
Pamela Lynn. Ponic
University of Windsor

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd

Recommended Citation
https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd/2285

This online database contains the full-text of PhD dissertations and Masters' theses of University of Windsor students from 1954 forward. These documents are made available for personal study and research purposes only, in accordance with the Canadian Copyright Act and the Creative Commons license—CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivative Works). Under this license, works must always be attributed to the copyright holder (original author), cannot be used for any commercial purposes, and may not be altered. Any other use would require the permission of the copyright holder. Students may inquire about withdrawing their dissertation and/or thesis from this database. For additional inquiries, please contact the repository administrator via email (scholarship@uwindsor.ca) or by telephone at 519-253-3000ext. 3208.
NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.
HERSTORY:
THE STRUCTURING OF THE
FITNESS AND AMATEUR SPORT BRANCH’S
WOMEN’S PROGRAM:
1970-1988

by
Pamela Lynn Ponic

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Kinesiology
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Human Kinetics at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1994

© 1994 Pamela Lynn Ponic
THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA TO REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED PERSONS.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA DE REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-01477-0
ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis was to construct a feminist account of the dynamics that produced the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch's Women's Program initiatives for the time period 1970-1988. A theoretical framework, based on Anthony Giddens' ideas on structure and agency, was the foundation for the construction of the herstory. In accordance with the theoretical framework the following sub-problems were investigated;

1) What structures facilitated and/or inhibited the agents' (the women involved in the program) ability to act?

2) How were the agents, in turn, able to alter, produce or reproduce structures affiliated with the program?

3) How did this process alter or maintain the agents themselves?

The process utilized to investigate these sub-problems included an examination of federal archive files, interviews with knowledgable academics and researchers, and interviews with the women directly involved in the Women's Program. The interviewers were also asked to review a late draft of the herstory to verify the validity of the researcher's interpretation of their interview responses.

Historical and theoretical findings resulted from this research project. Historically, a detailed herstory of the initiatives produced by the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch's Women's Program for the 1970-1988 was developed. This story
is unique in that it is told from a feminist perspective with specific contributions from the women directly involved in the program.

Theoretically, a number of possibilities for social change and/or maintenance were developed in accordance with the theoretical framework. The possibilities for change in the unequal power relations between social groups is dependant upon the production, reproduction and/or alteration of structures via agents interaction with them. The managers of Women's Program were able to produce structures that facilitated a change in the social conditions for women in sport. However, the structures that facilitated the underlying power relations within the sport structure were maintained, as was women's secondary status in sport.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of individuals to whom I owe a ton of gratitude and appreciation and without whom this document would have not been completed.

To Bruce Kidd, Ann Hall, Helen Lenskyj and Dave Whitson, I thank you for finding time in your busy schedules to assist me in my research.

To Marion Lay, Sue Vail, Kathy MacDonald, Diane Palmason and Abby Hoffman, I also thank you for your valuable time. More importantly I thank you for the efforts and contributions you have made for women in sport despite the personal costs. It is because of individuals like you that I have had the opportunity to research this project.

To my committee; Alan Metcalfe, Lynne Phillips and Marge Holman. Thank you for your contributions, insight and patience as I have struggled through this process.

To my support system; Donna, Christine, Mary Beth, Pam and Nancy. Thank you for being there for me, for laughing with me and understanding as I bitched about this 'damn thesis'. No one could ask for a better group of friends. I love you all.

To my family; Mom, Dad and Mike. Mike, my brother, my friend. I treasure how close we are and I hope you know how proud I am of you. You mean the world to me. And last but certainly never least, thank you Mom and Dad for your continual support and understanding throughout my never ending school career. You have made me the person I am today and I hope I have made you proud. I love you both more than you know.
DEDICATION

I have purposely made one large omission from my acknowledgements. The contribution that Vicky Paraschak has made to the completion of this thesis deserves more than an acknowledgement. Therefore, I dedicate this thesis to my advisor and my friend. As well as having guiding me through this academic process, you have given me a new way of looking at life and at myself. You have helped me through a number of crisis and reminded me of the importance of friendship, laughter and sharing food. For all of this I thank you. Vicky, this one's for you!!!
# Table of Contents

ABSTRACT ........................................ iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .............................. v

DEDICATION ...................................... vi

INTRODUCTION .................................... 1

CHAPTER 1 ........................................ 5
   An Introduction to the Methodology .......... 5
   An Argument for a Feminist Approach to Methodology ......................... 7
   Theory, History, Evidence, Truth ............ 10
   Reflections on the Methodology ............. 12
   A Justification for the Theoretical Framework . 15
   The Theoretical Framework ................... 18
      Structures .................................. 18
      Agency and Power .......................... 22
      The Duality of Structure: Social Change and Maintenance .............. 25

CHAPTER 2 ........................................ 27
   Federal State Initiatives for Women and Sport: A Herstory .............. 27
      1980-1988: Continued Construction and Inequality ................. 40
      The Women: The Contribution, The Sacrifice .......................... 63
      Conclusion .................................. 65

CHAPTER 3 ........................................ 68
   Theoretical Insights ......................... 68
      Sub-problem #1 ............................ 68
      Sub-problem #2 ............................ 72
         Altered Structures ..................... 72
         Produced Structures .................... 73
         Reproduced Structures ................. 74
      Sub-problem #3 ............................ 76
      Agency and Power .......................... 78
      Power Relations and Social Change/Maintenance ..................... 79
      Conclusion .................................. 83

CHAPTER 4 ........................................ 85
   Contributions .................................. 85
      Feminist Research .......................... 85
      Academic Literature on Women in Sport .......................... 85
      Theory ...................................... 86
      Conclusion .................................. 87
REFERENCES ................................................. 89
APPENDIX I .................................................. 97
  Sample Letter and Interview Guide to Researchers .................................. 97
APPENDIX II ............................................... 102
  Sample Letter and Interview Guide to Herstory Interviewees ...................... 102
APPENDIX III .............................................. 106
  Sample Letter sent to all Interviewees for Confirmation of Data ............... 106
APPENDIX IV ............................................... 107
  The Initial Theoretical Framework .................................................. 107
INTRODUCTION

Over the past 20 years Canadian women have seen a number of alterations in their lifestyles, or more specifically alterations in what is deemed to be socially appropriate lifestyles for them. These changes have occurred in spheres of life ranging from employment opportunities to marital roles to sport and fitness (Konek & Kitch, 1994; Burt et al., 1988). Although social change and/or social maintenance consistently occurs, the process and nature of such dynamics is often unclear and usually complex. Many variables in social life both contribute to social change as well as obstruct the opportunity for social change.

Sport is one arena where the status of women has been altered to some degree. The Canadian federal state, for example, has launched a number of initiatives to alter women's status in sport over the past 20 years. While improvements have occurred in some areas of sport, women are still underrepresented in other areas. For example, concern about the conditions for women in sport has been addressed by the Canadian federal state through the construction of the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch (FASB)' Women's Program. Although

---

¹ The Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch (FASB) is under the jurisdiction the federal state's Department of Health and Welfare. Sport Canada is a division of the FASB and was designed to give Canadians the opportunity to develop an elite sport program. It acts as a liaison between the National Sport Organizations (NSOs), formerly the National Sport Governing Bodies, and the FASB. The NSOs are bodies that administer the programs of specific sports. Sport Canada provides funding for the NSOs and monitors their
participation rates of women in sport have climbed, these
initiatives have not led to total equality for women in sport.
For example, women are continually under-represented in the
upper echelons of sport administration\(^2\). It seems probable
that while the opportunities to participate in sport have
increased for women, changes to the underlying gender
relations which resign them to inequality at the more
prestigious levels of sport within the federal state system
have been minuscule.

Gender relations can be defined as "a set of power
relations, whereby men, as a social group have more power over
women than women have over them" (Hall, 1990: 226). Sport is
one key site where gender relations are maintained, as sport
has traditionally been male defined and dominated (Hargreaves,
1990; Theberge, 1985). However, gender relations are a social
construction that are transformable over time and through
historical change (Hall, 1990). Although women have
attempted, and to some degree succeeded, to infiltrate this
patriarchal structure, men have maintained their control over

\(^2\) Although the number of women in NSOs has increased during
this time period, their representation has been mainly in low
level, support positions. A comparison of 1982 and 1990 statistics
shows only a minimal increase in administrative positions and a
decrease in high level coaching positions held by women; in 1982
women held 16% of executive director positions, 18% of technical
director positions and 14% of national coaching positions (FASB,
1982), whereas in 1990 women held 28% of executive director
positions, 23% of technical director positions and 10% of national
coaching positions (Hall et al, 1990).
sport.

Males still have access to more than twice the opportunities and public resources available in sport, moreover, there is little evidence that the men who control sport are genuinely interested in or committed to redressing the balance.

Ridd in Hall, 1990: 225

Men still hold the majority of the decision making positions in sport, as indicated by the statistics. Although women and sport issues have received some attention in sport in terms of specific federal initiatives, the success of these initiatives has been limited. The resources that have been allocated to women's initiatives in sport have been limited such that alteration of women's status in sport is difficult. For example, funds were made available to design and deliver a sport policy for women in sport. However, additional funds to implement and monitor the use of this policy by National Sport Organizations (NSOs) were not made available. Therefore, the policy became simply a guideline, or a book of suggestions with no real strategy for implementation. This women's initiative was developed in such a way as to superficially indicate a desire to improve women's status, without providing the resources for the creation of any real initiatives for change by the NSOs. The men in the upper echelons of sport in Canada were therefore able to hegemonically³ integrate the demand for feminist change in sport without fundamentally

³ Hegemony refers to the process whereby dominant social groups extend their influence to sustain their dominance over other social groups (Grunneau, 1988).
jeopardizing their power base.

The objective of this thesis is to construct an account of the dynamics that produced the FASB's Women's Program initiatives for women in sport. In accordance with the theoretical framework, which is based on the duality of structure paradigm, the following sub-problems were investigated:

1) what structures facilitated and/or inhibited the agents' (the women involved in the program) ability to act?

2) how were the agents, in turn, able to alter, produce or reproduce structures affiliated with the program?

3) how did this process alter or maintain the agents themselves?

Chapter 1 of the thesis outlines the methodology and theoretical framework used to investigate these sub-problems. Additionally, Chapter 1 provides a review of the literature pertaining to feminist methodologies, the federal state's initiatives for women and sport, and a brief look at the nature of historical research. Chapter 2 is the constructed herstory of the FAS's initiatives for Women in Sport from 1970-1988. This herstory has been built via the analysis of data brought together through the three stages of data collection. Chapter 3 is an analysis of the theoretical framework in light of the data collection and analysis process. Finally, Chapter 4 is a reflection on the results of this research project in terms of how it adds to the various bodies of literature introduced in Chapter 1.
CHAPTER 1

An Introduction to the Methodology

The research for this project was completed in three stages. The Canadian federal state files on women and sport that were accessible were examined first\(^4\). These files include data sources such as correspondence, minutes of meetings and proposed plans of action for some of the women in sport initiatives. These files were available through the federal government archives.

The second source of data was interviews with knowledgeable academics\(^5\) who have researched and are familiar with the developments of the federal state's initiatives\(^6\). The questions asked in these interviews were based on secondary accounts of this time period, and the previous information obtained from the examination of the women and sport files. This stage provided initial insight into the structures that facilitated and inhibited the Women's Program employees' activities, acting as a source of background information for the next set of interviews.

---

\(^4\) This source was problematic for two reasons. A large quantity of the files had not been transferred to or stored in the archives yet, due to the recent time frame of 1970-1988. Additionally, as of January 1994 there was no manager of the Women's Program and the staff at Sport Canada were unaware of the location of the remaining files.

\(^5\) These individuals include Ann Hall, Bruce Kidd, Helen Lenskyj, and David Whitson.

\(^6\) See Appendix I for an example of the initial contact letter and interview guide sent to each of the individuals interviewed.
The final data source was interviews with the women directly involved in the development of the initiatives. The questions for this step were based on the information obtained from the secondary literature and the archival files, further refined through the interviews with the knowledgeable academics. These women have a unique insight in terms of what initiatives actually transpired and what initiatives failed to transpire, as well as the structures which shaped their actions. Therefore, the herstory was pieced together through the analysis of the data that was collected at each stage of the research process.

Following its final construction, a copy of the herstory was sent to each of the individuals interviewed in steps 2 and 3. This task was completed to verify my interpretations of the interviewees' responses. The individuals were asked to review the ideas and quotations that had been accredited to them to assure that the intent of their meaning had been correctly represented in the text of the herstory. This process is in keeping with a feminist approach to research in that it gives further voice to the subjects and validity to the women's experience in the research project.

---

7 These individuals include Abby Hoffman, Marion Lay, Kathy McDonald, Diane Palmason and Susan Vail.

8 See Appendix II for an example of the initial letter and interview guide that was sent to each of the individuals interviewed.

9 See Appendix III for an example of the letter sent to all the individuals interviewed.
An Argument for a Feminist Approach to Methodology

Representation of the world, like the world itself is the work of men, they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with the absolute truth.

Simone de Beauvoir (1952) in Code, 1991: ix

Feminist analysis is based upon the central assumption of feminism: the recognition of the fundamental oppression of women at the hands of a patriarchal value system (Birrell, 1984). Smith (1990) notes that the examination of social experience, through both sociology and history, has traditionally been defined by men. It has been an examination of men's lives through the eyes and perspectives of men. Women have continually used the male experience as a basis of comparison. Women have compared their experience to that of men, to male behaviours and standards and therefore only come to know themselves in relation to men (Birrell, 1984). Smith (1990) and Birrell (1984) therefore call for an alteration in the examination of our social world. Sociologists and historians need to contemplate the experiences and the conditions of women, apart from men, to create a more complete account of social reality (Johansson, 1976).

---

10 For further support of this idea see Code (1991), Hartman and Messer-Davidow (1991), McCarl Nielson (1990), McCormack (1989) and Mies (1983).
One objective of this thesis is the refinement of the history of the development of the Canadian federal state's initiatives for women in sport based on a feminist perspective. It has been suggested that the creation of women's histories, or herstories, is needed to explore the struggles, sufferings and dreams of the women involved in the efforts to improve women's status (Mies, 1983).

