to acquire higher level coaching qualifications or to attend seminars or workshops, which may be prerequisites for such a coaching award, is that they are often held at venues which are some distance from where the women live, or else are of up to a week's duration. Women with children may find it difficult to make arrangements for the care of their children for a long period so far away from their home. Some women coaches may therefore be put off enrolling on these courses altogether or else delay attending such courses until their children are older: either way this means that are less likely to have the necessary qualifications for higher status coaching roles. Research by the Skills and Enterprise Network (1992) and Corti and

Dex (1995) shows the problems faced by the interviewees in this study are not dissimilar to the problems encountered by women in the labour market generally, with both studies reporting that women often find it difficult to gain access to training because of family commitments and a lack of child care facilities. Significantly such concerns do not appear to influence men's opportunities for further work-based training, presumably because men are not expected to assume the same levels of responsibility in the home or to their children as women.

6.6 The Effects of Employment Status and Personal Income on Women's Involvement in Higher Status Coaching Roles

The question addressed at this juncture is whether women's employment status and access to a personal income is as significant a constraint at the higher levels of coaching as it is at the time of women's initial entry into coaching. It might be reasonable to expect that, once women had invested in gaining experience and qualifications in coaching, they would benefit financially from their investment. This section sets out to examine whether this is the case.

Although the coaches in this study were not asked to divulge their annual earnings, they were asked to give details of their employment status, giving some indication of their economic status. A comparison of their occupational status and position as coaches revealed that higher status coaches were more likely to have a higher occupational status than women who were involved at the lower end of the coaching hierarchy. Based on these data it is possible to propose that the personal incomes of the higher status coaches

were, on average, likely to be greater than the coaches in lower status coaching roles. A more detailed break-down of the results is given below in table 19. However, it is recognised that occupational status is not, by itself, an adequate indicator of an individual's earnings.

Table 20 The Interviewees' Occupations

Lower Level Coaches	Higher Level Coaches
2 teachers (1 part-time)	2 lecturers
4 clerical workers (1 part-time)	2 teachers
1 recreation assistant	2 development officers
2 students	1 full-time coach
1 housewife	1 student
	2 housewives

What is at issue here is whether the relationship between socio-economic status and coaching level is a consequence of enhanced earnings from coaching or whether an above average income is essential in order to coach in a senior coaching role. There seems to be no simple answer to this question because the type of sport and the organisation for whom the coach works have a mediating affect on potential earnings. What was noticeable, however, was that the experiences of the coaches from the sports of cricket, gymnastics and netball were very similar whilst those of squash and swimming were somewhat different from this first group, but for divergent reasons. The differences between the coaches' experiences are explored in more detail below. The experiences of the cricket, gymnastics and netball coaches are considered together under a single heading, whilst those of the squash and swimming coaches are considered separately.

6.6.1 Cricket, Gymnastics and Netball

None of the coaches in these sports who held high status coaching positions reported that the payment which they received for coaching was sufficient to compensate them for the work which they undertook. Colleen, for instance, said although she received some payment for the sessions which she took, together with a contribution towards her expenses, it was going to cost her over £1,000 to go abroad as a coach to one team. She believed that this situation was because her governing body, was, she felt, inadequately funded by the Sports Council, so that there was no money to pay coaches, including her, for the work which they undertook. A similar situation was reported by one of the gymnastics coaches where, although her club had recently agreed to make a contribution to her travelling expenses, she was not fully recompensed for her work for the British Amateur Gymnastics Association (BAGA). She explained:

Gill: Nationally there's no financial assistance. As a zone coach we get a sum of money to help cover the cost (we paid the children to travel down to Somerset last year). And to take ten kids and two coaches, that's it all gone.

Interviewer: So you're not actually paid to take them down there?

Gill: Oh no! You do it for the love of the sport.

Nina and Nora recounted similar circumstances. Indeed Nora considered it a part of her remit to organise fund-raising for the team she coached.

Although the WCA paid its best coaches minimal levels of pay, women working for the men's governing body or a local authority development scheme were paid for their efforts. Claudia described how "if you're doing men or boys coaching, you get a lot more . . .", and Carla explained that if she were coaching boys on a local authority scheme she was

paid, whereas if she coached her club, she received no payment. Ironically then, the coaches working with the best women cricketers are financially worse off than those who coach on development schemes working with young, inexperienced male cricketers. Similarly, whilst coaching top level gymnasts left the coaches financially worse off, working for a local authority was, as far as finance was concerned, a more attractive proposition. What is interesting is the way that the women cricket coaches in this study appeared to accept the fact that the opportunities for financial reimbursement in the women's game were so much poorer than in the men's game. They seemed to believe that payment for coaching was linked to market forces and that because women's cricket was a minority sport it did not deserve parity with coaching men's cricket. They appeared to support the view that the greater popularity of men's cricket entitled coaches to enhanced opportunities for financial reward as coaches of male cricketers.

Evidently, individuals who aspire to coach elite women performers need high disposable incomes because the costs of coaching do not decrease as the status of the role increases; rather they seem to increase. Not surprisingly then eight of the ten coaches, working with top level performers had well paid jobs and no dependants. The exceptions were Claudia and Gill, neither of whom was in paid employment, but who both had male partners in full-time paid employment as a school teacher and service engineer respectively, and whose earnings presumably subsidised their coaching activities.

6.6.2 Squash

Both squash coaches had started to coach in order to earn money to support their playing commitments, suggesting that the opportunities for earned income are greater for women in squash than they are for women coaches in the sports mentioned previously. In fact Sylvia was the only coach to describe her current employment status as “(squash) coach”. Sonia explained that the opportunities for women to gain employment at a private club were less favourable than for men, because clubs typically hired a coach on the understanding that “he” would play for the men’s squash team in league matches. In contrast, few clubs were prepared to offer female players a financial incentive to represent them and hence female coaches were less likely to be hired than male coaches.

In keeping with the experiences of the cricket, gymnastics and netball coaches, the financial rewards associated with coaching top level players as a national or regional coach were minimal. Sonia relayed her feelings of frustration because there simply was not the money available to allow her to develop the junior area squad. Sylvia described a similar situation. She worked as a squash coach and manager of a sports club and explained that her earnings from this job were satisfactory, but that when she worked as a coach for the NGB she was not reimbursed fully for her work. She explained:

I’m away from home an awful lot, all the training courses. Some of the trips are three to four weeks long. It also includes attending all the meetings, selection, the Exec. . . Any publicity or anything that’s going on, I have to be there. I’m in charge of all the budgets, the uniforms. Its a very big responsibility and basically that money is paid to me as loss of earnings, so at the end of the day you’re doing it for the honour, you are not doing it for the money. (Sylvia)

The experiences of the women working for their NGB were similar to those of the cricket coaches in that they were aware that there was considerably more money available to support the men's game. Sylvia, like Claudia and Colleen, was aware of the fact that the women's association was unable to pay her more money, and she went on to contrast her involvement at the top level of women's squash with the men's game:

I mean they [WSRA] do the best they can for me, they're not trying to get me on the cheap, they just haven't got the money. . . I mean when I do a squad for the national Under 19's I get the venue, I get the girls to be put up at places, homes and I do everything on the cheap. The men, I went to a National Squad, they did an Under 12's, I knew one boy on one of them. £2,000 that cost. That was for sixteen Under 12 boys! They had five top coaches, stayed in a five star hotel, and here's me, sort of doing it on £100 and they're doing it on £2000. So you can see what the problems are....and we're the World Champions and they're not! (Sylvia)

6.6.3 Swimming

The two swimming coaches were employed in full-time positions as swimming development officers, which included some responsibility for coaching. It is difficult to comment on the significance of paid employment for these two women's involvement in coaching elite standard swimmers, because, unlike the other coaches who were interviewed, neither coached elite level performers. Both coaches explained that their involvement at the top levels of swimming was dependent upon them having swimmers in the national squads and, as they did not have any national standard swimmers, they had not been asked to become involved at this level. At the time at which the interviews were conducted, no women coaches had been invited by the NGB to work with elite standard performers. As swimming coaches are often employed by local authorities as swimming development officers, this suggests that such coaches are probably reimbursed for their time and expenses as a coach. Since there were no women working with elite level

representative squads, it is not possible to comment on the levels of reimbursement received for working with such squads.

