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My Journey into Intercollegiate Athletic Administration: How it was Influenced by Feminist Consciousness-Raising

by

Bethyna Ann Lawrence

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro 1995

Approved by

Dissertation Advisor

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300 North Zeeb Road Ann Arbor, MI 48103 LAWRENCE, BETHYNA ANN, Ed.D. My Journey into Intercollegiate Athletic Administration: How it was Influenced by Feminist Consciousness-Raising. (1995) Directed by Dr. Dale Brubaker. 114 pp.

The successful combination of the raising of a feminist consciousness and a career in intercollegiate athletic administration is the problem to be addressed. Questions about gender development that are struggled with during my consciousness-raising are explored. Investigating how those questions, and the resulting recontructing of my identity, have influenced my professional responsibilities, decision-making and leadership style are central to the study.

Qualitative research methodology was employed to explore the topic of gender identity deconstruction and reconstruction. The primary method used for this study was autobiography. From notes and a journal kept at the recommendation of the chair of my committee, observations were made. Autobiography is not the traditional scientific methodology often used in dissertations; however, in this case, it was most appropriate. In research, the approach is to select a problem, and then, select the most appropriate method for studying that problem.

The study developed in two parts. The first part involved the deconstruction and reconstruction of my identity as it was influenced by feminist consciousness-raising. It is recognized that two factors were important in the deconstruction of my identity. First, the must be a readiness and openness for change on the part of the individual. The second factor is the ability to handle the anger which may occur are a result of this awareness.

There was a two-fold method to the reconstruction of my identity. The first step came through raising of my self-esteem. This occurred as a result of studying women's history on a global level. More importantly, the studying of my personal family history, and the women in it, was most significant. This was followed by the second step which was the development of a personal philosophy of feminism.

How did this influence by career as an intercollegiate athletic administrator? Women in athletic administrative positions must gain credibility with their coaches, student-athletes, campus community, and community-atlarge by recognizing the impact of sport on masculine identity development, and the impact of using the feminine or feminist identity in her management style. Women in athletic administration must also agree on what and how changes should be made in intercollegiate athletics to best serve the student population at large.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

> Dissertation Advisor

Committee Members

Novembre 8, 1995

Date of Acceptance by Committee

November 8, 1995

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Dialectical processes" is the term used to describe the confusion that results from the raising of a feminist consciousness. Westkott (1983) defines "dialectical processes" as the "discontinuities, oppositions, contradictions, tensions, and dilemmas that form part of women's concrete experience in the patriarchal world" as their awareness increases. She suggests that for a female, life is one of opposing that to which one conforms (p. 212). As one adopts a feminist perspective, things are seen that were not seen before and the familiar is seen differently. Historian Kelly (1984) has described this journey required in raising the feminist consciousness as one similar to the identity confusion created by adolescence. It is "an exciting, intellectual adventure that produces the profoundly frightening feeling of all coherence gone, followed by restoration, if not a new order, at least a new direction" (p.49).

These two examples define precisely the feelings of a female who grew up during the 1950's and 1960's in a sheltered environment of the Appalachian Mountains. I never questioned my sex role as a female. Until I began to show signs of physical maturation, I was a typical tomboy, playing sports with all the neighborhood boys. I could punt the football sky high, catch a line drive with my bare hands, and shoot a mean two-handed set shot. Nothing was more exciting than intercepting a pass and scoring a touchdown in a backyard football game. I was proud that I was good enough to play with the boys. My world changed

when my mother told me I could not play those games with the boys anymore.

Being a female took things away from me, and I did not understand why it had to be that way.

However, learning my feminine role was not that difficult. It was expected of me, or so I perceived it to be. By the time I was thirteen, all of my friends were into make-up, boyfriends, and "the Beatles". I accepted this transition from "tomboy" to feminine creature, from freedom to cultural stigmas, without question. The institutions of education, religion, and family reinforced the behaviors of submissiveness to males, dependency on males, and the superiority of males. Reading romantic novels and seeing romantic movies, I developed what Cohen (1986) calls the Snow White Syndrome. I began the long, painful search of finding my "Prince Charming" who would always make everything right. Society had taught me that I was an incomplete, unfulfilled human being without him. Henry James (1875) in *Portrait of a Lady* defined me rather succinctly when he wrote:

She was intelligent, and generous; it was a fine free nature; but what was she going to do with herself? This question was irregular, for with most women no one had occasion to ask it. Most women did with themselves nothing at all; they waited, in attitudes more or less gracefully passive, for a man to come that way and furnish them with a destiny (p.64).

As I grew older James description no longer applied, and my identity began a transformation. The term "feminist" carries negative connotations in mainstream American culture; however, this negativity appears to be stronger

some sections of the country than in others. Two events occurred as I entered my forties that began this journey toward the development of a feminist consciousness. I began my doctoral program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro primarily because it became apparent that I could not rely on a "Prince Charming" to take care of me. I also entered a new career in higher education, that of intercollegiate athletic administrator. Heilbrun (1988), Steinem (1992), and others suggest that women gradually develop their own sense of self during midlife. This may be because of a lessened reliance on looks and an increased emphasis on abilities. As I entered this midlife stage with new educational and career goals, these dialectical processes surfaced causing much anxiety.

Out of a combination of these two, on-going consciousness raising experiences, I began to recognize situations of sexism and patriarchy.

Out of consciousness-raising groups and other vehicles for sharing their experiences, women begin to realize how fully the world has been defined by men. As they begin to question woman's place in the man's world, they also begin to question the world that men have constructed. (Christ & Plaskow, 1979, p.6).

The education and learning that occurred while working toward an advanced degree introduced me to new ideas, those feminist ideas that had seemed so foreign before. Working in a career that is dominated by males and masculine values put those new ideas to work. Intercollegiate athletics can certainly be described as a world constructed by men.

Bateson's (1990) Composing a Life served as the impetus for the journey. Bateson's description of the journeys of five women toward self-fulfillment opened my eyes to all the possibilities available to women. She indicated that there was not just one path to successful womanhood, but several. Women compose their lives by redirecting and recommiting themselves at different times to various goals (p.166). From that point followed book after book and study after study about women and leadership, women and higher education, women and self-esteem, women and achievement. Some people did not enjoy being around me because this newly acquired knowledge was all that I cared to discuss. My education was introducing me to new ideas and theories, and I wanted to discuss them with anyone who would listen.

Working in intercollegiate athletics gave ample opportunity for practical application of those theories. As Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) suggest, "men have shaped institutions to generate, strengthen, and cultivate the role of men and the values of masculinity" (p. 100). Where is this more apparent than in intercollegiate athletics? Essentially, being masculine and being athletic are one and the same with similar values, attitudes and skills. In *The Stronger Women Get, The More Men Love Football*, M.B. Nelson (1994) suggests that American masculinity is defined, "symbolically, by and through football and other combat sports" (p.25).

Statement of the Problem

The acceptance and understanding of one's newly informed identity can create feelings of insecurity about how one is expected to behave. The old feminine behaviors have been questioned. When one's identity is based on expected gender stereotypes, in this case femininity, there is much learning to be done to replace, to improve, or, even to find the real self. This can be particularly difficult for a female when in a career that is traditionally male.

For generations, with sport being exclusively male, the male ritual for becoming a man is expressed in the world of organized athletics. Athletics is not just some activity in which young men can participate, but it becomes their method of developing their masculine identity. It is a validation mechanism for masculinity (Messner, 1992, p.19). With men's identity so strongly influenced by athletic participation and success, and women desiring equitable opportunities in that arena, problems result. Attempting to navigate successfully through these problems as a female athletic administrator has not proven to be a simple task.

The successful combination of the raising of a feminist consciousness and a career in intercollegiate athletic administration is the problem to be addressed in this study. This dissertation will explore questions about gender development that were struggled with during this consciousness-raising. It will also investigate how those questions, and the resulting reconstructing of my identity, have influenced my professional responsibilities, decision-making, and leadership style in intercollegiate athletic administration.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to provide a better understanding of the difficulties a female may confront in crossing the barriers into athletic administration, especially when she is reconstructing her identity through feminist consciousness-raising. There are many perceived and real barriers when entering a career that is traditionally male, and this study will examine those barriers as perceived by one as she struggles with her own development. Through studying one woman's journey into the male-dominated arena of intercollegiate athletic administration, this study will provide another perspective of how these tensions, personally and professionally, can be resolved.

Research Questions

In order to address the purpose of this study, the following research questions will be explored:

- 1. How is feminist consciousness raised? That is, what are the things that precipitate challenging one's construction of self and how, then, does one deconstruct and reconstruct personhood?
- 2. How can a woman whose identity has been reconstructed to incorporate ideas that challenge patriarchy become a leader of an intercollegiate athletic program without having to deny that identity?
- 3. How influential are the values taught by athletic participation to the development of a feminist identity?

4. How have athletics helped define what it means to be male and female in our society and in what ways have those definitions been changed since the passage of Title IX? (Title IX, the Education Amendments of 1972, is a federal act that states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." Holmes, 1975)

Conceptual Base

Social scientists have developed a plethora of developmental theories in psychology. Until recently, with the "Second Phase" of the women's movement, the "authors of the major theories of human development have been men" (Belenky, Clinchy, et.al.,1986,p.6). Not only have the authors of these theories been male, the subjects in their research have been male. Conclusions about the development of women are then drawn from those research findings, even though they were not themselves used as subjects. Belenky, et.al.(1986) suggest that when women have been studied, scientists look for ways women adapt to or deviate from stages of development or traits of the masculine, rather than considering ways their experiences might challenge concepts or theories (p. 6).

Recent feminist consciousness raising began in 1963 with the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan. Asked to do a project for Smith

College, Ms. Friedan conducted a survey of the women who had graduated from Smith in 1942. The college was hoping to gather data to disprove the widely held belief that higher education made women masculine and unhappy with their housewife lives. The one thing that the survey indicated was that those who responded regretted that they never put their degree to work. Many were not quite certain why they felt frustrated, so Ms. Friedan called this the "problem that has no name" (Davis, 1991, p. 50).

The Feminine Mystique was only the beginning. Since that time, both women and men have begun to study females and males in ways that offer new perspectives of developmental theory. Current research describes "women's lives and development in terms in which it is lived rather than to force it into categories which we have inherited" (Miller, 1986, p.xviii).

For example, Gilligan (1983 and 1990), using female subjects, studied the morality development of women, and more recently, identity development.

Studies of the development of self-esteem in females are plentiful, with most of the results indicating that a female's self-esteem drops beginning with adolescence. The various socialization processes she experiences, such as parental teachings and education, influence the development of her low self-esteem.

Not only has more traditional research been published, but more reinterpretation of women's history and women's writings has been done. These studies offer insights into different ways of viewing history, sociology, religion, and economics by taking into account women's experiences. Making these

stories available can lead to a knowledge of women's contributions to the development of cultures throughout the world.

As was stated earlier, there are many theories of human development, most being based on male research subjects. However, as there has been an increase in research about feminine stereotype development (as opposed to female development), there has been more research into the development of stereotypical masculinity. The developmental theories presented generally fall into one of the following categories: classifications of masculinity, development of masculinity in males, and rites of passage into manhood.

The classifications of masculinity involve descriptors of the masculine (Brannon,1976; Lindsay,1990; Doyle & Paludi, 1991; Pittman, 1993). The primary emphasis of each of these classifications is the stigma attached to all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities. A real man will not exhibit any of these traits.

Another approach investigates how the male gender stereotype develops. Researchers in psychology, sociology, and anthropology have found that children of different sexes are treated differently by adults, are reinforced for sex-appropriate behaviors, and are taught sex-linked communication styles and cultural cues (Fitzgerald, p.111). This approach suggests that masculinity is not a trait males are born with, but a process of constructing an identity that develops and changes as a person interacts with his environment. In other words, people are born a specific sex, but must learn their appropriate gender roles.

There is another developmental theory from post-Freudian ego psychologists, such as E.Erikson (1963) and M. Mahler (1968). The basic assumption is that all infants develop their primary identity with the nurturing parent, generally the mother. Therefore, in masculine developmental theory, males must learn to separate themselves from their mothers to establish their manhood.

There are many cross-cultural studies examining the rites of passage for masculine development. Common to all cultures is the male's continuous quest for certifiable manhood. Even in cultures of relative sexual equality, males must still pass tests of masculinity (Gilmore, 1990, p.11).

"Sport is our civilized society's most prominent masculinity rite"

(Scott, 1975, p.2). The male ritual of becoming a man is expressed in the world of organized athletics. For generations, with sport being predominantly male, it has been equated with competitiveness, physical strength, and skill. A young man who does not excel in sport or has no interest in it, is laughed at and called a "wimp", "nerd", or, using more intellectual terminology, effeminate. Athletics is not just something in which young men participate; it is part of their identity (Messner, 1992).

Sport can have an impact on feminine development also. Current research from the "Miller Lite Report on Sports and Fitness in the Lives of Working Women," conducted by D. Sabo and M. Snyder (1993) indicates that women "who have played college sports rate themselves higher in their abilities to set objectives, lead a group, motivate others, share credit, and feel

comfortable in a competitive environment" (Nelson, 1994, p.43). However, before Title IX forced colleges to offer athletic opportunities to women, there were many women whose athletic careers ended with high school graduation. So those of us who had played on an organized sports team in high school had again to "play the games" of femininity.

For many women in that era, being athletic created sex role conflicts. Evidence suggests that it is likely that because of the intimate relationship between sport and masculinity and the negative sanctions applied to women who cross this boundary, that women involved in sports may perceive and/or actually experience role conflicts (Felshin, 1974; Harris, 1975; Snyder & Kivlin, 1977). More recent evidence indicates however, that there is no role conflict "because the role of the female athlete is perceived as different from that of males. Therefore, it is possible for the athlete and the sex roles to be compatible" (Moseley, 1979). Whether positively or negatively, being athletic does influence a female's development. The role of sport in the identity development of males and females is imperative to this study.

There is little research currently available about how women in intercollegiate athletic administration lead their organizations. There is much available about developing a female athlete's technique, her strength and conditioning regimen, her diet and her relationship with her coach, be that coach male or female. The effect of this technical focus may be to distract people from the leadership issue.

Definitions of terms

- 1. <u>Feminist consciousness</u> The use of Lerner's (1993) definition of "feminist consciousness" discussed in *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness* is quite specific, but can be used in this study. Her definition of feminist consciousness includes the following components: (1) becoming aware that as a woman, I am part of a subordinate group, and as a part of that group, I have been discriminated against, (2) learning that subordination is not a natural state, but something that is socially constructed, (3) the development of a feeling that all women are in this together, (4) ways that I have determined in my life for changing that subordinate status, and (5) learning to see a different vision of the future (p.274).
- 2. <u>Gender identity</u> The "fundamental, existential sense of one's maleness or femaleness; an acceptance of one's gender as a social-psychological construction that parallels acceptance of one's biological sex." It is usually acquired by the time one is two or three years old (Deaux & Major, 1987, p. 375).