The appropriation of women's history can be promoted by feminist scholars who can inspire and help other women to document their campaigns and struggles. They can help them to analyze these struggles, so that they can learn from past mistakes and successes and in the long run may become more able to move from mere spontaneous activism to long-term strategies.

Mies, 1983:127

Lenskyj (1993) also holds that "without an understanding of the issues and struggles of the past, women's scarce time and energy will be misdirected and wasted" (p.134). Therefore, this thesis will provide a "herstory", a recollection about women and their efforts, from the perspective of women. A herstory utilizes a feminist perspective to ask new questions about old ideas and to restate eternal questions in different manners (Sochen, 1974:7). This herstory examines the ability of women to achieve their desired ends (ie. to act in a powerful manner and/or initiate social change) in light of existing structural conditions.
Throughout the construction of a herstory it is important to set aside one's own assumptions and ideals of what the women were attempting to accomplish (Taylor & Rupp, 1991). The existing academic literature and the corresponding statistics have been quick to note the lack of success in improving women's status in sport in terms of administration and coaching, despite the initiatives of the FAS Women's Program. This perspective diminishes the involvement and effort of the female bureaucrats who struggled to improve women's status in sport. The women directly involved in the process viewed the developments differently, as they had first hand knowledge of the circumstances within which they were able to act.

Feminist analysis also allows for the examination of established social theories from an alternative perspective. The theoretical framework outlined later in this chapter is based on Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory, particularly on his duality of structure paradigm. The framework is a revision of Giddens' ideas from a feminist perspective. The duality of structure paradigm has been redefined to minimize its patriarchal nature.

Therefore, the construction of this herstory, based on the perceptions, recollections and roles of the women involved in the development of the initiatives, will serve two purposes. It will make apparent the contributions of those women involved in the development of the initiatives, as well
as provide an opportunity for reflection and analysis of their ability to act within a redefined set of structural limitations.

**Theory, History**, Evidence, Truth

Total history is unattainable without some concept of how the component aspects of human experience are linked together to form a whole - some theory of the structure of human society in its widest sense.

*Tosh, 1991: 154*

The use of a theory in the construction of a history serves a number of purposes. Outlining the theoretical framework upon which a story is based sets out the assumptions of the historian. Since the historian writes the story, the story does not come objectively. The historian brings a bias to the story and the story is thus told through the questions brought forward. Detailing the theoretical paradigm upon which the story is built allows the reader to realize the subjective position of the story.

---

footnote 11: The term history, as opposed to herstory, will be used throughout this section in relation to the use of the term in the corresponding literature.

footnote 12: As Carr (1962) notes, "history...is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and [his] facts" (35). Tosh (1991) furthers that "the historian is part of the history" (150) and Leff (1969) hold that "...history is made only when the historian writes it" (13).
The analysis of empirical data is useful to individuals asking theoretical questions. A theory that is utilized to describe and understand social life can be further refined via an exploration of past events. Thus, sociologists can use the empirical data of history to analyze theory and historians can use theory to better understand the social significance of their data and to outline the assumptions underlying the story.\footnote{This herstory will be utilized to examine the duality of structure paradigm through the use of an 'impolite narrative'. An impolite narrative is a history that is 'actively interrogated by theory' where 'theoretical inferences are made and conclusions are drawn' (Waters, 1992: 10). It is through the use of the impolite narrative that the theory and herstory will be united in Chapter 2.}

The entire set of facts may not be obtainable in the telling of a history. More evidence solidifies the validity of a story, but the entire truth can never be known.

\begin{quote}
The study of history is necessarily confined to that part of it of which evidence survives or can be reconstructed in the mind.\end{quote}

Elton, 1967: 8-9

The use of theory permits the historian to outline the bias on which the story has been 'reconstructed in the mind' of the historian. Furthermore, since the entire set of facts is not knowingly achievable, truthful history can not be told. A story can be close to the original set of events as the evidence is assembled, but the perspective of the historian always plays a role in its construction.
Therefore, the description and analysis of the following set of events, as told in Chapter 2, is not put forward as truth. This is a story told from a set of particular perspectives, driven by a set of particular questions\(^\text{14}\). The questions asked and therefore the evidence obtained were based on a set of personal assumptions and biases held by the researcher. This story is constructed through a duality of structure framework and a distinctly feminist perspective.

**Reflections on the Methodology**

In keeping with the last section, I would like to comment on the methodology and its effect on my ability to construct this herstory. The methodology became problematic for a few reasons. Firstly, access to the Women's Program files was limited. Due to the recent time period, the files from 1981-1988 had not yet been stored in the federal archives. Also, because of the change in management which occurred at the beginning of this year, the location of these files was unknown. The program has been without a manager since December 1993 and the current staff within Sport Canada was unsure of the location of the files. Therefore, the files

\(^{14}\) Since the data at each stage of the research process is incorporated into the final herstory, it does not come only from the perspective of the women involved in the program. This takes away from the concept of a herstory, based solely on the experiences of the women involved. To construct a true herstory would involve a greater time commitment on the part of the women involved. Since this opportunity was not possible, the women's perspective comes from their views of the previous data I was able to obtain.
that were located were from 1975-1981, before the conception of the Women's Program. Although these files did provide some background information, it was quite limited. Therefore, the majority of background information came from secondary literature. It was through these second hand sources that the interview guides for the researcher interviews were shaped. This left the potential for biased questions, based on the assumptions held by the authors of the secondary literature.

Furthermore, access to the women in the program was limited due to their busy schedules and, in one case, illness. Additionally, one of the women involved in the creation of the 1986 policy refused my requests to be interviewed because she believed that she did not have anything to contribute to the project. To write a herstory entirely from the perspectives of the women involved, a greater time commitment is necessary from these women. The researcher should obtain the background information from the women themselves, without bias from other sources. However, due to the time constraints of this project, and of the women involved, this was not possible. Therefore, although the herstory focuses on the women's perceptions and their lived reality, it was developed from pre-determined sets of assumptions held by the secondary literature, the researchers interviewed and the researcher.

The final limitation was the capability of the interviewer. My ability to interview in a manner that got beyond the questions within the interview guide was crucial in
getting to the women's feelings and perceptions\textsuperscript{13}. Although I developed my skills as I went through each interview, in the analysis of the data many additional questions came to mind. A better ability to analyze the responses on the spot and probe further into them would have improved the data collected. Furthermore, I was a bit in awe of the people I interviewed, which created a disproportionate exchange of ideas throughout the interviews. Therefore, it is crucial to note that my ability as an interviewer created a potential problem regarding the strength of my data.

Despite these limitations, there were a number of positive outcomes from the methodology. Conducting the personal interviews allowed me to get to know the individuals involved, and to get a sense of who they were and what they felt. Additionally, it gave the women the opportunity to voice their feelings and perceptions about the occurrence of events. My interviewing skills improved as the project progressed and I feel that I became more adept at communicating my ideas verbally. Finally, obtaining feedback and verification on a late draft of the herstory, made the herstory more complete and perhaps closer to the truth of what actually took place.

\textsuperscript{13} See Kirby & McKenna (1989) and Patton (1990) for interview and probing techniques.
A Justification for the Theoretical Framework

The academic literature pertaining to the federal state's initiatives for women in sport can be divided into two groupings. The first set of articles describes the actions the state has taken to improve women's status in sport\(^\text{16}\). This literature will be used in the construction of the 'history' of this time period.

The second set of articles attempts to explain why women's status in sport has not improved. Hall et al. (1989) and Bell (1990) examine the manner and degree to which the organizational structures perpetuate inequalities. Hall et al (1989) review the ways that the organizational culture of the NSOs recreates itself to maintain its current level of inequality between men and women as decision makers. Bell (1990) illuminates the degree to which the hiring process within the NSOs is systematically discriminatory. It thus serves to sustain women's inability to achieve equality within the organizations. Each of these accounts examines the problem at the organizational level without consideration for the role that is played by individual agents attempting to rectify the situation, or the underlying power structures upon

---

\(^{16}\) Examples of such literature include a section within Lenskyj's (1991) *Women, Sport and Physical Activity: Research and Bibliography* which provides a background for the references cited, sections within MacIntosh et al's (1988) *Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961*, Theberge's (1983) report on CAAWS, "Feminism and Sport: Linking the Two through a New Organization" and Vail's (1982) article "What the Federal Government is Doing to Promote Women's Sport".
which the situation was constructed.

Whitson and MacIntosh (1989) and Hall et al. (1990) researched the perceptions of individual agents within the NSOs to determine why women continue to be under-represented at the higher level positions of the organizations. Explanations varied from women's lack of qualifications, to male networks within the organization, to family responsibilities. While Hall et al (1990) focused their recommendations for change at the organizational level, Whitson and MacIntosh (1989) concluded that change must occur through alterations in societal gender relations.

MacIntosh and Whitson (1990) identified three theoretical alternatives which attempt to explain the barriers to women in improving their status in sport administration. The individualistic focus places the onus for change on agents, the individual women themselves. For example, a recommendation might suggest that women need to act in a business-like manner to gain authority and respect. The organizational model focuses on alterations in the structures, with researchers calling for organizational changes such as the institution of daycare facilities to relieve the strain of the child care role for women, thus allowing them to work outside the home. The societal alternative focuses on change in underlying societal assumptions, such as the role of women as care givers in the family, which are founded upon unequal power relations. This analysis by MacIntosh and Whitson is
valuable in that the three theoretical alternatives together illuminate possible explanations for women's inability to improve their status in sport. Additionally, this framework identifies the different levels of structures in the social system within which change can or may occur.

One common theme that runs through the literature is the conclusion that structural change must occur, at some level, for fundamental change to take place for women in sport. It has been argued by both socialist and radical feminists that social structures (social institutions and practices) must be transformed in order to abolish women's subordination. Hall (1985) holds that it must be continually recognized that sport is an institutional structure in society that has been created through agency, predominantly male agency (Pongrac, 1988). Hall maintains, therefore, that sport is not a static structure and can be altered through human agency (Pongrac, 1988). The framework for analysis within this thesis builds upon this assumption, as it investigates how agents have contributed to social change and/or social maintenance through interaction with social structures.

While MacIntosh and Whitson's (1990) framework categorizes the structural barriers to women's inequalities, it does not consider the manner in which these levels are integrated to form social relations. The following theoretical framework allows for the consideration of various components of structure, as well as the agents involved, as
they work together to contribute to social change and as they maintain current conditions. This theoretical alternative, based on the duality of structure paradigm, has been utilized to examine women in sport in relation to the Women's Program initiatives in sport.

The Theoretical Framework

This section presents a refinement of the theoretical framework initially developed to investigate the research sub-problems. The revised framework allows for the inclusion of structures that affect all aspects of women's reality. It goes beyond materialism, which focuses on the allocation of and access to resources, and includes the impact of personal and interpersonal relations in the construction of our social lives. The concepts of structure, agency and power, the duality of structure and social change/maintenance are reviewed to reveal the manner in which I have come to understand them in light of the constructed herstory. Each concept is defined and explained accordingly with examples.

Structures

Structures are the boundaries within which people live

---

See Appendix IV for the initial theoretical framework which is based on Giddens' structuration theory.
their lives' (Metcalf, 1993). Structures become such boundaries when people give meaning to them and interact with them accordingly'. Therefore, structures facilitate or inhibit the activity of agents to the degree that the agents perceive, either consciously or unconsciously, that such structures have an impact on their ability to act.

Structures can be divided into components, each of which work at various levels to bound agency. I have grouped structures into two main categories: rules and resources'. There are two components of rules: internal rules and external rules. Internal rules are comprised of the assumptions and ideologies' held by individuals that construct the way they think about and perceive their social lives'2. An example of an internal rule is the set of assumptions individuals hold regarding the role of women as the nurturer and caregiver in

18 The term 'boundaries' is not meant to imply only negative, confounding barriers. Boundaries, as the term is used to define structure, both facilitate and inhibit the action of agents.

19 Giddens (1984) believes that structural properties are manifested into structures via knowledgeable agents' interaction with them.

20 Giddens also categorizes structures into rules and resources. He defines semantic and regulative rules and authoritative and allocative resources (see Appendix I for definitions). I have redefined these terms in a manner that is easier to understand and contextualize.

21 Assumptions refer to normalized beliefs, values and ideas. Ideologies refer to sets of normalized assumptions.

22 Social lives refer to any social interaction an individual may have; for eg., within a family, at work, participating in sport or interacting with friends.
a society. External rules are documented regulations regarding how individuals are to act within their social lives. For example, law and policy are external rules that monitor how individuals are to act in society.

Resources are divided into three components: material resources, personal resources and interpersonal resources. Material resources refer to tangible items that are required to function in an individual's social life, such as money. Personal resources are comprised of the internal feelings, motivations and physical state of individuals that affect the way that they act within their social lives. The ability to cope with stress or the aspiration to act in a certain way are examples of personal resources. Interpersonal resources refer to interactions with other individuals that affect an agent's ability to act within his/her social life. Authority within an organizational structure and support from co-workers are illustrations of interpersonal resources.

Internal rules are the foundational structure that govern the action of agents. It is internal rules that structure how agents think about and react to external rules and all three components of resources. Therefore, external rules are the formal manifestation of internal rules\(^2\), which assign value and access to material and interpersonal resources. Internal

\(^2\) It is critical to note that external rules are the formal manifestation of only certain people's internal rules. Dominant social groups have historically had the ability to define and establish external rules in line with their internal rules and assumptions.
rules and personal resources are closely intertwined as they regulate how an individual feels about his/her ability to accomplish something in any given situation.

These dynamics do not function statically or unilaterally. Internal rules are the basis for the construction of external rules and the meanings assigned to material, personal and interpersonal resources. An external rule is produced in relation to an ideology of a group or organization. Alternatively, resources and external rules also serve to further normalize internal rules. The more 'natural' an external rule or interpersonal relationship becomes, the more normalized the corresponding assumption or ideology will become.

For example, FAS bureaucrats may hold the assumption that success in international sport will bring the Canadian government prestige. A policy is thus developed to distribute funds to athletes based on international performance. This creation of an external rule and the corresponding allocation of resources reinforces, or naturalizes, the assumption of the importance of international success.