6.6.4 Coaching Qualifications, Courses, Workshops and Seminars

Access to earned income affects coaches in ways other than the time and commitment which they can spend coaching. Coaches who aspire to coach at the top levels are also often expected to attend workshops, seminars and courses, and to acquire advanced level coaching qualifications, all of which, as the interviewees stated, cost them considerable sums of money. Eleven of the twenty coaches who were interviewed stated that they had found it expensive to acquire coaching qualifications, although nine of the coaches had received some financial assistance from their club, county association or employer to obtain their qualification. A number of coaches commented that, whilst they had not found the expense in obtaining a coaching award prohibitive, they were aware that other women had. Claudia, for example, said:

. . . the WCA have decided they're going to help the coaches, so hopefully they'll get more people applying 'cos it were £175 for the Advanced. It's a lot of money when you're not really guaranteed anything back from it. I've had help from the men down here and hopefully from the WCA (although I've yet to hear about that). So moneywise no, that didn't stop me. But I know people who haven't done the Advanced 'cos of the cost. (Claudia)

Nora described similar, if not worse, situation in netball, stating:

They [aspirant coaches] have to pay something like £30, its going up now, the last week-end course was something like £50. It costs to go on a course to improve your coaching skills to help All England and you're having to fork out £50 to do that. Well there are some people who can't afford that. (Nora)

It would seem that the coaches' experiences are comparable with those of women in paid employment. The Skills and Enterprise Network (1992), for example, found that women's access to opportunities for training in the work place were mediated by, amongst other things, high training costs, inaccessible venues, and travel-time constraints.

It would be too simplistic to view the cost of qualifications as the reason why fewer women than men coach at the top levels in sport. What the data show is that the cost of a coaching qualification is weighed against the anticipated financial or other returns from acquiring a particular qualification. Whoopi, for example, told of how she had given a great deal of thought before she paid £250 to register for the Full Coach award, but decided to do it because the sport's NGB, the Amateur Swimming Association (ASA), stipulated that coaches without this award would not be considered for national coaching appointments. In contrast, three of the four squash coaches reported that they had not registered for the next level award because they felt that they were unlikely to recoup their investment. They felt that as far as most squash clubs were concerned the level of coaching qualification was less important than a person's ability to win matches for the men's squash team, and as they were unlikely to be able to compete successfully in these teams there was little incentive to upgrade from their current qualification. It is not simply the cost of the coaching qualification then which deters women from progressing up the coaching hierarchy. What seems to be as important is women coaches' perception of how likely it is that they will be able to make good use of these qualifications. Some female coaches may be less likely than male coaches to seek higher level coaching qualifications because they believe that men are more likely to be appointed to top coaching positions and hence they will not be able to make use of their knowledge and skills. There is

evidence to suggest that the coaches' experiences are similar to women's experiences in the labour market. Gibbins (1994) and Corti and Dex (1995), for example, found that women occupied lower status positions in paid employment than men with equivalent qualifications and hence were less likely to hold positions commensurate with their qualifications.

What is most striking about these findings is that the enhanced occupational status of the higher level coaches, and the impact of this on their personal income, suggests that a large disposable income is not a consequence of their coaching activities, in the way that such high status and high rewards go together in employment; rather, it is a prerequisite for them. All of the top level coaches reported that coaching left them financially worse off. Indeed for some coaches, Colleen for example, the costs incurred were immense.

In summary, the experiences of the top coaches in this study indicate that without access to a relatively high income, an involvement with elite standard performers would be almost impossible to sustain. The results also showed that the opportunities for earned income vary between sports, but that all of the coaches who worked for their NGB found themselves financially worse off for so doing, yet it was these positions which were seen as having the greatest status. To conclude, it seems that it is unlikely that any woman other than one with access to a reasonable income could occupy a high status coaching role. Gender differences in coaches' rewards within sports have been pointed out by the interviewees. Further research is needed to find out whether the difficulties experienced by the coaches in this study are mirrored elsewhere in sport.

6.7 Coaching Appointments

This section shows how the mechanisms by which coaches are appointed to higher status positions serve to limit women coaches' opportunities to work with elite performers.

6.7.1 Knowledge of Coaching Appointments

The interviewees who were best informed about the mechanisms for making coaching appointments were those who were already coaching at the higher levels. Nina, for example, could describe how coaches were appointed at all levels in her sport. She said:

By interview, the national job. Letters are sent out to all Advanced coaches and you just apply, then you are put in front of an interview panel chosen by the National Coaching sub-committee and it goes from there. At regional level, letters are sent out to all intermediate and above coaches, and you apply. At county level, letters again, and even to people who we know have done a lot of coaching. (Nina)

Coaches in lower status positions had lower levels of awareness of how coaches were appointed at higher levels in their respective sports. Gail, for instance, when asked how coaching appointments were made in her sport said: "... apart from club level I've no idea how they are appointed! (Gail)

Although the interviewees had some knowledge of how coaches acquire coaching roles, only those who had actually reached higher level positions could comment with any confidence about the processes by which senior coaches were appointed. What this suggests is that there are few, if any, well-publicised details of the mechanisms for career progression in sports coaching in the UK. The extent to which this situation disadvantages

women aspiring to coach at the higher levels can only be fully understood by examining, in more detail, the actual mechanisms by which individuals are appointed to coaching roles.

6.7.2 Mechanisms for Appointing Coaches

The respondents identified two mechanisms by which coaching appointments were made: “word-of-mouth” and advertisements. They believed that the former was the most common method of appointing coaches, with nine reporting that they had obtained their current coaching position in this way. What is interesting is that most of these nine coaches worked at the lower levels of their respective sports suggesting, perhaps, that informal mechanisms are more likely to be used in the appointment of coaches to lower status coaching positions. The main reason for this seemed to be that word of mouth was the most effective means of getting a coach. One coach described a typical instance:

Somebody says you’re not doing anything, would you like to do that, and I think you would be amazed how many coaches are done like that. I think once you get beyond county I think people do try, West Yorkshire tried, but we put ads. . . all qualified coaches were circulated asking were they interested in applying, and we put ads in the paper, and we put an ad in the netball magazine. So you try . . . and it fell on stony ground, nil response whatsoever. So I’m afraid they are very much done over a drink. (Nell)

Therefore even where an attempt had been made to widen the pool of potential applicants by publicising a vacancy, this had brought no response.

This response was echoed by a number of the respondents, many of whom stated that, because there was a desperate shortage of coaches in their sport, anyone who indicated a modicum of interest was “encouraged” to become involved. Gail explained:

Well at club level, we're so short of coaches that the more we can rope in, the merrier... they don't necessarily need to be qualified. As long as you've got somebody [else] there who knows what they're doing - there's such a lot of little things that people can help at. So I wouldn't say at club level that the coaches are appointed. It's anyone - it's all hands on deck really! (Gail)

In contrast, the swimming coaches did not subscribe to the idea that coaches were appointed by “word-of-mouth”. All four reported that most coaches were employed by local authorities on swimming development schemes and these posts were advertised in national, local and local government newspapers by the local authority and directly to members of the Institute of Swimming Teachers and Coaches in its magazine. However, their descriptions of how coaches were, in theory, appointed did not always correspond with their personal experiences. For instance, at other stages of the interview, Wanda and Wendy reported that they had been asked by the chief coach to work part-time on local authority swimming development schemes. Therefore, even with local authority appointments, which are paid and typically seen as advancing equal opportunities policies, it seems that some part-time coaching positions are advertised by word of mouth.

The respondents believed that formal mechanisms for appointing coaches, such as job advertisements, tended to be used only where appointments were made within the public sector (as was the case with swimming) or else for the most senior, salaried, coaching positions in a sport such as a Director of Coaching or national squad/team coach (as was the case with the appointments for Colleen and Nora). Even then there were exceptions to this rule: Sylvia, for instance, reported that she had been invited by the NGB to take on one of the most senior coaching roles in her sport. In addition, Whoopi and Winona both suggested that even with full-time, local authority appointments, coaches were sometimes approached and invited to apply for positions. Whoopi said:

I think a lot of the time, you get the impression that they already know who's going to get it according to the list of applicants. They didn't do it here, but in some places they'll actually approach people rather than advertise because of the reputation some coaches have got . . . (Whoopi)

In other words, Whoopi was suggesting that formal recruitment processes are sometimes bypassed. Interestingly, she thought that one of the reasons why she was appointed to her current full-time coaching position was because she was "known" by the people who were on the interviewing panel.