Limitations of the study

The methodology used for this study is qualitative, more specifically it is autobiographical. Therefore the conclusions and results cannot be generalized. There will be bias on the part of the researcher. However, the conclusions from this study can make a contribution to the ongoing study in identity development. With so little information available to women in pursuit of careers in athletic

administration, this should build that body of knowledge.

Significance of the study

This study has two primary areas of significance. Research on women and athletic participation has mushroomed since the passage of Title IX in 1972. As participation by women has increased in athletics, administrative leadership and coaching by women have decreased (Acosta and Carpenter, 1992). As female athletic participation grows thereby threatening the male athlete's identity, it is necessary to find meaningful, workable solutions for maximum athletic participation. One avenue is to ensure that both men and women occupy leadership roles.

Until more investigation is done into the female athletic administrator as leader and decision-maker, those women who try to lead will certainly be at a disadvantage. Unlike other non-traditional careers opening to females, athletics is a part of a man's masculine identity. Females who strive for leadership positions in intercollegiate athletics must have a thorough understanding of this conflict. Currently, there is very little available to help a female intercollegiate athletic administrator in her day-to-day communication and decision-making. Studies about women as leaders in business can be used, because some of the same approaches to problem-solving are applicable. However, because of the intimate connection of athletics to a male's gender identity, greater understanding of the situation is necessary.

The secondary area of significance of this study is one woman's journey

through feminist consciousness raising. Each woman is unique; therefore, her journey is unique. The recognition and growth of one's feminist consciousness while entering a career dominated by males continues to be a challenge. The confusion created by this journey needs explaining. As one who was taught very well the traditional feminine roles, it is still difficult to accept being perceived as a feminist by those that I know professionally and personally. It is embarrassing to admit that struggle, yet, to be understood, it must be explained.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation will review the literature relevant to gender development of females and males and how athletic involvement influences the development of stereotypical gender traits. This study was initiated by a consciousness-raising about the nature of feminism, specifically what it indicated about my gender identity; therefore, the review of the literature will be organized around major feminist theoretical approaches to stereotypical gender development. This first indicator will be approached chronologically. The influence of sport upon the development and reinforcement of feminine and masculine behaviors will also be reviewed. The third indicator of which the literature will be reviewed is that of females in athletic administration.

Specifically, the influences of one's feminine development upon the career of athletic administrator will be emphasized.

Rationale for the methodology used for the study will be found in Chapter 3. As both the research initiator and the primary research subject, Chapter 4 will discuss changes in my life that have occurred as a result of this study. Chapter 5 will include the summary and conclusions drawn from this study. Also, this

chapter will include implications for further study of women in traditionally male careers, and, more specifically, for women who desire a leadership position in intercollegiate athletics.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The purpose of this review of related literature is to explore the theories, research, and ideas that contributed to and created the "dialectical processes" which are the basis for this study. The development of stereotypical female and male gender identity, as well as the influence of sport upon both feminine and masculine development will be discussed. However, this is a study of my personal growth as I learned more about identity development, and subsequently, how this knowledge is changing my perceptions of the world, especially the world of intercollegiate athletics in which I work.

Therefore, this review of literature has a definite chronological pattern in which there is a specific beginning, a very broad middle, and no end. As with growth, it is continuous. The beginning includes theories of the various aspects of female development and feminists' perspectives of those developmental theories. Without an awareness of those works, this research study would not exist. Therefore, a review of them is essential.

The very broad middle includes a perusal of how males develop their masculine selves and females their feminine identities, and how influential athletics is to one's identity as masculine or feminine. Lastly, it will be important to study the current research about women as intercollegiate athletic administrators. This review of research leads to a key question: In what ways

can a woman, who has reconstructed her identity as a feminist, successfully work within the currently masculine arena of intercollegiate athletics to help create an educational opportunity for all student athletes?

Feminist Approaches to Gender Development

Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* is acknowledged as a classic in feminist literature (Davis, 1991). However, depending on the individual, Friedan's work may have been written too early or only been applicable to women who attended college in the 1950's. Other feminists' writings and theories may have been more significant to women of later generations.

Three such works that served to awaken my feminist consciousness were Bateson's (1989) Composing a Life, Steinem's (1992) Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-Esteem, and Heilbrun's (1988) Writing a Woman's Life. Each introduced ideas totally unfamiliar; however, very significant.

Common to all three books is the emphasis on the importance of women's experiences. To Steinem, for women "there is no greater magic than shared experience" (p.182) with the point of that shared experience not being "to give answers, but to share questions and experiences" (p.240).

Heilbrun's concern is that, culturally, the proper condition of women is to be anonymous, suggesting that the "ultimate anonymity" for women is that of "being storyless" (p.12). The women's stories that were provided generally ended with marriage and motherhood. According to Heilbrun, there "will be narratives of women's lives only when women no longer live their lives isolated

in the houses and the stories of men" (p.47).

Female stories should often be told in groups. This is the way that modern feminism began. However, for some reason, this has been lost. Both Steinem and Heilbrun suggest a return to consciousness-raising groups where women can exchange stories and discuss together their accomplishments and ambitions, their pain and disillusionment.

Bateson's (1989) approach is somewhat different in that she supplies stories of women's lives to illustrate her view that women's lives do not follow established developmental patterns. In this first book of the three which I read, she describes the life journeys of five women, each of whom has "composed a life". Her approach suggests that a female's life does not follow specific stages, but is one filled with multiple commitments and discontinuities. A woman's ability to be open to the possibilities this brings influences the successful composing of her life (p.12).

Always underlying that emphasis is the recognition and awareness of the influence of cultural expectations placed upon males and females. There are various studies of gender identity development that emphasize the importance of social learning (Jacklin,1989; Maccoby, 1988; Deaux & Major, 1987; Butler, 1990; Crawford & Marecek, 1989). Even definitions of gender roles use the terms "culture", "social construction", and "learned". Weiten and Lloyd (1990) define gender roles as "culturally defir ed expectations about appropriate behavior for males and females" (p.298) while Fitzgerald (1993) suggests there is a need to distinguish between the biological existence of the sexes and the

social construction of gender roles (p.111).

Bateson, Steinem, and Heilbrun suggest that this culture is a patriarchal one which defines the demands that are placed upon women, and the resulting treatment by society of one not living up to those demands. Bateson (1989) indicates that women who struggle with determining their own priorities will face negative results as they try to make sense of lives filled with ambiguous, multiple goals and commitments (p. 184). The objective within a patriarchal culture is to focus on the successful accomplishment of a single goal.

Many women work two shifts. They work at least eight hours a day outside the home, but then must work another eight or so hours upon returning home from work (Hochschild, p.4, 1989). This makes focusing on a single goal impossible. Bateson (1989) suggests that the flexibility and creativity that is required of women in successfully combining a home and a career/job should be considered a positive characteristic. However, many of these women are often characterized as unreliable, disorganized and indecisive (p.185).

The importance of one's self-esteem upon her ability to reconstruct her identity is also a common theme throughout the three books, each writer approaching the topic from differing perspectives. Steinem's entire work is based on the importance of self-esteem, while Heilbrun's book uses literature to illustrate the current cultural expectations for women's lives and how those influence self-esteem. Bateson's study discusses women who have developed a strong sense of self, and who are now leading successful lives, as they define them.

No matter what the approach, Bateson and Heilbrun would agree with Steinem's (1992) statement that the first step toward self-esteem is "not to learn, but to unlearn. We must demystify the forces that have told us what we should be before we can value what we are" (p.109). While Steinem suggests that the formal education (of middle class white women) did not serve to connect what women learned to what they experienced, both Heilbrun and Bateson emphasize that women are raised to be self-sacrificing. This leads to a readiness to believe all negative messages. According to Sanford and Donovan (1984), when something goes wrong, women often blame themselves whereas men look to external causes for their failures (p.15). Low self-esteem in women is the result.

This problem with self-esteem can also be attributed to the lack of value and economic worth that our society gives to maintaining a home and socializing the next generation. To be feminine, a woman is to be self-sacrificing, living through others, and needing of approval (Steinem, 1992). One of the results, then, of being feminine is best stated in *Lifeprints: New Patterns of Love and Work for Today's Women* by Baruch, Barnett, & Rivers (1983).

If women can give only to others and never to themselves they fail to develop their own sense of self and the results are feelings of low self-esteem. After all, if you see yourself as the last person on the list of those who "get", how valuable can you be? (p. 44)

A knowledge of feminism and its basic tenets influences the consciousness-raising process, as does a knowledge of women's personal and global history. The philosophical basis for one's feminist beliefs can be varied,

and that philosophical base informs a belief about gender-identity development.

All forms of feminism offer theories about the oppression of women in society. A distinguishing factor of each philosophical base is its belief about the cause of that oppression.

Liberal feminism may be the major feminist paradigm in the United States, particularly outside of academic circles (Costa & Guthrie, 1994). This philosophical approach suggests that women are similar to men in capabilities. The root cause of women's oppression is seen as the lack of opportunity and education. Through equal opportunity, especially in education and economics, women can obtain equitable status under the law. The liberal feminist's agenda includes legal reform and enhanced educational opportunity (Ollenberger & Moore, 1991).

The basic tenets of cultural, radical and Marxist feminism suggest that liberal feminism does not begin to solve the problems of female oppression.

Both radical and Marxist feminism offer very different theories from that of liberal feminism. Ollenberger & Moore (1991) indicate that Marxist feminism is founded on the belief that capitalism or class oppression is the primary oppression (p. 20). The liberal feminist approach of legal reform would not be acceptable to Marxist feminists because it would not resolve the problem of economic oppression which has its strength in the capitalist economic system. Only a radical transformation in the system will bring change (Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

Radical feminism emerged in the late 1960's founded by "movement women" who had been treated inequitably in the Civil Rights and antiwar

movements by the men leading the charge (Donovan, 1993; Davis, 1991). Working just as hard, women had expected equal voice in planning and initiating progams, but that did not happen. The basic tenet of radical feminism is that patriarchy is the primary form of domination of women. While more diverse in their theoretical insights, radical feminists "assert that women's oppression as women is likely to continue in liberal and Marxist systems through connections of sexual violence, struggles for control of women's bodies, and the push for heterosexual and male privileges" (Ollenberger & Moore, p.23). Even more so than the Marxist feminist, the radical feminist suggests a transformation of the patriarchy to something totally new. Women will always be oppressed in a patriarchal society. Liberal feminism changes laws. Attitudes change follows more slowly.

Instead of stressing political change as the liberal, Marxist, and radical feminists do, cultural feminists strive for cultural transformation. According to Donovan (1993), a cultural feminist stresses differences in females and males, believing that the feminine qualities must be experienced as a source of confidence and pride. Research by Gilligan in *A Different Voice* (1982)and Belenky, et.al.(1986) in *Women's Ways of Knowing* are examples of the confirmation of feminine traits. According to Donovan (1993) the epitome of the cultural feminist ideal would be a "separatist women's network unified by a belief in common female interests and values dedicated to extending that heritage into the public" (p.59).

As each theoretical tenet suggests a different basis for women's oppression, there is also a basic difference in their belief about the development of gender-identity. Liberal feminists tend toward a belief in the social construction of identity, meaning that one is taught by their culture their appropriate gender identity. Some radical and cultural feminists would be considered "essentialists" who believe that one's gender identity is biologically determined (Costa & Guthrie, 1994). The two theories are the basis for discussion and research in all social sciences. It should not be so surprising that it is also a fundamental argument among feminists.

One's beliefs about a female's involvement in sport will be influenced by the feminist philosophy she espouses. Since legal reform is of the utmost importance to liberal feminists, the current enforcement policies of Title IX satisfies their agenda. The belief that men and women have similar capabilites impacts this approach by encouraging the development of women's sporting opportunities and their physical selves. A liberal feminist would be happy with the progress that has been made in intercollegiate athletics; however, nothing has really changed in the basic approach to how things should be done in athletics. It is still predominantly masculinized (Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

Marxist, radical and cultural feminists would disagree with the liberal feminist approach stating that nothing can really change as long as women are operating in a patriarchal-capitalist culture. Each of these approaches emphasizes the transformation of the current culture, including intercollegiate athletics. Marxist and radical feminists would dismantle patriarchy. Cultural

feminists would replace the patriarchal system with a matriarchal one. Only through these changes can the current view of women as athletes be changed (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Hargreaves, 1986; Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

Each of these philosophical systems emphasizes a redefinition of women's bodies and their sexuality. Each group believes that women's status in our culture is maintained through the acceptance of such practices as pornography, sexual harassment, rape and wife battering, the importance of women's awareness and acceptance of their bodies and a belief in empowering them is important (Donovan, 1992; Duquin,1994; Guthrie & Castelnuovo,1994; Birrell & Theberge, 1994). Radical feminists believe that a self-confidence can be gained through sport participation. Cultural feminists would encourage separate institutions for sport, suggesting that only a totally different system in sport could reward the female strengths that women possess (Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

Another less discussed method of reconstructing one's female identity is to study women's history, both personally and as a marginalized group. As Russell (1974) suggests the "search for a usable past becomes an essential part of the liberation process. An unexamined history operates as Fate" (p.85). In the case of women, it may be an unwritten history rather than an unexamined one.

The prevailing interpretation of history has been that of "the dominator worldview" (Eisler, p.16). However, more recent writings suggest that during the early ages there is little indication of "idealized armed might, cruelty, and

violence-based power." There is also no evidence of "lavish chieftain burials" (Eisler, p. 17). Instead there appears to have been equalitarian societies where neither males nor females were inferior or superior to one another (Eisler, 1987; Lichtman, 1991).

From the reinterpretation of the religious practices of the Paleolithic and Neolithic Ages, more is suggested about the worship of the Goddess (Eisler, 1987; Lerner, 1986) which when studied can impact a female's feeling of self-worth. Previously, this was seen as a "fertilitiy cult"; however the Goddess appears to have been worshiped in all ancient agricultural societies (Eisler, p. 21). Current archeological research also creates questions about the influence of Christianity's religious teachings and practices upon the strength of patriarchy. A closer study of current theologians leads one to a better understanding of the Church, and how the current Bible was written to support the patriarchal culture (Eisler, 1987; Lerner, 1986).

Further study of history can reveal the swings of the pendulum from a totally male-dominated culture to one in which women had more freedom to education and the arts. A close study of these cycles indicates that "extremely hostile attitudes toward women are characteristic of times when women are most rigidly suppressed by men," and that these times of more "repressive attitudes toward women are predictors of periods of aggressive warfare" (Eisler, p. 143).