Therefore, structures are the boundaries within which people live their lives. These boundaries are self-imposed to some degree. This is not to say that an individual can live free of structures or boundaries; rather that structures become boundaries to the degree that agents perceive them to be boundaries. Furthermore, certain social groups have more
of an ability to define the external rules and resources in line with their own internal rules. Therefore, the boundaries within which we live may be self-imposed to a degree, but are not necessarily self-defined. This unequal opportunity to assign the meanings to resources and external rules is the basis for differential power relations.

Agency and Power

Agency can be defined as an individual or a group of individuals acting in a goal-directed manner\(^\text{24}\). Therefore, agency is not all activities of individuals, but strictly those with intentional action\(^\text{25}\). The intended action, or the goal that directs that intended action is bounded by internal rules. The goal a person establishes is based on what she/he thinks is possible and desirable. What a person perceives to be possible and desirable is predicated by the assumptions and ideologies held by that person. For example, if a woman assumes that her responsibilities as a mother conflict with those of a national coach, she will perceive that it is

\(^{24}\) This definition compares to Callinicos' (1987) definition of agency as "the ability to act". However, it is taken one step further to stipulate "intentional action". This idea corresponds to Giddens' (1984) definition, "agency concerns events in which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase of a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently" (9). The decision to act in a specific manner indicates intention.

\(^{25}\) Although an action is intentional, it may not produce the expected or desired outcome. It is the intentionality, not the outcome produced, that is the indicator for agency.
impossible for her to hold that position and she will decide not to apply for the position. Therefore, internal rules are the initial structure that act to facilitate and/or inhibit agency. 

Power is the ability to achieve a desired end\textsuperscript{26}. Since agency is intentional action toward an end, power can only be measured through an exercise of agency. The better able an agent is to meet his/her end, the more power is held by that individual. Resources and external rules work to either facilitate or inhibit an agent's action to reach a desired end. Therefore, these structures are the 'power tools' of agency. The degree to which existing structures either facilitate or inhibit an agent's ability to reach his/her goal directly affects the amount of power an agent can achieve. The more facilitating the structures are, the more powerful the agent, if the agent acts in keeping with the structures. The more inhibiting the structures are, the less potential the agent has to act in a powerful manner when trying to access resources. However, an agent can still act in a powerful manner if she/he decides not to attempt to access resources. This denial of the meanings assigned to resources is a source of personal power.

\textsuperscript{26} Giddens (1984) defines power as "capacity to achieve outcomes" (257). Power has also been defined as the ability to make a difference (Giddens, 1984; Lukes, 1986). However, this latter definition does not highlight the ability of an agent to maintain a situation which is critical in the upkeep of unequal power relations.
However, internal rules of certain groups line up more readily with the presently defined external rules and resources. This is due to the underlying and historical power relations upon which the present external rules and resources were defined. Men\textsuperscript{37} have traditionally had the ability to define external rules and resources; thus their internal rules will line up accordingly. Such social groups have more power, since external rules and resources facilitate their agency more readily.

As stated earlier, structures do not simply facilitate or inhibit agents on their own. An agent must interact with the structure for it to effect her/his agency. This idea is congruent with that of power. For a structure to facilitate an agent to achieve a goal, the agent must realize such potential and utilize it appropriately. Someone with authority over funds must realize that these funds are present and will facilitate her/his agency to reach the desired end. Therefore, an agent is only as powerful as his/her ability to realize and utilize potential facilitating structures.

\textsuperscript{37} The term 'men' here is not meant to treat men as a monolithic group. The term is used here to refer to men (and women) who buy into and are thus facilitated by patriarchal beliefs.
The Duality of Structure: Social Change and Maintenance

The duality of structure dynamic is based on the idea that structures not only facilitate and/or inhibit the action of agents, but that structures are also transformed via agents' interaction with them\(^{28}\). In other words, the action of agents is bounded by existing structures and in turn serves to produce, reproduce or alter structures. The produced, reproduced or altered structures then serve to facilitate or inhibit future agency.

When agents act toward a desired end, they are either facilitated or inhibited by a number of interacting structures. The degree to which they are able to meet their end, in light of the existing structures, is a measure of their power. An act of power can produce a number of different outcomes. The end which is obtained results in the production of either new structures, or the reproduction or alteration of existing structures. The continual reproduction of existing structures through the duality of structure dynamic is the process of social maintenance. On the other hand, the production of new structures or the alteration of existing structures through this dynamic is the process of social change. Thus, the exertion of power can both maintain and alter social life.

\(^{28}\) Giddens (1984) refers to the duality of structure whereby "structures are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that they recursively organize" (25).
Social change and/or maintenance is measured through the existence and creation of structures. There are different levels of social change and/or maintenance. There can be change and/or maintenance in social conditions, and change and/or maintenance in underlying power relations. The alteration of resources or external rules may only effect social conditions without effecting power relations. To alter underlying power relations, internal rules must be changed. Therefore, to change underlying, unequal power relations, such as patriarchy, internal rules must be altered, and external rules and resources realigned accordingly. The assumptions and ideologies that people have regarding the roles of men and women in society must be totally revamped. Since underlying assumptions and ideologies structure the goals agents aim for, it is only when such internal rules are altered that resources and external rules will be realigned accordingly.

These ideas will be revisited in Chapter three to further investigate them in light of the constructed herstory of Chapter two.
CHAPTER 2

Federal State Initiatives for Women and Sport: A Herstory

The initiatives for women in sport within the federal state structure did not occur within an equity vacuum. There were other, competing initiatives occurring in additional spheres of sport. Therefore, throughout this herstory the women's sport initiatives have been recollected in light of broader federal state involvement in sport. This process provides insight into the types of structures that facilitated and/or inhibited the agents within the Women's Program, as well as the agents' impact on such structures.

The time period 1970-1988, was one that saw the continued development of two ideologies, one dominant, one emergent. Each ideology is based on a different set of assumptions regarding the make-up of sport participants and leaders. Both

---

29 This account has been directed by the duality of structure paradigm. Therefore, throughout the herstory the chronically calling of events will be analyzed in light of this theoretical framework.

30 The dominant refers to the mainstream, hegemonically maintained set of assumptions. The emergent refers to the continual creation of new meanings, values and practices (Williams, 1977). These new meanings, values and practices may become elements of the dominant through the process of incorporation, rather than alternative or oppositional to the dominant. The alternative refers to the defining of new meanings, values and practices. The alternative is often seen as oppositional to the dominant (Williams, 1977). For a good example of dominant and emergent ideologies see Robbins (1987); "Sport Hegemony and the Middle Class: the Victorian Mountaineers".
originated in the 1970s\textsuperscript{31} and continued to be fostered throughout the 1980s, although to quite different degrees within the hierarchy of Sport Canada. These hegemonically contested ideologies are sport as an elitist institution (dominant), versus sport as an equitable\textsuperscript{32} institution (emergent).

The root of the conflict between these two ideologies comes from their corresponding underlying assumptions. The underlying assumption of sport as an equitable institution is a dedication to the achievement of equality in sport at all levels, including the equality of women. The underlying assumption of sport as an elitist institution is the dedication to excellence in competition and winning medals internationally. Since women's participation in elite sport

\textsuperscript{31} Although the first formal federal sport policy was not produced until 1970, elite sport was a concern of the federal state since the passage of the 1961 Fitness and Amateur Sport Act (see MacIntosh et al's (1987) Sport and Politics in Canada: Federal Government Involvement Since 1961 for complete history). The focus on elite sport prior to the time period being studied gave credibility to the ideology of sport as an elitist institution. This dominant and continually reinforced ideology made it more difficult for the development of the emergent ideology of sport as an inclusive institution.

\textsuperscript{32} Equity and equality are not mutually exclusive terms. According to Kidd, equality is when every individual has the same starting line, or equal opportunity. However, equal opportunity does not necessarily mean equal end results. Therefore, equity is when every individual (regardless of i.e. sex, race, ability) has the same finish line or the same opportunity to reach equal end results (Herstory Interview, 1994). Throughout this thesis, the term equity is referring specifically to gender equity. Furthermore, "equitable" refers to equality of outcome rather than equality of opportunity.
has traditionally not been acknowledged as being important, women have been viewed as being less competent in the field of sport (Herstory Interview, 1994). Therefore, women have not traditionally had the opportunity to become as effective or experienced as men in leading sport through administration and coaching, they are perceived to be less effective in the high performance cause (MacIntosh & Whitson, 1990). Women have not been welcomed into the upper echelons of high performance sport leadership because of the potential cost this might have on Canada's international ranking. Therefore, the goal of the women's movement in sport, that of women's equity at all levels of sport, has not been realized because of its conflict with the high performance sport objective.

This central hypothesis has been developed by MacIntosh and Whitson in their (1990) article "Policy Tensions: Equity vs. High Performance Sport". The principle idea in this article is that high performance sport and equity policies are in competition with one another. Equity policies tend to be overshadowed by policies aimed at high performance sport because federal funding is generally linked to elite sport performance. Therefore equity initiatives, aimed at transforming sport into an inclusive institution, are ultimately ineffectual as the emphasis in the state sport structure is on high performance.

31 The term 'Herstory Interview' will be used to reference the ideas and quotes obtained in the interviews with the women directly involved in the Women's Program.
The development of this conflict can be charted through the 1970s and the 1980s. The 1970s saw the rise of the women's liberation movement which grew out of the youth radicalization of the 1960s (Researcher Interview, 1994)\textsuperscript{34}. This campaign for women's liberation eventually filtered into sport. Women's equality in sport became an issue for debate and contention that eventually lead to state action. By the 1980s, the federal state had produced specific programs and policies to deal with the issue and the women's movement in sport became a cause competing for state funding.

The high performance priority crystallized in 1970 when the first policy on amateur sport was produced. The idea was generated in the late 1960s when politicians saw the potential of sport as an international source of prestige for Canadians (MacIntosh et al., 1988). This emphasis flourished with the awarding of the 1976 Summer Olympics\textsuperscript{35} to Montreal and by 1979 a policy on high performance sport had been developed. Specific programs aimed at improving Canada's international ranking in sport were developed in the 1980's and performance goals and objectives became the impetus for funding both the

\textsuperscript{34} The term 'Researcher Interview' will be used to reference the ideas obtained from the academic researchers interviewed in the second stage of the research process.

\textsuperscript{35} During this time frame, 70% of Olympic sports were held only for men. Therefore, the majority of the money that was allocated to support the Olympic drive was given to men (Herstory Interview, 1994).
athletes and NSOs.

Therefore, by the 1980s there were two sets of programs, the women's sport program and the high performance sport program, competing for the same set of resources within Sport Canada. However, the women's sport initiatives were overshadowed by the high performance sport initiatives due to the perceived importance and prestige of international competition and the corresponding conflict between the two sets of underlying assumptions. Although the women's movement in sport received some material resources (i.e. funding and personnel), these resources were allocated in a manner such that male power in sport and the commitment to high performance were unchallenged. The male bureaucrats thus addressed increasing pressure by the women's movement and by society at large in such a way that their own status remained unchanged.

The following herstory charts the development of the women's initiatives in sport, and the development of high performance sport initiatives within two time periods. The period from 1970-1979 documents the initial impetus for both the women's movement in sport and the high performance emphasis. Additionally, it also chronicles the beginning of limited support and initiatives for the women's movement in sport and the continued growth of the high performance sport focus. The second time period, 1980-1988, shows the development of specific programs for both movements. It
becomes evident throughout this interval that the women's movement in sport does not challenge the legitimacy and priority of high performance sport within the federal sport bureaucracy.
1970-1979: Laying the Groundwork: Program Construction Begins

This time period introduces the first illustration of the federal state's recognition that women were a minority group in terms of physical activity, whose status therefore needed to be improved. In 1970 the Royal Commission on the Status of Women\textsuperscript{36} report included two recommendations to improve women's status in sport. These suggestions were: (1) the review and re-organization of policies and programs to improve the participation levels of girls in the school system, and (2) the establishment of a FAS research project to determine why fewer women than men participate in sport, accompanied by remedial strategies for rectifying this problem. This report was the first formal structure with the potential to facilitate agents aiming to improve the status of women in sport.

It was also during this time period that the federal state, as promised by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, acted to concretely define a federal mandate on sport for Canadians. The Honourable John Munro presented the Proposed Sport Policy for Canadians in 1970 as an initiative aimed at the entire Canadian population. However, a complete reading of this document reveals an emphasis on elite sport. This is the first example of MacIntosh and Whitson's (1990) thesis that high performance and equity policies were at odds with one

\textsuperscript{36} This federal commission was founded in 1967 to investigate and to attempt to improve the status of women in Canada.
another. While the policy was promoted as being for the benefit of all Canadians, the result was a focus on high performance sport\(^7\). The women's initiatives were clearly not carried through into sport policy despite the Royal Commission recommendations.

A Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) was founded to monitor and assess the progress of government branches, including FAS, in implementing the Royal Commission's recommendations. By 1974 it was deduced by the CACSW that no legitimate action by FAS had been taken with respect to the Royal Commission's recommendations. At this time pressure was placed on FAS to respond to the Royal Commission recommendations.

One of the results from this pressure was the 1974 'National Conference on Women and Sport' in Toronto, which was the first of its kind. Marion Lay, a Sport Canada Consultant, was the organizer of this conference (Researcher Interviews, 1994). Lay initiated the conference with the assistance of Mary Keyes and Ann Hall, who called for and supported the event from outside the state bureaucracy (Herstory Interview, 1994). The conference occurred at a time

\(^7\) Although low income and native individuals were seen as target groups whose resources had been left untapped (Munro, 1970: 26), there was no mention of women as a target group in Munro's document. In fact he uses the term 'he' to describe the entire population. It has been noted that the inclusion of women's issues within this document was probably never even contemplated as the women's liberation movement had not yet become a part of sport (Researcher Interview, 1994).
in the women's liberation movement when the women in sport issue was beginning to be widely debated (Researcher Interview, 1994). This symposium provided the delegates, a group of invited experts in the field of women in sport, to meet and exchange information. They hoped that this initiative would be the beginning step in changing the status of women in sport through the formulation of specific recommendations to a variety of groups and organizations (Conference Report, 1974). Abby Hoffman presented the keynote address and called for the development of a relationship between the women's movement and women in sport, and for continued pressure on the government to initiate change (Conference Report, 1974). The following are the objectives of the conference as stated in the conference report:

1) to identify specific problems and issues,
2) to discuss the issue and problem for women in sport,
3) to formulate recommendations directed toward solutions to problems and issues for presentation to the government and organization,
4) to suggest needed national, provincial and municipal policies and programs directed toward increased participation of women in all levels of sport,
5) to publish recommendations and circulate them to sport and recreation organizations, women's groups, educational institutions and government at all levels.