So how do the mechanisms for making coaching appointments affect women's access to higher status coaching roles? The findings here reveal that the mechanisms for appointing coaches, especially at the lower levels in sport, are predominantly informal, most often by word-of-mouth. Although informal mechanisms are open to abuse, for example, where particular individuals are asked to help coach whilst others are not, because of the desperate shortage of coaches the respondents did not believe that they or other women were necessarily disadvantaged by such arrangements. However, Hall and Slack (1991) suggest that because men are more likely than women to make the decisions about who is offered a particular job and because men are more likely to appoint other men rather than women, the interviewees may have underestimated the extent to which women are disadvantaged by the use of informal recruitment mechanisms,

Although the respondents did not believe that the processes by which lower level coaching appointments were made disadvantaged women, they did believe that the reverse was true in relation to higher level roles. Gill's description of the way in which zone coaches were appointed represents many of the coaches' views. She explained that, as far as the person

responsible for appointing coaches at Zone level was concerned, a significant factor in his decision-making process was how well he knew the applicants:

. . . he also had to see them coach, and know them. You can be a stranger and know everything but if he doesn't know you, tough. (Gill)

Informal appointment mechanisms give rise to gender inequality because men are normally acquainted with a larger number of male coaches than they are female coaches and are more likely to perceive men as being the “right person for the job” than they are women (Knoppers, 1987; Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing and Forrest, 1992). In addition Acosta and Carpenter (1992; 1994) and Hall and Slack (1991) noted that women coaches believed that male networks put women coaches at a disadvantage to their male colleagues by reducing their opportunities to learn about new coaching opportunities (see section 4.3.4.4).

All of the previous research cited above suggests that women are discriminated against in comparison to male coaches, a finding supported in this study where a number of the coaches believed that male coaches were more likely than female coaches to be appointed to top level coaching roles. Winona said of local authority appointments:

. . . if a coach was being sought to work with international swimmers then a woman would be considered incapable of this and . . . so if you go to an interview and all things are equal I'm sure the man would get it. (Winona)

This suggests that women coaches feel themselves to be at a disadvantage to male coaches, regardless of whether the process for appointing a coach is formal or informal. Whichever mechanism is used, the conclusion appears to be that women do not have the same opportunities as men to obtain higher status coaching roles.

6.8 Proving Oneself as a Coach

The previous section examined the ways by which women seem to be disadvantaged in reaching higher status positions in coaching, as a consequence of the lack of a publicised career structure and the prevalence of informal appointment mechanisms. These are not the only factors which affect women's progression to the more prestigious coaching roles, however. The findings of this investigation also indicate that the criteria apparently used to evaluate a coach's ability place women at a significant disadvantage in relation to male coaches. The coaches highlighted three criteria which they felt were used to judge an individual's ability as a coach:

- a) past/current performance as a participant;
- b) coaching qualifications; and
- c) the competitive successes of the athletes they have coached.

Taking each of these criteria in turn, this section will show how these factors influence women's opportunities for progression to more prestigious coaching positions.

6.8.1 Past and Current Performance as a Participant

Earlier in this chapter (section 6.3) the relevance of a coach's personal experience as a participant in a sport was mentioned as a significant positive factor for women's initial involvement in coaching. The interview data revealed that the interviewees had themselves generally competed in sport to a good club standard or, more often, to county

standard, and this seemed to be a important factor in accounting for their progression to the higher levels of the coaching hierarchy. Experience as a participant in a sport was seen by the interviewees, not only as a way of acquiring knowledge and boosting confidence, but also by both players and other coaches as a measure of a person's coaching ability.

Sylvia maintained that playing ability was very important in relation to coaching ability, stating that:

I think it's very important, although I know it can be proved that you don't need to be a good player to be a good coach and that you can be a good player and a lousy coach. . . . But I have to say that being a top player myself has been a great advantage. A, because you have respect, B, you've been through the mill, you've played for England, you know what it's like, you know the pitfalls and C, if you're actually coaching someone who's quite good it's pretty difficult to play and teach at the same times whereas if you're good you can play and look at the same time, whereas if you're struggling to beat them I don't see how you can coach. So I would say it's a great asset. (Sylvia)

Similarly, Nora felt that her ability to demonstrate techniques and tactics gave her an advantage over coaches who were less skilful players. She explained:

. . . I think you have to demonstrate correctly and that's important. I found when I watched Helen and Sue, who were never players to any standard themselves, I always thought their demonstrations were not good enough. Their demonstrations, both super coaches, but I've always felt their demonstrations let them down a little bit because they didn't really look the part of what they were doing. (Nora)

She went on to say:

. . . they [average standard players] fall down a bit on coaching. They can learn the skills, but they don't read the game. They've never played it to understand what might happen, whereas if you've played it at top level yourself you know darn well what might happen so I think its important . . . (Nora)

The cricket coaches also believed that men involved in cricket perceived a link between playing cricket and coaching it. Claudia said:

You've got to accept that you're in a male-dominated sport and be prepared to make slow progress. You've got to prove you can do it. Men think that I can't play cricket so that therefore you can't coach cricket. So you've got to go out there and prove it. I think I've done that. (Claudia)

If a coach is judged on their past or current ability and success as a performer, then how does this affect the way in which women are evaluated as coaches? Taking the example of squash, it is possible to see that female coaches are disadvantaged because they may be judged to be of a lower playing standard than a male coach in sports which are played by men and women. This point was made by Sally who maintained:

I suspect that there are a lot of men who won't come on my courses because they think they're better players than I, and they're probably right. Consequently they feel I can't do anything for them. (Sally)

Sonia made this same point, citing a situation at her own club:

Sonia: On the coaching side, being female is probably more of a disadvantage because at Mancastle Western they've just advertised for a coach, but they definitely want a male. I sat on the meeting there and they said: 'Well we might also appoint a female, but obviously the female would be just the assistant.' No second thoughts about the female might get the full job.

Interviewer: What was their reason for saying that?

Sonia: Because they thought more males would go to a male coach. In a way I could see it because I couldn't be a good.... I couldn't beat a county man whereas a male coach could. Now I beat most.... I could coach most of the county ladies, say. But then a coach doesn't necessarily have to beat a person just to give them technique, but that would have been their main reason.

If this pattern is repeated in other sports, then it might be assumed that female coaches will be evaluated less highly than male coaches, not because they are less able coaches, but

because they cannot beat or better a male athlete's performance. Ultimately, as Sonia explained, this will restrict women's access to top level coaching positions.

Despite the fact that women coaches may be at a disadvantage if they are evaluated on their ability as participants, many of the interviewees strongly supported the idea that the level at which an individual coached should reflect the level at which they had participated. Interestingly, the interviewees who had themselves been highly successful participants, namely Colleen, Gill, Nina, Nora, Sonia, Sylvia and Whoopi, expressed such a view more forcefully than the interviewees who had not been as successful as performers. Yet many of these coaches also believed that this same argument was used by administrators to justify employing male coaches as opposed to female coaches. If this pattern is repeated across all sports, then it is reasonable to assume that female coaches are less likely to be appointed to high level coaching roles, not because they are less able coaches, but because they are unable to beat or better a male athlete's performance.

All four netball coaches employed a kind of reverse discrimination argument stating that male coaches in their sport could not possibly have the same understanding of the game as women coaches because they had not played the sport. Nina maintained:

There are a few male coaches and a few male umpires and I think you tend to step back and look at them and ask: 'Why do they want to be involved in an all-female game?' They cannot experience the same feelings you've had when you're trying to coach and put something across. They can not understand the difficulty someone has with a technical point unless they've actually experienced it. (Nina)

Given the overrepresentation of male coaches in women's sports, it would seem that, whilst the female netball coaches resist men's involvement in their sport, their reasons are

precisely the same as those used to exclude women from working with elite and men's teams. As such these arguments do not serve to challenge women's subordinate status in sports coaching.

6.8.2 Coaching Qualifications

Most of the interviewees felt that coaching awards were an important means by which coaches gained recognition, respect and acceptance by other coaches and by athletes.

Three swimming coaches also believed that higher level coaching qualifications conveyed to other coaches the seriousness of their involvement in coaching. Whoopi, for example, was asked by a senior, male swimming coach whether she was really serious about coaching, or whether it was just "a passing flight of fancy". Whoopi, referring to her full swimming coach qualification, said:

Its something that anyone who's getting serious about getting coaching full-time needs that certificate, otherwise these days, they don't think you're serious about it.