To move from pre-history to the modern era, one develops an understanding of the bases for the current feminist thought. From the 1830's, there have been women and men who were dedicated to the improvement of the

status of women. Many times, the cause of women's rights developed from participation in another activity, such as the abolitionist movement of the mid-1800's or the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's. According to Davis (1991) and Donovan (1992), women who were leaders in the first and second waves of the women's movement worked diligently for these other causes, but soon learned they would not be allowed any leadership roles. Males held those positions.

When women attended the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, they were denied seating status as delegates. This most obvious lack of respect helped these women realize that until their ideas and work were taken seriously, their voice would never be given any consideration in the decision-making processes. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott both declared at that time the essential need to start an organized women's movement (Davis, 1991). This was only the beginning.

Women worked diligently through the nineteenth century for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment which would give women the right to vote. When it was finally ratified in 1920, it was assumed that the need for a women's movement was over. However, this was not the case. Feminists continued to strive for equality in all areas (Davis, 1991; Donovan, 1993).

The introduction of the Equal Rights Amendment occurred shortly after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The purpose of the bill was to end widespread discrimination in marriage, divorce, property laws and employment. However, it seemed to serve primarily to scare men and women away from the

Women's Movement, and especially the label of "feminist" (Donovan, 1993).

The struggle continues through to the 1990's. Through the Depression and World War II, women continued their fight for equality. This culminated in the development of what has been termed the "second" women's movement. In 1966, the National Organization for Women was founded, and this became the political lobby organization for women in their fight for equal opportunity (Davis, 1991).

The more it was perceived that women were making significant progress, the stronger the voice against feminists became. The 1950's and 1980's are two decades of very apparent backlash against the Women's Movement. Both times follow a period of forward movement for women. It is during these times that women are made to feel that their primary responsibility is to hearth and home. Those women who did not subscribe to this belief were made to feel guilty--that the downfall of the family was their total responsibility (Davis, 1991).

Lerner (1986), in *The Creation of Patriarchy*'s first sentence, states,"

Women's History is indispensable and essential to the emancipation of women."

There are "profound changes in consciousness students experience when exposed to Women's History, even if in a short-term seminar (Lerner, p. 3). This consciousness raising will bring a sense of self-esteem to being female. In fact, the lack of training in History has been disadvantageous to women's self-perceptions, their ability to conceptualize their own situation and their ability to conceive of societal solutions to improve it (Lerner, p.10).

According to Lerner (1993) in *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness* being denied the existence of Women's History has altered women's relationship to thought and to history (p.10).

Every thinking woman had to argue with the 'great man' in her head, instead of being strengthened and encouraged by her foremothers. For thinking women, the absence of Women's History was perhaps the most serious obstacle of all to their intellectual growth (Lerner, p.12).

The development of a women's history was difficult. Through the centuries there have been women who have been talented, who have written of their experiences in books and plays, but then were forgotten. The process of developing a women's history had to start over again each time because they had no models to follow. Until the modern era, there was never any collective advancement because what these extraordinary women wrote usually was buried with them (Lerner, p. 275).

A recognition of the patriarchal emphasis of the female body as object and property also brings an awareness of the social construction of a female's gender identity and its hazards. This area influences the image of society's female athlete, but it has even greater impact on the developing of a feminist consciousness. Basically, a female's positive or negative gender identity is dependent upon body image. Studies involving nationally representative samples indicate that unrealistic body image and dissatisfaction with weight are chronic stressors for women in this culture (Tavris, 1992; Wolf, 1991). Also, Wolf (1991) has suggested that the more barriers that women break through, the

more "heavily and cruelly images of female beauty have come to weigh on us" (p.10). Women involved in athletics may, as Title IX brings them greater opportunities, be faced with just this situation.

With emphasis on the female body, the standpoint theory which provides the philosophical base for some feminists was founded on the notion that all women share similar experiences of oppression because of their biological and reproductive capacities (Guthrie & Castelnuovo, 1994). A basic tenet of Marxist feminism is that the oppression of females began when men were able to count a woman as property, to be bartered or sold if necessary. Women then became just another possession (Donovan, 1992; Guthrie & Castelnuovo, 1994).

Traditionally, male-oriented definitions of the female correspond to the woman as an object or as property. Lichtman's (1991) developmental theory of women's life stages is that "what stage a woman is in biologically, determines what definition is used to describe her" (p. 2). Those different definitions include virginal, engaged, married, pregnant, and menopausal.

When treated as an object and a possession, it is imperative that women learn what the appropriate feminine behavior is that must accompany the beautiful body. For women to do this successfully they must live a "perpetual lie" (Donovan, 1992). This acceptance of one's identity as an object is learned through a female's everyday experiences. One example of how this occurs is given by Tax (1970) as she uses "catcalling" to suggest the process women go through to mentally accept their subordinate status as a physical object.

What catcallers do is impinge on her. They will demand that her thoughts be focused on them. They will use her body with their eyes. They will evaluate her market price. They will comment on her defects, or compare them to those of other passers-by. They will make her a participant in their fantasies without asking if she is willing. They will make her feel ridiculous, or grotesquely sexual, or hideously ugly. Above all, they make her feel like a *thing*. (12)

The words, "feminine" and "beauty" must accompany each other.

According to Densmore (1968), the myth of feminine beauty is necessary for the cultural definition of women. One cannot be truly feminine and be ugly. In fact, the caricature of the ugly feminist is used in attempts to denigrate the women's movement (Wolf, 1991). Studies of self-esteem in women also indicate a strong relationship between the self-evaluation of appearance and psychological well-being (Kaschak, 1992).

Another prime example of the impact of the physical upon women is that women are not accepted for allowing themselves to look old (Wolf, 1991; Steinem, 1992; Heilbrun, 1988). It has been suggested that in a patriarchal society, an emphasis on beauty is a way of keeping women, as they get older and become more confident, from gaining any power (Steinem, p. 220). However, in their book, *The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation,* Delaney, Lupton, and Toth (1988) offer a more positive perspective for a more mature female.

No longer bound to their rhythms or their families, post-menopausal women are freed from any of the social or biological restrictions that

patriarchy imposes on their lives. They are in the position to establish, perhaps for the first time in their lives, a separate identity. (p.223)

Gender Identity Development and Athletics

The importance of one's gender identity is unarguable. According to Spence (1984), ..."gender is one of the earliest and most central components of the self-concept, and serves as an organizing principle through which many experiences and perceptions of self and others are filtered" (p.64). Twenty years after the women's voice was finally heard in the political arena, and legislation was passed to ensure equality, changes in gender identity and gender roles have been insignificant. Currently, the ultimate insult to a young male athlete may still be the statement, "You're playing like a girl." The importance of the traditional masculine and feminine gender identities may be as strong as in the past.

The construction of gender identity for both males and females is heavily influenced by the early socialization process. In a patriarchal culture where males have developed the language and symbols that control this process, the results are myths that are presented as universal facts. Philosopher, John Stuart Mill, unpopularly exposed some of these myths in the 1800's when he suggested that women were "inventions of a patriarchal society whose purpose was to justify and maintain the social order" (Donovan, 1992, p. 21). Nelson (1994) quotes Gloria Steinem as having at one time made the statement that "all women are female impersonators" (p. 79).

Another current theoretical approach to gender identity development is the one taken by Crawford and Maracek (1989) as they discuss the reconstructing of the female from 1968-1988. They suggest that there should be a shift in the definition of "gender" as a noun to "gender" as a verb. In other words, one does gender rather than has a gender. Gender is presented by them as a process rather than a set of attributes (pp.155-158). This would offer a better understanding of Jacklin's (1989) suggestion that literature on this socialization process offers so many contraditions and revisions that gender must be viewed as a an anathema. Definitions of gender appear to change as society changes; therefore, final, universal truths may be impossible (pp. 127-133).

The theoretical research on the development of stereotypical masculinity generally falls into three categories: classifications of masculinity, development of masculinity in males, and rites of passage into manhood. The most simple approach is to classify types of masculine behavior. Brannon (1976) offered four simple traits that currently are characteristic of the modern idea of masculinity and the male gender identity. Doyle and Paludi's (1991) typology offers five key elements of masculinity that are an extension of Brannon's traits.

The first element is to be "anti-feminine". It is the most important in that it basically attaches a stigma to all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities. A real man would not exhibit any feminine traits. The "success" element teaches males the importance of success and status. To prove their masculinity, men need to best other men at work and in sports. The third

element which exemplifies masculinity is self-reliance. This trait is one of being in control and staying cool under pressure. Another necessary element is that of aggressiveness. This is the way that males learn the acceptability of fighting for what they believe is right. The fifth element is that of sexuality. Masculine males are initators and controllers of sexual activity (Doyle & Paludi, 1991).

How are these characteristics learned in a culture that is attempting to change gender stereotypes? One theory of male gender stereotype development is that it may lie in part in the socialization experiences of males and females. Research indicates that cultural conditioning insures that males will learn appropriate, traditional masculine identities that are culturally and historically specific. It is ones' beliefs about gender rather than actual gender differences that influence the development of their behaviors (Fitzgerald, 1993). Some of the current stereotypical traits for masculinity are independence, rationality, competitiveness, and dominance (Broverman et al., 1972, Bem, 1981; Bem, 1993). Within cultures, males are generally judged more harshly than females when they do not learn or conform to the expected gender idenity. Males who do not fit the expected stereotypes learn quickly that they will be challenged publically, frequently, and often angrily (Weiten & Lloyd, 1990).

Post-Freudian ego psychologists present another theory of the development of masculine gender identity. The theory is based on the assumption that all infants develop their primary identity with the nurturing parent, usually the mother. A male child is not born with a male identity as Freud had suggested. According to Mahler (1968), as the child grows, there is a

critical threshold which must be handled. This is called separation-individuation and occurs as the child recognizes a separateness from the mother and develops an independent identity.

This is more difficult for the male for as there is recognition of a separateness, there must also be a knowledge of how to make this separation. This awareness must include knowing how to develop a sense of self that is separate from his mother, both in ego-identity and in social roles. To become a separate person, the male must develop an identity that is distinct and opposite from his mother's. According to Chodorow's theory, having to develop a separate and distinct identity from his mother, males develop the traits of independence and non-emotional behavior (Donovan, 1992).

In his book, *Man Enough*, Pittman (1993) suggests that since men are raised by their mothers, for the most part, they do not have a male role model. Therefore, they learn to become a man by running from their mother or becoming opposite of her. He suggests that the media, primarily through movies, step in and act as the models that the male never had in real life. According to Pittman (1993), movies present the young boy with Bigger-than-Life-Heroes to serve as gender identity role models (p. 190).

Researchers use various imageries to describe the development of masculinity in males. The "quest" for one's manhood is often used to describe the development of a masculine identity. Gilmore (1990) portrays this quest as a voyage indicating that this pathway is difficult to navigate because there are no clear directions or instructions for becoming a man (p. 123). The image used by

Raphael (1988) is that of a bridge, suggesting that is what a male needs to make this journey. However, there is very little structural support for these bridges, making the quest rather tenuous. The difficulty lies in knowing how to establish an adult masculine identity in a unisex environment which lacks clear cut rites of passage (p. 184-85).

In the development of one's masculinity, Seidler (1989) suggests that it is simply constructing an oppositional identity. In his book, *Metaphors of Identity*, Fitzgerald (1993) discusses the concept of oppositional identity in gender as the behavior of little boys as they try to prove that they are not little girls. One learns his identity through defining himself as opposed to the emotionality and connectedness of femininity (p. 112).

Across cultures, there appear to be similarities in the emphasis on masculinity development. The primary similarity being that there are rites of passage or initiation which boys must pass through to be considered a man. In some cultures, these rites of passage can be life threatening and, in others, ambiguous and unstructured. Gilmore (1990) suggests that manhood in all cultures is not biological, but a precarious or artificial state that boys must win. The costs of winning masculinity can be quite hazardous. Common to all cultures is the male's continuous quest for certifiable manhood. Even in cultures of relative sexual equality, males must pass tests of masculinity (p. 11).

Westerners may condescendingly suggest that American culture does not require exotic types of initiations of their young men. However, Messner and Sabo (1990) suggest that, throughout history, American males have had ways of

proving their manhood. From the beginning of the European settling of North America, males have had ample opportunity to prove their manhood. For centuries, men protected their families from various hostile groups encountered on the way to saving the continent for civilization (Messner, 1992, p.14).

Throughout history, different ethnic and cultural groups have emphasized traits that were especially necessary to their definition of manhood. One such example is that of the Southern male where great emphasis was placed on a man's honor. Many times defending this honor proved quite volatile. Wyatt-Brown (1982) presented the hypothesis arguing that this characteristic was a major element behind the South's secession from the Union. As such, this trait is seen as one justification for regional defiance, political separation, and war.

In the 20th century, with the conclusion of the World Wars, and the United States a safe place from outside forces, the male ritual of becoming a man is expressed in the world of organized athletics. For generations, with sport being exclusively male, it has been equated with competitiveness, physical strength, and skill. Athletics participation has become a part of the masculine identity. It has become a validation and socialization mechanism for masculinity (Sabo and Runfola, 1980).

Recently the importance of sport in the American culture has become an important research topic in areas of psychology, sociology, and other social sciences as indicated by the increased numbers of studies and articles being published. This research indicates that, for the most part, the American culture equates true manhood with athletic success (Messner, 1988; 1992; Connell,

1990; Boutilier & San Giovonni, 1990). Connell (1990) states that "images of ideal masculinity are constructed and promoted most systematically through competitive sport" (p.84-85). This drives men to view the world in terms of status, power, and privilege. As long as athletics remains a social institution defined and constructed by males, it will continue to contribute to the construction of the gender identities of males and females (Messner, 1988).

The gender identity development of females has only been studied with diligence since the second wave of the women's movement began in the 1960's. Until this time, most of the theories of female development have been based on male models. They were adapted to fit the female primarily by utilizing the fact of her difference from the male. Essentially, as Williams (1987) states, "theorists tried to fit woman's behavior into a conceptual scheme devised from a male stance to explain male motivations and behavior" (p.21). Much of the research of identity development that did include women was derived from studies of female psychotherapy patients, not from emotionally healthy women (Josselson, 1987; Williams, 1987).

How do women develop their sense of gender identity? Freudian psychoanalytic theory, widely criticized, was the first to offer a theory of how women develop their feminine traits, even though Freud kept lamenting that he really could not understand women (Williams, 1987).

Early in the phallic stage a young girl makes a momentous discovery when she realizes that her brother or other male friends have a penis.

According to Freud's psychodynamic theory, she then feels great envy. The

psychological consequences of her "penis envy" are critical to her subsequent identity development. According to Freud, this manifests itself in two ways. One of those is that it leaves her with a permanent feeling of jealousy. The other is more important to the development of the feminine identity. Upon this realization, the female realizes that she cannot love her mother any more. The young girl blames her lack of a penis on her mother. The father now becomes the love-object, and the mother is the rival. The young female wishes to have a child by the father. This will make her "like" the mother; therefore, becoming the female acceptable to society (Williams, p.35).