\*\* Ann Hall was contracted by FAS during the summer of 1974. One of her responsibilities was writing the conference report (Researcher Interview, 1994).
The outcome of this symposium was a series of action proposals and strategies for change in the following areas: participation, coaching, administration, competition, and children's attitudes toward female participation in sport. Each of these recommendations focused on increasing female participation in the male-defined sport structure. Although some of these recommendations were followed, such as special funding to female sports like ringette and netball, the senior officials at FAS resisted any suggestions to alter the organization of the administration of sport to accommodate the needs of women (Hall & Richardson, 1982).

The pressure by the CACSW on FAS with comply to the Royal Commission recommendations facilitated Marion Lay's ability to secure funding to organize the conference. Therefore Lay's agency was facilitated by both interpersonal resources (state pressure) and material resources (funding) to produce an initiative that provided the potential for making change. However, it must be noted that this conference would never have occurred without Lay's diligent pursuit, thus stressing the importance of agency. Recognizing the capacity of the pressure from the state to facilitate her actions, Lay utilized it to obtain further resources to reach her end.

The conference also produced potential facilitating structures (external rules in the form of conference recommendations) for agents striving for change. Although these recommendations provided the impetus for some agents to
initiate change, in terms of funding to special women's sports, the men within the Sport Canada bureaucracy did not utilize these structures to improve the status of women in sport. Since it was these individuals who had the ability to exert power, through their authority, little change took place as a result of this initiative, and the unequal status of women in sport was maintained.

Two other initiatives for women in sport occurred in 1974: a film about female athletes entitled Your Move and a proposal written by Marion Lay and Ann Hall to FAS regarding the establishment of a permanent Women's Program within the Branch (Lay and Hall, 1974). This proposal did not achieve much success as the issue of women in sport was not viewed with much interest by the bureaucrats within FAS (Researcher Interview, 1994).

Between the years 1975 and 1979 the literature reveals limited women's initiatives\(^{39}\) in sport despite the fact that the United Nations declared 1975-1985 as the Decade of Women. Actions in sport more broadly during this time period supports the thesis that equity goals were competing, unsuccessfully, against high performance sport goals for funding. During this time period, for example, elite sport was at a premium as Montreal was hosting the 1976 Summer Olympics. Additionally in 1976, Iona Campagnolo was appointed as the first Minister of State responsible for Fitness and Amateur Sport. Under

\(^{39}\) For example, the funding of a women's ice hockey seminar.
Campagnolo's reign FAS released the high performance based documents, *Towards a National Policy on Amateur Sport: A Working Paper* (1977) and *Partners in Pursuit of Excellence: A National Policy* (1979). Through these documents, it was perceived that Campagnolo was attempting to address the explosion of expectations that came out the continuing development of programs and out of the 1976 Olympics, as well as the contradictions between high performance sport and recreation and fitness (Researcher Interview, 1994). Therefore, women's status in sport during this time period and throughout these documents was not a large issue, if it was one at all (Researcher Interviews, 1994). Although Marion Lay might have attempted to attach her agenda to the documents, these attempts were unsuccessful (Hersstory Interview, 1994; Researcher Interview, 1994). Campagnolo felt that the needs of women could be met through the existing FAS policy documents (MacIntosh et al., 1987) and a special agenda for women in sport was not necessary (Hersstory Interview, 1994). Lay's agency was not facilitated by any structures and therefore her power did not increase, and change did not occur. Lack of internal support from FAS and Sport Canada executives and lack of continual funding were, respectively, interpersonal and material resources which inhibited Lay's

---

The entire focus of these documents was high performance sport. Although there is occasional mention of providing opportunities for both men and women, women are once again not deemed a target group with special interest needs within the high performance initiatives.
attempts to reach her desired goals.

This time period illustrates the initial realization that something needed to be done to alter the status of women in sport. The individuals eager to pursue this change were minimally facilitated. Interpersonal and material resources (state pressure and funding, respectively) during this time period facilitated Marion Lay's agency to produce the mentioned initiatives, but were insufficient in terms of changing women's status in the sport system. In other words, the structures provided were not substantial enough to provide Lay with the power to create change. Although some potential facilitating structures were produced via Lay's agency, the inequality within the system was maintained throughout the 1970s.
1980-1988: Continued Construction and Inequality

This time period produced a number of formal initiatives for women's sport federally, including the development of a specific program in 1980 and a policy for women in sport in 1986. However, when the subsequent sport policy document was produced in 1988\textsuperscript{41}, the real progress of women's status in sport was clarified.

In 1980 a second conference, titled 'The Female Athlete', was held in Vancouver, hosted by Simon Fraser University. FAS eventually contributed to the symposium by donating funds for the production of the proceedings (Herstory Interview, 1994). This conference was another opportunity for people to come together, to develop networks and discuss possible plans of action to improve the status of women in sport. A number of recommendations resulted, similar to those from the 1974 conference, regarding the improvement of women's status in the realm of sport (Vail, 1983). The conference was viewed as a rallying opportunity and a point of empowerment for women interested in improving the status of women in sport (Herstory Interview, 1994).

\textsuperscript{41} Toward 2000: Building Canada's Sport System was produced in 1988 and was the first sport policy to be developed following the 1986 Women in Sport Policy. Therefore, 1988 was delimited as the completion of this second time period to illustrate the impact that the Women's Program and the women's policy had on subsequent sport policy in Canada.
Sport Canada consultant Sue Vail submitted a proposal for a specific program to deal with the status of women in sport in early 1980. The proposal was similar to the one submitted by Lay and Hall in 1974. In the fall of 1980 the proposal was accepted by FAS executives and Vail was granted $250,000 to spend accordingly by March 1981; thus the Women's Program was born. The timing of the acceptance of Vail's proposal concurs with the 10-year review of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women Report. FAS officials were feeling pressure to respond to the Commission's recommendations and provide resources to advance the position of women in sport and in society (Researcher Interview, 1994). Material (funding) and interpersonal resources (state pressure) once again facilitated the agents striving to develop women in sport initiatives.

Vail immediately formed a committee of eight women, six of whom had attended the 1980 conference, to discuss ideas for the program (Lawrence-Harper, 1991). The committee realized that the money needed to be spent quickly and more importantly, spent well if more funding was to be obtained in

---

42 Lay, eventually with the assistance of Vail, annually submitted such proposals throughout the late 1970's with no response from FAS (Herstory Interview, 1994).

43 The Women's Program was jointly responsible to both Sport Canada and Fitness Canada. Though this account will focus on initiatives pertaining to women in sport specifically, fitness initiatives were also occurring through the program. Therefore, key fitness initiatives that occurred throughout the time period will be noted.
the future (Herstory Interview, 1994). The committee used the proposal for funds constructed earlier by Lay and Vail, as well as the recommendations from the two conferences as guidelines for their decision on how to best utilize the funding (Herstory Interview, 1994). They decided on a mandate for the program which emphasized developing and promoting ways of involving more women in sport and physical activity, while helping remove barriers which have traditionally inhibited participation by women in the past (Vail, 1982). The four key responsibilities that the committee generated were: 1) the development of the National Association Contribution Program (NACP)\textsuperscript{44}, 2) the establishment of an internship program in administration for women athletes (WSL)\textsuperscript{45}, 3) mediating between National Sport Governing Bodies and the government, and 4) policy development.

Vail was responsible for the administration of these initiatives in addition to the regular portfolio she held as a Sport Canada consultant (Herstory Interview, 1994). This heavy workload continued throughout the early years of the Women's Program as the program manager had additional

\textsuperscript{44} The purpose of the NACP was to provide National Sport Governing Bodies (NSOs) with funding for special projects promoting women in sport.

\textsuperscript{45} The internship program was established to provide leadership employment opportunities for former elite women athletes in national sport and fitness organizations. The title of this program was changed to the Women in Sport and Fitness Leadership Program in 1985/6 and then the Women in Sport Leadership Program in 1987 when the Women's Program responsibilities to Fitness Canada were realigned.
responsibilities in other areas of Sport Canada. Furthermore, a great deal of the work with the NSOs took place on weekends which added to the already heavy workload (Herstory Interview, 1994). In 1982 Kathy McDonald began working for the Women's Program, specifically on the NACP. In addition to this responsibility, she also had a portfolio to take care of as a Sport Canada consultant. It was not until she became the program manager in late 1983 that her responsibilities as a consultant were dropped (Herstory Interview, 1994). The massive number of hours and responsibilities that the program managers worked contributed to the fatigue and burnout that inhibited their ability to work to their desired ends. Fatigue and burnout are personal resources that structured what the women felt was possible for them to accomplish. These structures were the product of the massive number of hours and responsibilities that the managers faced.

The Women's Program was established at a time when most people within Sport Canada were blind to the gendered nature of sport and thus they did not understand what the women within the program were trying to accomplish (Researcher Interview, 1994). This lack of understanding, coupled with the program manager's lack of authority within the Sport Canada hierarchy, enabled people within FAS to ignore the program and its initiatives (Researcher Interview, 1994). There was little to no support from within FAS. In the early years of the Women's Program the men within Sport Canada did
not want to know what was happening within the program. They were frightened of any change in the system that would take funds away from elite athletes and high performance sport (Herstory Interviews, 1994).

For the most part those things that we made happen in the first little while were in spite of the government bureaucracy, if you will, or in spite of the lack of support internally.

Herstory Interview, 1994

Although the lack of support and understanding may appear to inhibit the agents' power within the Women's Program, they in fact facilitated Vail's ability to accomplish her goals without internal interference (Herstory Interview, 1994). People within Sport Canada did not care about the program, or feel threatened by it, therefore they did not actively attempt to hamper its operation. Vail's action was thus facilitated by the funding provided by FAS, the assistance of an external support group and a lack of resistance from within the Branch. Vail realized the potential of these facilitating structures (material and interpersonal resources) and utilized their potential to reach her desired ends.

The lack of interest and support continued during McDonald's reign as manager, despite attempts to educate the Sport Canada staff regarding the goals and philosophy behind the program (Herstory Interview, 1994). As the program developed a higher profile, the lack of interest and
understanding began to work against McDonald. A 'chilly climate' developed as the program and the managers were ridiculed and discredited (Herstory Interview, 1994). This type of negative environment structurally inhibited the managers as they attempted to alter the status of women in sport. The environment is an act of patterned agency which was manifested by the assumptions people within Sport Canada held about the program and its objectives.

The committee formed by Sue Vail to explore ideas for the Women's Program became a planning committee for a forum to be held in March 1981 (Lawrence-Harper, 1991). At this forum a group of feminists came together at a workshop at McMaster University in Hamilton to explore the possibility of forming a committee with the objective of actualizing the recommendations from the 1974 and 1980 conferences. Sue Vail obtained funding for the workshop from the Secretary of State Women's Program and leaders from various sport and women's organizations were invited to attend. The state funding and the networking accomplished through the 1974 and 1980 conferences facilitated the orchestrating of this workshop (Herstory Interview, 1994).

Resulting from this workshop the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS) was founded on March 20, 1981 as a feminist advocacy organization aimed at

---

46 The 'chilly climate' refers to the subtle and common behaviours whereby women are treated differently in their work environment (Sandler and Hall, 1986).
advancing women's position in both Canadian society and sport”. The women felt that CAAWS had the potential to transform the patriarchal sport system in Canada (Herstory Interview, 1994). The group formed an interim planning committee whose job was to develop the systems, structures and philosophy of the organization based on feminist principles (Lawrence-Harper, 1991).

Two previous initiatives provided the impetus and the facilitating structures which enabled agents to act in a manner that produced CAAWS. Firstly, the 1980 Female Athlete Conference provided the opportunity for people to meet, network and discuss the potential and desire to create an organization aimed at altering the status of women in sport in Canada. The conference gave the people an opportunity to meet and discuss their ideas, which was the key facilitating structure. Their underlying assumptions regarding the unequal treatment of women in sport was an internal rule that facilitated their desire to initiate change for women in sport. Secondly, the funding from FAS for women's initiatives provided the material resources necessary for agents to actualize the aspiration of establishing such an organization. Thus, through their agency, the founding mothers of CAAWS utilized these structures to establish an organization that had the potential agency to initiate change for women in sport.

sport.

From the beginning of the McMaster workshop there was a great deal of tension within CAAWS regarding a number of debates. The workshop has been described as painful and gut-wrenching, as the women fought to find common ground from which they could proceed toward their objective (Herstory Interview, 1994). One issue debated was that of the involvement of government in a private organization that was structured to potentially critique government actions (Researcher Interview, 1994). However, it was through Abby Hoffman's and Sue Vail's involvement, as FAS employees, that this young organization was provided with legitimacy and financial support (Lawrence-Harper, 1991). While the state support allowed for CAAWS to work towards altering the status of women in sport, it also made CAAWS dependent upon the government for resources (Lawrence-Harper, 1991). This was just one of the problems that CAAWS faced early on in its development. There were continual debates surrounding such issues as homophobia and CAAWS' role as an advocacy group (Researcher Interviews, 1994). These struggles, coupled with the strains of a volunteer organization and the geographical

---

48 The funding that CAAWS received from FAS was on a project by project basis. Thus, although CAAWS was supported federally to a degree, there was no continual funding for operations until the early 1990s.

49 It is important to note that homophobia did more than hamper the development of CAAWS. It was a system-wide problem that affected women both politically and personally as they attempted to make change for women in sport (Researcher Interview, 1994).
problems common to organizations in Canada, made CAAWS more of a promise than anything else in its early years (Researcher Interview, 1994). The debates are acts of agency founded upon the internal rules individuals held about these issues. The geographical and volunteer problems of the organization arose due to lack of material resources (funding). Each of these structures inhibited the ability of the agents within CAAWS to act in a manner that effected social change.