Gill expressed a similar point of view, stating:

I felt in this region, you had to. If you hadn't got something on paper, you weren't recognised, even if you were turning gymnasts out. (Gill)

Colleen went further and suggested that qualifications were especially important for women because they provided concrete evidence of their competence as a coach. She said:

I think that as a woman if you're professing to be something in sport then you've got to be recognised from the outside world that you know something about sport. Unless you get the qualification.... I hate qualifications, I think they're awful but unless you have them you don't have any skills and you've got to have status, haven't you? (Colleen)

Wendy employed a similar argument, maintaining that qualifications could be used to demonstrate to other coaches that you were their equal. She described an incident in which a colleague had used her own coaching qualifications to bolster her status as a coach:

“Me friend Deborah turns ‘round and says: ‘ I’m more qualified than you are, what do you know?’ ” (Wendy)

What is at issue here is the extent to which the requirement of coaching qualifications as a criterion for judging a coach’s competence impedes women’s progress to higher status coaching roles. First it is important to point out that it is not necessarily the qualifications themselves which disadvantage women; rather, it is the processes involved in their acquisition, issues which have been addressed previously. As described in section 6.2 , whilst the time and costs for any given course are the same for men and women, women’s lower disposable income and the greater responsibilities borne by some women for work in the home and for children means that it is often more difficult for women to find the money and the time to attend a coaching course, particularly when the venues of the higher level awards involve travelling long distances.

6.8.3 Success of Athletes

The third way identified by the interviewees for assessing an individual’s ability as a coach was through the successes of the performers which they coached. Twelve of the interviewees believed that recognition as a coach came through the achievements of their athletes. Grace, for example, was adamant that this was the single most important

criterion for judging a coach's ability and competence. She argued that if she were appointing someone to a senior coaching position:

. . . a coaching qualification can be important, but I wouldn't be asking for a bit of paper, I'd want to know who are the gymnasts you've produced, as well as the paper qualification. . . . Surely you're going to look at the level of the performer the coach is producing, not the level of award on paper.
(Grace)

Moreover, Claudia felt that one of the reasons the WCA had asked her to coach representative sides was because of the success of the young cricketers developing through the club and county sides with whom she was involved as a coach. She said:

I presume I got the coaching in the first place because of the success we had here and someone sat up and thought: 'Well, they must know what they're doing . . . ' (Claudia)

Interestingly, Colleen and Winona shared similar views on the significance of athletes' successes or failures for a coach. Colleen commented:

Either you're a good or bad coach if you win or lose. That may be true, I'm not saying it isn't, but it's a great shame. I mean we look across all games and as soon as a team is losing, the responsibility falls heavily on to the coach's shoulders . . . (Colleen)

Winona felt that her "failure" to produce international swimmers meant that she was not asked to be a coach with the national squads. She explained:

It doesn't matter how hard I work, I'm only as good as the children I produce. . . You're in a ruthless world where, if you are ambitious, you have to drive them [the swimmers] on and on. Keep them on the dole even if they won't make it - then they're considered brilliant world class coaches because they produce the swimmers and get so many on the Olympic team. If you don't get them in, it doesn't matter how much you care for the swimmers and they go on to be rounded people and they've still got their swimming, you're nobody as a coach, you are not rated. So it's a ruthless world and I'm not ruthless enough. (Winona)

It might be argued that all coaches, both male and female, have to prove themselves competent to other coaches and to their performers. The issue here is not whether coaches have to prove themselves capable, but how the criteria used to evaluate a coach's competence disadvantage women coaches. Data indicate that there are fewer women than men involved in coaching top level athletes, therefore fewer women than men are in a position to prove themselves competent through reference to the successes of top level athletes. Commercial pressures usually mean that elite athletes are more visible than recreational or novice athletes and that male athletes are more visible than female athletes. As women are more likely to coach recreational and novice performers and women rather than men, their successes with these groups of athletes are, in turn, less visible.

Women may face up to three hurdles in seeking to progress in the coaching profession. First, prevailing beliefs amongst both players, coaches and administrators about the importance of playing ability and coaching ability inevitably result in women's coaching ability being brought in to question. Although male coaches are evaluated in a similar fashion, the belief that they are better players than women does not disadvantage them to such an extent as it does women. Secondly, in male dominated sports, such as cricket, women are expected to prove themselves as knowledgeable and competent about their sport as male players before they are accepted as coaches. Thirdly, in sports where men predominate in coaching, such as swimming, women are expected to prove themselves serious about their commitment to coaching. Entry into coaching is gendered because sportsmen are considered the norm, whilst sportswomen are considered exceptional and therefore different. This difference is most commonly defined in terms of the physical inferiority of female competitors in relation to their male counterparts, which is translated

into women's inferiority as coaches. Coaching is gendered, not only because sport itself is male dominated, but also because leadership roles, including coaching are also gendered. Women in non-traditional roles, like coaching, are therefore expected to prove themselves committed and able workers before securing full acceptance from their peers.

6.9 Summary

This Chapter has tried to do two things. First, an attempt has been made to identify some of the reasons why fewer women than men take up coaching positions in sport. Secondly, it has been concerned to explain women's underrepresentation in high level sports coaching roles. The findings from interviews with twenty women coaches were used to show how women are disadvantaged in comparison with male coaches by wider social and economic factors, such as their greater responsibilities for child care and their lower disposable income. In addition data were presented to show that many of the practices inherent within sports coaching in the UK also serve to discriminate against aspirant women coaches. A summary of the main findings can be found at the beginning of Chapter Eight. The next Chapter, Chapter Seven, offers a personal reflection on the research process, highlighting some of the challenges which presented themselves during the course of the investigation. It also identifies some of the main limitations of this study and suggests avenues for further research.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Many texts have been published on the mechanics of carrying out social science research, with most tending to describe the process as a relatively unproblematic linear progression of ideas. According to this model a researcher identifies a research question, reviews the literature, selects an appropriate research methodology, collects their data and writes up their findings in a sequential way (see, for example: Bell, 1990; Borg and Gall, 1989; Moser and Kalton, 1989). More recently researchers, feminists prominent amongst them, have begun to challenge the perception that research is without problems, calling for a more honest, reflexive account of what actually happens (Marshall, 1986; Reinharz, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1983; 1993). Indeed, a number of feminists have published accounts not only of their research findings but also of the problems they encountered in completing it (Haggis, 1993; Marshall, 1986; Poland, 1993). In keeping with this growing feminist tradition, this Chapter explores the difficulties and concerns which arose during this investigation. In addition, and with the benefit of hindsight, some of the flaws and limitations of this study are identified. The Chapter commences by outlining some of the issues which emerged at the very start of the project, in identifying an appropriate theoretical model and locating appropriate sources of literature within which to frame the study. The second part of the Chapter focuses on issues relating to the selection of the sample, the development of the research tools and the data collection phase. Lastly, some ideas are offered as to the possible direction for further studies.

When this investigation began, only limited empirical data had been collected on women's lives as coaches in the UK and there had been less theoretical debate on this issue (and it is with much regret that I report that this situation has remained largely

unchanged). The lack of literature in this area is linked partly to the infancy of sport sociology in Britain and partly to feminist sociologists' apathy towards sporting issues in general. Although academics had given little consideration to women's lives as coaches in the UK, a number of papers had been published in the USA on this subject and initially it was hoped that these would provide a direction for this project. A review of this literature quickly revealed, however, that whilst some of the work was informative, it could not provide the necessary direction nor theoretical framework for this study. This was for a number of reasons. Research on women coaches in the USA tended to focus either on establishing what differences, if any, existed between male and female coaches (e.g. Anderson and Gill, 1983) ; or quantifying the effects of Title IX - a piece of federal legislation in the USA designed to give men and women equal opportunities and resources in educational establishments (e.g. Acosta and Carpenter, 1988). Neither approach offered a comprehensive understanding of the reasons *why* fewer women than men took on sports coaching roles in Britain. This is because a focus on male-female differences ignores the effects of wider social, economic, political, organisational and historical factors. Whilst the organisational context within which coaches operated in the USA is far more structured and formal than in the UK and hence much of the research appeared to make only a limited contribution to an understanding of women's lives as coaches in Britain (e.g. Knoppers, 1987).