According to Donovan (1992), one of the primary criticisms of the psychoanalytic approach to feminine gender identity development is Freud's implied belief in biological determinism (p.101). The importance given to a woman's body as a determinant of her identity and behavior, plus the psychoanalytic practice of a double standard in this description, made this theory of female gender identity formation less than acceptable to some.

Adapting some of Freud's psychoanalytic theories, feminist psychologists have offered differing views. The primary point for theoretical development has been how a separate identity from the mother is established and how that influences gender development. According to Donovan (1992), Chodorow's *The Reproduction of Mothering* written in 1978 is "perhaps the most important and impressive feminist interpretation of Freudian theory" (p. 109).

In this theory, she discusses Freudian theory emphasizing the shaping of one's gender identity within the psychodynamics of the family (Donovan, 1992;

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Williams, 1987; Duquin, 1994). A child's gender identity is most influenced by the early primary caregiver, who is usually the mother. Both sexes experience a primary identification with the mother; therefore, setting the stage for both males and females to eventually under go a separation from the mother to establish an identity. This separation has different effects for girls than for boys (Duquin, 1994).

Since females have the same sex model for gender identity, they form a separate identity but there remains a connection to the mother. This connection is the basis of the female's self-identity which is relational in nature. As a result of female mothering, females develop the traits of caregiving, nurturing, and empathy. Their relationships with others throughout life are not a threat, but are necessary for the realization of one's own identity (Duquin, 1994; Donovan, 1992).

Socialization is seen as the primary developer of female gender identity. Currently there has been a shift away from studying gender by relying on individual and sex differences to one of gender as a social category (Bem, 1993; Gill, 1994; Deaux & Major, 1987). Gender research now focuses more on "social context, socialization, and socially developed cognitive frameworks" (Gill, 1994, p. 268).

Early research used the sex difference model when studying the gender identities of athletes. The results suggested that female athletes possessed more traditional "masculine" personality characteristics than non-athletic females. This indicated that competitiveness was an identity trait of female

athletes (Helmreich & Spence, 1977; Gill, 1988; Colker & Widom, 1980).

Critical of this approach, sport psychologists questioned the ability to define female athletes in this manner. The sex difference approach focused on "role conflicts", assuming an incompatibility between the identity of being an athlete and being feminine (Gill, 1994; Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1990). This approach led to the development of the term, "apologetics", which is used to describe a female athlete who presents herself as overly feminine in an attempt to resolve the role conflict that occurrs as a result of being an athlete (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, p. 109).

Current studies involving the gender identity of athletes include a discussion of the influence of gender stereotypes in athletics (Kane and Snyder,1989; Ostrow, Jones & Spiker, 1981). Hargreaves (1986) indicates that traditional models of male and female athletes "usually reproduce rigid gender role differentiation" (p.116). Athletic activities are gender stereotyped. Sports that require strength and aggression, such as football, are seen as "macho" sports. Feminine appropriate sports are those that emphasize balance, flexibility and grace, and idealize the popular images of femininity, such as gymnastics and water ballet (Hargreaves, p.115). These gender beliefs do influence social processes; however, many times those involved in athletics fail to recognize that gender beliefs are operating (Gill, 1994).

Gill (1994) indicates that most research on females in intercollegiate athletics has focused on individual characteristics related to participation in competitive athletics. Very little has to do with gender, especially the femininity

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issue. Research on masculinity and sport has been done primarily by Messner and Sabo (1990), Hall (1988), and Hargreaves (1994, 1986) All indicate that traditional sporting models reinforce stereotypical male and female gender identities by supporting the idea that the existing method of operation is the natural state in which athletics should be handled.

Hargreaves (1986) even suggests that there has always been opposition to female participation in traditional "masculine" sports citing as the reason that the images were incompatible with the conventional images of stereotyped feminine behavior. The female athletes who do exemplify those stereotypes of femininity are often designated as athletic sex symbols (p.117).

Female Administrators in Intercollegiate Athletics

Through the first seven decades of the twentieth century, women physical educators practiced a form of separation when they administered their own physical education programs. Rather than an emphasis on winning, which was characteristic of male programs, these programs emphasized an enjoyment in physical movement. All females who so desired could participate, regardless of skill level (Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

In 1983, most women's athletic programs on the intercollegiate level were joined with the National Collegiate Athletic Association where control was largely in the hands of men. Theberge and Birrell (1994) indicate that since the passing of Title IX in 1973, the proportion of women athletic directors has changed drastically. In 1972, 90% of women's athletic programs were directed by a

female athletic director. In 1990, eighteen years after the passing of Title IX, only 15.9% of women's athletic programs are administered by women (p.335).

Currently, men are accepted as legitimate organizers of women's sports experiences. Theberge and Birrell suggest that this influences women by telling them how to play, when and where they can play, and how to train their bodies to be successful athletes (p. 337). According to Messner (1990), "organized sport is a cultural sphere defined largely by patriarchal priorities" (p.208).

A female's perspective of intercollegiate athletics and participation there in will be influenced by her feminist philosophical approach after she develops that philosophy. A liberal feminist would suggest that females be offered an equal opportunity to participate in athletics. This would include an opportunity to benefit from quality coaching and facilities, and equal financing. Described as the "catching up with the men approach", liberal feminists suggest no changes in the male sports model (Hargreaves, 1986; Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

Another approach would be that of the radical feminist who would advocate a complete change in the patriarchal sport structure, suggesting alternate models of sport which are more humane. Separation from these models would put an end to the National Collegiate Athletic Association and the International Olympic Committee. However, urging the development of a totally separate system could be viewed as supporting the biological determinism theory of male and female differences. It also fails to consider the many different gender identities of women involved in athletics (Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Hargreaves, 1986).

It has been suggested that athletics serves as a particularly powerful setting for the development of an ideology of male dominance (Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Messner, 1988; Lenskyj, 1986). Lenskyj's statement illustrates the effect of the ideology of male dominance and its resulting impact on females involved.

Regardless of sexual preferences, women who reject the traditional feminine role in their careers as athletes, coaches, or sport administrators, as in any other nontraditional pursuit, pose a threat to existing power relations between the sexes. For this reason, these women are the frequent targets of labels intended to <u>devalue</u> or <u>dismiss</u> their successes by calling their sexuality into question. (p. 383)

However, even more upsetting may be the statement made by Carroll in 1986 *Culture Theory & Society.*

...Women should once again be prohibited from sport: they are the true defenders of the humanistic values that emanate from the household, the values of tenderness, nurture, and compassion, and this most important role must not be confused by the military and political values inherent in sport. Likewise sport should not be muzzled by humanist values: it is the living arena for the great virtue of manliness. (p.3)

For women in athletic administration this may reflect the relationship between attempted changes in the gender opportunities and experiences in sport. It is obvious through studying the history of sport that as women move into traditional male worlds and privileges that stuggles begin. As males are

threatened by social changes brought about by gender equality, it appears that some, especially in athletics, will try to establish clearly marked boundaries of male turf (Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Carroll, 1986). More than twenty years after its passage by the legislators of the United States, debates about the interpretation of and compliance with the tenets of Title IX continue in most intercollegiate athletic departments, creating divisiveness between male and female athletes and administrators.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The decision to use qualitative research methodology to explore the topic of gender identity deconstruction and reconstruction, with myself as the subject, was a very difficult one. The general perception in academia has been that quantitative research methodology is the only possible approach for one's research designs. However, currently there is much written in support of qualitative research methodology. This is especially true when investigating topics that are greatly influenced by context and process.

Rationale

Qualitative research is characterized by concern with context and with process. The personality of the researcher is important. Research from this perspective expands rather than defines the problem. Resolution of ambiguity is not a goal of qualitative research. Rather than trying to convince someone of an already formed hypothesis, the aim is to strive to understand better the issue.

In Mitroff and Kilman's (1980) *Methodological Approaches to Social Science*, a thorough discussion is given to a Jungian framework as a typology of scientific methodologies. A clear view of how one thinks about science impacts the methodology used in research. Using a combination of typologies including Abraham Maslow, Liam Hudson, Gerald Gordon, and Carl Jung, Mitroff and Kilman developed a four part typology for various approaches to science.

The four approaches include the Analytical Scientist who fits Jung's Sensing-Thinking (ST) classification, the Conceptual Theorist who is an Intuitive-Thinker (NT), the Conceptual Humanist who is an Intuitive-Feeler (NF), and the Particular Humanist, who fits the classification of Sensing-Feeler (SF). Each approach is characterized by its external relations and internal properties indicating that the Conceptual and Particular Humanists challenge the traditional scientific methodology with the Particular Humanist being the more challenging. The Particular Humanist's preferred methodology is the case study, and the more personalized, descriptive account that one can give, the better.

However, one of the most important figures in a Particular Humanist study will be the researcher herself. Unless all the subjective biases of the researcher are known, then the object of the research cannot be known. Therefore, it will be most important to explain this to the reader. In the theoretical framework of the Particular Humanist, one's life and one's work cannot be separated. As someone whose Myers-Briggs type with each taking of the inventory is a strong ESFP, this approach to research methodology makes it real, understandable, and applicable. (See Appendix A for further explanation of the Myers-Briggs typologies.)

With a topic chosen to offer a better understanding of how a female who possesses a reconstructed feminist identity can more easily cross the barriers into intercollegiate athletic administration, the decision to use qualitative methodology also seemed appropriate. A description of quantitative methodology as masculine and qualitative methodology as feminine is prevalent

in the literature. Mitroff and Kilman (1980) suggest that traditional science is strongly masculine with values that are objective and value-free., indicating that it avoids the "ambiguous, the speculative, the vague, and the good" (p.104). In advocating a feeling-based science, they look for a method to incorporate subjectivity and values. In explaining the difference in curriculum as a course of study and CURRICULUM as experience, Brubaker also uses the masculine and feminine comparison (1991, p.3).

In an attempt to correct the androcentric bias that some suggest, currently, exists in our research, there are differences among feminists on their approach to knowledge and the methodology by which this knowledge is generated. Harding (1987) suggests three distinct feminist approaches which serve to challenge the traditional epistimology and methodology (p. 181). The first is "feminist empiricism" which argues that sexist biases enter into the research process at any point; thereby making it bad science. Some of these points of entrance may be in the identification of the problem, the research design, or the interpretation of data. In this liberal feminist approach, the traditional scientific system is maintained. Feminists who advocate this approach suggest that its just the process that needs correcting (Costa & Guthrie, 1994, p. 249).

Another challenge to the traditional methodology is the approach taken by the feminists standpoint theorists. Their approach is founded in the idea that all women share similar experiences of oppression because of their physical being. These shared experiences are very different from the male's reality. A female's

perspective from her reality is the root of the standpoint theory. Cultural feminists would most often support this approach as it pays attention to the particularities of women's shared experience (Donovan, 1993).

Postmodernists also offer an alternative to the traditional approaches to the development of knowledge and research. Disagreeing with standpoint theorists, they emphasize that there is no absolute and universal truth.

Postmodernists would be critical any feminist theory that attempts to categorize women's stories of oppression as being alike. Instead, there are many different stories women tell. Race, sexual preference, and economic status are among the variables which influence one's perspective of being a woman (Costa and Guthrie, 1994).

There is much written attempting to define feminist inquiry or methodologies. Attempting to show how feminist research is different from the traditional scientific method, it is sometimes described as contextual, inclusive, experiential, socially relevant and complete, but not necessarily replicable. Its' proponents say it is inclusive of one's environment and emotions (Reinharz, 1983). However, no matter what the methodology, some would suggest that feminist research should be for women, not necessarily about them.

Research about women in sport also encourages using techniques that can best elicit from women the quality and meaning that sport involvement brings to their lives. As Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) suggest,

We must be willing to use the more qualitative techniques for data collection, those descriptive, observational, and exploratory methods.

It also means that we must use methods that go beyond simplistic tests of the effects of one isolated variable on another or that reduce the richness of sport experience to verbally expressed attitudes or behaviors that can be quantified. The state of our present knowledge about women in sport is simply too negligible to do other than the intensive, varied, long-term investigations that are demanded whenever we begin to explore a new and complex intellectual issue. (p.128)

Mitroff and Kilman (1980) suggest that the methodology of the Particular Humanist is the science of the unique. There are only unique situations so that none is truly generalizable. With this study of my feminist consciousness-raising and its influence on my career as a female in intercollegiate athletic administration, the use of autobiography as methodology will be necessary. It provides a design that can incorporate the intensive, varied and long-term investigation necessary for a better understanding of problems faced and resolved by a female as she pursues a career in intercollegiate athletic administration.

Procedures

The primary method to be used for this research is autobiography.

From notes and a journal kept at the suggestion of Dale Brubaker, the chair of my doctoral dissertation committee, observations are made. Autobiography is not the traditional scientific methodology used in dissertational studies; however, it may be the best suited in some studies. From the very beginning of my program, all professors have emphasized that one's dissertation research

methodology is not selected before one decides the problem to be studied. The best approach is to select a problem and then select the most appropriate method for studying that problem.

The importance of autobiography to women can be supported by the numbers of books recently published containing womens' autobiographies or excerpts from their stories. There has been an increase in the interest of female autobiographies. Conway (1992) indicates several reasons for this. The definition of democracy has been enlarged to include focusing on lives of ordinary people, including women and their lives in the private sphere. There is also a greater acceptance and appreciation of the challenges and drama of women's lives than in the past. Their lives are concerned with love, as well as work, and so their stories are also potentially beneficial to everyone (p.xi).

"The tradition of autobiography used to be male" (Rose, 1993, p.25). The male narrative followed the classical model of the male, who when tested in an heroic adventure, wins the struggle, and then claims his rightful place and his rightful woman. Male autobiographies set examples of how the man had helped to shape his world, and the actions that he had taken to improve his life.

Women's published autobiographies were rare until the mid-nineteenth century (Conway, 1992; Rose,1993). Many of these illustrate a "culture under stress" (Conway, 1992, p.x) in which the womens' stories describe their problems as they tried to live lives that did not fit within the conventional cultural boundaries. Artists and scientists, as well as black women, were able to more easily describe lives that were consciously lived outside the traditional patterns.

However, for the white women writers, social reformers, political leaders, and athletes, personal narratives created problems. These women had nothing to set them apart from the traditional feminine stereotypes, so they portrayed themselves as caring, loving women to whom things happened rather than action-oriented women who made things happen. Credit was always given to others. For many of these women it was a necessity to portray themselves this way because they were dependent upon a supportive audience to prosper (Conway, 1992, p.xi).

