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## Women's Athletics and the Athletic Patriarchy

Cynthia Jane Lynes

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# WOMEN'S ATHLETICS AND THE ATHLETIC PATRIARCHY

by

CYNTHIA JANE DICKERSON LYNES

(Under the Direction of John Weaver)

## ABSTRACT

This research is a qualitative, case study of five women who have successful careers in the male dominated field of athletics. An interview was done with each woman to determine whether her professional/personal life had been affected in any way by the athletic patriarchy and how their experiences were similar or different.

The purpose of this research was to examine the influences of the athletic patriarchy on women's athletics and to explore issues of power and gender within these influences. Research questions asked were: How has the construction of gender identity by the athletic patriarchy affected women's athletics? What part has gender played in the evolution of women's athletics? Why is the athletic patriarchy so powerful and how has it been so successful in keeping women marginalized in athletics?

Women were selected to participate in this research based on their careers. Three women are highly successful coaches; one of those recently retired from coaching to become an assistant athletic director. One is a Division I Volleyball Coach, one a Division I Basketball Coach, and the third a retired Division I Basketball Coach, now working as an Assistant Athletic Director in the same Division I school where she coached. The group is rounded out by a retired Ladies Professional Golfer and a local school system athletic director.

The group of women was within a seven year age range. Birth years spanned 1952-1959. All but one woman came from large families with older brothers. The fifth woman was an only child. Questions about early athletic experiences, Title IX experiences, and experiences with the athletic patriarchy were asked of each woman. Interviews were conducted in a variety of settings, office of the participant, the home of one participant's mother, and one was conducted by telephone.

The interviews revealed that the three women working in major Division I Universities did not have any negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy. Interestingly enough, the women who were not protected by Title IX in university settings, the retired golfer and the system athletic administrator, had numerous negative experiences to recount about the athletic patriarchy.

INDEX WORDS: Athletic patriarchy, Gender, Identity, Feminism, Power, Women's athletics

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STATESBORO, GEORGIA

2007

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## DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, Dan, Daniel, Janie and to my parents, who are deceased, Lee and Rosalyn Dickerson.

First to my husband of thirty two years, Dan, for encouraging me to pursue my dream and for supporting me in my work, my love and appreciation as always, are yours. Thank you for all of the times you found articles, media events, or books that you thought would be helpful to my research and for all of the times when you sympathized with and supported me on gendered athletic issues in my own life. Perhaps most importantly, thanks for all of the times that you cleaned the kitchen up for me. You can buy that black cap now! To Daniel, my son, thank you for all of your encouraging words during the difficult times. Your support and love have been invaluable to me. I am so proud of you and all that you have accomplished in your professional life. Who would think that a little boy from Meldrim, GA would be a world-wide traveler? Janie Lynn, my daughter, thank you for your comments and suggestions on my thoughts and ideas. I know that reading my work was not what you wanted to do but you were a trooper about it. Thanks for your input and suggestions. What would I have done without your witty commentaries? I love you bunches. Congratulations on your own graduation. We almost graduated at the same time! All of my love goes to the three of you. You have all sacrificed throughout the years so that I could pursue my dreams. I would not have been successful without your support and sacrifices, not only with this degree, but with the previous graduate degrees as well. I love you all! Finally, this work is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Lee (Bud) and Rosalyn Dickerson, whose love and support was always present and for whose sacrifices I'll always be grateful. Their influence on my

life extends far beyond the grave. Both of them made major sacrifices in their own lives to raise four children. Their love, life lessons, and work ethic have influenced everything that I've accomplished in life.

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This research would not have been possible without the participation of five special women sharing their professional lives through interview. Mary Wise, the Volleyball Coach at the University of Florida, gave an hour of her valuable recruiting time. Hollis Stacy, retired professional golfer, gave an hour and a half of her family time to do her interview while on vacation in Savannah. Caryn Evans, former basketball coach, currently the assistant athletic director, also gave an hour and a half of her administrative time to visit with me one rainy afternoon. Susan Layne, district athletic director, and I visited and interviewed for about an hour while her administrative duties were put on hold. Pat Summitt, the Basketball Coach at the University of Tennessee, took time from her extremely busy schedule during the busiest part of her season for an afternoon phone

interview. This research would not have been possible without these five wonderful women.

I would also like to acknowledge the two members of my cohort that have kept in touch with me for their support throughout the entire process, Trudy Hill and Tim Cranford. Your phone calls, emails, and encouragement are greatly appreciated.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Title IX legislation was passed in 1972 as a part of the Education Amendment Act. It was intended to make educational opportunities more equitable and accessible for girls and women. The legislation also made provisions that no person be discriminated against because of her gender. “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 assistance.” (Riley, 1997, part 3). Title IX was more broadly interpreted several years later to include collegiate athletic opportunities for women and has since filtered down to the high school and recreational levels.

Because of this legislation, more opportunities for women in the areas of academics and athletics have been provided and made more accessible. Intercollegiate athletics for women have been expanded and participation numbers have increased astoundingly since the passing of Title IX, according to The National Association of Girls and Women in Sport’s website ([www.nagws.org](http://www.nagws.org)). In 1972, women collegiate athletes numbered about 31,852 while in 2001, that number had grown to 150,916, an almost five-fold increase! Female high school athletes increased from fewer than 300,000 pre-Title IX to 2.78 million in 2001. Women and girls now have opportunities from the elementary level to the collegiate level to explore subjects, as well as to pursue degrees, and sports opportunities that were once denied them based on their gender.

The battle for equity has not been easy, however. Women (and some men too) have fought a continuous battle since the 1970s to ensure that the gains accomplished through

the Title IX legislation not be undone. One such woman is Billie Jean King who has championed Title IX and its benefits throughout the years, from the “Battle of the Sexes” and through the Women’s Sports Foundation, which promotes athletics for girls and women.

In the 1990s, one young female athletic director and swim coach, Cynthia Pemberton (2002), realized that the university where she taught and coached was out of compliance with Title IX. When she reported this failure to comply, what had once been a warm and friendly working environment with the school’s head football coach/male athletic director became strained and eventually non-existent. As a result of her report of the gender inequity issue and the investigation of her institution, the male football coach/athletic director began to change his attitude and treatment of her. Where he had once been a friendly co-worker, he became a distant, unfriendly, uncooperative peer. After several years of struggle with the issue and the courts, Pemberton left her position and went on to another institution.

As recently as 2003, the National Wrestling Coaches’ Association filed suit against the U. S. Department of Education charging that men’s collegiate programs were being unfairly cut to fund women’s collegiate athletic programs. Fortunately, because there are advocates that support Title IX and its positive implications for women’s athletics, the court was persuaded to uphold Title IX and dismiss the lawsuit. The funding question should be raised about the over-indulgence of the money sports, such as football, for example.

At the age of eleven, I was invited to play with a women’s softball team in my community. There were no children’s teams, except boy’s baseball and girls were not

allowed to play. I had never played softball but had played baseball with my brother and his friends, so I decided to give the softball team a try. How could I know that one simple decision would have rippling effects throughout my life?

Softball became a very important part of my life. By the time I was in high school, I was playing all summer, and usually well into the fall. The other athletic activity at which I excelled was sprinting. I loved races in my physical education classes at school. On the last day of school, we usually had a field day. This was a day where students from each grade level were allowed to compete against each other in various sprints, races, and other events. I earned several trophies from my first place finishes. Intramural type activities were the extent of my high school athletic participation experience because the only organized sport at our high school was girls' basketball. I played one year of basketball at the junior varsity level. That experience was at a time when girls' basketball was played with six players, because the prevalent thought was that girls could not handle strenuous exercise. Only two girls had the stamina to run the floor. They were called rovers. The other four played stay home guards (defense) and stay home forwards (offense). Not too many years after I graduated, the game changed to the current five girl game.

The fall of my senior year in high school I and several other young women gathered the nerve and approached the principal about the possibility of a girls' track and field team. Looking back on that moment is not a pleasant experience. The principal literally laughed us out of his office. Little did any of us know at that time that legislation had passed and would soon be interpreted in a manner that would change the lack of opportunity in athletic activities for young women. I continued to play softball as often

as I could. Meanwhile, Title IX legislation began to be interpreted to include women's athletics and as a result, sporting opportunities for women and girls at the collegiate level began to grow.

I decided to attend the local community college after nearly joining the Army. After my sophomore year, I chose to major in Health and Physical Education. Of all my high school experiences, physical education was my favorite. My teacher was what many called an "old maid," but her class was structured and provided many excellent activities and intramural opportunities for girls. While learning skills, rules, and strategies, we were also taught the fundamentals of teamwork and sportsmanship.

At the beginning of my junior year in college, the announcement was made that several sports for women were being formed. One of them was slow pitch softball; the other two were women's tennis and women's basketball. Our coach made sure that we knew we were being given an opportunity to participate because of the Title IX legislation. She gave us little round orange buttons with a white IX to remind us of our good fortune and of the fact that other women had worked relentlessly to get this legislation passed to provide us with this athletic opportunity. Our coach also made sure that we were aware that these new programs were being funded through an increase in student activity fees and not through the loss of any existing male sports.

As a young woman brought up in the south during that era, there were certain actions and decisions that were expected from me. Participating and being talented in athletics was not one of those things! As a girl, I knew that I was expected to cook and clean, as well as rake the yard, or cut the grass. Preparing me to be a wife and mother was of the utmost importance; although no one ever said this to me...it was understood. I was not

aware of “patriarchy” or what it meant, but I now know that Southern patriarchy was a definite influence on my life. Neither did I know or understand that even as a child, the Southern patriarchy was busy at work shaping my identity and even the path that my life would follow.

As an adult woman living and working in the male dominated world of sport and physical education at the high school level, I have been very aware of the athletic patriarchy. I shall define athletic patriarchy as the dominance of women’s athletics and athletic programs by the male patriarchy. Patriarchy may have many meanings to many people. In the South, the athletic patriarchy is powerful and well organized. It usually revolves around the powerful money sport, football. As with other forms of patriarchy, the Southern athletic patriarchy oppresses women and attempts to limit their success in the athletic field. As a woman working in South Georgia, I have experienced this athletic patriarchy first hand. These stories are just a small part of the history of my personal background experiences of gendered athletics.

### **Purpose**

The first question I wish to address in my dissertation is as follows: How has the construction of gender identity by athletic patriarchy affected women’s athletics? And secondly, what part has gender played in the evolution of women’s athletics? The success of women’s collegiate athletics has come a long way, but is not yet equal to that of men’s athletic programs and opportunities. One concern is that after thirty plus years of Title IX, athletics for young women at the high school level are far behind their collegiate sisters in attaining equality.

High school level coaches must still fear the retaliation of reporting inequality and usually for good reason. A male high school basketball coach, coaching young women in Alabama recently lost his job for reporting inequitable practice facilities. The girls were practicing in a dilapidated building with no heat, while the boys had practice in a state of the art facility. I am sure that this happens more often than we know. Many probably fear reporting less than equitable circumstances. However, the courts upheld the coach in what was clearly a blatant Title IX violation, and he was reinstated to his former position. Then, there is the issue of the power of athletic patriarchy in athletics, raising my third question: Why is the athletic patriarchy so powerful, and how has it been so successful in keeping women marginalized in athletics?

The purpose for this research was to examine the influences of the athletic patriarchy on women's athletics and to explore issues of power and gender within these influences.

### **Theoretical Framework**

There are many forms of feminism. I consider myself a feminist and will use the feminist lens to explore my questions about women's athletics and the athletic patriarchy. Women's rights and choices are important issues for me, especially where athletics are concerned. As a feminist, I believe that men, particularly in athletics, are often the source of oppression and marginalization of women. The athletic patriarchy is hierarchal and conforms to the gender binaries of society. In addition, the athletic patriarchy is a brotherhood of heritage. Power and position is passed down from generation to subsequent generations of men.

The feminist views on patriarchy and gender construction will be the theoretical basis for my dissertation. Feminist writings of Sandra Harding, Donna Haraway, Judith Butler,

and Eve Sedgwick will be studied. These authors agree that gender is socially constructed. Social construction of gender has been a dominating factor in the lack of equality for women in athletics. Some of these works are about gender issues, such as being gay or lesbian, which have also played a role, though it is a quiet one in women's athletics, particularly post Title IX. In addition, I will look at the works of two French feminist scholars, Simone De Beauvoir (1989) and Helene Cixous (2005). Their work focuses more on discussions of socially constructed notions of sex, sexuality, and gender roles rather than on the issue of nature.

The lack of opportunity for women and young women athletes has been about their socially constructed roles and what they were "supposed" to be doing. The expectations of the athletic patriarchy for women and young women did not include the right to compete. Women and girls were not supposed to be interested in sports and competition, but rather in having babies, cooking, and keeping their husbands happy and satisfied.

Since we are all molded and "created" socially as women, I think that we must look at social constructions of identity. The identity works of Weiss (2004), Dimitriadis (2001, 2003) and Carlson, Dolby and Dimitradis (2003, 20004) will be consulted. The gender and identity works of Pinar (2004) will round out the study of gender and identity. I know that my personal identity has been shaped by the Southern patriarchy and the athletic patriarchy and continues to be, even though I am now aware of those influences. Other women, I am sure, have also experienced these influences of the patriarchy on their personal and professional lives.

Athletic related works to be included are: McKay, Messner, and Sabo (2000); Scraton, & Flintoff (2002); Markula (2003); and Bolin & Granskog (2003). These works explore

the issues of masculinity, gender relations, sports issue essays; feminist sports studies, and ethnographic research on women, culture, and exercise.

Finally, no conversation about the athletic patriarchy would be complete without a discussion of power. For this issue, the works of Foucault (1980, 1995) and Hillman (1995) will be consulted. Foucault (1980) says that power is “exercised rather than possessed” (p. 26). Also according to Hillman (1995), “there is a kind of power given neither by office, nor by prestige, and it can’t be achieved by ambition. This is the power of authority” (p. 160). This power of authority is the type of power that I see at work within women’s athletics and exercised by the athletic patriarchy. It is the power that keeps women in athletics marginalized. The work of these and scholars will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 2, the review of literature section.

### **Athletic Patriarchy in Curriculum Studies**

The issue of power, who owns it and who does not, has been influential in the development and emergence of women’s athletics throughout the years since Title IX legislation was introduced into society. The athletic patriarchy did not want women’s athletics to succeed, so they allowed them to form their own athletic governing association thinking that the women would fail without their direction and that this fad of women’s athletics would go away. That association was the AIAW (Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women). Later, when the athletic patriarchy realized that not only were the women succeeding, but that they were prospering, they decided to reclaim control of women’s athletics. The governance of women’s athletics was brought back under the umbrella of the NCAA.

According to my personal experiences, the issue of gender has been another issue that is present in women's athletics. In the early years, if you were a good athlete or even just participating, it could only be because of your masculine attributes or that you were a Lesbian and not a real woman. The question of lesbianism and athletics has always been present, though it has not always been an open or even talked about issue. It is now more openly discussed but no more widely accepted than it was then in the 1970s, especially when women's athletics are concerned. Real women did not play sports and would not dream of becoming hot and sweaty on the athletic field or the court. Men used athletics as a venue to label women and to further attempt to mold their identities, whether accurately or most often, not accurately.

I see the work of Sandra Harding (1998) as having the greatest influence on my work. Harding's ideas of the hierarchal arrangement and domination of patriarchy on women bears close resemblance to the hierarchy exercised in the athletic patriarchy. Also, Harding's ideas of social construction of identity are similar to the identity issues of women's athletics.

Where Harding's (1998) work has a focus on patriarchy and the general domination of women in society, I wish to focus on the domination by the athletic patriarchy of women in a homogenous group, women's athletics. In particular, I want to explore the careers and experiences of a group of women who have been successful in the male-dominated world of collegiate and administrative athletics. I am curious as to whether their professional lives have been affected in any way by the athletic patriarchy.

I situate myself in the field of curriculum studies by following the footsteps of the scholars previously listed in this work through the feminist framework. Historically,

much of the scholarly work done has involved the patriarchy and gender issues. My work will expand on both through not only feminist views but also by looking in particular at the athletic patriarchy and ways in which it marginalizes women athletes and women's athletic programs and careers. The dominance of women's athletics by the athletic patriarchy is of particular importance to me. The construction of gender through the inferences made by the athletic patriarchy for women's athletics is also of interest to this work. This work is different from that of other scholars because of women's athletics. Haraway, for example, looks at the patriarchy through the world of science. It is similar in that it explores the dominance of patriarchy over women, athletic patriarchy and women's athletics, in particular. My work will look at the hierarchal nature of the athletic patriarchy and women's athletics, in similarity to the work done by Sandra Harding.

### **Limitations**

While it was not my intention to explore sexuality, it did emerge as a part of some of the interviews. As a heterosexual, privileged, white female, I do not presume to know about lesbianism first hand. I write about it only from the experiences of my interviewees. I address the stigma of lesbianism only from personal experience as an athlete and from the responses of my interviewees. While I do know some women who are lesbians, and even have several lesbian friends, I do not speak on their behalf.

An official coding program or process was not used to identify common themes from the interviews. Commonalities and similarities were identified from each of the interviews using color coding. Each commonality and similarity is my personal interpretation of the interviews.

## **Dissertation Outline**

In chapter one, the introduction, historical aspects of feminism, Title IX, and women's athletics are discussed. This chapter includes a historical look at the development and growth of women's athletics as a result of Title IX in the early seventies. It also explores the successes and failures of women's athletics throughout the years. Current issues with Title IX and its interpretations are also included.

Chapter two includes a review of literature from the scholars and authors listed in the introduction section. The literature includes gender-related literature, power-related literature, and athletic-related literature. The majority of this literature is written from the feminist viewpoint. Some of the literature explores power and gender identity with athletic literature, mainly by women, rounding out the collection. Typically, gender has been a visible issue in women's athletics. One such issue of gender has been whether or not women athletes were lesbians. Many times by virtue of being a woman athlete and also being skilled, you were labeled as a tomboy or as a lesbian. Society could not understand how women would want to group themselves in teams, yet there was no problem with men doing the same.

The issue of power and women's athletics and a discussion of the types of power that are exercised in women's athletics are also discussed. Power structure and the exercising of power are addressed. Relationships of power and methods for the exercising of power are explored. Many of the relationships in athletics are power driven.

Chapter three is the methods and procedures chapter. Interviews were conducted with women who have done well professionally in the field of athletics or as a result of their athletic background. The group includes: a Division I volleyball coach; a retired LPGA

golfer; a former Division I basketball coach, now an associate athletic director; a Division I basketball coach; and a district athletic director.

Chapter four contains interviews with five women who are involved with collegiate or high school athletics and has been successful in women's athletics, personally and professionally. Common threads from each interview are identified.

Chapter five contains the summary, findings, conclusions, and recommendations for future research. This chapter ties together the issues, findings, and commonalities from the interviews, and my conclusions for the condition of women's athletics and for future problems, possibilities, and research opportunities.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### Feminist Literature

Many scholars have written about the plethora of issues associated with feminism. The literature is very diverse and ranges from gender issues, such as gay and lesbian youth to original feminist works involving biological issues of superiority. Gender identity and its construction through power methods, such as those employed by the athletic patriarchy, are of interest to this research.

Feminism is most often presented as having two distinct phases. This first wave of feminism was around the late nineteenth early twentieth century when women were trying to better their lives by gaining the vote and improving education for women.

However, as early as the 1700s, some women, considered radical at the time were beginning to speak out for changes to women's plight. One such advocate was Mary Wollstonecraft, a self-educated, single woman. Wollstonecraft believed that the secret to improving life for women lay in their education while recognizing that the patriarchy had no intention of relinquishing its power over women. Wollstonecraft (1996) encouraged:

Strengthen the female mind by enlarging it, and there will be an end to blind obedience; but as blind obedience is ever sought for by power, tyrants and sensualists are in the right when they endeavor to keep women in the dark, because the former only want slaves and the latter a play-thing (p. 24).

Wollstonecraft (1996) described women as "weakened by false refinery" (p. 61) because they were taught from young childhood into young adulthood that their station in

life was to be a pleasure for their husbands. Females are made into women when they are children and then when they marry, they are turned back into little girls (p.119).

Wollstonecraft critiqued the works of other philosophers and scholars of her time, such as Rousseau, to strengthen and give credence to her own work. She entreated them as fellow human beings to take her work to heart. She encouraged them to look at women as their moral and rational equals and to relinquish their slave-like holds over women.

Wollstonecraft (1996) states: “Would men but generously snap our chains, and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience, they would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers-in a word, better citizens” (p. 154).

Wollstonecraft pointed out that all women must learn to speak out and tell their own life stories, articulate their feelings, and acknowledge both their feelings of hope and their sense of being cheated and wronged if they were to improve life. Wollstonecraft was a visionary and futuristic thinker for her time. I wonder what she would think about the gains in education and other areas of everyday life that have been made since her lifetime.

In *Feminism: A Very Short Introduction*, Walters (2005), traces feminism to religious roots. Walters discusses families closing their unmarried daughters away in convents. This practice while being what must have been like prison to some, allowed others to learn reading, writing and critical thinking. Some convents even allowed their converts to share their studies with others. Hildegard of Bingen was, according to Walters, a nun known as a “remarkable and impressive writer” (p. 6) because of her advanced writing techniques and thoughts which were far ahead of her time.

Other early feminists introduced by Walters include Margery Kempe, author of the first female, English autobiography (p. 8). This autobiography describes her life as a mother and how she thought of suicide after a pregnancy of nine months of illness, which ended with a long and painful birth leaving her exhausted and depressed. During the times when she thought of suicide, she was comforted by visions of Christ. After her fourteenth pregnancy, she made a deal with her husband, no sex for him, and she would forgo her usual Friday fast to eat and drink with him. Kempe was later able to travel on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. She reached Jerusalem through her “courage and obsessive determination” (p.8).

The Reformation, according to Walters (2005), enabled more women to receive an education and by the late sixteenth century, many women were arguing their cases “consistently and aggressively” although still through a religious framework (p. 9). However, many women were hindered in their efforts by the negative scripture images portraying women. Some women eventually gathered the courage to speak out about these negative images and moved forward in their work.

According to Walters (2005), the nineteenth century in America saw women articulating their feelings and statements of “women’s claims” (p. 41).

One such woman was Marion Reed who published *A Plea for Women* in 1843, which Walters (2005) claims to be “the most thorough and effective statement by a woman since Mary Wollstonecraft” (p. 41). In this publication, Reed acknowledges that a woman is somewhat beholden to her husband but that she also has rights and that while “woman was made for man, yet in a higher [sense] she was also made for herself” (p.42).

Other writers of the times that argued for women's rights included William Thompson and John Stuart Mills, who according to Walters (2005) were both influenced by their wives. Both women were well educated but neither chose to speak out for themselves (p. 43). Walters (2005) suggests that this could have been because of "nervousness" about breaking with convention or a "tactical recognition" that men's arguments may be taken more seriously.

Nineteenth century American feminism evolved from the anti-slavery movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucretia Mott were feminists that were active in seeking votes for women and for blacks. Other women instrumental during this era were Sarah and Angelina Gremke, and the former slave, Sojourner Truth (Walters, 2005, p. 46).

Florence Nightingale, while refusing to be associated with the emerging women's movement, made her stance clear by action and example. Walters (2005) describes Nightingale as "an intriguing paradox: on the surface, and by reputation, the archetype of 'feminine' self-sacrifice and devotion to others; in fact, a model of determined, even heroic, self-assertion, who opened up the possibilities available to women" (p. 52).

According to Walters (2005), it was the latter half of the nineteenth century when the "true women's movement" began to emerge in England. Barbara Leigh Smith and her circle of friends had identified issues that needed to be addressed. These issues were "women's urgent need for better education and for increased possibilities of employment, as well as the improvement of the legal position of married women" (p. 56).

Emile Davies was a young woman who wrote scathing letters to the local paper arguing the importance of employment opportunities as well as the lack of educational opportunities. Davies (2005) expresses her sentiments with great personal feeling:

The weight of discouragement produced by being told, that as women, nothing much is ever to be expected of them...that whatever they do must not interest themselves, except in a second-hand and shallow way, in the pursuits of men, for in such pursuits they must always expect to fail (p. 62).

The last phase of this first wave of feminism was the movement for the vote. There was a division, however, as some women wanted only to speak for women's rights while others thought that obtaining the vote was the most important issue. Walters (2005) states that the term "suffragette" was a negative one coined in 1905, by the *Daily Mail*. These "suffragettes" began to realize as early as 1868, that they were not achieving much through peaceful means. Women in the United States gained the right to vote in 1920, while women in England did not gain the vote as early with the exception of a few women of the upper class.

These early attempts at improving women's lives were largely unorganized though many of the authors demonstrated a very knowledgeable insight into the lives and conditions of women. It was not until the mid-1900s that women's efforts became collectively known as feminism. Early feminism involved the ideas of producing better conditions in the home, better employment opportunities, and the right to vote and own property. Civil and political equality was the major focus. Second wave feminism, which dates around the World War II era, was another issue altogether, though women's

conditions were still important. This group of feminists began to explore issues of gender, sexuality, and family rights for women, in addition to the issues from the “First wave.”

The similarities of the cultural times and issues for each wave is interesting. The first wave of feminism grew from the anti-slavery campaign while the second wave grew from the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties. The first gave rise to outside of the home employment opportunities and voting rights while the second gave rise to alternative gender descriptions and women’s athletics as well as bringing other issues pertinent to women to light. It was also during this second wave that feminist scholars began to speak out about the inequities in education and women’s choices about their own sexuality and patriarchal issues. It was during this time that the reconceptualization of the curriculum field was being accomplished. Women’s lived experiences began to be an important part of the reconceptualization.

Pinar, et. al. states (2002), “To understand curriculum as gender text is to investigate the relationships between curriculum and gender” (p. 359). Women scholars took up the challenge in writing about these relationships. Many of them focused on the relationships between women and the patriarchy. These scholars and their work are discussed in more detail later in this chapter. According to Pinar et. al. (2002), “Patriarchy, the entire system oppressing women, would in the 1970s, become the subject of feminist analysis and critique” (p. 364). These critiques and analyses ranged from male heterosexuality in sports to female sexuality in sports, sexual stratification in schools to gender inequity in classrooms. Tyack and Hansot (ci Pinar, 2002) states: “Differences between the sexes became unified and solidified by sports programs” (p. 363). These early issues about

sports, women, and power are still issues in today's athletic world and still remain important to women's success in the athletic world.

Simone Beauvoir, a French feminist, was one of the most influential writers of the new wave. In *The Second Sex* (1989), Beauvoir argues that women have been denied humanity throughout history. While men have had opportunities to create, invent, and remodel, women have been denied that privilege. Women, Beauvoir contends, have been relegated always to Other. Women, according to Beauvoir, mistakenly look to love for salvation from their circumstances. While she contends that "one is not born, but rather becomes a woman" (p. 267), Beauvoir suggests that woman can change her condition in life.

In *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir (1989) had a wide range of material. There are chapters on the girl, the wife, the mother, the prostitute, the narcissist, the lesbian, and the woman in love and what is expected of each kind of woman. To Beauvoir, it is male activity that in creating values has made of existence itself a value and has subdued Nature and Woman. What a woman represents is more important than what she is, rather than what she, herself, experiences.

Another point made by Beauvoir (1989) is that many women cling to the privileges of femininity while too many men are comfortable with the limitations it imposes on women. Beauvoir claimed that she was writing because of the conditions of other women but that she had never actually suffered these conditions herself. Beauvoir saw herself, not necessarily an example to others, but as an example of how one girl escaped the feminine role of "object, Other." She was critical of some forms of traditional

feminism but was impressed by Movement de Liberation des Femmes (MLF). She added her name to a document in 1971 that campaigned to legalize abortion.

One of the first pieces of western literature that became significant for the women's movement was a book by Betty Friedan (2001), *The Feminine Mystique*, written in 1963. In *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan gave a name to the situation of women in their patriarchal family positions. She dispelled the myth that white, affluent, middle class housewives were happy in their situations. She labeled this situation as the "mystique". Friedan's book emphasized the fact that even though their economic status might be better than others, these middle class white housewives were restricted in their lives and often had a depressed acceptance of that condition. Friedan insisted that women must ask themselves what they wanted. In asking this, women had to accept that what they really wanted might not have been a husband, home, and family. None of this would give woman a "self." Friedan went on with other women from the Union of Automobile workers to organize NOW, the National Organization of Women. NOW is still an active organization in its quest to improve rights, conditions, and choices for women.

I have included the works of Friedan and Beauvoir because both works are important pieces of feminist literature in the second wave of feminism. Both expose patriarchy as being hierarchal and instrumental in the gender assigning of women.

Since the early feminist literature there have been many scholarly works that address feminist issues of patriarchy, power, identity, family choices, and sexual identities. One such work is that of Donna Haraway (1989) in which she studies primates and discovers that male science has been hard at work constructing scientific knowledge as the male scientist wanted it to be. *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of*

*Modern Science* is a history of patriarchy and fields of power associated with race, gender, and power representations within the world of scientific knowledge.