Therefore at a very early stage in this research it was recognised that the theoretical framework would need to be developed from writings outside of sports coaching. One academic field which was seen as potentially useful was that of women and management, because of the seemingly parallel situations confronting women in the spheres of paid employment and sport in the late 1980s. Data from the LFS and the OPCS indicated that whilst the numbers of women both entering paid employment and

participating in sport had increased significantly in the decade prior to 1988, the numbers of women in managerial posts in general, and in sports leadership roles (coaching being one) had not risen commensurately. This begged the question of whether an analysis of the mechanisms underlying gender inequality in leadership roles in paid employment could help to explain women's underrepresentation in leadership roles in sport. This line of inquiry was pursued for some considerable time, and ideas drawn from this literature were used to frame the questions in the interview schedule. A later and more detailed analysis of the literature, however, revealed that much of it was atheoretical, concentrating as it did on identifying individual differences between male and female managers (e.g. Boulgarides, 1984), recommending self-help strategies for female managers (e.g. Staley and Shockley-Zalabak, 1986), or suggesting ways by which organisations could promote equal opportunities for women managers (e.g. Davidson and Cooper, 1984). Few, if any, of the studies attempted to situate women's experiences as managers in a wider context, one which took into account social structural variables such as class and gender. Moreover, research on women managers tended to concentrate on their workplace experiences and ignored contextual issues relating, for example, to the home and the family. In this sense, the literature on women and management and that on women and coaching from the USA had much in common, and as the limitations of using the latter had been identified relatively early in the research process, with hindsight, it was surprising that the limited contribution of the literature on women and management was not recognised more quickly.

The influence of the management-based literature on the design of the interview schedule had major implications for later stages in the research process, and more generally for the direction and impetus of the project. For example, a large number of

the questions in the interview schedule were included in an attempt to reflect some of the concerns within the management literature of the time. One area which received considerable attention was the notion of male-centred and female-centred approaches to management. Consequently questions on coaching philosophy and coaching style were included in the interview schedule. However, as no data were collected from male coaches it was not possible to effect comparisons with the literature on male-centred and female-centred approaches to management. Moreover, although some coaching sessions were observed prior to commencing the interviews, insufficient data were collected during this phase for a systematic analysis and hence there were no observational data to support their oral descriptions of their style of coaching. Finally, because the perspective eventually moved away from the area of management, these issues were not developed in the final analysis. It must be said that the challenge of finding a perspective other than one from management-oriented literature meant that the study lacked direction during the period when the interviews were being undertaken.

At about the same time that these problems were being worked through, one major related area of research did seem to offer the potential to make a significant contribution to an understanding of women's experiences as coaches. This was research on women's leisure which, for a number of reasons, was to prove particularly fruitful. Although there is no empirical evidence to support such an assertion, my own experiences in sport suggested that many coaches were unpaid volunteers and, as such, coaching could be considered in certain circumstances to be a "leisure activity". The 1980s witnessed a proliferation of research on women's opportunities for, and experiences of, leisure and hence research was readily available on this topic. Papers published on women and leisure in *Leisure Studies* tended to adopt a theoretical

perspective drawn from socialist feminism and, on further examination, this approach appeared to make a significant contribution to explaining women's experiences of leisure. The literature on women's leisure was particularly helpful in exploring the relationship between paid work and leisure, and between unpaid work and leisure - both of which were pertinent to an analysis of women's experiences as sports coaches in the UK.

Whilst the literature on women and leisure made a significant contribution to understanding women's lives as coaches, especially with reference to the effects of family and domestic commitments and paid employment on women's involvement in coaching, it could not offer a complete explanation of women's underrepresentation in sports coaching roles. This was because it could not address issues relating to the mechanisms by which coaches obtained coaching positions, nor those by which coaches sought and acquired higher status coaching roles. What a review of this literature did do, however, was to point the way towards a socialist feminist theoretical perspective, even if this were to be located in an academic area of study other than leisure. What had emerged from reviewing the literature on women and leisure was a recognition that gender inequality in paid and unpaid work, together with discriminatory employment practices, was crucial to an understanding of women's lives as coaches. Hence this work spurred an interest in socialist feminist approaches to women's experiences in the work place, because they acknowledged the effects of both patriarchy (gender inequality) and social class (capitalism) on women's lives. In particular, attention was drawn to the work of Anne Witz because, although her focus was on gender inequality in the work place (specifically the medical profession), she paid considerable attention to the influence of patriarchal control in the home. Witz tried to overcome a problem of many socialist feminist accounts of gender inequality

which prioritised public patriarchy over the effects of private patriarchy. Her account of gender inequality acknowledged the effects of capitalist and patriarchal forces in securing women's subordination in the home and in the work force.

Initially there were a number of concerns over the relevance of any application of Witz' model to sports coaching because her analysis focused on the medical profession, and coaching in the UK cannot yet be said to have acquired the status of a profession. However, closer examination of her ideas soon revealed that she does not see her model as restricted only for an analysis of inequality in the professions, nor did she restrict her analysis to professional occupations within medicine. She made reference also to midwifery, radiography and nursing - all of which fall within the same occupational category as that of a sports coach under the OPCS' register of occupations. Although the OPCS classification refers only to employed coaches, the work done by unpaid coaches is often very similar and as such it seemed reasonable that Witz' analysis could encompass both paid and unpaid coaches.

Although Witz' model provided the necessary impetus with which to start the data analysis phase, the analysis itself gave rise to a number of problems associated with the development and administration of the interview schedule. First, although I was not especially aware of it at the time, my own involvement in the sport of hockey clouded my understanding of the coaching system in sport. I mistakenly assumed that all sports had coaches who worked with clubs, counties, regions and international squads, and that the level at which they coached reflected the level of coaching qualification they held. Whilst this was the case in netball, very different structures existed in the other four sports studied (cricket, gymnastics, squash and swimming), and I am not convinced that the coaches I selected were equivalent across the five sports. In my eagerness to start collecting data not enough time was given to

researching the organisation and structure of coaching in the five sports. With the benefit of hindsight I should have confirmed the equivalence of the coaches across the five sports with bodies such as the National Coaching Foundation and the NGBs themselves. Moreover I probably relied too heavily on the coaching handbooks to select coaches to interview. This may have biased the sample too much towards qualified coaches. Only two of the coaches in my sample had no coaching qualification and although there has been an increasing emphasis on the need for qualified coaches I do not believe, even in 1995, that 90% of women coaches in the UK hold some form of coaching qualification. Therefore despite my best intentions the sample may not be representative of a cross-section of coaches working at different levels in sport.

In addition to making decisions about the levels of coach to select to interview, decisions also needed to be made about the number and type of sports selected. Again with the benefit of hindsight, the decision to select five sports and to interview four coaches from each was probably mistaken. The data analysis revealed that there were many more similarities between the coaches' experiences than there were differences, and there was little variation in their responses related to the sport coached (the exception being the opportunities for paid work as coaches). It was anticipated that there would be differences in the coaches' experiences based on the perceived sex-appropriateness of the sport. For example, it was thought that cricket coaches might report higher levels of discrimination than swimming coaches. Yet this was not the case, at least in relation to the coaches interviewed in this study, and the data showed that whilst the sex-appropriateness of the sport cannot be discounted as an influence, the way in which the role of the coach is gendered in a sport is just as influential in shaping a woman's experience as a coach.

Another criterion used to select the five sports was their administrative structures. It was hypothesised at the outset of the project that coaches in sports with single-sex administrative structures (cricket, netball and squash) would report greater opportunities to progress as coaches than coaches in sports with mixed sex governing bodies (gymnastics and swimming). Ultimately this hypothesis remained untested because I did not collect data relating to the organisational structures of the governing bodies. Failure to identify differences between the two types of administrative structure was probably due to the lack of data collected on this issue. Whilst the interviewees were asked to comment on the relationship between themselves and their NGB, little useful information was gleaned on this subject because relatively few coaches had first hand dealings with their NGB. A follow up study which concentrated on the administrative processes and organisational structures of different sports might well reveal differences between the coaches' progression through their respective coaching hierarchies.

The last point dealt with questions which were included on the interview schedule yet which ultimately formed no part of the discussion (a similar instance was reported earlier with respect to questions about coaching philosophy and coaching style). At the other end of the scale not enough information was gleaned from the interviewees on some topics. For example, information on the coaches' employment history and their household and personal incomes was much too limited, which meant that inferences sometimes had to be made about their socio-economic status, based on their responses to questions at different points in the interview. As well as neglecting to obtain details of the interviewees' employment histories, incomplete details were obtained about their life histories in more general terms. For instance although biographies of the respondents are included in Appendix One, it was sometimes

difficult to establish the chronology of their experiences in paid employment relative to their family/domestic situation and of their involvement in sport as participants and as coaches.