With the 1960's and 1970's this tradition has changed dramatically. Women began to write personal narratives that dispelled the romantic feminine view of themselves. Also it was the beginning of publishing personal narratives of non-famous people. The spotlight shifted to the lives of those who previously would have been considered unknowns.

There are personal and professional barriers to be overcome when using autobiography as methodology. Professionally, autobiographical, as well as other qualitative research methodologies, are snubbed as not legitimate research. On a more personal level, the writing of her own story of the deconstructing and reconstructing of identity is made difficult by the lack of belief in the importance of her own story. (It is very difficult to use the more personal, "my" rather than "her".) In Whitney Otto's (1994) novel, *Now You See Her*, Kiki, the central character, finds that she must leave the United States to discover this voice, her own story. She describes her experience in Paris.

Men smiled at her and her eyes met other passing eyes and no one asked her why she wasn't married or a mother or what she did for a living. Not like in Los Angeles or any-where in America where this particular conversational shorthand is freely employed, wanting to know the tangibles about her: profession, love, life, children, before they wasted any more time on her. In America, one must fall into these categories. If not, then the questioner's eyes would glaze over and he would find someone else to talk to. So, to try to know someone beyond the easy answers was work; it meant you must show interest and be interesting. No one here cared about her profession or her age, instead wanted to talk to her, or about her ideas. Which was rough in the beginning because she did not know the language of her own story. (pp. 302-303)

However difficult it may be to know the language of one's own story, "first person narratives help shape and reshape theory and ground it in lived experience" according to Duquin (1994, p.290). Speaking from subjective experience helps one reformulate their understanding of themselves, their social circumstances, and their relations to one another. Relating subjective experience can act as a catalyst for changing circumstances and social relationships (Costa & Guthrie, 1994).

New theoretical structures can emerge from personal stories and from responsible reflection of one's experience. The use of qualitative approaches to sport's research in which respect for diversity of human experience is more generally accepted will likely bring a better understanding of the significance of sport to women (Costa & Guthrie, 1994; Duquin, 1994; Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983).

CHAPTER IV

MYSTORY

The Background

Born the second of six children, the first of four females, to college educated parents, presented me with many opportunities and few cares as a child. This was the environment in which I learned to be Bethyna Ann Lawrence, a female physical being who became a feminine personality. I constructed my identity as a female in a large family setting where females and males were assigned the traditional gender roles. I am not certain who I was without that Lawrence feminine identity.

My father practiced dentistry for almost forty years, and my mother was a stay-at-home mom who preferred to be called a domestic engineer. She had graduated from Woman's College in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1941, and had taught home economics until 1946 when she married my father who had recently returned from three years in Europe during World War II.

Six children were born to Mary Ann Lawrence during nine years beginning in 1948 after one miscarriage. The two oldest, a brother and myself, were born in Memphis while my father was in dental school. The other four were born in Boone, North Carolina where he established his dental practice. This conservative, sheltered area of western North Carolina provided an idyllic place in which to grow.

Although, very unusual for a child of the 1950' and 1960's, television was not a part of this gender identity socialization process. At first, my parents could not afford a television. Later, when they could afford one, they preferred that our family spend time together not centered around a television. We did, however, make weekly trips to the public library, and often went to the movies. Some of my favorite books as a young girl were biographies of females such as Molly Pitcher, Jemima Boone, the daughter of Daniel Boone, and Jane Addams. My heroines were females of action, rather than females who waited passively for someone else to solve their problems.

Often Saturday afternoons were spent going to movies. My brothers and sisters and I saw many Westerns starring Randolph Scott, Audie Murphy, John Wayne, or Gary Cooper. Females were generally damsels in distress who needed to be rescued. I was also a fan of several female stars of that time who set the standard for femininity. My favorites were Sandra Dee, Doris Day, and Debbie Reynolds. My sister and I had a scrapbook in which we had pictures of these and other glamorous movie stars, dreaming of the day we would be loved by some dashing young man like they were in most of their movies. Just as Pittman suggests that movie heroes have given males masculine role models, those many early movies I saw presented me with feminine role models.

As children, we spent tots of time playing together. The neighborhood was populated by many more males than females, so I grew up playing outdoor games of and with boys. It is generally found in research regarding children's play and early learning experiences that males and females social learning

experiences are different.

Findings indicate that girls tend to play indoors more. Their games tend to be those that consist of turn-taking or individual tasks. These games generally are not competitive nor do they require the strategy or skill development progression found in boys games. Frequently girls games end because of loss of interest or at an arbitrary stopping point, rather than with clearly accomplished goals (Greendorfer, 1992, pp. 3-14). This research describes the "play" activities of many women who were young girls in the 1950's and 1960's. However, it does not adequately describe the opportunities for young girls, such as my nieces, in the 1990's.

It is through the socialization process provided in one's early environment that a child learns what are culturally expected and acceptable feminine behaviors. I never really fit the feminine stereotype. I was always playing the boys' games. I owned very few dolls. I knew what I was supposed to do, but did not want to be that way. I was a tall, skinny girl whose nickname on the school playground was "granddaddy long-legs". I was labeled a tomboy which was not a positive descriptor for a female; however, if I could not be the epitomy of femininity, I knew I was as good as the boys in their games on the school playground.

My parents allowed and encouraged this type of non-traditional socialization to take place until I was 12 years old. To be one of the boys was much better than being one of the girls. As we played games of baseball, no one was ever embarrassed to choose me for his team. At school, when girls'

teams would be selected, I was always either the one doing the chosing or the one being chosen.

However, there was another dimension of my life that was considered proper feminine socialization - ballet and piano lessons, excelling in school, and female responsibilities around the house were all activities required of me that were to teach me to be the proper female. As a young child, my body would not process Vitamin C, so I developed rickets. I was very bow-legged, so a physician recommended ballet to strengthen and straighten my legs. I was not a very accomplished ballerina on the elementary school circuit, but dressing up in the costumes helped me feel pretty, like a fairy princess.

I progressed from fairy princess to something more practical in the sixth grade. I began taking piano lessons. According to my parents, these lessons would be much more useful for me for I would develop a life long skill. My brothers were never forced to take piano. They played sports.

The problem as my piano teacher saw it was that I was still too involved in sports. These were not organized games as they are in 1995 for young girls, but pick-up games after school or church. One of the most embarrassing events occurred when I was in the eighth grade. I had sprained a finger badly while playing softball one Sunday afternoon. The piano recital was scheduled for that week, and, not only was I to play my solo piece, my sister and I were to play a duet of Tchaikovsky's "Concerto No. 1". Before all the parents and friends who had assembled in the small auditorium, my piano teacher said, "I think Beth had better decide whether she wants to play baseball or play the piano."

"For Boys Only"

Robbed of my fun
Lost opportunity
Stole my pride
Forced suppression
On a little girl
You took my world
Locked it away
For the little boys to play.

-Sally Kidd

Making good grades was also an expectation of the females and the males in the Lawrence family. Unlike some females who are taught that they should not appear smarter than males, this was not encouraged. We were all taught to be proud of our abilities, and we were not ever encouraged to be coy. I was not to be embarrassed to know more than the males in my classes. In fact, I was rather competitive about it. I wanted to be number one.

Besides the college-prep, academic courses, I took home economics and typing. These were two courses in which skills that were taught were those that my parents felt would be very important for a woman to learn. I struggled with the Home Economics, but with my friends we made the best of it for two years. Unlike the home economics, typing skills were much easier for me to master. The typing may not have been considered feminine training by my parents because they required that my brothers take typing, too. Anyone going to college would need typing skills.

With all the emphasis on college preparatory work, I was asked the

question by adults, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" In the sixth grade with my introduction to ancient world history, I wanted to be an archeologist. But soon thereafter, I began to think only in terms of jobs that would allow me to be a successful, acceptable wife and mother. So the ideas changed. Vietnam, Civil Rights, Flower Children, Feminists -the world was in turmoil. Yet, nursing, teaching, and secretarial work seemed to be the only options for a female graduating from high school in Boone, North Carolina in 1968.

Susan, a younger sister, was questioned about her goals when interviewing for enrollment in the registered nursing program at the Nursing School at Bowman Gray School of Medicine. She had excelled in high school, graduating second in herclass of over 250. The admissions panel told her she should consider either medical school or a four-year B.S. in Nursing. They indicated that she was too intelligent for an RN program. But that was what she wanted at the time, because it fit comfortably with our traditional values of marriage and motherhood.

During high school, I had my first leadership experiences. For some reason, the leaders in the Class of 1968 were all women. There were eleven females who held most of the leadership positions. As a senior, there was a female student government president whose three officers were females. I was one of them. We prided ourselves on being the first females to lead the school or the class.

It is ironic, however, that all of us planned on traditional careers of

teaching or nursing with the ultimate goal of marriage. We were never encouraged to do anything with our good grades, degrees, and ambitions except go to college and find a suitable husband. In fact, a statement frequently made by older women role models was, "as a female, you need to get that college degree in case your husband dies and you have to take care of yourself and your children." It never occurred to anyone that some of us would live major portions of our lives as single adults. These leadership opportunities were part of our high school experience, but apparently we were not expected to continue using the skills we developed except in volunteer organizations such as the PTA, church, or junior league. We would all find our Prince Charmings to take care of us.

When I entered adolescence, a tall, skinny, embarrassed-by-my-name, female, I was confronted by even more barriers to being a female. My brother was just fourteen months older than I, and we had played together all this while. We were often mistaken for twins. I was so proud to be part of his world. However, as we grew older, it became very apparent who had the better life. He had more freedom than I had which simply reinforced my chagrin at the time for being a female. Jack and his friends could make plans more spontaneously, could have less supervision, could telephone each other, and could hang out at the local drive-in restuarant.

Young women were granted no such privileges. Of course, I usually accepted my situation compliantly. My reward for this behavior was positive recognition by my parents, teachers, and other adults with whom I came in

contact.

Since attaining good grades came relatively easy, my primary goal during those high school years was to gain the attentions of a young man. This was not particularly encouraged by my parents, and I was never very successful in achieving this goal. I was taller than most boys in my class, and it was not socially acceptable for me to date males shorter than myself. Nor did any male have the nerve to date someone taller than himself. The few times I did have a date in high school, I always had to have flat shoes, even for the prom. This tall complex even forced me to search everywhere to find flat shoes to wear with my wedding gown.

I did not feel that I was very attractive, and I had very little self-confidence in interpersonal relationships. During high school, all of these pressures contributed to a less than glorious social experience. I did not date very much; therefore, my fragile identity as a female was at stake. When I could not get the attention from males through flirtatious, feminine behaviors, I was confident I could at least be noticed if I was one of the more athletic females in the high school. This compensated somewhat for my shortcomings in femininity because I developed some very important friendships with males. I still longed for that all important date.

Growing up feminine was a double-edged sword for me. I knew I was so much more than a weak, dependent, coy female for, at this time in my life, I still believed I had the ability to do many things. I had accomplished a great deal. I received recognition for being intelligent, excelling in the classroom and on the

basketball court, and leading my church youth group. It was my perception that I had to work very hard to meet the minimal social expectations of femininity for a female my age. Success in the social world of dates and popularity with young men was very difficult to achieve.

I continued in this same direction through college. My identity was greatly influenced by my feelings of attractiveness about myself. Since these perceptions were basically negative, I seached for other ways to interact with males. I took myself out of the main stream of competition for males attentions by becoming involved in religious organizations. In this way, I did not have to compete with those females I envyed for their sophistication or for those males who were strong, worldly and attractive. With the other females participating in the religious organizations serving as my reference group, I considered myself more attractive than most. With the self-confidence brought by this method, I found it easy to gain the attentions of most of the males involved.

I completed my undergraduate and graduate education with excellent grades. Again, being a female was a barrier during my job search. I majored in History and Secondary Education with the hope of teaching high school history. I was thrilled to be granted several interviews with school systems in western Virginia which was where I wanted to live. A personnel director for one of those systems who interviewed students on the Appalachian State campus informed me that he would be most interested in hiring me if I could coach football. I surprised him with my reply, "I can do that, too!" Apparently, he did not believe me. As a history major, was this "coaching thing" going to create problems for

me everywhere. Wasn't teaching important, too?

Unable to get a job teaching high school history, I decided to stay in school to receive my graduate degree in Counselor Education. I found a job rather easily working as a counselor in a South Carolina community college. However, I had not met society's goal for me. I was 23 and single. I had not yet found the man who would take care of me for the rest of my life. It took me fourteen months to meet him, and, immediately before my twenty-fifth birthday, I got married. Five years later, after a divorce, I was on my on again. The next ten years were spent very involved with my job in Student Development as an Associate Dean and Cheerleader Advisor. It was busy, yet comfortable.

The Setting for the Journey

Questioning who I was began about the time of my 40th birthday.

Heilbrun (1988) states that "women are well beyond youth when they begin, often unconsciously, to create another story" (p.109). Certainly this is my experience. I began work on my doctorate with no clear goal, just a desire to be better able to take care of myself. I had been divorced for ten years, flirting, on several occasions with the idea of marriage. However, I never allowed that to happen. I always chose to have relationships with single men who seemed to enjoy their lives of no commitments to monogamous relationships. Finally, reaching 40 years old, I began to think that I could not rely on the traditional, societal male and female gender role stereotypes and expectations for maintaining my feminine identity as acceptable. I had to find that fulfillment

within myself, not through some casually accepted models from an earlier time in my life. Isak Dinesen gave me hope in saying, "Women, when they are old enough to have done with the business of being women, and can let loose their strength, must be the most powerful creatures in the world."

Working toward a doctorate appeared to be the answer. At the time, the fulfillment I thought it would bring had to do with material wealth, not inner growth. Upon completion of this degree, I could make more money because I would have a chance to pursue other career paths in higher education. What I did not foresee was that the growth that would take place would be more personal than professional, yet have a profound impact on my approach to career.

Sarason (1972) has defined setting as "any instance when two or more people come together in new and sustained relationships to achieve common goals" (p.ix.). The School of Education, and more specifically, the Department of Educational Leadership offered this setting with Dale Brubaker as my advisor. As the journey began, I had no idea where I wanted it to take me. The only known was that there I would complete requirements for an Ed.D., and that would lend a sense of status to my name.

Questions that arose during one of my first courses, "Concepts and Cases in Education" directed my studies at the beginning. No one had ever asked me to think about what I wanted to do with this degree, but even more importantly, the questions of what I believed I was capable of accomplishing with the degree and my life had never been asked. I had been taught that women gain their

identity and status through the men they marry. I had never given serious thought to my identity separately from a man and my family. This is where the deconstructing of Beth Lawrence began.

As I began to complete the assigned readings for the courses in which I was enrolled, it was as if someone had awakened me from a long sleep. This awareness then began to direct my reading. The subject matter of the books on my reading list changed radically. Rather than fiction, books that introduced me to a new awarenesss of women's issues and needs seemed to always be at the top of my list. As I began discussing my readings with selected professors at Wingate, I seemed to become somewhat of an expert on feminist's literature. I was even asked to recommend books to order for the library for a Women's Studies minor that was being developed.