Haraway (1989) points out that much of the origins of science have been preconstructed myths, perpetuated by the dominance of patriarchy. Basically, according to Haraway, science makes things up. Science is a male-constructed knowledge or discipline. One example of this is Haraway's finding that while the men claimed that the primates lived in patriarchal type families, the women scientists did not always find this to be true. Sometimes the groups were led by female primates. Haraway (1989) had this to say about this "pre-constructed" knowledge: "The popular primate literature continued, as always, to be a hybrid genre in which credibility drew from the scientific credentials of the author and in which lots of perfectly good science may or may not be found" (p. 128).

Haraway sees gender as made-up, socially constructed. She calls gender a "politics of sex and the ordering of sexual differences" (p. 289). She compares feminism and primatology by calling both "science and politics" (p. 287). Haraway questions the myth that sex is not gender nor is gender sex while many people see them as one and the same. Perhaps one of the major themes in Haraway's work is the existence of the patriarchal influences of power and domination, not only over the scientific world but over women in general. Her work sheds light on the patriarch's influence over women and over science. Haraway's work with primates has been beneficial to my study of patriarchy and ways in which it seeks to dominate women.

Sandra Harding (1998) is another scholar who views gender in terms of social construction. She also discusses the influence of patriarchy and its hierarchically

organized domination of women. Harding (1998) calls gender “socially organized...plays a role of importance in the cultural construction of what counts as real sex difference” (p. 85).

Harding’s work has the human worth thread. Who determines who is human and how is that assignment derived? This is like the athletic patriarchy. How did they assume the job of deciding who is worthy and who is not, based on whether one is man/male or woman/female? Harding (1998) points out: “Gender is always hierarchically organized-not merely complimentary. Masculinity is always valued more highly and rewarded more richly; it is evidently always associated with the distinctly human and the most prized accomplishments of public life... “(p. 86).

According to Harding (1998), “gender relations are never static or fixed” (p. 93). The influence of society and culture on gender as well as the constant movement and change of gender relations keeps the gender questions changing regularly. While many gains have been made for women partially because of Title IX and partially because of the women’s movement, these gains have been ever shifting and changing and are being redefined as time passes.

Both Haraway and Harding use the theme of socially constructed gender and also of the patriarchal hierarchy. These two themes are closely reflected in the organization and existence of the world of women’s athletics closely controlled by the athletic patriarchy.

A scholar whose work is more about gender and gender interpretations is Judith Butler (2004). Her book, *Undoing Gender*, raises questions about gender and sexuality and what it means to “undo restrictively normative conceptions of sexual and gendered life” (p. 1). Butler contends that gender is continuously being performed and usually without

our knowledge or realization of it. For Butler, society helps form and even defines our gender identities for us through our actions and interactions with other humans.

As with Harding, Butler (2004) raises the question of who determines whose lives count as human. Women have been and continue to be oppressed by the patriarchy and according to Butler, have not yet achieved the status “human.” Butler (2004) states: “to be oppressed means that you already exist as a subject of some kind...” (p. 30). The ongoing abuse of women, poverty levels of single mothers, and non-acceptance of women all point out that fact vividly.

Butler (2004) also points out that as women we have been subjected to the “knowledge” of the patriarchy from birth forward. Our bodies are not our own but have become the sites of political struggles waged by the patriarchy. Butler indicated that our identities are formed through the larger network of power wielded by the patriarchy. Another aspect of Butler’s work is her discussion of the ruling class and its norms for gender. People who do not fit the usual male/female binary dictated by society (ruling class) are a part as much as any of the heteronormative ones. However, they usually are subjected too much criticism and heartache because they do not fit those binaries.

Eve Sedgwick’s *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990) explores the contradictions between homo/heterosexual definitions, and she describes her work as looking at two contradictions. Sedgwick (1990) states these contradictions:

The first contradiction between seeing homo/heterosexual definition on the one hand as an issue of active importance... and seeing it on the other hand as an issue on continuing, determinative importance in the lives of people across the spectrum of sexualities. The second is the contradiction between same sex object choice on the

one hand and as a matter of liminality or transivity between genders, and seeing it on the other hand as reflecting an impulse of separatism within each gender (p. 1-2).

Sedgwick (1990) like others, describes gender as being more social production and reproduction of male and female identities and one that structures the binary model for other sexual binarisms (p. 27-28).

Also important to Sedgwick is the part power plays in the male/female binary. She says that there is a powerful argument to be made that a “primary (or the primary) issue in gender differentiation and gender struggle is the question of who is to have control of women’s (biologically) distinctive reproductive capability” (p. 28).

Sedgwick uses examples of Jewish girls being educated into their gender roles through role play and dress up. This role playing teaches the girls a fondness for being looked upon. Role play teaches them one of their life “woman” roles.

A final point made by Sedgwick (1990) is that of “coming out” for gay males and lesbian women. Sedgwick makes the point that it is much easier for men to be out than for women. It seems to me that this is particularly true today for women’s athletics. Women coaches and athletes have long been labeled lesbian because they dared to challenge the powerful authority of the athletic patriarchy. A reason for this is that society does not want its daughters to be coached by lesbians or to play with women who are lesbians. A lesbian’s coaching ability and knowledge of the game are not important to society, only her sexual preferences and how those preferences may affect society’s daughters. Another reason could be a result of the “Bible Belt Mentality” of the South.

Sedgwick (2003) has a more recent work, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. In this work, Sedgwick explores the emotions and expressions involved in queer theory. Sedgwick offers “tools and techniques for nondualistic thought.” Issues explored by Sedgwick include those of the many forms of emotion, Buddhism, shame in queer politics, sexuality as an effect, and paranoia.

In Susan Talburt's, *Youth and Sexualities* (2004), the heteronormative process and how it adversely affects all young people, not just those that are gay and lesbian is discussed. The schools are seen by society as “purified spaces” which nurture innocent children but in reality they can be sites of conflict around issues of power and identity. The heteronormative processes, Talburt, et. al (2004) states, “Are the scaffolding that holds in place an entire system of power and privilege that endeavors to relegate young people, people of color, queers, and women to the symbolic fringes of society” (p. 3).

Schools are not friendly, safe spaces for those teens that are different from the “normal.” Teenagers can be very cruel and unforgiving of one another. Adults need to learn to model understanding, tolerance, and support for gay and lesbian youth in schools. This is especially true in athletics where students spend extended amounts of time together in tightly woven groups during practices and games.

In *Subject to Identity*, an earlier work by Talburt (2000), she uses ethnography to explore the phrase “lesbian and academic.” Talburt interviewed three university professors, all women, to determine what extent, if any, their sexuality, or their lesbianism played a part in their professional lives. Talburt's conclusion was that none of the three women thought of their lesbianism in terms of their professionalism.

Patti Lather's work, *Getting Smart* (1991), explores ways to look at knowledge and emancipatory theory. Lather presents a method for challenging the way knowledge is identified, delivered, and applied. She advocates a system of research and of teaching. Her model provides both emancipatory knowledge and empowerment for the researcher. The method involves inquiry along with negotiation and reciprocity. The researcher becomes a facilitator allowing the subject to speak for herself. Lather's model allows people to gain self understanding and self determination. Lather's work encourages the application of post-modernism to achieve this knowledge.

A scholar who advocates the use of post-structuralism to work through feminist theory is Chris Weedon, an Englishwoman. Weedon (1987) uses post-structuralism to look at feminist theory and practice. Her work examines the use of post-structuralism to theorize gender, identity, power, and experience in patriarchal societies. Weedon argues for feminist poststructuralism as a means to bring about social change. She contends that feminism is politics. Weedon (1987) states:

These power relations [between women and men] structure all areas of life, the family, education and welfare, the worlds of politics, culture and leisure. They determine who does what and for whom, what we are and what we might become (p. 1).

According to Weedon (1987), we take our starting point from the patriarchal structure of society. She defines patriarchal as "power relations in which women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men" (p. 2). Like others, Weedon suggests that we all enter the institutions of society (schools) where we are taught how we are supposed to be....ie how to be a girl or how to be a woman and boys and men as well. Common sense would suggest that we learn about the world through our experiences. If we are to

change the patriarchal hold on the athletic world, we must learn to change the way we experience that world. We must change that world.

Pinar (2004) in his book, *What is Curriculum Theory?*, has a chapter titled: “The Gender Politics of Curriculum Reform.” In this chapter, Pinar presents the research of Robert Griswold which clearly points out the underlying gender politics of the national curriculum of the 1960s. The grafting of Cold War fears onto the bodies of young men through athletics, math and science expressed a fear over the fate of the nation. Women, mothers, and teachers, were blamed for the softness of American youth, particularly the male youth.

The emphasis on football, sports, and exercise during this era was an effort to bring “masculinity” back to the boys. Football was to forge male solidarity and that of the athletic patriarchy. Physical fitness tests were developed to test the fitness of American youth. However, fitness and sport, meant something different to boys and girls. The emphasis of sports for boys was leadership and competition. For girls the emphasis was on friendship, health, and becoming sexually appealing to the boys. Pinar (2004) states: “The price for those who do not, or cannot conform, is high, as the disciplinary society becomes (almost) totalizing in its regulation of academic rites of passage” (p. 92).

For Helene Cixous, the key to women escaping or changing patriarchal influence was through writing. She coined the term “écriture féminine” (feminine writing) (ci Oliver, 2000, p. 254). She did not restrict this term to women alone, however. Cixous also used the term bisexual in an attempt to erase sexual difference. According to Oliver (2000), Cixous did not consider herself a feminist because feminists demanded equality and she felt that affirmation of sexual difference was important.

In Cixous' work *Rootprints*, (2000), she theorizes between masculine and feminine as between two (entredeux) the site of radical alterity. We move, she suggests, through extreme joy and suffering to and from the other. In moving from one to the other, identity and sexual difference occur (p. 256).

Crocco, Munro, and Weiler (1999) in *Pedagogies of Resistance: Women Educator Activists, 1880-1960*, focused their work on the inequities and marginalizing of women who were denied opportunities in education. The authors expressed concern for “a society whose ideals of equality and opportunity are defined by competitive and individualistic ethos that justifies a few as winners and many others as losers” (p. 121).

It is well known that men have not only dominated and controlled society but schools as well. This control has been, “To the extent that education has been silent about women's history, it has been responsible for normalizing and transmitting a legacy that supports the patriarchal impulse to subjugate women” (p. 13). The same is true of women's athletics. Men have controlled and dominated with little regard for women and their expectations. “Women's condition in Western culture is worsened by the inability to gain accurate knowledge of their past, a direct result of masculinized forms of education” (p. 13).

Another piece of feminist scholarship that I would like to review is an article that was published in *Multicultural Education* (2005) by Marla Morris. In this article, Morris explores queer life, school culture, and troubling genders. Morris (2005) states, “Gender is a slippery notion” (p. 8). Society tends to categorize gender and sex as the same thing. Morris speaks of gender in terms of culture and its influences on gender construction. However, she asks these questions: “How does one define what masculinity is? How

does one define femininity? What if a male is effeminate and a female masculine, then what?" (p. 8).

Morris' commentary about growing up with "traditional boy's toys" was something with which many women of the athletic world and other women as well, of my generation could relate. We were told that if we persisted with our athletic interests that boys would never want to date or marry us. That really did not bother most of us, and we later discovered that if dating and marriage was what we wanted, we could have that as well. I often see women in construction jobs driving heavy equipment or dump trucks. It makes me wonder if these were the "rebellious" little girls who wanted Tonka toys and not Barbie dolls.

I have been teaching and coaching in public high schools for many years. In this time, I have known one young man (and no young women) who was openly gay. There were others that students speculated about, but this was the only teen I knew that was publicly "out." The need for "queering" the schools that Morris discusses is a realistic one. Schools of the South are still very much "masculinized," and there is really no safe harbor, no safe "out" for gay and lesbian youth. I think that this change could be gradual, but it is still difficult at this age, especially changing in the South. High school age students can be very cruel and even sometimes violent toward what they consider "heteronormative." An observation though, just recently I saw two girls hugging in the hall between classes while one said to the other, "I love you." My experience of high school culture led me to conclude that the two were lesbians. "Normal" high school girls do not embrace in the hall, not even with their closest friends. No one seemed to think

anything about the exchange as life flowed on throughout the busy hallway and as students rapidly made their way to their classes.

In an interesting twist of feminist literature, Murphy (2004) edits a collection of writings exploring masculinities from a feminist perspective. This collection of works focuses on the ways in which a feminist analysis provides insight into social, cultural, and political construction of manhood (p. 10). The book is about “what feminism has to tell us about being a man” (p. 10).

Pleck, (2004), first published in 1977, speaks about an emerging anti-sexist men’s movement. He uses the patriarchy to analyze male power relationships which he classifies as a “dual system in which men oppress women, and in which men oppress themselves and each other” (p. 12).

Pleck (2004) describes two powers that women hold over men, not because women want to hold these powers but because men have given them over to women. These powers are “expressive power and masculinity validating power” (p. 60). Men have made themselves emotionally cool and inexpressive as a method for validating their heterosexual success.

Men, according to Pleck (2004), oppress women as adults because they were oppressed by women as children. This childhood oppression theory makes women responsible for their own oppression. Men’s relationships to men are shaped through their patriarchal norms. Pleck’s study involves the world of men’s work where most men have no power and are, in fact, powerless. This interest led to other works in which he explored why men seek power over women.

Hoch (2004) authored the book, *White Hero Black Beast: Racism, Sexism, and Mask of Masculinity*, in which he explores the relationship between sexism and racism and identifies it as the key to chauvinistic thought. Hoch also identifies it as the reason for men oppressing women and members of “inferior” cultures (p. 13). He had the theory of men having a “repressed woman within.” Hoch’s (2004) central theory is, “...an understanding of masculinity as an interracial competition for women, a fear of impotence and homosexuality, and the victory of the white hero over the black beast (p. 13).

Reynaud’s (2004) *Holy Virility: The Social Construction of Masculinity*, addresses the question of “what being a man within patriarchy means and how power can be redistributed between the genders” (p. 13). Patriarchy, according to Reynaud, “is characterized first and foremost by the division of humans into sexes...” (p. 139). He theorizes that it is through man’s own mutilation that he is able to establish his domination over women. Reynaud states: “that men within patriarchy...are...the embodiment of power” (p. 141). Fear of homosexuality is, according to Reynaud, the reason why men choose to dominate women through sex. The terms homosexuality and heterosexuality would have no meaning if not for the social division of the sexes (p. 148).

For Kimmel (2004), men define themselves in opposition to others, women, racial minorities, and sexual minorities. Like Hoch, Kimmel links sexism and racism to masculinity. Kimmel finds masculinity to be socially constructed. He, like Pleck, explores the idea of “masculinity as the flight from the feminine” (p. 185). Kimmel also explores masculinity from the social and the homosexual angles. According to Kimmel,

“This, then, is the great secret of American manhood: *We are afraid of other men*” (p. 188).

### **Identity Literature**

Identity literature has taken many shapes and forms. Ranging from ethnography, to cartoons, to Hip Hop culture, to play acting, many scholars have used a variety of methods to talk about and study identity.

One of my favorite works is that of Lois Weiss. Her book *Class Reunion: the Remaking of the American White Working Class* (2004) is an ethnographical study of teens from a dying industrial town and the results of her fifteen year follow-up study. Weiss studied not only gender but class and race as well. Her study follows teens from Freeway High School and takes an in-depth look at their views of family, work, marriage, and race. One of the most interesting facts to me was that all but one girl planned to have a career before marriage and a family. Weiss (2004) described these young women as exhibiting a “critical moment of critique of male dominance and patriarchy” (p. 52). These girls wanted to be self-supporting. Was that because these young women were in the first wave of women and girls to benefit from the Title IX legislation of the 1970s and 1980s or was it more likely due to their own family life situations?

The young women in Weiss’ study were unwilling to live their lives as they had experienced their mothers and grandmothers doing. They wanted financial independence and spousal independence. Weiss suggests, as others have, that patriarchy rests on a fundamental distinction between man’s work and woman’s work and men’s domination of women, both at home and in the workplace. The young women in her study were conscientiously cognizant of patriarchy and were struggling against it.

Weiss (2004) had this to say about these young women: “Rather than affirm patriarchal arrangements...young Freeway women psychologically blasted through them” (p.115).

Identities, according to Weiss (2004), are constructed over a period of time and in relation to the constructed identities of others, as well as dialectically in relation to the broader economy and culture (p. 190). Weiss quotes Smith, who situates woman as the main caretaker of the husband, home, and family by the patriarchy which has perpetuated the reinforcement of ideas about women’s place and identity. Freeway young women, though, were having none of this culturally enforced role of wife and mother before the time of their choosing, if ever.

Greg Dimitriadis (2001) used an ethnographic format to study youth identity and the Hip Hop culture. In his book, *Performing Identity/Performing Culture: Hip Hop as Text, Pedagogy, and Lived Practice*, he studied young black men to see how Hip Hop affected their identities. In a follow-up ethnography, *Friendship, Cliques, & Gangs: Young Black Men Coming of Age in Urban America*, Dimitriadis (2003) follows the same young men and looks at their culture and what is important to them in terms of their knowledge. Dimitriadis (2001) states: “We see this dynamic relationship between knowledge and tradition fully realized in popular culture today” (p. 126).

In another ethnography, Ann Dyson (1997) studied elementary children and how their roles and identities form through writing and play-acting. The children were in a class whose teacher used writing and play acting as teaching tools. The use of superheroes and writing to explore the students’ interests was a unique way to see how the children emerged socially. Interestingly enough, but hardly surprising, boys wanted to play the “super hero” roles while relegating the girls to positions of girl friends, mothers, etc.

Funny how at even such an early age, identities are already being forged in the traditional way. Dyson (1997) states, “But, in child worlds, like adult worlds, meanings do not come in any direct way from stories themselves, meanings are constructed, and reconstructed in the social world that takes up the story” (p. 61). Although the stories did not necessarily perpetuate the gender roles, the social setting did. The male students were not ready to relinquish the fact that the superheroes were traditionally “powerful men” (p. 48).

In *Men of Tomorrow*, Jones (2004) traces the history of the comic strip/book and relates the background information on the lives of the creators of the super heroes. These boys were what today’s youth would term Geeks. Jones (2004) states:

The adults had imagined a prosperous new life, the children enjoying that life but still not much different from themselves. The children understood immediately that they would have to become entirely new beings in order to create and enter that tomorrow (p. 5).

The boys who successfully created the comic super heroes were usually not successful in their schools, culture, or society. These boys helped construct each others’ identities through the comics and the art that they used to bring them to life. As was usually the case during the ‘30s, ‘40s, and ‘50s, women did not have a role in this subculture because the men creating the characters were “recreating” themselves in the way they wanted to be. If there were women creators, they were writing under a pseudonym.

Women were not important to the comic culture until the creation of Wonder Woman.

Wonder Woman was created out of someone's lustful fantasy for a woman. Psychiatrist Frederick Wertham (2005) thought that this fictional woman was giving young girls the "wrong idea about their place in society" (p. 6).

The world of comics and cartoons was one where young men could be who they really wanted to be, rather than the shy introverts that they often were. Jones (2004) suggests that the ever-constant shaping and reshaping of the comics always managed to find their way to the same hidden yearnings (p. 340). Cartoons were a world of fantasy and reality all woven and intertwined together. Goldstein (2005) states: "Cartoons are powerful in a special way, and the less realistic they are the more potent they seem" (p. 7).

Film is another genre in which identity has been studied. Film gives us an escape from our mundane, everyday, less-than-perfect lives. It allows our dreams to grow and allows us to become the characters that we admire, if only for a brief time. Film is our remaking of ourselves, if only for a short span of time. Arendt (2003) states: "We always appear in a world which is a stage and are recognized according to the roles which our professions assign us" (p. 13). It is this life stage that enables us to look at film as a way in which to truly become ourselves. Not only do our professions assign us to roles but so do society and culture. And...while many films are subliminal in constructing our identities, they also provide us with ways to construct ourselves differently and in a way more pleasing to self.

Concerning popular culture, Giroux (2000), states: "The significance of these films rest in part in their attempt to capture the sense of powerlessness that increasingly cuts across race, class, and generations" (p. 187). Furthermore, Giroux suggests that youth are increasingly being educated not by text at school but in other places as well, such as the

malls, streets, video games, clubs, and television. As a result, these “other” educational influences should be given a place as “serious objects of school knowledge” (p. 190).

Derrida (1985) in *The Ear of the Other*, had this to say about identity: “it is the other who will perhaps decide who I am-man or woman” (p. 52). The athletic patriarchy has been defining athletics for women since Title IX forced them to allow women to participate. The athletic patriarchy decides and has decided what will or will not be where athletics is concerned.

In another work, *The Other Heading*, (1992) Derrida states:

Not to have an identity, but not be able to identify itself, to be able to say ‘me’ or ‘we’; to be able to take the form of a subject only in the non-identity to itself, or if you prefer, only in the difference with itself (p. 9).

The athletic patriarchy must have women’s athletics in order to define themselves as the rulers, the “man,” the powers that be. To do this, they must have this “other,” these subordinates, to be better, to exercise their power.

Mary Doll (2000) in her work, *Like Letters in Running Water*, has entitled one of her chapters: “Good Girls/Bad Girls. In this chapter, Doll addresses roles that women of Western culture have been assigned. Some girls are assigned the “good girl” roles while others are assigned the “bad girl” roles. Doll (2002) states, “Good girls accept unthinkingly, not only the necessity to maintain their youth and identity, but also to subscribe to an underlying aesthetic, that seduces girls to desire the domesticated life” (p. 88-89). Doll contends that both “good girls and bad girls are but two sides of the mirror of patriarchy that, because of its insistence on hierarchy, reflects women’s lowly position on the human ladder” (p. 89).

Perhaps my favorite quote dealing with patriarchy, identity, and yes power, comes from Doll's work. She uses the fable of Snow White to describe what happened to women of her generation, and I might add to mine as well. Doll (2002) might well have been describing me in my formative years when she stated, "We were the daughters of the patriarchy, doing its bidding...the bidding of the patriarchy for its Snow White daughters was to obey and to die so as never to become real women" (p. 99).

In Pinar (2004), using the work of Robert Griswold, through insinuation, there was worry that women-mothers, and schoolteachers, were to blame for the softness of American youth, especially the males. Pinar states this societal characterization of males: "Recalls centuries –long male anxieties over women's 'threat' to boy's maturation into men, both in the school...and in the home" (p. 84-85). There was the fear that girls would be masculinized and boys feminized. Today, with the freedoms brought by Title IX, both men and women have chosen to "cross over" into what were once typically male or female careers. Amazingly enough, doing so did not change one's "gender"! Where sports are concerned, males became feminized and women became masculinized only if they chose to do so.

### **Power Literature**

Identity is structured and constructed by many events which are always emerging into new forms and identity never remains static. Dimitriadis & Carlson (2003), states: "Identity has much to do with power (either empowerment or disempowerment) and with learning to position oneself within the historic struggles over power" (p. 18). Public education/schooling is a social institution where the process of reproducing equality with regard to race, gender, and class is perpetuated.

Foucault (1980) tells us that power is knowledge and knowledge is power.

“Far from preventing knowledge, power produces it” (p. 59). Also, in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault (1995), states: “Power produces knowledge...power and knowledge directly imply one another” (p. 27). Power is not hierarchal but more circular, and according to Foucault (1995), “Power is exercised rather than possessed” (p. 26). This is the power that the athletic patriarchy/“Good Ole Boy Network” wields; it exercises rather than possesses. The athletic patriarchy/“Good Ole Boy Network” is in power in the athletic world and they work and struggle diligently to keep it that way.

Foucault (1995) also discusses the effect of our social institutions as having “normalizing power” (p. 304). It is through these institutions that we learn our roles and we learn who those “in power” are. This cycle of “normalizing power” is perpetuated generation after generation. Foucault also suggests in this work that the powerful remain powerful through the continuance of a powerless class.

Also on the subject of power is James Hillman’s *Kinds of Power* (1995). Hillman explains that “power rules the roost” (p. 2). He calls power an “invisible demon that gives rise to our motivations and choices” (p. 2). According to Hillman, “there is a kind of power given neither by office, nor by prestige, and it can’t be achieved by ambition. This is the power of authority” (p. 160). Authority is granted by other people, it is societal. While authority may be intrinsic, Hillman relates that it is not really there until confirmed by the world (p. 162). Where athletics are concerned, the power of the athletic patriarchy/“the good ole boys” is confirmed and reconfirmed daily.

Apple (1990) describes schools as institutions that preserve and distribute the “cultural capital” (p. 3). Schools and other institutions “help to create people within the appropriate meanings and values” (p. 6). Adults use their authority (power) in schools by making and enforcing rules that place students under surveillance and denying them their rights to their choices in their own education. Students for the most part are not given any choice about what they learn, how they learn it, or even most critically, how they apply what they learn. The same is true of the athletic patriarchy/“The Good Ole Boy Network” and women’s athletics. Haraway (1989) had this to say about power: “Power is exercised as the effect of strategic positions, of a series of highly mediated relationships by which certain forms of domination are maintained through the process of producing knowledge” (p. 82).

Power has many meanings and relationships. It is political, sometimes cylindrical, sometimes hierarchal, resistant, interrelated to many other factors such as knowledge. Truth and knowledge are both linked to power. Power is cultural or societal.

Ferneding (2003) calls power “the ability to act.” The athletic patriarchy/“good ole boy network” through domination and societal values continue to prohibit or greatly diminish our ability as women athletes to act, to map our own course.

Relations of power and the struggles that accompany them are very complex.

Willis (2004) asks this question, “How are those without power taken up into positions where power is exercised over them?” (p. 169). I think that Willis answers his own question with this statement: “Masculinity gives them an axis of power over women,

but it also gives them a realistic basis for feeling at least some ambiguous superiority over other less successful males... (conformists)” (p. 180). So, I contend that the athletic patriarchy is one of power. Through long-established practices which other and marginalize women and minorities, this group of men create, recreate, and bequeath these unwritten, unspoken policies of power, authority, and privilege to the succeeding generations of males.

### **Athletics and Sport Related Literature**

Bolin & Granskog (2003) are the editors of a book, *Athletic Intruders: Ethnographic Research, on Women, Culture, and Exercise*. This book, through a collection of writing, investigates women’s place in sports and exercise from a socio-cultural vantage point. As the title suggests, women’s participation in sports has not come without a struggle.

The editors note that women’s participation began dramatic growth in the 1970s as a result of several factors. According to Bolin & Granskog (2003), “the impact of feminism of the 1960s..., a new feminist agenda relaxing the boundaries, and the passage of Title IX in 1972” (p. 3) collectively enhanced women’s place in athletics.

In chapter one, Bolin & Granskog (2003) introduce the ethnographies included in this book stating that they, “Articulate the interrelationships of physical activity and issues of gender relations, asymmetrical ideologies of gender, and embodiment through a feminist and interpretive lens” (p. 7).

Granskog (2003), in chapter two, uses case study to analyze the life histories of four women and focus on the impact that sports participation has had on their lives in terms of their identity as women and athletes. Granskog (2003) notes that while all four women

share a role within the sports community, that each does it differently. “Although we all participate in a shared culture, we simultaneously express that culture in our own unique way” (p. 51).

Markula (2003) uses aerobics to challenge the prevalent socio-cultural research on aerobic fitness that has proposed that fitness classes, media representations, and video workouts are only about enhancing sexuality and patriarchal notions of femininity, thereby, reinforcing the oppression of women. The oppressiveness of the ideal female body as portrayed by the press was a part of this study. Markula found that while there is now an awareness of the problems of the ideal body, that not much has changed in the expectation or “celebration of the thin, toned, tanned, and young body ideal” (p. 73) from the fitness media.

Stratta (2003) studied African-American women’s sports culture as delineation from the broader context of college sports. She identifies diverse domains that influence the expression of African-American women’s sports culture. Within this domain is team and sports contexts, coach awareness, and sensitivity to cultural expressions. African-American female athletes are, according to Stratta, “predisposed to feeling like athletic intruders” (p. 18). These athletes must exist in a “bicultural reality” (p. 104) where their culture may or may not be represented and/or understood.

Bolin (2003) studies the world of women’s competitive body building and the apparent contradictory cultural expression of femininity, “beauty and beast.” The world of body building displays elements of the culture of beauty while yet betraying and challenging the culture of beauty. Bolin states: “Women’s body building is a post-modern

phenomenon in which the dominant gender schema of naturalness is contested through a blending and blurring of gender boundaries” (p. 124).

Dworkin’s (2003) ethnography focuses on women who workout in the weight room to keep with the toned, lean, and not too muscular embodiment of our society. She found that most women avoid weight training to build muscle weight and mass but focus instead on cardiovascular strength. Dworkin describes sports and fitness as “complex sites of multifaceted gender, race, class, and sexuality dynamics” (p. 133). She contends that there exists a widespread stigmatization (backed by powerful institutions for compulsory heterosexuality for female athletes who dare to move outside the accepted boundaries. As Dworkin examines the reasons why women exercise like they do, little weight lifting and cardiovascular endurance, she makes note that our society frequently believes that women can not become muscularly strong like men. Dworkin (2003) states:

This project attempts to reveal that there is little that is arbitrary about women’s fitness decisions, and, in fact, a sociology of gender, sport/fitness, and the body can be used to explain the central patterns. These patterns are shaped by complex power relationships where gender, race, class, sexuality, and age are likely central (p. 150).