It would have been beneficial to have included questions on issues relating to sexuality such as: sex discrimination, sexual harassment and homophobia. This would have given more opportunity to compare and contrast the experiences of coaches operating at different levels and in different sports. As few data were collected on these issues, it proved difficult to contextualise the respondents' experiences in relation to research on women working in male-dominated occupations or in male-dominated sectors of the labour market. Although the coaches were asked to respond to questions such as: "Do you think your experiences in sport are related to being female?" and "Do you consider yourself unusual or exceptional?", none of these questions were sufficiently focused to obtain the quality of responses required on this subject to make for a meaningful analysis.

What I have tried to do in this chapter is to briefly outline some of the difficulties I encountered during the completion of the project. It would not, however, be appropriate to end this chapter without making some suggestions as to potential areas of interest for future researchers (in addition to the issue of sexuality discussed above). First Witz' model appears to offer considerable potential for understanding the mechanisms of gender inequality and sex segregation in work-related spheres. This study shows that her model can be a useful framework for analysing inequality in unpaid and voluntary work, so that it could be usefully employed to examine sex segregation in the private, public and voluntary sectors of sport.

Witz' model would also be a useful starting point from which to examine the relationship between coaches and the organisations for which they worked. Much of the literature from North America (e.g. Hall and Slack, 1991; Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing and Forrest, 1993) has investigated the effects of organisational structure on gender inequality in coaching, but few studies have addressed this concern in the UK. For example, do women coaches enjoy greater opportunities to coach in single sex organisations such as the All England Women's Hockey Association (AEWHA) than in mixed sex organisations such as the British Amateur Gymnastics Association (BAGA)? What will happen to women coaches' opportunities when the AEWHA and the HA merge? Finally, the findings reported in this study represent the views of twenty women coaches drawn from five sports. In order to take this work further, the next piece of research in this area should be a more broadly-based study, employing a questionnaire to test out the conclusions of this research on a much larger sample of coaches, and further interviews to probe the identified omissions from this study.

The final Chapter of the thesis, Chapter Eight includes a brief review of the findings presented in Chapter Six in the form of an imaginary coach, Hillary. In addition some recommendations are made as to the ways by which more women might be encouraged to take up coaching.

CONCLUSION

8.0 Introduction

Chapter Eight of this thesis builds on the ideas presented in Chapter Six. It reviews the main findings of this study before presenting some proposals for enhancing women's opportunities as sports coaches. To reiterate: the aims of this study were two-fold, first, to try to account for the lack of women sports coaches in the UK, secondly, to try to explain why women are significantly underrepresented in the most prestigious and high status coaching roles. Interviews were undertaken with twenty women coaches in order to discover what difficulties they had experienced in relation to their initial involvement in coaching and in their progression to higher status coaching positions. Analysis of the interviews with the coaches revealed that women who aspire to coach at all levels are confronted with myriad constraints. These have their origins in women's subordinate status in society, which are then reflected and reinforced through the practice and organisation of sports coaching. The main findings of this study are presented in the form of a description of the experiences of a "typical" female coach in this study, named Hillary. In this sense the description points the way to a series of filters through which women pass as they become coaches.

8.1 Getting Into Coaching: The Main Findings

Hillary enjoyed most sports at school and was relatively successful in them. She continued to participate in sport on leaving school, focusing on the one or two sports in which she achieved most competitive success. Her first involvement in coaching was at a club where she had been captain of the 1st team when they won the county title. Hillary was married when she first started to coach but she had no dependent children. Her male partner was involved in sport also and they watched each other's teams when

they had free-time. Hilary gave up playing when she had twins but maintained contact with the club by coaching the 3rd team during her pregnancy. She started to coach the 1st team when her children were four. At this time her husband gave up playing and started to coach the junior players at the club. Hilary had returned to work on a part-time basis when the children started school. Generally speaking, Hilary was able, with the support of her husband, to reconcile her family, career and coaching commitments.

Hilary saw her interest in coaching as providing her with a life outside of the family home and in this sense she saw herself as different from other women. In other words Hilary saw herself as exceptional because her life was not centred exclusively on the family home, not because she was a sports coach. Significantly, she felt that her interest in coaching had a very positive influence on her life, making her more interesting as a person and giving her a more fulfilling life.

For Hilary, the financial rewards she gained from coaching were not an important factor. Indeed, her earnings from coaching, if she had any, were more than exceeded by the costs incurred in buying equipment, travelling to venues and coach education. Not surprisingly, then, Hilary was in full-time paid employment, using some of her earnings to support her coaching activities, or when she took a break from paid employment to have children, her partner's income helped to subsidise her coaching costs.

8.2 Getting On In Coaching: The Main Findings

After three years of coaching her club, during which time she had obtained a coaching qualification, she was appointed coach to the county 2nd team. Hilary felt that her progression to higher status coaching roles was linked to her ability as a performer in

her sport. She believed that much of her knowledge came from her experiences as a performer and, in turn, these gave her confidence as a coach. She also felt that the people she coached, together with those who appointed her, accorded her considerable respect because of her successes as a performer. Both were key reasons as to why she had obtained her present coaching position. Hillary did feel, however, that her path to even more prestigious roles was blocked because she did not “know” the right people. She also felt that because men were seen as better performers than women, men were automatically better coaches than women. Moreover, she argued that because she worked with female athletes, she, like they, was less visible than her male counterpart. This meant that sponsors were less interested in her successful women’s team by comparison to the unsuccessful men’s team and hence her operating budget was considerably lower than the budget held by the coach to the men’s team.

Coaching higher status teams meant that Hillary had to travel further and coach more frequently, both of which meant that she was able to maintain her involvement in coaching only as a consequence of continuing to reconcile her family and coaching commitments. Hillary’s ability to reconcile her family and coaching responsibilities was important not only because it allowed her to give the necessary time to coach, but because it enabled her to attend courses and workshops to upgrade her coaching qualifications and update her coaching knowledge. Crucially, Hillary’s partner continued to support her coaching activities.

Hillary said that the costs she incurred coaching a higher status team were substantial. She explained that she was not reimbursed fully for her loss of earnings, her travel and subsistence costs or for the time spent in her role as a coach. In this sense her reasons for coaching were the same as when she first started - for the love of it and the

challenge. She reasoned that only a minority of women, with relatively high disposable incomes (and normally without dependants) could afford to coach higher level teams. Hillary intends to continue her involvement in sport, perhaps coaching for a few more years before moving into an administrative role or into work in the area of coach education. Her immediate concern, however, is to ensure that her team retains its current status as league champions.

8.3 The Way Forward

The purpose of this last chapter is not simply to present a summary of the main findings of this study; rather, it is to propose ways by which the constraints facing aspirant women coaches can be challenged. At a macro-level the unequal sexual division of labour in the home and women's unequal position in paid employment undoubtedly serve to restrict women's opportunities to coach to a much greater extent than they do most men. Whilst it is difficult to envisage how gender equality in any sphere of life can be achieved without a more equal distribution of work in the home and without an improvement of women's subordinate position in the labour market, it is possible to identify recommendations for change on a micro-level which could assist women's involvement and progression within sports coaching.

- 1) Publicise the positive experiences to be had from coaching in terms of the interest and challenge it can provide.
- 2) Make coaches aware of the type of activities involved and commitment expected of coaches. Explain that for those lacking confidence this can be built up over time with practice and knowledge.

- 3) A good performer does not always make a good coach and NGBs should question the use of a coach's past success as a performer as a criterion for coaching ability.
- 4) Promote the NCF "Introductory Coaching Award" and "Certificate Coaching Award" which combine coaching qualifications and coach education with coaching experience working alongside a coach mentor. This could be the coach at the club where they are a player or else where their children are members. These awards give coaches a recognised NVQ qualification at the appropriate level.
- 5) NGBs should encourage coaches to network with senior coaches. In addition NGBs should review the appointments procedures in their sports to ensure that they are not over-dependent on an Old Boys' or Old Girls' Network.
- 6) NGBs should make available to all interested parties details of all paid coaching appointments and make the criteria for appointment explicit.
- 7) NGBs should try to ensure that coaches are satisfactorily reimbursed for the work that they do with representative squads. It should be an honour to work with these squads, but not a financial burden which only a privileged few can undertake.
- 8) NGBs should try to ensure that the work of female coaches is publicised to help increase the profile of female coaches.