As I moved from a very emotionally-safe career as a counselor in Student Development to a career in intercollegiate athletics which is permeated with the ideals of masculinity, I began to read even more. My second month on the job as Assistant Athletic Director, I was carrying Steinem's *Revolution From Within* into the office. The baseball coach, who I have known for years looked at me, and rather sarcastically said, "Just because you're working in athletics, you don't have to become a feminist." As this man who is one of my closest friends began to question my motivations, I began to question them. He continues to question my direction, recently accusing me of checking our new athletic department promotional poster for equal representation of male and female sports.

My family has also had great fun, in spite of their serious questions, with my reconstructed feminist self. My Christmas presents from brother-in-laws have been, most obviously, their method of teasing me about feminism. Since the family is so large, we always draw names. One Christmas I had requested the book, Leadership Tactics of Attila the Hun, but received instead two comic books of female superwomen, The Huntress and Samuree, Mistress of the Martial Arts. This was an extra present. My brother-in-law who gave them to me, rather ceremoniously, had not even drawn my name. Another present was a sweatshirt with the picture of the World War II poster of Rosie the Riveter with her fist in the air saying, "we can do it."

I have, however, become a model for my nieces, and possibly, my nephews. Recently my fourteen year-old niece, Katharine, said, "Mommy told me to tell you that I have decided that I want to be the President of the United States." It is apparent that my journey is viewed more by what I do than who I am. I want my nieces and nephews to be more aware of who they are becoming as human beings than what they planning to do when they become adults.

My family and friends do seem to struggle with identifying me as a feminist. They have the perception that feminists are not family-oriented. The women in my family want to be acknowledged for their accomplishments as wives and mothers. To them, feminists are critical of women who have chosen that path. In all honesty, describing myself as a feminist is also difficult for me. For so long, I have been a female who said, "I believe in equal opportunity for women, but do not call me a feminist." Being a feminist has a negative

connotation, and I wanted to stay as far away from that label as possible.

To add to the confusion created by the contradictions found in my dilemmas, Brubaker began to ask questions about a dissertation topic. His suggestion to use my voice, my experience, as authority was both frightening and motivating. I remember very clearly sitting in his office struggling with the matter of a dissertation topic. I had already worked my way through two dissertation seminars, and nothing seemed to work. He leaned forward in his chair and suggested that rather than answering the question, "What is the problem?", I should direct my attention to the question, "How do I experience the problem?" In discussing my struggle to find an appropriate quantitative study, he suggested that I be more confident in my own voice. He introduced me to Jackson's (1986) approach that, "authority is located in the person's search for understanding and liberation, and as a result of this search, something in the learner changes." My experience was significant.

Even though I could intelligently agree with this approach, I have felt myself becoming very defensive when a faculty member at Wingate asks me about my dissertation topic. Recently, a good friend who is a professor referred to it as an expose' on being a female in athletic administration. That is not exactly what my perception is. I do believe this to be an academic research project. However, I do receive some questioning looks when discussing the topic.

The discomfort felt in labeling myself a feminist is best illustrated through the struggle I experienced in titling this study. I was using the phrase "feminine consciousness-raising." When questioned about the correctness of this phrase, another contradiction appeared in my identity reconstruction. Why had I not used the term "feminist" rather than "feminine"? I had lived the expected, accepted white, middle-class, protestant feminine identity for many years. My journey had been into a feminist consciousness. I was reconstructing myself from a feminine awareness to a feminist one.

It is suggested that praxis which is defined as "reflective action" has the potential "for emancipating human beings from unnecessary constraints on their freedom" (Brubaker, 1994). Four elements combined to cause the deconstructing and reconstructing of my identity. The first two initiated the deconstruction, while the next two helped me rebuild my identity.

The element which began the deconstruction process was the realization that there had been little research done about women; therefore, most data obtained from psychological studies and tests are described in comparative terms to the male. Little of women's experience has been researched until recently. The second element occurred as I developed an awareness of the demands and expectations placed upon me as a female by a patriarchal culture. I had learned, totally and without question, my role as the stereotypical feminine identity.

I was already aware of the importance of self-esteem, but the reconstructing of my identity began when I began to learn of ways to value myself. An awareness of women's history, both a global one and my personal one, was a primary method used in the valuation process. The development of

my feminist philosophy was also an important factor in the reconstruction of my identity through enhancing my self-esteem. The awareness gained through this knowledge created many contradictions about who Beth Lawrence was, is and wants to be. It caused those "dialectical processes" which, in turn, have caused the reconstructing of my identity. As I entered a career in intercollegiate athletics that is predominately directed by males, and one of the strongholds of the standards of patriarchy, my dilemmas increased. The foundation of this new identity that was, and continues to be created, is very often challenged.

This challenge is the strongest from within myself. What am I becoming? Baptist colleges are not known as hotbeds of liberalism. I work for an institution where traditional patriarchal values are espoused, and feminists are seen by some as radicals who constantly complain about male privelege, and who blame all the problems at the university, in academics, in athletics, and in the world on men.

Deconstructing my identity

Anger was the first emotion I felt as I began the project of deconstructing my old identity. I could no longer be the same person. I was angry about the neglect of women in research. As I would discover new information about women and research, I would read it to my roommate, even if that meant following her around the house with book in hand. Quotes from both, *The Mismeasure of Woman* by C. Tavris (1992) and S. Faludi's (1991) *Backlash: The*

Undeclared War Against American Women, were read to anyone who would listen. I became boring to be with because the frustration created by these revelations had caused me to, with the slightest encouragement, expound upon my newly acquired knowledge.

Reading Tavris chapter, "The 70-Kilogram Man and the Pregnant Person," gave me enough ammunition to begin the battle. One of her illustrations was that "women receive about 70 percent of all prescriptions for antidepressant medications." Now the part that began my slow burn. "But many, perhaps most, of the studies of these drugs have been conducted only on men" (p.101).

Another illustration was the studies that indicate the "elevated risk of heart disease for men" whose cholesterol level is 200. During my physical, my doctor always checks my cholesterol, and I receive praise for a level below 200. However, since the cholesterol studies were done on men, medical science is currently studying what a healthy level may be for me. It appears that it may be only post-menopausal women who should be alarmed by high levels of cholesterol. Combine this type of information with Faludi's discussions of how the media, including advertisers, have manipulated research results to report how miserable we liberated women are. My anger mounted as I read more.

As has been my habit through most of my life, most of this anger I directed toward myself. Why had I not paid attention to what happened to women while being socialized to become acceptable females? From my earliest remembrances, I had always been compliant. The sociable, obliging female in

society is the accepted, well-liked female in society. I exemplified the stereotypically feminine traits of tolerance, need for acceptance, and need for love. Giving in to another's way or plan was also a part of this identity. Because of these traits, I had always been liked by others. It had not taken me long to learn that the best method to use to get one's way was to "brown-nose", and I could to that as well as anyone. I was never one "to rock the boat."

I also possessed the desire to make all situations as perfect for everyone as possible, so that I was always apologizing, even for situations beyond my control. While spending several weeks with my younger brother in New York City, this behavior pattern was broken. I was assisting him in some cabinet building and furniture refinishing. Everytime something was not quite perfect with a job, I apologized for the problem even though my work on the project was minimal. With each time I said, "I'm sorry", Jim would chastise me, pointing out that I had nothing to do with the predicament we were in at the time. This conscious awareness of a behavior was the first step toward changing it.

As I embarked on this journey, I did not know how to present myself as a female. It was not so difficult until I moved into a position in athletics. Then, I began to realize how I depended upon my learned femininity to accomplish tasks. I was not certain how not to act that way. There was no one who could tell me how to change my identity. The question that continuously disrupted my life was, who was Beth Lawrence without her identity as a feminine personality? However, as I became more cognizant of ways women were exploited (I believe, most of which they are unaware), the struggle which began then, continues

every day.

Another feminine trait that I used most often was to do whatever it took to keep anyone from being angry with me. I wanted everyone to like me, so I strived diligently to please all concerned. While working in student development, this was relatively easy. My boss was an older man whom I could manipulate as long as I treated him as a favorite uncle. However, coaches in athletics are different. When reprimanding someone, I still may circumvent the issue. My approach is usually to say, "How can we change the situation?" I rarely began a meeting by fussing at someone. I am aware that my indirect approach is the result of wanting to be liked.

What kinds of behaviors would I develop in their place? As I began to reconstruct my identity, I had to verbally remind people that I was intelligent, and that I could handle my responsibilities, especially in athletic administration. After I had been Assistant Athletic Director for about six months, a man who has known me since my student years at Wingate and who now works in the Development Office introduced me in the following manner.

"Have you met the best-looking Assistant Athletic Director in North Carolina?" he asked as he introduced me to a donor.

"Please do not refer to me that way," I politely requested of him. "If you must say something, say, 'Have you met the most intelligent Assistant Athletic Director anywhere?'"

"But, Beth," he replied, "they know you're the most intelligent."

"No," I retorted, as this had happened on several occasions, "they can

see what I look like, but they don't know how intelligent I am."

Reconstructing Beth Lawrence

Realizing the necessity of deconstructing my identity was much easier than this current process of learning habits with which to replace the old self. However, I no longer felt I had a choice. This new world of athletics was going to require a directness and sincerity of approach which is derived from self-confidence. I had to know who and what I was. It was also imperative that I gain respect from those with whom I worked because I was competent, not because I was accomplished in female game-playing.

The two most significant influences in the development of this reconstructed identity are my introduction to women's history from prehistoric age through the present. A recognition of the importance of language development is a part of this introduction. Secondly, it became very important that I develop my feminist philosophy. This philosophy must be me. I have learned that there are as many different types of feminists as there are Baptists. Which one best represents who Beth Lawrence is?

In the academic arena, the study of history has been my favorite since that sixth grade class introduction to ancient Egypt. It was the subject I wanted to teach. This is the reason that learning of women's place in history greatly enhanced my self-esteem. An awareness of the history of the women's movement, in the United States and around the world, was never included in the lectures or discussions of the history classes that were required for my major.

The importance of those women who fought for the right to vote, for an end to slavery, for improved health care for women, including birth control, for educational and professional opportunities, was essentially hidden. As I began to question the history and religion that I had been taught, my identity began to change. A pride in what women had accomplished gave me a sense of value. J. Chicago says that "all institutions of our culture tell us through words, deeds, and even worse, silence, that we (women) are insignificant. But our heritage is power" (Lichtman, 1991).

Integral to this changing was an understanding of the societal family structures during prehistoric and ancient history. Studies which I read indicated that there were cultures that were egalitarian in structure. These are neither patriarchal nor matriarchal societies, but ones where women and men worked together, each with important roles. Women were revered in some of those societies as is indicated by archaeologists in interpreting the civilizations cave wall paintings and findings at burial sites.

Lichtman's book, *Life Stages of Women's Heroic Journey (1991)*, was my introduction to possible life experiences of women during the prehistoric age and a positive approach to the bodily changes of women. Her perspective of how the physical changes with which women are faced were honored in that prehistoric culture rather than negative changed my perception and improved my self-esteem. Lichtman's theories suggest that much of the reverence given women of prehistoric age was created by the mystery surrounding the giving of life. Since women produced life, seemingly by themselves, they possessed a power

that was inexplicable. Females also bled once a month, but did not die. Just as inexplciable was menopause when the woman stopped bleeding. Lichtman suggested that this symbolized that now the sacred, life-giving blood stayed within the woman to give her the ability to pass the wisdom of the culture to the next generation.

The possibility that the physical changes we must endure as females were the basis of a possible sacredness baffled me. I felt cheated that I had never been taught about being female from this perspective. The approach was very different from any I had ever known. If I had been taught as a female that menstruation was viewed as something that made me as a female sacred rather than an experience to cause embarrassment and shame, it would have improved my esteem.

What I learned from my Christian, Baptist background was that women are unclean when menstruating. Because of Biblical interpretation, I had friends who were not allowed to do certain things during this time, such as wash their hair, go swimming, or take a bath. I am thankful that I had a mother who was better educated than those mothers. In fact her teaching was that one's monthly period was never to be used as an excuse to get out of doing anything. The new perspective suggested by Lichtman provided me with sense of pride. If females are taught that they are life givers as a result of menstruation, it could change their perspective about themselves.

Because one's sexuality is not openly discussed, but rather whispered about with members of the same sex, young women grow up to be embarrassed

and apologetic for their physical selves. I certainly did not equate those difficult growing-up experiences with the miracle of birth. Since I was not thrilled with being a female when I was thirteen, having my period only made me more resentful. I do not know how often my friends and I would say, "It's just not fair. Boys don't have to deal with this every month." Of course, Christian religious teachings point to "woman's plight" as being the result of Eve's sin in the Garden of Eden.

As an adult, I have generally depended upon my physical appearance. That is not surprising as our patriarchal society has rather precise definitions of beauty. However, before adulthood, not being able to emulate those gorgeous movie stars of my girlhood, I was very unsure of myself as a teenager. I was tall, practically blind, flat-chested, and had curly hair during a time when the style was to wear one's hair straight and parted in the middle. However, as an adult, I gained confidence. It is sad to admit this confidence came only after men began telling me that I was attractive. The more I heard compliments, the better I felt about myself, and the better I felt about myself, the better I looked.

As an acknowledged feminst, I now feel a twinge of guilt sometimes when I rely on my looks. For the longest time, I was not certain who I was without my physical appearance. I had depended upon appearances to impress people for so long that I did not know who I was without the impression made as a traditional, feminine human being. Who was I without the facade?

Another discovery was the realization that women during the Middle Ages were writers and teachers. To realize that what I was experiencing on my

journey was not unique to me, and that women have struggled with their identity for centuries is certainly an esteem builder. I had only been taught the accomplishments of males, and had been required to read their writings during my educational experience. Why had none of my history teachers encouraged me to study women who had been important to the development of Western civilization? During the Middle Ages, there were nuns who wrote theological treatises, and women of nobility who penned letters that were published under pseudonyms. From American history, there are lists of women who educated themselves and made a difference in society. But I was taught none of this. That is not totally true. I had heard of Susan B. Anthony, but only because my sister, Susan, wanted to be just like her.

This instigated a search to learn about my own history. Why was I so fortunate to be a part of a family where females were encouraged, no, expected to get a college education? My mother's mother, Mama Cheek, was not college educated, but required all seven of her children, five of whom were female, to go to college. My mother has remarked several times during the past few years as we would discuss what I was reading, that, if my grandmother was a young woman in today's world, she would most certainly have a college degree, and be an activist for some cause.