Joans’ (2003) “Women Who Ride: The Bitch in the Back is Dead,” explores the gender relations among bikers. The very fact that a woman would want to ride solo contests society’s conventional paradigm of femininity. According to Joans, “the bitch on the back” until recently, symbolized women’s position in the male-dominated biker’s world as submissive to the male. Women in our society are not raised to ride motorcycles. Riding is contradictory to traditional forms of femininity. The pastor’s

wife of my church really shocked the church when it was learned that she owned and rode her own Harley! No riding on the back for her! Talk about flaunting conviction!

According to Joans (2003), riding clothes reinforce negative stereotypes about bikers. Many riders wear black leather which serves the safety purpose of protection in the event of a spill. However, this black leather stands out and is a visible part of the stereotype. This black leather also creates a distinctive biker image, “a male image” (p. 163).

Thanks to the movies, bikers really do have a negative image. Society frowns on women bikers. It (society) is scornful enough of riders but is especially scornful of the woman rider. She is stereotyped as a “gender traitor” (p. 163) because she refuses to accept the gender rules that would place her on the back of the bike.

The world of coed softball was studied by Wachs (2003). Her study focused on an understanding of how gendered ideology, bodies, and practices reproduce gendered relations while providing a lens through which those gendered relations are contested and re-negotiated. She documented specific ideologies of gender difference. One such difference is the belief that men are better hitters. This was actually used as a strategy in the game. Other beliefs include men don't strike out, men should not walk, and women should walk. A way that women contest and challenge these conceptions of male superiority is through their performance in male-dominated positions and in batting.

Young (2005) in her essay, “Throwing Like a Girl”, discusses the many differences that have been observed between boys' movements and girls' movements. She states that as women move in sports “a space surrounds us in imagination that we are not free to move beyond; the space available to our movement is a constricted space” (p. 33). She suggests that women approach sports movement with “timidity, uncertainty, and

hesitancy” (p. 34). In other words, many women’s sports participation is colored by their perception of how they should participate.

Women, according to Young (2005), are not comfortable with our bodies and movement. “We often experience our bodies as a fragile encumbrance, rather than the medium for the enactment of our aims” (p. 34). As a result, women tend to feel incapacity, frustration, and self-consciousness. So, Young contends that women decide, mistakenly, that the physical task is beyond us and we give it less than our best effort, hence the concept of the wilting female. This is an attitude that is predominant in the South where young women are taught to be “clingy and dependent” upon a man. Patriarchy’s teachings at its best!

*Feminist Sport Studies: Sharing Experiences of Joy and Pain* edited by Pirkko Markula (2005) is a menagerie of writing commemorating the work and life of Finnish feminist sports scholar, Arja Laitinen. According to Markula (2005), “Feminist research of women’s sports came to a full existence in the 1980s, when it moved from psychological considerations of sex differences and sex roles in sport to gender differences and gender roles, to the sex/gender system and to patriarchy and gender relations” (p. 3). This stage is referred to as feminist cultural studies where “gender is seen as structured through hegemonic power relations that prevail in sport” (Markula, 2005, p. 3).

Sports were being established as a site of production of the male superiority ideology. Media representations of active women were also being noted and becoming a part of the dialog. Markula (2005) states: “These images emphasized the difference between women

and men by trivializing, marginalizing, and sexualizing women athletes and were thus a major factor that contributed to women's oppression in sports" (p. 3).

Feminist theorists of the era advocated that feminism is the focus on social construction of women's everyday experiences. Social order and women's position in this order is made according to several overlapping and conflicting structures (racism, class oppression, and homophobia). According to Markula (2005), "...it is obvious that women's experiences are structured differently depending on their background. Women's oppression will also take different forms, and their resistance will differ depending on the specific structure of their identities" (p. 5). Women in sport are one form of this resistance.

Hall (2005) discusses the societal connotations that were placed upon the word, "feminist." During her childhood and youth in Canada in the 1940s and 1950s, "...feminist (like 'career woman') had become a dirty word" (p. 46). Hall (2005) goes on to describe the beginning of her career as a physical education teacher: "After less than a year in my new career, I was shocked at the blatant discrimination and impossible conditions in which I was expected to teach and encourage young girls to acquire an interest in physical activity" (p. 46).

Hall's (2005) position required her to teach and prepare lessons for three other subject areas, as well as administering an intramural program, and coaching all the girls' teams. In addition, she had to teach in a small, dingy gym, while her male counterparts had the best facilities and equipment.

Hall became one of the first Canadian women to pursue a doctorate in physical education in England. Her interest was the whys of women making or not making sports an important part of their lives. Hall (2005) states:

Mindful of the popular and pejorative image of the female athlete as ‘unfeminine’, I wanted to see if this stereotype prevented some women from taking an active interest in sport and to show that for women who did participate, there was a greater congruence between the two images (p. 50).

Hall’s work was an effort to have sports included on the feminist agenda and to have feminist agenda as part of sport. In addition, Hall argues that “sport is a political site, and specifically a location for the resistance and transformation of gender relations” (p. 53).

Duda (2005) has as her major research focus, values. Duda says that it is important for her to “ascertain” her conception of the ‘good life’ among those in and outside of the sports system. Commensurate with her values, she sees “the perfect” sport domain, as one in which all participants (athletes, coaches, officials, administrators) feel self-determined and have the opportunity to maximize their physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual potentials” (p. 76).

Scruton & Flintoff (2002) are the editors of a montage of writings entitled, *Gender and Sport: A Reader.*” Hall (2002) describes sport, this way: “Like all other forms of culture, sport is a creation of human agency and it can be transformed” (p 7.). In reference to research, she points out that gender has been used to mean “woman” and that gender differences mean that women are different from men. “Women’s experiences are seen as variations (or deviations) on men’s; we know women only in relation to men” (p. 7).

In “Just do...what? Sport, Bodies, Gender” Dworkin & Messner (2002), describe sport as one of the key institutional sites for the study of the social construction of gender.

Organized sport, as we know it, was created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by and for White middle class meant to bolster a sagging ideology of ‘natural superiority’ over women and over race-and class-subordinated groups of men (p. 17).

They further ascertain that while sport is seemingly based in natural physical endowments, “it was socially constructed out of the gender, race, and class-based stratification systems of Europe and the United States” (p. 17).

Sport, according to Dworkin & Messner (2002, p. 17-18), is a place where questions of structure and agency, embodiment, identity, and power can and should be examined. The existence of strong, skilled women athletes are a challenge, a “destabilizing” tendency to the current gender order.

Dworkin & Messner (2002) used examination of gender, bodies, and sport to make three main points about understanding and changing the gender order:

Although sport has been an arena for contesting the status quo by men of color and by white Women and women of color, the positive results have been individual rather than collective. Whatever sport has accomplished in terms of equity, women’s and men’s sports are still segregated, and men’s sports are still segregated, and men’s sports are still dominant in commercial value and in the media. Rather than breaking down conventional concepts of masculinity and femininity, organized sports has overblown the cultural hegemony of heterosexualized, flirtatious, moderately muscled

female athletes who are accomplished and competitive but expected to be submissive to the control of men coaches and managers. (p. 24)

Griffin's *Changing the Game: Homophobia, Sexism, and Lesbians in Sport* (2002) is an examination of homophobia in schools and sports settings. According to Griffin, the medical community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries warned white upper middle class women about the "debilitating psychological" effects of "vigorous athleticism," particularly on the reproductive system. These warnings were, of course, meant to discourage women's participation in sports and to keep them focused on their "natural" role of wife and mother. In the early twentieth century, women were threatened or intimidated by fears of losing social approval. It is good to know that this is not the norm today.

Close female relationships that had once been encouraged and idealized in the nineteenth century, became suspect because of sexologists (Freud), psychology, and psychiatry in the twentieth century. Griffin (2002) suggests, "It was here that the "mannish lesbian" appeared (p. 193). Social commentators in the press warned people/parents about the dangers of daughters and "all-female" environments. "As a result, women's colleges and sports teams were assumed to be places where 'mannish lesbians' lurked" (p. 194). Athletic women became highly suspect because lesbians were "masculine" creatures who rejected their female identities.

The purpose of Griffin's article was to discuss the issue of lesbians in sport from a feminist perspective that analyzes the function of socially constructed gender roles and sexual identities in maintaining male dominance in society. Griffin (2002) states, "that manifestations of homophobia in women's sports can be divided into six categories:

Silence, Denial, Apology, Promotion of a heterosex image, Attacks on lesbians, and Preferences for male coaches” (p. 195). These six categories, according to Griffin, illuminate the pervasive nature of prejudice against lesbians in sport and the power of the lesbian stigma to control and marginalize women’s sport.

In the conclusion, Griffin (2002) advises, “Addressing sexism, heterosexism, and homophobia in women’s sport requires that past conceptions of gender and sexuality be recognized as social constructions that confer privilege and normalcy on particular social groups: men and heterosexuals” (p. 206). Furthermore, if sport is to maintain its meaning as a masculine ritual in a patriarchal society, women must be made to look like trespassers. The lesbian label and the negative stigma that accompanies it, is an effective tool. Griffin’s (2002) goal to change this negative stigma is, “We must begin to challenge the sexist, heterosexist, and Homophobic status quo as it lives in our heads, on our teams, and in our schools. A generation of young girls; our daughters, nieces, younger sisters, and students are depending on us” (p. 206). The stigma attached to women athletes is neither new nor has it diminished or disappeared over time. Women athletes have been facing stigmatism and labeling since women’s sports began and since women started playing. As long as women are playing sports, they are challenging the male hegemony and the tier of power. Only through continued effort at all levels will women finally be able to achieve the desired parity.

### **Summary**

This review of literature is a varied look at four distinct topics: gender, identity, power, and athletics. Many of the writings are from the feminist point of view. Also, many of the writings contain post-structuralist thought and ideas. Although I have separated the

literature review into four topics, there are undeniable common threads which link the four in an interwoven relationship, especially in regard to feminism, gender identity, power and women's athletics. Gender is generally thought to be socially constructed. The power structure of society is both hierarchal and patriarchal. The athletic world is structured closely to resemble that of society. Where the athletic patriarchy is concerned, all four topics are necessary to try to answer and understand the questions related to their power and hold over women's athletics.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS AND PROCEDURES

#### **Purpose of Research and Research Questions**

The purpose of this research is to examine the influences of the athletic patriarchy on women's athletics and to explore issues of power and gender within these influences. Research questions to be answered are as follows: How has the construction of gender identity by the athletic patriarchy affected women's athletics? What part has gender played in the evolution of women's athletics? Why is the athletic patriarchy so powerful, and how has it been so successful in keeping women marginalized in athletics? This research will use a qualitative case study approach involving interviews to study these influences.

#### **Institutional Review Board**

Preliminary procedures involved applying to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for permission to interview subjects. In order to do this, I went on-line to the Georgia Southern home page to find the related link. There were several steps to be followed in order to submit the application. The first step was completion of the Georgia Southern University Institutional Review Board Cover Page. Secondly, the Georgia Southern University Checklist for Developing An Informed Consent Form was required for submission. A project personal narrative including the following topics was also to be included: personnel, purpose, subjects, methods/procedures, and risk. An on-line training concerning subjects' rights was required along with a training certificate of completion. Finally, a copy of my informed consent and interview questions was added to complete the package which had to be submitted in duplicate. After several emails

asking for clarification about subject confidentiality, the research was approved by the Georgia Southern Institutional Review Board.

### **Qualitative Research**

Qualitative research can mean different things to different people. A general definition has been offered by Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p. 4-5). First of all, qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Secondly, it consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that make the world visible. Thirdly, these practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self.

In other words, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. The difference between quantitative and qualitative researchers is that qualitative researchers investigate and study things in their natural settings. Qualitative researchers endeavor to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomenon in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Shenton and Dixon (2004) states, “Essentially, the emphasis of qualitative research lies in the exploration of a particular phenomenon at length, typically through the collection and analysis of subjective data from a relatively small number of participants involved in the processes, circumstances or situations at the heart of the inquiry” (p. 1). My research attempts to define the essence of these athletic women and their experiences and to educate the reader as to the significance and usefulness of those experiences.

Marshall and Rossman (1999) state, “Qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in lived experiences of people” (p.2). I have chosen to do qualitative research because people are much more interesting to me than numbers. The opportunity to interview women has much more significance for me than using numbers to explore their careers. According to Glesne (1999), “Qualitative researchers seek to make sense of personal stories and the ways in which they intersect” (p. 1). The personal athletic experiences of five women are the stories that I wish to interpret and share.

The use of case study for interviews is an overall strategy for qualitative research. Stake (1995) states that, “Case study is the study of particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (p. 1).

When the decision of how to research had been made, I began the task of creating a letter to introduce myself to potential participants. In this letter, I stated who I was, what the purpose of my research was, and some other basic information about the project.

Projected times needed for the interview were also included in this letter. The letter was then emailed to potential participants. A questionnaire was developed with the purpose of learning about each participant’s athletic life and career.

### **Participants**

Interviews were conducted with a group of five women who have been successful in the male-dominated world of athletics. These women range from collegiate coaches, to school system athletic directors, to a collegiate assistant athletic director, to a professional golfer. The women were selected because of their visibility and success in athletics or through the suggestion or introductions from other women. The names Caryn Evans and

Susan Layne are pseudonyms for two of the women who did not wish to have their names made public.

### **Participant Selection**

The women were selected based on their successes in women's athletics. The volleyball coach, Mary Wise, was recommended by a friend and colleague, who is a former volleyball player and coach. Wise's program at the University of Florida is one of the finest in the country. The retired golfer, Hollis Stacy, was invited to participate after having seen a news story honoring local high school female athletes with an athletic award in her name. While actively competing, she won several national titles. One basketball coach, Pat Summit, was selected because of her prominence in women's basketball and her contributions to women's athletics throughout her career. Her program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, has paved the way to success for women's collegiate basketball and women's collegiate athletics in general. The second basketball coach, now an assistant athletic director, Caryn Evans, was suggested by another interviewee. This interviewee contacted Ms. Evans and told her of my project. She has also enjoyed major successes in her coaching career. Finally, the system athletic director, Jessica Layne, is a long time friend and colleague. Our relationship spans many years from my collegiate days into our professional lives.

After using university web sites to find out how to contact each woman, an administrative assistant was usually the front-line contact. Initial contact was made by email and then followed up with a phone call. The women were then emailed an invitation to participate in my study through interview. A brief letter introducing me, my

credentials, and my study were also emailed to each of the women. Of the five women, all but one was unknown personally to me before initial contact was made.

The next step in the interview process included a brief personal information survey/resume for each of the women. This survey included both professional and personal information that was also used to begin the conversation prior to the interviews. The survey included information about years experience, various positions held, and personal honors and recognitions.

Upon receiving the information sheet, a “consent to interview” letter was then emailed to each participant along with a list of questions to be asked. Choice of whether to use their names and whether or not to be taped was given in the consent letter. Each woman was informed that her interview and personal information would be held confidential unless she chose to be identified. Two of the women have asked not to be identified.

### **Interviews**

Qualitative research involves a variety of techniques to gather data. The three dominant techniques are participant observation, interviewing, and document collection. Marshall and Rossman (1999) states that “A study focusing on lived experience typically relies on an in-depth interview strategy...” (p. 61). I have chosen interviews, which according to Glesne (1999) is “the process of getting words to fly” (p. 67). Through these interviews, the professional successes of five women were illuminated and I have documented the emergence of common experiences, which I call commonalities.

Qualitative researchers are usually concerned more with meaningfulness than objectivity and reliability. There is less emphasis on finding the truth in qualitative

research. Semi-structured and structured interviews are the most-widely used methods in feminist research. Feminist methodology claims that these types of interviews “convey a deeper feeling for or more emotional closeness to the persons studied” (Jayaratne, 1983, p. 145). Feminist researchers, according to Westmarland (2001), “attempt to actively involve the participant in the research process as much as possible... and they reject the word ‘subject’ that implies the participant is an insensate object” (p. 4).

A list of the interview questions and a personal survey was emailed prior to the interviews with the reminder that the women could choose not to answer any question at any time and could also drop out or decline the interview if they so choose. Interview questions varied slightly for each participant with wording such as volleyball instead of basketball. The golf interview questions and the system athletic questions were also slightly different than the others. Only one participant elected to omit questions. Interviews were set up by email or by telephone at a time and location convenient for the participant.

Each interview was conducted using a questionnaire to guide the interview. Each woman was interviewed one time. Length of interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 1-1/2 hours. Interviews were audio taped (with the permission of the participants) using a traditional recorder with cassette tape. Ninety-minute tapes were used to help limit the distraction of changing tapes. Tabs were punched out to prevent accidental erasure of the tapes. In addition, a digital recorder was used for backup.

The interviewees had the option of stopping the interview at any time. Although interview questions were not identical, each of the women was asked very similar

questions concerning their professional and personal experiences with women's athletics and the athletic patriarchy.

Three of the interviews took place in the offices of the participants. One interview was conducted in the home of the participant's mother. The fifth interview was done by telephone due to the participant's extremely hectic schedule.

The interviews were transcribed by a professional medical transcriber. The transcriber worked with the cassette tapes while I used the digital. Original tapes were "labeled with the names of the interviewer and interviewee; the date; the place...and the total number of tapes in the interview" (Everett, 1992, p. 15). Tapes have been stored in a locked file cabinet in my home since being transcribed. At the end of this study, four of the tapes will be destroyed while one will be mailed back to the interviewee per her wishes.

Using the same person for the transcriptions provides continuity for the researcher. The transcriber agreed to use the protocol recommended by Everett (1992, p. 17-18) to ensure clarity and consistency in the transcriptions. Once completed, the transcripts were emailed back to me. They were then checked and emailed to the participant so that each woman had an opportunity to read over the transcript and clarify, correct, or ensure accuracy of her interview. Participants were asked to make their corrections or additions and email the transcripts back to me. Participants were given a final opportunity to review their remarks and comments by reviewing for a final time the transcribed version of their interview as it appears in Chapter 4. Personal and professional experiences from the interviews will be recorded in Chapter 4-Interviews.

## CHAPTER 4

### INTERVIEWS

This chapter consists of the interviews conducted with five women who are all successful in their chosen athletic careers. In addition to the interview material, information gathered from the initial questionnaire, which served as a brief résumé, and an ice breaker to the interviews will be shared. Brief biographical information on each candidate from their on-line biographies will also be used as a part of this chapter. Field notes and observations during the interviews will be shared as well. Two women were assigned a pseudonym to help protect their identities and privacy. The terms “Good Ole Boy Network” and Athletic Patriarchy were use interchangeably throughout the interview process. After much thought about how to present the information gathered during the interviews, I decided that to pick bits and pieces would be losing valuable conversation and experiences. Therefore, the interviews are presented in their entirety with modifications made by each participant.

#### **Mary Wise, University of Florida Volleyball Coach-Biography**

Mary Wise is the women’s volleyball coach at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida. I made phone contact with her office after an initial email while at cheerleading camp this past summer. Coach Wise’s administrative assistant, assured me that Coach Wise had received my email and was, indeed, interested in participating in my study. The problem, the administrative assistant told me, would be to find a time in Coach Wise’s schedule to conduct the interview. This was the time of the year when recruits were being finalized and were coming into the office for information and orientation.

After several weeks of emails and telephone calls, we were able to set up a time for the interview.

The interview was scheduled for a Wednesday, at 2:00 pm. My son and I drove to Gainesville together arriving around 12:00 for the interview. We drove to the University of Florida campus and alerted the administrative assistant that we had arrived and received directions to the building housing the volleyball office. The administrative assistant suggested that I have lunch because Coach Wise was not in yet. While having lunch, the assistant called and said that it would be alright to return to campus for the interview. When I arrived on campus for the interview, it took about 15 minutes to locate the office of Coach Wise because her building was undergoing renovations. I finally located the volleyball office and introduced myself to the administrative assistant who had been so helpful in scheduling the interview.

Prior to the interview, Coach Wise told me a little about herself and her program at the University of Florida. She also gave me a 2005 University of Florida Volleyball program from which to obtain her coaching awards and statistics. Mary Wise was born in Evanston, Illinois. She was the fifth born of six children with four brothers. Wise attended Purdue University on a volleyball scholarship, where she was a dean's list student. Wise was a member of two Big Ten Championship teams while at Purdue.

Before coming to the University of Florida, Wise was the head coach at Iowa State, the youngest Division I head coach at that time. She coached that team to an 81-63 record and a second-place finish in the Big Eight Conference. Wise left Iowa to attend graduate school at Kentucky where she progressed from graduate assistant to associate head coach

in her five years there. During her tenure, the Wildcats won two SEC championships and advanced to the NCAA Tournament three times.

Coach Wise came to Florida from Kentucky in 1991, to head a program that was not as successful as it is now. Prior to the 2006 season, Florida had won fifteen Southeastern Conference Championships. Wise is one of only two coaches in the SEC to win as many as fourteen consecutive conference titles. In addition, Florida has advanced to the NCAA semi-finals seven times. NCAA history was made by Florida when they had undefeated seasons in the SEC for ten years (1994-2004).

Florida won 105 consecutive games during the season (2003), breaking the previous NCAA record by thirty-six games. Florida has 459 victories since Coach Wise arrived in 1991. Mary Wise and her program have finished in the top fifteen of the American Volleyball Coaches Association end of season poll, with the average finish being 7.43, third best in the nation.

If Mary's teams have done well, then her athletes have been the epitome of collegiate volleyball. Many of Wise's players have gone on to play with USA National Programs. In the summer of 2005, Florida had four Gators to train with the USA Women's Volleyball National Team, more than any other school in the nation. Florida players have been named SEC player of the year for the past ten seasons. One player held the title for three consecutive seasons in 2003. Fifteen different players have earned a sum of thirty-two All-American honors. Three Gators earned All-American honors for the third consecutive year in 2004. Dominance of the SEC is evident in that thirty-four players have earned sixty-three All-District or All-South Region honors since 1991. Since 1991,

forty-one Florida players have been named all SEC sixty-seven times, an average of nearly five per year. In 2003, six players were named All-SEC.

Last but not least, the teams' off-court accomplishments are equally impressive. Coach Wise emphasizes academics in addition to athletics. Wise's Gator volleyball athletes have as a combined team, seventy Academic All SEC honors since 1991. Six players have been named Academic All-America twelve times in Wise's career at University of Florida. The players are also involved actively in community service projects. In 2003, the Gators helped raise \$7,500 for the Children's Miracle Network.

Former players have gone on to successful coaching careers. Wise is one of the finest resources for coaching in collegiate volleyball. She has served on numerous international coaching staffs. She has been instrumental and innovative to rule changes and youth volleyball opportunities. I learned about her program through a co-worker whose brother-in-law had attended and worked camps for Coach Wise.

### **Mary Wise-Interview**

JL: Please describe your childhood/adolescent athletic experiences.

MW: I grew up in a suburb north of Chicago and attended a parochial school that actually provided opportunities in the early '70s for girls that were definitely not available for girls the same age in public schools, such as a competitive basketball program and high school basketball, volleyball, and softball, and prior to that, I grew up in an area that had really advanced recreational sports in the city, so I had lots of opportunities as a young girl, and I think that was huge in why I am coaching now.

JL: How and why did you become active in sports? What was your first experience getting involved with sports?

MW: I think initially it would have been through just the parks and recreational league and the programs that they had there, and I grew up in a neighborhood with a lot of kids, and it was just the thing to do.

JL: Were there any sports other than basketball in high school available, and were they coached by men only?

MW: In high school, those sports-volleyball, basketball, softball, were all coached by women. It was a very big high school, Evanston Township, and had over 4,000 students, and so there were a lot of sports, everything from synchronized swimming to badminton-lots of sports available to girls.

JL: Was your school an all-girls parochial school?

MW: No, it was a co-ed parochial school, and then I went to a public high school.

JL: Was volleyball important to you as an adolescent and why?

MW: It actually came in late in the scheme of things. I didn't start playing volleyball until I was a sophomore in high school but I found that my talents were such that I was going to be able to go further as a volleyball player than as a basketball player or a softball player, so that is why, and it became my favorite sport, so that would answer that question in terms of why it was so important.

JL: So did you play volleyball in college also?

MW: I did. I did play four years in college and went to Purdue University on a volleyball scholarship.

JL: This was 1970ish?

MW: Yes. I graduated from high school in 1977, and so in the fall of 1977 there was not a full grant in aid, but it covered the difference between in-state and out-of-state tuition. Then, there was a period where Purdue was making a commitment toward at least women's volleyball and basketball, and then for the following three years went on a full grant.

JL: Was your participation in athletics pre or post Title IX and by that I mean Title IX was obviously in effect then, so did it affect the program that you were in and had the university that you attended, begun following the rules and coming in line with Title IX related issues?

MW: Coming in line might be a stretch, but certainly it was obviously post federal Title IX, but as we all know there were different rates that people adhered to it and Purdue was one of those schools that I think was on the forefront. Whether they were doing it for legal purposes or they saw it as an opportunity to be good at something, they put money into volleyball and that's what they did. Volleyball at that school had scholarships when a lot of Big Ten schools weren't giving them out, but in terms of high school, as good as attitudes were at that time in that bigger school, it certainly wasn't as good as it was for the boys. Gym space, availability, equipment, there was a definite gap. When you are fourteen years old, you just don't realize it.

JL: Right. What are some of the ways that your participation opportunities varied from what young women today can experience as far as high school and collegiate athletics are concerned?

MW: Oh vastly. When I look at the players that we are recruiting right now, they are being flown around the country for visits. They are playing a number of matches on television-every match is on radio. There is an average of over 2,000 people per match to watch, so in terms of financial support, there are so many more scholarship activities, media coverage, and travel. The players here have been to Europe playing volleyball. It is not even close in terms of so many more opportunities for girls and a very different type, flying as opposed to vans.

JL: I did that in my day.

MW: Sure, because that's the way it was and we didn't know any different. You wanted to go and you had to go any way you could get there.

JL: In what ways have you seen a change in women's volleyball as a result of Title IX legislation?

MW: First and foremost has to be opportunities that in the early '70's there just weren't as many opportunities for girls and women in college. That is the biggest difference. That's what it's all about, just giving them the opportunity to choose. Female students may not choose to participate, but at least they have that choice and that's really the biggest first and foremost, and then after that, all those things I referred to.

JL: Do you think that Title IX is still providing balanced opportunities for women for participation in athletics or has it lost some of its power?

MW: I think one of the things that we are dealing with today is that there is a big difference between opportunities for women in college and those for girls at younger levels and I think at the collegiate level, where it is more public and there is more

immediate attention, Title IX is taken, I don't know if it is just more serious or just adhered to at a closer level. I don't think that is the case in high schools, middle schools, or grade schools around the country, and I don't think you have to go far to see that. Whether it is availability of the gymnasium or the priority of the practice time or how booster club moneys are distributed. I think that what we have lost is attention to girls at a younger age, which is really the most critical thing. If they are playing in college, they have already decided. It's when we don't provide opportunities for girls in middle school at that real critical age is where lifetime decisions are being made. If they don't have opportunities for sports and we lose them, unfortunately to things that aren't good, then I think Title IX has lost its focus.

JL: Are you familiar with the term or phrase Good Ole Boy Network/Athletic Patriarchy, and if you are, please explain what it means to you.

MW: Yes, I think in terms of our world we think of it as an assuming that is placed on women because those that are in positions to make decisions consist mainly of men and as such, the people they know are men and they make the decisions based on what they are more familiar with and that's what we mean by the Good Ole Boy Network.

JL: Has it ever meant personal or professional problems for your or your volleyball players at any point as an assistant coach, a head coach, or anywhere along the line?

MW: Really, no. I think I benefited so much in terms of the first job when I was twenty-two years old coaching at Iowa State, their commitment to hiring females, then in 1991, when Florida was interested in hiring a new coach, and there were two males that were interviewed, both with more experience than I had, their commitment to hire a female to

coach the women's team was invaluable. I wouldn't be here if that wasn't so, so for me personally, I have not seen that. Florida state law enacted equal opportunities for women, gender equity, in the early '70's and since the first day I arrived on this campus, there is a Title IX committee that meets on a regular basis, so again, there is a watchdog in place and there is a commitment, and I don't think it is a coincidence that the University of Florida's women's athletics are as successful as they are and have been since the early '70's. They didn't do what a lot of schools did, kicking and screaming begrudgingly. They bought into it and I think they have reaped the benefits of it.

JL: Do you work at all with the high school level around here as far as recruiting, watching the kids, seeing them play?

MW: Oh, sure. We recruit heavily in this area.

JL: And do you see, are you involved in it deeply enough that you see whether or not this is equitable at this level?

MW: I don't know if I can see as much in recruiting, but just having a seventeen year old son in high school and knowing and seeing the availability of the gymnasiums, money is going to the boy's basketball first. There are still decisions made at the high school level that they may say it is equitable, but I think if you are there in the trenches, you know it's not.

JL: What were your early days of coaching like?

MW: My first job I was twenty-two years old at Iowa State University, so this was 1981, and at that time our team competed in a small physical education gym and we drove two-fifteen passenger vans. There were no flights at all. The trainer we had was a student

trainer. There was one sports information director who worked all women's sports and no TV coverage, none, no radio and the first job, we had only four scholarships.