- 9) Awareness training needs to take place to challenge the stereotyped view of women coaches which sees them as best suited to work with children, recreational and novice performers. Similar challenges need to be made also to the perception that men are more suited than women to work with elite level performers.
- 10) The NGBs of sport should try to ensure that women coaches are given the same resources as male coaches in order to have the same opportunities to carry out their task successfully.
- 11) NGBs should offer financial incentives to coaches to help them upgrade and update their coaching knowledge. Support might include scholarships or meeting the cost of a coaching course on condition that once qualified they undertook to coach for their sponsor, as some local authorities do already.

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Listed below are the sports coached by the women in the study. They are ordered so that the lower level coaches are given first in each sport and the higher level given last. For example, Sally, a squash coach, coached occasionally and held the Part I qualification. Sylvia, was a full-time squash coach and held the Part III qualification.

Cricket Coaches

Carla
Celine
Claudia
Colleen

Gymnastics Coaches

Sally
Sian
Sonia
Sylvia

Netball Coaches

Natasha
Nell
Nina
Nora

Squash Coaches

Sally
Sian
Sonia
Sylvia

Swimming Coaches

Wanda
Wendy
Whoopi
Winona

Carla

Played in school teams for rounders, netball and hockey

Joined clubs outside school for squash, badminton and tennis

Left school and obtained a job as a secretary

Played in an inter-departmental cricket match for her work where she was commended for her play

Saw a course for women interested in playing cricket a few weeks later in her local paper

A new club was formed whilst she was on the course and she joined; selected for the County squad later that same year

Match secretary for the club

Captain of the club; obtained the NCA cricket coaching award

Coached U7's and U12's on a coaching scheme run by the S.D.O.; club secretary of the club

Celine

Played cricket with her brothers

Played cricket for a boys team

Attended Leeds college as a trainee accountant

Aged 18 played cricket for a women's team

Left the country to go abroad for 8 years

Returned to England; Took job as a local government officer

Returned to join a different club in the same area

Divorced

Captain 1 year later; took N.C.A. Coaching Award; Umpires Award; Junior Organiser for Club; Junior organiser for County; Fixture secretary for club; Secretary for club; Treasurer for County

Resigned club captaincy 2 years ago

Became fixture secretary for hockey club 2 years ago

Claudia

Played hockey and did athletics at school

Joined hockey club outside of school

Continued to play sport at FE college

Played badminton with fellas at college but gave up sport as no female friends interested

Started work in a bank; gave up all sport

Married

Gave up work

First child

Second child

Took up golf helped by a friend of her husband

Saw an advertisement in the paper for women's cricket; joined cricket team; played for county side

Took NCA Coaching Award

Took Senior Coaching Award

County coach

Junior organiser for club; Junior organiser for county

Junior England selector

Resigned position as junior organiser for county

Resigned position as junior organiser for club

Coached England Juniors; County manager

Advanced Coaching Award

England Selector

Colleen

Played games with 3 brothers

Played all games at a grammar school

PE college

Teacher of PE

Played hockey, lacrosse and cricket when first started to teach but gradually cricket took over

Played county cricket

Played for North

Assistant lecturer at a university

Coached club and county

Lecturer at a PE college

Played for England

One of first two women to take and pass the Advanced Award

Stopped playing for England

Twins born

3rd child born

4th child born

Coached England

Appointed England Coach

Staff Coach

Retired from lecturing

Gail

Played netball and rounders at junior school

Played for a good netball team at secondary and swam

Gave up sport

Worked

Married

First child born

Second child born

1st child started gymnastics

2nd child started gymnastics

Started helping out at the gym with the U8's

Started part-time work

Started coaching the U10's

About to take 1st level coaching award

Gemma

Played lacrosse, hockey and netball at school

Played lacrosse at university

Played lacrosse for county

1st child born

2nd child born

Lived in West Germany

3rd child born

Took children to local gym when living in West Germany

Returned to England

Took eldest daughter to local gym club in England

Started helping out at the gym club a year after eldest child started

Took Assistant Gymnastic Coach Award

Took Full Gymnastics Coach Award

Becomes senior coach at the club, responsible for a lot of the paperwork

Taken course but not exam for Advanced Gymnastics Coach Award

Gill

Competed as a gymnast from the age of 10

Rosend Gym Club Management Committee

Reached a National Final in a NDP Grades Competition

Ceased competitive gymnastics at the age of 16 due to injury and started to help to coach at her club straight away

Worked as a buyer for a company

Assistant Club Award

Club Coach Award

Advanced Coach Award

Area Coach Award

Area Judging Award

North of the Tyne Management Committee

County Coach

Married

Coached gymnasts through to national squads

North of England Women's Technical Committee

Resigned position as County Coach

Appointed National Zone Coach

Child born but no let up in her commitment to gymnastics

Grace

Played tennis with her parents

Played sport at school

PE college

Started teaching and helping out at a nearby gym club whose coach was an ex-Olympic gymnast

Started coaching

Took gymnastics coaching awards, now an Area Gymnastics Coach

Founded gym club

Member of BAGA's Technical Committee

Organise county Centre of Excellence

Organises judging and coaching courses in the county

Coached gymnasts through to the Olympics

Natasha

Played netball at school

Played U16, U18 county

University

U21 County

U21 Regional Player

Research Student

First team county

Start to coach recreational netball for a local club; Treasurer of own netball club

Captain of netball club; Publicity officer for county netball team

Nell

Played netball at school

County schoolgirls netball

College of Education for a specialist PE Teaching Certificate

Club netball

Married

1st team county netball

Child born

2nd team county netball

Retired from playing county netball

Started to coach county U18s; member of county committee

Coach to U21 county

Senior coach to 1st team, 2nd team and U21 county

Nina

Played netball at school

Played junior county

Played club netball

Played senior county netball

PE Wing College

Started teaching

Started coaching

Started own netball club

Intermediate Umpire

Selector for British colleges

Manager to British colleges team

Selector for county

Selector for region

Panel Umpire

Assistant coach at Centre of Excellence

Centre of Excellence selector

Advanced Coach

Nora

Played netball and hockey at school

Played hockey for junior county

Education training college, PE specialism; elected to focus on netball

Started teaching; Played for a local club

Coached schoolgirls

Played county netball; City schools netball secretary

Played regional netball

Played for England; Stopped coaching schoolgirls

Had child

Returned to teaching

Returned to playing county and region

Retired from playing region; County coaching secretary

Retired from playing county; Started to coach club and county

Resigned as county coach to study for a P.G. Diploma; Member of AENA Coaching subcommittee

Returned to coaching county

Technical assistant for coaching, AENA

Appointed England coach; resigned as county coach; Resigned as technical assistant for coaching, AENA

Sally

Played hockey and did athletics at school

Joined a hockey club

Played tennis and some squash at a local club after school

Attended FE college; Stopped playing sport

Job as a laboratory technician

Married

Joined a hockey club and through this met people who played squash

Took lessons to improve

Moved house and joined a new club, standard lower than previous club and started to organise training sessions for the women's team

Asked by leisure centre manager to run junior coaching sessions

Asked by leisure centres to run beginners sessions

WSRA Part I Coaching Award

College to study for a B.Ed

Divorced

Sian

Played sport at school

PE College

Taught PE; Played tennis

Married

Stopped teaching

1st child born

2nd child born

Took youngest child to local sports centre too play sport; Met someone to play squash against at the sports centre; Joined squash league at the sports centre

Joined the men's leagues

As a family joined a private squash club

Children started to go to junior coaching at private club

Husband and SQ2 started coaching juniors because junior coach was unreliable

Manager organised a coach-in week-end for would-be coaches which encouraged me to do the Part I