The development of CAAWS created another problem for the managers of the Women's Program, as they were forced to split their alliances between two organizations. Each of the managers was a member of the board of directors at one time or another. Thus, they all felt very deeply about the importance of such a sport advocacy organization for women (Herstory Interviews, 1994). This created problems for these women as they were forced to wear different hats depending upon the circumstances of a certain event. Although they hoped that the Women's Program and CAAWS could work in a partnership to make change, conflicts arose (Herstory Interviews, 1994). The managers faced unrealistic expectations from their CAAWS sisters regarding the power they were able to exert. The managers, criticized for their resource allocation, felt that their CAAWS sisters held a lack of understanding of their position in a bureaucratic system (Herstory Interviews, 1994).

Additionally, the feminist principles and ideals of the managers were continually attacked as they were accused of
being coopted into the bureaucratic and patriarchal system or of not being radical enough in their efforts (Herstory Interviews, 1994). These problems created an immense source of stress and frustration (personal resources) for the managers which inhibited their ability to act towards their goal of partnership between the two organizations.

Abby Hoffman was appointed Director General of Sport Canada in July of 1981 and assumed this position throughout the completion of this herstory. The Women's Program managers reported directly to her and she had final budget approval over the program (Herstory Interview, 1994). Hoffman was an advocate of women in sport issues and each of the managers credited her as being a supportive figure within an unsupportive environment (Herstory Interviews, 1994). Hoffman's authority provided a key facilitating structure, aiding the managers' ability to sustain the Women's Program (Herstory Interviews, 1994). Although Hoffman's authority had the potential to provide the managers with power, via increased funding and authority for the Women's Program, Hoffman's philosophy regarding the purpose of the program suppressed such a development.

---

50 The manager of the program and Hoffman collaborated on a recommended budget for Hoffman's approval (Herstory Interviews, 1994).

51 Hoffman was a frequent speaker on women in sport issues at various events. She also was a founding mother of CAAWS and a member of the original organizing committee for the Women's Program.
Hoffman was not in favour of the Women's Program having a substantial budget to implement the goal of gender equity within the sport system. She believed that the responsibility of the Women's Program and CAAWS was to assist the NSOs to realize the importance of gender equitable programs and to redirect the sport system accordingly (Herstory Interview, 1994). Since half of the potential NSO clientele consisted of women, Hoffman held that the NSOs should utilize their current budgets to create opportunities for women at all levels of sport (Herstory Interview, 1994). Hoffman was not in favour of giving the NSOs large sums of money to develop parallel systems for women and thus the Women's Program budget was not increased (Herstory Interview, 1994). Therefore, Hoffman's presence both facilitated and inhibited the development of the Women's Program. She was the lone source of internal support for the program, however her refusal to increase the budget inhibited what the managers were able to do with the program.

In addition to the four major responsibilities of the program, Vail realized that there was a need to raise public awareness regarding women in sport issues (Herstory Interview, 1994). Therefore, a number of special initiatives were developed through the Women's Program between 1981 and 1986 which consisted of the compilation of information, statistics and research on women in sport. In 1981 there were two publications generated: the Women in Sport Leadership Directory and For the Record: Canada's Greatest Female
Athletes. The directory consisted of a listing of all women in the field of sport leadership, while the book was a collection of herstories on some of Canada's finest women athletes.

In 1982 the Women's Program developed a survey on the status of women in sport in Canada titled *Summary of the National Survey: Women in Sport Leadership*. This survey produced statistics regarding the number of women in leadership positions in elite sport in Canada. FAS also funded two studies of publicly funded sport and fitness facilities in Vancouver and Hamilton. These studies were completed through CAAWS to determine the facilities' accessibility to women. A follow-up to the 1981 directory was released in 1983 with the *Canadian Directory of Women in Sport Leadership*. Additionally in 1983, a film about the emergence of women athletes, *Breaking Through* was produced. In response to public demand for promotional material, the Women's Program sponsored a poster contest for children across Canada. The result of this contest was the production of a series of Women in Sport posters that were distributed nationwide (Herstory Interview, 1994).

This set of initiatives served a number of purposes in improving the status of women in sport. Firstly, it increased awareness and publicized the issue of women in sport. Secondly, it strengthened the research base on women in sport issues and finally, it created a networking tool for women
across Canada. The production of these initiatives demonstrates that material resources, in the form of funding, continued to facilitate the agents within the Women's Program. The initiatives to increase the awareness and research on women in sport issues produced new material resources with the potential to facilitate change. They created the chance for people to view women in sport in a different light, thus providing the opportunity to change the internal rules of more individuals in society.

In response to the release of the 1983 Sopinka Commission\(^2\) Report Volume 1, the Women's Program and CAAWS formed a joint committee to examine ways to create equality for women in sport (Researcher Interview, 1994; Lawrence-Harper, 1991). Sue Vail and Kathy McDonald represented FAS, while Helen Lenskyj and Dorothy Richardson were present on behalf of CAAWS. The result of these meetings was the construction of Lenskyj's discussion paper *Female Participation in Sport: The Issue of Integration vs. Separate but Equal* which reported on the wide range of debates surrounding this topic, and developed strategies for action

---

\(^2\) John Sopinka chaired an Ontario government Task Force on Equal Opportunity in Athletics in 1982. The mandate of this commission was to determine if legislative changes were necessary to provide equal opportunity in sport for both males and females. The recommendations stated that school programs and community and provincial sport organizations should continue to be exempt from the Ontario Human Rights Code (Sopinka, 1983, 1984). The Code allowed for sex-based discrimination in terms of access to athletic facilities or memberships, and participation in an athletic organization (Lenskyj, 1988).
regarding female participation in male sport with males. Kathy McDonald coordinated the project and provided the administrative support in her position as manager (Herstory Interview, 1994).

The production of this paper was well supported financially because at that time there was a great deal of money available for women's groups and initiatives (Researcher Interview, 1994). The paper, released in 1984, generated a great deal of media attention and brought the issue into the public sphere (Researcher Interview, 1994). Additionally, the legal council for the Justine Blainey case33 used the paper as a key source because it documented many of the court cases in the U.S. regarding this issue (Researcher Interview, 1994). This document was viewed as an awareness raising and research building production that could assist the public in understanding the dimensions of this complex issue regarding girls' and women's position in sport (Herstory Interview, 1994).

The organizing committee for this document was facilitated by a number of structures. The desire to respond to the Sopinka Commission Report (an act of agency driven by underlying assumptions), the support of the Women's Program

33 Justine Blainey was a 12 year old girl who was banned from playing hockey on a boys team in 1985 in Etobicoke, Ontario. After a series of judicial proceedings, the Ontario Human Rights Commission ruled that the Ontario Human Rights Code had been violated when Blainey was not allowed to participate. This decision means that females can no longer be barred from male teams or sports (Brodsky, 1986; Lenskyj, 1988).
and CAAWS (interpersonal resources) and the availability of funding (material resources) facilitated the group's ability to achieve their end. Additionally, the agents were able to act in such a way that a document was published that had potential for facilitating further change. The media attention to the issue and the use of the paper in the Justine Blainey case both facilitated agents' ability to initiate social change in the form of increased awareness and understanding of the issue. Increased awareness and understanding of the issue are the initial steps in altering the assumptions, and therefore internal rules, that people held regarding the issue.

Under the jurisdiction of the Honourable Gerald Regan, FAS produced another sport policy in 1981. "A Challenge to the Nation: Fitness and Amateur Sport in the 80's" continued the pattern of sport policy which emphasized high performance. Following this policy funds continued to be supplied to elite sport via the 1982 Best Ever program for winter sports and the 1984 Best Ever program for summer sports. These programs were designed to improve Canada's performance internationally through increased funding and the

---

34 The issue of women's status in sport leadership is addressed for the first time in a sport policy document. "Other programs that will be assigned higher priority include those aimed at increasing the involvement of women in the management of national sport and recreation organizations. This effort will be a component of the recently announced special program to promote leadership and participatory opportunities for women in sport, recreation and fitness (Canada, 1981: 20)."
construction of national training centres for elite athletes. These initiatives illustrate the persistent importance of elite sport without particular consideration for the needs of women. There thus continued to be no integration between the two developing sets of programs, women in sport and high performance sport.

In order to continue obtaining funds and get any type of internal support the women involved in the program felt that a political framework was necessary to validate their efforts within the state system (Herstory Interview, 1994). After a number of years of committee work\textsuperscript{55}, the federal state acknowledged a specific mandate to improve the status of women via the 1986 Sport Canada's Policy on Women in Sport\textsuperscript{56}. The goal of the policy is "to attain equality for women in sports" in order to "create an environment in which no one is forced into a pre-determined role or status because of gender" (Canadian Government, 1986:14). It was near the end of this process, in 1986, that Kathy McDonald left her government.

\textsuperscript{55} The committee consisted of women working within Sport Canada and individuals from outside the government system. Included in this process were Abby Hoffman as Director General of Sport Canada, Sue Neill as manager of the Policy, Planning and Evaluation Unit, Sue Vail as a policy consultant, Kathy McDonald as the Women's Program manager and Diane Palmason representing the CAAWS board of Directors (Herstory Interviews, 1994).

\textsuperscript{56} For further analysis of the policy see Mickleson's (1991) An Analysis of the Sport Canada Women in Sport Policy: Women in Leadership Positions in National Sport Organizations.
position and Diane Palmason\textsuperscript{37} became the Women's Program manager (Herstory Interviews, 1994). It was in this capacity that Palmason became responsible for the production, editing and promotion of the policy (Herstory Interview, 1994).

The policy was constructed in such a way as to provide a model or source of information for the NSOs (Herstory Interview, 1994). This strategy can be viewed from two perspectives. Some people involved in the process believe that the policy was not developed to its full potential (Herstory Interviews, 1994). They believe that the policy could have been the governing document that ensured implementation of gender equity within the entire sport system. However, other individuals viewed the policy as a guide that NSOs could use to develop their own specific policies to improve the status of women at all levels in their sports. They saw this as a cooperative strategy whereby the leaders of the NSOs supported the policy because they believed in it rather than being coopted into it for funding (Herstory Interview, 1994).

The policy had minimal impact on the NSOs. Although awareness has been raised, there was no change in terms of the numbers of women in high level positions of sport (Mickleson, 1991). The NSOs were supposed to adhere to the policy by

\textsuperscript{37} During Palmason's reign as manager, the Women's Program portfolio was split. Palmason was thus manager of the Women's Program within Sport Canada with Dianne Ladouceur being contracted to manage the Women's Program within Fitness Canada.
including women's initiatives within their quadrennial planning. This NSO activity was to be monitored by Sport Canada liaison officers (Researcher Interview, 1994). However, this was not always effectively done. In general, NSOs responded with minimal compliance to the policy and did not actively pursue any initiatives beyond this level of compliance (Researcher Interview, 1994). This indicates that the cooperative strategy posed in the previous paragraph is ineffectual. The NSOs will not act to improve the status of women in sport unless they are forced to do so through the manipulation of resources.

In the end, the policy did not achieve the hopes of most of the women involved in its development (Herstory Interviews, 1994). It was felt that the executives within FAS were unwilling to take a strong position on the women in sport issues (Herstory Interview, 1994).

*It [the policy] had the potential to be important but in the end the fact that it was never implemented worked against us.
Herstory Interview, 1994*

Although it is a step forward to have a policy statement which puts decisions into a political context, the common criticism of the Women in Sport policy continues to be that it has 'no teeth' (Herstory Interview, 1994; Researcher Interviews, 1994). No specific funding or process for monitoring its implementation was generated, which made the policy easy to subvert. The manager of the Women's Program has neither the
money nor the authority to ensure that the NSOs comply with the policy. This lack of funding and authority are, respectively, material and interpersonal resources that inhibited the managers' ability to effectively utilize the policy to its full potential within the NSOs. Since the decision-makers in Sport Canada and in the NSOs were not committed to attaching funding to action, the policy remains relatively ineffectual in altering women's status in sport.

It has been suggested that Abby Hoffman was unwilling to tie money to the implementation of the policy (Herstory Interview, 1994). However, Hoffman stated that it was the political climate that would not allow contract compliance to be a part of the policy (Herstory Interview, 1994). Although she did have budgetary authority, final approval came from above. Hoffman reported to the Assistant Deputy Minister, Lyle Makowsky at the time. Following Makowsky's orders, the language in the final draft of the policy had to be softened to be less demanding on the NSOs (Herstory Interview, 1994). This type of activity reflects a 'say-do gap', whereby the leaders in Sport Canada are willing to state a commitment to women's equality in sport, without actually doing anything about it in practice (Researcher Interview, 1994). Only minimal effort was thus made to promote equity within Sport Canada. There were no performance appraisals of, or professional development sessions for the sport consultants regarding equity within the NSOs (Herstory Interview, 1994).
Furthermore, gender equity was not a priority within the ranks of Sport Canada as the majority of sport consultants were male (Herstory Interview, 1994).

The Women in Sport Leadership Program and the National Association Contribution Program continued to be implemented throughout the duration of this herstory. They were successful in creating a fairly strong support culture among the women working within the NSOs (Herstory Interview, 1994). However, problems were present in both programs. While the WSL program was successful in elevating the number of women working in NSOs, the increase continued to occur at the lower levels of the organization (Herstory Interview, 1994). As the statistics showed earlier, women have still not infiltrated the decision-making positions of the NSOs.

The limited budget of the women's program also restricted the success of the NACP. The managers were forced to decide whether to give small amounts of funding to each NSO or to give larger amounts to the organizations which had already begun to take interest and demonstrate initiative in women in sport enterprises (Herstory Interview, 1994). Usually the decision was made to implement the former strategy. This resulted in only minor contributions to more of the organizations. Furthermore, the money was distributed for one time only projects, with the NSOs having to match the funding or take over the funding of the project for the next year (Herstory Interview, 1994). This in turn limited what NSOs
did for the women in sport cause as they were unwilling to use the funds from their main budget towards women's initiatives. While these programs did contribute to a change in the number of women and women's initiatives within NSOs, the lack of material and interpersonal resources (funding and authority) continued to limit the ability of the Women's Program to make changes.

A National Coaching School for Women, based on women-centred principles, was founded in 1987 (Lawrence-Harper, 1991; Researcher Interview, 1994). It was developed with a distinctively feminist orientation and based on a newly developed partnership model (Herstory Interview, 1994). Included in this partnership were FAS, CAAWS and the Coaching Association of Canada. It was also in 1987 that Fitness Canada was restructured such that the fitness portion of the Women's Program was funded separately from Sport Canada (Herstory Interview, 1994). Within Fitness Canada the program developed a new identity as "Women in Motion/Femmes en Marche" under the supervision of Diane Ladouceur.