Volleyball has always, since NCAA has started sponsoring championships, has been a sport that provides twelve scholarships, so early on there were very few schools that had twelve, just didn't choose to have twelve, and so most of the players were, well all the players, a few walked on, but most of the players were considered partial. A few players became full scholarships. By the time I left Iowa State, and that was a four-year period, I was there from 1981-1985, there was a huge difference, and I believe we went all the way up to ten scholarships. I was hired on a nine-month contract and they could hire a female with zero coaching experience because there just weren't that many. I think that was a time where there was a period, I want to say in the '70s, where women athletes were going into coaching and I think what happened in the '80s is those same women athletes saw that they could make a whole lot more money taking those same traits that would make them successful coaches and taking it into the business world. So in the '80s, I think we saw in our sport an influx of male coaches and few women coaching. I see the tide turning again. Now that it is a viable career opportunity, you can raise a family on the incomes at the highest level, and this includes volleyball. The issue as we can see it though is that women have a hard time staying when they get into it early on then when they start raising families they are finding it difficult. And it is difficult, but as I look around, there are not many older women in collegiate coaching. They have gotten out. There are plenty of men, lots and lots of older men, for twenty-five plus years. The women just don't stay that long.

JL: I suppose they start dropping out when they start having families?

MW: Either that, or they are going into administration but I would have a hard time coming up with a coach of a top ten team who is over fifty. I can't think of even one, and I think that is rather interesting.

JL: Were there ever any moments in your career that you felt overlooked, mistreated, or passed over for promotions because you were a woman?

MW: No. And actually, just opposite of that, because as I said both at Iowa State and at Florida, there was the commitment to hiring a female and at both times I interviewed and went up against males with more experience and so again, at the collegiate level, at schools that are committed to opportunities to women, I have been at the right place at the right time.

JL: I think that might be common, that people who are where they are in collegiate athletics have been there and have longevity, like you say, probably started out at the right time and the right place and that has been helpful and of course doing what you do doesn't hurt either. How do you feel about the large numbers of men in women's athletic administration positions despite the numbers of women in athletic participation?

MW: Well, I think before I address administrative, I would like to look at coaching, and I am going to talk specifically about volleyball. There are not many collegiate volleyball coaching positions available for men-there are just not that many men's programs and even those that are out there are not fully funded. I think that men who are trying to raise a family have the same issues. They coach men and might have a part-time position and have partial scholarships or they could coach women and make a lot more money in their career that way and I think that's why we are seeing a lot more male coaches. In terms of administration, I think it is a very complicated answer because is this a profession that

women are choosing? Are there more men in it because there are fewer women wanting to get into it, or are there fewer women that are just getting hired? And again, I think that there are a lot of skill sets that make women successful athletic administrators that they see they can make a whole lot more money in the business world, and I think a lot of women are going that way.

JL: If the positions are available and there are women who are interested in them, do you feel like women should be in administration of women's programs?

MW: I most definitely think women should be coaching women, and I definitely think that administrative opportunities for women should be available. I think that and I can say that by looking around at your prototype collegiate athletic departments, those that are most successful have women in strong positions, those that are most successful in women's athletic programs.

JL: Why do you think that there are fewer women coaching women's programs, especially at the high school level?

MW: I think what we know rather across the board in coaching, male or female, those are not very lucrative positions and I think there is a, you know, for the same reason men will walk onto a football team, a male student will just walk onto a football team and not play a lick, but just to be in that position will do that. Women aren't going to do that.

They aren't going to show up everyday at practice, get knocked around on a football field not to play. I think that for the same reason that I don't think for women, again, a lot has to do with raising a family to put as much time as is required to run a successful program for that little money. If they're going to work that hard, they're going to get paid.

JL: As a collegiate player, did you or your teammates ever have your sexual identity questioned or were you ever labeled or called names as a result of your athletic participation?

MW: I don't know if I can speak to other players and I certainly think when I went to college in the '70's where it just wasn't, there weren't great female athletes portrayed in the media except in the Olympics every four years. There was that gender identity issue that was prevalent and also the other things you tend just like male athletes to hang out with your teammates. So, when you hang out with a pack of women and you want to get good and you spend your time in the gym so there were a lot of things that could lend themselves to sexual identity issues. I think it is less prevalent today, and again part of this is the role models are very high level, successful female athletes, and so it is not an issue today, say like there might have been twenty years ago.

JL: I know. I think that is one of the things that the Good Ole Boys have sort of or back in the day, sort of pushed that. The fact that you know, it was okay when men hung out together in the locker room area or wherever having social time but when women started doing the same thing, like you said as part of a team, you feel closer to those people but that's where the name calling came. I think that is where the stigma came from or that accusation or label.

MW: I would agree.

JL: Has the presence of lesbianism been an issue for any of your teams, and if so did, it affect the team concept or positivism or cohesiveness of the team?

MW: In fifteen years of coaching, it would be; the statistics have it that there had to have been players that were gay that were part of our program, and I can think of two players that even told me, but I would just have to think there were more, but they might not have known, just in terms of sheer numbers. And did it affect the team concept? Absolutely not. Did it affect the team cohesiveness? No, no issues with our program. Our program has always been, ours has always been racially, ethnically-wise, socioeconomic. Certainly in terms of sexual preference there would be diversity and our feeling is, "Hey, kill a ball; we don't care what you look like."

JL: The last question is do you personally know coaches that try to steal recruits by accusing other coaches or programs, you know, of endorsing lesbianism?

MW: Yes, I do. When I read it I understood and I have not personally seen that but I certainly have heard stories. To me, it would just be such a horrible form of moral values, and I think that the message it is sending is just so misguided. I think that there are certain standards in our male coaches, too, that with male coaches they have certain standards to abide by in terms of what they say, physical contact with women, they have to be smart. So I do not think that issue is any different for male coaches as well. I think using a single male coach as a negative could be just as devious. And so again, my answer would be that I have never experienced it.

JL: I think that most of what I have seen or heard as far as reading or seeing in the news has been associated with basketball coaches.

MW: Yes, those would be good questions to ask a basketball coach. That would be true. I think that was the sport which I had heard that occurs. You know it is interesting. As far as this point, I am going back to one of your earlier questions about gender identity

at the collegiate level. The trap we fell into was that we took one sport and provided opportunities to one sport, so 15 women, and say whatever we provide for the male basketball players, we will do for the women and then that covered our bases. Okay, now we are good. We are good with Title IX because we have women's basketball, and I think that they did that at very elite level collegiate programs with lots of money and at smaller schools they didn't. Unfortunately, they used gender equality and Title IX as their excuse for really poor management. When athletic departments went in the red, they blamed Title IX as their excuse for really poor management and that did not help anybody. I think that was just a farce and really bad business management.

JL: I know. I think that I mentioned in my cover letter that I played softball. We got it in my junior year, so I was only able to play my junior and senior years and had one of the partial scholarships that you talked about, but at my particular small school in Savannah, rather than cut the budget for men, they increased the student activity fee and that is how they funded the women's programs: softball, basketball, and tennis those first years. Of course, now the program has grown to include many more sports but that was one way. I think that people just liked to pass the buck before mandatory participation opportunity.

MW: And the sad thing is that Title IX is about providing opportunities, not taking them away from males. It makes no sense. It is bad business. I would like to think there is some less free for all spending like football and basketball. I think at some point that an athletic director is going to have to stand up and say we are putting all this money in women's basketball, and it is not a very good return on investment. I think if they can do it campus by campus, maybe on a certain campus it is gymnastics, or volleyball, or

maybe it is women's basketball, but they decide we are going to put money into a sport that we think generates more in return. To me, that would be good business sense. I think we are a long way from that.

JL: I think you're right. I don't know that we will see that in our lifetime.

MW: I know.

JL: Is there anything else that you would like to talk about or tell me about your program particularly?

MW: I think in coming to Florida that you would have to understand that we are such an elite group of college athletic programs; one that makes money. Most of them all lose money. In Florida, it is very different.

JL: You said volleyball?

MW: No, the athletic department.

JL: Oh, overall, the athletic department.

MW: Yes the athletic department. And so there are battles that fellow coaches have to fight on a daily basis that we don't have to fight. We have our own practice facilities and three courts. We do not share it with basketball. We do not share it with physical education. Our trainer that only works with volleyball is a full-time certified trainer. The amount of staff that we have, so you are asking questions that I think schools with less money and less of a commitment towards athletics, they deal with those issues all the time. You just talked to somebody who has very few battles they have to fight. I do know that when decisions are made here, it is not like we have to go over the checkbook. When the answer is no, it is always with sound reason. What really makes it enjoyable

here is that they do not play one sport off another. But, if we aren't able to get something we asked for, it is not because we have to have this for somebody else. And I think that is why we have such a successful athletic program. Once you start playing one sport off another sport, it just creates tension. Anyway, my point being, when I saw your questions I thought, Do you really want to come here to ask me this, but maybe it is important to see what it could be like when an athletic department is well run, well managed, and is fully committed to the success of the women. What our players do not understand is that what they have here is not like it is across the country. This is the exception.

JL: I was told by my friend who recommended that I talk to you that this is the top volleyball program.

MW: I am not sure that we are worthy of that. I think you have to win a national championship, but we are going to do that. But in terms of support we have from our administration, the opportunities, the nutritionists, and the strength and conditioning programs, are all the things they provide our athletes, there are other schools that are not in the same category.

JL: Now in the athletic department here, is there a women's athletic director?

MW: No. It is all combined. I am not sure that is good business sense. I understood in the '70's there had to be otherwise there were no sports for girls or women. They did not have separate programs. Certainly, the models that high schools have used have not been very good anyway. But in terms of a good business model, I think it is very overlapping responsibilities and combining resources, I think combined programs are good. But combining programs is only good when at the top you have administrators that are

committed to doing that. We have seen it suffer with combined programs where the women are treated second class, but that is not the case here.

### **Hollis Stacy, Retired Golfer-Biography**

My husband and I were watching the local news and sports one evening when they ran a story about a young lady from Savannah who had won the “Hollis Stacy” award. We looked at each other and my husband said, “She, [Hollis], would be a great person to interview for your paper.” I agreed and we began the process of finding out how to get in touch with her.

The first phone call was to the television station where the sports reporter told me that he didn’t think that Ms. Stacy lived in Savannah. Next, a call to the Savannah Hall of Fame revealed that while Hollis no longer lived in Savannah, her family did. I was given her brother’s work phone number. When I called the number, they told me that he no longer worked there, but they were able to give me another number. When I called Mr. Stacy, I explained my project to him. He took my email address and told me that he would pass it on to Hollis. She contacted me within the week and agreed to do the interview.

As luck would have it, Hollis was going to be visiting Savannah and shared with me the best day and time to conduct the interview. We agreed upon a Friday at 12:00. I was given directions to her mother’s home in Savannah, where the interview was conducted. When I arrived at the Stacy home, I was met by Mrs. Stacy and promptly invited to have some lunch.

Hollis came in from some other part of the house and we introduced ourselves. She then asked me if I would mind if we did the interview on the screened-in back porch. She explained to me that her mother was “sensitive” about some issues. Hollis brought bottles of water and we retired to the porch. It was a beautiful, sunny, balmy Savannah day. Before beginning the interview, Hollis and I chatted briefly about her upbringing, career, and family. It was during this time that I discovered she was gay. She discovered that I did not know that in advance. We then proceeded with the interview. When I left her mother’s home that day, it was with the feeling that I had met a long-lost friend again for the first time in many years, though I had never known Hollis personally, only through her golfing career.

Hollis Stacy was born in Savannah, Georgia. She gives her family and growing up so close to Augusta National, home of The Masters, the credit for her love of golf. Hollis was the middle of ten children. Her dad was a Clemson University All-Conference running back in 1940 and fought under General George Patton at Normandy and the Battle of the Bulge. Her maternal grandfather was also in the military. His job was to guard the East Coast of the United States.

Hollis fell in love with the game of golf around age ten when she attended the Augusta National’s Masters in 1966. She spent her day collecting autographs. One was that of Ben Hogan. She still has the tickets from that day.

Hollis began her golfing career at an early age and played in her first major tournament at age thirteen. As of May, 2006, she was one of only two golfers to win the United States Girls’ Junior Amateur Golf Championship three times: 1969, 1970, and 1971.

Hollis was only fifteen when she won the Junior Championship in 1969. She also won the North and South Women's Amateur Golf Championship at Pinehurst in 1970.

Hollis attended Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida. However, feeling out of place, Hollis decided to join the Ladies Professional Golf Tour (LPGA) in 1974. Hollis won her first major championship, the first of three U. S. Women's Open championships, in 1977. In 1978, Hollis successfully defended her U. S. Women's Open championship title. The third U. S. Open title came in 1984, making her one of only four women to have claimed the title three or more times.

Hollis Stacy is a member of the Georgia Golf Hall of Fame and the Savannah Hall of Fame. She set records during her career that remain unbroken today. She left playing professionally to help coach golf at the University of Southern California. Hollis was instrumental as a founding member of the Women's Senior Golf Tour, where she played for several seasons and won several titles. She retired in 2002, but is still active, particularly at the Junior Girls level.

### **Hollis Stacy-Interview**

JL: Ms. Stacy,

HS: It's Hollis, Hollis!

JL: Hollis, would you please describe your childhood and/or adolescent athletic experiences, and tell me how and why you became interested and active in sports?

HS: Well, I grew up in a very large family here in Savannah, one of ten children. My father was very athletic, my mom, too, but my dad was All-Conference at Clemson and was a running back. He played on the team in '40 and '41, and he was very competitive.

He was All-Conference. So, he introduced us. He had a great love for sports, and he lettered in everything when he was in high school here at Benedictine. You know, we were fortunate to have those genes, and being between two boys, I played everything. I played football and basketball, baseball, tennis, golf, swam – I did everything. I had a fantastic upbringing with playing with the boys in the neighborhood, and I loved it. My sister Lauren didn't play, but I think it was a generational thing. She was four years older than me, so it was kind of changing, even in the '50s. And in the '60s and '70s Billie Jean was around, so you know it was cool to do sports and stuff like that. But my upbringing was very healthy.

JL. Did you get called tomboy a lot?

HS: Not really, because I was with boys all the time, and I never considered myself, I didn't have dolls, but I had my little sisters who were ages, at one time they were between one and five, I had five of them, so I never really had dolls, I had living dolls that I played with all the time. And I would dress them up, and we would play, and I would cook for them. I would cook cookies and I would eat half of them (laughter), but I had a fabulous.... You know, I worried about not having dolls, but then I realized I had the living ones, so it was ....

JL: A lot better, probably.

HS: It was the real ones. I basically kind of raised my little sisters. My sister Jean is forty-six, so there is a.... When I was six, she was born, so I was in charge of all of them growing up.

JL: Did you play any other sport other than golf? In school, did you play any other school sports, or did you play any sports in school?

HS: Well, in school it was different back in the '60s, so.....

HS: But, you know, it just wasn't... I mean, when I was a freshman, no, a sophomore or a junior in high school at Savannah High, they had a golf team, and I played on the boys' golf team, but I quit playing because it was so hard on my other brothers. My brother Tommy played for the other high school team, and so he got constant teasing because I was doing so well, and he got constant teasing, and he would literally, we had a match one time, and he literally walked three holes over to see my score card.

(laughter.....) Well, he's playing, mind you, he's playing.

JL: Oh my goodness! He wanted to see if you were doing better than him?

HS: Yes!!

JL: And were you?

HS: You know what? I don't think I was, because I was playing from the same tees, but you know, he got constant teasing and so I just quit. It wasn't worth it, you know, it was hard for me, it was hard for him, I said "this is not fun", so I just quit playing. Maybe it was the senior year, I don't remember, it is cloudy.

JL: So you went to Savannah High School?

HS: I went to Savannah High, yes,

JL: I did my student teaching there.

HS: Oh, you did?

JL: Back in the '70s, down in the dungeon, they called it.

JL: Yes. Were there any more sports other than basketball available in your high school, or was basketball even available when you were in school?

HS: High school?

JL: Yes, high school. I'm sorry.

HS: I don't even think we had a women's high school basketball team. Maybe. You know, I can't even remember. I would think so.

JL: I know a lot of high schools had basketball for girls, but that was all they offered was basketball.

HS: You know there wasn't a team. It was just the boys.

JL: There was not a team?

HS: No.

JL: How old were you when you played in your first major golf tournament?

HS: I was thirteen. I went to the U.S. Junior Girls in California, and I did that at a national level because there were no tournaments for little girls in the state of Georgia, and so I had to go outside, and then in Georgia there were no junior girls, so I had to play in the women's, and then I won that.

JL: As a thirteen year old?

HS: At fifteen. And then they made a rule that you had to be over a certain age to play after I left, so....

JL: Oh, that was terrible, because you won it at a young age.

HS: Yes. It's different for, it's kind of like the girls get together and play, and then they go out and have dinner, and it's not fun for them to have a little junior to be beating their

butts, so.... (laughter)... so yes, anyway, then there was a rule made that you had to be over a certain age, so...

JL: Okay. This one may not apply as much to you, since you sort of went pro early I guess, but, was your participation in athletics pre or post Title IX, and discuss some ways in which your participation opportunities were different than those that young women have today?

HS: Now, what year exactly did Title IX....

JL: 1972 was the year it was passed, in Savannah, I was at Armstrong, 1977-78 was my junior year, and that was the year that women's sports began at Armstrong. I don't know if other schools in the country were doing it a little earlier, probably so....

HS: You know, it was just so poorly enforced, because I went to college. I had been thinking, I would have loved to have gone to the University of Georgia, I would have **loved** to have, but I think in my mind I really wasn't told about Title IX. In '72 it passed, so '73 was when I graduated from high school, and I think everything was, you know, being in the deep South, where women are supposed to be over there, it was never really enforced, so I went to a school that had a private scholarship, I went down to Rollins [on a private scholarship], and then I left Rollins, I was not happy there, and, I mean, it was a good school, I just, I came from middle class, and they were the wealthiest kids in the country. They were driving around in Porsches and, I thought "Oh, God", and it was a liberal arts school, and I think deep down I would have loved to have gone to Georgia, and you know because the rules are so strange. I was invited to a symposium or something in Georgia, and the coach was there. She really couldn't say "I want you to come to Georgia."

JL: Really?

HS: It was so strange; the rules were so strange. I mean, I would have considered it maybe, but the rules, everything was just so poorly enforced, and consequently I went to the LPGA in 1974, and had a very good career, so, everything works out, but I still would have loved to have experienced the university. I would have loved to have gone to Georgia, but I felt it was my duty, since I had this gift, that maybe I should get a scholarship.

JL: Georgia had a women's golf team?

HS: They were just starting.

JL: They were just starting it up?

HS: Yes, and I think they were trying to figure out Title IX in Georgia. It was the football factory, you know.

JL: It still is (laughs).

HS: Oh I know (laughs).

(At this point Ms. Stacy tells a story about a scandal involving a western university but asked that I not use it in my work.)

HS: And I'm laughing because, all the press is jumping all over the scandal and I'm going, "they haven't even seen the SEC"; University of Florida and the University of Georgia. Oh, my God!

JL: Yes.

JL: All right. Let's see, where did we stop? Oh. Can you tell me some ways that your participation opportunities were different than those that women have today in your field in the golf area, as far as scholarships, and....

HS: Oh, it's night and day. It's just night and day. You know, in '73 and '74, I mean, there were no scholarships, there were none, unless there was a private scholarship at a private university. I think it's fabulous. I think it's great. It's about time. I mean, all these people beating the doors down to make it happen, I think it's great. But there is no comparison.

JL: Yes.

HS: Title IX started it all. It's just taken years to have it properly enforced.

JL: Do you think... Somebody once told me when my little girl was small, to teach her to play golf, because that would probably be the quickest way she could get a scholarship, because there weren't that many young women who were that good and the universities were vying to get them in.

HS: Yes, I think there are lots of scholarships for golf, and there are going to be more in the future, you just have to go to the Internet and find where they are. I mean, you might be playing in Nebraska or somewhere, but there are scholarships available.

JL: She's already almost out of college now, and I couldn't get her to play golf. I tried real hard, though.

HS: Did you beat her?

JL: No! My husband used to play, and he was fond of saying that when we retired, that we would retire to a golf community and play together. That might be interesting!  
(Laughter).

HS: That would ruin your marriage!

JL: You think so??

HS: Yes.

JL: In what ways have you seen a change in women's golf throughout the years, and we already alluded a little bit to Title IX, but if you have anything else there, and that's it.

HS: Well, I see a dramatic change in the LPGA right now. I mean, they've gone through this shift, but, hiring the first female commissioner has been fantastic. She understands everything, what we have gone through, and she is getting a lot of grief right now. Have you been reading anything about it?

JL: Unfortunately, golf is not something I have followed. I'm ashamed to say.

HS: You know, she is not taking any crap, and she is fabulous. She is everything I hoped the tour would get. She is smart. She is tough. She is a marketing/branding sort of person. I mean, not sort of person, she was with Gannett/*USA Today* at the beginning, but she's very good. And she is getting a lot of grief from the "Good Ole Boy" network, because she is not putting up with any crap, and oh yeah, she's fantastic!

JL: What are some of the things she has to deal with from that arena, the athletic patriarchy/"Good Ole Boys," basically?

HS: Well, what I fought for so many years was that when I left in 2000, a lot of people were making money off the LPGA but it wasn't going to the players. It was the people

who owned the event, television and a pension plan that wasn't properly funded because the other people were making the money. So, she has made some very big changes establishing rights fees for anyone having an LPGA event, and just being tougher on the negotiations, making sure there is money coming in, making sure the visors are being sold and the players get the money. She is starting a magazine. It is in airports, *Fairways and Greens*. Also, I alluded to the fact that women, the gay thing would always come up as the reason there is a problem with women's golf.

HS: But basically it was putting women down and keeping them in their place, so that these people could make money off of the tour, and she is cool about people and who they are, and she doesn't look at gay or straight, she looks at you as a woman, and she has put her foot down. And we have a fantastic board and she [the commissioner] is looking out for the best interest of the players. It's funny. The tournament sponsors are saying the board doesn't listen to us anymore.

JL: I think that is probably true, and not just with golf, but in a lot of ways the men have exploited athletics. I know with like just college athletics, in the beginning it was the AIAW that ran it, because the men didn't want to be bothered, but then when they saw that it was being successful and that women's programs were beginning to grow and some were beginning to make money, then the NCAA took things back over. You know, they didn't want to have anything to do with it in the beginning, so I think that has been...is one reasons that this interests me because I know that in my position I have had so many things. I have applied for two jobs in the last four years, and I know that I was eminently more qualified than either of the men that got them. Older, more experienced, a wider range of experiences as far as athletics is concerned. I still don't have a job, not

where I was trying to get one, so I think they have done a lot to hold us back and still are, especially at the high school level.

HS: It's frustrating. I mean, things are changing, but it is, you know, that's why laws are written, you know, for quotas and stuff like that.

JL: Yes. The change is slow though, and even after thirty years, Title IX has caused great gains in women's athletics, but there are still so many areas that need that equity that they don't have yet. High school sports I think are a big place there. Okay. Are you familiar with the term or phrase "Good Ole Boy Network"/Athletic Patriarchy?

HS: Yes, I am.

JL: What, in your opinion, does that mean?

HS: The "Good Ole Boy Network". It's kind of like a pack mentality, you know protecting a group of people, protecting.... It's funny. I just heard a term the other day. It's so funny, if a woman is assertive and good business-wise and smart, she's "tough around the edges." I've been called that by a writer at the *Atlanta Constitution*, called tough around the edges. But, you look at someone like a Clifford Roberts who ran Augusta. He is a brilliant businessman, and I'm like going.... I've heard several adjectives to describe him, and it was **not** a brilliant businessman. He is, explaining a woman and a man. If you are assertive then you are 'tough around the edges' or you are a 'Femi-Nazi', and then if you are a guy, you are a 'brilliant businessman.' Anyway, so I have experienced the "Good Ole Boy network," especially growing up here in Georgia.

HS: I grew up in the shadow of Augusta, and you know when you are a little girl going up to Augusta, you dream about being there and stuff like that, and then you realize that, well that's probably the epitome of the "Good Ole Boy Network", Augusta (laughter).

But I have kind of gone past that, and what that stands for, and a lot of the “Good Ole Boy Network” is a little bit more pronounced here in the deep South, because of the old South, where the white man is supreme. So, the “Good Ole Boy network” is a little more pronounced here, because they still are maybe bitter about the civil rights thing being signed, so.....

JL: So you have traveled all over obviously...

HS: Yes.

JL: But obviously it is more pronounced here and probably for those reasons you just mentioned, but do you find that it is still present in other places, just not to the extent, or is it not as present or not at all present?

HS: It is present everywhere. It is present everywhere and you know I have friends that are coaches at universities and one of the questions you have is coaches, male coaches and female coaches. I can't understand why a women's basketball team is coached by a guy. It just blows me away. I don't understand that, because as a woman, you want to relate to a woman, and guys are... I mean, I'm not saying that they are bad coaches, but I just personally don't understand why a team would have that because there are issues that come up. Even if the guy is not... the sexual harassment is always a problem. There is an issue with falling in love with them, and the underage issue stuff. There are always those issues that happen, so anyway.....

JL: Has the “Good Ole Boys network” ever been the cause of personal or professional problems for you, and would you say it has influenced your professional life in a positive or negative way, or not at all, and why or why not?

HS: Well, I have always had a very successful career, and I had an instance once where, this was probably in the mid-'80s, there was a *Golf Digest* article, "The Problems of the LPGA," and it was Tom Watson talking about the problems of the LPGA and he was putting all the blame on lesbians, Tom Watson was, so I immediately went to the commissioner and said, "What are you going to do about this?" I told the guy, I said "What are you going to do, you have to do something. I'll come out." And I said, "It's not like my family hasn't got a great background in this country. My dad was at the Battle of the Bulge. I had ancestors who fought in the revolution. It's not like I'm a murderer or... I do have the IQ of a plant and I am talented and I have won Opens and stuff like that", so I said, "I'll come out!" And he looked at me, he looked at me straight in the face, and he said, "If you come out, we'll lose five tournaments." He told me that.

JL: This was in the mid '80s?

HS: Yes. It was.... I can't remember. So he looked at me, and I said, "You've got to be kidding! I can't believe you just told me that." I talked to a dear friend of mine, she is a Hall of Famer and she agreed. And so, we lost those five tournaments anyway. I didn't come out. It's not that I was hiding about who I was and who I loved. I never lied about that. And then, I promise you, it was eight years.... When did it happen? It was probably, I can't really remember, mid '90s I guess, or early '90s, when the Ben Wright incident happened. Are you familiar with that?

JL: No.

HS: Philadelphia. Well, he said the problem with the LPGA was the lesbians. And he basically quoted, verbatim, what Tom Watson had said. So obviously, nothing was done

by our commissioner. He did nothing. He was afraid to do anything because of that little network.

JL: Right. Because of what it would have done to his job probably, had he supported you and done what he should have.

HS: Yes, and that was sad. That was probably one of the lowest points of my career when they weren't being assertive and telling these people to go to hell and that they were wrong and retractions and stuff like that. So that was, "Oh boy, so this is how it is. This is how we operate."

JL: That's a very good example of it I think.

HS: And you know what? Unfortunately, you know what happens is that the truth always comes out and it always prevails. And so this guy, who will probably read about it, he will call me up and deny it. So....unfortunately I have one witness. (laughter).

JL: Just one, huh?

HS: One very important witness.

JL: What were your early days of playing golf in the professional circuit like, and do you feel that the women's professional golfers were treated equitably by society, press, and men golfers? (laughs). So, you have just sort of alluded to some of that but....

HS: Actually, in the early '70s I had a fantastic time. The players were wonderful. Before Ray Volpe got involved, he basically got the tour going in the right direction, but they were just wonderful. We drove everywhere, and we had fun, and we didn't play for a lot of money, but we didn't realize, that ... Actually, the difference was, if we were playing for 300,000 or 400,000, the guys were only playing for twice that much, and our

contracts were very good. We made good money back then. But I don't really... I think there was a time in the last ten years where there was a big problem with the tour. We were playing for a million. The guys were playing for five million and their contracts were much bigger. So when I was first on tour it was pretty good up until the early '80s and then there was kind of like the competition of the men's senior tour that hampered us. But generally speaking, it always could have been better. It wasn't that bad, but it could have been better.

JL: Do you believe women's athletic problems at both the high school and collegiate level have achieved parity with men's programs?

HS: I think it is getting there, but it is just like the men's open. The men's open is usually the one that supports all these and there was a down turn in the ratings. The ratings were down twenty percent this year. So, what has happened is that all the men's programs and the men's events, like in the colleges the men's programs ran everything, the football program. But I think the institutions are realizing that women's athletics do draw. I know basketball in Iowa and those places, it is a big draw. Nebraska, Kansas, and I think they are realizing with TV that there has to be a change because of the Internet, Broadband, and Tivo.

HS: I think that is changing. I think that Internet is pushing things out. You can order via the Internet certain shows and games and stuff like that. I think there are institutions that.... like the USGA, I cannot speak for the USGA, but I think they are realizing that women's athletics can bring in the dollars.