Coached youngsters to national squad standard

Sonia

Taken to leisure centre to play squash by parents

PE College; Obtained Part I Coaching Award

Teaching post; Played county squash

Gave up teaching and spent more time coaching

Started coaching individuals in clubs; Started coaching groups

Played for England and Great Britain

Obtained Part II Squash Award

Retired from England and GB

Coach to club teams

Coached in Australia

Coach to junior county team

Coach to regional junior team

Resigned as junior county coach

Enrolled for a degree in physiotherapy

Sylvia

Played tennis at school

Attended junior national squad training

Secretarial College

Played county tennis

Part I Tennis Coaching Award

Played at Wimbledon

Coached tennis part-time; Full-time tennis player

Part I Squash Coaching Award

Ranked no. 10 in tennis; no.7 in squash

Started playing squash seriously; Gave up tennis

Represented England

Represented Great Britain

Had 1st child

Reached no.6 in England

Had 2nd child

Reached no.6 in England

Represented England

Divorced and remarried

Wanda

Played netball and did athletics at school

Started swimming aged 11, dad paid for private lessons

Represented England Youth Swimming Squad

Represented Great Britain in European Youth Championships

Started work for local government recreation department

ASA Preliminary Teachers Certificate

ASA Teachers Certificate

Started to coach children for the swimming development officer

Coach competitive swimmers aged 6-13 at city swimming club

ASA Preliminary Club Coaches

Wendy

Attended swimming lessons at behest of dad

Joined swimming club

Joined a larger club

Swam at county level

Started to help non-swimmers at end of own training

Retired from competitive swimming

FE College

Started to coach better standard swimmers

Club secretary

Started coaching the "C" squad in a council backed scheme, swimmers aged 10-14

Started to coach the "B" squad

Selected as coach to junior county team

Whoopi

Parents encouraged sister and me to join a local swimming club

Swam for Scotland

Retired from competitive swimming; Started to coach on a voluntary basis at own club

Vlth Form College

Passed ASA Preliminary Coaches Award

Passed ASA Preliminary Teachers Certificate

Employed as an administrator and part-time coach by a recreation department

Started coaching older and better swimmers

ASA Teachers Certificate

ASA Assistant Coaches Award

ASA Coaches Award

Started a new job with a different recreation department as a full-time coach

Winona

Started swimming at school

Joined a swimming club

Participated in first English Schools Championships

Contracted a viral infection and never swam competitively again

Teacher Training College specialising in PE, English and Biology; Passed Swimming Teachers Coaching Award

Obtained a teaching post

Gave up teaching

1st child born

2nd child born

3rd child born

Taught own children to swim

Asked to help out by local club

Moved to a new area and as there was no provision for my own children I asked to become involved with helping their primary school swimming team to improve

Started an O.U. degree

Started supply teaching in PE

Whilst watching own children training often asked to help out

Finished O.U. degree

ASA Assistant Coaches Award

ASA Coaches Award

Takes over own squad of young swimmers

Took over a development squad of 8-11 year olds

Appointed development officer for City scheme

Coached members of the national youth squad and been responsible for the early development of swimmers who've gone to the Olympics

Coach to gold medallist in the World Masters Swimming Championships

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How did you become involved in sport?

assistance
difficulties/barriers
experiences directly related to being female

2. How did you become involved in coaching?

from initial entry to present day
always wanted to, or drifted into
assistance
difficulties/barriers
experiences directly related to being female

3. Do you think that there are enough female coaches in your sport?

if too few, why?
effects of too few
strategies to increase the numbers

mention findings of White et al study and ask for reactions

4. Would you contemplate attending a women-only leadership/coaching course designed to improve your skills in decision making and your confidence?

any valued for other coaches if not for yourself

5. Have you ever coached as a part of a team?

experiences
likes/dislikes
any value
apprenticeship schemes

6. How would you describe your level of contact with other coaches?

who
nature and amount of contract
like more opportunities to meet coaches
attitude toward sport specific coaching association
contact with coaches from other sports

7. How would you describe your relationship with your NGB?

nature of relationship
type of information exchanged
frequency of contact
satisfaction with this situation; criticisms, suggestions for improvement
what do they expect of you as a coach
do you think they understand your role as a coach

8. What did you have to do to obtain your coaching awards?

cost venues
duration
frequency
personal performance

9. How have these awards made you a better coach?

function
satisfaction
criticisms and suggestions for improvement
modular system
incentives to qualify and upgrade as a coach

10. How are coaching appointments made in your sport?

different levels
publicised methods
career structure
OGs/OBs Networks
satisfaction
criticisms and suggestions for improvement

11. What sources do you use for your coaching material?

NGBs assistance
seminars
other coaches
NCF
satisfaction with availability of material
criticisms and suggestions for improvement
ease of obtaining material

12. How much financial support do you receive as a coach?

source of income
ease of obtaining financial remuneration
importance of finance to you continuing as a coach
criticisms and suggestions for improvement

13. How would you describe your preferred style/manner of coaching?

different style coaching men to women

14. In what ways does coaching effect the rest of your life?

other roles/demands
sites of conflict
effects directly related to being female

15. What do you think is your role as a coach?

responsibilities
factors influencing this role
demands on you

16. Could you describe your coaching philosophy?

(Philosophy = as a coach what is important to you, what values and beliefs do you feel its important to uphold and underpin your work as a coach)

any relationship between your philosophy and being female

17. For whatever reasons, who are the coaches who stand out in your mind?

relationship to you
good/bad points
style adopted
men/women

18. What do find most enjoyable as a coach?

19. What do find least enjoyable as a coach?

20. What do you believe to be your strengths as a coach?

relationships between strengths and being female

21. What do you believe to be your weaknesses as a coach?

relationship between weaknesses as a coach

22. Is there anything which you've found to be more/less difficult about coaching than you thought it might be?

23. Do you think that as a female sports coach you are in any way exceptional or unusual?

compared with male coaches
compared with other women

24. Can you tell me what you consider to be your ambitions for the future with regard to coaching?

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETED BY EACH COACH PRIOR TO INTERVIEW

QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETED BY EACH COACH PRIOR TO INTERVIEW

Please could you complete the following details pertaining to your involvement in sport. All information will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Name

Address

Telephone

Age

Occupation

Marital status

Family (please state the ages of any children)

Education

Could you now provide details of your involvement in your sport? Please include details of your playing career, coaching and any administrative or organisational roles you may have held. Where possible could you indicate the standard at which you played/ are playing and the standard at which you have coached /are coaching. Could you list any administrative roles. Could you also give approximate dates associated with each role.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

APPENDIX 4

A MODEL OF THE SPORTS DEVELOPMENT CONTINUUM

A Model of the Sports Development Process

LEVEL	CHARACTERISED BY	MAIN CONTRIBUTORS	FACILITATOR	FACILITIES
FOUNDATION	Acquiring enthusiasm, knowledge and understanding. It is concerned with activities and attitudes promoted through play and physical education. Most adult interest in sport and recreation results from an effective introduction in childhood by these means and they remain an essential component for establishing a framework for sports development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Play Schemes - Schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Community Recreation & Sports Development Officers - PE Teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Play Areas - Indoor Facilities - Outdoor Facilities - Natural Facilities
PARTICIPATION	Getting started at a particular activity out of choice and interest. It may be characterised by the idea of recreation and relate as much to enjoyment, social involvement and healthy lifestyle as to interest in specific sports.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Schools, Colleges, Universities - Youth & Uniformed Groups - Local Authorities - Private Sector - Governing Bodies of Sport - Sports Councils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Sports Leaders & Coaches - Community Recreation & Sports Development Officers - PE Teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indoor Facilities - Outdoor Facilities - Natural Facilities - Industrial Based Facilities
PERFORMANCE	Getting better at a particular activity out of choice. The individual simply works to improve his/her ability and may seek to improve their own ability beyond that of a participant by joining local clubs or league.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Schools - Local Authorities - Local Clubs/ Leagues - Governing Bodies of Sport - Private Sector - Sports Councils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Coaches - PE Teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sports Clubs - Indoor Facilities - Outdoor Facilities - Natural Facilities
EXCELLENCE	Getting to be best by achieving or approaching closely the highest standards of a particular sport.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Governing Bodies - Local Authorities - Private Sector - Sports Councils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents - Coaches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Specialist Facilities for Events & Training - Sports Clubs - Indoor Facilities - Outdoor Facilities - Natural Facilities

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I would also like to say a big thank you to Lesley Fishwick who often listened to me "witter on", as she put it, about everything and anything, much of which as she was at pains to point out lacked "relevance" and/or a "link". In addition I would like to thank a number of my work colleagues, especially John Emmett, at the University of Northumbria who offered me support and encouragement.

WOMEN AS SPORTS COACHES

Amanda West

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of Sheffield Hallam University for the
degree of Master of Philosophy

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