---

58 The key fitness initiatives that were completed through the Women's Program up until this point were: the 1981/82 fitness and lifestyle counselling pilot project for low-income women which took place in Ottawa and Halifax; the 1981 booklet Growing Together; the 1982 film Just For Me; and the 1984/85 Canada fitness survey Changing Times: Women's Physical Activity. Following the split from Sport Canada, the program within Fitness Canada produced A Handbook for Physical Activity Programmers (a how to booklet of gender equity guidelines), The Physical Activity Needs of Women with Disabilities, and Fitness Canada's Guiding Principles for Women and Physical Activity. Evidence from the FAS Annual Reports from 1980-1 to 1986-89 indicate that fitness initiatives received approximately 1/4 of funding allocated to the Women's Program.
FAS produced Helen Lenskyj's *Women, Sport and Physical Activity: A Bibliography* in 1988. The planning for this work began in 1985 with the construction of an advisory council to aid in the content of the book (Herstory Interviews, 1994; Researcher Interview, 1994). The book is a summary and critique of the existing literature on women in sport from various areas such as sociology, psychology, physiology and gynaecology. The material is critiqued from a radical feminist perspective and has become a useful tool for educators, students and researchers in the area of women in sport (Herstory Interview, 1994; Researcher Interview, 1994).

Both Kathy McDonald and Diane Palmason were involved in this process, as committee members and in a coordinating and editing capacity. The publication of the book in both French and English created production problems both in the layout and the translation of the book (Herstory Interview, 1994; Researcher Interview, 1994). The French and English versions of the book were produced side-by-side on each page which turned out to be a publishing nightmare. Additionally, the initial attempt to translate the English version was completed by a non-feminist translator and accordingly there were problems with gender-neutral grammar (Herstory Interview, 1994). The manuscript had to be re-translated by a feminist translator to correct the grammatical errors. This three year process inhibited the agents' ability to act quickly and efficiently to produce this book and thus the material became
dated (Herstory Interview, 1994).

In 1988 FAS published the policy *Toward 2000: Building Canada's Sport System*. This policy was aimed at high performance sport. It contained only one sentence on the promotion of women's equality in sport despite the women's sport policy produced only two years previously. In initial meetings of the committee organized to construct this policy, the inclusion of women's issues was raised but received no support at all (Researcher Interview, 1994). The leaders within Sport Canada perceived that this issue had already been dealt with through the 1986 policy, and that it was therefore a non-issue or a marginal issue in terms of high performance sport (Researcher Interviews, 1994). Thus, this 1980-1988 time period strengthens the thesis that high performance sport was a priority that undermined the equity initiatives for women in sport and that sport remains an elitist rather than an inclusive institution.39

---

39 One of the recommendations deemed most important for the time period 1988-1992 in the Domestic Sport Category was to "Increase the number of women in organized sport through development of sport strategies and implementation plans as part of the Domestic Quadrennial Planning Process" (Canada, 1988: 56). Although this inclusion of women as a target group is an improvement over earlier policy documents, women's issues are still minimal in broader sport policy documents. In fact, Diane Palmason, the manager of the Women's Program at that time, played no role in the development of the document (Herstory Interview, 1994).

60 FAS published *Sport: the Way Ahead* in 1992. This policy document identified women as a target group with a section of the document being donated to the Women's Program. However, as of January, 1994 there has been no manager of the Women's Program. Marion Lay held the position from July 1990 to December 1993 but
The Women: The Contribution, The Sacrifice

We wanted to change the world. We wanted the experiences for women to be healthier, opportunities to be fair...abuse to stop... but it didn't necessarily happen.

Herstory Interview, 1994

Marion Lay, Sue Vail, Kathy McDonald and Diane Palmason were determined to attempt to alter women's status in sport. However, their attempts to do so took place within a system filled with inhibiting structures. They constantly struggled to overcome these structures, but in the end they felt that they were unable to get beyond the education and awareness raising level of change (Herstory Interview, 1994). The years they devoted to this cause cost them personally. The program provided them the opportunity to work toward a goal that was central to their basic values, and to achieve some change (Herstory Interviews, 1994). But it was a job filled with contradictions and personal sacrifices. At times rewarding and stimulating, at times frustrating and depressing, it was nevertheless always exhausting (Herstory Interviews, 1994). It was a taxing job that lead to emotional and physical burnout and as one manager described it, it was "my core belief system being punched at on a daily basis" (Herstory Interview, 1994).

---

her contract was terminated at that time. While the sport policy documents have progressed in terms of the awareness they are giving to women's issues, the Women's Program is at a standstill without a manager.
This exhaustion and burnout was probably the most personally damaging outcome for the program managers, as the demands and the hours of the job became too much for one or two individuals. Two of the managers felt that they had done all they could do within the structural limitations of the program and within themselves (Herstory Interviews, 1994). Other managers became ill and lengthy vacations were required to recover from exhaustion (Herstory Interview, 1994). Financial and emotional support was not furnished from within the Sport Canada system to allow the managers, and therefore the Women's Program to go any further. However, the managers utilized the funding that was made available and developed networks to support each other and women across the country. These efforts resulted in raised awareness and research, and women have slowly and slightly penetrated the sport system at all levels. The agency and diligence of the managers of the Women's Program has thus resulted in the initial planting of seeds for change within a patriarchal and bureaucratic system.
Conclusion

These initiatives for women and sport were constructed in such a manner that they "do not question the social system and its patriarchal underpinnings" (Bray, 1990: 76). They focused on women gaining access into the presently defined system\(^1\), which has been historically dominated by men. While there has been a significant increase in the participation of girls and women at all levels including high performance sport, there has been no improvement in women's status as leaders in elite sport. This type of equality for women in sport is more readily accepted by men because it is not threatening to them and their positions of power (Researcher Interview, 1994).

Equally important is the fact that these types of women's initiatives, as stated above, do not challenge the present sport system or the present 'meaning of sport'. The existence of the Women's Program had the potential to challenge the rational model of sport\(^2\) such that sport more readily lined up with the reality of women's lives (Researcher Interview, 1994). However, this was not to be achieved because it threatened male power within and through sport. Furthermore,

\(^1\) The plan of action for the Women's Program for 1991-92 (which has been developed through the years to correspond with the original program mandate) outlined the following program priorities: gender equity, leadership, community initiatives, communications and promotion, and research.

\(^2\) Birrell and Richter (1987) define a rational model of sport as being based on competition, hierarchical control, elitism of skill and the rationalized pursuit of goals and standards.
the powers-that-be within FAS saw no problems with the presently defined sport system and therefore were not supportive of aspirations for a revised model of sport (Researcher Interview, 1994). Once again the high performance priority prevailed over the struggle for women's equality in sport.

Although the dominant, elitist ideology was maintained, the women's program initialized the development of an emergent, inclusive ideology; the inclusion of women at all levels of the presently defined sport system. Had the women in the program been able to attempt to alter the meaning of sport, this would have been the development of an alternative ideology. However, the structure of the system is such that it is fundamentally impossible to challenge the assumptions upon which it has been constructed.

Although women's issues found their way into the state's agenda, they continued to be marginalized and ultimately incorporated. This has been completed in such a way that men have maintained their power while addressing the society's demand to alter women's status. In other words, bureaucrats have 'institutionalized feminist demands' in such a way that "the feminist struggle within the state has been effectively controlled and ultimately blocked" (Findlay, 1990: 7). Within sport, women's issues have been addressed and initiatives have been created without any real threat of altering the meaning of sport. Men's power and their relational preference for
high performance sport over inclusionary sport has thus been maintained.

This chapter provides an initial insight into the duality of structure dynamic as a method for understanding social change. These ideas will be further developed in the next chapter through an investigation of this herstory in light of the concepts introduced in the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter One.
CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Insights

This chapter reviews the sub-problems and theoretical framework outlined in chapter one in light of the constructed herstory of chapter two. Each sub-problem will be investigated with examples from the data. The theoretical framework will then be re-examined to further explore the nature of power relations and social change.

Sub-problem #1

What structures facilitated and/or inhibited the agents' (the women involved in the program) ability to act?

A number of structures facilitated and/or inhibited the ability of the women involved in the FAS Women's Program to act. The structures worked at different levels either to facilitate or to inhibit the agents' attempts to initiate change in the status of women in sport.

The key facilitating structures were: the belief that the patriarchal nature of sport needed alteration, state pressure to move toward change, the provision of state funding, Abby Hoffman's position of authority and an external

63 Beliefs and assumptions underlie the attempts made by the women toward change. There were, however, always material and personal factors underpinning their ability to act toward their ends. Thus, the degree to which beliefs and assumptions are facilitative relates to the existence of practices and structures.
support network. These structures worked together, to various degrees, to provide the managers of the program with the opportunity to attempt to make change for women in sport.

The unfolding of the 1974 Conference on Women in Sport will be examined as an example of the recognition and utilization of facilitating structures. The underlying assumption that the patriarchal nature of sport needed to be altered was the foundation for the provision and utilization of the other structures. This internal rule held by Marion Lay and women within the external support network structured their agency in an attempt to alter the status of women in sport. State pressure resulted from the 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommendations and the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women assessment of FAS implementation of the recommendations. This state pressure, coupled with external pressure from women outside the state structure, acted as interpersonal resources which facilitated Lay to obtain material resources, in the form of funding, necessary to organize the 1974 conference. Therefore, Lay's agency was facilitated by internal rules, interpersonal and material resources to exert the power necessary to reach her end, a conference on women in sport.

The key inhibiting structures were: the belief that high performance sport was the priority within the federal sport system, the lack of internal support and understanding from Sport Canada employees, the lack of continual and substantial
funding and authority, and an overload of responsibilities for the managers. These structures, coupled with other structures in specific situations, inhibited the ability of the managers to alter the status of women in sport from within the state bureaucracy.

The implementation of the National Association Contribution Program (NACP) will be utilized as an example of structures that inhibited the managers' ability to achieve change within the sport system. In accordance with the funding stipulations designed by Sport Canada, the executives within the NSOs held the belief that elite sport was the priority of their organization. This internal rule inhibited the Women's Program managers from developing programs for women within the NSOs, as the executives within the organizations held little interest in such initiatives which were at odds with their priority of high performance sport. The Sport Canada consultants were also not understanding or supportive of the Women's Program position and therefore placed no pressure on NSOs to produce initiatives for women. Furthermore, the lack of funding distributed to the Women's Program and the lack of authority held by the program managers inhibited their ability to secure long-term plans and programs for the promotion of women in sport within the NSOs.
There was only so much that could be done, hard decisions had to be made. Should we stay with 'X' organization which has got something rolling... or should we give 20 different organizations a little seed money ... to get a whole lot of different things happening.

*Herstory Interview, 1994*

The funding available for the NACP was quite limited, and thus only enabled small contributions to NSOs on a one time only, or project by project basis. The lack of authority prevented the managers from ensuring that sport consultants worked women's initiatives into the NSOs longterm planning process.

Additionally, there was only one manager of the Women's Program to deal with more than 60 NSOs. This created a great deal of work for the managers, as well as a large time commitment as most of the NSO initiatives took place on weekends to accommodate the clientele.

*If there were 15 projects out there that the Women's Program was involved with... that meant that she [the manager] had to be informed ... and attend ... and facilitate. It was one of the sources of high demand that was on the person in that position.*

*Herstory Interview, 1994*

Stress, fatigue and burnout were the consequences of these demanding responsibilities. Thus, the internal rule held by NSO and Sport Canada staff that the federal sport system was responsible primarily for the production of elite sport was manifested in the unequal distribution of resources (funding, authority and person power) within Sport Canada programs. Therefore, the managers of the Women's Program were inhibited
by internal rules and material, interpersonal and personal resources in their attempts to make change within the sport system.

Sub-problem #2

How were the agents, in turn, able to alter, produce or reproduce structures affiliated with the program?

Altered Structures

A number of structures were altered through the agency of the managers of the Women’s Program. The treatment of women in national sport policies, the increase in funding allocated to the program, the expansion of information regarding women in sport and the increased legitimacy of women's involvement in sport were all altered to a degree. The treatment of women in sport policy will be examined to show how changes did occur for women in sport, but only at a surface level. While the conditions for women in sport were changed, the underlying power relations remained the same.

The inclusion of women as a target population has slowly and slightly been included in high performance sport policy from 1970 to 1992⁴. The 1970 policy used the term 'he' to describe the entire population; the 1979 document noted the inclusion of both men and women; the 1981 policy specifically included women as a target group; the 1988 publication omitted

⁴ It is important to note that changes in rhetoric, such as policy, does not necessarily lead to changes in corresponding structure.
women as a target group; and the 1992 document devoted an entire section to the promotion of women in sport with specific recommendations and plans of action. While this improvement, coupled with the production of the 1986 policy for women in sport, indicates an increased awareness of a problem for women within sport, the lack of reference in the 1988 policy document reveals that the internal rules within Sport Canada decision makers have not been altered. Furthermore, the implementation of equity strategies have failed to occur within elite sport. Therefore while this set of external rules has been altered, it has remained within the presently defined, patriarchal system and thus underlying power relations have been maintained.

Produced Structures

The managers within the Women's Program were able to produce a number of programs and initiatives that had the potential to initiate change for women in sport. Two conferences, the National Association Contribution Program, the Women in Sport Leadership Program, the 1986 Women in Sport Policy and a number of awareness raising and research items were produced. While the awareness raising and research initiatives did reach the ends they were produced to meet, the other programs and the policy did not reach their potential to initiate change. Therefore the managers were facilitated to act in a manner that allowed them to produce potential
facilitating structures but inhibited in the implementation of these structures in a way which would produce change. The fact that the key programs failed to reach their potential to make change served to reproduce the existing sport system.

The structures that were produced via the managers' power were in the form of external rules, material and interpersonal resources. Changes to these types of structure provided alterations to the social conditions under which women can participate in sport at all levels. However, they provide no provision for the transformation of the dominant internal rules within the sport system and therefore no change to underlying power relations.