JL: I know, just like I mentioned University of Tennessee. I mean the program there is just so successful. I know it has to be the basketball program; the women's basketball has to be making lots of money for them I'm sure.

JL: Were there ever any moments in your career that you felt mistreated or overlooked because you are a woman?

HS: Oh yes! How many times? (Laughs). Yes, there were many times that we were looked down upon as women professional golfers. I always took it upon myself to try to make a difference. I tried to get a senior tour going to rival the PGA and to get them off their butts. My answer I remember from the guy who was running the tour back then was he looked at me straight in the eye and he goes, "What makes you think you deserve this?"

JL: And what did you say?

HS: Well, after I picked my teeth off the ground, I kind of looked at him like "Oh, my God." I was speechless that he said that. I was speechless. What a twerp, huh? I was speechless.

JL: Really! That's probably a nice name for him.

HS: "What makes you think you deserve this?" Anyway.

JL: But that was just one of them, just one of the instances?

HS: Yes, that was just one of them. I mean, there were so many, so many! (laughs).

But to hear it from the person running the tour is pretty devastating.

JL: Yes, it's like a slap in the face I guess. That's how I would have felt. How do you feel about the large numbers of men in women's athletic administration positions, despite the growing numbers of women in athletic participation?

HS: Yes, we touched on that. I just don't understand it. I mean, the basketball coach at Georgia. He is good and all that stuff but it is shocking to me that there is not a woman coaching because of all the issues, the issues that the University has....

JL: Yes, and then you have to ask the question, is it because there is not a woman that would be qualified that would love to be coaching those girls, or does it go back again to who he is and who he knows in the "Good Ole Boy Network"?

HS: Well, I'll give you an example. A friend of mine coached at a western university. There was a guy; you're not going to believe this story. There was a guy who ran all these high school golf camps out West. Did you hear this story?

JL: No.

HS: Oh yes, well they kept it quiet. Well anyway, he would run all these camps, and he was molesting the players, sexually assaulting them. And it is all written... I want you to look this up. And he would say things to these parents like, "You don't want to be sending them to a woman who is single." Yes. Well, one of the players was a prominent player and she was out and she came forward. The guy was in jail and hanged himself. Yes, it's written. So, just to give you an idea of what women put up with. They think that all the women coaches are going to molest the players but here you have this guy who was molesting the players and he was in jail and killed himself.

JL: Because the implication is whether or not your sexual preference is lesbian or heterosexual it doesn't matter. But if you are single and you are a female then you are going to be molesting the little girls.

HS: And that's a way of the guys justifying the all-boy network. That's the way they want to protect the girls, and look what happened. That's well documented. Oh yes. That is a nice, nice story.

JL: Yes, I'll have to look that up and read about it.

HS: Yes, but you can't use the player's name.

JL: I won't. In fact, we will talk about privacy in a minute. Should women coach and administrate women's programs, or do you think the men should be administrators and the women should be the coaches?

HS: Well, I think the best person should administer, just as the best coach should coach, and I know that women are fantastic coaches, and so let them go.

JL: Why do you think there are fewer women coaching women's programs, especially at the high school level?

HS: Well, I'm not very good to ask that, but the school board is.... I can't answer that one because I really don't know the facts about school boards and the people at high schools. You probably know better than me that it is probably the "Good Ole Boy Network" that is protecting having a very low ratio of women athletic teachers and then the school board protecting their guys. I'm not an expert at answering that since I didn't have any sports to play when I was in high school.

JL: As a collegiate player or as a professional, did you or your teammates ever have your sexual identity questioned or were you labeled and called names as a result of your athletic participation?

HS: I never was put down. I mean there were always whispers but I never hid who I was seeing or what I was doing and that traumatized the LPGA. They didn't know how to handle me. It was funny. I talked to one of the guys, one of the idiots, and I said "You know, here you are, you're so afraid of the gay thing. You focus on Nancy Lopez and her family and her children and then when you get to me what are you going to say? It basically exacerbates what you are trying not to disclose...and then you have Hollis Stacy. What are you going to say about Hollis? I said you have got to just not be afraid of this thing and concentrate on the golf! It was hurtful some of the things they said about me in the TV control room and my friends told me everything that was said about me, you know, my straight friends. We had a great camaraderie, a great sisterhood going at the LPGA. The networks are pretty...no, they're not pretty. They were AWFUL as far as handling the gay thing.

JL: Now by the networks, do you mean television?

HS: Oh yes. They were awful. Because what happened is I usually heard everything that was said about me. My friends doing the color or spotting or stuff like that they told me everything.

JL: And there again, that goes back to, why do men do that? Why, because to me it doesn't matter. I mean, if I'm looking at you as a golfer, I want to see that you are a great golfer, which you were obviously. So what does it matter, why is that so important to men, I wonder?

HS: I think it is the conquest thing. It is kind of like a conquest. And it is funny. I have great guy friends and stuff like that but you know there is always that condescending outlook. I think it kind of basically shows their IQ too. I don't know. It really doesn't bother me.

JL: Do you think society and the "Good Ole Boy Network" trying to make lesbian athletes a negative issue has helped or hindered women's athletics? What about the game of golf?

HS: Well, I think they have tried to make the gay issue a reason why women's golf has failed or is much lower. And it isn't that. It's a women's issue.

JL: I'm not real familiar with golf, like I said, but aren't they doing pretty good as far as the tour goes?

HS: Oh, the tour is doing great.

JL: Yes. So that was just another thing like, I think back in the early '70s when athletic programs for women became available in colleges. You had that team thing where women, just like men who were on teams, spent more time together and did more things together, and here are the men saying "Oh, they're all lesbians. They play like a man. or whatever. You know that social construct.

HS: It's just a way of putting women down.

JL: Yes, it's like it's an offense to be different from the norm.

HS: Yes.

JL: Do you personally know any individuals whose careers have been ruined by either being out or being accused of being lesbians whether they were or not?

HS: No, I don't really know of anyone who was ruined professionally. I mean, I feel sorry for the people who try to keep it [lesbianism] closeted because those are the inner demons. But I haven't known anybody who has been hindered if I were to think about that. I think I have gone past the golf thing and I don't really... I see some friends of mine who struggle with how society perceives them and I personally feel like I have a very healthy attitude and I really could care less what people believe of me. I have a fantastic family and people who love me and I have been in a relationship for eleven years and I do a lot of work with a group in Denver. We serve meals to shut-ins. It started with serving meals to gay guys and now we serve, despite people being heterosexuals, we serve them (laughs). So, yes, I have a very healthy, positive attitude. We are humans. My parents were straight. We are trying to show the world that we are not child molesters and rapists and stuff like that.

JL: Now, this is not on the paper, because I am curious and am interested to know. How long ago did you come out? Did your family know you were gay or was it something that you had to announce?

HS: No. I had trouble. I have always been this way since I was born. But because of how the South is... I was really confused how it was viewed here in the south. And then, being around certain gay women and gay men, you know the more pronounced ones, the ones on the bicycles, the ones with the short hair that basically kind of really confused me because I didn't want to be like that. I mean, how was I going to explain to my mother I was going to be like that? So, that was, the ones with the really short hair. Oh God, how am I going to explain to my mother that her daughter is going to be like this? And then, you know the stereotypical drag queen thing. I'm not like that! But you know I'm just a

normal person. But as a nineteen or twenty year old, I was more confused about the gay world back then as I was about how society viewed gays. And I live in a very interesting place. Here we serve 300,000 meals a year, great food, state-of- the-art-kitchen in Denver, and we live an hour and a half from here where Matthew Sheppard was strung up on that fence and murdered and then an hour and a half south of us, we have *Focus on the Family*, James Dobson, so we live in a very interesting environment. Anyway, so I'm proud of who I am and what I have accomplished. It's not been easy.

JL: I'm sure that it probably has not been.

HS: No, it's not been easy, but, basically the bottom line is the "Good Ole Boy Network" has made that gay issue the reason why we have to protect women and put them down and all that stuff.

JL: Tell me a little more about what you're doing now and how long have you been retired, since the '90s did you say?

HS: I've been retired since 2000. And what I am involved in is I raise capital for this high tech firm and we do security ID's. I have helped raise close to four million dollars.

JL: Wow!

HS: I think we are going to get it going. And then I'm a volunteer for the U.S. Golf Association, the junior committee, and I go up in two weeks to help run the U.S. Juniors, so I have a nice relationship, my give back to golf.

JL: Now, this is girl's golf?

HS: Yes, girl's golf, the girls' junior group. And what else am I doing? Of late I am involved with this group out of California, and what we are doing is they have the patents

on this pipe that hitches to irrigation systems for golf courses. They are using golf as the market. Basically it ionizes water and supposedly clay likes it. We are going to come to Georgia to start marketing the product, my sister and I. We know there is clay here!

JL: Oh yes, lots of it. Sounds like a very exciting life to me!

HS: Well, I'm trying.

JL: Is there anything else that you want to talk about that I didn't ask or that you just want to talk about or to share?

HS: No, I think I have covered it all, but I have had a fantastic career, a very fantastic career. I'm an optimist. There is a reason why we have the babies; because we can withstand the pressure. There is a reason we don't choke. We make the decisions. We are resolute. I love guys, but I was telling the story about how my dad was decorated and he was just great. He was a Captain under General Patton and ran across Europe and was shot the day before the Battle of the Bulge but saw a lot. The replacement rate in his unit was 500% so if there was 400 they had 2000. He hated that.

JL: Really?

HS: Yes, because a lot of his friends were killed. Anyway, but my dad was so cute. He was like the feminine one in our family. My little sister Martha was sitting in his lap. She used to get this hornet's nest and she would sit in my father's lap and she would say Daddy was so delicate. He would just comb it whereas my mother would just RIP! I was telling a story last night to my sister about when my mother had her first baby, my brother Gil, and she had major stitches. My father was taking care of her and he was looking at her stitches and he just fell down on the ground. He just blacked out. He saw

my mother and he just fell on the ground and that's the reason why we will succeed. My father was quite the war hero, quite the guy, very highly respected, funny guy, great guy.

JL: You're right. We will succeed in spite of what they do and what they say.

HS: Yes, we will. And we love them, we love them. But they will come to their senses.

[Tape recorder was turned off but Ms. Stacy asked me to turn it back on for the following conversation.]

HS: I'm glad you brought up African-American because probably the reason why I am so open about who I am is I look at the struggle of the African-American, just with Savannah, and the woman who raised us, Josephine Ford, she was a deacon in the First Ebenezer Baptist Church for sixty years and the struggles that they faced were horrific. Here I am this little white girl who can hit the ball in the hole and struggling with my identity and all that stuff. I could see what she went through going through her civil rights and her voting and stuff like that even though Title IX was never enforced. You know the right to vote the Emancipation Proclamation gave them all the rights yet it was never invoked and Lyndon Johnson had signed the civil rights act and stuff like that. But my Josephine, she worked for us. We had the Savannah boycott with the busses. We wouldn't let one toe of her precious feet touch the ground. We drove and we picked her up and she came and she worked for us and we loved her. So, I think because of her struggles, because of who she was and what she endured...Her husband Percy was a garbage collector and my father gave them their first car and we were taught. Anyway, so we were taught that love is color blind and my father was very, very open about it and was great. The First Ebenezer Baptist Church was here in town and when we lived over on Gwinnett Street we had the Brady house that's what they called it and my father's

office was downstairs and the preachers would come in and put shoe boxes of money to pay for my father's work designing houses. We always had a great relationship with the African-Americans and that's why I am who I am because I got to see first hand how the African-Americans were treated. On my birthday when I was five years old, my parents went to Tanners on Broughton St. and they had their drinks and hamburgers and they left. It was the day of the Martin Luther King incident concerning the bus boycott. He had taken a job and I was five years old and a group of African Americans came by and my mother was frightened so my father picked me up and I was five years old. My mother was afraid that we were going to be harmed and my father said "No, they are not going to harm us" because he had been reading about peaceful protests, you know peaceful activation. My dad was very cool. I had to put that in because he was very well liked.

JL: Did you have the opportunity to...

HS: No, she died when I was on tour. I didn't attend the funeral but my parents, the whole family, went to the funeral at First Ebenezer Baptist Church and they were the only white people there.

JL: What I was about to ask you was whether you ever had the chance to tell Josephine that she was a role model for you as you worked through your identity?

HS: I never had that because I was traveling when she died. But I think a lot of us who are gay that grew up in the South, I can only speak for myself not everyone, but I think we got a lot from their struggle.

### **Caryn Evans, Women's Basketball Coach/Assistant Athletic Director-Biography**

Caryn Evans was born in Kentucky where she attended Catholic schools. She received her B.S. from University of Kentucky and her MEd from the University of Cincinnati

where she began her coaching career. Before moving to her current position, she coached basketball for twenty-eight years, twenty-six as a head coach and two years as an assistant coach. She has been in her current position of associate athletic director less than two years.

Caryn was a four year letter-woman at the University of Kentucky. Her coach there moved on to become the athletic director at a Division-I university. As a beginning head coach, Evans had an 83-42 record in four seasons. She left her current university with a record of 426-240 after twenty-two years as head coach. That record included twelve NCAA tournament appearances (six in the Sweet Sixteen, three in the Elite Eight). Thirteen of her seasons included twenty wins, five conference championships, and a variety of Coach of the Year honors in five different seasons.

Evans retired having coached the most games, matches, or tournaments (666) and the sixth most seasons of any sport at her university. Her 426 victories are the most by any coach at the school. Other personal honors include being inducted into the State Hall of Fame, earning the Robert Stearns Award, for which she was nominated by her players and the Carol Eckman Award. Evans also served as an assistant Olympic Basketball Coach.

### **Caryn Evans-Interview**

JL: Would you please tell me about your childhood and/or adolescent athletic experiences and tell me how and why you became interested, involved and active in athletics?

CE: Well, I was the fourth of eight children. I had five brothers, so obviously there were boys around not only in my house, but in our yard. I grew up in the '60s. My

athletic experience really started in the backyard, in our basement with my brothers. We played whiffle ball and baseball in the summer when it was hot. We played football in the fall when NFL was on TV. We played basketball in the winter. Then when it got warm again, we started playing softball and baseball again. Football, basketball, and baseball were the sports we played. I had two sisters. One of my sisters never touched a ball. The other sister played with us. She was not as good an athlete as my brothers and me, so she lost interest when she was twelve or thirteen. Some of the other girls on our street played. We played in our yard because we had the biggest yard. My parents made the boys let the girls play, so we always played. It was boys and girls all the time. There were never any games where there were just boys because my Dad would not allow that. I went to a Catholic school. The Catholic schools have sports for girls. I played volleyball and softball. We did not have basketball at our grade school because we did not have a gym. My brother did get to play basketball because the gym they played in was about 4-5 miles away, but they did not have a girls' team. Where I went to high school, I went to an all girls' Catholic high school. It was 1969-1973. I got to play basketball and volleyball. It was the first time I got to play basketball indoors. I always played basketball outdoors in grade school, on the blacktop. When I got to high school, I was so thrilled that I got to play basketball and volleyball because we had a gym and there were nine girl Catholic high schools in our league, so I got to play before Title IX. Then, in high school, I got to add another sport, field hockey. There were leagues in high school for the girls' Catholic league. There was field hockey, volleyball, and basketball for our school. Then I continued on playing softball in the summer. It was good. It was excellent.

JL: That's interesting because a lot of schools didn't have sports for women or girls at the high school level before Title IX, or if they did, just basketball.

CE: I think though, if you get a chance to go to a Catholic school, I think that made all the difference in the world for me, to get the chance to play on an organized league. The girls that went to public school on my street, they stopped playing. They played in the backyard, but then when they went to school they didn't play and consequently never had the high school experience. I got to go to a Catholic school where we had the opportunity and there were some pretty good players. Girls on our street that were pretty good; they just never continued.

JL: You already answered #2. You told me what sports were available. What were the sports that you played in high school and were they coached by men or women?

CE: Well, in high school, all the sports I played were coached by women, except summer softball. Summer softball was coached by a male and he was by far the most demanding coach I had of all the coaches I had back in the '60s and '70s. He coached us as if he was coaching boys.

JL: Were you in a coed high school or was it all girls?

CE: It was all girls. I think there were nine all-girls' Catholic high schools.

JL: That is probably why there were female coaches?

CE: We had a lot of nuns, back then there were a lot of nuns. The few lay teachers we had were women.

JL: Why was basketball important to you as an adolescent and obviously as a successful collegiate player and a coach?

CE: Basketball, well volleyball, field hockey, softball were the other sports I played the most. I grew up in Kentucky and basketball was the most important and the most prestigious. The University of Kentucky was on TV and it was a spectator's sport. Field hockey was not. Softball was not. Volleyball was not. I had an opportunity to listen to basketball on the radio and watch basketball on TV. It was probably natural that I develop more of an interest in basketball because it was a very popular sport in my state. Kentucky was going to the NCAA tournament. Louisville was going to the NCAA tournament. It didn't really matter to me that it was male. So, I developed more of an interest in it. Even when I went to Kentucky, I went to the University of Kentucky, basketball was in. It became my favorite sport. In, it was by the time I was a junior or senior at Kentucky, we had a couple of thousand people at our games, so it went from this little sport where the nuns came out in high school to it was beginning to grow. Title IX was passed so by the time I graduated in 1977, we had a full time coach at Kentucky. It clearly had taken off as a spectator's sport for women. I think that is why I gravitated in that direction as opposed to softball or volleyball. It was just my favorite sport.

JL: Tell me a little about how that came about at your school when Title IX was passed? I know that down South we did not get it until '77. I think my junior year was when we got sports at my college. Can you tell me a little about how they instituted it; how they funded it?

CE: Well, I was fortunate enough to work for women's athletics, so back then, she [the coach], was the director of intramurals for women. I was a student worker on a scholarship and I needed a job, and I went to the coach and needed to play forward because that fit in my schedule, so I worked for her and part of my responsibility, I

helped with the Title IX for all the women's sports at Kentucky. I was there from '73 until '77 when we implemented it. It went from \$3,000 to \$100,000 in 1975. We bought uniforms and we put together a schedule and that was not just for women's basketball that was for every sport. We offered volleyball, basketball, field hockey, and golf. The first golfer to receive a scholarship was Myra Van Hughes, who was a Kentucky State Champion and a high school state champion. I received a scholarship there. I received a scholarship my senior year, a tuition scholarship to play basketball. We hired a coach who is now the athletic director at a Division I school. There was a lot going on. It was an interesting time. We bought uniforms for the first time. Instead of traveling in vans, we began to travel in a chartered bus to our games. We even flew to a Christmas tournament. We played less statewide and more regional. We bought equipment. We had warm ups. So, things that kids take for granted today, training tables, pre-game meals, travel schedules, scholarships, thirty years ago, they do not realize that, like they do not realize that women couldn't vote a hundred years ago. So, there are things that I experienced as an athlete that current athletes don't realize about opportunities that weren't available thirty years ago.

JL: Yes for them, it has always been there all of their lives. They don't know what the early people went through for things like that. #4 you answered. You were right in the initiation of Title IX and you said how your participation and opportunities were different. In what ways have you seen a change in women's basketball as a result of Title IX? Is it still working to provide balanced opportunities for women, or has it lost its power/momentum and why or why not?

CE: Well, I work in a federally funded institution, and our women athletes and any women athletes in the Big 12 or the SEC; they are competing for national championships in the NCAA. I think athletic directors take pride in their women athletes winning national championships. Baylor won the national championship a couple of years ago out of our conference, and that was a huge source of pride at Baylor University. Kim Mulkey was a player at Louisiana Tech at the beginning of Title IX and now she is coaching the national championship team. [Mulkey was the first woman to win a National Championship as both a player and as a coach.] There is a whole different attitude about women competing now. It is a source of pride for the university, for the athletic department, and for the community. We won a national championship for cross country skiing here. That is a source of pride for the University, so it is a whole different attitude.

JL: I wanted to ask something about high school, but I think I've got that in another question. Are you familiar with the term or phrase Athletic Patriarchy/"Good Ole Boy Network", and if so, please tell me what it means to you?

CE: Yes, the "Good Ole Boy Network" is really a term in the '70s and the '80s. I don't know how it was in your high school in the South; you're from the South, I live in the West. The "Good Ole Boy Network" is really a network of male colleagues, where women are not part of the network. In my position here, I am the senior female administrator, so, my boss just called me and he is the athletic director at this university. At the University of Maryland, my coach would probably be calling one of her colleagues, who are male, so, it is changing. There are not as many women who are athletic directors as there are men, but I am in the system and I know what is going on in our department. I know that I know my job well because I have had thirty years in

Division I, twenty-eight years as a Division I coach and two years as an administrator. I do not have as many years in administration, but if my athletic director went to a meeting of all the athletic directors and they were all male, there would probably be a perception that it's a "Good Ole Boy Network." But, each one of those administrators has female administrators that certainly help them with their programs, because no one can do it by themselves. We can not run a department by ourselves whether that be a high school or a college, there is too much. So, in every high school and college, there is too much.

There are too many parents, too many issues. There is discipline. There is hiring and firing. There is the media. So, I think athletic directors rely on their people whether they are male or female. Certainly in the '70s and '80s, I know in the '70s in Kentucky, the athletic director was not at all excited about women taking \$100,000 out of their budget.

JL: I think it is probably more prevalent in the South, the male administration and maybe the football?

CE: Yeah, I think because the SEC is a big football conference in Georgia and Alabama and the Big 12 are not dominated by football. Women's basketball is really the strongest and now you have Pat Summit in the SEC, but the Big 12 has got Bill Fennely and Kristy Curry at Texas Tech to Sherry Coals in Oklahoma, Kim Mulkey, those have personality. There are strong women and men coaching women's basketball, and it is strong from top to bottom. I do not think that we experience it at the same level that we did. There has been a lot of progress in attitude.

JL: When I interviewed the lady for volleyball, she said that she has not really experienced any negative aspects of Athletic Patriarchy /"The Good Ole Boy Network", because when they hired her they were looking for a women's volleyball coach and she

had experience and had played in college. She had already coached somewhere so she was supported pretty much one hundred percent since she arrived there. I think that, maybe at the universities, it is probably not as prevalent as it is at the high school level.

CE: I don't think it is. The reason? You cannot discriminate at the university level. At least here, at least in the West, because we have non-discrimination for race, religion, ethnicity, creed, color, sexual orientation, disability, and the office of discrimination and harassment is very visible, vocal, and prevalent. All of our employees are good workers. Our full time employees go through training. It is not just part of our policy. It is more a way of life. You can not get away with being a discriminating employer and survive in 2006. You just can't.

JL: That's good to know.

CE: Yes. You just can't. It is not politically correct anyway. They might not be politically correct. The fact is that it is just not cool to be sexist or racist or homophobic in this arena.

JL: Has the "Good Ole Boy Network"/Athletic Patriarchy ever been a cause of personal or professional problems in your programs and would you say it has influenced your professional life in a positive or negative or not at all and why?

CE: Has the "Good Ole Boy Network" ever been a cause of personal or professional problems in my programs and would I say it has influenced my professional life? I had the same job for twenty-two years, so obviously not. I mean, I never had a problem with the university having the same values as me. When I came here in 1983, I was amazed that our budget was as large as it was. They [the men] were flying everywhere, but my budget was as large as theirs. They all wanted us to win, and I think that is because they

wanted as good a women's program as the men's program. They wanted their team to be first. They wanted to beat Nebraska and Kansas. So, I never experienced that at all. I mean, I just never had that. I didn't even have that at Cincinnati. I think a lot of that is because I have always had my own team and I didn't argue over things like that. I needed appropriate gym space, I wanted equal time, and I got it. You did not have to fight for it.

JL: You didn't have to fight for it?

CE: I never had to fight for it, but we won, too, and I have been here for one, two, three, for five men's basketball coaches during the time I have been here. I'm trying to think, or four. So, during my twenty-two years, I was always there and there was always a new coach, so, I had veteran status always. By the time we got through our third coach, I was telling him how things were run. So, later in my career, I was the veteran coach.

JL: It seems like, and this is just an observation, and it is probably not even a very educated guess or whatever, but it does seem like the women coaches seem to have more longevity in their jobs than the males do at the collegiate level. Men seem to come and go, and women tend to stay at one school a longer period of time. That is especially true at the high school level.

CE: Well, the beauty of being a female coach is that there is no pressure on women to provide revenue. Male coaches have pressure on them to provide revenue. They never depended on me to bring in \$15,000,000. Football, since I have been here, has been through one, two, three, four – four coaches and four men's basketball coaches. Now, we did not win every year. I had a couple of years in the early '90s and late '90s that we did not win, but they were not depending on me to bring in \$15,000,000. So, women want it

both ways. I had it both ways. I have longevity, and they were not depending on me to make money. I think that is going to change for women. I think in the next decade, in women's basketball. It is probably changing for women in general. At Baylor, now they expect them to bring in an amount of money. Overall, they expect them to do so, because overall, they have already set precedence.

JL: What was your early days of coaching like and were you and your teams provided quality equipment, practice times, facilities, clothes, etc. and if not, how did you compensate?

CE: Well my early days were at the University of Cincinnati, and I was twenty-four years old. I was lucky to have those jobs. The University of Cincinnati did not get as much money as the University of Kentucky, and I recognized that right away. They had no way near the same budget overall as Kentucky basketball had. You could tell that because of the gym where they played. So, when I think of those early days, the whole department was poor, in terms of resources. After I got my graduate degree there, I left. When I left it was not because of resources and eventually they built a new facility for women's basketball. But we had adequate uniforms, we had adequate equipment, practice time, and clothes, but that was 1979. I became a head coach there in 1983. We competed on a regional level, so when we competed there were nine Division I schools, including Ohio, Ohio U, Akron, Youngstown, Toledo, Cleveland. Those schools did not have much more than we did. If we played Kentucky or Ohio State or Indiana, those bigger schools had more than Cincinnati. But if we went to Toledo, I don't think that they had anymore than we did. But when we beat a school like Ohio State, which we did, I felt like, I think the lesson that taught me, was that we could compete with a bigger

school with a bigger budget just as well as a smaller school with a smaller budget. When I decided to leave, I was interviewed by some schools, and I thought why would I leave Cincinnati for a Kentucky State or a San Diego State? I wanted to teach at a school in the West. We were the big school in the state, so when I came here, I found what I expected to find. This university had the same things, so it wasn't a matter of men against women. It was more a matter of big school versus small school for me. This university's budget is bigger. The budget was more than Ohio State. I was in Cincinnati as a typical stepping stone job for a young coach. Maybe I was young, in that I was trying to gain experience. When I came out here, I don't know that I am giving you the answer that you want, but I just never felt that. I never felt that with my budget, never.

JL: Yes. The volleyball coach that I interviewed told me that I should probably be talking to women in smaller, less successful programs.

CE: Well, that is probably true, I'm winning. When I left Cincinnati, they did not want me to leave. They offered me a raise, but it wasn't about the lifestyle. It was about the opportunities. I wanted to compete against Texas and Stanford. I could not compete against those schools like I can here. I wanted to compete on those levels, and I could not do that. It wasn't about Cincinnati. At Cincinnati they did as well as they could.

JL: Yes. Do you believe women's athletic programs (high school and collegiate) have achieved parity with men's programs? Why or why not?

CE: Well, one of the reasons athletic programs... We have not achieved parity because of the media. I mean yes. I do all of the student support and organizing charts. Well, I am going to make sure that our women athletes get a good athletic trainer and that our women athletes get good Nike apparel and all that. Sports medicine reports to me,

academic advisement reports to me, strength and conditioning, training table, equipment, head volleyball coach, head soccer coach, and head cross country/track and field coach reports to me. You know who does not report to us? The Post, CBS, ABC, NBC, ESPN, they don't report it. So, if you are trying to find a WNBA game today, in this sports page, [She picks up the newspaper from her desk and starts shuffling through the pages.] if you are going to read about, right here, their first game isn't until December second. Then look for baseball, MLB, and if you were to say basketball and men's motor sports. You have one, two, three, four male sports and the second page is Tiger Woods' win. Now, here's something and there is no more. There is baseball. So now, where can we find the WNBA? It ought to be around somewhere in here. There it is. It's right here. [A tiny announcement about a scheduled WNBA game] That is why sports...it is not about the principal, the athletic director, the president, because I guarantee you that our budget and our support... but our media does not cover women's athletics at the professional level. They will cover the Senior Golf Tour, before they cover the LPGA. They don't cover women's basketball and women's... they don't cover it. We have sold out quite a few times here. We had to be twenty-five and two to get front page news locally. I am sure in Knoxville, that Pat Summitt gets that. Indiana has ESPN right at its back door, right in its hip pocket, but the problem why women do not have parity with men at the collegiate and high school level is the press. In the magazine, there probably would not be one article on the LPGA or tennis. Our sports are volleyball, soccer, and cross country for women. There is not anything in there. But, how can you sell tickets if no one knows you exist?

JL: Remind me when we get through to tell you a little story about media and sports.

CE: Okay. Okay.

JL: Were there ever any times in your career that you felt discriminated against or passed over for promotions because you were a woman?

CE: No.