As it was, Mama Cheek volunteered her time at the VA Hospital in Salisbury, clocking more hours than any volunteer during those years. She was also a very verbal Democrat who served as the Registrar for her voting precinct. Mama Cheek believed that a woman should obtain a college education in case

she must take care of her family and herself. Just as an aside, I am her namesake.

The two older sisters in the Cheek family did not complete college; however, they did begin a degree program in the 1930's at Meredith College in Raleigh. Both did return home after only a short time there, but that did not end their training. One became a licensed cosmetologist, and the other became a nurse. My mother was the next female, and she graduated from Chowan College in Murfreesboro and Woman's College in Greensboro. The two younger sisters also finished at state colleges, one at Woman's College and one at Appalachian State. All of these educations were received during the Depression and War Years, so it was a financial burden for the sawmill worker and his wife. But Mama Cheek was determined.

When asking my aunts about their careers, possibly the most surprising answer came from an aunt who taught school, but who during the 1940's was involved in the organization of labor unions. Apparently, this could become hazardous on occasion. She told me the reason she was a union organizer was because she could not have the career that she wanted. She wanted to be in the FBI. At the time, the FBI did not accept women to be agents.

My father's sisters were also educated, but only through high school.

One of them did attend Appalachian Academy after she received as much education as the teacher of the one-room school house could give her.

However, these women are very well read. I have probably learned more poetry, and seen more "classic" literature at Aunt Rena's than in any classroom during

my formal education. When I was sixteen, she gave me my first book of poetry, the only one I have ever received as a present. When discussing the educational background of the Lawrence's, she tells of my great-grandmother who lived with some people in Banner Elk, North Carolina just so she could go to the academy that has become Lees-McRae College. Appalachian Mountain women had physically difficult lives, but education for women was very important to Lena Culver, my grandmother who taught the importance of education and learning to her daughters.

Searching my past for educated women gave me a sense of pride that I had not known before. Realizing that I am continuing the process that was begun several generations ago fills me with a self-confidence and purpose with which I am unaccustomed. It is especially encouraging to know that before me were women in my family history who wanted more than the traditional, stereotypical feminine lifestyle. All of these women married and had children, but they did not have to rely on their mate for their identity. Each was her own woman in her unique way. I will be the first woman in the family to receive a terminal degree, but I am certain not to be the last. I am the first female in a traditionally male career, but I am certain that I will not be the last.

The reconstructing of my identity also involves becoming comfortable with a feminist philosophy. Not comfortable with the label, "feminist", for the longest while, I have had to consciously and confidently convince others and myself that I have changed and matured. In this maturation process, I am no longer as embarrassed to admit my concerns about the female's socialization process in

our society. It is now easier for me to share my feelings with my sisters, all three of whom are not certain what is happening to me. All are following rather traditional gender roles, and to see me change has been somewhat disquieting, but all support this journey unconditionally.

Influence of my feminist journey on my career as an intercollegiate athletic administrator

Working in intercollegiate athletic administration, it is extremely important to know my values as a feminist personally and professionally. The philosophical foundation upon which I base my decisions about programs and policies is closely scrutinized for consistency, and often my motives questioned as to their purpose. Professionally, I do not want to considered successful as an athletic administrator because I use my stereotypically feminine behaviors in my interactions with the male vice-presidents and coaches to gain their cooperation. I was unaware until this study just how often I used these behaviors, especially since their use proved successful. Managing people using these behaviors was as automatic as breathing.

As I learned that sport is important in the development of a male's sense of masculinity in our society, it became even more crucial to be confident of my philosophy of the purpose and goals of intercollegiate athletics. Until recently in intercollegiate athletics, and sports in general, females have been relegated to supporting roles. Women were to be the number one fans. I witness it everytime I see one mother of a football player bring small, hand-painted navy

and gold Wingate helmet earrings to sell to the other football players' mothers and girlfriends at the games. She gave each of the coaches wives pairs of these earrings as presents.

For many young women, their dream is to be a cheerleader, standing on the sidelines, cheering for their man's team. Cheerleading represents the same patriarchal structure of a society where in the family, the wife is expected to assume a supporting role for the male. Her identity is through him. In observing lifestyles, even in the 1990's, young wives and girlfriends seem to schedule their lives around the man's recreational league softball and basketball games. They are the team "groupies."

I entered the world of intercollegiate athletic administration through the ultimate of these feminine, supporting roles. I was the cheerleading advisor. I had never been a cheerleader, but because I was their advisor, I was often approached by coaches, students, faculty, and administration as if I were. Stereotypically, cheerleaders are seen as shallow young women who want the attentions of the men for whom they cheer. For thirteen years, I had been associated with this program, and as such, attended most of the athletic events.

As I began a career in athletic administration and someone with authority, my credibility often came into question. What could I possibly know about the process of winning intercollegiate athletic events? I was trying to move from an often, believed to be, unnecessary world of supportive, on-the-sidelines cheerleading to the forefront of administrative policy and decision-making. Having worked at Wingate for twelve years prior to this in Student Development

did help my credibility. I did soon learn, however, that as I gained credibility with the coaches and student-athletes, the faculty who had worked with me very closely during those years, now thought that I had sold out.

I have always paid special attention to my appearance. It had been a source of esteem as I moved into middle-adulthood. However, my newly reconstructed feminist consciousness made me question my behavior as it related to my career in athletic administration. As D. Tannen (1994) discusses in her recent book, *Talking from 9 to 5*, women are "marked" at work by the way they dress. Expectations of men's dress are not nearly as rigid (pp. 107-111). Working in athletic administration, I find myself consciously considering what the appropriate dress is for being an athletic event coordinator, welcoming opposing teams, meeting with student-athletes, and representing the Wingate athletic department on a daily basis. Honestly, I am more aware of the image I am presenting than I ever did while working in Student Development as the Associate Dean for Career Services.

I usually receive positive reinforcement for my appearance, so the question that I asked myself was, why not use this to the athletic department's advantage? Philosophically this created discomfort with who I was becoming. As I began to question using my appearance for getting what I wanted, the two males on the athletic administration staff encouraged me. It must have become second nature for them.

Each has said "Well, Beth, we have asked the Vice-President for Business for support. He has paid no attention to us. It's your turn to ask."

Then, jokingly, yet with some seriousness, they would add, "Be sure to wear your short skirt!"

One coach heard from the supervisor of grounds that if the coach needed something for his field, get Ms. Lawrence to ask the Director of Plant Maintenance for it. Until I began this study, I was not aware I was being used, or rather that my physical appearance, was being used. I would have accepted the flattery, and felt quite good about myself. I find that I cannot respond positively to that approach anymore.

As the one female athletic administrator on staff, (and one of the five female administrators on the entire campus), I have become the one sarcastically called "the Title IX police." Whether true or not is not the issue, because the perception of the male coaches is that my number-one priority is defending and ensuring equity for the women's athletic programs. This is apparent through statements made in administrative staff meetings, student-athlete council meetings, and informal discussions that take place anytime and anywhere on campus.

Recently, at a goal-setting meeting of our administrative staff, one administrator

who also coaches a male sport very cautiously looked my way and then said,

"Currently, I feel that one of the greatest threats as I see it to the Athletic Department is Title IX. What is going to happen when it is seriously enforced?"

I had no idea how to answer his question, but I felt guilty. It was as if the entire gender equity situation occurred because I am a female athletic

administrator. Of course, my response is usually to get very defensive.

Obviously, this is an important reason to be confident in my philosophical foundation about gender issues in athletics.

These questions that were asked of me did not stop with the Wingate University Athletic Department. When meeting with the South Athlantic Conference athletic directors, all of whom are white males, I am also asked the Title IX questions. After about a year in this position, I was told to attend the yearly conference meeting of Presidents, Athletic Directors, and Faculty Athletic Representatives. The topic of discussion was how to comply with Title IX. At that time, our conference scholarship limits were not equitable between male and female sports.

My athletic director and faculty athletic representative thought it important that I attend because those three groups attending are comprised of eight white, male presidents, eight white male athletic directors, and seven white male faculty athletic representatives. Their perspective was that it would make the discussion much more interesting to have at least one female in the room to represent all of our female student-athletes. I was used mostly for appearances sake, but it did seem disconcerting to some of the attendees.

Until last year I was the token female athletic administrator in the conference. At first, I was treated like everyone's daughter. When I would represent the athletic director at conference meetings, several of the athletic directors would greet me with a hug. When inappropriate language (cussing) was used by an athletic director in the meeting, he would look my way and

apologize. It was flattering, but unnecessary. I am certain that none of this occurs when my athletic director attends the meetings.

However, I have now earned some credibility. These male athletic directors take me more seriously. It only took three years of attending the NCAA annual meeting, and expressing my opinion. I receive calls asking how we handle certain situations involving female athletes. Athletic directors also call wanting recommendations for coaching positions every time they need to fill a female coaching vacancy. The suggestion that women are not in coaching positions and athletic administrative positions because all athletic directors are white males can not be proven from my experience. I have had discussions with each athletic director in our conference about filling coaching positions. They want desperately to find qualified female coaches. It is my experience that most athletic directors recognize the importance of female role models for female student-athletes.

In discussions about coaches, every female athlete with whom I have spoken about the sex of the coach usually has no preference. Coaching ability is much more their concern. Each wants a coach who knows how to coach. When a female athlete does state a preference, the preference is usually for a male coach. When I ask why, their answer is that their experiences with female coaches has been negative.

Often, through elementary and high school, the only female coaches with whom these women had any contact were incompetent. Since women have only recently begun to play certain sports, it stands to reason that the coaching

abilities of female coaches for elementary and high school young women is far from adequate. As long as young women are learning that only through winning can one be successful, the competent coach who can lead them to victory will be their choice. The sex of the coach is not an important consideration.

It is most important that my feminist philosophy be consistent when I am dealing with the student-athlete, either male or female. Last year, I had members of two women's teams complain about their budgets. It was their perception that their budget was not close to being equitable to that of the men's budgets. However, in showing them the budget comparisons, they realized that there were not significant inequities. Their perceptions had overshadowed reality.

In my role as athletic administrator I present myself as a liberal feminist, believing that with equal opportunity women can excel in intercollegiate athletics. This has been the safest and most acceptable feminist approach when working with a predominantly male athletic department. However, the longer that I stay in athletics, and my awareness of the deeply engrained patriarchal defining of the institution of athletics grows, I am becoming more of a radical feminist. Do we want to emulate male athletic values and goals? Is the win at all costs the better approach? Should the female athlete's goal be to dunk a basketball like a male athlete, to jump as high as a male athlete, to run just as fast as a male athlete?

As I view females in athletic administration, I see that to be successful they have had to employ the same masculine behaviors as male administrators.

Currently, supporting the NCAA, the conference, and an institution's athletic policy must be without question. I am not certain that I can do that. It becomes problematic for me when a sport such as football requires so much money to be competitive. (Of course, competitive is the relative word in intercollegiate sports.) Yet, concurrently, women's sports require financial attention. In discussions, no institution considers financial cuts to football. At the conference meeting on gender equity, I did suggest taking some moneys from football to help support other sports, and I was inundated with rationalizations of why that would be impossible.

Can a female athletic administrator really influence changes? The radical feminist view would suggest that the intercollegiate athletic system needs to be completely changed. Since my belief is that the intercollegiate athletic experience should enhance the educational experience of the athlete, should I advocate separate systems, one based on winning at any cost and another based on valueing the educational experience of intercollegiate athletics?

Currently, that approach would be difficult to sell. Too many young females have begun to play recreational sports based on the masculine system. Their training is similar to males. Most see no cause to change the system, and few have the desire to do so. As long as they can have the same opportunities for success, including financial success, they are not concerned with the overall value of winning at all costs. With each day on the job, I see the need more clearly for an overhaul of the current intercollegiate athletic system.

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Yet, I question if the current system of athletics in our society can change if the definition of masculine identity is so tied to success as an athlete. Young males have been taught that the number one element in masculinity is to be what a female is not. Femininity is being supportive of one's man. Think of the turmoil created now as school girls don baseball caps with their ponytails waving out the back and play just as tough as the school boys do on the soccer field?

After several years of trying to educate the males with whom I work to respect females as human beings, I am quickly brought to reality by the following telephone call which I received about three weeks before the academic year began.

"Beth, do you know any females who could be ballgirls during the football games this year? Coach Malone (the head football coach) says the officials are complaining about the boys that we use," asked Bill Nash, the coordinator of the football games.

"Bill, do you mean cutesy young women who'll flirt with the officials?" I responded, incredulously.

"Yes, I guess that's what I'm asking," he replied, I think rather hesitantly. I am saddened by so little progress. These are intelligent males who also have daughters.

The journey of reconstructing my identity does not have an end. It continues with each day as I learn new things about my identity, my career, and my aspirations, both personally and professionally. As situations arise in the athletic department in which actions taken demand an ownership of one's

philosophical base, I grow more certain of my beliefs. I see how athletics has a major impact upon a college, and upon those who participate in a sport, whether coaching, playing, or observing.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Robert Stake, a Visiting Distinguished Professor at UNC-Greensboro, "the purpose of the dissertation is a search for knowledge and understanding." He also indicates that the "research for this document should be based upon "coursework, independent study, minor research and extensive professional experience" (1989). Describing the purpose of one's dissertation in this way succinctly summarizes this study. Knowledge and information learned in every course taken was incorporated into my study. This inclusion was not manipulated or forced. It all flowed together naturally from the first course, "Concepts and Cases in Educational Administration" to my last anthropology course, "Culture and Society."

There is a uniqueness to this study that will not necessarily be found in other dissertations completed in partial requirements for a degree. This research was about one's woman's journey to becoming an acknowledged feminist, and the influences this identity reconstruction from feminine to feminist brought to my career in intercollegiate athletic administration.

Reconstructing an identity is difficult. One must leave "home" to do it.

Marcia (1980) concludes that an identity crisis, which is what I consider the deconstruction and reconstruction of my identity, will result in a commitment to one's career and personal ideology (p. 146). Before this journey began, I would have fit Marcia"s "identity foreclosure" status. He describes this as an identity

which has never been achieved, but adopted soley from one's parents' gender identity expectations. It is somewhat embarrassing to admit that this would have been my identity status had it not been for this consciousness-raising journey. With this journey, my identity, still being reconstructed, can not fit Marcia's "identity achievement" status. Even though not totally comfortable with the new identity, I have found that a consciousness-raising, an awareness of one's identity, cannot be reversed. It must become part of one's self, no matter the consequences.

Conclusions

How is a feminist consciousness raised? This must begin with a readiness for change on the part of the individual as she sees and hears new information and data. Until a female is a willing recipient, there will be no consciousness-raising. It is often easier to exist comfortably in a state of ignorance. Throughout my life, I had opportunities to listen to feminist ideas, but each time my answer subconsciously, must have been, "I like things the way they are."