Reproduced Structures

The key structure that was continually reproduced was the commitment to high performance sport. The majority of the Women's Program was contained within Sport Canada, whose clientele consisted solely of the NSOs. Since the NSOs are dependent on high performance in sport for funding, equity issues are less of a priority within the organizations. The majority of the Women's Program initiatives were aimed at the NSOs and contained attempts to alter the status of women specifically in high performance sport. Furthermore, executives within Sport Canada, who were also women's advocates, were held internal rules which lined up with the high performance priority. These factors all contributed to
the continued reproduction of the elitist sport ideology despite the Women's Program initiatives.

An examination of Abby Hoffman and her conflicting set of internal rules provides an example of how the high performance ideology was continually reproduced despite women's initiatives and potential facilitating structures for change. Although Hoffman was quite committed to the women in sport cause, she was equally committed to high performance sport (Researcher Interview, 1994). Since this commitment lined up much easier with the internal rule held by the majority of Sport Canada executives, employees and clientele, initiatives in this area were easier to achieve. Therefore, it follows that Hoffman was more successful at advancing high performance sport than at women's promotion in sport, which becomes evident in the distribution of material and interpersonal resources under her control.

Abby Hoffman's position of authority facilitated her desire to improve the status of women in sport. It was primarily through her efforts that the 1986 policy was produced. However, her position may have also inhibited her ability to act for women's equality as she had responsibilities to other spheres of sport, principally high performance sport. Although she was committed to gender equity in sport, her commitment to high performance sport was facilitated to a greater degree. The path towards being committed to high performance sport was easier as the internal
rules which defined her commitment to elite support was facilitated to a greater degree by the external rules and resource distribution within Sport Canada. This structured facilitation of her high performance commitment constrained her ability to act on her commitment to women's issues in sport and thus served to reproduce the existing internal rules and patriarchal nature of the federal sport system.

Sub-problem #3

How did this process alter or maintain the agents themselves?

The women who worked within the Women's Program endured a great deal of fatigue, burnout, stress and frustration. They saw the program as an opportunity to change the world of sport for women. While they were able to produce a number of potential facilitating structures, and to some degree change the conditions under which women can participate in sport at all levels, they were unable to achieve a deeper level of change. The number and strength of the existing, naturalized structures inhibited their desire and drive to change the system from within.

What changed in them was their belief that women could bond together to change their world. They were frustrated and disappointed with the lack of support and criticism they received from their sisters, who were also eager to alter women's status in sport and in society.
I came to understand that there is no sisterhood, no one big happy family to support each other under any condition... everybody has got their own personal beliefs.

Herstory Interview, 1994

This frustration and disappointment caused three of the managers to remove themselves from their position with the Women's Program. The personal resources that inhibited their ability to change fundamental power relations also precipitated their departure from the state system.

I think I did as much as I could have, given the circumstances. I don't think I could have done any more than I did. I was wise to step back when I did ... then I involved myself more fully with the CAWNS board for a while and tried to make a contribution ... and now I'm doing things in a different way, trying to get a couple of things going in Ontario.

Herstory Interview, 1994

What remained the same within these women was their desire to change the world of sport for women. Their basic set of internal rules, their values and beliefs regarding the nature of sport, have not changed. Although they all removed themselves from the state bureaucracy and Sport Canada, they all continue to work as advocates for women in sport. They saw subtle changes in the improvement of the social conditions for women in sport. However, the underlying, unequal power relations still exist and each of the managers realize that sport needs to be continually and more deeply altered to better and more appropriately accommodate the needs of women.
Agency and Power

One of the objectives of this thesis was to make overt the importance of agency in the production of social change and/or maintenance. Although a number of structures facilitated the manager's ability to act, it was through their agency that the managers were able to detect the potential facilitation of those structures and utilize them accordingly. They were able to act in a powerful manner by recognizing and employing potential facilitating structures. For example, Sue Vail realized the potential of the initial funding distributed for women's initiatives in 1980. She utilized these funds to further develop an external support network, construct the NACP and WSL programs, and produce a number of awareness raising and research building projects. Therefore, Vail acted in a powerful manner by utilizing material resources, to create interpersonal and other material resources with the potential to facilitate change in the conditions for women's sport.

Two of the managers also acted in a powerful manner by removing themselves from the program when they perceived their ability to create change was at a standstill. They realized their own inhibiting personal resources, fatigue, burnout and frustration, and made the decision to leave the situation. This exertion of personal power gave them the opportunity to strive for change in alternative, less confrontational environments. Personal power is a form of power that is not
considered in Giddens' theoretical framework. However, it is quite important to the reality of women's lives because it is not dependent upon facilitating external, patriarchal structures.

**Power Relations and Social Change/Maintenance**

There are many ways to act in a powerful manner which correspond to a number of possibilities for social change/maintenance. These possibilities for change/maintenance correlate to the change/maintenance of corresponding structures. Following are four conditions under which social change/maintenance may take place.

Changes to external rules and/or material, personal and interpersonal resources result in changing social conditions. My main argument here is that if these rules and resources are altered within the presently defined social structure, and remain in line with its corresponding internal rules, then underlying power relations remain intact. Although this is a form of social change, it does not resolve the inequity between the dominant and subordinate social groups.

These were the conditions under which the Women's Program managers were able to make change. External rules, such as policy, and resources, such as funding and networking, were altered to benefit the status of women in sport. The changes to these structures resulted in the improvement of the social conditions within which women are able to participate in
sport. However, the patriarchal nature of sport, which is built upon underlying, unequal power relations, has not been altered. Women are still second class citizens in sport and are still greatly under-represented in the upper echelons of elite sport.

Subordinate social groups often hold internal rules that are oppositional to that of the dominant social group. If the subordinate group is able to assign their own values and meanings to resources and external rules, apart from those of the dominant group, then their social conditions have been changed. The dominant group may remain dominant and power relations may be maintained. However, a source of personal power has been developed as the members of the subordinate group are able to live their lives apart from the dominant ideology.

An example of such a group would be an all-female sport organization that organized their sport based on an inclusive set of internal rules. For example, the rules for participation may be that there are no rules, anyone can participate, and the meaning assigned to team leaders may be that there are no leaders, everyone is equal. Therefore, new meanings have been assigned to external rules and interpersonal resources in accordance with their internal rules. This group is able to define their own external rules and assign their own meaning to resources apart from those of the dominant, and have thus altered one of the social
conditions within which they live their lives. This group has also increased its personal power to live according to its own internal rules. However, the underlying power relations between the dominant and subordinate groups have not been altered as the majority of individuals in society continue to live via the existing structures.

The third possibility for change occurs when resources and external rules are altered in accordance with an emerging set of internal rules. When the meaning assigned to resources and external rules is altered to better accommodate the needs of subordinate social groups, then change has occurred to underlying power relations.

This would be the case if executives within Sport Canada actually came to believe in and encourage the practice of sport as a non-competitive and inclusive institution. Programs, policies and funding would be altered to line up according to inclusive and non-competitive principles, and the patriarchal nature of sport would be altered. Resources and external rules would be shifted to line up with the new set of internal rules. Underlying power relations would be altered as all women and men would have equal opportunities to participate in sport in a newly desired manner.

The final possibility deals with social maintenance. If oppositional internal rules and/or practices of a subordinate group are altered or redefined to correspond to the existing meanings assigned to resources and external rules, then social
conditions and underlying power relations will be maintained. Although the unequal power relations will persist, the power of the subordinate group members will be increased as resources and external rules line up with and facilitate their altered internal rules, and thus their agency. The increased power of the subordinate group will then give it greater opportunity to change the social conditions within the existing social structure.

CAAWS is a subordinate group, originally developed and organized along feminist principles. Their internal rules facilitated their agency to establish their external rules and assign meaning to resources such as authority. Feminist principles were utilized to design an organizational structure based on cooperation and partnership, rather than hierarchical chains of authority. However, lack of funding created a dependency upon the state. To obtain funding, CAAWS' programs needed to obtain state approval. Therefore, CAAWS had to line up their programs in accordance with an ideology approved by FAS. The more that CAAWS' programs implemented an ideology approved by the state, the more funding they received. Slowly, their internal rules were altered to obtain more material resources in the form of funding, full-time staff and office space. The increase in material resources has increased CAAWS' power and ability to alter the conditions for women in sport within the existing sport structure. However, the potential to change internal rules to correspond with
their initial beliefs has been unfulfilled. CAAWS and its potential oppositional values have been incorporated. Power relations have been maintained as the internal rules of the sport system are accordingly reified.

Conclusion

Social change and social maintenance can occur at many levels. Both social conditions and underlying power relations may be maintained; social conditions can be altered, while underlying power relations may be maintained; and both social conditions and power relations may be changed. Each scenario depends upon corresponding changes to the different components of structure. The power of individuals may also be altered in each scenario; however, this does not imply changes to power relations.

The women working within the Women's Program were facilitated to act in a powerful manner. They were facilitated by their own internal rules and the provision of external rules and material and interpersonal resources. The agents were able to exert power to produce structures that facilitated further change. However, these structures existed within the realm of the presently defined sport system. Therefore, the change that the managers of the Women's Program were able to achieve were the social conditions within which women could participate in sport.
While the conditions have improved, equity has not been obtained. This is due to the maintenance of the patriarchal nature and elitist ideology of the federal sport system which is in keeping with ideologies that extend beyond the arena of sport. These internal rules form the foundation of the underlying, unequal power relations upon which the institution of sport has been constructed. Therefore, for fundamental change to occur, these internal rules must be deconstructed and newly defined external rules and resources must be created. Agents within the social system would have to come to accept different sets of internal rules, rather than acting in accordance with their current, naturalized sets of assumptions concerning not only sport, but all aspects of our social life. The deconstruction of internal rules may occur, for example, by revealing the unnatural aspects of naturalized sets of assumptions and their corresponding practices. Thus, fundamental social change is both difficult and complex as it requires the alteration of many layers of normalized structures.
CHAPTER 4

Contributions

Feminist Research

This project has made a contribution to the body of feminist literature in sport. It is a herstory about women, from the perspectives of women. It provides a view of a set of events from a different outlook, as it examines the experiences and social conditions of a group of women's lives. It explores the contributions made by women in the struggle to alter the status of women in sport, as well as the sacrifices and sufferings that resulted from their efforts. This herstory is a look at female agents' ability to act in a powerful manner to create a newly defined social system within which to live, in light of structural boundaries. Additionally, the construction and development of this herstory has provided the women involved with an opportunity to reflect on their actions to better understand the corresponding outcomes and consequences. Finally, the feminist analysis of Giddens' duality of structure paradigm provides a new theoretical reference for further feminist methodologies.

Academic Literature on Women in Sport

This herstory contributes to the literature a more complete story of the Canadian federal state initiatives for women in sport. While pieces of the story are present in the
academic literature, there is no detailed version of the events. Additionally, this thesis analyzes state involvement in women's sport from a broader perspective. Rather than pinpointing individual causes for the lack of women's advancement in sport, the duality of structure paradigm allows for the consideration of all the structures, at many levels, that operate together to shape the conditions for women in sport. An examination, using the duality of structure paradigm, which includes a recognition of social conditions beyond sport could give further insight into the issues discussed in this thesis. Finally, the majority of academic literature criticize the state's contribution to the women's movement in sport. This herstory, on the other hand, gives credit to the women who have worked within the system and been able to make some change despite facing many structural barriers.

Theory

This project is an attempt to produce empirical evidence to further the understanding of Giddens' duality of structure paradigm. It provides data to illustrate the dynamic nature of analysis when using the duality of structure framework. Furthermore, the analysis of data has allowed for a further development of the components of structures to include structures, such as personal burnout, that are real in women's lived experiences. This feminist contribution widens the
scope of Giddens' definitions of structure to include structures which were not deemed to be important within the patriarchal nature of society.

Finally, this look at the duality of structure and resulting implications advances the thinking in the literature on the nature of social change/maintenance and power relations. The importance of structural change and maintenance, and the corresponding differential ability of social groups to act in a powerful manner, gives another perspective on the understanding and complexity of social relations.

Conclusion

This project is the starting point for potential future projects. A more complete herstory of the FAS Women's Program may be completed to include the Fitness Canada initiatives. A more detailed examination of the National Association Contribution Program and the Women in Sport Leadership would also be beneficial in understanding the limited improvement of women's status in the federal sport bureaucracy. Finally, extending the time period to the present date would further help to understand the struggles of the Women's Program, as it is now without a manager and its existence may be in trouble.

Theoretically, I would like to continue to develop my thinking regarding the detailed operations of the duality of structure and its implications concerning possibilities for
social change/maintenance. The next step in this exploration process is a closer examination of social institutions and the role that they play in the naturalization of structures. For example, the state, the media, the education system, the family and religion all play a role in the production, reproduction and alteration of social structures. A greater comprehension of agency within and across these institutions is needed to advance our understanding of the nature of the duality of structure and social relations.

Society is based on a differential ability to define and/or redefine the structures which bound our agency. To alter these unequal power relations we need to understand the underlying assumptions upon which they are predicated. Furthermore, to live in a society where power relations are more equitably organized, we need to attempt to coexist with different sets of assumptions, rather than merely coerce others into living within our particular assumptions.
REFERENCES

Interviews

Hall, A. Edmonton, Alberta (researcher phone interview); 21 February 1994.

Hoffman, A. Ottawa, Ontario (herstory phone interview); 7 June 1994.

Kidd, B. Toronto, Ontario; (researcher interview); 25 February 1994.

Lay, M. Ottawa, Ontario; (informal herstory discussions); 8 November 1993; 4 October 1994.

Lenskyj, H. Toronto, Ontario; (researcher interview); 18 February 1994.

McDonald, K. Montreal, Quebec; (herstory interview); 13 April 1994.

Palmason, D. Denver, Colorado (herstory phone interview); 5 May 1994.

Vail, S. Toronto, Ontario; (herstory interview); 11 April 1994.

Whitson, D. Edmonton, Alberta (researcher phone interview); 16 February 1994.

Academic Books


Academic Articles


Government Publications


**Newsletters**


**Non-Print Sources**


**Unpublished Documents**


APPENDIX I

Sample Letter and Interview Guide to Researchers

Dr. Bruce Kidd
Physical and Health Education
University of Toronto
Toronto, ON
M5S 1A1

16 February 1994

Dear Bruce,

Following is a list of questions I would like to ask during the interview. Each set of questions looks at the construction of each initiative from the list that was sent to you last week including initiatives added by Helen Lenskyj, plus their effect on women's status in sport generally. This schedule results in a very lengthy interview. Realizing that your time is limited, I am requesting that you prioritize the initiatives for the interview in terms of those initiatives which you are most familiar with and/or those which you believe to be most pertinent to the question of women's changing (or maintained) status in sport.