JL: How do you feel about the large number of men in women's athletic administration positions despite the growing number of women in athletic administration? Should women coach and administrate women's programs? How about the high school level? Why are there fewer women coaching women's programs at the high school level?

CE: I don't know the answer to that. I don't know. There are more men coaching women's basketball right now. Each head coach has three assistants and there are more men coaching in women's basketball. There are more men coaching women's volleyball, and there are more women's volleyball players in Division I than there are men. I don't know the answer to why there aren't more women coaches. I don't know if it is interest or ability. You know, do I like it? I think women do a great job coaching women. I also think there are some men who do a great job at coaching women. Obviously, he [a man] has got a pretty good job, but he has got the best players, too. There is a lot of it that is where do the players go? Are men the better recruiters? Are they recruiting women better than women are recruiting women? You know the best teams are going to be the teams that have the best players, for the most part. I think the men take it, they recruit hard. Women recruit hard. I don't know. I don't know why there are more men coaching women.

JL: Do you think that it is family situations sometimes, for example, a woman wants to have a family? Do you think it is too much of a drain on her personal life?

CE: It is hard. I have a sister that works and has three kids. There is a women's coach here that has three children. I think it is hard. I think it is hard physically to coach basketball while pregnant. I don't have any kids, but I think kids are attached to their mothers and mothers naturally bond with their kids. I think they want to be there when their kids grow up, and they go to school, and they have parties, and the kids participate in activities. I think to try to be a basketball coach and to be a mother, when you have kids that are two, five, and seven, it is tough. I think that men that are married, their wives are taking care of kids and their dry cleaning, making their appointments to get their hair cut, making sure their clothes are clean, packing their bags, making their lunch. I think that the wives, if they [the men] are making a salary of \$700,000 to \$800,000, coaching Division I women's basketball, that does not bother their wives much. I think it is tough for a female to do both, to be married, have a family, and coach a Division I team.

JL: Yes, because of the fact that it is her family, she also has to do all her jobs for herself, pick up the dry-cleaning....

CE: Yes, right, get your nails done, have your nails done, and be ready for the media. Also, if the husband expects the wife to cook, that is even tougher. You know I have an assistant who is married, a former assistant, who is married and has two boys and her husband is really the house husband. He takes care of the kids. He takes care of her dry cleaning. He takes care of her laundry. He cooks. He totally has assumed the traditional female role so she can do her job and it works really well for her. So, I think that a female who has that older, traditional expectation kind of husband, I feel it would be virtually impossible. I don't know how you can be successful.

JL: She is very fortunate to have a supportive husband.

CE: You would be lucky if you could get that. He wants to, and he loves it. He loves raising the boys. He has taught them how to play golf. You know, she goes to events with them. He does all the scheduling of doctor's appointments for the kids. You know she is really lucky to have him.

JL: As a collegiate player, did you or your teammates have your sexual identity questioned or were you ever labeled, called names or anything because of your athletic participation?

CE: Well, when I was young, they called women tomboys. You know, they did not call them dykes. They called them tomboys. I mean dyke is a word that was kind of a harsh name for anyone. I don't think that was very acceptable in a Catholic school, so girls were tomboys. As a collegiate player, in the early '70s, people really did not talk about lesbianism and homosexuality in the South. They just didn't talk about that. People didn't. I still don't think they talk about it probably very much in the South. Gay rights weren't even on the news. It wasn't lady like to play sports in the '70s. Now, in the West and 35 years later, it is kind of cool to be athletic because of the Nike commercials, fitness, and all the clothing companies that are out. Women bike and they jog. It is kind of cool to be fit, have muscles, and to participate in rock climbing and sports. There are still a couple of sports, probably softball, and maybe basketball, where there is still a stigma. But for most sports, like running, running is definitely cool because it is a fitness thing. That attitude has changed quite a bit because I think most of the boys now grow up with sports in the high school and grow up with mothers that workout. But when I grew up, it was not talked about and I grew up with five brothers. I think in the South, it

was not very proper to talk about lesbianism or gays. You know, at least in my household, it just wasn't talked about. People did not talk about it very much. I don't know how it is now.

JL: I think it is still that way. The story that I have to tell has some of that in it. Did you say that women's basketball and softball have a stigma?

CE: Not so much now.

JL: Name calling, labeling, whatever.....

CE: Probably. I mean, you know golf and tennis are more country club sports. Skiing is a recreational sport. Distance running is more equated with fitness. I'm trying to think of a word....I don't know much about soccer. I would think softball, softball coaches. I don't know how softball is now because we don't have it here. We don't offer that sport. I would imagine that some female athletes are encouraged to go into volleyball and golf because they are not considered sports that gay players are in.

JL: Have you ever been gender labeled as a result of your participation in athletics as a player or a coach?

CE: Not really. Nobody every said that she is not going to compete as a girl. I think sometimes on a golf course if there are four women that are playing, sometimes the guys behind them are thinking because they are slow, that they are not very good, and that is not true. The women I play with are very good. Usually because we are playing a game and competing, we are putting out or we have taken our time because of strategy. The golf course is still a little bit sexist. I think mostly men play golf, not as many women. I think it is more about ability. I think when I was a young female coach; there may have

been a feeling by a dad, a father that I did not know what I was doing because I was young, but not too much because we won a lot.

JL: It's hard to argue when you're winning. Okay. Has the presence of lesbianism ever been an issue for any of your teams? If so, has it affected the team concept and was the team cohesive or not cohesive?

CE: The team is a family, and if two players have a relationship on a women's team or a men's team, if two players have a relationship, because you have your allegiance to that player, not to the team, that is a little bit touchy. I could care one bit if one player is a lesbian or not. It bothers me if relationships are with teammates because it impacts their relationship with the rest of the team. Our need is to build relationships. As a teammate, I would know if it impacts their relationship with the rest of the team. They favor their partner. That was a problem, if their partners were outside the team; it was easier on the team. We have never had problems. I have found maybe one time we had a problem with a player who was resentful being called homophobic, not accepting a gay player, and that was concerning. However, she was very religious, and I think she was also judgmental of others on the team who she felt were not religious enough. I tried to work on her acceptance of everyone regardless because we had to play together. She was pretty good about that. She was not selfish. Most of her attitude was off the court, not on the court. But as far as players being together, I did not want my staff to be in relationships with each other and I talked to that particular team about how my staff were not partners and that I did not date my male assistants and I did not date my female trainer and I did not date any staff members. I did not really want my assistants dating one another. I did not really ever have that problem, but I would have preferred that not

happen because you get into favoritism and when you have favoritism in a family atmosphere, I mean this is a team that travels together, they sleep together, they live together, they are together everyday six-seven hours a day. If there are fights or if there were break-ups, as young people are want to do, it is a problem. We are playing thirty games a year. We are playing in front of 10,000-12,000 fans. We could not afford to have emotional issues interrupting already emotional situations. Playing in Division I basketball is extremely emotional. It is a high level emotional contribution every single day. You could not prevent it, but I prefer if they date, and I told them that I did not want my female players dating my managers who are male, and I told them that. I told managers before I hired them, that if you are coming on this team to date my players, you have to date somebody else. I definitely felt strongly about that because nineteen year olds and twenty year olds are not mature enough to handle those temptations when they are trying to win an NCAA championship. Yes, it was an issue.

JL: And the last question, do you personally know of coaches that try to steal recruits by accusing other coaches of being lesbians or of the coach recruiting and having lesbians on the team?

CE: Oh, yes. That's really huge. It's huge. It is probably the hidden secret of the WBCA. I've had discussions with the WBCA program manager, the Women's Basketball Coaches Association, where it was a really below the belt way of recruiting because most parents are not homophobic. Most parents of high school kids do not walk in the door homophobic. Most people are pretty good people by and large. They don't have to focus on what lesbianism is or is not, and so their first experience may be when their sixteen year-old is being recruited. They don't know what a college campus is like

or what college team is like. This is their only daughter that will ever play Division I, and so what they don't understand is that coaches have been through this game fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two. They know how to scare, and that is what phobia is, claustrophobia, or any kind of phobia, is fear. What they say rather, is it is a fear of cold. You know, when that first recruiter is there they say, "You don't want to go to Colorado. You can't believe how cold it is in Colorado," says the Texas coach. You know recruiting is fear of anything. They try to tell these young Texas high school players if you go to Colorado, it is going to snow there from the time you land until the time you leave. That is fear of snow or fear of cold. It was an effective recruiting method. If the kid happens to vacation in Colorado, then let's try another fear. There are lesbians on that team and there are lesbians on that staff, so it is a very common technique in recruiting probably men's and women's basketball. If you go to Colorado or if you go to this school, you will never get to the WNBA. Why? He does not know how to coach. He has the fear and the same thing with the homophobic. It is just one more tool to scare parents about what sort of perverted things go on. It is a fear of perversion. They don't have any gay cousins or relatives. They don't really have any preconceived notions, but when it comes to their daughter, they have choices. They can go to UCLA, they can go to Georgia, or they can go to Notre Dame. They can go to Duke. They can go to any number of schools for free. Well maybe we will check this school off because they've heard rumors about homosexuality. I think it is a very common recruiting technique.

JL: I have seen this recruiting story on the news that I wanted to talk to you about but I don't remember the sport. They were talking about different coaches, but they did not

call any names. They were also interviewing the players. They expect their child not to go here or there, because they had been told that the coach was a lesbian or that she/he recruits only lesbians, you know that kind of thing.

CE: I know, right.

CE: It is a tried thing to do. Because the coach would not be in the position of making six figures and in the long-term contract and have a position of authority and a budget as large as they have if they had been interviewed by the athletic director. Kind of recruit below the belt so to speak for a lack of a better term. They know that their heads are spinning, so they really will.

JL: Somewhere I read something about coaches, in some literature I read, that talked about how it seems to be more difficult for women to come out than men. I wonder if that has something to do with it or if it is the position people have. Maybe there are lesbian coaches that are out. I don't know.

CE: I don't know that it would be easier for a male, if our football coach was gay. I don't know.

JL: Probably not in that position I wouldn't think for sure.

CE: If it is a golf coach, maybe.

JL: Yes.

CE: There are no spectators. There is no media coverage. Well yes, heck yes it would be easier. I mean for a football coach if there were any gay football coaches, yes, the controversy would be all over ESPN, updating a stadium of 75,000. Who is your football coach at Georgia?

JL: Mark Richt.

CE: I don't know if that is true or not. It would be hard for any high profile coach to come out.

JL: It's where our culture is. That is all of my questions. Do you have anything else that you would like to comment on or share with me?

CE: No.

### **Susan Layne, System Athletic Director-Biography**

Susan Layne is the pseudonym for a woman who has served as a school system athletic director for several years. She was born in Madison, Florida, but grew up in Waycross, Georgia. Prior to her current position, Susan was a physical educator and has held various administrative positions at the district office. She is very active in professional organizations, having served many times in leadership roles. Susan was also an athletic trainer at two colleges during the early Title IX years. She has thirty years of experience.

Responsibilities of Layne's current position as District Athletic Director include supervision of both middle and high school athletic programs. Other responsibilities include scheduling, preparing budgets, formulation, establishing and implementation of policies and procedures. Another aspect of her position involves communication and cooperation with parents, coaches, and principals.

Susan Layne has been very active in the community and also in professional organizations. As a result, she has earned many honors. Included among those honors are the GAAHPERD Honor Award; Who's Who Young Women-1985; and the Georgia Lung Association Administrator of the Year.

### Susan Layne-Interview

JL: Would you please describe your childhood and/or adolescent athletic experience and tell me why you became interested and active in sports and which were your favorites?

SL: Most of my childhood, you realize this was a long time ago you're asking this, most of my childhood I would say; it was really not organized athletics. It was more playing in neighborhoods. We played baseball. We played basketball. It was all dirt streets, so we went out and played on the streets. School-wise, in the schools I went to until high school, we had no organized athletics and at the time where I grew up we really did not have a lot of recreational programs. So, really I did not get involved in any kind of organized athletics until high school. I was very shy as a kid in school. I actually liked basketball. Basketball was the one sport, probably at that time that was my favorite. I was on the JV team as a ninth grader. Tenth grade, I was on the varsity. I ended up quitting, which I very much regret because the coach was a male coach and in my view, and I don't know if this is true or not, but at least in my view it was, the girls that got to play were the ones that really were friendly with him and sort of played up to him, and I just really could not do that. I don't think there was ever anything inappropriate, but it just really aggravated me that you would have to do that. I said I didn't want to deal with it. I pretty much quit, which I wish I wouldn't have.

JL: Were there any sports other than basketball available to girls, or organized, like basketball, in your high school and were they coached by men or women?

SL: What I recall is that basketball was by men, a man. Tennis was by a female and that was all I remember. I never tried out for tennis. At that time, I did not even know what a

tennis racquet was. I didn't do that at all. What I remember was that the coach, the female coach, that was pretty much all she did. The important sports were coached by the men.

JL: You said the female coach. Was she the physical education teacher or did she coach the tennis team?

SL: She was, as best as I can remember, she taught physical education and coached tennis. I don't remember if it was males, too. I know it was just girls on tennis and I don't remember if there was a boy's tennis team. I'm sure there was but who coached that, I don't remember.

JL: Why were sports important to you as an adolescent, if you coached; as a coach, and maybe just through just your physical education and athletic training background?

SL: Sports were important to me I guess because I was good at them, pretty much at whatever I remember trying. It was fun. I was an only child so it was a way for me to get out and just play with kids, to play with other kids my age. Yeah, that's just something you do. My mom was not involved in athletics at all. My dad was and he sort of pushed me. I was the son he never had. Probably if girls would have played baseball, I probably would have played baseball because that is what he did.

JL: And some years later, I think some did, but not back in our day.

SL: Yes, yes.

JL: Was your participation in athletics pre or post Title IX, and please discuss some ways in which your participation and opportunities were different than young women experience today?

SL: It was pre-Title IX, and I haven't asked you this, but I am assuming this is just high school. This isn't anything to do with college or is it?

JL: Any of it.

SL: I graduated high school in '71, so that was before Title IX. Comparing then and comparing now, I would say, of course, you realize that I am 53, so my memory has probably faded somewhat here, but there are so many more opportunities for girls now than there were from what I remember. There are even opportunities for girls to play football. In our middle school program, we have had girls playing football, not a lot of them, but they can play. I can not even imagine thinking about doing that when I was in high school. At the collegiate level, because I had been involved in athletics as a trainer and as a coach in college, and I think it [Title-IX] has really probably created, at least in my experience more opportunities at the collegiate level than at the high school level. There has been a lot of, misinterpretation at the collegiate level by the men saying that we can't have this program for our guys because we have to have so many programs for the women, and that is not how it is supposed to work. I would venture to say in my experience it has been more positive at the collegiate level than at the high school level. Actually when I went to college, we did not have women's basketball. It was just coming in but we did have tennis. That is all I remember even at college.

JL: Did you play basketball at all in college?

SL: No.

JL: I know the programs were just getting started then.

SL: No, because I graduated the year that basketball was just getting started and I stayed to get my masters the next year and that is really when they got started and I got involved

in athletic training. So, I was really too old. I had graduated. Sports were coming in actually the year after I graduated, so I could not have played. So, the only thing that I remember in college was tennis, and I was not nearly skilled enough to be with them.

JL: I hit it like a softball!

SL: Now, if they had racquetball I probably would have done real well, but....

JL: In what ways have you seen a change in women's sports opportunities as a result of Title IX? Is it still working to provide balanced opportunities for women's participation or has it lost its power, and if you would address both levels? You alluded to that a while ago a little, the high school and collegiate.

SL: I think to me the biggest thing is that there are more sports and more opportunities for girls, post Title IX than before, but again, coming from a small Georgia town here, which was Waycross, which has grown a lot. It seems to me that Title IX, I would say it has lost its power. But I think in the last, I don't know maybe three to four years, it does not seem that I have heard a whole lot about it. I heard a lot about it when it first started and then I think about what the ten-year mark or so, but it does not seem like I have heard a whole lot about it. Now at the state level, in Georgia, there is a gender equity report required for every high school that started probably, 2001 maybe, 2001-2002 and that has heightened the awareness at the high school level because of the information that we have to get from the schools about the number of participants, males and females, and we have to look at the numbers and send them to the state. Actually, it is due the thirty-first of August of every year of how much money is spent on the girls' sports and the boys' sports. I think that it has created a little heightened awareness. I personally have not seen anything, Title IX create anything. Well, how do I want to say this? When I was

involved as a trainer in college at my second school, second college, and the women's program was eliminated. The women's basketball program was eliminated, basically by an athletic director, who was also a coach, men's coach, that really wanted the money for the men and the program was totally eliminated and really nobody raised a ruckus about it. The parents didn't, and they could have, and I never really understood why that did not happen. I think it is there. I think it is good. Well, I know it is there. I think it is good for the people, the parents, probably the fathers of the girls that want to take somebody to court about it. I have not seen some things that I wish would have happened.

JL: Such as?

SL: Well, like that program. I think that college should have gone to court because they totally eliminated that program, and for however many years it was not equitable and it was just done very poorly and there were no repercussions for that individual or for that college.

JL: Do you remember about what time frame that was?

SL: Early '80s, mid '80s.

JL: That's interesting. Were there any women coaches there that would have been willing to fight? Maybe they just did not want to fight the battle?

SL: Probably, and I think that's what it boils down to a lot of time, is if you are willing to fight the battle. Because once you step out there, then you are labeled as a problem, and it is hard. I think it is harder when you step out and take a risk like that. It is. It is hard.

JL: Are you familiar with the phrase Athletic Patriarchy /“Good Ole Boy Network” and please tell me what it means to you?

SL: What it means to me? Yes I certainly am familiar with that. To me, that means you have a clique of men, primarily white males, although black males have their own clique, I think, but it is. Things are not always done as professionally as they should be. It is that one of the guys calls one of the other guys and works out a deal to do whatever. And sometimes, it can be good. Sometimes, it can not be good, but it is not, in my opinion, fair to everybody involved. As long as you’re in the clique, everything is fine, but when you’re not in the clique, that is a problem and if you are a female, it is hard to be in that “Good Ole Boy Network.”

JL: Has this “Good Ole Boy Network”/Athletic Patriarchy ever been the cause of personal or professional problems for you or your career? Would you say that “the good ole boy network”/athletic patriarchy has influenced your professional life in a positive or a negative way or not at all? Why or why not?

SL: I would not say it has affected me either personally or professionally in a big way. It sometimes, it really, really aggravates me and I just sort of say, “What’s the sense in fighting the battle?” Other days, however, I take some of them on just because it irritates me and I want them to know that it is not how it should be. I am sure that is not the right way to do it, but it is hard to go up against them. There is a balance I think that as a woman in athletics and in a leadership position in athletics that you have to develop. You have to have a relationship with so many different people, with officials, with coaches, with principals, parents, everybody. If you really alienate, in my opinion, if you really alienate the “good ole’ boys”, then you really sort of cut your own throat a lot of times.

Sometimes, I have had to kind of suck it up and go with it and deal with it, and other days, I haven't, and sometimes it has worked okay and some days it hasn't, but I would not venture to say it has been a major, major issue. It is just more of a nagging aggravation in that's not how things should be.

JL: So in your position as athletic director, obviously there is quite a bit of "Good Ole Boy Network" in this city, as far as like you said the football coaches, basketball coaches, officials, everybody. So, how difficult has it been for you to sort of work your way in, to make your presence known, and to be accepted, I guess is what I am trying to say?

SL: Some of the things have been funny to me because they call me, what I understand is, they call me "that woman." I found that out because I had a couple of good friends that were football officials. They would tell me when I first got this job. First, they would say, "that woman downtown." Then, they would just cut it to "that woman." I am sure they would that say some adjectives between that and woman. I think a lot of times the message that I got or the word that I got was that they really didn't think I knew what I was doing. That was sort of bad. That was more aggravating trying to just prove to them that yes, I did know what I was doing. One positive thing for me was that I had already built a career here in health and physical education and most of the coaches and the athletic directors knew me, and they knew, at least this is what they said to my face, now I cannot tell you what they said behind my back, but to my face they have said pretty much that I have been fair and they know I care about what they are doing and the decisions that I have made was for the benefit of the kids, the student athletes or the students. I don't know, does that answer your question?

JL: Yes. Is it sort of a weary acceptance?

SL: Yes. Yes. Sometimes I have broken into the group, sometimes I haven't. There are a couple of groups here that my predecessor was involved in, and I have never been asked to be a part of, when I think I should have just because of the position, and a couple of times, I wanted to go to their meetings and say, "Hey, are you aware that I am here?" and then I just said, "It is not worth the hassle".

JL: When you say groups, do you mean groups within the system or the community?

SL: Community. Yes. I would rather not say who it is, but it is, umm, community organizations, agencies, and clubs type things.

JL: Yes, I didn't want you to say which ones, but I am just clarifying that is what you meant. What were your early days of coaching like, your athletic training background; you know what were those years like and did your teams have ample amounts of equipment, space, practice time, uniforms, practice clothes, etc.

SL: One thing that comes to mind and this is at the collegiate level in softball, the fields that our kids played on, we dragged the field. It had rocks in it. You had to take the rocks off the field. The outfield was just total grass that they mowed. The backstop was what you see in city parks where it is just the hurricane fencing that comes loose at the bottom and the benches were 2 x 6 wooden benches, or maybe a bench. It may not have even been a bench on both sides. There was no, I don't believe, any seating. I don't think for spectators and now, because I go by this facility almost every day to work, it is a beautiful facility. It is comparable to the baseball field. They have got fences and I don't know how many bleachers for spectators. They have block dugouts. We did not even have dugouts. I actually had an intern that was a graduate assistant on one of the sports teams and she was talking how the girls don't appreciate it. They don't have to do

anything. They don't even have to go out and drag the fields. All of our girls had to go out and drag the fields. When I go by that field every day I have real mixed emotions because I am really, really happy that the kids nowadays have those facilities. It is beautiful. It is really good. But then I think two things; it wasn't right back in the late 70s early 80s for the girls who went through those programs to have to put up with what they did or didn't have, very, very little. It wasn't even really scholarships. You got some money to go to school to pay your registration, but I don't think there were really even true scholarships except to pay for your books maybe. It was not fair to them, but they paved the way and I really wish the girls nowadays could appreciate and see what it was like for the girls that did it way back. But on the flipside I don't see the camaraderie of the girls in general now as there was then. Back then it was a real family. There was cussing, fussing and all that, but I think the girls that went through those programs really enjoyed it and loved it, not like these girls now. It seems to me, they enjoy it, but it is not internalized. They are just sort of there. But the money was not there, the men had lots more money. The women did not have anything. Nowadays, that is, I cannot speak now really at the collegiate level as far as the money, but the little bit I do know, they have full scholarships and they travel all over the country. You know, we did not go anywhere and where we went we drove.

JL: In fifteen passenger vans!

SL: Yes, in vans. There is a big difference there.

JL: Do you believe women's athletic programs, both high school and collegiate, have achieved parity with the men's? Why or why not?

SL: In high school, I would say we are close. I was just looking at our numbers this past year. We actually increased in every area-girls and boys with the exception of middle school girls, which really bothers me because that is an area that I think we have got to do better. I have not had a chance to really look at what that is all about. But in our system, I think pretty much, the problem that we are having is the coaches really, and I do not know if you have questions about the coaches, the coaches for the girls' sports don't on the whole on the average, don't take it as serious as the men's coaches. Volleyball is an example that just really creates lots of distress for me and that is so aggravating. Our volleyball program is not anywhere near where it needs to be because... actually we have two schools that have even had a hard time getting coaches. They could start this year first of August and they did not start practice until the kids came into school, what the fourteenth of August, but the men with football or cross country and other sports they do, they are there Johnny on the spot, and I see that happening generally more with the coaches, the men's coaches of the men's programs, than the women's coaches of the women's program. The men seem to want it more than the women do.

JL: Are the women maybe there because they could not find somebody else? Maybe they are sort of coerced into the positions and that might be why there is a lack of interest?

SL: Yes. They really don't want to be there. Yeah, that's exactly right.

JL: What about if you have men coaches coaching those women's sports like volleyball and basketball? Did they seem to take it more seriously?

SL: The ones that are experienced with it. I mean we have got some like; for instance; we have a male that coaches our high school girls' basketball team that has been doing it for years. He is extremely successful, loves it and I would put his enthusiasm, work ethic, and attitude up against anybody. That is only one, though. You know, the majority I would say of the coaches of the girls' teams, it is not considered quite as serious as the guys. It probably does not matter what the gender is of the coach, it is just the sport. It would be interesting if you had baseball and softball played at the same time of year. Because what a lot of our softball coaches say is well because it is the beginning of the year and it is hard to get the kids out, whereas with baseball that is not a problem. Again what they say is that baseball is in the spring, the kids are already here. Well, maybe even if you reversed and played baseball in the fall and softball in the spring, what would happen? I don't know. A lot of our coaches say it is just because kids don't care and girls don't care. The boys care and the girls don't. I don't believe that. But I think probably it is just a matter of them wanting to do it actually.

JL: Were there any moments in your career that you felt mistreated, overlooked, or passed over for promotions because you were a woman?

SL: Probably not. I think there were situations that I was not involved in because I was a woman or at least I felt that. Because I think they felt like I did not know things or didn't have the knowledge level to sit in on a high level meeting to decide something, but as far as really a job or anything major I do feel like I have been not treated right in a couple of instances, but I don't think that really had anything to do with me being a woman. I think it was, I don't want to say what it was. I think it was more race than gender, which is another whole issue.

JL: Yes it is. Alright, tell me a little about how you came to be in the position of system athletic director, and what are some of the obstacles that you face or have faced in this position?

SL: The way that I came into this position was, let's see how much do I want to share with this? I accepted a position as associate superintendent and was in that position for eight months and then our district underwent some major budget cuts and there were three associate positions that were cut and my position was one of them and that happened in the spring. So I had a contract, had been in the district for twenty something years, I don't know, twenty something years, so I didn't really have a job. It just so happens that my predecessor resigned to follow the superintendent that brought him in here and that left his position open. So, it just sort of happened that I did not have a job at the time and where the position was open. I had experience in leadership at the health and physical education level, not at the athletic level, but in health and physical education, so the superintendent at that time thought that was a real good match so they stuck me in it. Obstacles that I had were it was a learning curve for me because I had not been involved in a leadership way about athletics. That pretty much in itself is almost a "good ole boy" group with men and women involved in it. Coaches are a very passionate group, who as a whole care very much about what they are doing and I had to earn their respect. I think, like I said before, I think what did help me is many of them knew me from health and physical education coordinator, which I had been. Most of them liked me and I think respected me, so that helped a lot. The ones that didn't was a challenge in some cases. I would venture to say for the most part, they were nice to me to my face. I can only imagine what they said behind my back and that is fine. Because I think that is

going to go on with anybody. Dealing with football issues was probably the most difficult for me because I have never coached football, and I have learned a lot about football and football coaches and how they do things. I feel that if I have regret, it is that I believed that they all followed what was right more than they actually do. I think coaches want to win. They care about the kids and sometimes they bend the rules in order to win. I believe that you have adults who are coaching and also teaching. If they know what the rule is, they are going to follow the rule and sad to say that is not the case. So I would definitely change some things that I did if I would have come into this position now knowing what I know, but ultimately I think it has been successful. It was really never anything I wanted. I didn't choose it, but I've tried to do the best that I could while I was here. It would be interesting to hear how some of the coaches and athletic directors would respond to that question.

JL: Yes, you're right. How do you feel about the large number of men in women's athletic administration positions despite the growing numbers of women in athletic participation particularly at the high school level and should women coach and administrate women's programs? What about at high school level? Why are there fewer women coaching in women's programs, especially at the high school level?

SL: I think in the WNBA if you look at that, it sort of mirrors what is happening in high school. When WNBA first started, there were very few men coaches and you look at them now and I don't know what the numbers are, but I would venture to say there are more male coaches than there are women because there is money involved in it now and there was not money. There did not used to be money. Now that the guys are realizing that there is money to be made here, then they jump on it. I would certainly prefer if I

had my druthers to have women coach girls and men coach boys. I think that is better. I think it is better for everybody. I don't know because it is hard for me because I don't feel that in our school system we really have growing numbers of women. I guess overall we do, and it is growing, but it is not growing probably as much as I would like it to. Why there are fewer women than men, the money in our case, the money is the same. The WNBA that is totally different. In college, I can't answer that, I don't know that either. For us, in our school district, our coaching is totally equitable, regardless if you are male or female. What we look at is your experience. Generally, the male coaches make more than the women coaches because they have more experience coaching, so therefore they make more money. It is hard to find women that really want to coach and put in the hours if they have a family. It is easier for the guys. But for women it is harder. It is hard when you have to make a choice between picking up your kids or leaving them at a daycare until eight at night or getting your husband to do it, if you are married. I think it is harder for women. I think that it is a hard decision for women to make. I think many of the women that do make a decision to coach, I think toward the end of their career, I think they probably have a lot more regrets with their kids growing up and they are not there as much as they would have liked to have been. I don't know. That is a good question and I don't know.

JL: In college or in high school, did you or your teammates ever have your sexual identity questioned or were you ever labeled and called names as a result of your athletic participation, whether as a teacher, athletic trainer, or in your current position?