I remember having felt an inexplicable affinity to certain stories and characters during the past twenty-five years, but the reasons for those feelings did not surface until I began this journey. I completed a paper in a counseling theories course during my Master's program in 1973. In this paper, I theorized about counseling techniques to be used with a fictional female character in Michener's *The Drifters*, who unknowingly became involved in protest

movements. The same feelings occurred several years later when reading Loose Change by Sara Davidson. This book described the fictional journeys of three women during the 1960's. What created my affinity toward these characters? Where was I during that time? Obviously I was not at the level of readiness to begin an identity reconstruction.

I work with young women everyday who are not at this level of readiness. In an academic institution, many feminists (males included) try to raise the level of consciousness of their students. However, many college-aged students do not seem ready for this gender identity consciousness-raising. Last year, an article appeared in our student newspaper that suggested that females should try to gain approval of their fathers and boyfriends when selecting a hairstyle which the write concluded should be long. The young woman's mother is a professor. There must be a readiness before an identity can be changed.

After the readiness is created through a growing awareness and an openness to change, anger takes over. The anger must be used constructively or nothing can be gained. A conscious awareness of the reasons for my anger caused me to take actions which would help alleviate the anger. This had to be done both personally and professionally. The first step in both areas was to acknowledge being a feminist without apologizing to anyone. Currently, it involves developing a philosophy that incorporates a feminist philosophy into the administration of an intercollegiate athletic program.

There was a two-fold method to the reconstruction of my identity. The first step was to build my self-esteem. An introduction to women's history,

including theories about goddess worship and it's origin, were the building blocks necessary for an enhanced self-esteem which allowed for the deconstruction and reconstruction of the identity. After the self-esteem was strong enough, a personal philosophy of feminism began to emerge, and this is being lived personally and professionally. However, with the challenges the identity reconstruction presents, I often ask myself if it was worth it?

Are the values taught by athletic participation important to the development of a feminist identity? Women have been taught by society to be compliant and passive. Athletic participation teaches team-work, self-discipline, and self-confidence. At Wingate, we have referred to the women's athletic program as our leadership program. It is the primary vehicle that women at Wingate have in which to learn these leadership traits.

Even more haunting may be the current Nike commercial that is broadcast on several television networks. The commercial is suggesting to parents that sports are no less valuable to girls that to boys. The following is the script as reprinted in the "Charlotte Observer", October 2, 1995.

If you let me play, if you let me play sports.....

I will be 60% less likely to get breast cancer...

I will suffer less depression...

I will be more likely to leave a man who beats me...

I will be less likely to get pregnant....

I will learn what it means to be strong...

If you let me play...play sports. (p. 1C)

How can this reconstructed identity incorporate ideas that challenge patriarchy into the leadership of an intercollegiate athletic program? Currently, there is very little in the way of documented research that can guide a female as she attempts to lead an intercollegiate athletic program if she tries to incorporate her feminist philosophy into her career.

There are issues that are important. This culture places an emphasis on approapriate physical appearance, including dress. For a female in intercollegiate athletic administration, coaching, or partipating as a student-athlete, this may be more strongly reinforced. This creates "apologetics", those who overcompensate for their interest in a "masculine" activity by dressing in a culturally acceptable feminine way. At the annual NCAA convention, male administrators often dress "down" while it appears that female administrators have a need to wear the "professional suit" or at least a skirt. Watching the NCAA women's basketball championships in 1994, Sylvia Hatchell, the UNC coach, was seen on television celebrating exuberantly while wearing a dress and heels. It looked most awkward. There may be such a discomfort level created for males by females in athletics that she may not so subtly be expected by the athletic department to wear a dress on such occasions. She must appear feminine.

For a female administrator, there must be a recognition that, in the past, athletics has played a role in the development of many young males' identity as masculine. The structure of athletics has encouraged the development of competition, aggression, and self-confidence as a part of a male's gender

identity. In the past, the central tenet of masculinity was not to be feminine and there were strict boundaries about what those traits were. Currently, there is some some confusion as to what those boundaries are. As gender roles and traits are becoming more ambiguous, males may be uncertain what those masculine and feminine behaviors are; therefore, creating an identity crisis.

Generally, in times when women were gaining some strength in controlling their lives, men have moved toward a more stereotypically masculine role model. This may be occurring in intercollegiate athletics currently as women request greater opportunities and are granted more of the athletic budget to support their requests. Male coaches are fearful that their program will be the next one cut in order to meet the demands of the female coaches and players. Most of these coaches can intellectually accept the importance of this, but, on a personal basis, they fear for their program. Also, there are still those males in administration and coaching who do not view the participation of females in athletics as an important or necessary issue.

As a female athletic administrator, one of the major barriers to breakdown is the gaining of credibility with the predominantly male coaching staff. This is especially true if one has not been a coach. Maybe the issue is not one of gender, but one of experience as a coach. Many females who are in athletic administration have had little coaching experience, and most have not had high profile careers. The question in the male's mind is how can someone who has not had success in coaching possibly understand the pressures and needs relevant to winning in intercollegiate athletics?

Another credibility issue must be with that level of credibility given by the administration of the institution. What would be the purpose in hiring a female athletic director? Does the usually male administration really have confidence in the female administrator or is she just window-dressing? Does she give the president bragging rights, in the sense that he is the first of his friends to move a female into a position of authority in athletics? Does it show his enlightenment?

Or is the promoting of a female into the position of athletic director just a cover-up? When there is very little support for the women's athletic issues from the administration, this is not apparent since there is a female athletic director. It may also be that the administration feels that they can run the athletic department with no interference from a female who is only a figure head.

In what ways have things changed since the passage of Title IX?

Women's intercollegiate sports began with a different emphasis than men's.

According to Hultstraud (1993), "winning was important, but the program's primary emphasis was to provide an enjoyable competitive experience for women" (p.41). So what has an enforced Title IX brought to women's intercollegiate athletics? It has brought many more opportunities for females to participate in athletic programs with adequate budgets and trained coaches.

Ironically, it has brought fewer positions for women in athletic administration and NCAA decision-making positions.

It has also brought discussion as to the structure and emphasis of women's sports. There are questions being asked as to the goals for women. Should women always follow the male structure of winning at all costs? The

results of sport participation include learning about teamwork, competition and cooperation, according to Cori Close, a basketball player for University of California at Santa Barbara (*Ms.*, 1993).

Implications of the results

The implications of the results of this study involve both the development of a feminist consciousness and how the feminist consciousness influences working as an intercollegiate athletic administrator. As has been suggested through the findings of past and current research, self-esteem is most important in the development of one's identity. Self-esteem can be improved through participation in athletics, but one may need a certain level of esteem to allow herself to become involved in athletics.

From this study, it was found that an awareness of a female's global and personal history may increase that self-esteem. Unless there are some changes at an early level in the presentation of history to young girls, a knowledge of the lived experiences of the women who paved the way for them will probably not occur until later in life.

With all of the discussion about women's participation in athletics, the changes have been made for the younger women now involved. For the most part, institutions are aware of the importance of female athletic programs and what they can provide for the institution. However, the defining of how those programs are to administered is still in the hands of males. It is my perception that I have been successful in athletic administration because I am attractive and

am able to play the feminine game very well. If I lived fully my newly developed feminist identity, I would possibly not have a career in athletics, unless at a single-sex institution. Most women in leadership positions in athletics do not attempt to make any major changes.

This may occur because women in athletics are not united in their definition of what the changes should entail. Many female athletes want more of what the male athletes have which is an intercollegiate athletic system of rewards based solely on winning. The money, fame, and recognition that males gain through athletic participation is becoming a more entrenched value for female athletes. They are completely adopting the male athlete's reward system. Even female coaches are copying male coaches in their salary and budgetary demands, no matter how unrealistic for either group.

According to Birrell and Theberge (1994) there needs to be a transformation in intercollegiate athletics for women. There is a difference between resistance and transformation. Resistance is the path to change; whereas, transformation is the goal. Often, so much is taken personally by females as they attempt to incorporate change in intercollegiate athletics that it makes transformation difficult. Women trying to make changes must strive to make certain that their acts are not just resistant, but transformative.

Transformation can occur, according to Birrell and Theberge, only when there is a change in the structure of power manifested in real lived experience (pp. 363-364). This must be the goal then, for females in intercollegiate athletic administration, not just resistance to the way things are done.

This approach to change is also applicable to all areas of women's lives, not just intercollegiate athletics. Feminists in academia spend time debating the appropriate approach to methodology for the studies that effect women and importance of the "right" feminist values which results in a loss of time which could be used to address issues of survival to many women.

Much of what is written about how to approach the study of women's issues does very little to change the lives of most women. A search for a better understanding of one's identity will most likely not be found by reading Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* or *Sexual Politics* by Kate Millett. These and other books discuss women's issues in such a way that only a college educated woman could begin to understand, and most of them have no interest in that reading. So what is there to help my hairdresser, who is just 32 years old, with four sons ages 15,13, 11, and 4 understand the influence of patriarchy in her life? All that she knows is that she spends the majority of her life serving those boys and her husband, and she is quickly losing a grip on all these responsibilities. What is there for her?

This study may help other females in intercollegiate athletic administration, or females working in a career dominated by males, but that is the small circle that may find this useful, and yet so much of what I learned I really want others to know. That is not an easy task when so much of the literature can only be understood by someone with a college degree.

A final, more personal, implication of the results of this study is that I may not, with my newly developed feminist philosophy, be able to be an athletic

director on the level where I currently work. This has been the plan at the institution for several years. When I finished my degree, I would be named athletic director. That may not be what I can best do.

I do struggle with the radical feminist approach of totally redoing the intercollegiate athletic system that has been put into place by the NCAA which is essentially a male-dominated organization. I cannot support that position at this time, but I can find a college that is non-scholarshiped, and places more emphasis on participation in sport as a part of the educational process, than on encouraging the value that "winning is everything." Many behaviors that are reinforced when playing a sport, especially football or rugby create a discomfort for me, because they often condone aggresive treatment of others which includes women.

The other option is to stay where I am, and try to transform the program.

Like Birrell and Theberge, I agree that resistant acts just for the sake of resistant acts will not create the changes necessary for equitable treatment for all in intercollegiate athletics.

Recommendations

It is obvious that there needs to be additional information in the area of female intercollegiate athletic administrators and there methods of leading coaches and student-athletes at this level. Since the passage of Title IX, there is an abundance of information about coaching techniques to be used with female athletes. However, the amount of information available to give direction

to a female administrator is limited. The dominant material used by female administrators is that designed for management in the business sector, rather than the education sector.

As an aspect of the above research area, it is also imperative to examine the necessity of developing stereotypical masculine traits for these female athletic administrators. The only way to be successful as a female athletic administrator may be to adopt those traits, but a female should be aware of this. If she must always be compared to the masculine standard because she manages male employees, then training progams need to be offered which will help the female athletic administrator have a better understanding of the subtities of sport. The correct language, the correct goals, and the correct motivations need to be learned. The other alternative is for the female to be confident in her own style. There needs to be information about how female athletic administrator can be successful using her unique management style.

As with many areas concerning women's issues, it is important to continue to approach the research both qualitatively and quantitatively. However, the quantitative research needs to be directed toward more than just numbers of women employed and their salaries. It is important to understand career paths necessary for these women. How does a female get in to a position to be hired?

There is much written about women's journey's now. There are more autobiographies than before; however, there is a void when it comes to information that can be used by women who are not educated. There are

women who work over forty hours a week, take care of children and a husband, and have very little thought of who they are. A concern is how to help those women who struggle every day while we in academia sit in our sheltered environments and write about the plight of women.

EPILOGUE

After a while you learn the subtle difference between holding a hand and chaining a soul,

And you learn that love doesn't mean leaning and company doesn't mean security,

And you begin to learn that kisses aren't contracts and presents aren't promises,

And you begin to accept your defeats with your head up and your eyes open, with the grace of an adult, not the grief of a child,

And you learn to build all your roads on today because tomorrow's ground is too uncertain for plans.

After a while you learn that even sunshine burns if you get too much.

So plant your own garden, and decorate your own soul, instead of waiting for someone to bring you flowers.

And you learn that you really can endure....
that you really are strong,

And you really do have worth.

-Anonymous

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Appendix

APPENDIX A

The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) was developed during the 1940's and 1950's by Katharine Briggs and, her daughter, Isabel Myers. They based their inventory of personality preference on Carl Jung's *Psychological Types* which was translated into English in 1923. By the early 1960's the data indicated that the MBTI was not only a valid measure of personality preferences, but seemed to be reliable in reporting those differences over time (Kroeger & Thuesen, 1988).

During the early years, those practicing in the field of psychology were less than accepting of the MBTI. There appear to be several reasons for this lack of support, according to Kroeger & Thuesen (1988). The instrument had been developed by two women, neither of whom was a psychologist. Also, Jung's theories of personality difference were not that readily accepted by this group (p. 282).

The 1960's brought greater acceptance for the MBTI. The first formal document, a manual of Isabel's research, was published in 1962. She was also invited in that same year to speak to the American Psychological Association. This brought the MBTI much greater credibility with the psychological community. From that time on, the MBTI was being used to study everything from "dormitory living configurations to learning styles" (p. 283). In 1975, the instrument became available to a larger circle when Consulting Psychologists

Press became the publisher (Kroeger & Thuesen, 1988).

The results of the MBTI describes an individual as one of sixteen types. Within these sixteen types, there are four pairs of preference alternatives. They are Extraverted or Introverted, Sensing or iNtuitive, Thinking or Feeling, and Judging or Perceiving. Of the sixteen types that are created, each will fall into one of four temperment types. Temperment types are either NF's, NT's, SJ's, or SP's. Use of these temperaments are a shortcut, but once these combinations are understood, the other two preferences can be added (Kroeger & Thuesen, 1988).

A short description of the ESFP type follows. This is a combined perspective of Kroeger & Thuesen (1988), Keirsey & Bates (1984), and Myers (1980). Each describes the ESFP as the originator of the "now" generation; as that person whose philosophy is "you only go around once in life." The focus of an ESFP is the immediate situation; therefore, making them intolerant of procedures, routines, and anything that stands in the way of immediate gratification. These types are women and men who radiate warmth and optimism. There joy for living is contagious, and they generally appear happy. An ESFP's tolerance for conflict is very low going out of their way to make everyone comfortable. They do not mind telephone or personal interruptions at work. This type generally does not like to practice to get better, she just wants to do.

Because of many of the ESFP traits that thrive on immediate gratification, impulsiveness, and freedom, it is a more acceptable for a male to live his

temperament type than it is for a female. Our culture provides the male with acceptable opportunities to express his preferences for action. Currently more and more women are entering action occupations typical of this type which involve precision, endurance, strength, boldness, and timing. This person is process-oriented. It is difficult to work for that implies production and completion. An ESFP enjoys the process, not so much the completed work.