Thanks again for your time. I'm looking forward to talking to you next Friday.

Pam
A. Women's Initiatives

1974 - Women in Sport Conference

1. Who (or what group) was primarily responsible for initiating this conference?

2. What was Marion Lay's role in its' development?

3. What key structures (from the list that was sent to you, i.e. the feminist movement, Sport Canada funding, informal networking) may have affected (either facilitated or inhibited) the development and/or the effectiveness of the conference?

4. To what extent do you believe the status of women in sport was altered as a result of this conference?

1980 Women's Program

1. Who pushed for the development of this program and why?

2. What key structures (from the list that was sent to you, i.e. previous women's initiatives within the federal state, Sport Canada funding) may have affected (either facilitated or inhibited) the development and/or the effectiveness of the program?

3. In what ways might the construction and/or structure of the program have contributed to its ability to alter women's status in sport?

4. To what extent do you believe the status of women in sport was altered as a result of this program?

1980 Female Athlete Conference

1. Who (or what group) was primarily responsible for initiating this conference?

2. What was Sue Vail's role in its development?

3. What key structures (from the list that was sent to you, i.e. the feminist movement, Sport Canada funding) may have affected (either facilitated or inhibited) the development and/or the effectiveness of the conference?

4. To what extent do you believe the status of women in sport was altered as a result of this conference?
1981 founding of CAAW&S

1. Were there any other people or groups, besides the women attending the McMaster workshop, involved in the development of CAAW&S?

2. What role, if any, did the FASB or its Women's Program play in CAAW&S' inception?

3. What key structures (from the list that was sent to you, i.e. conflicting feminist ideologies, FASB funding) may have affected (either facilitated or inhibited) the development and/or the effectiveness of CAAW&S?

4. To what extent do you believe the status of women in sport has been altered as a result of CAAW&S?

1983 Discussion paper by Lenskyj

1. What role did Vail and McDonald play in the development of this paper?

2. What structures (from the list) either inhibited or facilitated the development and/or effectiveness of this paper?

3. To what extent do you believe the status of women in sport has changed as a result of this paper?

1986 Women in Sport Policy

1. Who pushed for this policy to be developed and why?

2. What was Diane Palmason's role in its development?

3. What key structures (from the list that was sent to you, i.e. ideology of state, Sport Canada funding, informal networking) may have affected (either facilitated or inhibited) the development and/or the effectiveness of the policy?

4. From my understanding of the literature, the NSOs have subverted the 1986 Sport Canada Policy for Women in Sport. In what ways might the construction and/or structure of the policy have contributed to this problem?

5. To what extent do you believe social change for women in sport has occurred as a result of this policy?
1988 Research and Bibliography by Lenskyj

1. What role did Palmason and Lay play in the development of this paper?

2. What structures (from the list) either inhibited or facilitated the development and/or effectiveness of this paper?

3. To what extent do you believe the status of women in sport has changed as a result of this paper?

B. Broader Sport Initiatives

1970 Proposed Sport Policy for Canadians

1. Who was involved in the development of this policy and what was the key motivation for it?

2. In light of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women report that was released in the same year, was the inclusion of women's status in sport, as a main target interest in the sport document ever debated? What key structures (from the list i.e. conflicting ideologies re: high performance vs. equity) affected their construction such that women's issues were omitted?

3. How do you think the exclusion of women from this document affected the status of women in sport?


1. Who assisted Iona Campagnolo in the development of these documents and what was the key motivation for their development?

2. What role, if any did Marion Lay play in their development?

3. Was the inclusion of women's status in sport, as a main target interest in these documents ever debated? What key structures (from the list i.e. conflicting ideologies re: high performance vs. equity) affected their construction such that women's issues were omitted?
4. How do you think the exclusion of women from these documents relates to the broader status of women in sport?

1988 Toward 2000

1. Who was involved in the development of this policy and what was the key motivation for it?

2. What role, if any, did Diane Palmason play in its development?

3. Was the inclusion of women's status in sport, as a main target interest in Toward 2000, ever debated?

   If yes, what key structures (from the list that was sent to you, i.e. ideology, previous policy documents) may have affected its construction such that women's issues were marginalized?

   If no, do you believe that the reason was its conflicting interest with high performance sport?

   What other reasons may have contributed to women's issues virtually being left out of the document?

4. How do you think the exclusion of women from this document relates to the broader status of women in sport?

Are you aware of any other initiatives that the federal state attempted to introduce for women in sport but failed to be completed?

Do you have any other comments to make that you think would be helpful to my study?

Talk to you soon, Pam
APPENDIX II

Sample Letter and Interview Guide to Herstory Interviewees

Kathy McDonald  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec  
FAX (514) 848-8637

4 April 1994

Dear Kathy,

Thank you for consenting to be interviewed for my Masters thesis. The objective of my thesis is to construct a herstory of the FAS Women's Program from an insiders' perspective. Therefore, I intend to interview the women most directly involved in the program, namely; yourself, Abby Hoffman, Sue Neill, Marion Lay, Sue Vail and Diane Palmason. My goal is to make apparent the contributions that this group of feminists, who work(ed) within the federal state sport structure, were able to make towards the women's movement in sport, in light of their structural circumstances.

Included in this FAX is a brief explanation of the theoretical framework I am utilizing to construct this herstory. Hopefully this explanation coupled with some operational definitions for the types of structures I am examining will help you to answer the questions accordingly. Also included are the interview questions I intend to ask during the interview.

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my study. I'm looking forward to talking to you next Wednesday, April 13 at 2pm.

Sincerely,

Pam Ponic  
University of Windsor  
(519) 255-7354
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Background Information

1. The literature documents that you were manager of the women's program from 1983-1986. Is this correct?

2. How did you happen to get into this position?

3. How did your position fit into the Sport Canada hierarchy at that time?

4. Who had final say over the program's budget? Were there any constraints (eg. time constraints) that affected the way the money was utilized and/or allocated?

5. What were the circumstances under which you chose to leave your position of manager?

Specific Initiatives

CAAWS
1. How did your role as manager of the Women's Program affect your involvement in CAAWS?
2. What was your stance on CAAWS acting as an advocacy group vs. a national sport organization for girls and women?

1983/4 Lenskyj's discussion paper; Integration vs. Separate-but-Equal
1. Where did the impetus for this paper come from?
2. What was your role in its development?
3. What structures/agents facilitated the development of the paper (ie. the need for a follow-up of Fair Ball)?
4. Did anything inhibit its development (eg. production problems)?
5. What was the importance of this paper in terms of improving the status of women in sport?

1983 Breaking Through Film
1. Where did the impetus for this film come from?
2. What was your role in its development?
3. What structures/agents facilitated the development of the film?
4. Did anything inhibit its development?
5. What was the importance of this film in terms of improving the status of women in sport?
1983 Canadian Directory of Women in Sport Leadership
1. Where did the impetus for this directory come from?
2. What was your role in its development?
3. What structures/agents facilitated the development of the directory?
4. Did anything inhibit its' development?
5. What was the importance of this directory in terms of improving the status of women in sport?

1986 Sport Canada Policy for Women in Sport
1. Where did the impetus for this policy come from?
2. What was your role in its development?
3. What structures/agents facilitated the development of the policy?
4. Did anything inhibit its' development (eg. the author of the policy)?
5. The critiques in the literature on this policy have noted that a lack of funding that was made available to implement the recommendations of this policy. Was this issue ever debated during the development of the policy?
6. What was the importance of this policy in terms of improving the status of women in sport?

Other Initiatives

1. Other than any other key initiatives that occurred during this time period that I have omitted?
2. What other initiatives/types of initiatives did you hope for or try to get implemented that never occurred?
3. How did you go about trying to implement it/them?
4. What/who inhibited your ability to achieve these initiatives (eg. lack of support, funds)?

Conclusion

1. What did you hope to achieve for women in sport through your position as manager of the Women's Program?
2. To what degree do you feel that these hopes were achieved?
3. a) What do you believe facilitated your ability to achieve your goals?
   b) What do you believe may have inhibited your ability to act more effectively to improve the situation for women in sport (through the Women's Program)?
4. What effect do you think the Women's Program initiatives during your time period have had in improving the status of women in sport?

5. How did your time as manager affect you personally (eg. change and/or strengthen certain beliefs)?
APPENDIX III

Sample Letter sent to all Interviewees for Confirmation of Data

Pam Ponic
1723 Durham Place
Windsor, ON
N8W 3A1
(519) 255-7354

28 September 1994

Sue Vail
324 Stong College
York University
North York, ON
M3J 1P3

Dear Sue,

I would once again like to thank you for participating in my research project. At this time I am sending you a draft of the constructed herstory of the FAS Women's Program. I have highlighted the ideas that I have taken from your interview. Please review these ideas to ensure that I have properly interpreted what you have said.

If you have any changes you would like made to my interpretation of your ideas, or any additional ideas you feel would be helpful, please fax them to me by Friday, October 7, 1994 @ 519-979-8998. If this timeline is a problem for you, please give me a call at the above number. Also, if you are interested in seeing the remainder of my thesis please let me know.

Thank you again for your time, it has been greatly appreciated. Looking forward to hearing from in the near future.

Sincerely,

Pam Ponic
APPENDIX IV

The Initial Theoretical Framework

The process of understanding social relations is quite complex. There are many variables that contribute to the dynamics of social relations. The following theoretical framework will be utilized to help examine some specific variables that contribute to our social world. Following is a review of Giddens' views of these concepts: the duality of structure, structures (rules and resources), agency, power, social change and social maintenance. These concepts will be investigated to examine the degree to which they are gendered in the literature and to further understand them with respect to the complex dynamics of social relations.

The "duality of structure" formulates the social relations within which people exist. Firstly, this means that structures not only facilitate and/or inhibit the action of agents, but that structures are also transformed or maintained via agents' interaction with them65. The structures of a social system, however, are only significant to the degree that agents interact with them66. This is the second aspect of the duality of structure framework. Structures are only effective to the degree that they are realized (either

65 Giddens (1984) refers to the duality of structure whereby "structures are both the medium and the outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (25).

66 Giddens (1985) believes that structural properties are manifested into structures via knowledgable agents' interaction with them.
consciously or unconsciously) by agents. Structures are therefore either maintained or transformed through their interactions with agents. As Marx notes "Men make history, but not in circumstances of their own choosing" (1963: 15). This is the essence of the duality of structure; human beings make their own lives, acting in manners that initiate social change or sustain social maintenance, within structural boundaries created by their predecessors. Therefore agents are critical elements within the process of social change and/or social maintenance.

Structure can be defined as the boundaries within which agents lead their lives (Metcalf, 1993). Giddens (1984) defines structures more specifically as rules and resources. He considers two aspects of rules. Semantic rules determine for agents the meanings of activities that become established and maintained through socially constituted contexts (Cohen, 1989). Regulative rules, on the other hand, refer to the "appropriate or legitimate manner in which activities are carried out" (Cohen, 1989: 236) such that they sanction implicit codes of acceptable behaviour. This definition of rules does not refer to discursively formulated rules such as legal codes and bureaucratic regulations. These formal rules would be classified under Giddens' view of resources. Giddens' definitions of rules refer to the underlying assumptions and ideologies which drive human action. They exist internally within agents and regulate the manner in
which they think and perceive their own realities.

Giddens sees resources as the "facilities or base of power to which the agent has access and which she manipulates to influence the course of interaction with agents" (Cohen, 1989: 28). A formal rule would therefore fall into the resource category as a power base that may benefit one agent over another. Giddens classifies resources as either being authoritative or allocative. Authoritative resources are capabilities that generate command over persons such as life chances and spatio-temporal positioning, whereas allocative resources are capabilities that generate command over material objects such as raw materials, produced goods or means of production (Cohen, 1989). Resources, therefore, are the authoritative and allocative means through which agents manipulate rules. Resources can be viewed as the power tools of structures and it is through the manipulation of resources that structures (both rules and resources) are actualized.

Structures affect the actions of agents and are in turn affected by the actions of agents. Giddens (1984) holds that "agency concerns events in which an individual is the perpetuator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase of a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently" (9). This implies a great deal of freedom in agency in spite of structural conditions. Power is the ability, through action, 'to make a difference' (Giddens, 1984; Lukes, 1986). Giddens (1984) also defines power "as the capacity to achieve
outcomes" (257). Power is important to the concept of structure and agency in that agents have power to achieve outcomes to the degree that the critical rules and resources of a given society facilitate their actions. Agents can exert power if relevant structures serve to facilitate their intent to either initiate social change and/or sustain social maintenance. The more ways in which an agent can act in any given situation, the greater chance they have of achieving a desired outcome or of making a difference.

Through their activities within existing structural conditions, agents affect social change and/or social maintenance. Giddens (1989) views change in social systems as alterations in the underlying structures or institutions of a society during specific time periods. Therefore social change may be defined as alterations to the rules and/or resources of a social system as a result of human interaction.

He also notes that "all accounts of change also involve showing what remains stable, as a baseline against which to measure alteration" (Giddens, 1989: 632). Therefore it is critical to note that social maintenance also results from the duality of structure dynamic. Social maintenance may be defined as the preservation of social structures (rules and resources) as they impact upon and are impacted by human agency.
The definitions of the terms structure, agency and power as presented by Giddens are gendered. They are defined in accordance with the male perception of what is important in the world. For example, allocative and authoritative resources generally refer to structures that are mainly employed in the male-defined 'business world'. Additionally, power is typically perceived to signify the ability to make a difference in the public, patriarchal world. This perception does not acknowledge the importance of personal power expressed through the making of one's own decisions which can make a difference in the state of one's own life.
VITA AUCTORIS

Name : Pamela Lynn Ponic

Place of Birth : Windsor, Ontario, Canada

Date of Birth : 23 February 1968

Education : W.F. Herman Secondary School
           Windsor, Ontario
           1982-1987

           University of Windsor
           Windsor, Ontario
           1987-1992 H.H.K.

           University of Windsor
           Windsor, Ontario
           1992-1994 M.H.K.