SL: Not that I can remember. In high school, we never talked about those things. I was called a tomboy, but I don't think, if what I think you're trying to get out, I don't

remember that ever as a young teacher or as a young coach. I worked in recreation departments for years, because that was my first degree, was in recreation, same kind of thing. No. I have sort of been surprised since I have been in this position for six years that nobody has said anything, again to my face; you know who knows what they say behind your face, but no. No, I don't think that has never been an issue for me.

JL: Have you ever been gender labeled as a result of your participation and/or successes in athletics either as a player, coach, or professionally or as an athletic trainer in your case?

SL: I don't think so. I am trying to remember here. There is nothing that comes to mind. The only thing that readily comes to mind is being called a tomboy and that was in high school and actually I don't remember any of that in college. No, I don't think so. Not that I am aware of.

JL: Okay. Good. Have the issues of lesbianism at a high school level ever been an issue for you professionally, and if so, has it affected any of the decisions that you have had to make as athletic director?

SL: We have had in probably the last three years, but I did not have to deal with it personally. There had been suggestions or innuendos that some of the girls' teams were [lesbians] but, it was dealing with lesbian girls, one of the people on the team. I talked with the coach about it to make sure that they were addressing the issues with the individual girls, just discussing not letting it just go unsaid. Because in one situation and one team, it got pretty heated with some of the teachers in the school saying that we need to disband this team because they are only a bunch of gays and they are recruiting kids and they are going home and spending time with each other in their parents' houses and

the parents don't know they are there and you know all kinds of stuff. It really, now that you have asked that, I don't really know even where that went because my policies have been to really let, if it is an issue like that at a school level, let the school handle it and try not to make more of an issue out of it than it really is. I think sometimes you need to address issues that are important or have a negative impact on the kids, but you don't want to make it more of an issue than what it really is, I think.

JL: So was this an issue that some of the teammates had with other teammates or was it somebody outside the team that was stirring the pot so to speak?

SL: Yes, it was actually somebody; obviously, this did not mean a whole lot to me because I don't remember a lot of it. It seemed to me that it was like a tenth grader who was on the team for part of the year, basketball, on the team part of the previous year as a ninth grader and did something, violated some kind of team rule, got kicked off the team, then as a tenth grader, she was not on the team and then was talking about the kids on the team. Then it just sort of escalated. Then moms got involved. To me, it was a case that I really did not think there was that much to it. I felt like it was more a case of sour grapes with a kid-the girl that wanted to be on the team and wasn't, and that was a good way to get everybody all upset and create all kinds of furrows.

JL: It sounds more like a retaliation problem.

SL: Yes, it really wasn't a big deal.

JL: This is the last one. Do you personally know of coaches that try to steal recruits by accusing other coaches of being lesbians or by accusing the coaches of recruiting and having lesbians on the team?

SL: No, I don't know. We do have coaches that accuse other coaches of stealing

players, but it does not have anything to do with their sexual orientation. I don't even know that I have had to deal with anything like that at all. I really haven't.

JL: Is there anything that I have not asked that you feel like any of your experiences may lend to this interview that may be helpful in writing or anything?

SL: Good luck. I will say this and I don't have anything to back it up. I think the person that comes in behind me, because I will be retiring very shortly, and I think that it would be helpful for the person to either be a male or a female who is a local athlete. I think they would have more respect because it is sort of like they have been there. The guys, in my opinion, unless you have a very strong female as Athletic Director, it is going to be somewhat of an uphill battle. It is like you always have to prove yourself, unless you have been there and you have walked in their shoes, coaches, and they have respect for you as a coach. I think that a female who is an athlete would have more creditability probably than I did. They would be respected more by the "good ole boys." The women really, I have not really ever thought about that. The women I don't think really care so much. They just want to do what they do, as far as coaching or athletic directors, but the men, and maybe this is just a personal thing for me, but I felt like that I would have gotten more respect if I had been a ball player from Savannah or a tennis pro or something, but I will say that I don't know that if any of the guys or women have really made me feel that they did not respect me. I think they do. They don't always like what I say. They don't always agree with my opinion, but I think that was just because I had been there so long and they know that I am fair or at least I try to be fair. But I do know that it is not right, I don't think, for the guy to be in this position. I think it would be easier. I think as far as the district and the teams and the kids that unless you have got, if

you have a comparable ability between a male and a female for a district AD, I think the male would win out. I hope maybe ten years from now that won't be the case and maybe if we have enough females that persevere like I think I have, then maybe it will change. Some of my feelings may be a little skewed because I never really wanted this job. I just sort of landed in it by accident. I do think that I have helped make a difference more with the policy and procedure things. Coaches aren't a group generally that really like to have a lot of rules. They are just like give me the money I need, which is never enough, give me the money that I need and let me go do what I want to do with kids and they just don't feel that the rules are necessary for them because they are passionate about their sport and their kids and they feel they are going to make the right decision and they don't want a whole bunch of rules, but when you are dealing with money, with safety and all kinds of things, you have got to have a lot of rules and regulations, and I think I have done better probably with that than with some other things, putting some rules in place. It has been an interesting experience. It really has been. For the most part, I would say I have enjoyed it. It will be interesting to see what happens. Did that give you everything that you need? Is there anything that I didn't answer?

JL: No. You answered everything. I did not know if you had some experience in particular that you did not mention a while ago from the job itself. You have answered all of my questions.

SL: I don't think so. It was real interesting, though. I don't know if you saw it a couple of nights ago, Billie Jean King. I was just flipping channels and I saw her tennis special where they named the Forest Hills tennis facility after Billie Jean King. I saw the last part of it. As I was listening to her going through the list of people that she was thanking,

it was real interesting to me. I was reflecting as she was saying, because she to me is the epitome of Title IX. Billie Jean King to me is Title IX because she has fought so much and keeps doing it. I don't want to say I idolize her. I have an awful lot of respect for her. I was looking at her and thinking I don't know how old she is, but I know she is older than I am and I am thinking I am so tired of fighting these guys and fighting how things should be as opposed to how they are that I am just running out of energy and she hasn't and it is sort of motivating to me to watch her and we need more women like her. So I don't know. Hopefully, we will get somebody in this job that will just take it and go with it and do some wonderful things.

#### **Pat Summitt, University of Tennessee Basketball Coach-Biography**

I was, unfortunately, unable to meet Coach Summitt personally but she graciously agreed to participate in the interview by phone. Her interview was perhaps the shortest one and I was initially somewhat disappointed. However, when only a week or so later there was an interview with Coach Summitt on television, I realized that with the commercial time involved, my interview had not been so short after all, and that I was, indeed, fortunate that she had the time in her very busy schedule to give the interview at all. Coach Summitt elected not to answer several questions due to the possibility of her answers being misconstrued.

Patricia Head Summitt is **THE ICON** of women's collegiate basketball and the most successful coach (woman or man) in collegiate basketball today. Pat Summitt was born in Henrietta, Tennessee. Tricia, as she was called then, and is still called by her family, was the fourth of five children and the first girl. She attended public schools and was a Methodist. After graduating from high school, Pat went on to the University of

Tennessee-Martin where she received a Bachelor of Science in Physical Education. While there, she led the Lady Pacers to a 64-29 record. She won a silver medal as a participant on the 1976 USA Olympic Basketball Team and was the co-captain of that team. In the 1984 Olympics as the Olympic Women's Basketball Coach, she brought home the first USA Women's Basketball Gold medal.

Summitt took the reins at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in 1974, at the age of twenty-two. Pre-Title IX, there were no scholarships, no one to take care of the uniforms, other than the coach, and the team traveled everywhere in a van. Pat's first first victory was in January 1975. Fans numbered fifty-three as they watched UT women defeat the Middle Tennessee women.

No doubt the most successful coach in collegiate basketball, Summitt has an impressive résumé. She has coached UT to six National Championships and has an outstanding overall record of 913-177 (as of March 2006). Her winning percentage is 83.7. Summitt has won ninety-two of the 111 NCAA tournament games in which her teams have appeared. UT teams have appeared in twenty-five consecutive NCAA tournaments. That is every tournament since the women began tournaments. Summitt's teams have won six National Championships in 1987, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1997, and 1998. One of my favorite bumper stickers of all time, which adorns the wall of my office, states, "In Tennessee, men are just men, women are champions" and goes on to list the years. In addition to the NCAA records that Summitt's team holds are twenty-four SEC regular season and tournament titles.

In 2003, Pat Summitt became the first women's coach to reach 800 career wins. On March 22, 2005, she surpassed Dean Smith, becoming the Division-I all time most

winningest coach. January 9, 2006, Coach Summitt won her 900<sup>th</sup> game with a win over Vanderbilt University. Also in May 2006, Summitt became the first women's collegiate basketball coach to earn one million dollars per year.

In her thirty-third season at the University of Tennessee, Summitt is considered a master motivator and role model. She has repeatedly established the fact that she and her teams are champions. Coach Summitt credits her family, no-nonsense parenting, and values such as hard work, competition with older brothers, and a balance between tough disciplinarian (Dad) and a show of affection (Mom) as elements of her success.

Every athlete who has completed eligibility at UT has either completed her degree or is in the process of so doing. Her program has produced eleven US Olympians, nineteen Kodak All Americans, over forty international participants, and twenty professional players.

Coach Summitt demands hard work and dedication from her staff and her players but does so in a way that achieves results and teaches life skills without demoralizing the players. She demands no less of the people that surround her than she does of herself.

Obviously, I could go on and on with Coach Summitt's accomplishments and achievements because they are so numerous. You can find an account of her accomplishments and achievements by visiting online at the University of Tennessee sports and athletics web page.

### **Pat Summitt-Interview**

JL: Okay, the first question is-Please describe your childhood and/or adolescent athletic experiences and tell me how and why you were interested and active in sports as a child or as a young person.

PS: I grew up on a farm with three older brothers. I think a lot of my activities on the farm, such as playing tag or touch football out in the fields, and my dad putting us a goal and light up in were all contributing factors to my interest in sports. At night we played basketball, in the evenings, and it would get pretty intense and competitive, being the only girl at the time. My sister was born six years after me, but I think that is when I really realized that I loved to be outdoors. I liked basketball an awful lot. Once I got into school I actually started playing organized basketball in the third grade. That came about when our coach, who was the principal of the school, asked me to come out for the team so that they would have another player, not necessarily somebody who was going to play a lot, but somebody to help them with practice. That is when I really started competing.

JL: Was your dad a basketball player? Why did he choose basketball instead of maybe a softball glove or volleyball or what have you?

PS: My dad played basketball. Two of my three brothers played basketball. One of them was a baseball pitcher and the middle son played football in high school. I think I chose basketball, not because my dad played, but just because that is what we played mainly at home in the hayloft. I just kind of fell in love with the game and it just became something that I knew I wanted to do. I did play softball. I played softball for quite a while. In college, I played volleyball and basketball. The only reason I did that was

because they told me they needed me to play volleyball and that it would get me in shape to play basketball. Clearly, it wasn't the same kind of cardio but I believed them.

JL: Yes. We'll move on to question number two. Were there any sports other than basketball available when you went to high school and if so, were they coached by men or women?

PS: You know there wasn't. We didn't have any at the high school level. We didn't have anything really other than basketball. We didn't have organized volleyball. We played that in our P.E. class. Really basketball was it. Then of course on the boys' side, they had basketball and football.

JL: That seems to be... I haven't really talked to people from other states other than mostly southern states, but I know when I was in high school, basketball was the only sport available for girls. I played softball and we didn't have a softball team. We didn't have a track team or any other sports.

PS: Right. We didn't either...

JL: Just basketball. Okay, number three, why was basketball important to you as an adolescent, as a young coach and now as a successful veteran coach?

PS: I just enjoyed playing the game. I think I was much more into a team sport. I never really desired to play an individual sport. I played some tennis when I was in college, not competitively but just to play. I have always been a real people person. I got the chance to compete, to interact with other people. I think that a part of it is the social part and the friendships. Obviously, to have a chance to be on the team and to compete and to

try to win was important. I was always very competitive for some reason maybe because I had three older brothers and I was trying to survive.

JL: Yes. That would definitely put a competitive desire there I would think. Okay, was your participation in athletics pre- or post-Title IX and at the high school level?

PS: Title IX did not come about until early '70s, 74.....

JL: '72 ...

PS: That is when I was at college.....

JL: Yes. What are some ways that your participation and opportunities when you were in high school and college were different than those that young women experience today?

PS: Well there is just another level of competition. The competition is greater; there are scholarships, so that is significant. There is incentive for a lot of young women to go to school and get their education while playing basketball. Just to have that funded, that is a great opportunity for a lot of young people who aspire to be selected as a potential recruit to play basketball. Obviously, I didn't have that and today obviously there are so many young women that get to follow their dream of getting a full scholarship.

JL: In what ways have you seen the change in women's basketball as a result of Title IX, and do you feel like it is still working to provide balanced opportunities for women, (this is sort of a multiple-pronged question here), or has it lost its power to motivate and why or why not would you think?

PS: Well as far as Title IX, I think that a number of schools have made a strong commitment to funding their women's athletics programs and being something comparable to that of men. Now there are a lot of schools that are not as committed. I

think some administrators are not providing the same opportunities for their women's teams as they would for a men's team. At Tennessee, I feel like there is not a Title IX issue here. There is a commitment to men's athletics and to women's athletics and the type of commitment is one of fairness and one of opportunity that is obviously very, very similar in nature.

JL: Yes. I don't know how active you have time to be out in the high school community other than your recruiting times, but do you feel like that the high school...I find from talking to people that colleges seem to be pretty equitable now, but do you find that the high school programs are as equitable or do you think there is still some ground to cover there?

PS: Well, Jane, I don't have a real good handle on what is taking place in some high schools. It is clear that their programs are being equally funded, but I don't know that I can really speak to that with the level of knowledge that I could say some do this and some do that.

JL: What were your early days of coaching like and were your teams and you provided with ample amounts of equipment or quality equipment, space, practice time, uniforms, practice clothes, facilities, etc., and if not, how did you compensate?

PS: Well, when I first came here, we didn't have practice gear. We had uniforms. We practiced in Alumni Gym. We didn't have a lot of competition because men's basketball practiced in Stokely Athletic Center and we were not allowed to practice there, only in Alumni Gym. I guess it was my third year when we played an exhibition game in Stokely with our men. We played in front of several thousand, maybe 10,000 just

because we were playing prior to the men's game. I wasn't even allowed to watch the men's practice.

JL: Wow!

PS: So, I just worked in Alumni Gym with a voluntary staff of graduate assistants that were here in our physical education program. I really didn't have a paid assistant, but we did it because we loved it. When we went on road trips, we went in vans. We got to fly when we flew from here to Memphis to play in the regional tournament, and we qualified to the Final Four, the Women's National Basketball Championships, to which sixteen teams got to go. We finished third in the country that year.

JL: Yes. Do you remember which year that was right off the top of your head?

PS: That was my third year so I think it was 1977.

JL: Oh. I was in college then. That is when the Title IX legislation was sort of filtering down to Georgia. I don't know how it was in the rest of the country, but I had the opportunity to play softball in both my junior and my senior year and it was because of Title IX, and we traveled everywhere and still it was a lot of fun, though. We didn't get to go much out of the state. We went to Florida and maybe Alabama, I forget but anyway...

PS: Yes and piled up about four in a room...

JL: Uh, huh and when you got off the van, everybody had to dash to the restroom and you used both the men's and the ladies'...

PS: Yes, yes, yes...

JL: The good old days! Do you believe that women's athletic programs have achieved parity with the men's programs and why or why not?

PS: Some, but not all. Why or why not – because some administrators choose not to provide the same level of funding. Here at Tennessee, fortunately, we are ahead of the game.

JL: Yes. So do you think that is probably true in like the larger universities more so maybe? I know that this is a guess question.

PS: I think at a number of them but certainly not at our level.

JL: I think one of the ... are you there ... hello?

PS: Yes.

JL: Oh, okay, I'm sorry. I know one of the ladies I talked to was the volleyball coach at the University of Florida and she told me, she said that I probably needed to be talking to people who were in programs in schools that aren't as committed to being equitable and that kind of thing.

PS: There are plenty of them out there.

JL: Yes. Okay, were there ever any moments in your career that you felt mistreated, overlooked, or passed over for promotions because you were a woman?

PS: Anytime I felt mistreated or overlooked or ...

JL: Or maybe passed over, you know you tried to get some type of promotion in your teaching job or whatever and felt like you didn't get it because you were female...

PS: Well, there is a big discrepancy there in salaries and in marketing. Early on, our teams weren't being marketed. Very early on there was little media coverage. So, certainly when you look at what was happening on the men's side versus the women's side there was a real difference. There was a glaring lack of support for women versus the men.

JL: How do you feel about the large numbers of men in women's athletic administration positions in spite of the growing numbers of women in athletic participation?

PS: I am not concerned that we have a number of men that want to be in our game. It is a concern when women with credentials are overlooked and the jobs are given to men because we don't have the same opportunity as women to get the head coaching jobs over men and men's athletics...

JL: True.

PS: For the sport of basketball or any other sports for that matter.

JL: I am not an extremely close follower of the game, but I know that I seem to see many more women doing the coaching in the women's collegiate programs and that makes me personally happy.

PS: Sure

JL: Should women coach and administrate women's programs?

PS: "Should women coach and administrate women's programs?"

JL: Yes.

PS: That is your question, Jane?

JL: Yes.

PS: Well, I think that we have to understand in women's athletics that we need to hire the best qualified individual but at the same time take into account that we have qualified women. If you are talking the credentials being very similar or the same, my recommendation is we should hire females.

JL: Yes. So, where there is a qualified woman available, even if she maybe doesn't have quite as many years experience or hasn't coached quite as many games or what have you, if she has about the same credentials, you think the woman should get the job?

PS: Right, right. If we are talking that the credentials are very similar.

JL: How about at the high school level? The same question, do you think women should have the coaching positions of women's...

PS: Sure.

JL: Why do you think there are fewer women coaching women's programs, especially in the high schools?

PS: That is a good question and one that I've done no research on. I don't know what the numbers are ...

JL: I haven't actually seen any numbers. As I've gotten into this topic and these questions and talking with different people, I have almost decided I probably should have gone high school level and looked at it from that angle but it has been very interesting. I felt like I would find people had suffered a lot of, I hate to use the word abuse, but abuse because of being female ...

PS: Right.

JL: ...coaches and that kind of thing. The three of you that I have talked to from the major universities, that has not been the case and also that was interesting to me because I know coming from a high school background there is still an awful lot of not being equal and fair there as far as women getting jobs and sports for the girls and participation and that kind of thing. I think that the universities maybe have made a big commitment and that has not quite filtered down yet into the high school level, at least in Georgia that is true. I can't speak for the whole country but at least here, that is true.

PS: And I think in Tennessee there is, I don't know the numbers, but I think there is probably more male coaches than female coaches at the high school level as well.

JL: Um, hmm. I think that is probably true. I think a lot of times, and you know from personal experience, that it is just very difficult to raise a family and have a husband and a child and to be a full-time coach, and I know even at the high school level you know that was difficult for me to do that ...

PS: Sure.

JL: I know that a lot of people just don't want to have that struggle and that battle to fight I guess is probably one of the reasons but anyway... I am going to turn the tape recorder off and just ask you about a couple more things and make a couple more comments...

PS: Okay.

JL: Is there anything else along the lines of what we talked about before I turn it off that you would like to add or say anything about?

PS: Well, I think just to reiterate that I think that as we work at women's athletics, that we need to be aware that there are so many qualified women out there, and their opportunity of being head coach exists only on the women's side.

JL: Yes.

PS: They don't have the opportunity to apply and be hired on the men's side.

JL: Yes.

PS: That would be the rare exception, certainly not the rule, and I think it is important that women that are knowledgeable and experienced coaches be given the opportunity to coach women.

JL: Yes. I agree with you whole-heartedly.

### **Summary of Interviews**

Five women whose lives and careers have been based in athletics were interviewed to determine what part the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network" had played in their personal and/or professional lives. Also of interest was whether the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network" had influenced their gender identity in any way. The third point of interest was the power wielded by the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network."

The women were all born in the 1950s ranging from birth years 1952 to 1959. There were several commonalities that emerged from the interviews. The first commonality was family size and early athletic participation. Four of the five women were born into large families. Wise, Stacy, Evans, and Summitt all had siblings that were brothers, while Layne was an only child. All five women were involved in unorganized neighborhood athletic activities prior to high school. Summitt grew up on a farm and

played sports with her brothers. Wise had recreational participation opportunities. The others, Stacy, Evans, and Layne played in back yards, basements, and on dirt streets.

A second commonality was the high school athletic experiences. Two of the women, Wise and Evans, who went through Catholic schools, had the most opportunities for athletic participation. Sports in their parochial schools ranged from volleyball to basketball to field hockey. Both women played volleyball and basketball in high school. The other three women, Stacy, Layne, and Summitt attended public high schools which only offered basketball and in one, tennis. Layne and Summitt played basketball in high school. Stacy played golf on the boys' team because there was no girls' team. She is the only interviewee not to have played high school basketball. Her high school did not even have a girls' basketball team at that time. Stacy quit the golf team because her playing caused her brother so much discomfort that she decided it was not worth playing.

The opportunity to participate at the collegiate level was the third commonality. One woman, the youngest of the group, Mary Wise, attended college on a full, four-year volleyball scholarship. A second woman, Caryn Evans earned a grant in aid scholarship to play basketball. Pat Summitt played four years of college basketball but there were no scholarship opportunities for women at that time. Jessica Layne did not play any sport in college. Hollis Stacy attended one year at a private college with a private golf scholarship. Summitt, Evans, and Wise went on to coaching careers at the collegiate level. Evans retired from coaching to move into athletic administration. Layne went into public elementary education and worked as a college trainer in the early Title IX days at two different colleges. Layne then went on to work at the district level of administration and later as the District Athletic Director.

The fourth identified commonality was Title IX experiences/opportunities. Three of the women, Evans, Wise, and Summitt, had the most positive influences and experiences from Title IX. Both Wise and Evans benefited from collegiate athletic participation opportunities with scholarships and grant in aids. Summitt, Evans, and Wise all benefited from Title IX as coaches/athletic directors. All three women indicated that they were in the right place at the right time. These three women worked for universities that had made a commitment to women's athletics and as such they were promoted and supported these three women in their coaching careers and programs.

The fifth thread was the defining of the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network" and personal and professional experiences within this network of power. All of the women answering the question about the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network" defined it as a powerful network of men in athletics and one in which women were not invited to attend or to be included in the membership. Interestingly enough, two women who were collegiate coaches, Wise and Evans, suggested that they had no negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network" through neither their personal nor professional lives. The third collegiate coach, Summitt, chose not to answer the questions about the "good ole boy network." Layne had several negative experiences to contribute spanning her professional career. One college where she worked early on in her career as an athletic trainer lost its entire women's athletic program in the '80s because the male AD thought that the money funding women's athletics could be better used by the men's programs. Other negative experiences that Layne had with the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network" included not being invited to participate in certain community clubs and organizations in which her predecessor had been included. Stacy,

who played ladies' professional golf, also related several experiences with the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network." One experience was when a male golfer made the statement that the problem with the LPGA was lesbianism. When Stacy confronted the commissioner, nothing was said or done about the situation. As recently as the late 1990s and early 2000s when Stacy was preparing to retire, she had an incident with the golf commissioner, who basically told her that she had no right to expect to have a Ladies' Golf Senior Tour. The fact that the collegiate women reported no negative experiences indicates that Title IX is alive and well, at least in the larger universities. These programs have moved beyond discrimination to women and women's sports. On the other hand, the two women not involved in collegiate athletics did experience the negative side of the athletic patriarchy. Another point worth consideration is that perhaps the athletic patriarchy has become so institutionalized at the collegiate level, that it is not immediately recognized.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS

As stated earlier, feminism means many different things to many different people. As a feminist, I wanted to explore the ways that women are marginalized in athletics and identify the power of the patriarchy or in the case of this particular research, the athletic patriarchy. The hierarchal structure of the athletic patriarchy, the power that it possesses, and the construction of gender identity by the athletic patriarchy was the basis for this research. The athletic patriarchy closely resembles the hierarchal patriarchy of society.

Where previous works such as those of Haraway and Harding have identified the hierarchal structure of patriarchy and the influence of society on gender construction, this particular research sought to differ by identifying commonalities between the athletic patriarchy, construction of gender, and power issues within women's athletics. To do this, interviews with five highly successful women within the male-dominated world of collegiate and professional athletics were interviewed.

Research questions asked were, How has the construction of gender identity by the athletic patriarchy affected women's athletics? What part has gender played in the evolution of women's athletics? Why is the athletic patriarchy so powerful, and how has it been so successful in keeping women marginalized in athletics? The purpose of this research was to examine the influences of the athletic patriarchy on women's athletics and to explore issues of power and gender within these influences.

### **Commonalities**

Several commonalities emerged from the interviews with the five women. The first commonality was *family size and athletic participation at an early age*. The second commonality was *high school participation and high school athletic opportunities*. A third commonality identified was *college participation*. *Title IX experiences* was the fourth commonality. The fifth commonality identified was *the definition for “the good ole boy network”/athletic patriarchy and experiences within this network*.

### **Family Size and Athletic Participation at an Early Age**

Four of the women, Mary Wise, Hollis Stacy, Caryn Evans, and Pat Summitt, came from large families with older brothers. They related through their interviews that playing sports with their brothers in back yards, basements, and barns was instrumental in their love of sports. Although Susan Layne was an only child, she too played sports at an early age. She played on the dirt streets of her neighborhood with the other neighborhood children. All of the women played a variety of sports, but basketball was a common denominator for all of the women, except Hollis Stacy.

In the review of literature in chapter 2, Haraway (1989) and Harding (1998) explored the relationships of the patriarchy and society’s construction of gender. Fortunately for the women in this study, their families supported play, not only for the boys but for the girls as well. Four of the five had older male siblings which contributed to their playing sports and games from childhood through their collegiate years.

Haraway (1989) indicated that gender is made-up, socially constructed. Her study of primates indicated that not all cultures were led by the males but were also led by the

females. Gender, according to Haraway (1989) is, “a politics of sex and the ordering of sexual differences” (p. 289). The women of this study were not ordered into the “female gender” to remain inactive, but instead were provided opportunities and encouraged to step outside their gender boundaries, to participate in and become proficient at sports.

Harding (1998) also addressed the patriarchy and society’s social construction of gender. About gender, Harding (1989) states, “...socially organized...plays a role of importance in the cultural construction of what counts as real sex difference” (p. 85). Society in the era of the youth of these five women was definitely about defining women’s roles as wife and mother. According to Harding (1989), “gender relations are never static or fixed” (p. 93). Because of these relations constantly changing, even as these women were girls, they were allowed an opportunity to participate in the world of athletics and to become experienced and talented players.

### **High School Participation**

Another commonality between the five women was that they all played some organized sport in high school. Again, basketball seemed to be the common element for all except Stacy. Stacy played golf on the boys’ golf team because there was not a girls’ team.

While two of the women identified that there were other sports in their high schools ranging from tennis to field hockey, the majority only had basketball. All except Hollis Stacy was involved with basketball at the high school level. The women who attended the Catholic high schools had the most variety of opportunity to participate in athletics. The women who attended public high schools had only basketball and tennis available at their schools. All but Hollis Stacy played high school basketball. Susan Layne played basketball for only one year due to the feeling that most of the girls who were allowed to

play were the ones that “cozied up” to the male coach and to her that was an unacceptable practice.

Weiss (2004) writes about identity, gender, class, and race. Weiss states the women of Freeway were exhibiting, “a critical moment of critique of male dominance and patriarchy” (p. 52). Like the women of Freeway, the women in this research, by the time they reached their high school years, had identified sports as an important part of their lives. While marriage and children were not important ideas at that time for these women, their chosen sports were. Weiss (2004) suggests that identities are constructed over a period of time and in relation to the constructed identities of others, as well as dialectically in relation to the broader economy and culture (p. 190). Sports were helping to construct the identities of the five women of this research, first from childhood and then into adulthood.

### **College and Professional Experiences**

All five women attended college, though Hollis Stacy chose to go professional in her sport rather than stay in college. Hollis was not comfortable at the exclusive private college where she had gone to play golf. Three of the women, Summitt, Wise, and Layne, earned degrees in Physical Education, and one, Evans, earned a degree in Business Administration. Wise was fortunate enough to earn a full volleyball scholarship while Evans earned a grant in aid for basketball. Layne did not play at the collegiate level but did serve as athletic trainer at two colleges. Summitt played basketball at the collegiate level, but it was pre-Title IX and there were no scholarships. Stacy attended college to play golf on a privately funded scholarship but did not stay there due to the opportunity for participation in professional golf instead.

Three of the five women, Summitt, Evans, and Wise, have careers at the collegiate level as coaches of the sports in which they excelled. Evans recently moved up the ladder to become the associate athletic director at the same university where she was the basketball coach for many years. One woman, Layne, became a Physical Education teacher, then a system level administrator, and finally a system athletic director for the system high school and middle schools. The professional golfer, Stacy, went on to a successful career with the Ladies' Professional Golf Association and was a volunteer golf coach at a university in California. Since retirement, Stacy is involved in business endeavors.

Bolin and Granskog (2003) in their work, *Athletic Intruders: Ethnographic Research on Women, Culture, and Exercise*, present a collection of writing which investigates women's place in sport. The title suggests that women's sport participation has not come without a struggle. This struggle was experienced firsthand by Hollis Stacy and Susan Layne. Both had adverse experiences with the athletic patriarchy. Bolin and Granskog (2003) state, "the impact of feminism of the 1960s..., a new feminist agenda relaxing the boundaries, and the passage of Title IX in 1972" (p. 3) collectively contributed to the growth of women's athletics and sports participation.

The life histories of four women focusing on the impact that sport and participation had on their lives in terms of their identity was the focus of Granskog (2003).

Granskog (2003) noted, "Although we all participate in a shared culture, we simultaneously express that culture in our own unique way" (p. 51). This was true of the five women in this research. All were involved in athletic participation but all experienced it in different ways. Each of the five had experiences that were unique to

them. All were successful, but all arrived at that success and experienced it in different ways.

### **Title IX Benefits**

Mary Wise, the youngest of the women, was the only woman interviewed to truly profit from the Title IX Legislation as a collegiate player. All of the others were pre-Title IX or ending their collegiate careers at the beginning of Title IX. Interestingly enough, the three women who are collegiate coaches/assistant athletic administrator have all been fortunate to work in universities that made commitments to Title IX and gender equity early and reported that they have had no negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy. The two women who do not work at the collegiate level have had more adverse experiences where Title IX and the athletic patriarchy were concerned.

Hollis Stacy had perhaps, the most notable and the most numerous conflicts with the athletic patriarchy. She endured name calling by male golfers and even before retirement and at the end of her career in her attempt to help organize the Senior Ladies' Golf Tour, was asked what made her think that she "deserved that." Another area of concern was the money paid to men and women golfers. It was not until the women secured their own sponsors that the pay became more equitable. Even now, Hollis Stacy is sometimes not recognized for her accomplishments. A prime example was last fall when a local television sports news program did a special on famous Savannah Golfers and her name was not mentioned.

Susan Layne experienced the demise of an entire women's athletic program at a small community college during the 1980s. Layne was the volunteer athletic trainer for the school. A new male athletic director took over the athletic reins at the school and

decided that the money from the women's program would be better spent on the men's program. The saddest part of this story is that nothing was ever done by anyone. No one ever challenged the decision, not the players, the parents, the coaches, or the college. There was barely any publicity about the program being cut. Obviously this was a blatant violation of Title IX and a display of the power of the athletic patriarchy at its worst.

Markula (2005) states, "...it is obvious that women's experiences are structured differently depending on their background" (p. 5). Women in sport are a form of this resistance. The five women in my research are within a seven year age range. Because of their ages, they were able to experience athletics at different levels. Some, Summitt, Layne, and Stacy, experienced high school sports pre-Title IX. Summitt also went on to a collegiate experience, but it also was pre-Title IX. Evans was able to experience college basketball at the beginning of Title IX. Wise, the youngest of the group, experienced Title IX at the collegiate level while in full swing.

### **Athletic Patriarchy**

The most interesting information to emerge from this research was that two of the three college coaches, Wise and Evans, reported that they had not experienced any negative influences from the athletic patriarchy or with gender identity issues. Those questions on the athletic patriarchy/"the good ole boy network" were not answered by Summitt. Each of the women credited the universities where they coached as having made major commitments to Title IX and the equity of women's athletics. As a result, two of the three have very successful careers free of the domination of the athletic patriarchy. One explanation is that the universities have been under close scrutiny to meet Title IX

mandates and many willingly comply in order to have women's programs that are as competitive as the men's programs. This is true in the major universities where it may not be so true in the smaller, less well-funded colleges and universities. I was told by Mary Wise that her program was a successful one and was also well supported by the administration of the University of Florida. Wise hinted that I might find totally different responses from women coaches working in smaller schools with less revenue and support of their programs.

On the flip side of the coin, the two women, Layne and Stacy, who did not work at the collegiate level, had some very negative encounters with the athletic patriarchy. Layne was denied access to community organizations to which her male predecessor had been admitted. Stacy and the LPGA were called names by male golfers and the "powers that be" would not address the issue, no doubt in fear of their jobs.

All of the women that answered the questions about athletic patriarchy/"the good ole boy network" defined it as a male network where women were not allowed membership. In the South, this network usually revolves around the powerful institution of collegiate football, but that is not the only place that it exists. The athletic patriarchy is present throughout the athletic world. It would seem from these interviews that while the athletic patriarchy is less prevalent at the university level, that it is alive and well in athletic venues outside of the collegiate arena. This research indicates that the athletic patriarchy/"good ole boy network" is also present at the high school and women's professional sports levels.

The existence and control of the patriarchy is well documented in the review of literature in chapter 2. Not only did Haraway (1989) and Harding (1998) document

their findings about patriarchy and societal gender constructions, but other scholars, Butler (2004), Sedgwick (1990), Weedon (1987), and Hall (2005) did so as well.

Butler (2004) states, “to be oppressed means that you already exist as a subject of some kind...” (p. 30). Two women in my research were oppressed by the athletic patriarchy, Layne and Stacy. Butler also indicated that our identities are formed through the larger network of power wielded by the patriarchy. The athletic patriarchy wielded its power over both of these women but neither seems to have been adversely swayed by this influence.

Sedgwick (1990), like previously mentioned scholars, describes gender as being more social production and reproduction of male and female identities and of structuring the binary model for other sexual binarisms (p. 27-28). The issue of power is also important in her work. Her point of women having a more difficult time “coming out” can be linked to my research. Two of the women have never “come out” publicly because of their positions, one even stating it would be an embarrassment to her employer. Once again the athletic patriarchy has influenced their lives even though they might not have admitted that even to themselves.

Weedon, an English scholar explores gender, identity, power, and experience in patriarchal societies. According to Weedon (1987), patriarchy is “power relations in which women’s interests are subordinated to the interests of men” (p. 2). In my research, two admitted that this had happened in their own careers, Stacy and Layne.

The best demonstration of the athletic patriarchy from the literature review comes from the personal experiences of Hall (2005). Hall describes the beginning of her career as a physical education teacher, stating, “After less than a year in my new career, I was

shocked at the blatant discrimination and impossible conditions in which I was expected to teach and encourage young girls to acquire an interest in physical activity” (p. 46). I continue to find it interesting that all of the women in my research that responded to the questions about the athletic patriarchy had no issues except the two who weren't at the collegiate level. Hall's experiences confirm my theory that the athletic patriarchy remains a power to contend with at levels of sports other than the university level.

### **Analysis of Research Questions**

The results will be discussed in order of the research questions. The first research question asked was, “How has the construction of gender identity by the athletic patriarchy affected women's athletics?” The interviews with five women yielded little or no response that their gender identities had been directly affected by the athletic patriarchy. The one woman, whose identity may have been influenced by the athletic patriarchy, was Hollis Stacy. The negative comments about her and her sexuality caused her heartache more than once. Of interest to this research, is the responses of the two women who were not out publicly. It is interesting to note that they responded that they had no negative gender experiences, yet both are not publicly out because of their positions of employment.

The second research question asked was, “What part has gender played in the evolution of women's athletics?” The negative labeling and name-calling throughout the years since Title IX came into effect has created an atmosphere in sport that has yielded negative stigmas about female athletes, namely the assumption that they are lesbian if they are successful or if they participate in sports where there is a corresponding male sport such as softball, basketball, or golf. Hollis Stacy experienced these negative

stigmas more than once in the world of professional golf. The sports of basketball and softball continue to have that stigma. One participant, Caryn Evans commented that girls were probably encouraged to pursue volleyball and tennis because those sports do not carry the lesbian stigma. Women athletes are many times perceived to have lesbian orientation, though this research did not support this perception.

The third research question asked was, “Why is the athletic patriarchy so powerful, and how has it been so successful in marginalizing women?” Where the power of the athletic patriarchy is concerned, it can be seen as hierarchal, top to bottom, just as Haraway and Harding have identified it. The work of Markula identifies sport as a site of production of male superiority. Markula (2005) states, “gender is seen as structured through hegemonic power relations that prevail in sport.” While there are certainly women in leadership positions within athletics, the women of this study were not in leadership positions, with the exception of Caryn Evans, who was an assistant athletic director. The women had to report elsewhere, usually to men.

The fact that two women wanted to keep their identities private indicates to me a measure of the power that the athletic patriarchy holds over those women. One indicated that to identify her sexual orientation, or to come out publicly, would be a source of embarrassment for her institution. Is that not an indicator that the athletic patriarchy continues to exist at the university level? Pat Summitt choosing not to answer questions about the athletic patriarchy indicates to me that there are questions to be asked about what effects the athletic patriarchy may continue to have and what power they continue to wield. Was the fact that two of the women at the university level without negative athletic patriarchal influences an indication that perhaps the athletic patriarchy has

become institutionalized at the university level? At other levels, the athletic patriarchy continues to exercise power and control of women's athletics as revealed by two of the interviewees and personal experience.

The athletic patriarchy has managed to keep women marginalized in the world of sport because they remain dominant in positions of athletic administration at the collegiate and professional levels in the world of sport. They own the power. Men hold the highest leadership positions within the world of collegiate sport and most definitely within the world of high school sport. Media reports men's sport before women's sport, relegating women's sports to a position of little importance. Men's events continue to take precedence over women's events. An example of this is the television prime time airing of men's basketball during "March Madness". The women waited as long as a week after playing their last regular season games before starting the post-season tournament. The men moved from regular season directly into the playoff season. Men's games have aired during prime time. Women's games have aired at other times during the week, on minor networks (ESPN2, ESPN3) or not at all. Semi-finals for the men are played before semi-finals for the women.

Bolin and Granskog (2003) have indicated that sport and physical activity are areas where gender relations may be explored. Women have to share the culture of sport with men. Each woman shares a role within the sports community, and according to Bolin and Granskog, "Although we participate in a shared culture, we simultaneously express that culture in our own unique way" (p. 51). It is through this sharing and through our expressions of sport culture that women will be able to move forward and upward.

### Conclusion

Pinar (2002) describes patriarchy as “the entire system oppressing women” (p. 364). The athletic patriarchy is better known to women of the South as the “good ole boy network.” This is the patriarchal system that oppresses women in athletics. The purpose of this research was to examine the influences of the athletic patriarchy on women’s athletics and to explore issues of power and gender identity within these influences by studying the professional lives of five women through the process of interview.

In Chapter 2, I discussed the work of Haraway (1989) in relation to patriarchal power and identity. Her work revealed the existence of the patriarchal influences of power and domination not only over the world of science but over women in general. Hollis Stacy experienced this patriarchal influence in her life as a professional golfer. Stacy was labeled and had negative comments or statements said to and about her as a result of being a woman golfer and because of her sexual orientation, though she was not publicly out at the time. When she confronted the Commissioner of Golf with the negative comments, nothing was said or done about the negative comments that had been made about her and about the LPGA. The public statements made by Tom Watson about lesbians and the LPGA were overlooked, ignored, and generally swept under the rug. There were no retractions or public apologies. The interview of Stacy’s professional life supports the literature in that she personally experienced these patriarchal influences of power and domination.

The interview with Susan Layne also supports Haraway’s literature of patriarchal power and dominance. Layne experienced an entire women’s athletics program become a memory because of the male athletic director. This male athletic director used his

power and position to completely eliminate the women's program at a small community college because he wanted the money for the men. This was in the '80s when such an action should not have happened because of Title IX. In another experience with the athletic patriarchy, Layne stated that she was denied access and membership to certain community organizations as system athletic director in which her male predecessor had been invited as a member.

The interviews/experiences with Layne and Stacy are also supportive of the work of Sandra Harding (1998). Harding found that patriarchy was the hierarchally organized domination of women. She states, "Masculinity is always more valued more highly and rewarded more richly..." (p. 86). The lives of both Layne and Stacy support Harding's claims support this in that both were subjected to the domination and power of the athletic patriarchy. However, the other three interviewees did not indicate or admit to any negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy. This finding would indicate that there are no such negative experiences within large universities whereas at other levels the negative influence of the patriarchy does indeed exist.

Where gender is concerned, my research did not find gender issues with the five interviewees unlike the work of Sandra Harding (1998). Harding had this to say about gender: it is "socially organized...plays a role of importance in the cultural construction of what counts as real sex difference" (p. 85). Harding also stated, "gender is always hierarchally organized-not merely complimentary. Masculinity is always valued more highly and rewarded more richly; it is evidently always associated with the distinctly human and the most prized accomplishments of public life..." (p. 86). None of my interviewees responded to the gender related questions in a way that would indicate that

they had been involved with issues related to gender. However, from my personal notes and unrecorded conversations, I suspect that gender and sexual orientation have, indeed, been significant for at least two of the interviewees. Neither woman is “publicly out” and one of them even indicated that it would be a source of embarrassment for the university if she were “out.” Hollis Stacy is out and has been out for many years. She stated to me that the most difficult part of her coming out was in how she would tell her mother.

Eve Sedgwick (1990) wrote about contradictions between homosexual and heterosexual definitions. One of her major points was that it is more difficult for women to be “out” than for men. Unrecorded conversations about gender and sexual orientation from my research confirm this. It is apparent from the women I talked to that some women continue to have concern issues with being “out.” They are concerned for their positions and how their employers would receive or view that information. While others may suspect the gender orientation of these women, there is no concrete evidence to confirm it.

The work of Susan Talburt (2000) used ethnography to explore the phrase, “lesbian and academic.” Her findings revealed that the three women did not think of their lesbianism in terms of their profession. My research disagrees with this in that two of the interviewees did indeed think of their lesbianism in terms of their professions and how being publicly “out” would effect their professional positions.

According to Bolin & Granskog (2003), women’s athletic participation began dramatic growth in the ’70s due to several factors. They state, “the impact of feminism of the 1960s..., a new feminist agenda relaxing the boundaries, and the passage of Title IX in 1972” (p. 3) collectively enhanced women’s place in athletics. My research is consistent

with this. All five women had the opportunity to participate in a sport at the high school level even though a couple of them were pre-Title IX. The participation opportunities of Evans and Wise were aided by Title IX legislation.

Markula (2005) states:

Feminist research of women's sports came to a full existence in the 1980s, when it moved from psychological considerations of sex differences and sex roles in sport to gender differences and gender roles, to the sex/gender system and to patriarchy and gender relations (p. 3).

My research is similar to this description of feminist athletic research. Interviews with athletic women asked questions of the athletic patriarchy and of its effects on gender. The athletic patriarchy, while obviously present, is experienced by different women in athletic positions and in a variety of ways. Three of the interviewees seemed to have had no negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy, while two had definite negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy.

Markula also addressed the media and media representation of active women. Caryn Evans alluded to the fact that the media is one of the largest reasons why women's programs have not achieved parity with men's programs. Markula (2005) had this to say about the media and its portrayal of women athletes: "These images emphasized the difference between women and men by trivializing, marginalizing, and sexualizing women athletes and were thus a major factor that contributed to women's oppression in sport" (p. 3).

One of the first Canadian women to pursue an Educational Doctorate in Physical Education in England, Hall, had an interest in the whys of women making or not making sport an important part of their lives.

Hall (2005) states:

Mindful of the popular and pejorative image of the female athlete as ‘unfeminine,’ I wanted to see if this stereotype prevented some women from taking an active interest in sport and to show that for women who did participate, there was a greater congruence between the two images (p. 50).

In a similar effort, my intent was to focus on the ways in which the athletic patriarchy influenced women’s gender identity. The similarity ends there because there was no indication from the interviews that athletic patriarchy had been an influence on the lives of at least three of the women.

### **Summary**

Billie Jean King, a retired tennis professional, has done much to advance the opportunities of young women for athletic participation. From her famous, unwanted match with Bobby Riggs to her creation of the Women’s Sports Foundation, King has been an active voice for women and athletics. She has also been a strong advocate for Title IX and the positive experiences that it has created for many women and girls. Women like Billie Jean King and Hollis Stacy, who are comfortable with their identity, have done much to promote athletics for women. Hollis Stacy is an advocate for women.

Women and men continue to fight for the strength of Title IX. Lawsuits and efforts to weaken it are too numerous to begin to list. As recently as two years ago, a group of

collegiate wrestling coaches brought a lawsuit protesting Title IX, which claimed that wrestling programs were cut to support women's athletics. Thanks to the diligent work of advocacy groups, the court did not rule in favor of the coaches.

Cynthia Pemberton, a collegiate swim coach at a small university, filed athletic discrimination against her school. Pemberton won her battle with the university but not without a great deal of personal agony along the way. Even my own alma mater, where I participated in the school's first women's athletic program, lost its entire women's athletic program in the 1980s. While Title IX has had beneficial effects on many colleges and universities, the high schools, middle schools, and recreational avenues continue to have a long way to travel. Case in point, the high school male coach of girl's sports...

From personal experiences, the athletic patriarchy at the high school level is alive and well. Based on the information gathered from these five interviews, the athletic patriarchy at the collegiate level, at least in major universities, is not an issue. Hollis Stacy has experienced numerous encounters with the athletic patriarchy, none of which she related as good or positive encounters. Susan Layne, the system athletic administrator, has also had some negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy because of being a woman. Despite having the college program cut, most of her negative encounters involved being banned from community organizations/clubs.

The athletic patriarchy did not seem to have influenced gender with the exception of its negative impact on Hollis Stacy. She was struggling as a young golfer with her identity; thus, the remarks and actions of the men on the PGA tour and leadership did little to support her, and instead, berated her. Another area in which the athletic

patriarchy has influenced gender is women athletes and leaders not being able to come out in their professional lives for fear of losing their jobs or creating embarrassment for their employers.

The athletic patriarchy is alive and well, particularly at the high school level. The experiences of at least two of my interviewees support that claim. The two women were not involved professionally in the university. Two of the three women whose careers have been grounded in the university claim not to have had any negative encounters with the athletic patriarchy. The third chose not to answer these questions. This finding was surprising to me because I really believed that everyone I talked to would have had some negative experience or experiences with the athletic patriarchy.

The gender issues associated with the athletic patriarchy are not present in the modern university setting, according to the lives of these women. Hollis Stacy was the only interviewee to indicate that gender had been an issue. As for power, while the athletic patriarchy may not be a present force at the major universities, there is a substantial power wielded by the athletic patriarchy in other areas of sport including high schools and smaller universities. An example of this was the recent incident of a local collegiate football coach resigning one day and announcing the next that he was going to work at the professional football level. The first question in my mind was, "Who did he know?"

Title IX has provided excellent opportunities for women and girls not only in athletics but also in the classroom and in choice of careers. Many peaks to scale and valleys to cross remain, where gender equity is concerned. With hind sight being 20/20, interviewing women from smaller, less successful schools as Mary Wise suggested, may have produced an entirely different body of evidence about the athletic patriarchy.

Interviewing women and male coaches at the high school level may also have been more revealing. Where high school athletics are concerned, we have come a long way, but we have a long way yet to go.

My research has been different from other research because it has attempted to look at the lives of five women to determine what effects the athletic patriarchy has had on their athletic experiences and their professional lives. Gender questions related to the influences of the athletic patriarchy were also asked in this research.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

While this research did not yield the results that I thought it might, it has certainly produced some interesting questions. One is whether or not the women involved at the university level truly did or did not have any negative encounters with the athletic patriarchy. With this particular group of women beginning their careers at the time when they did, I find it very difficult to imagine that they would not have ever had any negative experiences with the athletic patriarchy. A second question worth exploring is why there are still so many men coaching women and girls. Is it because there are no women qualified or is it because the money is better than it once was and men see it as a financial opportunity? The third question is whether or not the athletic patriarchy influences the high school level and whether or not high school athletics are equitable. A fourth question would address whether or not the athletic patriarchy indeed no longer exists at the collegiate level, or has it just been institutionalized after all these years of Title IX compliance. All of these questions are of interest and need further research.

I would like to end this research with a quote from Dworkin & Messner (2002) where they describe sport as one of the key institutional sites for the study of social construction of gender.

Dworkin & Messner (2002) state:

Organized sport, as we know it, was created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by and for White middle class, meant to bolster a sagging ideology of 'natural superiority' over women and over race-and class-subordinated groups of men (p. 17).

They further suggest that while sport was seemingly based in natural physical endowments, "it was basically constructed out of the gender, race, and class-based stratification systems of Europe and the United States" (p. 17).

The existence of strong, skilled women athletes and coaches are a challenge and a destabilizing tendency to the current gender order. It is through the lives and work of women such as the ones presented in this research that women's athletics grow and change and will one day achieve parity with men's athletics.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**  
**LETTER OF INTRODUCTION**

Dear Participant,

My name is Jane Lynes and I am an Educational Doctoral student in Curriculum Studies at Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia. I am 50 years old and the mother of two, Daniel, 25 who is in the United States Air Force and Janie, 23, who is a senior History major at Armstrong Atlantic State University in Savannah. My husband, Dan, and I have been married for 31 years. We live about 25 miles west of Savannah.

My background is in Health and Physical Education. I have three degrees in Health and Physical Education: A Bachelor of Science, A Master's, and an Educational Specialist. In addition, I have several add on areas: Educational Leadership, Teacher Support Specialist, and Safety and Driver education. I currently teach driver education.

I have been teaching and coaching for 28 years. I did not have the opportunity to participate in athletics through a high school program (with the exception of one year JV basketball), but thanks to Title IX, I did have two years of collegiate softball at Armstrong State College. I am currently in the dissertation process of my doctoral program. The title of my dissertation is "Women's Athletics and The Athletic Patriarchy". The purpose of my dissertation is to examine the influences of the Athletic Patriarchy/The Good Ole Boy Network on women's athletics and to explore issues of power and gender within these influences.

To fulfill this purpose, I am doing interviews with women who have been successfully involved with athletics over an extended period of time. In addition to you, I plan to

interview a collegiate basketball coach, a collegiate volleyball coach, and a district athletic director.

My husband suggested you after watching the local news one night as they were giving out the “Hollis Stacy Athlete of the Year Award”. If you agree to participate in my study, I will need an opportunity to interview you. I am attaching my questions for you to this email. There are 15 questions and you may choose not to answer any question. I have been advised by my dissertation chair to schedule all interviews for 1 to 2 hours. The interview will be audio taped (with your permission) and the results used in my research. A consent form to interview will also be needed and will be included in this attachment.

At the conclusion of my research, I will be glad to return the tapes to you if you would like to have them. No information will be used after transcribing without your approval. I look forward to the opportunity to meet and chat with you and to do the interview. I really appreciate your help.

Sincerely,

Jane Lynes

**APPENDIX B****TAPE RECORDED INTERVIEW CONSENT SCRIPT**

Georgia Southern University

December 11, 2006

Dear Participant:

I am a graduate student in the Curriculum Studies program at Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia. I invite you to participate in an interview as part of a research study being conducted under the direction of Georgia Southern University and entitled Women's Athletics and The Athletic Patriarchy. The purpose of this study is to examine the influences of the Athletic Patriarchy/"The Good Ole Boys Network" on women's athletics and to explore issues of power and gender within these influences. Your participation will involve completing a brief questionnaire and an interview. The interview will be audio tape recorded. It should only take approximately one-two hours of your time. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to withdraw at any time. The results of the research may be published, but your name will not be used unless you grant permission.

The findings from this project will provide information on Women's Athletics and The Athletic Patriarchy with no cost to you other than the time it takes for the interview. If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me at (912) 728-7690 or send an email to [janelynes0422@yahoo.com](mailto:janelynes0422@yahoo.com). If you have any additional questions, you may contact Dr. John Weaver, committee chair, at (912) 871-1709 or send an email to [johnweaver@georgiasouthern.edu](mailto:johnweaver@georgiasouthern.edu).

I would like to audio-tape this interview. Do I have your permission to audio-tape the interview?

Thanks for your help!

Sincerely,

Jane Lynes

Curriculum Studies Doctoral Student

Georgia Southern University



recorded taped interview will be conducted by the principal investigator. She will utilize the information for future research. You will also be asked to complete a brief questionnaire prior to the interview, which will provide personal data to the investigator. After the audiotapes are transcribed, you will have the opportunity to review the transcriptions and make any corrections. You will also have the choice of having the tape returned to you or of being destroyed.

### **Risks and Benefits of Participating in the Study**

The study has the following risks: The study should not involve any attendant risk or discomfort to the participants. The principal investigator will take the highest measures to protect confidentiality. Taped interviews will be stored in a locked file cabinet at the researcher's home and returned to the interviewee or destroyed at the conclusion of the research. Participants have the right to refuse to answer any question or to withdraw from this study at any time if they feel any discomfort. Included in this form is the contact information of the Chair of my committee, Dr. John Weaver and the GSU Institutional Review Board. This study is for the sole purpose of completing the requirements for dissertation. Your participation will enable the principal investigator, Cynthia Jane Lynes, in her study of Women's Athletics and The Athletic Patriarchy/The Good Ole Boys Network.

### **Voluntary Nature of the Study**

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not result in penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time.

**Confidentiality**

The records of this study will be kept private. Recorded interviews and transcriptions will be kept in a locked filed cabinet in the researcher's home. In published reports there will be no information included that will make it possible to identify the research participant with the exception that you give your permission to be identified. In the event you wish not to be identified, you will be assigned a fictitious name. Tape recorded transcriptions will be maintained by the principal investigator.

**In regards to the actual tape:**

I request to receive the original tape recording at the end of the study.

I do not wish to receive the original tape recording at the end of the study.

In addition, once the dissertation has been written, the principal investigator will destroy all transcripts and audio-recorded tapes in the event that the participant does not want to receive the original tape recording. The principal investigator and her faculty sponsor will have access to the records.

Participants' names will not be linked with their responses unless the participant specifically agrees to be identified.

**Please select one of the following options:**

I prefer to leave my identity unacknowledged when documenting findings; please do not release my name when citing the findings.

I consent to the use of my name when recording findings and that I may be quoted directly

**Audio Taping of Interview:**

To assist with accurate recording of participant responses, interviews will be recorded on an audio recording device. Participants have the right to refuse to allow such taping without penalty. Please select one of the following options:

I consent to the use of audio recording.

I do not consent to the use of audio recording.

**Contacts and Questions:**

The researcher conducting this study can be reached at (912) 728-7690. She can also be reached by email: [janelynes0422@yahoo.com](mailto:janelynes0422@yahoo.com). If you need to contact the researcher's dissertation committee chair, he can be reached by email at:

[johnweaver@georgiasouthern.edu](mailto:johnweaver@georgiasouthern.edu). or (912) 871-1709. You are encouraged to contact

the researcher if you have any questions.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact

Georgia Southern University Institutional Review Board. (912) 486-7756 or through

Email: [oversight@georgiasouthern.edu](mailto:oversight@georgiasouthern.edu)

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records. If you are not given a copy of this consent form, please request one.

**Statement of Consent**

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and I have received satisfactory answers. I consent to participate in the study.

---

**Signature**

**APPENDIX D**

**INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Birth date \_\_\_\_\_

Place of Birth \_\_\_\_\_

Educational Background \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Number of Years Played \_\_\_\_\_ Professionally \_\_\_\_\_

Current Occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Responsibilities of Current Position \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Awards, Honors, Achievements \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX E

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Please describe your childhood and/or adolescent athletic experiences. How and why did you become interested in and active in sports?
2. Were any sports other than basketball available to girls in your high school? Were these sports coached by men or women?
3. Why were sports important for you as an adolescent? As a young coach? As a successful veteran coach?
4. Was your participation in athletics pre or post Title IX? Please discuss some ways in which your participation opportunities were different than those young women experience today.
5. In what ways have you seen a change in women's sports as a result of Title IX legislation? Is it still working to provide balanced opportunities for women's participation in athletics? Has Title IX lost its power or momentum? Why or why not?
6. Are you familiar with the term or phrase athletic patriarchy/the good ole boy network? Please explain what it means to you.
7. Has this athletic patriarchy/good ole boy network ever been the cause of personal or professional problems for you or for your program? Would you say it has influenced your professional life in a positive or negative way, or not at all? Why?

8. What were your early days of coaching like? Were you or your teams provided with ample amounts of quality equipment, space, practice time, uniforms, practice clothes, facilities, etc.? If not, how did you compensate? How about now?
9. Do you believe women's athletic programs (HS and collegiate) have achieved parity w/men's programs? Why/Why not?
10. Were there ever any moments in your career that you felt mistreated, overlooked or passed over for promotions because you were a woman?
11. How do you feel about the large numbers of men in women's athletic administration positions despite the growing numbers of women in athletic participation? Should women coach and administrate women's programs? What about at the high school level? Why are there fewer women coaching women's programs, especially at the high school level?
12. As a collegiate player did you or your teammates ever have your sexual identity questioned or was you ever labeled and called names as a result of your athletic participation?
13. Have you ever been gender-labeled as a result of your participation and successes in athletics either as a player or as a coach in athletics?
14. Has the presence of lesbianism ever been an issue for any of your teams? If so has it affected the team concept? Was the team cohesive or not?
15. Do you personally know of coaches that will try to "steal" recruits by accusing other coaches of being lesbians or by accusing the coach of recruiting and having lesbians on the team?